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Online Study Materials on

INTERFAITH AND GLOBAL PEACE

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NON-VIOLENCE AND NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION: PRINCIPLES AND PRACTICES

NON-VIOLENCE

Non-violence is the cornerstone in building a culture of peace. The core values of non-violence—respect for life and the pursuit of justice and dignity for all humanity—reflect key values from the world's main spiritual traditions. For some people, non-violence is a set of values that bears witness to their religious beliefs. These values are shared by many people who do not identify with any particular religion. They also form the basis of important international human rights treaties.

Non-violence is a way of life. It is also a means to make social, political and economic change. Exploring non-violence begins with looking at power. Many people define power as the opportunity to control other people or resources. In this definition, power is assumed to be based on violence to gain more power over people or resources means using more violence. Non-violence offers another definition of power. Non-violence seeks to empower communities and individuals. It works to help people find power within themselves and to share power. This is power inside and power with people, not power over others.

Non-violence assumes that power derives from cooperation. All systems of injustice need people's cooperation to continue. A change in the power relationship can occur when cooperation is denied or withdrawn.

Examples of this took place throughout the 1980s and 1990s in Latin America, the Philippines, and Eastern Europe. In these cases, masses of non-violent and unarmed people toppled governments who used physical, psychological and economic violence in order to stay in power.

More concrete examples of spiritually-based non-violence include the Christian Plowshares movement. Inspired by the Biblical passage (Micah 4:3), which states "they will hammer their swords into plowshares". Plowshares activists enter military bases in Europe or the USA and hammer planes and other military equipment. They use the resulting court cases against them to educate the public about the suffering the arms trade creates. In another example, Buddhist monks and nuns in Cambodia now organise dhammayietras, traditional walks from village to village in order to explain Buddhist teachings, to spread life-saving information about HIV/AIDS, land mines, and the need for peace in order to rebuild the country.

THE SIX PRINCIPLES OF NON-VIOLENCE

Principle 1

Non-violence is a way of life for courageous people.

Principle 2

Non-violence seeks to win friendship and understanding.

Principle 3

Non-violence seeks to defeat injustice not people.

Principle 4

Non-violence holds that suffering can educate and transform.

Principle 5

Non-violence chooses love instead of hate.

Principle 6

Non-violence believes that the universe is on the side of justice.

(Definition by the King Center, USA)

GENDER

Refers to the social attributes and opportunities associated with being male and female and the relationships between women and men and girls and boys, as well as the relations between women and those between men. These attributes, opportunities and relationships are socially constructed and are learned through socialisation processes.

They are context/time-specific and changeable. Gender determines what is expected, allowed and valued in a women or a man in a given context.

In most societies, there are differences and inequalities between women and men in responsibilities assigned, activities undertaken, access to and control over resources, as well as decision-making opportunities.

Gender is part of the broader socio-cultural context.

Other important criteria for socio-cultural analysis include class, race, poverty level, ethnic group, and age.

Definition by OSAGI , United Nation's Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues

GENDER EQUALITY

(Equality between Women and Men)

Refers to the equal rights, responsibilities and opportunities of women and men and girls and boys.

Equality does not mean that women and men will become the same but that women's and men's rights, responsibilities and opportunities will not depend on whether they are born male or female.

Gender equality implies that the interests, needs and priorities of both women and men are taken into consideration while recognising the diversity of different groups of women and men.

Gender equality is not a women's issue but should concern and fully engage men as well as women.

Equality between women and men is seen both as a human rights issue and as a precondition for, and indicator of, sustainable people-centred development.

(Definition by OSAGI , United Nation's Office of the Special Advisor on Gender Issues)

A MANIFESTO FOR NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION

HOW CAN WE LIVE AT HOME ON PLANET EARTH?

As individuals we often feel our lack of power to affect the course of events or even our own environment. We sense the untapped potential in ourselves, the dimensions that go unrealised. We struggle to find meaning in a world of tarnished symbols and impoverished cultures. We long to assert control over our lives, to resist the heavy intervention of state and corporation in our plans and dreams. We sometimes lack the confidence to celebrate life in the atmosphere of violence and

pollution which surrounds us. Giving up on altering our lives, some of us try at least to alter our consciousness through drugs. Turning ourselves and others into objects, we experiment with sensation. We are cynical early, and blame ourselves, and wonder that we cannot love with a full heart.

The human race groans under the oppressions of colonialism, war, racism, totalitarianism and sexism. Corporate capitalism abuses the poor and exploits the workers, while expanding its power through the multinational corporations. The environment is choked. National states play power games, which defraud their citizens and prevent the emergence of world community. What shall we do?

Rejecting the optimistic gradualism of reformists and the despair of tired radicals, we now declare ourselves for non-violent revolution. We intend that someday all of humanity will live on Earth as brothers and sisters. We issue this manifesto as guidance in the next decades to ourselves and others who choose not to escape, who want to recover their personhood by participating in loving communities, who realise that struggle is central to recovering our humanity, and who want that struggle to reflect in its very style a commitment to life.

The manifesto includes a vision of a new society—its economy and ecology, its forms of conflict, its global dimensions. The manifesto also proposes a framework for strategy of struggle and change, which is presented here.

STRATEGY FOR REVOLUTION

A person may be clear in his or her analysis of the present order, may have a bold projection of a new society, but still be uncertain about what course to take in getting from here to there. Should I devote myself to building counter institutions, or to shooting practice, or to protest demonstrations? Should I organise among students, workers, the unemployed, or the "solid citizens?"

Decisions on what to do are often taken on impulse or because of movement fashions; a particular tactic like occupying buildings may be taken up because it meets the psychological mood of the moment. Serious long-run struggle cannot be waged on such a basis, however. Mood and fashion are too much at the mercy of repression. Rosa Luxemburg may have been exaggerating when she said that "we shall lose every battle except the last, but the basic point is sound; the struggle will be long and hard and our actions cannot be evaluated only by short-run psychological satisfactions."

Further, struggle by impulse is undemocratic. Wide popular participation in decisions about struggle can only come through wide discussion, which requires time, which requires planning ahead. Leaving strategic decisions to the crisis point means delegating power to a central committee or to the demagogue who is most skilled at manipulation of mood and fashion.

Tactics—actions at particular moments—often must be improvised as best they can, and leaders have their role at such times. Strategy—a general plan which links the actions into a cumulative development of movement power, and which provides means for evaluating tactics—is too important to be left to the leaders.

Creating a Strategy

The most effective strategy is specific to the historic situation. The Chinese Communist Party, for example, began with a strategy borrowed from Europe and tried to organise the industrial proletariat. Only when Mao Tse-Tung devised a strategy for the Chinese situation, emphasising peasants rather than workers and the countryside rather than the city, did the struggle have more chance for success.

In the Belgian socialists' struggle for universal suffrage, there was a period of flirtation with a violent strategy imported from the French revolutionary tradition. Only when the workers turned away from the romance of the barricades and through wide discussion decided on a disciplined general strike, did the campaign achieve its goal.

Strategies gain in power as they gain in specific relation to the situation. Every situation, however dismal it may seem has some leverage points. (Even in Adolf Hitler's concentration camps inmates organised resistance movements.) The hopeful, creative revolutionist will find those leverage points and develop a plan for struggle.

A Revolutionary Process

The need to develop a specific strategy does not prevent learning from others' experience. The experience of struggle movements in many countries can be analysed into a framework, which may guide us past mistakes and point us to opportunities.

One way to honour those who have suffered in the struggles for justice is to take their experience seriously. Our framework emphasises the development of the movement itself, since we see the movement's growth carrying some of the seeds of the new society in its very style of organisation and action. Of course, the major conditions for struggle

are provided by vast social forces beyond intentional control by economic conditions, by ecological tensions, by declining legitimacy of old institutions, by the rise of hope in new possibilities, and so on. The movement's task is to make this struggle effective, by constantly increasing its ability to grow, to renew itself, to practice its values in its internal life, to plan the new society.

Our framework has five stages for development of a movement from a small band of agitators to a mass struggle movement making fundamental change: (1) conscientisation, (2) building organisation, (3) confrontation, (4) mass non cooperation, (5) parallel government.

Conscientisation-Stage One

Why are things going wrong in my life? Why am I so powerless? Do those who decide have my best interests at heart? Why are so many of us in my situation?

More and more persons ask these sorts of questions as conditions deteriorate. People begin to see their problem with a critical awareness of the larger world. They develop a collective consciousness, for workers, women, blacks are not exploited as individuals but as a class. People must develop a sense of their personal destiny as interwoven with that of a collectivity before they will act together.

In this stage, agitators should develop a political consciousness which translates private troubles into public issues and connects individuals to others in a community of the oppressed. This requires an analysis, which makes the social structure transparent, and which helps people understand the dynamics of domination.

A negative movement can stop there. It can point out injustice, analyse in equality, and make a virtue out of everlasting protest. A positive movement goes on to create visions of a new society, identifying itself with aspiration as well as anger.

Having an analysis and a vision are still not enough, however, because the pervasive feeling of impotence which oppressed people have cannot be strongly countered without a strategy for change. When people realise the how as well as the why of revolution, they are most likely to move.

The tactics used in the stage of conscientisation are commonly pamphleteering, speeches, study groups, newspapers, conferences, and so on. The particular methods of education must, of course, be geared to the culture of the people.

Innovation is also necessary to methodology, especially where the existing methods encourage elitism in the movement. New methods of education are being invented, for example by Paolo Freire who coined the term "conscientisation" and emphasises reflective action through indirect methods of developing group awareness over time.

The non-violent training movement is also developing methods for political education strategy games, scenario writing, utopia-gallery, role-play, case study are a few. By means of participatory methods of learning skills and knowledge, the agitators show by their very style' that this is a democratic movement, rooted in the people's understanding rather than in the oratory of the leaders.

In many countries the stage of politicisation is already well advanced, but there is also a sense in which it is never finished. Movement agitators should work in ever-widening circles, realising that long after the nucleus of the movement is at an advanced stage of revolutionary development, some sectors of the population have still only a vague idea of the sources of their discontent. By expanding the area of work agitators also learn more, since there is a reservoir of knowledge and awareness which is held in many people who on a superficial level seem unpolitical. Only the sectarians take a missionary view of their educational work that they have all the truth and need only to proclaim it. Genuine education is interaction; a democratic movement wants all the insight it can get, even from those who might carelessly be labelled "enemies."

Building Organisation-Stage Two

An individual can agitate, but only the people can make a revolution. An individual can exemplify certain values, but only a group can begin to live the patterns of a new social order. Just as the wise farmer does not rest with sowing the seed, but returns to care for the young plants, so the wise agitator becomes an organizer, preparing healthy social environments for the growth of revolutionary spirit.

A basic tension exists in organising for the new society. The organisational forms can reflect so literally the radical vision that they become the end instead of the means to social change; the revolutionists can isolate themselves into sects of the righteous. On the other hand, the organisational forms of the movement might fit so well into the prevailing culture that they reflect the racism, sexism, authoritarianism, and other patterns which need to be eliminated. Such old wineskins can hardly hold the new wine of the radical vision; the contradiction between stated values and actual practices becomes too strong to contain.

Although the particular organising patterns may vary from place to place, we propose a basic principle the means must be consistent with the goals. An egalitarian society will not be built by an authoritarian movement; a community of trust will not be built by the competition of rival leaders; the self-reliant power of the people will not be uncovered by tight bureaucracies.

Consistency of means and ends does not mean the collapsing of ends into means; the utopian community as an end in itself is in many situations irrelevant to social change. The community as a base-camp for revolution, on the other hand, provides an important alternative to the narrow style of revolutionary parties. It provides a way of living the revolution as well as waging it. It provides a training ground where movement people can undergo those personal changes, which we need to become strong and clear-sighted.

Counter-institutions, or a constructive programme, can provide another opportunity for innovation in organisation. Can the new society be organised in egalitarian ways? Can consensus decision-making be widely applied? Which functions can be decentralised and which not? Some of these questions can be explored by the movement so that, when it comes time for actual transfers of power from the old regime (stage five), there is a reservoir of movement experience available.

Counter-institutions can provide needed services, which are provided expensively or inadequately in most countries. They are a powerful form of propaganda because they demonstrate that movement activists are practical and respond to material needs, and that our style is fundamentally constructive even though we know we must struggle for change.

It is true that counter-institutions lend themselves easily to abuse as charities, substituting "service to the people" for "power to the people." Charity cannot lead to fundamental change; it is part and parcel of the system of inequality. Charity does not mobilise people for change; it continues their dependence on do-gooders. The constructive programme becomes mere charity unless it is linked (as it was for Mahatma Gandhi) to a mass struggle movement for fundamental change.

Only a mass movement can bring about radical change in society, because only a mass movement has the power to do it. Further, mass participation is necessary because freedom cannot be given by a few to the many; freedom by its nature requires active seeking. On the

other hand, human liberation involves a heightened sense of individual confidence and worth rather than a loss of identity through submergence in the crowd.

We propose that the basic building block of mass movements be the small affinity group. Small groups can support the individual, experiment with simplified and shared lifestyles work as a team within the larger movement. They can arise from already existing friendships or ties of workplace or religion. They can grow as cells grow by division, and can proliferate rapidly when conditions are ripe. Unlike communes, they do not necessarily involve common living, yet they have a commitment to each other as persons and therefore provide a good movement context for individual growth.

Affinity groups as the fundamental units of the mass movement meet the dilemma of collectivism versus individualism. Unlike some of the old communist cells, their style is not secret or conspiratorial; therefore they cannot hold individuals to them rigidly with implicit threats. On the other hand, there is sufficient community to help the individual overcome his or her excessive attachment to self. The solidarity which enables people to withstand the terror of repression is even more likely in teams than in an unstructured mass facing water hoses or bullets. Studies of combatants in battlefield conditions have shown that the solidarity of the small unit is crucial in conquering fear and withstanding attack. Fear, of course, is the central weapon of repression. In a movement of small groups we may hold hands against repression and continue to struggle.

Under some circumstances, it may be necessary to work within reformist organisations. Frequently, however, radical caucuses can be organised within those organisations to help them see the need for fundamental change. The masses of people will not turn to basic structural change if they feel that reforms will alleviate conditions sufficiently. If the analysis of this manifesto is correct, reforms will not be sufficient; fundamental change is necessary.

In a democratic movement our slogan is "No radical change without radical consciousness" we do not believe in revolution behind the backs of the people. Reformist organisations will rarely allow radical analysis and vision to be projected through their channels, and so it is necessary to create new organisations, which can respond radically to challenges of history. At this early stage, clarity is often more important than acceptability.

There are some reforms, which, if they can be achieved, involve such a shift in power relations that they can fairly be called "revolutionary reforms." Analysis of the political economy suggests what these struggle points are, and gives important goals for the next stage of revolutionary development and confrontation.

Confrontation-Stage Three

Unfortunately, the pen is weaker than the sword. Time and again the truth about injustice has been known widely, with pamphlets and tracts easily available, yet most people remain passive. Mass mobilisation for the new society will not develop from the first stage of politicisation alone; the reality of evil must be dramatised.

In the past, this dynamic has often been at work the Russian Bloody Sunday in 1905, which sparked a massive insurrection against the tyranny of the Czar; the Jallianwala Bagh (Amritsar) Massacre in India in 1919, which spurred the first national civil disobedience against British imperialism; Alabama's repression of Birmingham blacks in 1963, which mobilised radicals and liberals in America for legislation against racism.

The best form of confrontation for dramatising injustice is a campaign over a period of time, rather than a one- or two-day witness. Usually a campaign will educate more people than a single event, and educate them more deeply.

The first step is to select a campaign goal which is consistent with radical analysis, such as a revolutionary reform. Second, reduce the problem and solution to picture form, so that no words are necessary in order to explain what the confrontation is about. The picture should show the gap between a widely held value and the particular injustice. Third, take group action which paints that picture in vivid colours. The campaign should build to a crisis, in which the authorities are put in a dilemma if they allow the demonstration to go on, fine, because the action is dramatically pointing up the situation of injustice. If they repress the demonstration, all right, because their repression further reveals the violence on which the regime rests.

The "dilemma demonstration" is much different from mere provocation. In provocation, the immediate goal is to bring down repression on the heads of the demonstrators. In a dilemma demonstration, the campaigners genuinely want to do their action block an ammunition ship, wear a black sash, etc. The demonstrators are not disappointed if the authorities use unexpected good sense and

allow the demonstration to continue. But repression is also acceptable, since voluntary suffering further dramatises the situation and erodes the legitimacy of the unjust authority.

Violence by the government is an inevitable result of radical social change work in most societies. It cannot be avoided, because injustice needs violence for its defence; when inequality is challenged, those on top resort again and again to violence.

The strategic question is how can that violence work against the government itself, rather than against us? The government's own force can work against itself, as in *jiu-jitsu*, when it is met indirectly. Instead of pitting guns against repressive violence, meeting the opponent on his superior ground, the movement responds non-violently. This has duo effects it begins the process of demoralisation among the troops and police, which may accelerate in later stages, and it discredits the government in the eyes of the masses.

Voluntary suffering is dynamic when we can stand it without fleeing. For most people that will require the preparation of conscientisation and of organisation. By changing our ideas about ourselves and our social world, and by developing a strategy we have confidence in, and by training in direct action tactics, we can get ready for open struggle. By joining others in small struggle communities we develop the solidarity necessary to face government terror.

Picture, then, movement groups waging campaigns of a month to several years duration, engaging first in propaganda of the world, then in training and mobilisation of allies, and finally in propaganda of the deed. Confrontations lead to achievement of immediate goals in some cases, repression in others. Counter-institutions provide support; radical caucuses agitate for support within the trade unions and the professions.

These political dramas pierce the myths and rationalisations, which cover up oppression and force the violence of the *status quo* out into the open. In the meantime, some movement agitators are working in new circles on conscientisation, widening the revolutionary process in the population. Gaining fresh impetus from the spotlight, which is trained, on injustice by the campaigners, organizers are helping newly aware people find each other and the network of solidarity so necessary for struggle.

The tempo of the revolutionary process depends largely on history economic conditions, ecological strains, political rigidities, and cultural

development. In some societies, it may happen very quickly, in some more slowly. Confrontation remains at the head of the movement until large number of people are ready for non-cooperation.

Mass Non-cooperation-Stage Four

By saying "no" when the regime depends on our saying "yes," we unlearn the habits of submission on which every oppressive system rests. The all-out civilian insurrection touched off by government repression, as in the Russian rising of 1905, provides a heady moment in which people defy the regime, but it is not enough. More than a moment-or even a year-is required to change those deep-rooted habits of inferiority. There must be a succession of battles, a long march, a continuing exposure to the nature of power and authority. Else we will never learn to stand erect during the intervals between euphoria and rage.

Movements may therefore want to plan organised, long-term and selective forms of mass non-cooperation. All-out campaigns for total change at this point are unrealistic because they cannot be sustained, even after careful organisational and political preparation. Non-cooperation should usually be focussed on clearly defined, limited goals, which if achieved would be revolutionary reforms. The specific demands help to rally the people (not everyone is moved by goals which seem vague and far away). When the immediate goals are achieved morale is heightened. Those who thought they were powerless find that they have achieved something. The skeptics who thought that struggle is useless may see their mistake.

The economy is often the part of the oppressive system most vulnerable to non-cooperation, and repression may be particularly severe in response to economic direct action. Therefore, it is important that the organisation and preparation to this point have been done well. Quite a variety of economic tactics exist to express non-cooperation, for example, the three-day general strike, boycotts, the declaration of holidays almost constantly, go-slows, rent refusal, full strikes in specific industries of great importance to the oppressive system.

For the population at large, political non-cooperation can involve mass civil disobedience, boycott of elections, draft resistance, student political strikes, tax refusal. Legislators can resign in protest, boycott the sessions, or attend the sessions and obstruct the proceedings. Workers in the state bureaucracy have many opportunities to non-cooperate and give useful information to the movement.

The tactics of intervention can come strongly into play at this point. In intervention people put their bodies in the place where the business of the old order goes on, in such a way as to disrupt it. Sit-ins, occupations, obstruction are major forms of intervention. In addition to their ability physically to dislocate the *status quo*, they can have strong symbolic overtones by "acting out the future in the present," that is, by imagining how a facility can be used in the new society and then proceeding to use it in that way. Such a tactic leaves the burden on the authorities to try to return the situation to the previous condition; if they fail, a piece of the new society has been planted.

Machiavelli long ago noted the impossible position of a government which sees the people's compliance dissolve; he said that the prince "who has the public as a whole for his enemy can never make himself secure; and the greater his cruelty, the weaker does his regime become."

One tangible measure of weakness is the demoralisation of police and soldiers. As Lenin discovered from the experience of the 1905 rising, soldiers are more likely to become ineffective and even desert if they are not shot at in a revolutionary situation. The guiding aim of the movement should be to win people over, not to win over people. When that basically open, friendly spirit is maintained even toward the agents of repression, a decisive break is made with the cycle of violence and counter-violence which so often in the past has distorted struggles for justice.

The counter-institutions and other forms of organisation planted in the second stage need to grow rapidly in this period, both to generate concrete demands for which we launch non-cooperation campaigns, and to provide the, alternatives, which keep nay-sayers from becoming nihilists. The small affinity groups, the radical caucuses, and other forms of movement organisation must by this stage develop strong coordinating links; sustained mass action requires unity.

In some societies, four stages of revolutionary process may be sufficient to produce fundamental change. A series of revolutionary reforms forced by mass non-cooperation may decisively shift the distribution of power and the basis of the economy. The change of this depends very much on the global context.

In most societies, however, mass non-cooperation for specific goals will finally reach a wall of such resistance that an all-out struggle will occur, out of which a transfer of power may come. The non-cooperation will need to be generalised and intensified, with direct intervention

such as occupations stepped up. In a number of historic cases, ruthless dictators have been overthrown by the social dislocation of all-out mass non-cooperation. The next stage, parallel government, is the stage of final transfer of power.

Parallel Government-Stage Five

In this stage, the ordinary functions of governmental authority are taken over by the revolutionary movement. The people pay taxes to the movement instead of the government. The movement organises essential services such as traffic regulation, garbage collection, and the like.

The counter-institutions become part of the unfolding new order as people transfer allegiance from those institutions which have discredited themselves by their failure to change. This stage is, therefore, linked directly to the second stage of organisation-building which, of course, never stopped. We are clearly not proposing that a mass party, governed by a central committee, confronts the rulers in a final tussle for control of the apparatus of the state. Even less are we suggesting that a small, professional revolutionary elite stage a *coup d' etat*. Our concept is that the old order is attacked and changed on many levels by many groups, that is, that the people themselves take control of the institutions which shape their lives. The radical caucuses within trade unions and professions play a major role here, for they provide the expertise necessary to re-organise institutions for the new society.

In this populist model of transfer of power, coordination springs from association of the caucuses, affinity groups, neighbourhood councils, and unions. Because outlining the features of the new society already began in stage one, with involvement by ever-widening circles of the people, the revolutionary programme will have a great deal of consensus behind it.

The military state withers away in the very process of revolution, its legitimate functions taken over by people's institutions. Redistribution of power is not postponed until after economic functions are reorganised; in stage five the workers occupy and begin to operate their own factories according to plans already widely discussed rather than wait for a directive from a party or state bureaucrat.

Repression would by this stage be very mixed. In a popular, non-violent revolution there would be the full range of sympathetic response from the soldiers, from inefficiency to mutiny. Prior fraternisation would also be producing disloyalty among the police. On the other

hand, some of the police and army might remain loyal to the old regime and reactionary groups would certainly act on their own as they saw the government's ability to maintain order crumbling. There might, therefore, be pockets of extreme brutality while large areas experienced a peaceful transfer of power.

Historians have remarked on how little violence has accompanied the actual transfer of power in a number of revolutions, the Russian, for example. Widespread violent repression is even less likely with the use of the framework we propose, because the people would be prepared to respond non-violently to provocation and to hasten the desertion of the soldiers.

The dissolution of the power of the military state and giant corporations into democratic people's institutions is a short-hand way of marking when the revolution has occurred, but there's is a broader view of the sweep of radical change. We look at revolution as a continuing development, not completed when the people's institutions take authority. We realise that authoritarianism, greed, ignorance, and fear will continue to shape institutions and will need to be attacked again and again.

The non-violent revolutionary process arms the people against distorted institutions, however, through the widespread application of pacific militancy. The people learn in struggle how to use the power of truth. We have confidence in the future because of the consistency of our means; we can wage the revolution, and live it, and defend it, through non-violence. We need not hope against experience that figs will grow from thistles, that a life-centered society will grow from widespread killing. The same determination, freedom from fear, and ability to love, which liberates the individual, will bring humankind to higher levels of evolution.

REVOLUTION AND HUMAN GROWTH

The revolutionary process we propose could be compared to an individual's successful re-orientation of a destructive relationship with another person. First, awareness comes unhappiness, an idea that things could be better, and a realisation of the dynamics of the relationship. Second, the individual mobilises him or herself priorities shift, inner resources are called on, relations with other persons may be strengthened. Third, confrontation communication becomes more honest through conflict; new patterns of relationship are suggested. Fourth, non-cooperation the most oppressive of the old patterns are broken

by refusal to participate; the destructive games stop because one person will no longer play. Fifth, new patterns are strongly asserted and accepted by the other person. (The new patterns may be a joint creation in some respects, developing from the dialogue and conflict of the two.)

Of course, there is nothing inevitable about this ordering of things sullen non-cooperation may precede open confrontation, for example. There is nothing at all inevitable about our strategic framework. But there is some logic in the framework of stages from the viewpoint of human liberation. This becomes clearer when we retrace the steps.

The new society is more likely to ensue from parallel government than from capture of the state apparatus because the parallel institutions are grown from the bottom up, through the course of the revolutionary struggle. These institutions have the resources of people who have been changing themselves (rather than the civil servants of the old state and organisational innovation (rather than bureaucracy). This is not to say that civil servants and corporate managers have no use in the new society, but only that re-training and personal change, will in many cases be necessary, and this should be led by those who have committed themselves to innovation rather than to maintaining the old order.

Even the mass society of industrialised nations is undermined by the revolutionary process. The movement's internal organisation is not one of mass politics, with a few leaders vying for control of the party apparatus while the movement rank and file serve as an audience, but instead is based on small action groups and communities. The movement itself becomes a liberated zone in which the values of the revolution are practiced.

Mass non-cooperation (the fourth stage) should come before parallel government because the habits of submission which maintain the old order must be unlearned, personal independence must be declared, before new, cooperative relationships of governance can be firmly rooted. Unless that growth point is reached, it is all too easy for the passive compliance of the old order to become passive compliance to the new society, which would be a contradiction in terms. The new society is participative in its nature; it cannot be built on the mere acquiescence of people still needing the towering authority of the state.

Mass non-cooperation is not likely, however, until the issues are clarified and dramatised. There will likely be a series of disasters

(mass starvation, depressions, wars, and ecological breakdowns) in the next decades, which will erode the foundations of the present order, yet we should not wait for them to provide the revolutionary dynamic. We want people to work for change before the worst disasters occur in order to minimise the suffering. By creating crises through showing the contradiction between positive values and present injustice, we can raise the level of consciousness without disasters.

Further, disasters can be ambiguous, a war can strengthen the state, as well as weaken it; ecological breakdown can be blamed on the consumers instead of on the industrialists, and so on. We need to counter the official rationalisations with our own definitions of the situation, and do that dramatically and clearly. Confrontation can do that. When the masses of people see for themselves what the stakes are, they are ready to refuse cooperation. Therefore, it is sensible for mass non-cooperation to follow the third stage, confrontation.

One major problem of the confrontation stage, however, is the violence which is meted out to the movement. Repression is never easy to stand up against; solidarity, however, makes an enormous difference. Terror works best against people who feel alone. Logically, therefore, organisation (the second stage) should come before confrontation. Another reason why organisation building should begin early in the revolutionary process is because the development of skills, experimenting with new working styles, and making of milieus for personal change are all essential for later stages in the struggle.

Organisation, however, is a hollow shell if it is not rooted in the changing perceptions of its members. Radical groups cannot be catalysed without a new consciousness, at least not if they are to be democratic. Motivation for protracted struggle, although often beginning in vague feelings of impotence and alienation, needs growth and positive development to support revolutionary organisation. And so the revolutionary process begins with conscientisation.

Growth is not only for "the people", it is most important for those who take the initiative in the revolutionary process. Such individuals should consider what growth means in terms of their functions in the first stage, agitators; in the second, organizers; in the third, actionists; in the fourth, campaign developers; in the fifth, coordinators.

Since the revolutionary process begins again and again in ever-widening circles, agitators are needed in some sections of the population even while other sections are engaging in mass non-cooperation. The

gifted agitator might be tempted to "freeze" into his or her role, forever searching for new people to educate. An organizer might spurn action and continue to specialise in building organisation. This tendency of specialisation of roles may discourage personal growth on the part of leaders. It also casts a shadow over the development of the movement as a whole, because coordination is more difficult when people do not have a "feel" for the variety of tasks which must be done. The leader who balks at personal change needs to realise the hollowness of her or his appeal for drastic change in the social patterns and lifestyles of others.

ON WARS OF LIBERATION

People are not free when they are subjected to violence. Therefore the struggle against violence must be seen in the context of a revolutionary effort to liberate humanity. We know that violence takes many forms, and that in addition to the direct violence of guns and bombs, there is the silent violence of disease, hunger, and the dehumanisation of men and women caught up in exploitative systems.

With a reticence that comes from our knowledge that we do not have answers to many of the problems of revolution, we must say that men should not organise violence against one another, whether in revolution, in civil war, or in wars between nations. If it is argued that our position is utopian and that people can turn to non-violence only after the revolution, we reply that unless we hold firmly to non-violence now, the day will never come when all of us learn to live without violence. The roots of the future are here and now, in our lives and actions.

But our unwavering commitment to non-violence does not mean that we are hostile to the revolutionary movements of our time, even though on certain fundamental issues we may disagree with some of them. It is impossible for us to be morally neutral, for example, in the struggle between the people of Vietnam and the American government, any more than we were able to be morally neutral 12 years ago in the struggle between the people of Hungary and the Soviet Union. We do not support the violent means used by the NLF and Hanoi, but we do support their objective in seeding the liberation of Vietnam from foreign domination.

We particularly emphasise our support for our friends in the Buddhist movement, who at great risk, and with little support from world opinion, have sought to achieve self-determination without using

violence. It is particularly important for pacifists to maintain close contact with those elements in the revolutionary movements which quietly hold to non-violence.

We do not romanticise non-violent action and know better than anyone else its setbacks. But we ask our friends who feel they have no choice but to use violent means for liberation not to overlook the problems they face. The violence of revolution destroys the innocent just as surely as does the violence of the oppressor. Nor is the use of violence a guarantee of victory for the revolution. Most guerrilla struggles have been defeated by the guardians of the *status quo*; Malaya, Greece, Bolivia, the Philippines, Guatemala are a few of the places where guerrillas have been defeated. In Spain, there have been organised appeals for violent action against Franco for the past twenty years, and yet Franco still holds power.

A violent revolution creates a violent structure in which, having killed one's enemies, it is all too easy to kill one's friends for holding "wrong positions." Having once taken up weapons it is difficult to lay them down. If it is argued that a non-violent revolution is too slow a method, and that violence more swiftly brings justice and freedom, we point to Vietnam where a violent struggle has raged for 26 years and where millions of people have been killed, and the revolution has not yet been won.

Certainly we are not saying that there is a non-violent revolutionary answer in every situation. There has never been a non-violent revolution in history, in the sense we mean it in this manifesto. We acknowledge our own limitations we have sometimes been guilty of inaction when struggle was necessary, of neglecting our homework when study was imperative, of narrowness when peace was utterly dependent on social change.

The challenge we make to our nonpacifist friends in the liberation movements is to develop the outline of a non-violent strategy for revolution before rejecting it out of hand. If you see violence only as a last resort, then first put time and energy into the next-to-the-last resort. If you see yourselves as practical people choosing among alternative courses, then create a non-violent strategy so your choice will have meaning. The framework in this manifesto will help, but only someone immersed in a situation can create a strategy which can be concretely examined.

We remind all pacifists and all sections of the War Resisters International that the greatest single contribution we can make to the

liberation movements is not by becoming entangled in the debate over whether or not such movements should use violence, but by actively working to bring an end to colonialism and imperialism by attacking its centers of power.

One of the basic reasons why we hold to non-violence, even when it seems to have failed or when it cannot offer a ready answer, is because the non-violent revolution does not seek the liberation simply of a class or race or nation. It seeks the liberation of humankind. It is our experience that violence shifts the burden of suffering from one group to another, that it liberates one group but imprisons another, that it destroys one authoritarian structure but creates another.

We salute those people who are using non-violent action in their struggle despite the current trends and pressures towards violence. We also salute our sisters and brothers in the various liberation movements. We will work with them when it is possible, but without yielding up our belief that the foundation of the future must be laid in the present, that a society without violence must begin with revolutionists who will not use violence.

WHY THE MOVEMENT MUST BECOME TRANSNATIONAL?

The basic problems facing people today transcend the nation in which they live. Poverty cannot be understood without seeing the economic empires which create a worldwide division of labour, with worldwide maldistribution of benefits. War cannot be understood without seeing the arms races and the big power rivalries. Racism is not confined to national boundaries, nor is sexism. Pollution is a global problem, and the depletion of resources will leave us all bereft no matter what country we live in.

This means that radical social change cannot occur neighbourhood-by neighbourhood, or even country by country. The critical points of decision are shifting to the international context and power must be challenged where it is. A revolutionary movement must be based at the grassroots or it is not a people's movement, but if it remains at the local level only, it raises hopes only to disappoint them.

At the same time, this powerful dynamic pushing social affairs beyond the nation-state creates conditions in which it is finally possible to organise a transnational movement. We can ourselves go beyond the loose associations of national groups (internationals) to associations, which reflect the New World society of the future.

Not only does our analysis lead us to a transnational perspective, but also our vision of a new society. However much has been accomplished by the radical movements of China and Sweden, for example, they still show in some of their dealings with other countries a betrayal of their own socialist principles. No country can exist in a vacuum and no revolution can be made in one. If the global context is not changed drastically, it will limit the achievements of the national revolution.

The ecological challenge especially shows the declining viability of nation-states. Humankind must reorganise to deal with global problems. If the new society of the future is a global society, our movements should reflect that now.

Our strategy also requires a transnational perspective. We need each other across national lines to exert powerful leverage for change. Some trade unions are already discovering that the multinational corporations cannot always be confronted by workers in one country alone; the unions must combine across national lines to be able to tackle the giants of modern capitalism.

Activists in various countries have much to teach each other. Even though conditions vary widely, sharing hard-won experience and analysis will lead to a more mature movement. Our own nationalism will probably only be outgrown through encounter with others.

The War Resisters' International intends to play its part in encouraging a transnational movement for non-violent revolution. We are encouraged by the increase of direct action projects organised across national lines, by the growth of consciousness of pacific militancy and the development of non-violent training, by the increasing solidarity of war resisters everywhere, by the celebration of life and love in the midst of hardship and distress, and by the recognition in our movement that "the struggle against war will never be effective until it forms an integral part in the struggle for a new society."

WORLD MILITARY EXPENDITURES

In 2004, world military expenditures reached nearly $1 trillion—an average of $162 per person, with the United States accounting for nearly half, 47 per cent, of the total. There was a reduction in military spending following the Cold War, and the total downward trend culminated in 1998. Since then there has been an increasing trend, with the years 2002-2004 showing an annual average increase of about 6 per cent in real terms (adjusted for inflation).

- The recent increase reverses the reduction following the Cold War in 1991—world military expenditures in 2004 were only 6 per cent lower in real terms than at the peak of the Cold War.
- The greatest single factor in this increase is the United States, which has rapidly increased spending since 2002 due mainly to military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan.
- The United States is the foremost contributor of global military expenditures—the Stockholm International Peace Research Institutes estimated the percentage in 2004 at 47 per cent with 455.3 billion US dollars, nearly 10 times the amount spent by the next largest spender, the UK, at 47.4 billion.
- The need for basic social services in developing countries is clearly evident:
- Nearly nine million children die each year in Sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia of preventable diseases.
- In South Asia and Sub-Saharan Africa, pregnancy and childbirth cause the deaths of nearly 500,000 mothers each year.
- In the developing world, one-third of children do not complete four years of school.
- Half of the children in South Asia are malnourished.
- Half of the world's population lacks access to adequate sanitation.

Another issue directly related to world military expenditures is foreign aid. Aid, normally from wealthy countries to developing countries, comes in various forms – humanitarian, development, military, etc. While international aid is substantial, by many standards, wealthy countries give relatively modestly, and much aid is heavily tied to the foreign policy objectives of the donor country rather than to the needs of the recipient country.

MILITARY SPENDING IN DEVELOPING WORLD

While the amount of military spending in developing countries is small in comparison to global spending, it often occupies budget space desperately needed for development and social service.

Research sponsored by UNICEF indicates that government spending on basic social services—primary education, basic health, and access to safe water—has a major impact on the welfare of children in poor countries. However, most developing countries spend only 12 per cent to 14 per cent of their national budgets on these services.

The World Military Expenditures and Arms Transfers (WMEAT) summary reports that in 1999, on an average developing countries spent 14.5 per cent of central government expenditures on the military. In South Asia, the average percentage of military spending by central governments was 16.1 per cent, and in Southern Africa it was 17.1 per cent.

Shares of World Military Expenditures 1989-1999

	1989	*1999*
Developed Countries	84.2%	71.2%
Developing Countries	15.8%	28.8%
North America	30%	34.3%
Western Europe	16.2%	22.1%
East Asia	10%	21.4%
Eastern Europe	34.4%	7.3%
Middle East	5.4%	6.5%
South America	1.3%	2.6%
South Asia	.8%	2%
Southern Africa	.7%	1.3%
Oceania	.5%	.9%
North Africa	.4%	.7%
Central Africa	.2%	.5%
Central Asia & Cauc.	*	.5%
Central Amer. & Car.	.2%	.1%

Data from SIPRI and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development

Some Things to Consider Regarding Aid to Developing Countries

Nearly all developed countries have consistently failed to meet the UN goal of 0.7 per cent GDP.

Reality of Aid, an international non-governmental initiative, estimates that 25 per cent of annual expenditures on arms by the USA, UK, France, Germany, and Japan would be needed to reach the Millennium Development Goal of halving poverty by 2015.

According to UNICEF, the world could meet basic human needs for everyone on earth if $70 to $80 billion—10 per cent of the world's military spending—were redirected towards that purpose.

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MAJOR GLOBAL GUIDELINES ON HUMAN RIGHTS

THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

The Most Universal Document in the World

The Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights has been awarded the *Guinness World Record* for having collected, translated and disseminated the Universal Declaration of Human Rights into more than 300 languages and dialects from Abkhaz to Zulu.

The Universal Declaration is thus the document most translated - indeed, the most "universal"—in the world.

In the words of the (former) High Commissioner for Human Rights, Mary Robinson:

> *"This project bears a special symbolism. It immediately brings to us a sense of the world's diversity; it is a rich tapestry with so many different languages and peoples. But, at the same time, it shows that all of us, in our different forms of expression, can speak the "common language of humanity", the language of human rights, which is enshrined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."*

(ii) United Nations Security Council Resolution 1325 Reaffirms

> *"the important role of women in the prevention and resolution of conflicts and in peace-building…"* and stresses *"the importance of their equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security…"*. Resolution 1325 urges UN Member States, among other measures, to *"increase their voluntary financial, technical, and logistical support for gender-sensitive training efforts"* (paragraph 7).

(iii) Faith-Based Peace-Building Mapping and Analysis of Christian, Muslim and Multi-Faith Actors

(IV) CEDAW—Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), adopted in 1979 by the UN General Assembly, is often described as an international bill of rights for women. Consisting of a preamble and 30 articles, it defines what constitutes discrimination against women and sets up an agenda for national action to end such discrimination. The Convention defines discrimination against women as "...any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field." The Convention, which entered into force on 3 September 1981, has as of March 2004, 176 States parties.

Religion has become an important topic on today's policy agenda. Policy-makers are no longer able to get around religion's role in conflict and peace, and in particular in conflict prevention and peace-building. Although religion is often blamed for inciting conflict, it can also help to resolve conflicts and decrease tensions. This study focuses on the possible positive role(s) of religion—that is, of faith-based organisations – in peace building.

By accepting the Convention, States commit themselves to undertake a series of measures to end discrimination against women in all forms, including:

- to incorporate the principle of equality of men and women in their legal system, abolish all discriminatory laws and adopt appropriate ones prohibiting discrimination against women;
- to establish tribunals and other public institutions to ensure the effective protection of women against discrimination; and
- to ensure elimination of all acts of discrimination against women by persons, organisations or enterprises.

The Convention provides the basis for realising equality between women and men through ensuring women's equal access to, and equal opportunities in, political and public life—including the right to vote and to contest election—as well as education, health and employment.

States parties agree to take all appropriate measures, including legislation and temporary special measures, so that women can enjoy all their human rights and fundamental freedoms.

The Convention is the only human rights treaty which affirms the reproductive rights of women and targets culture and tradition as influential forces shaping gender roles and family relations. It affirms women's rights to acquire, change or retain their nationality and the nationality of their children. States parties also agree to take appropriate measures against all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of women.

Countries that have ratified or acceded to the Convention are legally bound to put its provisions into practice. They are also committed to submit national reports, at least every four years, on measures they have taken to comply with their treaty obligations.

FULL TEXT OF THE CONVENTION IN ENGLISH

> "...the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields".

INTRODUCTION

On 18 December 1979, the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women was adopted by the United Nations General Assembly. It entered into force as an international treaty on 3 September 1981 after the twentieth country had ratified it. By the tenth anniversary of the Convention, almost one hundred nations have agreed to be bound by its provisions.

The Convention was the culmination of more than thirty years of work by the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women, a body established in 1946 to monitor the situation of women and to promote women's rights. The Commission's work has been instrumental in bringing to light all the areas in which women are denied equality with men. These efforts for the advancement of women have resulted in several declarations and conventions, of which the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women is the central and most comprehensive document.

Among the international human rights treaties, the Convention takes an important place in bringing the female half of humanity into the focus of human rights concerns. The spirit of the Convention is rooted in the goals of the United Nations to reaffirm faith in fundamental

human rights, in the dignity, and worth of the human person, in the equal rights of men and women. The present document spells out the meaning of equality and how it can be achieved. In doing so, the Convention establishes not only an international bill of rights for women, but also an agenda for action by countries to guarantee the enjoyment of those rights.

In its preamble, the Convention explicitly acknowledges that "extensive discrimination against women continues to exist", and emphasises that such discrimination "violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity". As defined in article 1, discrimination is understood as "any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex...in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field". The Convention gives positive affirmation to the principle of equality by requiring States parties to take "all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men" (article 3).

The agenda for equality is specified in fourteen subsequent articles. In its approach, the Convention covers three dimensions of the situation of women. Civil rights and the legal status of women are dealt with in great detail. In addition, and unlike other human rights treaties, the Convention is also concerned with the dimension of human reproduction as well as with the impact of cultural factors on gender relations.

The legal status of women receives the broadest attention. Concern over the basic rights of political participation has not diminished since the adoption of the Convention on the Political Rights of Women in 1952. Its provisions, therefore, are restated in article 7 of the present document, whereby women are guaranteed the rights to vote, to hold public office and to exercise public functions. This includes equal rights for women to represent their countries at the international level (article 8). The Convention on the Nationality of Married Women - adopted in 1957 - is integrated under article 9 providing for the statehood of women, irrespective of their marital status. The Convention, thereby, draws attention to the fact that often women's legal status has been linked to marriage, making them dependent on their husband's nationality rather than individuals in their own right. Articles 10, 11 and 13, respectively, affirm women's rights to non-discrimination in education, employment and economic and social activities. These demands are given special emphasis with regard to the situation of

rural women, whose particular struggles and vital economic contributions, as noted in article 14, warrant more attention in policy planning. Article 15 asserts the full equality of women in civil and business matters, demanding that all instruments directed at restricting women's legal capacity ''shall be deemed null and void". Finally, in article 16, the Convention returns to the issue of marriage and family relations, asserting the equal rights and obligations of women and men with regard to choice of spouse, parenthood, personal rights and command over property.

Aside from civil rights issues, the Convention also devotes major attention to a most vital concern of women, namely their reproductive rights. The preamble sets the tone by stating that "the role of women in procreation should not be a basis for discrimination". The link between discrimination and women's reproductive role is a matter of recurrent concern in the Convention. For example, it advocates, in article 5, "a proper understanding of maternity as a social function", demanding fully shared responsibility for child-rearing by both sexes.

Accordingly, provisions for maternity protection and child-care are proclaimed as essential rights and are incorporated into all areas of the Convention, whether dealing with employment, family law, healthcare or education. Society's obligation extends to offering social services, especially child-care facilities, that allow individuals to combine family responsibilities with work and participation in public life. Special measures for maternity protection are recommended and "shall not be considered discriminatory". (article 4). "The Convention also affirms women's right to reproductive choice. Notably, it is the only human rights treaty to mention family planning. States parties are obliged to include advice on family planning in the education process (article l O.h) and to develop family codes that guarantee women's rights "to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to hove access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights" (article 16.e).

The third general thrust of the Convention aims at enlarging our understanding of the concept of human rights, as it gives formal recognition to the influence of culture and tradition on restricting women's enjoyment of their fundamental rights. These forces take shape in stereotypes, customs and norms which give rise to the multitude of legal, political and economic constraints on the advancement of women. Noting this interrelationship, the preamble of the Convention stresses "that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the

role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality of men and women". States parties are therefore obliged to work towards the modification of social and cultural patterns of individual conduct in order to eliminate "prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women" (article 5). And Article 10.c. mandates the revision of textbooks, school programmes and teaching methods with a view to eliminating stereotyped concepts in the field of education. Finally, cultural patterns which define the public realm as a man's world and the domestic sphere as women's domain are strongly targeted in all of the Convention's provisions that affirm the equal responsibilities of both sexes in family life and their equal rights with regard to education and employment. Altogether, the Convention provides a comprehensive framework for challenging the various forces that have created and sustained discrimination based on sex.

The implementation of the Convention is monitored by the Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW). The Committee's mandate and the administration of the treaty are defined in the Articles 17 to 30 of the Convention. The Committee is composed of 23 experts nominated by their Governments and elected by the States parties as individuals "of high moral standing and competence in the field covered by the Convention".

At least every four years, the States parties are expected to submit a national report to the Committee, indicating the measures they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the Convention. During its annual session, the Committee members discuss these reports with the Government representatives and explore with them areas for further action by the specific country. The Committee also makes general recommendations to the States parties on matters concerning the elimination of discrimination against women.

CONVENTION ON THE ELIMINATION OF ALL FORMS OF DISCRIMINATION AGAINST WOMEN

The States Parties to the present Convention,

Noting that the Charter of the United Nations reaffirms faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and worth of the human person and in the equal rights of men and women,

Noting that the Universal Declaration of Human Rights affirms the principle of the inadmissibility of discrimination and proclaims

that all human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights and that everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth therein, without distinction of any kind, including distinction based on sex,

Noting that the States Parties to the International Covenants on Human Rights have the obligation to ensure the equal rights of men and women to enjoy all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights,

Considering the international conventions concluded under the auspices of the United Nations and the specialised agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Noting also the resolutions, declarations and recommendations adopted by the United Nations and the specialised agencies promoting equality of rights of men and women,

Concerned, however, that despite these various instruments extensive discrimination against women continues to exist,

Recalling that discrimination against women violates the principles of equality of rights and respect for human dignity, is an obstacle to the participation of women, on equal terms with men, in the political, social, economic and cultural life of their countries, hampers the growth of the prosperity of society and the family and makes more difficult the full development of the potentialities of women in the service of their countries and of humanity,

Concerned that in situations of poverty women have the least access to food, health, education, training and opportunities for employment and other needs,

Convinced that the establishment of the new international economic order based on equity and justice will contribute significantly towards the promotion of equality between men and women,

Emphasising that the eradication of apartheid, all forms of racism, racial discrimination, colonialism, neo-colonialism, aggression, foreign occupation and domination and interference in the internal affairs of States is essential to the full enjoyment of the rights of men and women,

Affirming that the strengthening of international peace and security, the relaxation of international tension, mutual co-operation among all States irrespective of their social and economic systems, general and complete disarmament, in particular nuclear disarmament under strict and effective international control, the affirmation of the principles of

justice, equality and mutual benefit in relations among countries and the realisation of the right of peoples under alien and colonial domination and foreign occupation to self-determination and independence, as well as respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity, will promote social progress and development and as a consequence will contribute to the attainment of full equality between men and women,

Convinced that the full and complete development of a country, the welfare of the world and the cause of peace require the maximum participation of women on equal terms with men in all fields,

Bearing in mind the great contribution of women to the welfare of the family and to the development of society, so far not fully recognised, the social significance of maternity and the role of both parents in the family and in the upbringing of children, and aware that the role of women in procreation should not be a basis for discrimination but that the upbringing of children requires a sharing of responsibility between men and women and society as a whole,

Aware that a change in the traditional role of men as well as the role of women in society and in the family is needed to achieve full equality between men and women,

Determined to implement the principles set forth in the Declaration on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women and for that purpose, to adopt the measures required for the elimination of such discrimination in all its forms and manifestations,

Have agreed on the following:

PART I

Article I

For the purposes of the present Convention, the term "discrimination against women" shall mean any distinction, exclusion or restriction made on the basis of sex which has the effect or purpose of impairing or nullifying the recognition, enjoyment or exercise by women, irrespective of their marital status, on a basis of equality of men and women, of human rights and fundamental freedoms in the political, economic, social, cultural, civil or any other field.

Article 2

States Parties condemn discrimination against women in all its forms, agree to pursue by all appropriate means and without delay a policy of eliminating discrimination against women and to this end, undertake:

(a) To embody the principle of the equality of men and women in their national constitutions or other appropriate legislation if not yet incorporated therein and to ensure, through law and other appropriate means, the practical realisation of this principle;

(b) To adopt appropriate legislative and other measures, including sanctions where appropriate, prohibiting all discrimination against women;

(c) To establish legal protection of the rights of women on an equal basis with men and to ensure through competent national tribunals and other public institutions the effective protection of women against any act of discrimination;

(d) To refrain from engaging in any act or practice of discrimination against women and to ensure that public authorities and institutions shall act in conformity with this obligation;

(e) To take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women by any person, organisation or enterprise;

(f) To take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to modify or abolish existing laws, regulations, customs and practices which constitute discrimination against women;

(g) To repeal all national penal provisions which constitute discrimination against women.

Article 3

States Parties shall take in all fields, in particular in the political, social, economic and cultural fields, all appropriate measures, including legislation, to ensure the full development and advancement of women, for the purpose of guaranteeing them the exercise and enjoyment of human rights and fundamental freedoms on a basis of equality with men.

Article 4

1. Adoption by States Parties of temporary special measures aimed at accelerating *de facto* equality between men and women shall not be considered discrimination as defined in the present Convention, but shall in no way entail as a consequence the maintenance of unequal or separate standards; these measures shall be discontinued when the objectives of equality of opportunity and treatment have been achieved.

2. Adoption by States Parties of special measures, including those measures contained in the present Convention, aimed at protecting maternity shall not be considered discriminatory.

Article 5

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures:

(a) To modify the social and cultural patterns of conduct of men and women, with a view to achieving the elimination of prejudices and customary and all other practices which are based on the idea of the inferiority or the superiority of either of the sexes or on stereotyped roles for men and women;

(b) To ensure that family education includes a proper understanding of maternity as a social function and the recognition of the common responsibility of men and women in the upbringing and development of their children, it being understood that the interest of the children is the primordial consideration in all cases.

Article 6

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures, including legislation, to suppress all forms of traffic in women and exploitation of prostitution of women.

PART II

Article 7

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the political and public life of the country and in particular, shall ensure to women, on equal terms with men, the right:

(a) To vote in all elections and public referenda and to be eligible for election to all publicly elected bodies;

(b) To participate in the formulation of government policy and the implementation thereof and to hold public office and perform all public functions at all levels of government;

(c) To participate in non-governmental organisations and associations concerned with the public and political life of the country.

Article 8

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to ensure to women, on equal terms with men and without any discrimination, the opportunity to represent their Governments at the international level and to participate in the work of international organisations.

Article 9

1. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men to acquire, change or retain their nationality. They shall ensure in particular that neither marriage to an alien nor change of nationality by the husband during marriage shall automatically change the nationality of the wife, render her stateless or force upon her the nationality of the husband.

2. States Parties shall grant women equal rights with men with respect to the nationality of their children.

PART III

Article 10

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in order to ensure to them equal rights with men in the field of education and in particular to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

(a) The same conditions for career and vocational guidance, for access to studies and for the achievement of diplomas in educational establishments of all categories in rural as well as in urban areas; this equality shall be ensured in pre-school, general, technical, professional and higher technical education, as well as in all types of vocational training;

(b) Access to the same curricula, the same examinations, teaching staff with qualifications of the same standard and school premises and equipment of the same quality;

(c) The elimination of any stereotyped concept of the roles of men and women at all levels and in all forms of education by encouraging coeducation and other types of education which will help to achieve this aim and in particular, by the revision of textbooks and school programmes and the adaptation of teaching methods;

(d) The same opportunities to benefit from scholarships and other study grants;

(e) The same opportunities for access to programmes of continuing education, including adult and functional literacy programmes, particulary those aimed at reducing, at the earliest possible time, any gap in education existing between men and women;

(f) The reduction of female student drop-out rates and the organisation of programmes for girls and women who have left school prematurely;

(g) The same opportunities to participate actively in sports and physical education;

(h) Access to specific educational information to help to ensure the health and well-being of families, including information and advice on family planning.

Article 11

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of employment in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

(a) The right to work as an inalienable right of all human beings;

(b) The right to the same employment opportunities, including the application of the same criteria for selection in matters of employment;

(c) The right to free choice of profession and employment, the right to promotion, job security and all benefits and conditions of service and the right to receive vocational training and retraining, including apprenticeships, advanced vocational training and recurrent training;

(d) The right to equal remuneration, including benefits, and to equal treatment in respect of work of equal value, as well as equality of treatment in the evaluation of the quality of work;

(e) The right to social security, particularly in cases of retirement, unemployment, sickness, invalidity and old age and other incapacity to work, as well as the right to paid leave;

(f) The right to protection of health and to safety in working conditions, including the safeguarding of the function of reproduction.

2. In order to prevent discrimination against women on the grounds of marriage or maternity and to ensure their effective right to work, States Parties shall take appropriate measures:

(a) To prohibit, subject to the imposition of sanctions, dismissal on the grounds of pregnancy or of maternity leave and discrimination in dismissals on the basis of marital status;

(b) To introduce maternity leave with pay or with comparable social benefits without loss of former employment, seniority or social allowances;

(c) To encourage the provision of the necessary supporting social services to enable parents to combine family obligations with work responsibilities and participation in public life, in particular through promoting the establishment and development of a network of child-care facilities;

(d) To provide special protection to women during pregnancy in types of work proved to be harmful to them.

3. Protective legislation relating to matters covered in this article shall be reviewed periodically in the light of scientific and technological knowledge and shall be revised, repealed or extended as necessary.

Article 12

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in the field of health care in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, access to health care services, including those related to family planning.

2. Notwithstanding the provisions of paragraph I of this article, States Parties shall ensure to women appropriate services in connection with pregnancy, confinement and the post-natal period, granting free services where necessary, as well as adequate nutrition during pregnancy and lactation.

Article 13

States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in other areas of economic and social life in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, the same rights, in particular:

(a) The right to family benefits;

(b) The right to bank loans, mortgages and other forms of financial credit;

(c) The right to participate in recreational activities, sports and all aspects of cultural life.

Article 14

1. States Parties shall take into account the particular problems faced by rural women and the significant roles which rural women play in the economic survival of their families, including their work in the non-monetised sectors of the economy, and shall take all appropriate measures to ensure the application of the provisions of the present Convention to women in rural areas.

2. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in rural areas in order to ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women, that they participate in and benefit from rural development and in particular, shall ensure to such women the right:

(a) To participate in the elaboration and implementation of development planning at all levels;

(b) To have access to adequate health care facilities, including information, counselling and services in family planning;

(c) To benefit directly from social security programmes;

(d) To obtain all types of training and education, formal and non-formal, including that relating to functional literacy, as well as, *inter alia*, the benefit of all community and extension services, in order to increase their technical proficiency;

(e) To organise self-help groups and co-operatives in order to obtain equal access to economic opportunities through employment or self employment;

(f) To participate in all community activities;

(g) To have access to agricultural credit and loans, marketing facilities, appropriate technology and equal treatment in land and agrarian reform as well as in land resettlement schemes;

(h) To enjoy adequate living conditions, particularly in relation to housing, sanitation, electricity and water supply, transport and communications.

PART IV

Article 15

1. States Parties shall accord to women equality with men before the law.

2. States Parties shall accord to women, in civil matters, a legal capacity identical to that of men and the same opportunities to exercise that capacity. In particular, they shall give women equal rights to conclude contracts and to administer property and shall treat them equally in all stages of procedure in courts and tribunals.

3. States Parties agree that all contracts and all other private instruments of any kind with a legal effect which is directed at restricting the legal capacity of women shall be deemed null and void.

4. States Parties shall accord to men and women the same rights with regard to the law relating to the movement of persons and the freedom to choose their residence and domicile.

Article 16

1. States Parties shall take all appropriate measures to eliminate discrimination against women in all matters relating to marriage and family relations and in particular shall ensure, on a basis of equality of men and women:

(a) The same right to enter into marriage;

(b) The same right freely to choose a spouse and to enter into marriage only with their free and full consent;

(c) The same rights and responsibilities during marriage and at its dissolution;

(d) The same rights and responsibilities as parents, irrespective of their marital status, in matters relating to their children; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;

(e) The same rights to decide freely and responsibly on the number and spacing of their children and to have access to the information, education and means to enable them to exercise these rights;

(f) The same rights and responsibilities with regard to guardianship, wardship, trusteeship and adoption of children, or similar institutions where these concepts exist in national legislation; in all cases the interests of the children shall be paramount;

(g) The same personal rights as husband and wife, including the right to choose a family name, a profession and an occupation;

(h) The same rights for both spouses in respect of the ownership, acquisition, management, administration, enjoyment and disposition of property, whether free of charge or for a valuable consideration.

2. The betrothal and the marriage of a child shall have no legal effect, and all necessary action, including legislation, shall be taken to specify a minimum age for marriage and to make the registration of marriages in an official registry compulsory.

PART V

Article 17

1. For the purpose of considering the progress made in the implementation of the present Convention, there shall be established a Committee on the Elimination of Discrimination against Women (hereinafter referred to as the Committee) consisting, at the time of entry into force of the Convention, of eighteen and after ratification of

or accession to the Convention by the thirty-fifth State Party, of twenty-three experts of high moral standing and competence in the field covered by the Convention. The experts shall be elected by States Parties from among their nationals and shall serve in their personal capacity, consideration being given to equitable geographical distribution and to the representation of the different forms of civilisation as well as the principal legal systems.

2. The members of the Committee shall be elected by secret ballot from a list of persons nominated by States Parties. Each State Party may nominate one person from among its own nationals.

3. The initial election shall be held six months after the date of the entry into force of the present Convention. At least three months before the date of each election, the Secretary-General of the United Nations shall address a letter to the States Parties inviting them to submit their nominations within two months. The Secretary-General shall prepare a list in alphabetical order of all persons thus nominated, indicating the States Parties which have nominated them, and shall submit it to the States Parties.

4. Elections of the members of the Committee shall be held at a meeting of States Parties convened by the Secretary-General at United Nations Headquarters. At that meeting, for which two-thirds of the States Parties shall constitute a quorum, the persons elected to the Committee shall be those nominees who obtain the largest number of votes and an absolute majority of the votes of the representatives of States Parties present and voting.

5. The members of the Committee shall be elected for a term of four years. However, the terms of nine of the members elected at the first election shall expire at the end of two years; immediately after the first election the names of these nine members shall be chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.

6. The election of the five additional members of the Committee shall be held in accordance with the provisions of paragraphs 2, 3 and 4 of this article, following the thirty-fifth ratification or accession. The terms of two of the additional members elected on this occasion shall expire at the end of two years, the names of these two members having been chosen by lot by the Chairman of the Committee.

7. For the filling of casual vacancies, the State Party whose expert has ceased to function as a member of the Committee shall appoint another expert from among its nationals, subject to the approval of the Committee.

8. The members of the Committee shall, with the approval of the General Assembly, receive emoluments from United Nations resources on such terms and conditions as the Assembly may decide, having regard to the importance of the Committee's responsibilities.

9. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall provide the necessary staff and facilities for the effective performance of the functions of the Committee under the present Convention.

Article 18

1. States Parties undertake to submit to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, for consideration by the Committee, a report on the legislative, judicial, administrative or other measures which they have adopted to give effect to the provisions of the present Convention and on the progress made in this respect:

(a) Within one year after the entry into force for the State concerned;

(b) Thereafter at least every four years and further whenever the Committee so requests.

2. Reports may indicate factors and difficulties affecting the degree of fulfilment of obligations under the present Convention.

Article 19

1. The Committee shall adopt its own rules of procedure.

2. The Committee shall elect its officers for a term of two years.

Article 20

1. The Committee shall normally meet for a period of not more than two weeks annually in order to consider the reports submitted in accordance with article 18 of the present Convention.

2. The meetings of the Committee shall normally be held at United Nations Headquarters or at any other convenient place as determined by the Committee. (amendment, status of ratification)

Article 21

1. The Committee shall, through the Economic and Social Council, report annually to the General Assembly of the United Nations on its activities and may make suggestions and general recommendations based on the examination of reports and information received from the States Parties. Such suggestions and general recommendations shall be included in the report of the Committee together with comments, if any, from States Parties.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall transmit the reports of the Committee to the Commission on the Status of Women for its information.

Article 22

The specialised agencies shall be entitled to be represented at the consideration of the implementation of such provisions of the present Convention as fall within the scope of their activities. The Committee may invite the specialised agencies to submit reports on the implementation of the Convention in areas falling within the scope of their activities.

PART VI

Article 23

Nothing in the present Convention shall affect any provisions that are more conducive to the achievement of equality between men and women which may be contained:

(a) In the legislation of a State Party; or

(b) In any other international convention, treaty or agreement in force for that State.

Article 24

States Parties undertake to adopt all necessary measures at the national level aimed at achieving the full realisation of the rights recognised in the present Convention.

Article 25

1. The present Convention shall be open for signature by all States.

2. The Secretary-General of the United Nations is designated as the depositary of the present Convention.

3. The present Convention is subject to ratification. Instruments of ratification shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

4. The present Convention shall be open to accession by all States. Accession shall be effected by the deposit of an instrument of accession with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 26

1. A request for the revision of the present Convention may be made at any time by any State Party by means of a notification in writing addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

2. The General Assembly of the United Nations shall decide upon the steps, if any, to be taken in respect of such a request.

Article 27

1. The present Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of deposit with the Secretary-General of the United Nations of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession.

2. For each State ratifying the present Convention or acceding to it after the deposit of the twentieth instrument of ratification or accession, the Convention shall enter into force on the thirtieth day after the date of the deposit of its own instrument of ratification or accession.

Article 28

1. The Secretary-General of the United Nations shall receive and circulate to all States the text of reservations made by States at the time of ratification or accession.

2. A reservation incompatible with the object and purpose of the present Convention shall not be permitted.

3. Reservations may be withdrawn at any time by notification to this effect addressed to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, who shall then inform all States thereof. Such notification shall take effect on the date on which it is received.

Article 29

1. Any dispute between two or more States Parties concerning the interpretation or application of the present Convention which is not settled by negotiation shall, at the request of one of them, be submitted to arbitration. If within six months from the date of the request for arbitration the parties are unable to agree on the organisation of the arbitration, any one of those parties may refer the dispute to the International Court of Justice by request in conformity with the Statute of the Court.

2. Each State Party may at the time of signature or ratification of the present Convention or accession thereto declare that it does not consider itself bound by paragraph I of this article. The other States Parties shall not be bound by that paragraph with respect to any State Party which has made such a reservation.

3. Any State Party which has made a reservation in accordance with paragraph 2 of this article may at any time withdraw that

reservation by notification to the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Article 30

The present Convention, the Arabic, Chinese, English, French, Russian and Spanish texts of which are equally authentic, shall be deposited with the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

IN WITNESS WHEREOF the undersigned, duly authorised, have signed the present Convention.

A DAY IN THE LIFE OF NON-VIOLENT PEACEFORCE

June 30, 2007

Momentum is shifting. When we started organising Non-violent Peaceforce, we had to spend a lot of time describing civilian unarmed peacekeeping and then convincing people of the need and effectiveness.

During the past year, we have not had to do much persuasion. There is a growing recognition and acceptance worldwide of the value of this work among policymakers, researchers, activists, diplomats and those impacted directly by violent conflict.

Last May, International Governance Council member John Stewart and I met with African Union officials in Addis Ababa. Many were eager to have NP send exploratory missions, including those working in Darfur.

In the summer, I spoke to a gathering of non-violent leaders from around the world who had assembled at the Fletcher School near Boston. This was a seasoned bunch who put their lives on the line. The only question they asked to me was, "When can Non-violent Peaceforce come to our country?" Mainstream institutions including the World Bank, the Council on Foreign Relations and the Geneva-based Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue have recently issued reports recommending civilian unarmed protection. Citing the emerging international norm of the Responsibility to Protect, a report compiled by Lee Feinstein of the Council on Foreign Relations supports Kofi Annan's call for 2,500 civilians to supplement the UN's peacekeeping operations." The Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue concludes, "The international community needs to take greater advantage of the protective power of field presence, and deploy more such missions."

During a year when headlines haemorrhaged brutality, Non-violent Peaceforce and the entire field of civilian protection have steadily

expanded the global consciousness that indeed, there are better and more effective ways to deal with violent conflicts than sending in the army.

Training of Trainers Lays Foundation to Expand Global Capacity

As the IGC enters its second hour of discussions, another intensive day of NP training has begun in Thailand. Twenty-six experienced peace trainers from nineteen countries have assembled for NP's first "Training of Trainers." One of the key visions of NP is to dramatically increase its capacity. The trainees will leave Thailand fully prepared to themselves train field team members and additional trainers. It is this model that can eventually make possible the mobilisation of hundreds or even thousands of trained peace workers to a conflict situation. As a result of the Thailand Training of Trainers in 2006, NP stands ready to provide its essential core training to large numbers of field staff in multiple languages.

Mindanao Advance Team Lays Groundwork for Deployment

It is mid-morning in the Philippines as advance team members Atif Hameed of Pakistan and Sreeram Chaulia of India convene a meeting of local leaders on the island of Mindanao in preparation for NP's second full deployment. Veterans of the Sri Lanka mission, Sreeram and Atif bring valuable experience from our first peacekeeping project.

In the course of 2006, the advance team would consult with NP's local partner organisations regarding options for placement of field teams, recruit five civilian peacekeepers, and make final plans for a May 2007 deployment.

The need for third-party non-violent intervention is great as violence continues between government forces and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), a group seeking self-determination for the island's Muslim population. Fighting has been sporadic but intense. At one point in June, militiamen belonging to pro-government paramilitary units attacked MILF positions in response to an ambush on the local governor's convoy that killed seven of the governor's aides. Nearly 5,000 families were displaced in the ensuing battle. By securing cooperation agreements from all actors in the conflict, the work of Non-violent Peaceforce has created a unique opportunity to reduce violence and protect vulnerable populations.

NP Sri Lanka Helps an Abducted Child Return to his Family

The abduction and forced military training of children in Sri Lanka continued to rise throughout 2006, with child abductions carried out

by both the Tamil Tigers and the Karuna faction. But this day, unlike too many others, is a happy one. Eleven days ago, a family approached NPSL Batticaloa for help after a child was abducted and pressed into service by the paramilitary Karuna faction. NP Sri Lanka worked with a civil society group to quickly formulate a strategy to raise the national and international profile of the abductee, including the involvement of Amnesty International. This morning, as a result of this strategy, the abducted boy returns to the embrace of his family

The exception to this stance [of leaving when violence escalates] is the presence of a small INGO – the Non Violence Peace Force [sic]. The policy of this small team of foreign and local peace workers is to visibly stand by victims of violence, and needs commendation.…All peace loving people must do all they can to appreciate and endorse such vulnerable groups whose mandate is to stand with the vulnerable, and whose only weapon is their moral strength to be able to do so. Contrary to what anti-peace forces imagine, the desire and drive for peace grows when conflict increases.

— Sri Lanka Anglican Bishop Duleep de Chickera

NP Helps to Restore Feeling of Security after Massacre

Several days have passed since the village of Allaippiddi on Kayts Island off the Jaffna peninsula was awakened by the sounds of gunfire. Eight villagers were murdered, including a baby and a four-year-old child. Elsewhere on the island two other attacks the same night took five additional lives. The people of Allaippiddi fled to a nearby church for protection in the wake of the killings, fearful of a recurrence. Some want to leave the area because they feel unsafe in their homes. Yet, they realise that as IDPs (Internally Displaced People) they would likely suffer worse difficulties and dangers. Others do not want to leave their village, which until now had been peaceful even during the war.

At their request, NP field team members provide a presence, first at night, then around the clock. Violent incidents are much less likely while international peacekeepers are present. By providing an unarmed nonpartisan presence, Non-violent Peaceforce is able to restore a sense of security, however fleeting, to the people of this embattled community.

Field Team Member Fabijan Periskic Recovering from Grenade Attack

It is the morning after an event that shook NP to its core. A grenade was hurled in front of the NP Mutur office the previous afternoon.

The explosion injured field team member Fabijan Periskic of Serbia and two civilian passersby. With the assistance of the United Nations, Fabijan was airlifted to Colombo for surgery.

The attack, part of a coordinated act of violence against three International non-governmental organisation (INGO) offices in Mutur, transmitted a major shock wave through the INGO community in Sri Lanka. A series of strong condemnations followed from international governments and the United Nations. Happily, Fabijan would fully recover and return to his work. Such encounters with violence only strengthen the resolve of NP's field teams to model non-violent solutions. When a group of local young people smashed the windows of another team's vehicle and threatened those inside, NP team members did not simply avoid those involved – instead, they sought out the leaders of the group to try to understand what had happened. The youth leaders apologised for the attack. The NP team invited the young people to attend peace gatherings held at the local NP office. The youth leaders agreed to do so, a first step away from violence. It is there, after all, that the need for non-violent alternatives is most keenly felt.

Rajiv Vora Teaching Principles of Satyagraha

NP's Asia Coordinator Rajiv Vora opens the afternoon session of a centennial celebration of Mahatma Gandhi and the first implementation of his pioneering philosophy of satyagraha, a celebration sponsored by member organisation Swaraj Peeth. Fifty-six Muslims and Hindus take a pledge of non-violence as a culmination of the training led by Rajiv. They are committed to intervene when incidents of communal violence arise. The celebration comes at the conclusion of NP's twelve-day Insight Trip for 2006, celebrating the 100th anniversary of the day on which Gandhi turned the tide of rage against the British in South Africa into a disciplined non-violent campaign. Gandhi later carried his satyagraha methods to India, where he successfully wrested his homeland from British colonial rule using the same non-violent methods. NP builds on Gandhi's vision of a Shanti Sena (Peace Army).

Preventing Violence in Palestinian Elections

It is 10:00 am in Palestine. Thirty-five Non-violent Peaceforce peacekeepers from nine countries serve as international monitors for the 2006 Palestinian elections. The NP volunteers completed a two-day orientation led by the UN Development Programme and additional training in violence prevention by the Jerusalem Office of the American Friends Service Committee. The NP delegation is dispatched to eight

areas in groups of three, each accompanied by a Palestinian representative from NP Member Organisation Grassroots International Protection for the Palestinian People.

NP's peacekeepers are there to prevent violence. At the end of the day, the news is good the elections for the most part have been fair and free of violence.

Core Training of Field Team Members in Nairobi

At noon in Nairobi, Kenya, twelve women and eleven men from fifteen countries on four continents finish a demanding morning of training in non-violent peacekeeping. They have gathered in Nairobi for a 23-day core training of NP field team members. The training began with a four days assessment, followed by three weeks of intensive education in the principles of non-violent civilian peacekeeping. Led by Otieno Ombok, Otieno Oloo, and Lyn Adamson, the training places a strong emphasis on the development of team awareness, communication and problem-solving skills, as well as deepening understanding of non-violence and practice of the skills in the three core areas of presence, observation and accompaniment.

Otieno Ombok Gathers Information for a Project in Northern Uganda

As the afternoon begins in Eastern Africa, Otieno Ombok of NP member organisation Chemchemi ya Ukweli is in Uganda, gathering information for a proposed NP deployment in the troubled northern region. The situation in northern Uganda remained tense at the end of 2006 as peace talks between the Lord's Resistance Army and the government stalled. The LRA suspended its participation, accusing the government of killing three of its fighters as they travelled to an assembly point in southern Sudan.

NP's International Governance Council met by teleconference in December 2006 to discuss the proposal to begin a project in Uganda. The decision was made to move forward on the project once sufficient funds are identified to cover the full costs of the initial deployment of three field team members. Based on their findings, Phase Two could involve the deployment of at least nine internationals to maintain presence in camps for Internally Displaced Persons, provide protection from forced recruitment of children into armed forces, non-violent conflict intervention training, and general monitoring of the security situation in the region. Sri Lankan veteran Otieno Oloo is appointed to head the first phase.

Touring Germany to Teach about the Global South

Curious crowds are beginning to form around twenty-six columns that have appeared in a public square in Göttingen, Germany. The columns are part of an exhibition tour titled "Von Armut bis Zucker" (From Poverty to Sugar), in which NP Germany is a participant.

The tour, hosted by One World Network, will travel through 26 German cities – one for each letter of the alphabet – with each stop focussed on a different aspect of life in the global South, including Armut (poverty) in Augsburg and Gewaltfreiheit (non-violence) in Göttingen.

Alessandro Rossi Promotes Civilian Peacekeeping at the European Parliament

At 2:00 PM in Belgium, NP European Coordinator Alessandro Rossi highlights the concept of civilian peacekeeping during a European Policy Centre conference on human security. As security issues remain high on the European agenda, NP is working to keep the concept of third-party non-violent intervention before the eyes of policymakers. NP also participated in recent talks on the UN's Millennium Development Goals, which include a significant focus on security.

NP Europe Regional Meeting Hears Requests for NP Presence

The afternoon session is underway as representatives of over 20 member organisations and several other peace groups from across Europe gather in Barcelona for the regional meeting of NP Europe. The atmosphere is energetic and motivating as the discussion turns to the creation of new task forces to increase public awareness of NP and of non-violent conflict intervention as an alternative to violence.

By day's end, the representatives will have heard requests from human rights groups and other nongovernmental organisations for NP presence and support in countries that face violence, including Moldova. Tim Wallis, co-chair of NP's International Governance Council, at work on the Peaceworkers Registry

Tim Wallis as he builds the Peaceworkers Register in his London office.

One of the most urgent issues before Non-violent Peaceforce (NP) is capacity–the building of a reserve force of hundreds, even thousands of trained peaceworkers available for deployment wherever non-violent peacekeeping is needed. That vision is what motivates:

"After six years, the Peaceworkers Register finally came of age in 2006 thanks to NP," says Tim. "At the beginning of 2006, we had 667 members on the Register. By the end of the year, we had nearly 2,000 members from over 40 countries and potential partnerships with at least three other NP member organisations who are developing the Register in their own countries. We are well on the way to building up an international pool of people with a range of skills and experience that can be used to support peace efforts around the world, whether for NP, the UN, governments, or for NGOs working in situations of violent conflict."

David Grant at the United Nations

Strategic Relations Director David Grant checks his watch as he walks to his second meeting of a long day at the United Nations in New York. By day's end, he will have met with representatives of UN agencies and missions, international nongovernmental organisations, and potential funding partners to discuss the vision and activities of NP.

The building and maintenance of strong cooperative relationships with international organisations is a vital component of NP's ongoing success. In the four years since UN Secretary General Kofi Annan assigned one of his chief officers to coordinate and communicate with NP, and representatives of Non-violent Peaceforce have met regularly with officers and departments of the UN Secretariat, including Peacekeeping, Political Affairs, and Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs.

These contacts have already borne mutually useful outcomes. The vision of NP captures imaginations, particularly of individuals within the UN who, for one reason or another, cannot themselves directly enact the dictate of the UN Charter preamble "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war…."

In 2006, NP signed a joint framework agreement with the UN High Commission on Refugees UNHCR, received funding from UNHCR and UNICEF and applied for consultative status to the UN's Economic and Social Council, which provides a way for non-governmental organisations to directly access and address the world body.

Ela Gandhi Unveiling New Peace Bond Designs

At mid-day in Washington, DC, preparations are underway for the unveiling of the new designs for Non-violent Peaceforce's Series A 2006 Peace Bonds. An international panel of judges has selected six winning designs, one for each of the six bond denominations, from over 300 entries from around the world.

At the National Press Club event, the competition winners are announced and the beautiful new designs revealed by NP supporter Ela Gandhi, granddaughter of Mahatma Gandhi. Revenue from these bonds provides support to our peacekeeping teams.

Lyn Adamson Coordinating Training and Recruitment

Another day of telephone and Skype calls is in progress for NP Capacity Building Director Lyn Adamson in Toronto. In the course of the afternoon she will field calls from San Francisco, Bolivia, Spain, and Sri Lanka as plans develop for the next NP training event in Quito, Ecuador. Lyn also screens potential recruits to find the select few with the skills and commitment to undertake the daunting challenges of fieldwork. "It's a wonderful day for me when someone I have trained is deployed to the field," she says. "To see the growing numbers of those trained and in the field is very rewarding."

Season of Peace Tour Tells NP's Sri Lanka Story a 1800 UTC Cross the United States

Photographer Bob Fitch and Field Team Member Linda Sartor stand before another room of NP supporters gathered to hear and see the story of NP's work in Sri Lanka. By the time it concludes on the West Coast, the Season of Peace Tour will have brought the story to 1600 supporters in seven U.S. states. Bob Fitch, a renowned photojournalist, spent a month in Sri Lanka capturing the work of NP on film. Linda Sartor was part of the original team of trained civilian peacekeepers who went to Sri Lanka to help NP launch its first project. Fitch's evocative photographs and Linda's first person narrative help increase audience understanding and support of the vision of Non-violent Peaceforce.

Advocate Team Members Hear Firsthand Account of Situation in Sri Lanka

Several NP Advocate Team Members (ATMs) listen intently to Sreeram Chaulia, one of the original thirteen Field Team Members in Sri Lanka, as he describes the evolving situation in that country. The ATMs are gathered in the Northwest Pennsylvania hills near Pittsburgh for a weekend of non-violence and fund-raising education, planning, sharing, and team-building

ATM members raise a substantial portion of the NP budget by making significant financial gifts to Non-violent Peaceforce and inviting other members of their community to support NP generously.

"The retreats are extremely helpful to us as Advocates because we practice techniques we can use in talking about NP in our communities, inspire each other, and get good ideas from each other about other steps we can take for NP," says Helena Halperin, ATM Steering Committee Chair. Advocate Team members have special educational opportunities including the opportunity to travel internationally to feel the power of NP's work firsthand.

Exploratory Team Provides Impromptu Accompaniment in Colombian Combat Zone

The visit to Colombia was supposed to be just a fact-finding mission. Álvaro Ramirez-Durini, NP's Latin America and Caribbean Regional Coordinator, had come with three others to explore the possibility of an NP deployment to several "communities of peace" threatened by ongoing violence. During a community meeting, one of the women stands to make a request. For three years, for fear of attack, they have been unable to travel in a large group to the river a kilometer away to bathe and wash their clothes. Her request is simply this, could the team accompany them to the river?

The request highlights the high level of fear among the local population, who are even afraid of walking short distances to accomplish their daily tasks. The NP team agrees to provide the accompaniment. Thirty-five women and children make the journey with the team, including children who had never seen the river because their parents were afraid to take them.

Based in part on the report of the exploratory team, NP is now seeking funds to make possible the deployment of civilian unarmed peacekeepers to the threatened communities.

Claudia Samayoa Defending Human Rights Because "Hope will Not Give Way"

In Guatemala, Claudia Samayoa and her staff in the Unit of Protection of Human Rights Defenders worked tirelessly taking testimonies on violations, recording and analysing attacks against defenders, charting trends, and consulting with human rights organisations from around the country. The result was a powerful report on the state of human rights defence that has served to orient and inform everyone from the United Nations and international NGOs to the local defenders themselves.

Claudia's efforts did not stop there. She led the way in researching the tragic phenomenon of so-called "social cleansing" directed at

stigmatised youth suspected of being in gangs. Often, there is not even a crime associated with these extrajudicial killings. Their crime is being young and poor. The police are unwilling to help or sometimes even complicit in the crimes.

Such bold initiatives are not welcomed by the "hidden powers" in Guatemala, and come at considerable risk. Human rights defenders and those who try to tell their stories are subject to threats, politically motivated break-ins, abduction and assassination. This is very high risk work that takes a toll on health and family life. When asked why she continues in spite of all this, Claudia answers, "Because hope will not give way."

Clarence White Completing One Last Grant Proposal for the Day

The work day is drawing to a close in the century-old Victorian house that is home to NP's administrative headquarters in Minneapolis. Although another day of fund-raising, grant writing, project monitoring and worldwide staff support is over, activity continues into the evening. Volunteers stuff envelopes for the latest fund drive as staff members prepare for an evening presentation by field team members recently returned from the Valaichchenai field site in Sri Lanka.

David Hartsough Addresses an Audience on the West Coast of the U.S.

The attention of the gathered crowd is undivided as lifelong peace activist and NP cofounder David Hartsough describes the principle and practice of non-violent intervention. David brings a half-century of experience and insight to his work for NP. The son of a Congregationalist minister, David read Gandhi as a child, met Martin Luther King, Jr. at fifteen, and participated in lunch counter sit-ins during the civil rights movement. His efforts later turned to anti-war protests during the Vietnam War and the formation of Peaceworkers in San Francisco.

It was in 1999 when David Hartsough and Mel Duncan arrived at The Hague Peace Conference independently to suggest the formation of a "non-violent peaceforce." Three years later, the organisation was a reality.

Mel Duncan Makes a Final Status Check

Executive Director and NP co-founder Mel Duncan sits at the heart of this complex and ever-changing organisation. As our global day comes to a close, Mel checks e-mail one last time from his Minneapolis

office to ensure that the day's questions have been addressed, needs met, and enough encouragement and direction given to see the organisation through to morning. As always, the day has included countless uncertainties, setbacks, complications and frustrations. But there have also been forward strides, encouraging signs, heartening victories, and reasons for great confidence and hope.

We have seen the courage and commitment of NP's Field Teams, the engagement and unwavering support of the Advocate Team, and the creativity and tireless efforts of an extraordinary worldwide network of NP staff and volunteers. Most important, we have looked into the faces and lives of real people around the world for whom violence is an everyday reality. It is the recognition of our shared humanity with the victims of violence that energises and motivates the people of Non-violent Peaceforce to build a viable, sustainable alternative to violent conflict, to give the human race something to say yes to when – at long last—it says no to war.

A Pivotal Year for NP 2007

The year 2007 will be a pivotal year in the developing vision and reality of Non-violent Peaceforce. In addition to the expansion and external evaluation of the Sri Lanka project, 2007 will see the full launch of a second field project on the island of Mindanao, the further development of projects in Uganda and Colombia, and the first test of NP's rapid deployment capabilities in Guatemala.

Peacekeeper training in Ecuador, Romania and India will further accelerate the organisation's rapidly growing capacity, while the training of assessors of recruits ensures the maintenance of a high standard of readiness in the field.

As a means of strengthening NP's identification of and outreach to available and qualified people who could be trained and deployed to the field, NP partnered with Peaceworkers UK, supporting them to develop their web-based Registry, which grew from 700 to over 2000 potential future peacekeepers.

The coming year is also a time of reflection and planning as we complete our multiyear strategic plan and host an International Conference and International Assembly in Nairobi, bringing together NP Member Organisations and representatives of governments and agencies around the world to promote the principle and practice of unarmed civilian peacekeeping.

This is a time of great challenge and even greater possibility as we strive to make Gandhi's vision of a *Shanti Sena* – an "army of peace" – a global reality.

Non-violent Peaceforce (NP) is an international nongovernmental organisation providing an unarmed protective force of trained civilians from around the world. In partnership with local groups, NP members apply proven non-violent strategies to protect human rights, deter violence, and create safe space for local peacemakers to do their work. initiated in 1999 at The Hague Appeal for Peace and begun in 2002 at Surajkund, India, NP is a global federation of nearly 100 Member Organisations and is endorsed by eight

Nobel Peace Laureates

Our vision is to create a large-scale non-violent peace force supporting and protecting local civil society in conflict areas through the development of field projects and additional models for deployment, public education, training and advocacy.

NP launched its first global joint project in Sri Lanka in summer 2003 at the invitation of and in partnership with local groups. More than 64,000 people have been killed and 1.6 million displaced in the civil war that has ravaged Sri Lanka since 1983.

In 2005, NP began working toward the launch of additional projects in the Philippines, Uganda and Colombia.

OUR FIELD TEAM MEMBERS use various techniques to reduce and prevent violence, each applied appropriately to particular circumstances. These includes:

- *Accompanying* civil society activists, especially human rights defenders and peaceworkers;
- *Providing proactive presence* to vulnerable groups and communities;
- *Monitoring* ceasefire agreements, demonstrations and other volatile situations;
- *Coordinating* with other non-governmental organisations for maximum effectiveness;
- *Consulting* with local activists and communities about their needs in times of crisis;
- *Providing safe places* to meet and to bridge communities in conflict.

Funding for NP comes from a diverse base, including foundations, individuals, religious communities, governments, independent aid agencies and UN organisations such as UNICEF and UNHCR.

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PEACE-BUILDING THROUGH INTERFAITH DIALOGUES

BUILDING GLOBAL PEACE THROUGH INTERFAITH DIALOGUES

Religion has become an important topic on today's policy agenda. Policy-makers are no longar able to get around religion's role in conflict and peace, and in particular in conflict prevention and peace-building. Although religion is often blamed for inciting conflict, it can also help to resolve conflict and decrease tensions. This study focuses on the possible positive role(s) of religion—that is, of faith-based organisations—in building peace.

This desk study analyses 27 Christian, Muslim and multi-faith organisations that are working on peace-building in conflict situations. By studying how they operate as peace-builders, the study aims to shed more light on the peace-building potential of faith-based organisations. It particularly aims to advise donors on how they can deal with faith-based peace-building; in policy. Based on this first and limited analysis, the authors came to the following findings, donor recommendations and suggestions for follow-up study.

Key Findings

Faith-based actors—to different extents, with varying levels of success and in various, ways—have contributed positively to peace-building. For instance, they have provided emotional and spiritual support to war-affected, communities, have mobilised their communities and others for peace, have mediated, between conflicting parties, and have promoted reconciliation, dialogue, and disarmament, demobilisation, and reintegration.

- Faith-based peace-building actors carry out their peace-building activities in 'religious' and 'non-religious' conflicts, thereby targeting not only beneficiaries that share their own religious convictions, but also beneficiaries from different religious communities and secular ones;
- Faith-based actors are involved in a wide range of peace-building activities, including advocacy, education, infra-faith and interfaith dialogue, mediation, observation and transitional justice;
- Faith-based actors have shown a number of specific, although not unique, strengths and weaknesses. Strengths include strong faith-based motivation, long-term commitment, long-term presence on the ground, moral and spiritual authority, and a niche to mobilise others for peace. Weaknesses comprise the risk of proselytisation, lack of focus on results and a possible lack of professionalism;
- As with other peace-building activities, it is a challenge to measure the specific impact of the work of faith-based actors.

Apart from these findings, the report also makes a number of important observations. A first observation is that Muslim peace-building organisations are relatively difficult to identify. This seems to result from a lack of institutionalisation. Peace-building activities are mostly undertaken by individual actors (such as Imams and Sheikhs) in their personal capacity, often in an *ad hoc* and informal manner. As a result, the study only identified six internationally operating Muslim peace-building organisations. One should not conclude from this that there are hardly any Muslim-based peace -building activities.

A second observation is that faith-based peace-building does not necessarily take place in isolation from secular peace-building. The study suggests that the two could be interrelated and complementary in particular conflict settings. In addition, it was found that peace-building programmes can consist of single-religious or multi-religious activities. The findings of the report suggest that both types of activities have the potential to contribute to peace-building in specific situations.

A third observation in the report is that faith-based peace-building efforts tend to focus on 'religious moderates' and not on 'religious conservatives'. The report, however, also shows that both groups can be drivers of change and can contribute to peace-building in their own special manner.

Donor Recommendations

The findings and observations made in the report suggest a number of recommendations for donors—governmental and non-governmental—with regard to faith-based actors:

1. Policy-makers should address the peace-building potential of faith-based actors in policy;
2. Donors should explore whether they can cooperate more with faith-based actors on the theme of peace-building;
3. Donors should further examine the role of faith-based actors in the context of political analysis. For Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA), this could mean highlighting the role of such actors in the Stability Assessment Framework (SAF);
4. Donors should consider demanding more attention for faith-based peace-builders in international discussions in the field of peace-building (such as in the EU, UN bodies, OSCE and OECD/DAC);
5. Donors should sensitise and train staff of the ministries of foreign affairs and defence that are involved in peace-building on, the topic and role of faith-based approaches. It is in particular vital to train embassy staff, which are usually in direct contact with faith-based peace-building organisations. It could also be relevant to train peacekeepers in order to increase their cultural and religious sensitivity;
6. In relation to training embassy staff, embassies are encouraged to address structurally the relationship between religion and peace-building in their longer-term strategic plans;
7. Donors, should try to regard 'religious moderates', but also 'religious conservatives', as possible drivers of change. They are encouraged to explore further the possibilities of establishing true dialogue with conservative, politicised, religious groups in order to engage them in peace-building;
8. Donors should make extra efforts to identify local Muslim peace-building actors. They are recommended to identify them through international Muslim peace-building actors, or through analysing whether local Muslim relief and humanitarian agencies, as well as Muslim women's organisations, (could) operate as, peace-building actors;
9. Donors, are invited to develop a tailor-made approach for strengthening Muslim actors' peace-building capacities. Such an approach should be aware that direct donor support to local

Muslim peace-building actors may negatively influence their peace-building performance—given that Western support can be a rather sensitive issue—and that Muslim peace-building actors may require some specific kinds of support (for example, basic institutional development, audio-visual materials and the establishment of national and regional networks).

Suggestions for Follow-Up Research

This preliminary study is not exhaustive, and the authors are aware that it has only covered parts of the discussion on faith-based peace-building. Suggestions for follow-up study are to:

- Develop a more systematic and comprehensive database of faith-based peace-building actors;
- Compile case studies of successful faith-based peace-building initiatives;
- Carry out research among higher educational institutions in order to explore what they teach on the relationship between Islam (or Christianity) and peace, and what room, there is for incorporating peace-building modules in their curricula;
- Conduct case studies on the added value of faith-based peace-builders in specific conflict settings; explore through case studies the level of cooperation, between, and complementary of, faith-based and secular peace-building programmes;
- Carry out field research on the strengths and weaknesses of single-religious and multi-religious peace-building efforts in specific conflict settings (for example, Sudan and northern Nigeria);
- Analyse the required strategies, partners and activities to deal with 'religious moderates' and 'religious conservatives' in peace-building (for example, Sri Lanka);
- Examine the peace-building role of mid-level and top-level religious leaders to explore in what conflicts it is more suitable to work with mid-level and/or top-level religious leaden.;
- Explore viable options for measuring the impact of faith-based peace-building work.

A STUDY ON FAITH-BASED PEACE-BUILDING ACTORS

Introduction

International policy attention for religion is growing. While religion has never been really absent from public and political affairs in large

parts of the world, its political leverage in the West has long been marginalised. Probably since the Enlightenment, most Western countries have tried to advocate some sort of separation between Church and State, between religion and politics. Various countries have regarded religion, as a private matter to be enjoyed, by individual citizens in their private life, and *some* (such as Communist countries) have even tried to suppress religious manifestations in all spheres of life. Despite all this, religion has often remained a key issue in politics and currently seems even to have reconquered (inter)national policy agendas.

One of the events that contributed to a re-examination of the role of religion in politics was the seizure in 1979, of the United Slates' embassy in Tehran by radical Islamic extremists. This unexpected development precipitated, within the United States Department of State, an assessment of the role of religion in the internal affairs of some states. Other recent developments, most notably the attacks of 11 September 2001 on the World Trade Centre and the subsequent 'war on terror', have also made policy-makers recognise that religion plays a major role in today's world affairs. Increased sensitivity for the religious factor in international politics, and in war and peace, has among other things raised the question of whether there is a role for religion in other related domains, such as conflict prevention, conflict resolution and peace-building. Religion is not only blamed for inciting conflicts, but is also regarded as a source of solutions to conflict. To what extent, then, could religious actors make a valuable contribution to increasing tolerance, resolving conflicts, and rebuilding peace? And how could religious actors be engaged in inter/intra-religious dialogue, as well as in numerous other peace-building activities before ducting and after peace accords?

It is this current awareness of religious factors in international politics, war and peace that forms the background of this study, in which the positive contributions of faith-based, actors towards peace-building are analysed. Through analysing the activities, results and outcomes of a number of faith-based peace-building organisations that work on conflicts in Africa and the Balkans, this study hopes to provide policy-makers with a clearer picture of the roles of faith-based actors in peace-building.

Relevance and Objectives

This study has been carried out by the Conflict Research Unit (CRU) of the Netherlands Institute of International Relations ''Clingendael' at the request of the Peace-Building and Good Governance

Unit of the Netherlands Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MoFA). In this project, the "Clingendael' Institute has cooperated with the Washington DC-based *Salam* Institute for Peace and Justice.

MoFA has for a long time mainly regarded religion as an important 'cultural' background variable; that is relevant to development cooperation. However, it has recently shown a more specific interest in the role of religion in development processes, as well as in conflict and peace settings.

In 2004, MoFA commissioned the *Bureau Beleidsvorming Ontwikkelingssamenwerking* (BBO) to organise a series of workshops on the role of religion, one of them with regard to conflict and peace processes. It also asked the Advisory Council of International Affairs (AIV) for advice on the question '[W]hat is the influence of cultural and religious values and norms on development processes, keeping in mind the continuous globalisation of political, economic and cultural contextual factors'. Recently, in September 2005, MoFA launched a 'Knowledge Forum on Development Cooperation and Religion' in close consultation with partner organisations the Inter-Church Cooperation for Development Cooperation, *Kerkeninactie,* PRISMA, BBO, Oikos and Cordaid. The Forum's goals are to explore the role of religion and religious actors in development processes and to provide input for policy development on this terrain, among other things.

This preliminary study attempts to shed more light on the interrelationship between religion and peace-building. In discussions, around this topic, the following questions usually come to the fore. Is there, a role to play for religious actors in peace-building? If so, what kind of peace-building roles could they play? Can they play these peace-building roles in all sorts of conflict, or especially in religiously tainted conflicts such as in northern Nigeria or Sudan? How does the peace-building work of religious actors relate to that of other (secular) actors? In other words, is religious peace-building necessarily different from secular peace-building? What are possible differences, and what are possible similarities? Could faith-based and secular peace-building complement each other or do they mainly overlap? More practically, do faith-based peace-building actors only target/assist religious communities that share their convictions? Or, are they willing and able to assist a broad range of beneficiaries? And if faith-based actors start to work on peace-building, is it assured that they do not utilise their peace-building work as a vehicle of proselytisation? It is these kinds of questions that form the background of this preliminary study on faith-based peace-building actors.

The study's overall aim is to highlight the peace-building work of a number of faith-based actors, and to come to donor recommendations on how to deal in policy with the peace-building potential of faith-based actors. Hence, the study analyses a number of Christian, Muslim and multi-faith peace-building actors that work in/on conflict situations. For each of these actors it outlines one or two exemplary peace-building activities, and assesses the results and impact of these activities based on self-descriptions of the organisations. The report then draws, a number of conclusions regarding the specific work of actors included in this report and regarding faith-based peace-building in general. Furthermore, it outlines some donor recommendations for addressing the topic of faith-based peace-building in policy. Finally, it lists a number of suggestions for follow-up research.

The authors initially tried to focus this study exclusively on internationally operating Christian, multi-faith and Muslim peace-building actors. They aimed at an exploratory study that would provide a general picture of the faith-based peace-building domain. Focussing on internationally operating faith-based peace-builders would, fit this objective best, possibly followed up by more detailed and context-specific case studies at a later stage. However, when the authors began to select international actors for inclusion in this study, it soon turned out that it was relatively easy to find a number of internationally operating Christian and multi-faith actors, but that it would be more difficult to find a similar number of internationally operating Muslim peace-building actors. This raised the question of whether to persist with the focus on international acton only, or whether to complement the limited number of internationally operating Muslim peace-builders with more nationally and locally operating Muslim peace-building actors. The authors chose the latter option in the belief that it would enrich the analysis. Hence, the Muslim actors included in this report do not exclusively operate at the international level, but also at the national and local levels in Africa and the Balkans in particular. The authors opted to concentrate on these two regions because they match the focal areas for Dutch conflict policy, which include the Western Balkans, the Great Lakes Region and the Horn of Africa.

All in all, this study thus focuses on Christian and multi-faith actors that operate at the international level, and on Muslim actors that are active at the international level and at the national and local level in Africa and the Balkans. This implies that local Christian and multi-faith actors are not included in this report, and need to be analysed

in possible follow-up studies. However, it mainly implies that at more general analysis of worldwide-operating Muslim, Christian and multi-faith peace-building actors is complemented and enriched by a more context-specific analysis of Muslim peace-building actors in Africa and the Balkans.

Methodology

The study is a desk study. On the basis of personal and telephone interviews, information exchanges by email and fax, meetings, literature reviews, internet research, existing databases of peace-building organisations, and an examination of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) that are accredited to the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), the authors have identified 45 organisations that can be categorised as Muslim peace-building actors and 25 organisations that can be labelled as Christian and multi-faith peace-building actors. This report has analysed a number of them.

On the basis of semi-structured interview questions (see the example in Annexe II), the authors have collected information regarding the actors link to religion, level of operation, geographical scope, type of beneficiaries, kind of peace-building work, one or two practical examples of peace-building activities, the results and outcomes of the peace-building activities carried out, the estimated impact of activities on the broader conflict and peace process, overall lessons learned in areas of faith-based peace-building, and the possible added value of faith-based peace-building actors as compared to secular peace-building actors. The authors contacted each organisation for comments on the draft analysis and for agreement with the final analysis.

Selection of the Actors

The selection of the faith-based actors included in this report has been subject to a number of considerations that are outlined here below. They include the choice for institutionalised actors, the distinction between faith-based and secular actors, and the separation of peace-building actors from actors working in other kinds of areas.

Focus on Institutionalised Actors

Obviously, there are numerous religious actors in the field of faith-based peace-building. Luttwak, for instance, speaks of religious leaders, religious institutions, and religiously motivated lay figures. Johnston remarks that the range of religious actors spans a continuum, with the temporal power of religious institutions like the church on the one

hand and the personal initiatives of spiritually motivated laypersons defining the other. Appleby confirms this perception, and adds that the field of faith-based peace-building consists of Christian ethicists, Muslim jurists and theologians, Jewish, Buddhist and Hindu scholars, courageous religious officials, trans-religious movements and local, religious leaders. In addition, it entails the numerous institutions within the major religions themselves that deal with issues of justice and peace. It also includes various secular and faith-based NGOs that engage with religious actors in order to build peace. Because of the format of the study (that is, a desk study), the difficulty of selecting the numerous religious individuals, involved in peace-building, and the fact that the peace-building work of individual religious actors is often rather invisible for outsiders, the authors decided that this preliminary study could best focus on a relatively small number of institutionalised faith-based actors that are relatively visible and accessible.

It should be noted that the focus on institutionalised actors raises some challenges for the selection of Muslim peace-building actors. One challenge, for instance, regards the organisational differences between Western and Muslim communities and institutions. The way that Muslim societies organise themselves and their institutions differs significantly from Western societies. Western societies are more individualistic, professional and bureaucratised. Many Islamic societies, on the other hand are traditional societies, where kinship, tribalism and family ties are dominant. The organisation of social institutions like NGOs reflects these differences. These differences have made it more difficult to identify Muslim peace-building organisations in the Western sense. Another challenge is the lack of special peace-building organisational capacities. Because many of these peace-building actors are not organised into stable bodies or NGOs, their work and contribution is much less visible and they are rarely included in internet databases. Their visibility seems to depend on the personal communication and language skills of the individuals involved in tanas of connecting with non-Muslim groups, organisations, academic institutions and the media, their fund-raising skills and whether they are adopted or supported by non-Muslim, mostly Christian groups. As many groups, lack or do not have the time to develop these skills, it is difficult to identify Muslim peace-building actors without field research that includes interviews with various groups in these communities. A third challenge is the so-called missionary churches' factor. The interaction between Christian missionary churches and

secular organisations with Christian groups in these communities, and the spread of mass communication and dissemination of information (such as *via* the internet) has contributed to the development of Christian peace-building action. Generally speaking, the institutional development of Muslim actors lags behind that of Christian and multi-faith actors. Muslim peace-building actors are now beginning to establish their own centres for peacemaking and peace-building, in the process facing major challenges such as the difficulty of receiving training and experience, and finding this funding to create sustainable and effective institutions.

Focus on Faith-Based Actors

The study focuses on faith-based peace-building actors. The authors therefore faced the difficult challenge of making a proper distinction between faith-based and 'secular' peace-building actors, which to a large extent are involved in similar peace-building work, and both may cooperate with local religious actors in the field. The selection of Muslim peace-building actors has been a particular challenge, because of the inseparability of Islam and other aspects of life. Islam influences all aspects of life in Muslim communities, and it is not possible to separate the religious from the non-religious. Islamic values and traditions underpin peace-building and the conflict-resolution activities of Muslims as well as all other aspects of their lives. Most of the time Muslims do not therefore feel the need or do not see it a necessity to emphasise the role of Islam in their work or put 'Islamic/Muslim' in the title of their work or organisations, as the presence of Islam in their work is usually assumed both by their communities and Muslim peace-building actors. For that reason, it is difficult to find actors that define themselves as Muslim actors. However, the study has categorised the actors as Muslim if the actor:

- Identifies itself as Muslim or Islamic (for example, Muslim Women's League—Southern Sudan), and/or;
- Operates in a community where Muslims form the majority (for example, Kisima Peace and Development Organisation, in Somalia, where Islam is the state religion and 90 per cent of the population is Muslim), and/or;
- Is led by a Muslim Religious Actor (for example, Interfaith Action for Peace in Africa, led by Sheikh Mbacke), and/or;
- Includes Muslim religious leaders as equal partners (for example, Interfaith Mediation Centre, Nigeria), and/or;

- Uses Islamic values, teachings, and practices to transform conflicts (for example, Coalition for Peace in Africa, which, uses the Islamic conflict resolution mechanism of *Suluh),* and/or,
- Is led by, or established by, Muslims inspired by Islamic values (such as Merhamet in Bosnia-Herzegovina).

Similarly, the study has labelled the actors, as Christian our multi-faith actors on the basis of:

- Religious affiliation and resource base (such as the Life and Peace Institute, Mennonite Central Committee and Eastern Mennonite University's Center for Justice and Peace-Building);
- Religious values that inspire their peace-building work (for example, Sant' Egidio, Kroc Institute, Mennonite Central Committee, Eastern Mennonite University's Center for Justice and Peace-Building, International Fellowship of Reconciliation., World Vision International and David Steele);
- Use of religious resources in their peace-building work (for example, the Center for World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict, Resolution, International Center for Religion and Diplomacy, and David Steele);
- The deliberate—acid sometimes exclusive—cooperation with religious actors, as counterparts (for example, the Life and Peace Institute, International Association for Religious Freedom, World Conference of Religions for Peace, David Steele and Religion and Peace-Making Initiative);
- The presence of religious clerics and/or laymen among their staff (for example, the World Conference of Religions for Peace, International Association for Religious Freedom, David Steele and *the* Religion and Peace-Making Initiative).

Focus on Faith-Based Peace-Building Actors: A third way to narrow down the scope of the study has been to distinguish peace-building actors from non-peace-building actors. All of the organisations included in this report have identified conflict resolution and peace-building as a critical aspect of their work and/or have at least been practically involved for a longer period of time in some of the activities here below towards resolving conflicts, and establishing; peace:

- *Advocacy:* Religiously motivated advocacy is primarily concerned with empowering the weaker party(ies) in a conflict, situation, restructuring relationships, and transforming unjust social structures. It aims at strengthening the representativeness and in particular the inclusiveness of governance;

- *Intermediary/Mediation:* These activities relate to the task of peacemaking, and focus on bringing the parties together to resolve their differences and reach a settlement. Intermediary activities played by faith-based actors have focussed on good offices, facilitation, conciliation and mediation, usually in some combination;
- *Observing:* In a conflict situation, religious observers, provide a watchful, compelling physical presence that is intended to discourage violence, corruption, human rights' violations, or other behaviour that is deemed threatening and undesirable. Observers can be engaged in passive activities such as fact-finding, enquiry, investigation, or research. Or, observers can be more actively involved in monitoring and verifying the legitimacy of elections, or forming 'peace teams' or "living walls" between sides that are active in conflict situations;
- *Education:* Education and training activities aim to sensitise a society to inequities in the system, to foster an understanding of and build the advocacy skills, conflict resolution, pluralism and democracy, or to promote healing and reconciliation;
- *Transitional Justice:* Especially in the post-conflict phase, activities have been undertaken to pursue accountability for war atrocities or human rights' abuses. While faith-based actors may have been less involved in prosecuting individual perpetrators or providing reparations to conflict survivors, they have been active in truth-seeking initiatives to address past abuse. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, for example, chaired the National Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa after the apartheid period;
- *Intra-Faith and Interfaith Dialogue:* While some dialogues take place in conflict settings and relate to peace, many other dialogues do not. Only those faith-based actors that organise dialogues in conflict settings with the aim of contributing to the local, national or international peace process are mentioned in this category.

In selecting actors on the basis of their involvement in one of these six sets of peace-building activities, the authors faced the challenge of how to exclude actors that are only marginally involved in peace-building and include actors that regard peace-building as part of their core business. In this connection, the authors continuously had to distinguish 'real' peace-building actors from relief and development organisations, women rights' movements, and human rights' advocacy

agencies by looking at their mission statements and the nature of the projects undertaken. For instance, although they work in conflict-stricken areas such as Sudan, Kenya, Mauritania and Somalia, among other places, organisations such as the Islamic Relief Organisation, International Muslim Relief Network and International Islamic Youth League of Sierra Leone were not included as Muslim peace-building actors because they solely focus on the alleviation of suffering related to hunger and disease, etc., and engage in humanitarian aid and projects related to development and agricultural assistance. Organisations such as the World Council of Muslim Women's Foundation of Canada, Karamah, and Muslim, Women Lawyers for Human Rights of the United Slates, which focus only on women's issues or human rights' issues were not included as Muslim peace-building actors. Political parties such as the Umma Party of Sudan, even though they identify conflict resolution and peace-building as one of their areas of work, were also not included. Finally, organisations such as Kosovo Transition Initiative, which defines itself as a secular organisation and does not employ Islamic values, principles or mechanisms in promoting peace and conflict resolution, as well as organisations that focus on the promotion of Islam, such as the Kankalay Islamic Mission of Siena Leone, were not included as Muslim peace-building actors. The authors applied the same considerations in selecting Christian and multi-faith actors.

Limitations

The study primarily concentrates on the link between religion (religious actors) and peace-building, and not on the relationship between religion and conflict. It recognises that religions and beliefs have been misused to cause conflict, intolerance, discrimination and prejudice, but does not elaborate on this connection. Instead, it emphasises the relationship between religion and peace, and analyses the potential that, in this case, Christianity and Islam hold for peace and reconciliation.

Another limitation, is that the study has focussed on faith-based actors outside the Netherlands and not on Dutch faith-based, organisations such as Cordaid, Inter-Church Peace Council (IKV), ICCO and Pax Christi in the Netherlands. The rationale was that the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the authors felt that this information on Dutch peace-building actors is already partly known or could be obtained relatively easily. Nevertheless, it would be interesting to analyse the performance of Dutch actors engaged in faith-based peace-

building more structurally, and to compare their performance with that of the actors included in this report. The recently established Knowledge Forum on Development Cooperation and Religion could well play a role in such a follow-up study.

An additional limitation is that this study has only focussed on a small number of Christian, multi-faith and Muslim peace-building actors. Moreover, because of the structure and timeframe of the study, the authors have not collected as much information per actor as they had hoped, partly because of the difficulties of contacting local actors in Africa and the Balkans. In this connection, the authors would like to flag that they collected most of the information *via* email surveys and telephonic interviews. Such reporting based on self-description *via* email surveys and telephone interviews may limit a more detailed analysis, as many of the participants are reluctant to mention failures, what did not work, unsuccessful practices and projects because of the fear that it might affect their chances for future grants and funding. The authors therefore believe that follow-up study on faith-based peace-building actors is welcome, should involve more time, and should include field visits to interview personally the actors where they work. Field research is critical for thorough information-gathering, and reaching to less visible groups and individuals that have no access to internet or other resources as such, but have great credibility and have been doing critical peace-building work in their communities. The danger with relying too much on information from self-assessments, donor reports and web searches, etc, is that other smaller groups, which can be very effective in their communities, go unnoticed.

The focus and scope of the study concentrates on non-governmental actors, and not on governmental. This *is* not to say that the report favours non-governmental over governmental actors, or that it uncritically analyses the performance of these faith-based peace-building actors. The authors realise that governmental actors may be knowledgeable, enthusiastic and involved for longer periods of time, but that they may also be partial, elite-based groups, and conflict protagonists. Moreover, the authors agree here with Appleby, that "it would be a misnomer [...] to believe that religious actors were able to transform dimensions of modern conflict by functioning independently of government and other secular and religious actors".

Finally, it remains a challenge to measure the impact of peace-building programmes general. This also applies to faith-based, peace-building efforts in specific. As policy discussions on how to measure

the impact of peace-building programmes are still ongoing, and as no clear-cut solutions have yet evolved, this report has been subject to the same challenge. The author had to depend on organisations' self-assessments gathered through interviews by email and telephone. Nevertheless, these self-assessments do provide useful information about the perceived impact of the peace-building activities undertaken. At the same time, they also demonstrate the need for a follow-up study to develop more effective means of measuring the impact of (faith-based) peace-building initiatives.

Reading Outline

The report consists of seven chapters. The next chapter provides a number of concepts and values that feed Christian and Muslim peace-building principles and practices. Chapter 3 describes a number of key Christian, Muslim and multi-faith, peace-building actors. For each of these actors, chapter analyses their activities, results and outcomes, impact and overall experiences with faith-based peace-building. Chapter 5 draws a number of conclusions. Chapter 6 provides a number of donor recommendations regarding the peace-building potential of faith-based peace-building actors.

CORE VALUES UNDERPINNING CHRISTIAN AND MUSLIM PEACE-BUILDING

Key Concepts in Islam and Christianity

Religion 'as a powerful constituent of cultural norms and values' is deeply implicated in individual and social conceptions of peace, because it addresses some of the most profound existential issues of human life, such as freedom/inevitability, fear/security, right/wrong and sacred/profane. Gopin remarks that it is probably true for all religions that religion has developed laws and ideas that provide civilisation with cultural commitments to critical peace-related values, including empathy, an openness to and even love for strangers, the suppression of unbridled ego and acquisitiveness, human rights, unilateral gestures of forgiveness and humility, interpersonal repentance and the acceptance of responsibility of past errors as a means of reconciliation, and the drive for social justice.

Vendley and Little argue that understanding the religious community's laws and ideas—that is, the religious community's primary language—is fundamental for understanding that community's potential for peace-building. Primary language discloses the depth of dimension

of a religious community's experience. It creates a shared ethical space for a community of believers and provides norms and principles for a moral stance in life. Primary language also provides moral warrants for resistance against unjust conditions, including those conditions that give rise to conflict. It offers normative symbols of the religious meaning of peace and of human responsibility to strive for peace. Moreover, the religious laws and ideas developed on peace and security often appeal more to religious communities than universal sets of guidelines, such as expressed in the United Nations' declarations on political, civil and individual rights. They may better encourage religious communities to work for peace than other guidelines. Yet one must take care that they do not replace these universal rights.

With regard to Islam, it has a direct impact on the way that peace is conceptualised and the way that conflicts are resolved in Islamic societies, as it embodies and elaborates upon its highest morals, ethical principles and ideals of social harmony. Irrespective of the Islamic tradition to which they adhere, Muslims agree that Islam is a religion of peace and that the application of Islamic principles will bring justice, harmony, order, and thus peace. In short, key Islamic principles related to peace and peace-building include:

- *Salam/silm* (peace): Koranic discourse suggests that peace is a central theme in Islamic precepts. According to Koranic discourse, peace in Islam begins with God, but also encompasses peace with oneself, with fellow human beings, and with nature;
- *Tawhid* (the principle of unity of God and all beings): This principle urges Muslims to recognise the connectedness of all beings, and particularly all human communities, and calls to work towards establishing peace and harmony among them;
- *Rahmah* (compassion) and *Rahim* (mercy): Closely related to each other, these words invoke Muslims to be merciful and compassionate to all human beings, irrespective of their ethnic, religious origins, or gender, They connote that a true Muslim cannot be insensitive to the suffering of other fellow beings, nor can he/she be cruel to any creature;
- *Fitrah:* Individual responsibility to uphold peace emerges out of the original constitution of human beings (*fitrah). Fitrah* recognises that each individual is furnished with reason, and has the potential to be good and choose to work for the establishment of harmony;
- Justice, forgiveness, vicegerency and social responsibility are

other concepts in Islam that play a key role in relation to peace and peace-building.

It should be noted that these concepts do not form the only basis for Muslim peace-builders. Additionally, Muslim societies across the globe have developed different traditional and cultural dispute-resolution mechanisms over the centuries. These local mechanisms are referred to as *sulha* (in the Middle East), *sulh* (in Bosnia) or *suluh* (as in Kenya and Indonesia) because of the references to *sulh* (reconciliation/peace-building) in the Koran, and are based on the Islamic principles of peacemaking and dispute resolution stated above. These traditional conflict-resolution mechanisms become internal sources for resolving conflicts and peacemaking in these regions. Conflict resolution, and peacemaking mechanisms are legitimised and guaranteed by communal leaders, such as elders and religious leaders, who know the Koran, the *Sunna,* the *Hadith* and the history of the community well.

With regard to Christianity, it is possible to distinguish a similar set of peace-related concepts. Obviously, in Christianity, it is particularly the Bible that motivates Christians to work on peace. The basis of Christian peace-building is formed by Biblical teachings that refer to peace *(shalom);* peacemakers ('Blessed are the peacemakers, they shall be called the children of God'); being created in the image of God; the unconditional love *(agape)* towards God and people ('You shall love the Lord your God with ail your heart and with all your soul, and with all your mind. [...] You shall love your neighbour as yourself); lamenting, which helps people to grieve; confession and repentance (that, is, the willingness to evaluate oneself *and* assume responsibility for one's own contribution to the conflict, coupled with the willingness to change one's behaviour or to repent); and reconciliation and forgiveness ('for if you forgive men their trespasses, your heavenly Father will also forgive you; but if you do not forgive men their trespasses, neither will your Father forgive your trespasses').

Observations

Five observations regarding the Biblical or Koranic basis for peace and peace-building can be made. First, the Bible and the Koran provide a wide array of concepts that encourage religious followers to strive for peace and work at peace-building. As Muslims and Christians are both "People of the Book", they share a number of similar concepts such as peace/*salam,* forgiveness/*afu,* compassion/*rahmah,* and human beings, in the eyes of God/*fitrah.* Although these concepts are not fully the same, they may to a certain extent form the basis for dialogue

between Christians and Muslims, and even, for joint peace-building efforts.

Second, however, it should be realised that the transformation from Christian/Muslim actor to Christian/Muslim peace-builder should not be taken for granted. It applies only to a certain number of actors, the so-called 'compassionate core" or 'religious change agents'. However, various Christian/Muslim actors will never be engaged in active peace-building. Some will be indifferent to peace-building, and will at the most side against extremist religious actors and against the use of violence in the name of religion. Some, however, will also remain against peace-building and in support of religious violence in situations of oppression and injustice.

Third, there is not one Christian or Islamic interpretation of peace and peace-building. Within Christianity different perceptions on peace and peace-building exist. Christians have not arrived at a universal set of values and priorities in pursuing peace. Even within a certain Christian denomination, people may not fully agree on fundamental matters, such as the proper relationship between peace and justice or the philosophical and practical meaning of basis concepts, such as reconciliation. The same is true in Islam. Many of the Koranic verses and *Hadiths* refer to particular historical events and at times they seem to contradict each other. Furthermore, they are written in medieval Arabic, which is different from the Arabic used by many Arabs today, and also a majority of the Muslims are from non-Arabic-speaking societies. For these reasons, it has not been possible to develop a single Islamic tradition of peace and peacemaking traditions. Local traditions and geopolitical, conditions have also impacted upon the evolution of the Islamic traditions of peace and peacemaking. Consequently, and similar to secular discourses, there are various different approaches to peace and the resolution of conflicts in the Muslim world. Still, there are certain fundamental ethical principles and moral values that unite Muslim peacemaking traditions across cultures and historical periods, as they are all derived from the Koran, *Hadith,* and the *Simna.*

Fourth, a key question is to what extent the Biblical/Koaranic principles are applied—that is, how do Christians/Muslims implement these principles towards others. In this connection, it is especially important to consider the way in which Christians/Muslims, and other believers as well, handle the tension between 'truth' and "love". On the one hand each religious tradition, and especially the conservatives within it, believes that it has been entrusted with fundamental truths

that are beneficial for all people and that must be defended and sometimes propagated. On the other hand, each tradition also calls upon its believers to have compassion for all people, including those who are different. The task confronting each faith community is to find a creative way to affirm its roles as both the custodian of truth and a channel of love. At the heart of this issue, then, is the need to affirm one's own identity in a way that does not negate the identity of the other. How Christian and other believers approach these basic questions of identity will determine their ability to act as agents of reconciliation rather than divisiveness.

A final observation regards the limited access of various Muslim communities to different interpretations of the Koran, and as such to Islamic values that underpin peace and peace-building. Many of the Muslim communities today do not speak Arabic. Because of high illiteracy rates, especially among women, many Muslims have limited access to the wide range of religious interpretations of Islam, which limits their access to the Koran and increases their dependence on certain clergy. Many Islamic educational institutions, such as *madrasas*, however, are outdated and the quality of education is quite low. The experience of colonisation, imperialism and underdevelopment has impacted upon the way that Mamie texts are understood and interpreted. Many Muslims are resentful towards the West and thus easily influenced by aggressive and radicalised interpretations of the Islamic beliefs and core values. Texts used in Islamic educational institutions do not emphasise Islam's peacemaking values, tolerance and dialogue. Many Imams *or* religious leaders also lack the proper education and training to engage with religious texts. All of these factors contribute to a lack of knowledge as well as misunderstanding of religious texts by Muslims. Ways to address these issues are to support programmes of general literacy, education and training of religious leaders in Koranic sciences, the preparation, and distribution of textbooks and handbooks, on Islamic values of peace-building and tolerance, curriculum development to include these peace- and tolerance-oriented books into the *madrasa* systems, and supporting radio programmes that address Islamic values of peace and tolerance.

MAPPING CHRISTIAN, MULTI-FAITH AND MUSLIM PEACE-BUILDING ACTORS

Introduction

This chapter provides a description of thirteen Christian and multi-faith peace-building actors and of fourteen Muslim peace-building

actors. Each description attempts to highlight the following characteristics per organisation:

- *Type of organisation:* The phrasing used to describe the type of organisation has been discussed with and agreed upon by the organisations themselves;
- *Staff and annual budget:* The figures apply to the organisation as a whole. Only where available are more specific figures on the number of staff and size of budget per specific faith-based programme within the organisation mentioned;
- *Focus on conflict with/without a religious overtone:* "This characteristic refers to the ongoing discussion about whether faith-based peace-building is especially suitable for religious, or non-religious conflicts. The terminology in this discussion can be misleading, because as Smock argues, "while religion plays a role throughout most contemporary conflicts, describing them as religions conflicts would be misleading, because this tends to ignore the fact that other factors than religious ones, for instance ethnic age, geographical ones, also contribute to conflict. So, while religion plays a role in contemporary conflict, it has often been used as a surrogate for a cluster of other factors". In this report, the authors use the concept of religious conflict to indicate conflicts, where religion is an important factor because religious actors become active proponents on one side of the conflict; because religion becomes instrumentalised—that is, used by political actors to legitimize their policies or because religion is perceived as one of the important 'identity markers' by which people define themselves and distinguish themselves from any outsiders. As will be shown, in this report, faith-based, peace-building actors have been involved— to varying degrees and at different levels— in both religious and non-religious conflicts;
- *Geographical scope:* Region(s) where most of the actor's peace-building work takes place;
- *Main level of operation:* This characteristic indicates whether the organisation works more top-down or bottom-up, and whether it concentrates its peace-building efforts at a specific level;
- *Primary beneficiaries:* This category specifies whether the actors target their peace-building efforts exclusively to religious actors and organisations or not;
- *Core peace-building business:* This category defines each actor's core peace-building business in terms of advocacy, intermediary,

observation, education, transitional justice, and intra-faith/ interfaith dialogue, as explained in the previous paragraph. For the sake of analytical clarity, the different peace-building areas are separated from each other, but—unsurprisingly—in real life they are not always easy to distinguish from each other as they are usually combined.

Description of the Actors

This paragraph summarises the key characteristics per organisation. A detailed description, per organisation can be found in Annexe III. The authors would like to stress that the information should be utilised in combination with the detailed descriptions er actor in Annexe III.

For the sake of clarity, the authors remark that the fourteen Muslim organisations were selected not only because they matched the selection criteria as defined in chapter 1, but also because of the relatively easy access to information about their work, their visibility towards outsiders (that is, having a website, or having contacts with international organisations), and because of their responsiveness to the authors' survey questions. The organisations included thus constitute the most visible actors, which utilise English, have the capacity to internationalise their work by electronic media, and have the means to respond to the authors survey questions *via* electronic mail. Organisations that did not match these standards have not been included in this chapter. It is thus hard to state that organisations recorded in this study are fully representative of Muslim peace-building acton in Africa and the Balkans. Nevertheless, these organisations certainly do represent a segment of Muslim peace-building actors operating in these regions.

Moreover, it should be noted that the authors have made an analytical distinction between different types of peace-building activities, between so-called different peace-building domains. In practice, however, it will not always be so easy to distinguish these peace-building areas from each other, as they are usually combined. The authors have also identified only one or a few core areas of activity for each actor. In practice, however, many of the actors registered here assume different peace-building roles (for example, as advocate, intermediary, educator, or observer, etc.) as particular needs emerge. For example, although it indicates that mediation is the core activity of the Wajir Peace and Development Committee, Wajir also engages in activities such as peace education, observation, advocacy and transitional justice. Similarly, it also identifies the main beneficiaries of these activities, although in fact others may also benefit from these activities.

Lastly, it must be noted that the authors have not managed to obtain data on staff size, budget and focus on religious or non-religious conflict for the Muslim peace-building actors outlined in mainly because of lack of time. A follow-up study may possibly collect this missing information.

Observations

The actors' descriptions in Annexe III and Tables 1 and 2 show that a large variety of Christian, multi-faith and Muslim actors are involved in peace-building. Key observations in this chapter are that their peace-building activities:

- Are not limited to conflict situations where religion plays an important role, but also include conflict situations where religion is not a major factor;
- Take place in conflict countries all over the world;
- Cover all levels of operation, ranging from the grassroots to the international level;
- Do not exclusively focus on religious beneficiaries, but in many cases target different kinds of secular beneficiaries as well;
- Relate to multiple peace-building areas such *as,* advocacy, education, interfaith and intra-faith dialogue, intermediary/ mediation, observation and transitional justice.

ANALYSIS OF CHRISTIAN, MULTI-FAITH AND MUSLIM PEACE-BUILDING ACTORS

Introduction

This chapter provides an analysis of thirteen Christian *and* multi-faith peace-building actors, *and* of fourteen Muslim peace-building actors. The analysis per actor comprises:

- One or two examples of their peace-building work;
- Outcomes and results of this peace-building work;
- Assessment of the impact of their peace-building activities—that is, a self-assessment of their contribution to peace;
- General lessons learned with regard to faith-based peace-building (where available).

The results, outcomes and impact of each actor's peace-building work are based on self-descriptions, obtained by the authors through

telephone and emails, and thus not through field visits or interviews with stakeholders involved in these activities.

Analysis of the Actors

This paragraph summarises the activities that have been analysed, their perceived results and outcomes, their overall impact on the peace process, as well as some lessons learned with regard to faith-based peace-building (Tables 3 and 4). A detailed analysis of each actor can be found in Annexe 111. The authors would like to stress that the information in Tables 3 and 4 should be utilised in combination with the detailed analysis per actor in Annexe III. The categorisation presented in Tables 3 and 4 mainly serves the purpose of listing what activities a number of faith-based actors have undertaken, what results and outcomes they have achieved, how their activities have contributed to peace-building, and what some of their experiences are with faith-based peace-building.

Observations

On the basis of the analysis provided in Tables 3 and 4, and in Annexe III, three important observations can be made: (a) faith-based peace-builders have contributed substantially to peace-building in various ways; (b) various faith-biased peace-builders are straggling to measure the impact of their work, making it difficult sometimes to assess the actual effect of their peace-building efforts; and (c) faith-based peace-building seems to have a number of specific strengths and weaknesses.

Multiple Contributions to Peace-Building

The authors observe that the faith-based actors included in this report have contributed to peace-building in multiple ways. The particular contributions of each actor can be found in Tables 3 and 4. However, the authors would like to caution against oversimplification and would like to state that the contributions registered here are based on the examples provided in this report. Through interviews by email and telephone, the authors asked the participating actors to provide two concrete examples of their work, and then, analysed the contribution of these actors based on the particular examples provided in the interviews, The authors also analysed the documented activities of the organisations' work on internet resources, wherever available.

In fact, many of these organisations have been engaged in many other projects or activities, and analysing their contribution based on

a limited number of examples only gives a limited view on the capacity, capability and quality of these actors' work, as it does not take into account other projects in which these actors have been involved. The authors hence stress that the multiple contributions of faith-based actors to peace-building are not necessarily limited to those outlined below.

Additionally, many of these organisations, provided the authors with successful projects and probably did not include projects that were not as successful, with the idea that this might affect, their chances for future funding. The authors hence do not claim that the assessment is complete in the sense of undertaking a real evaluation. However, they believe that this just assessment provides a good impression of the work, scope and potential of the faith-based actors included in this report.

Given these limitations, the authors still feel that the following observations can be made with regard to the contributions of Christian, multi-faith, and Muslim actors to peace-building. They have succeeded in:

1. Altering behaviours, attitudes, negative stereotypes and mind frames of Christian, Muslim, and non-faith-based participants;
2. Healing of trauma and injuries as well as rehumanising the 'other';
3. Contributing to more effective dissemination of ideas such as democracy, human rights, justice, development and peace-building;
4. Drafting committed people from a wide pool because of their wide presence in society and broad community base;
5. Challenging traditional structures, such as the perceived role of women in society;
6. Reaching out to governments, effecting policy changes, and reaching out to youth;
7. Mediating between conflicting parties;
8. Encouraging reconciliation, interfaith dialogue, disarmament, demilitarisation and reintegration;
9. Connecting—*via* international faith-baised networks—like-minded faith-based communities in other countries, but also not-like-minded faith-based, actors for support, and in convening large meetings of them.

Altering behaviour, attitudes and negative stereotypes, and rehumanising the "other": Willingness, commitment to peace and motivation are critical for resolving conflicts and building peace. Religion still plays a critical role in the lives of many people in the world today. In many cases, faith-based actors are greatly respected, have greater legitimacy and credibility than other actors, and thus play a prominent role in building peace. They may well have a unique leverage to reconcile conflicting parties and rehumanise the opponents. As a result they can mobilise and motivate their faith-based communities to change their behaviour and attitudes much more effectively than secular organisations. Many of the actors analysed in this report seem to have contributed in small or large ways to altering behaviour. For example, the Life and Peace Institute, David Steele, Wajir, Coalition for Peace in Africa, Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative, Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone, Faculty of Islamic Studies in Pristina and the *Salam* Institute for Peace and Justice have all contributed to altering behaviour, reducing violence and rehumanising the 'other' as a result of their involvement,

Healing of trauma and injuries: Because of gross violations of human rights and excessive violence, communities involved in conflict are usually traumatised, *sad* have deep injuries. Painful memories of conflict, loss of loved ones and injuries suffered, causes deep emotional and psychological stress. Healing these injuries and trauma becomes a major component of peace-building efforts, especially for reconciliation at grassroots level. Religion can provide emotional, psychological and spiritual resources for healing trauma and injuries Islam, Christianity and other religious traditions are usually an important source of healing in such cases. Among the peace-building actors analysed in this report, World Vision International, the International Association of Religious Freedom, the Mennonite Central Committee, the Center for Justice and Peace-Building, and the Interfaith Mediation Centre in particular have been working on healing and reconciliation from a religious perspective.

Contributing to more effective dissemination of ideas such as human rights, justice, development and peace-building: The moral and spiritual legitimacy of faith-based actors often provides them with a certain leverage to disseminate ideas among their constituents. The deep understanding that they usually have of religious texts, values and principles, as well as the role of religion, in conflict and peace, places them in a position to share ideas on religion, human rights, justice, development, and peace-building. On the one hand, this applies to

religious leaders like Sheikhs, Imams and Pastors who through sermons and lectures can connect various issues to religious values and principles and thus influence their constituents. For example, the involvement of Muslim religious leaders by Coalition for Peace in Africa seems to have contributed to the dissemination of democracy and human rights among the Muslim community.

On the other band, this also applies to local and international faith-based actors, who are not run by religious leaders perse. For instance, actors such as *Salam* Institute for Peace and Justice and Women to Women also contribute to disseminating these ideas through education, and by basing their claims on religious texts, values and principles, thus legitimising these ideas from a religious perspective. Being Muslim and having the necessary training and background is crucial for their effectiveness. Moreover, Christians and multi-faith actors like the Center for World Religion, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution, the Center for Justice and Peace-Building and the Kroc Institute—through research, education and training—also disseminate ideas on issues related to religion, conflict and peace.

Ability to draft committed people from a wide pool because of their wide presence in society and broad community base: Because religion is deeply rooted in most societies and religious institutions are widely present, local religious leaders and also international faith-based actors cooperating with them are provided with entry points to reach out to people. Local; religious leaders usually have a broad community base, which provides a wide pool for drafting committed and unwavering staff. Staff can devote the necessary time to mediation, reconciliation or peace education as part of service to God. They also have access to community members through mosques, churches, community centres and educational institutions such as Koran schools. This allows them to reach out to larger numbers of individuals than secular groups, and increase their effectiveness. The Inter-Religious Councils of Sierra Leone and of Bosnia-Herzegovina and of Kosovo, as well as the Faculty of Islamic Studies in Pristina, among others, have been able to utilise their broad base for peace-building work. This also counts for more international actors, such as the World Conference of Religions for Peace.

Challenging traditional structures: With their moral authority, knowledge of sacred texts, and by providing successful examples, faith-based peace-building actors can reinterpret religious texts and challenge traditional structures. For example, by providing successful

examples of reducing violence and conflict resolution and by involving religious leaders and elders, Wajir and the Sudanese Women's Initiative for Peace Network were able to challenge and change traditional perceptions of women's role in society in general and of peacemaking in particular. The International Fellowship of Reconciliation and the World Conference of Religions for Peace, among others, also aim to strengthen the position of women in religion, as well as in conflict and peace processes.

Reaching out to governments, effecting policy changes, and reaching out to youth: Because of the legitimacy and moral authority they hold, but probably also because of the specific knowledge they may have on the role of religion in conflict and peace processes, faith-based actors could reach out to government authorities and contribute to policy changes at higher levels. This aspect of their contribution can be observed in Wajir's success in convincing the government to include peace building in schools, as well as the efforts of the Coalition for Peace in Africa to identify and impact upon policy changes.

Mediating between conflicting parties: Their moral and spiritual authority, and their reputation, as honest and even-handed people of God may also place faith-based actors in a good position to mediate between conflicting parties. With regard to the Muslim actors, described in this report, by employing traditional conflict resolution methods like *suluh,* as was the case of Wajir, Coalition for Peace in Africa., Center for Research and Dialogue, Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative and the Interfaith Mediation Centre, Muslim actors can contribute significantly to reducing violence and encouraging disarmament, demilitarisation and reintegration. Islamic practices of conflict resolution like *suluh* are important for the Muslim community because they are familiar with it, it is local, and thus is considered authentic and legitimate. In a more general terms, several of the faith-based actors analysed have engaged in mediation among conflicting parties. For instance, Sant Egidio was involved as a mediator in Guatemala, Kosovo and Mozambique the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy in Sudan and the Mennonite Central Committee in Nicaragua.

Encouraging reconciliation, interfaith dialogue, disarmament, demilitarisation and reintegration: The involvement of faith-based actors in peacemaking can contribute to changing attitudes and encouraging interfaith dialogue and reconciliation, as was the case with the Islamic community of Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Faculty of Islamic Studies in

Pristina, Kosovo, Wajir, Interfaith Action for Peace in Africa, Center for Research and Dialogue, Inter-Religious Council of Siena Leone, Interfaith Mediation Centre, the Mennonite Central Committee and the Community of Saint' Egidio. Outside the realm of the official peacemaking process, however, various faith-based actors have also promoted reconciliation and interfaith dialogue, such as World Vision International through supporting the Community Council for Peace and Tolerance in Kosovo, the Life and Peace Institute through strengthening the peace-building capacity of churches of the DRC, and the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy and the Kroc Institute through organising faith-based reconciliation, seminars in Kashmir.

Ability to connect faith-based communities and others worldwide, and convene large meetings among them: Being part of a global network of like-minded faith-based actors is both advantageous for local actors as well as for international actors. For instance, local Muslim peace-building actors who are part of an international Muslim network, can connect to/with this network for support. Being part of such network gives them also the capacity to mobilise the community, as, well as national and international support for the peace process. Through their networking potential, they can also help spread peace work to wider communities, and as, it is the case with Interfaith Action for Africa, Islamic community of Bosnia Herzegovina, Inter-religious Council of Siena Leone, for example, they can organise large meetings, conferences and initiate interfaith dialogue and reconciliation at a larger scale. For international faith-based actors being part of an international network may provide them quick access to conflicts on the ground. For instance, as the World Conference of Religions for Peace had, some Iraqi religious leaders on, its board, it managed to quickly enter Iraq after the war was over to prepare for an interfaith meeting among key religious leaders inside and outside Iraq.

Ongoing Challenge of Measuring Impact

The authors also observe that assessing the impact of peace-building initiatives continues to be a challenge. As indicated in this chapter, various organisations are struggling how to grasp the impact of their peace-building work. Some organisations tend to assess the impact through narrative evaluations in which the activities at stoke are described along with events or processes that followed on tine activity (e.g. International Centre for Religion and Diplomacy, United States Institute for Peace, Mennonite Central Committee). Other organisations

are more inclined to strategically integrate their peace-building activities into relief and development programmes, to which relatively common monitoring and evaluation tools could be applied (e.g. World Vision International) (see Annex IV). Again other organisations are in the process of developing impact indicators in order to check whether their peace-building efforts actually contributed to the objectives set. One such organisation, is Mercy Corps. Conflict Management Group, where David Steelle is currently working, which is trying to develop a logical framework to monitor and evaluate the effect of peace-building activities for its project in Macedonia called 'improving relations between ethnic groups at the municipal level in Macedonia'. Annex IV also gives an illustration of this attempt. Judging how a number of Muslim actors have described the results and impact of their peace-building work, measuring impact remains a challenge for some of them too. Faith-based actors and donore are more keen to know the specific results of their peace-building work, and if they want state with some more certainty that faith-based peace-builders contribute to peace, it is necessary to find better ways of impact measurement. The attempts of organisations like World Vision International and Mercy Corps Conflict Management Group could be useful starting points for donors and other faith-based peace-builders to further explore adequate ways for measuring impact of peace-building programmes.

Strengths and Pitfalls of Faith-Based Peace-Building

Based on the experiences of local and international actors included in this report, the authors observe that faith-based peace-building has a number of potential strengths and weaknesses, which are not unique but nonetheless typical for faith-based actors. The authors would like to warn against over-generalisation, as the observation is largely based on anecdotal evidence; is not exhaustive; and needs to be verified on an actor-by-actor basis. Notwithstanding these limitations, a number of actors included in this study indicated some of the following strengths of faith-based peace-building (actors).

Strong faith-based motivation for peace-building: Religious values and principles seem to provide mandate to various faith-based actors to build peace and prevent violent conflict. They inspire them to reach out to victims of conflict and to strive for peace through creating understanding and dialogue. They encourage the actors to remain committed to peace in situations where other actors (that is, political actors) tend to give up.

Long-term presence of local religious actors: Local religious actors are widely present and deeply rooted in the majority of societies all over the world. This may provide them with all kinds of logistical advantage and potential to work on peace-building. They are present in their communities and societies before, during and after conflict, hence enabling engagement in conflict prevention and conflict-resolution activities over a longer period of time.

Long-term commitment of international faith-based actors: Their long-term presence on the ground and long-term commitment to their local counterparts have enabled a number of international faith-based actors to assume an active peace-building role. The Mennonite Central Committee argues that it was the MCC's relief and development workers with their reputation for integrity, disinterested service and long-term commitment, that inadvertently prepared the way for international Mennonite peace-building efforts. Similarly, the Community of Sant'Egidio usually builds *up* a long track record of humanitarian and other forms of assistance in a country before it becomes engaged in peace-building work. This was, for instance, the case in Mozambique, where the Community had been involved with Christian churches since 1976, before it took on a more proactive mediation role in 1990.

Moral and spiritual authority: Both local and international faith-based actors often enjoy a certain authority that enables them to mitigate religious tensions in religious conflict or act as a platform for common understanding in non-religious conflicts. Local religious actors like Imams and Pastors, often have a moral and spiritual legitimacy to influence the opinions of people. They usually know the history and traditions of the conflict stakeholders well and know the needs (physical and emotional) of their communities well, and may possess the authority and reputation as even-handed people of God that places them in a good position to mediate between conflicting parties. In religious conflicts, international faith-based actors may also bring a certain moral authority to, for instance, peace deliberations, which may be missing, and with it an enhanced capability for dealing with the kinds of religious issues that often arise in such peace negotiations. As Douglas Johnston argues, the 1972 Addis Ababa Accords that brought an end to Sudan's first civil war were brokered by the combined efforts of the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Council of Churches. When asked why they permitted two Christian organisations to serve as the mediators, the Muslims involved replied that it was because of the moral authority that they brought to the deliberations. In non-religious

conflicts, such as in the DRC, they may play a role in decreasing ethnic tensions or in efforts towards reconciliation.

Niche to mobilise (religious) communities for peace: Faith-based actors may have a potential to mobilise others for peace, both in religious and non-religious conflicts. Various local religious change agents seem to have the networks contacts; and trust to mobilise large numbers of people, even in the face of strong resistance. In certain cases, they could be more effective than local political actors, because they frequently have greater credibility among the local population. International faith-based peace-builders possibly have a good niche to connect with and inspire these local religious drivers of change. For instance, the World Conference of Religion for Peace managed to meet with religious leaders from Iraq immediately after the American invasion of Iraq, at a moment when the Iraqi population hardly trusted any intervening agency, mainly became some of the religious leaders on its board were closely related to some of the religious leaders in Iraq.

Faith-based peace-building can create a transcendental environment that encourages overcoming personal and religious differences: A more general advantage of faith-based peace-building is that it may well create a transcendental environment that encourages actors to overcome personal and religious differences, and that can be conducive to expressions of apology, repentance and forgiveness. For instance, the success of a meeting between Muslim and Christian leaders in Sudan facilitated by the International Centre for Religion and Diplomacy (ICRD), was largely attributable to the faith-based nature of the undertaking. Each day, the proceedings began with prayer and readings from the Bible and the Koran. This was preceded earlier in the morning by an informal prayer breakfast for the international participants and local Muslim and Christian religious leaders (on a rotating basis). Perhaps most important, ICRD brought with it a prayer team from California whose sole purpose was to pray and fast during the four days of the meeting, praying for the success of the deliberations. These elements, coupled with appropriate breaks in the proceedings to accommodate Muslim prayers, provided a transcendent environment that inspired the participants to rise above their personal and religious differences and work together for the common good. The ICRD has had similar experiences with faith-based reconciliation seminars in Kashmir.

Finally, the actors also raised a number of potential weaknesses of faith-based peace-building, including:

Accusations of proselytising: Faith-based peace-builders appear to run the risk of (being accused of) proselytisation, which can negatively influence its ability to conduct peace-building activities. For instance, in countries where Christians are a relative small minority, some Christian organisations' (perceived) proselytisation activities can hinder other Christian organisations' peace-building activities, because the beneficiaries may not always be able to distinguish between the two sets of organisations. In peace-building activities such as trauma-counselling, beneficiaries may find it difficult to see where professional psychological assistance stops and proselytisation activities start.

Less result-oriented: Although not substantiated by any in-depth research, one actor remarked that some faith-based peace-building actors may be less result-oriented than secular peace-builders, arguing that they tend to focus more than secular peace-builders on long-term peace-building efforts, with the possible disadvantage that they focus more on establishing long-term, relationships than on the shorter-term results/outcomes of these relationships in terms of peace-building. This is not to say that faith-based peace-builders should remain focussed on long-term peace-building efforts, but that they need to develop more attention to the outcomes of their peace-building efforts as well, admitting that these are not likely to be measurable in the short term.

Potential lack of professionalism: One of the actors included in this study noted that some—and only some-—ecumenical peace-building organisations appear to lack the capacity to operate as professionally as their secular counterparts. Some of these ecumenical peace-building actors seem to focus more on their faith-based motivation for peace-building, or on maintaining deep and long-term relationships with local counterparts, than on the fact that peace-building is a profession for which an organisation, and its local counterparts, require specific skills and experiences.

This report highlights the potentially constructive role of faith-based actors in the domain of peace-building. It includes a preliminary list with institutionalised faith-based peace-building actors, mainly including internationally operating Christian and multi-faith actors, and nationally operating Muslim actors working in/on the Balkans and Africa 13 Christian and multi-faith and 14 Muslim peace-building actors have been scrutinised in more detail, analysing a number of their peace-building activities, results, outcomes and larger contribution to peace-building. Based on this analysis, the authors draw the following tentative conclusions.

Strengths and Weaknesses

Faith-based peace-builders have a number of strengths and weaknesses. These are not, however, necessarily unique to faith-based peace-builders and should not be over-generalised. We therefore encourage interested stakeholders to verify on an actor-by-actor basis which strengths and weaknesses apply to *each* actor. Possible *strengths* include:

- Strong faith-based motivation for peace-building (local and international actors);
- Long-term history/involvement in the societies they serve. A number of international faith-based peace-builder have—often through development assistance and relief aid—worked for decades in countries before getting involved in peace-building (international actors);
- Ability to engage in long-term peace-building work before, during and after conflict (local actors);
- Moral and spiritual authority, providing faith-based actors with a certain leverage to mitigate religious tensions in religious conflict or to act as platforms for common understanding in non-religious conflicts (local and international actors);
- Niche to mobilise (religious) communities for peace. Faith-based actors tend to have the networks, contacts and trust—both locally and internationally—to mobilise large numbers of people (local and international).

Likely *weaknesses* of faith-based actors comprise:

- Risk (and often accusation) of parasitisation, especially if they do not properly separate their religious mission work from thick religious peace-building work;
- Lack of focus on results, because some faith-based peace-building actors are inclined to concentrate on long-term peace-building efforts, which the possible disadvantage that they pay more attention to establishing long-term relationships than to shorter-term peace-building deliverables;
- Lack of professionalism compared to other peace-building organisations, because some—and only some—faith-based actors seem to engage in peace-building because their religious mandate urges them to do so, and not because their specific skills and experiences necessarily enable then to do so.

We remark that only one actor in this study indicated these last two weaknesses, and they thus call for further research.

Challenge of Identifying Institutionalised Muslim Peace-Building Actors

We have found it more difficult to identify institutionalised Muslim faith-based peace-building actors than Christian and multi-faith actors. Muslim societies and their institutions differ in terms of their organisation. Although social services, community assistance, and charitable work have been integral to Islamic communities. Muslim organisations and bodies have less experience with formally constituted bodies and (stable) institutions, not as many organisations are therefore organised into stable institutions. For that reason, it is quite difficult to find Muslim peace-building NGOs or other institutions similar to those in the West. Most of the time, the local Imam or Sheikh, or other religious leaders and elders, undertake peace-building activities in their personal capacity. Peace-building activities in this context are not viewed as a separate job, but as a social/religious responsibility of the individual, part of their life and leadership role. Consequently, peace-building activities are usually ad hoc and informal. Moreover, because many Muslims do not separate Islam from everyday aspects of their lives, they do not explicitly refer to their organisation or work as specifically 'Muslim or Islamic'. As they do not refer to themselves as such, it becomes hard for an outside observer to distinguish Muslim peace-building organisations. Identification, analysis and possible support of Muslim peace-building actors therefore requires a tailor-made approach.

Limited Number of Internationally Operating Muslim Peace-Building Actors

We note that the institutional development of international Muslim peace-builders lags behind that of international Christian and multi-faith peace-builders. This preliminary analysis has only found six international Muslim peace-buildere. This imbalance may call four additional support.

Faith-Based Peace-Building not Limited to Religious Conflicts

We conclude that the activities of the faith-based actors included in this report cover a wide range of conflicts, levels of operation, beneficiaries and peace-building areas/domains. We conclude that the faith-based actors in this report have:

- Attempted to build and prevent conflict in a wide variety of conflict settings, irrespective of whether religion is one of the key factors for conflict or not. They are active both in situations of religious conflict and non-religious conflict;
- Carried out peace-building activities at different levels of operation, ranging from the grassroots to the international level;
- Targeted not only beneficiaries that share their own religious conviction, but also beneficiaries from different religious communities and secular ones;
- Been involved in all sorts of peace-building activities, including advocacy, education, interfaith and infra-faith dialogue, mediation, observation and transitional justice.

Impact Measurement Remains a Challenge

Measuring the impact of faith-based peace-building activities is still complicated. Although the authors could in some cases have assessed the impact better if they had collected more information (for example, through field visits), they believe that measuring impact remains a challenge. They suggest donors and faith-based peace-builders further explore the issue and among others address the so-called 'attribution problem', the intangibility of peace, and the fact that insecure situations may prevent impact assessment and evaluation on the ground.

Multiple Contributions to Peace-Building

Despite the room for improving impact assessments, the authors conclude that the faith-based peace-builders included in this report have—to different extents, with varying levels of success and in their own specific manner— contributed to peace-building through:

- Encouraging their faith communities and others to change their behaviour, reduce violence, and rehumanise the 'other';
- Providing emotional, psychological and spiritual support to war-affected communities;
- Disseminating ideas on peace, peace-building, justice and development among their communities;
- Mobilising their communities and other people for peace-building;
- Challenging traditional perceptions (such as the role of women in society);
- Reaching out to governments, effecting policy changes and policies (for example, incorporation of peace modules in school curricula), and reaching out to youth;

- Mediating between conflicting parties;
- Promoting reconciliation, interfaith dialogue, disarmament, demilitarisation and reintegration;
- Connecting faith-based communities and others worldwide, including through convening large interfaith meetings among them.

Secular and Faith-Based Peace-Building: Related and Complementary

Various cases in this report have shown how secular and faith-based peace-building work can be inter-related and complementary. For instance, the report shows how the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Nigeria could initiate and facilitate mediations in Yelwa-Nshar, and the Governor of Plateau State and many other dignitaries in the end were forced to ratify the peace settlement. Another clear example is that of Sant' Egidio's contribution to the peace process in Mozambique in the early 1990s. While it could establish the first contact between the RENAMO leadership *(Resistencia National Mocambicana*—Mozambican National Resistance) and the FRELIMO government *(Frente de Libertagao de Mocambique*—Liberation Front of Mozambique) at its headquarters in Rome, it had to call upon the Italian government, advisers of the United Slates and the United Nations to participate in the peace negotiation process and to sign the General Peace Accord, in 1992. As this report exclusively focussed on faith-based peace-builders, follow-up study is needed to substantiate the relationship between and (un)complementarity of faith-based and secular peace-builders.

Single-Religious Versus Multi-Religious Efforts

We conclude that both single-religious and multi-religious peace-building efforts have the potential to contribute to peace-building in specific situations. For instance, the single-religious peace-making efforts of the Community of Sant' Egidio in Mozambique and Guatemala, *inter alia,* show the peace-building potential of single-religious efforts. The work of the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Nigeria, the Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative, or of the Inter-Religious Councils in Sierra Leone and Bosnia-Herzegovina illustrate the peace-building potential of multi-religious efforts. As it has been largely outside the scope of this study, follow-up research is needed to examine what factors (for example, religious versus non-religious conflict) make specific conflict situations more suitable for single-religious and/or multi-religious peace-building work.

Role for Both 'Religious Moderates' and 'Religious Conservatives'

Finally, we conclude that most faith-based peace-building work in this report focuses on ;religious moderates', and hardly any on 'religious conservatives'. The authors observe, however, that both groups of religious actors can be driven of change, and could have a role to play in peace-building. For instance, as Steels's reconciliation seminars with religious communities in the Balkans illustrate, creating dialogue between moderate and nationalistic elements within a given religious, tradition can potentially confront the latter with perspectives within their own theological tradition that question their nationalistic orientation. When handled well, such an infra-party dialogue over issues of essential identity can lead to recognition, for the first time, of cognitive dissonance between values espoused and values acted. Bosnian Franciscans, for example, were able in a mono-ethnic/religious seminar to speak more openly and thoroughly to other Catholics about their theological rationale for reconciliation efforts, thus building a better case against religious extremism, especially among undecided Catholics. Moreover, through constant dialogue with conservative Serbian Orthodox leaders, Steele gained their trust, and enabled the participation of Serbian priests in the reconciliation seminars and even the sponsorship of seminars by some bishops.

DONOR RECOMMENDATIONS

This report on faith-based peace-building actors was conducted at the request of MoFA. The recommendations here below, however, aim not only at MOFA's policy-makers, built at other countries' ministries of foreign affairs and international non-governmental organisations (INGOs) in the Netherlands and abroad.

Take Notice of Faith-Based Peace-Building in Policy

The main recommendation is that policy-makers should take into account the potential of faith-based peace-building actors to contribute positively to peace-building. As this report shows, there is every reason to believe that faith-based peace-builders have a role to play in promoting peace, security and stability through conflict prevention, conflict resolution and post-conflict reconstruction.

Increase Cooperation with Faith-Based Action in the Domain of Peace-Building

We have the impression that donors could cooperate more with faith-based actors, on peace-building. They specifically suggest that

MoFA prepares an overview of the faith-based peace-building actors with which it is already cooperating, and further analyses how cooperation with (and support of) these and other faith-based peace-building actors could be increased. The recently established Knowledge Forum on Development Cooperation and Religion may well play a role in such an effort

Examine the Role of Faith-Based Peace-Building Actors in Stability Assessment Frameworks

We specifically encourage MoFA to examine the role of faith-based actors in the context of the political actor analysis carried out within the framework of Stability Assessment Frameworks (SAP), which is a tool that MoFA uses to help practitioners and decision-makers develop an integrated strategy for stabilising a country and provide a basis for sustainable development. We also invite MoFA to give special attention to the role of faith-based peace-builders in (upcoming) regional policy documents, such as the Africa Memorandum, the Memorandum on the Great Lakes or the Memorandum on the Horn of Africa.

Demand International Attention for the Contributions of Faith-Based Actors

We suggest tabling the peace-building potential of faith-based peace-builders in international discussions in the field of peace-building. They invite policy-makers to explore the possibilities of doing so in discussions with the EU, OECD-DAC, OSCE and the UN (for example, the Committee on Peace-Building, Department of Peacekeeping Operations).

Sensitize and Train Embassy, MoFA and MoD Staff

We believe that embassies have a crucial role to play in the area of faith-based peace-building. In most cases, embassy staff have contacts with faith-based peace-building actors in the field. In the case of the Netherlands, they also have the decision-making power and funds to support faith-based peace-building activities, or not. In the framework of training embassy staff—especially, but not exclusively, staff working in conflict-affected countries—it is therefore vital to give special attention to the potential of faith-based actors in peace-building. Specific training opportunities for the Netherlands include the so-called, *Terugkomdagen* (refreshment courses), workshops, on-site training, as well as online courses. The Knowledge Forum on Development Cooperation and Religion, may well play a role in facilitating such training. Besides training embassy staff, other MoFA staff working in/on peace-building

in conflict-affected countries will be trained, such as staff attached to the so-called Provincial Reconstruction Teams in Afghanistan. On a more general level, MoFA—in consultation with the MoD—should also consider addressing the topic of faith-based peace-building in the pre-deployment training of peacekeepers, within the framework of increasing the peacekeeping forces' cultural and religious sensitivity.

Address Faith-Based Peace-Building in Embassies' Multi-Annual Strategic Plan

We encourage embassies to address structurally the relationship between religion and peace-builiding in their longer-term strategic plans (that is, in the case of the Netherlands, in their so-called *Meerjaren Strategischs Plannen* (MJSP)). This recommendation is in line with the advice of the Advisory Council on International Affairs.

Pay Attention to 'Religious Moderates' and 'Religious Conservatives'

We call upon donors not only to regard 'religious moderates' as possible drivers of change, but also 'religious conservatives'. Further exploration should be made of the possibilities for establishing true dialogue with conservative politicised, and religious groups in order to engage them in peace-building. As it will probably be difficult as a donor to engage directly with these religious conservatives, we advise approaching them *via* third parties, such as the international Christian, Muslim and interfaith peace-building actors identified in this study.

Develop Tailor-Made Approaches for Identifying Muslim Peace-Building Actors

We advise donors to undertake extra efforts in identifying Muslim peace-building actors. As Muslim peace-building actors are often not organised in the form of NGOs or other institutions, and often consist of individuals in the community, they are relatively invisible. Identifying them could include the following:

- Work through international Muslim peace-building actors, who can help to identify and recommend local actors and organisations involved in peace-building;
- Ask local communities to recommend Muslim individuals and organisations engaged in peace-building work;
- Regard Muslim relief and humanitarian agencies as possible entry points. In conflict-affected regions, many of these organisations extend their efforts to include activities such as

peace-building, pursuing justice and reconciliation. Donors could approach these agencies as possible entry points, and consider strengthening their peace-building efforts;

- Approach Muslim women's organisations as possible entry points for peace-building. As the report observed women are relatively well institutionalised, mainly because of the support they receive through international networks of women's organisations. Although women's peace-building organisations do face significant challenges because women's participation in the public and political domains is not recognised in various societies, they have also been seen as having the support of sympathetic religious and community leaders, challenging traditional, gender divisions, and putting women's concerns on the agenda of peace talks. Donors could therefore consider them as one of the entry points for Muslim peace-building.

Develop Tailor-Made Approaches for Strengthening Muslim Actors

Finally, the authors suggest that donors develop a tailor-made approach for strengthening Muslim actors' peace-building capacities, which should address the following issues:

- Direct donor support to local Muslim peace-building actors may negatively influence their peace-building performance. At times Muslim peace-building actors that receive Western donor support have been accused of promoting the West's agenda, and thereby not representing the real Islam, which complicated their peace-building work substantially. Although local communities might hold connections with Western organisations against these Muslim peace-builders, in the end supporting these actors is of importance. We therefore suggest that donors do not support these local actors directly, but indirectly through relevant international faith-based peace-building actors;
- Western support can be perceived as a rather sensitive issue. In some cases and by some Muslim actors and communities. Western support may be perceived as a form of neo-imperialism, undermining Islam and colonising Muslims. In such a sensitive setting, it is critical that donors that aim to support Muslim peace-builders do so without dictating or imposing upon the work that these Muslim actors do. Hence, the authors advise against developing a set of performance criteria beforehand and expecting these Muslim peace-builders to comply with them, but advise openly discussing how they best could be held

accountable for their peace-building programmes and their results and impact. The authors thus suggest finding the right balance between ownership and accountability;

- Muslim peace-building actors may require some specific kinds of support. Several of the actors included in this study are seriously under-funded. They have no or very limited access to basic resources (for example, electricity, telephone, email and fax) and often travel to remote parts of their country with limited resources and under difficult conditions. This lack of resources, not only hinders their communication with the international community, but also their organisational capacity and effectiveness within their communities. Some sort of basic funding seems crucial. Moreover, given the low levels of literacy in which some of the Muslim actors included in this study are working, support for visual and audio (for example, radio programmes) seems a productive way to educate larger portions of the population in peace-building. Besides, as the level of institutional development of Muslim actors is relatively low, support for NGO development and management is crucial for expanding the effectiveness and success of Muslim peace-building actors. Additionally, as various of the Muslim actors analysed operate in relative isolation of each other, support for the creation of regional or national umbrella networks that can encourage meetings between Muslim peace-builders is important. Finally, various Muslim, peace-building actors lack educational resources in terms of peace-building and conflict resolution. Support for purchasing books and other educational tools, translating articles and books—especially on Islam, peace-building and conflict resolution—and investing in developing materials such as a manual on Islamic peace-building could therefore also be an invaluable contribution to the peace-building capacity of Muslim actors.

SUGGESTIONS FOR FOLLOW-UP RESEARCH

This has been a preliminary study on the topic of faith-based peace-building. Because of the length, scope and set-up (desk study instead of field analysis), the study has only been able to address certain parts of the discussion on faith-based peace-building. The authors therefore make the following suggestions for follow-up research.

Develop a More Systematic and Comprehensive Database

The time devoted to mapping Muslim peace-building actors in Africa and the Balkans has not been sufficient. Many of the Muslim

actors were not able to respond to the authors on time, and some of them asked for more time to respond. We consequently suggest conducting a more thorough research over a longer period, (for example, one year). Such follow-up study should also include mapping Muslim actors in the Middle East and South Asia. It should include field research, which would contribute 1:0 more comprehensive information-gathering and would allow the inclusion of other critical and competent groups that are less visible but that contribute significantly to peace-building in their regions. It would also give the opportunity to meet with various leaders, their community members and other local authorities that have no access to internet, phone or fax. Each field trip could include short training sessions as part of the data-gathering to respond to the pressing needs of Muslim NGOs for training in Islamic methods of peace-building. The suggested follow-up study may not only focus on mapping Muslim peace-building actors, but also on mapping nationally/locally operating Christian and multi-faith peace-building actors that have not been covered in this preliminary study at all.

Evaluate Faith-Based Peace-Building Initiatives

Other follow-up studies should compile detailed case studies of successful Christian, Muslim and interfaith peace-building stories to disseminate among the communities to encourage peace work. As was stated in the analysis of the Coalition for Peace in-Africa's video case studies project, case studies serve as critical learning tools for communities involved in conflict. They connect with other groups that are faced with similar challenges, and enable them to learn from each other's experiences regarding how their conflict was resolved, what worked and what did not work. Preparing detailed case studies, and translating and disseminating them among various communities would therefore contribute to peace-building in the region. Studying and analysing these case studies would require a longer period of time, approximately one year, and would include field trips to projects.

Conduct Research Among Higher Educational Institutions in (Muslim) Countries

It is critical to conduct research among educational institutions in conflict-affected regions to explore to what extent peace and Islam are integrated into their curricula and to develop strategies to include peace education from an Islamic perspective. Educational institutions, such as government schools or *madrasas,* are effective in shaping the

ideas of young students. They can be used to incite hatred, stereotyping and violence, or they can be venues to teach peace, conflict-resolution skills and peace-building. Exploring what is being taught at these institutions in regards to Islam and peace, and developing strategies on how to integrate peace-building and conflict-resolution skills would contribute to peace-building efforts in the region tremendously. Similar research should analyse how educational systems in Christian communities deal with the linkage between Christianity and peace, and how peace-building modules are integrated into their curricula.

Critical Analysis of Faith-Based Peace-Builders' Added Value in Specific Conflict Settings

Although this desk study has shown that faith-based peace-building actors are active in all kinds of conflict settings, it has not clarified in what conflicts faith-based peace-building has an added value over secular peace-building, or vice versa. In the analysis of the Muslim peace-building actor Coalition for Peace in Africa, we argued that in situations/communities where Islam plays an important role and Muslim leaders have legitimacy, Muslim peace-builders that utilise Islam are possibly more effective than secular peace-builders that do not base their work on Islamic values and concepts. However, follow-up study should further substantiate such assumptions. It should also address the more general question of whether faith-based peace-builders are more effective in religious or in non-religious conflict settings. Some assert that 'religious peace-building particularly makes sense where religion is seen to be a genuine and in some cases a decisive factor in the conflict, rather than a dispensable sidebar, artefact, or instrument of propaganda, but can also play a role in certain conflicts where there is no religious involvement, normally in a third-party mediating capacity, while others argue that 'religiously motivated peacemaking efforts had their greatest impact in conflicts in which religion was not an important defining characteristic'. In this connection, the study should collect more data on the assumed weaknesses of faith-based peace-builders, namely their lack of focus on results and their lack of professionalism. It should clarify how the terms of professionalism and effectiveness are perceived, and whether these are somehow related to measuring quantatively or qualitatively the outcomes and impact of peace-building. This is because of the tendency to regard peace-building programmes with measurable, quantative outputs, which are more successful/professional than those with qualitative outputs, which are harder to measure (see above under impact measurement).

The key question that this study should answer is what sorts of conflict require what sorts of peace-building. The main deliverable will be a list of conflict indicators that donors can use to decide whether conflict situations require faith-based peace-building programmes or not. We propose selecting two conflict situations (a religious and a non-religious conflict), identifying a number of faith-based and secular peace-building activities, interviewing stakeholders involved in these various activities during a field visit, and on the basis of the information collected, developing a list with indicators.

Conduct Case Studies on Levels of Cooperation and Complementarity between Faith-Based and Secular Peace-Builders

While this desk study has shown that both faith-based and secular actors have a role to play in peace-building, it has not analysed whether and to what extent they actually cooperate in the field. In more general terms, the study should look into the role of secular actors in the domain of faith-based peace-building, and address the question of to what extent secular international actors should share the faith of their local faith-based actors and constituents—that is, is it possible that secular actors have a religious agenda? Detailed case studies should shed more light on these questions of how faith-based and secular peace-building programmes overlap or complement each other. In terms of policy output, the analysis should clarify to donors and other funding agencies the (im)possibilities of playing a coordinating role, and the options of achieving some form of division of labour between faith-based and secular peace-builders in a specific conflict setting.

Case Studies on Strengths and Weaknesses of Single-Religious and Multi-Religious Peace Efforts

It has been outside this study's scope to analyse what conflict settings are more suitable for single-religious peace-building actions based on Christian, Muslim or other religious values, and what other conflict situations are more appropriate for multi-religious peace efforts. Specific case studies, should not only analyse the outcomes and results of diverse types of faith-based peace-building efforts, but must particularly result in a set of criteria that help faith-based peace-builders and donors decide whether to opt for single-religious and/or multi-religious peace-building programmes. For instance, in the cases of Sudan and Nigeria, it would be interesting to analyse the need for peace-building programmes that only target Muslims, that only target Christians, and that target them both.

Conduct Research on the Required Strategies, Partners and Activities to Deal with 'Religious Moderates' and 'Religious Conservatives' in Peace-Building

This study has tentatively concluded that both 'religious conservatives' and 'religious moderates' can be drivers of change, and can have the potential to contribute to peace in their own specific ways. It would be interesting to analyse a number of cases further to see the possibilities of targeting both groups, what strategies this would require from faith-baised peace-building actors, and what local counterparts are best suited for the job. A key issue to be addressed is the tremendous difficulty that Western pluralists (religious or secular) have in creating dialogue with conservative religious communities that see their particular brand of faith as the ultimate expression of truth and their pursuit of its dominance within their culture, or beyond, as part of a divine initiative that will, by definition, bring good to all people. Most moderate Western organisations, irrespective of being faith-based or secular, are associated with Western humanistic value systems, and their very presence is therefore perceived as a threat to conservative religious communities. The Western pluralist approach, with its emphasis on tolerance towards the other, is seen as destructive and opposed to the values the conservatives hold dear. The key challenge this raises, in the context of many flash points around the world, is how to establish dialogue with conservative politicised religious groups. An interesting first case could be Sri Lanka.

Closer Analysis of the Peace-Building Role of Mid-Level and Top-Level (Religious) Leaders

According to John Paul Lederach, "mid-range leaders have greater flexibility of movement and are more numerous than top-level leaders. They are connected to a wide range of individuals in the conflict setting through their networks and professional associations. Within the religions communities the mid-level leaders are the highly respected monks, priests, ministers, ulema, rabbis and others who serve as heads of the [sub-national] religious, bodies (for example, synods or dioceses) as representatives to ecumenical, inter-religious, or civic bodies; or as pastors of prominent local congregations. Various actors in this report (including the Mennonite Central Committee, Canter for Justice and Peace-Building, and Steele) have deliberately aimed at strengthening the peace-building skills of mid-level (religious) leaders.

Other actors, such as the World Conference of Religions for Peace, tend to concentrate on top-level religions leaders, for instance through

bringing them together in national inter-religious councils. Additional research should clarify the pros and cons of working with mid-level or top-level religious leaders, and assess whether certain (conflict) situations are more suitable for working with which group of leaders. Case studies on a conflict country in which both groups of religious leaders are involved in the peace process could shed more light on this question.

Develop More Effective Means for Measuring Impact of Programmes

As shown throughout the report, the impact measurement of (faith-based) peace-building programmes remains a challenge. It is insufficiently clear in what qualitative and/or quantitative ways the impact can best be assessed. Options to be analysed include:

(a) Narrative evaluations in which the activities at stake are described, along with events or processes that followed on from the activity;

(b) Some sort of impact indicators, which could be quite hard to develop, however, given the 'intangibility' of peace;

(c) Process indicators that focus on the approach taken in a project rather than on an attempted measurement of impact. It may include: criteria for 'success' such as appropriateness, coherence, gender equality and flexibility. Rather than, benchmarks for assessing actual outcomes, these are thus parameters for describing and assessing an organisation's approach;

(d) Combine peace-building more with relief and development activities, of which the impact is possibly less difficult to assess. Follow-up research could either take the form of a desk study or a field study. A desk study could include more in-depth interviews and meetings with various actors included in this report in order to develop satisfactory, and above all realistic options for measuring impact. A field study could include a visit to various faith-based peace-building projects, analyse their results and outputs, and discuss the issue of measuring impact with a much wider range of stakeholders (such as project planners, direct beneficiaries and community members).

Example of Survey Questions Selected

1. What is the mission or goal of your organisation/institution?
2. How do Mamie values and principles influence and shape your work towards peace?
3. What kind of peace-building activities do you engage in your region or community education at schools, community centres

for peace-building, practical training in conflict resolution, intervention to resolve a conflict, mediation between conflicting parties, addressing root causes of conflict and working for the re-establishment of social, political, economic and environmental justice?

4. What kind of projects or issues do you deal with in particular?
5. Who do you work with and who are your partners other religious community leaders, local, regional or national government, international organisations, the UN?
6. Please give two practical examples of your involvement in peace-building activities.
7. How are your activities and involvement viewed, by your community and other parties?
8. How would you evaluate your contribution to peace-building and establishment of justice in your community or region?
9. What are the main difficulties and challenges racing you in building peace in your community in general?
10. Do you work on effecting policy and how? Give an example of your success.
11. What kinds of assistance, interaction or collaboration would you like to receive from other Islamic and international organisations to enhance your ability to intervene successfully in conflicts and strengthen your peace-building capacity in your community or region?

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FAITH-BASE AND MULTIFAITH ACTIONS FOR BUILDING PEACE: ACTORS, FACTORS, METHODS AND PHILOSOPHY

DESCRIPTION AND ANALYSIS OF MUSLIM, CHRISTIAN AND MULTI-FAITH PEACE-BUILDING ACTORS

LIFE AND PEACE INSTITUTE (LPI)

Description

The LPI is an international and ecumenical centre 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, seminars, publications and action on the ground. The Institute's headquarters are located in Uppsala and Sweden. "There is a regional office in Nairobi, Kenya, a national office in. Congo Brazzaville and another national office in Bukavu in the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC). LPI has about ten full-time staff at its headquarters and 20 in its three field offices. Its annual working budget is US$ 28-30 million.

LPI combines research on the role of religion in conflict and peace, with action programmes for conflict transformation. The Conflict Transformation Programme (CTP) builds upon LPI's experience in the Horn of Africa and Croatia, but is also present in, *inter alia*, Congo Brazzaville and the DRC. As such, it is both active in conflicts with a religious overtone and conflicts with a religious undertone.

The LPI aims to involve people maximally at the grassroots and community level in peace-building activities. LPI's experiences from close cooperation with different actors at the local level indicate that sustainable peace has to be rooted within the local social and cultural

context. Although, it has a strong grassroots communities focus, it also operates at other levels, for instance through cooperating with international research institutes.

Being an ecumenical centre, churches and other ecumenical bodies *such* as synods and councils of churches constitute LPI's natural counterparts. LPI regards it as the churches mission to build peace and to prevent violent conflict, and aims to strengthen their peace-building potential in conflict situations. Depending on the situation, LPI involves Muslim organisations and other religious actors too, as is for instance the case in Sri Lanka, Sudan and Somalia. Besides cooperating with religious partners, it works together with a wide variety of structures, including intergovernmental organisations, governments, NGOs and community leaders.

LPI has undertaken various research projects, among others on the role of religion in conflict and peace. These research initiatives, which are not further elaborated in this report, cannot be separated from LPI's other core business, namely its CTP. The CTP actively uses LPI's research findings and attempts to translate them into practical activities, on the ground. The CTP's activities not only entail education and training, but also "facilitating dialogue and cooperation across borders".

Activities

LPI has carried out various education and training activities in the Horn of Africa and the Grot Lakes Region. It organised workshops and seminars on peace-building and conflict resolution for church leaders in Sudan (with New Sudan Council of Chruches (NSCC) in the south, and with the Sudan Council of Churches in the north), for various church leaders in Eritrea from the Entrain Orthodox Church, the Eritrean Catholic Church, the Evangelical Church of Eritrea and the Lutheran Church of Eritrea, and for church leaders in Ethiopia in cooperation with the Ethiopian Evangelical Church of Mekane Yesus (EECMY). In Eritrea, it also separately organised a workshop with Muslim leaders. The topics addressed in these workshops usually include concepts of peace and conflict, causes of conflict, conflict dynamics, the notion of conflict transformation, ethical basis and common values for peace-building, and strategic peace-building options going forward.

To highlight one education and training activity in more detail, the conflict transformation programme in the DRC started in April/

May 2002. The programme consists of variouis capacity-building activities and focuses on peace education, peaceful cohabitation, and exploring the role of the church in the peace process. One of the project objectives is to encourage and support churches in North and South Kivu, to develop their capacity in order to play a role in the peace reconstruction process. Their contribution should be in line with their position in society. Expected results are that churches are going to play a constructive peace-building role at the community-level and in terms of coordination; that an important part of the Protestant and Catholic clergy will have benefitted from various capacity-building programmes; that a reduction in intra-and inter-religious conflicts will take place; and that the level of cooperation among churches and between churches and the rest of civil society will be enhanced.

An example of 'facilitating dialogue and cooperation, across borders' may be derived from Congo Brazzaville, where LPI fulfilled a bridge function, between various Congolese newspaper agencies, encouraging them to undertake joint actions for peace. When the LPI in Congo Brazzaville in 2001 was approached by title Catholic Weekly newspaper *La Semaine Africaine* to facilitate a seminar on media, it suggested that the newspaper discuss the issue with the Protestant monthly newspaper *Le Chemin.* Representatives of the two media met to plan the seminar. They soon agreed on a more inclusive approach. The seminar was held with the participation of public and private media (from radio, newspaper and TV). The first seminar led to a second. A Code of Conduct for journalists was discussed and agreed upon. Later on, a further step was taken when the journalists created an institution—the *Observatoire Congolais des Median* (OCM)—to monitor their work. LPI continued cooperating with the OCM during the following years in order to strengthen its capacities. It assisted OCM in defining its final status, internal rule and organic texts, which in the end were registered at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs so that it became a state-approved civil organisation. It organised a visit to Sweden for the chairman of OCM. And it supported OCM in organising a workshop for 40 Congolese journalists to educate them in conflict analysis, and to discuss the role of journalists during past aimed conflicts. Much time was devoted in the end to the issue of mediation, the choice of a mediator and the political implications of such a choice.

Impact

Although the programme in the DRC is still ongoing and its results are not yet established and although it is always a challenge to assess

which factors contributed to what results, it has bean observed that there is a difference in message between what the churches preached a few years ago and now. While in the beginning various churches preached a more ethnic-tainted, conflict-feeding message, their message has now become more constructive and reconciliatory in nature. In sum, the LPI's described activities seem to have mainly contributed to peace in the areas of dissemination, ideas on justice and peace-building, encouraging reconciliation, and altering behaviour, attitudes and negative stereotypes.

General Observations on Faith-Based Peace-Building

In more general terms, LPI thinks that churches and ecumenical bodies in Africa have an important peace-building potential, because they are:

- Widespread and thus have a natural opportunity to harness their peace-building potential;
- Present for a long period of time, this in contrast to time-limited peace interventions by LPI;
- Committed to peace. According to LPI, most churches and ecumenical bodies think they can indeed contribute to peace, particularly in terms of reconciliation and forgiveness. LPI and other agencies can utilise this entry point to explore jointly the broader meaning of reconciliation, to discuss, why reconciliation not only includes a relatively simple pardon, but also entails the acknowledgment of injustices of the past, and an active role in providing (restorative) justice for victims in the fulure;
- Mandated to build peace and prevent violent conflict, irrespective of whether religion is one of the key factors for conflict or not. That is why LPI cooperates with religious counterparts in countries like Sudan and Somalia, but also in Congo Brazzaville and the DRC.

A factor that may limit the peace-building role of churches and ecumenical actors, according to LPI, is that most of them are afraid of being perceived as political actors. While they may not be at all political actors, others can still view them as such, making some of them reluctant to engage actively in peace-building activities.

Finally, at a more generic level, LPI has found that in its efforts to work broadly with entire communities, it is not only important to work with churches, but also with religious and spiritual leaders,

elders, women's groups, and so on—in short, all those who are committed to working for peace. Cooperation with churches and other ecumenical partners is an adequate starting point, but needs to be complemented with other partnerships at the communal level.

WORLD VISION INTERNATIONAL (WVI)

Description

World Vision International is an international Christian relief and development organisation working to promote the well-being of all people—especially children—worldwide. It serves 1100 million people, works in 96 nations, raises US$ 1,546 billion in cash and goods for its work, and employs 22,500 staff members. Its headquarters are in Monrovia (California), in the United States.

It intentionally deals with peace-building issues in situations of conflict, because it believes that development brings peace, forgiveness holds societies, and justice and peace belong together. Preferably, it integrates peace-building activities into its transformational development programmes, which aim to enhance families' and communities' capacities to cope, mitigate and respond to conflicts.

World Vision International has a theological commitment to peace-building and reconciliation. Its Christian identity is the key motivation to address people's internal brokenness and the brokenness of *inter alia* family relations, community ties, institutions and organisations, as well as, the environment. Whenever possible, World Vision seeks opportunities to reduce the level of conflict and to contribute to peaceful resolution and reconciliation, irrespective of whether religious factors play a major or minor role in the conflict.

It has developed expertise in building community and household-level conflict management capacity. The strength of WVI is its focus on local and communal rather than national conflicts and its concentration on grassroots projects. However, WVI recognises that the macro context greatly impacts upon the local context and tries to address this through public policy and advocacy.

As a Christian organisation, WVI shares a faith-based relationship with local churches of all Christian traditions, and invites Christian leaders to participate in conferences, consultations, training programmes and various educational opportunities. However, in many situations, it cooperates with partners such as community-based organisations and partner agencies of secular or non-Christian religious origins. It

also employs staff members of different religious backgrounds, but then only as programme staff in the field and not as WVI management staff. For instance, in Aceh, World Vision has 200 Acehnese programme staff that are Muslim. Generally speaking, it works on peace-building activities with those that share WVI's goals and values, including a broad set of secular and religious, non-governmental and governmental-actors. Its peace-building services, like its relief and development work, are available to all people regardless of race, ethnic background, gender or religion.

WVI works more in conflict than *on* conflict. Its core peace-building business is difficult to pinpoint, as it works on a broad range of community-level peace-building activities, ranging from mediation efforts between agriculturalists and pasteralists in Kenya, to peace education and trauma-counselling workshops in *inter alia* Rwanda, the DRC and Maluku. Besides, it is also engaged in peace advocacy at global institutions such as the UN and EU.

Activities

Whenever possible, WVI strategically integrates its peace-building efforts into its transformational development (TD) programmes. It uses indicators to assess the integration of peace-building measures into TD programmes. Additionally, it has developed guidelines to assist World Vision staff integrate peace-building into the design, implementation, monitoring and evaluation, and phasing out of the TD programmes (see Annexe IV). Although, the majority of World Vision's peace-building efforts are thus integrated in TD programmes, the following two examples highlight two peace-building activities that World Vision has done as stand-alone peace-building sector programmes, which are only indirectly linked to other relief and development efforts.

In Kosovo, World Vision has supported inter-religious and inter-ethnic dialogue between Albanian and Serbian, Kosovars. It has cultivated close professional and personal relationships with community figureheads of divided communities, including religious leaders in the city of Rahovec (Southern Kosovo). These projects have focussed on engaging members of civil society to advocate for peace and justice within their communities. In 2001, World Vision founded the first multi-ethnic Community Council for Peace and Tolerance (CPT) in the ethnically divided town of Mitrovica. The 20-member Council consists of local political and religious leaders, lawyers, and various

other community leaders including the head Imam of Mitrovica and the mother superior of the Serbian Orthodox monastery in Mitrovica. It earned high recognition with the UN, the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and the communities it serves. In October 2001, CPT members committed to a shared mission of building a peaceful and tolerant multi-ethnic community. Since then the Council has undertaken various activities to promote a culture of peace by increasing contact and battling stereotypes among Serbs, Albanians and other ethnic groups living in Mitrovica such as Roma, Bosnians and Turks. For instance, culminating with the International Day of Peace on the 21 September, CPT organises the annual Mitrovica week of peace events. This involves forums and round-table discussions between representatives of Albanians, Serbs and other minority groups of Mitrovica. The aim is to celebrate the town's ethnic diversity through folklore, dance, poetry, traditional arts and sports activities. After enduring a difficult period of heightened local tensions in 2004, in which CFT meetings were not productive and the Mitrovica week of peace events did not attract many people, the CPT has again, increased its membership and ethnic representation. Focus in 2005 has been on, revamping its organisational aims and raising its public profile, while planning a number of projects to promote dialogue and inter-ethnic understanding in Mitrovica before the year's end.

In Maluku, Indonesia, World Vision developed a trauma-counselling module for religious leaders to train them in how to provide counselling to members of their constituency. After years of relief work and relationship-building with the Muslim and Christian communities in Maluku, World Vision was asked in 2003 to assist in developing a module on trauma counselling to train religious leaders in providing counselling to their constituencies. The idea behind the proposal was twofold, First, active participation by religious leaders in the preparation of the module would help them process their own traumas. It would also be a good means to bring them together and to restart dialogue between them.

Second, training religious leaders in trauma counselling would enable them to counsel members in their own constituencies. So together with experienced staff from various psychological faculties in Indonesia and together with various Muslim and Christian leaders, World Vision developed this training module in 2003. Unfortunately, it never managed to implement the training workshops, because tensions on Maluku increased again and led to a situation where it was not only too insecure

to carry out the workshops, but where the religious leaders' commitment to the workshops decreased substantially as well. World Vision remains hopeful of being able to carry out the training workshops in the near future.

Impact

The two activities have so far not been evaluated externally. Therefore it is hard to say anything concrete about the impact. The main observation made by a staff member in Kosovo was that the Council's success is likely to be assessed in the frequency of contact between the Albanian and Serbian Kosovars, as well as in terms of information exchange regarding each other's background, culture and so on. The more interaction and the more information exchange, the more the Council contributes to a culture of peace in Mitrovica. To date, however, it is still too early to judge the Council's success.

More generally-speaking, as World Vision—according to its director for reconciliation and peace-building—has not yet found a way to assess the impact of stand-alone peace-building activities, it usually combines peace-building efforts in a strategic manner with more tangible relief and development efforts that World Vision can better monitor and readjust; where needed additional advantages of this approach are that (economic) development in itself may also reduce violent conflict, and that funding is better sustained if peace activities are combined with relief and development efforts. Annexe IV provides an illustration of how WVI's attempts to integrate peace-building elements into its relief and development programmes.

Despite this challenge to assess the impact of peace-building activities adequately, WVI's activities appear to have contributed to peace through the dissemination of ideas on justice and peace, drafting committed people to peace-building, encouraging reconciliation and interfaith dialogue and healing.

General Observations on Faith-Based Peace-Building

Lessons learned from Kosovo include the following. The first concerns the different contributions of the Imam and the mother superior to the peace process in Mitrovica. While the Imam has been particularly active in organising activities, the mother superior and her co-religionists have shown their commitment by underscoring the importance of forgiveness and reconciliation. Second, by participating in the Council they have given their consent to its activities. While they may not be

in the position to exercise much influence on their constituencies, their approval is important, as they provide moral legitimacy in peace-building work. Third, the added value of religious leaders is that they can reach their people at a deep emotional level. For example, at a time of tension, when Serbs wanted to withdraw their commitment to the Council it was the mother superior who encouraged them to go on with the initiative. Fourth, the moral conviction of the religious representative can make them more committed than some other Council, members. At times of extreme tensions, community and local political leaders in Kosovo declined risking their reputation and career by publicly standing up for CPT values, while the moral conviction of religious leaders outweighed the political or personal risks.

One lesson that World Vision learned from its peace-building work in Maluku is that religious leaders can mobilise their constituencies for conflict and for peace. When the tensions between Muslim and Christian communities at Maluku escalated again, the religious leaders from both sides did not actively stop their communities from entering the conflict again. Their lack of commitment to peace, and as such to a joint training workshop on trauma counselling, meant that the workshop never took place.

According to WVI, this example calls for a regular and updated conflict analysis. Such an analysis can first of all assess to what extent religious leaders and other stakeholders are committed to peace or conflict at that very moment. It can examine the leverage that the religious leaders and other stakeholders have within their constituencies. Depending on the outcome of the conflict analysis, NGOs such as World Vision may start initiatives to support those actors that are committed to peace, and may attempt to strengthen the position of these actors in their own communities and among their own supporters. On the other hand, they may avoid cooperating with religious actors and others that are more committed to conflict than to peace, and may even consider how to limit or reduce their influence within their communities and constituencies.

WVI also experienced that the Christian identity of an organisation can either positively or negatively influence its ability to conduct peace-building activities. In countries where Christians are a relatively small minority, the activities of Christian organisations that are focussed on proselytising can create confusion in the minds of the public and can hinder the implementation of World Vision's activities in the country. Particularly when being engaged in peace-building efforts such as

trauma counselling, faith-based organisations should be extremely alert about how to deal with one's own religious identity and that of one's beneficiaries. On the other hand, World Vision has found that its faith identity is greatly appreciated by many other faith communities, making it possible for World Vision to work closely with many Muslim, Buddhist, Hindu and traditional religious groups as they share common commitments to values of peace and justice in the community.

A final remark about the possible difference between faith-based and secular organisations engaged in peace-building is that their activities from the outside are usually pretty much the same and cannot easily be distinguished from each other. What probably makes the difference, according to World Vision's Director for Reconciliation and Peace-Building, is that World Vision—in contrast to non-faith-based organisations—has a theological approach and a Christian-inspired motivation for peace-building.

INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION FOR RELIGIOUS FREEDOM (IARF)

Description

IARF is a registered charity based in the United Kingdom, with the aim of working for the freedom of religion and belief at a global level. It has a small secretariat in Oxford with three full-time and five part-time staff, and works with an annual budget of around US$ 680,000.

IARF, which can best be labelled a multi-religious NGO, has over 104 affiliated member groups in approximately 33 countries from a wide range of faith traditions, including Christianity, Buddhism, Islam, Shintoism, Hinduism and Sikhism. IARF is a world community of organisations, groups and individuals from diverse faith and belief traditions working together for religious freedom.

Upon its members' request, IARF carries out activities in countries all over the world, including countries in conflict. However, *IARF does not explicitly work on conflict and is not an expert in the area of peace-building.* According to IARF's former president, Eimert van Herwijnen, IARF is an international key agency in the promotion for freedom of religion and belief, but not an important faith-based peace-building actor. As this report is about religious peace-building actors, it will not elaborate on lARFs work in detail.

Already in 1969, IARF took the decision that the promotion of religious freedom would be its core business, and not the issue of religion and peace. In that year, the Rissho Kosei-kai, a lay Buddhist

organisation from Japan, became an IARF member. Being more rooted in the tradition of religion and peace, this new member challenged IARF to consider IARF's core business. After intensive consideration, it was decided that IARF would continue to focus on the issue of religious freedom, and that a new organisation would be established to deal more with the topic of religion and peace named the World Conference for Religion and Peace, this organisation still exists and is also included in this report.

Activities

Ever since its founding in 1900, IARF has focussed on the promotion of religious freedom, and not on religious peace-building as such. In 1969, the term 'Liberal Christian' was dropped from IARF's name, thus making it possible for non-Christian organisations to join. One of the first to do so was Rissho Kosei-Kai (RKK), a lay-Buddhist organisation from Japan. The RKK felt that the issues of religion and peace should be covered by a separate organisation and took the initiative to found the World Conference on Religion and Peace (WCRP). Since then IARF and the WCRP have developed into complementary, though different, organisations. While WCRP works from the top-down and focuses on peace-building and intermediation in particularly conflict-affected countries, the IARF concentrates on interfaith dialogue and tolerance in various countries all over the world and works bottom-up *via* its members at the grassroots.

To give some examples of lARF's activities, IARF works on freedom from oppressive interference or discrimination by the state, mutual understanding, respect and the promotion of harmony, or at least "tolerance", between communities or individuals of different religions or beliefs; and on accountability by religious communities to ensure that their own practices uphold the fundamental dignity and human rights of their members and others. IARF also runs a Religious Freedom Youth Programme (RFYN) with the aim of creating a global network of young adults who are committed to addressing religious freedom issues and to promoting interfaith harmony and understanding. Moreover, IARF develops programmes on the prevention of religious intolerance, which have an emphasis on the role of education. With funding from the Netherlands' Ministry of Foreign Affairs, among others, it has started to develop education materials such as videos on the impact of religious discrimination and the exclusion of religious minorities. The videos will be shown and discussed in four countries: India, Bangladesh, Philippines and South Africa.

It cannot be said that IARF deliberately works in conflict zones or is a peace-building specialist. Although it has not done so in practice, IARF can possibly make the following two contributions to the theme, according to Eimert van Herwijnen, on the following two aspects. First, IARF can be involved in awareness-raising on the religious dimensions of conflict and peace. Second, IARF members at the grassroots' level can gather information on religious factors that play a role in various local processes, including local conflicts and local peace initiatives.

Impact

Asking lARF's former director about some successful results of lARF's activities, he provided the following example of a successful inter-religious cooperation effort in Gujarat, India. In the framework of its RFYN, IARF organised a work camp in Gujarat in 2002 for a group of 35 young adults from Asia, Europe and the United States, all committed to religious tolerance and interfaith dialogue. During the work camp, the young adults repaired a mosque in a Muslim village and a temple in a Hindu village. At the final opening ceremony, the religious leaders from both villages were present, and established contact with each other. One year later, tensions in the district rose after a fire attack on a train and communal riots broke out. However, no fights emerged in the respective two villages. According to the former director, this was due to the fact that the year before the religious leaders of both communities had met and established communication, and thus partly due to the inter-religious effort to rebuild religious buildings in the two communities. On a more general level, we think that lARF's activities mainly contribute to the dissemination of ideas (especially on the promotion of religious freedom), reaching out to governments to contribute to policy changes, and to encouraging interfaith dialogue and cooperation.

COMMUNITY OF SANT'EGIDIO

Description

Sant'Egidio is a worldwide assembly of Christian communities involved in conflict resolution and unofficial diplomacy. The Community was founded in Italy in 1968 and its 50,000 members are gathered in small groups, based in 70 countries. Its headquarters are in Rome. Although, it has a lay membership, Sant'Egidio's religious motivation is an important part of its negotiation activities. It can best be labelled as an international Catholic NGO engaged in peacemaking.

Because of its presence in many regions of the world through the different Communities, Sant'Egidio feels very close to many difficult situations. Mainly starting off with charity, humanitarian action and development cooperation, since the beginning of the 1980s, it became engaged in various international dialogues in order to prevent tension and at times even into direct interventions by mediation. The Community has played an active peace-building role in Algeria, Burundi, Colombia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Guatemala, Ivory Coast, Kosovo and Sierra Leone. Its peace-building interventions seem to have focussed more on 'non-religious' conflicts than on religious conflicts', and more on the international level than on the national or local level.

Being a 'Church public lay association', which is a church's movement formally recognised by the official Catholic Church but with an autonomous statute, the members of Sant'Egidio are not religious actors *per se,* but do share the same spirituality and principles which characterise the way of Sant'Egidio, including prayer, communicating the gospel, solidarity with the poor and dialogue. The Community cooperates with actors of other religions, and is open to ecumenical and interfaith dialogue. Moreover, given its peace-building activities in various conflict-affected countries, it has worked together with a range of diplomatic, governmental and non-governmental, humanitarian and religious counterparts.

In terms of peace-building activities, Sant'Egidio's focus is on mediation and dialogue, bringing different parties together to resolve their differences and reach a settlement. When and where the Community intervenes is not arranged by a prescribed set of intervention criteria. Usually one or more stakeholders in the conflict invite the Community to facilitate and mediate in the peace process. Even then the Community carefully considers whether it is able to contribute anything to the peace process at all, and whether its contribution will be of any added value. Only if this is the case will the Community decide to intervene.

Activities

Probably one of the best-described examples of faith-based actors engaged in peace mediation is Sant'Egidio's contribution to the mediation efforts in Mozambique. Because of its long track record in Mozambique, and because of the perception on both the KENAMO and FRELMO sides that Sant'Egidio could serve as an impartial moderator and facilitator of constructive dialogue, Sant'Egidio could

establish the first contact between the RENAMO leadership and the FRELIMO government at its headquarters in Rome on 8 July 8 1990. This became the start of a two-year peace negotiation process in which Sant'Egidio became one of the key actors. In concert with the Italian government, advisers from the United States, the United Nations, and several other governmental and non-governmental organisations, the representatives of Sant'Egidio were able to maintain a momentum for peace among the two parties over the course often rounds of talks, which were held from 1990 to 1992 at Sant'Egidio's headquarters. Following two closing summits, the General Peace Accord was signed on 4 October 1992.

Another well-known example is Sant'Egidio's peacemaking action in Guatemala, which consisted of breaking the *impasse* of the United Nations-led peace mediations between the government and the guerrilla movement, the *Union Rivolucionaria Nacional de Guatemala* (URNG). The dialogue had come to a halt because of lack of trust between the parties, which had no direct contacts at the highest level exponents of the government and the *comandancia* had never met. The Community saw the possibility of overcoming this *impasse* by creating informal and direct contact between the five interlocutors. It managed to arrange various meetings between the then candidate for the presidential elections, Alvaro Arzu, and the four leaders of the *comandancia.*

Arzu, a right-wing candidate supported by part of the military in the elections that were to be held in Guatemala the next month, had expressed interest in a negotiated solution. In February 1996, the two parties finally decided to inform public opinion of their previous contacts and the continuation of official negotiations. In the meantime, Arzu had been elected president on 14 January 1996. After this intervention, the official negotiations with the UN as mediator were able to restart on a more solid basis and ended with the signing of a peace agreement in Mexico City in December 1996.

In Kosovo, Sant'Egidio played a moderate though important role, and contributed to the signing of the Schools Agreement in 1998, which among other things allowed Albanian children to return to school. The Community had been present in Kosovo since 1996. The friendship established with the leader of the Democratic League of Kosovo, Ibrahim Rugova, pushed Sant'Egidio to search for grounds reconciling Serbs and Albanians. The non-violent line of Rugova's politics appeared to be the only road that could be travelled in a high-tension situation, in part because of the conflict in Bosnia. The Dayton

Accords of 1996 did not take into consideration the Kosovar situation from the point of view of the status of the region. This suggested a humanitarian accord, which would obtain tangible results for the Albanians and at the same time would allow a reduction in the level of tension by means of measures of mutual trust. The ground selected was education, because Albanian children were expelled from schools from every grade, and the students were forced to study in deplorable conditions. Sant'Egidio therefore opted to re-establish cohabitation, an objective concretely realizable in order to avoid the disaster of former Yugoslavia's other areas. By means of initially favourable contacts with the Serbian church, the Community established a line of communication between Rugova and the Belgrade regime. A negotiating table between the two parties was created, a unique event between the government of Belgrade and Rugova's Democratic League of Kosovo. In 1996, the Education Accord was signed, with the support of the international community, in particular the Contact Group. By means of this accord, confirmed by the Rules of Implementation signed by the parties in March 1998, 13 universities and many secondary and primary schools were returned to the Albanians, until the war in 1999 when things turned from worse to worst.

Currently, Sant'Egidio is actively involved behind the scenes in the Democratic Republic of Congo, aiming to bring together representatives of the DRC's transitional government and the FDLR (ex-FAR/Interahamwe) in order to arrange for the FDLR's return to Rwanda. Because of its good contacts with both the FDLR and Kinshasa, the DRC's transitional government deliberately invited Sant'Egidio as a neutral mediator. Following the discussions in Rome on 31 March 2005, the FDLR released a statement in it they renounced the armed struggle, condemned the 1994 genocide and offered to return to Rwanda where it wants to continue the political struggle with the Rwandan government. However, it remains to be seen whether the statement will actually receive practical follow-up.

As an aside, the Community is also actively involved in interfaith dialogue. While not always directly related to issues of conflict and peace, or taking place in conflict zones itself, Sant'Egidio has been organising inter-religious international meetings since the mid-1980s, with the aim of promoting mutual understanding and dialogue among religions in a horizon of peace. The Community believes in genuine inter-religious dialogue on the basis of a strong religious identity. It also tries to avoid perceptions of syncretism, for instance by holding

prayer sessions where religious leaders do not pray together or in each other's presence, but pray at the same time at different locations. Lastly, it aims to go beyond the religious dialogue for the sake of religious dialogue, and encourages religious and secular leaders to exchange information and visions on specific topics such as aids or the future of Iraq.

Impact

The actual impact of Sant'Egidio's mediation and dialogue efforts in the various conflict situations seems to be rather clear, and to say the least, rather impressive. In Mozambique, it contributed— together with various other stakeholders—to the Peace Accords in 1992. It had a similar contribution to the Guatemalan peace process, which resulted in the Peace Agreement in December 1996. In Kosovo, its actions shaped the possibility for Albanian children to return to school. The effect of its intervention in the DRC cannot yet be assessed, as the process is still ongoing. In general, Sant'Egidio has been especially successful in mediating between conflicting parties, but also in encouraging interfaith dialogue and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration.

General Observations on Faith-Based Peace-Building

When looking at the way in which the above-mentioned impacts were achieved, it is possible to discern a number of factors that shape Sant'Egidio's peace-building work.

Firstly, the Community builds an unimpeachable record for integrity and good offices in the society that it comes to serve. Through various initiatives, from orchestrating international humanitarian relief to providing direct services to the needy, Sant'Egidio practises non-partisan social action that underscores its equanimity and commitment to the common good. The 'Diplomatic Sant'Egidio' besides the humanitarian one does not exist. That is, the Community understands and productively exploits the link between humanitarian assistance and political processes. This was also the case in Mozambique, where the Community had been involved with the Christian churches since 1976 before it took on a more proactive mediation role in 1990.

Moreover, the Community does not seek political or economic power for itself, but neither is it averse to drawing on its powerful friends for the cause of peace. It has a religious commitment to unconditional friendship, which enables it to establish contacts with

both governmental and non-governmental actors, but also requires hard work in establishing and maintaining the 'networks of friendship' at all levels. In Mozambique, this enabled it to operate as a neutral mediator, while at the same time engaging its broad network of political, diplomatic and non-governmental actors, including the churches, into the peace negotiations as well.

Furthermore, Sant'Egidio's mediators could be successful because (and to the extent that) they exhibit an intimate knowledge of the language and culture of the peoples in conflict; enjoy access to first-hand information about the conflict as it evolves; possess or draw upon political expertise; and help to develop and embrace a long-term vision of peace for the society in conflict. An organisation such as Sant'Egidio can probably match these expectations, because it mainly drives on volunteers. The Community's volunteers can follow a certain conflict situation for a long period of time, building up an intimate knowledge of the situation. Sant'Egidio's undertakings are not influenced by time, deadlines and compulsory success in the short run. In other words, they are not bothered by deadlines, deliverables and political flavours of the day. Once the momentum for the Community is there to intervene in the conflict, its Board can easily approach the members that have followed the conflict over the years and harness their information. Working with volunteers also has the advantage that the Community is relatively independent in terms of finance. In contrast to many other NGOs, the lion's share of its employees are volunteers, so the Community does not cease to exist if subsidies stop. This also enables the Community to monitor conflicts over a long period of time, and to concentrate on conflicts and forgotten wars in which donors are not directly interested and not willing to invest. Once the conflict then (re)appears on the international agenda, the Community can usually count on the donors' renewed (financial) interest. From a donor perspective, it would be a challenge to fund an organisation such as Sant'Egidio for the long term, as it will be able to monitor a conflict closely for a longer period of time, but cannot guarantee donors concrete deliverables as long as there is no momentum actually to intervene in the conflict situation.

Finally, these lessons learned do not exclusively apply to faith-based organisations like Sant'Egidio, but also to secular organisations. This subsequently brings up the question of to what extent faith-based peace-building then actually differs from secular peace-building. According to one staff member of the Community in Belgium, there is

no difference in the peace-building activities as such. Explicitly stated, religion does not play a role in Sant'Egidio's peace mediation efforts, making Sant'Egidio's peace diplomacy in principle secular in nature. What can make a difference is that people grant Sant'Egidio a certain moral authority, and what can make a difference is that Sant'Egidio has access to a broad network of actors in the 'Christian world'. However, according to Sant'Egidio itself, the key difference and what makes its peace-building work so unique and effective is its faith-based motivation for engagement with peacemaking, referring to the strong sense of responsibility of Community members to those in pain and suffering and especially the poor. It is this caring attitude that provides Sant'Egidio with the opportunity for person-to-person contact. Beyond the commitment to personal relationships with those in need lies the strong conviction that peace comes through dialogue and understanding.

CENTER FOR WORLD RELIGIONS, DIPLOMACY AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION (CROC)

The CROC is based at the George Mason University in Arlington, Virginia, in the United States. It engages in practice, research and education concerning the contribution of world religions to conflict and to peace. The Center mobilises the resources of religion, diplomacy and conflict resolution to support more effective interventions in global problems involving religion. It seeks to support more effective collaboration between religious and secular grassroots' leaders and policy-makers.

The CRDC was endowed and established in 2003, and has at its core the James H. Laue Chair in World Religions, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution, which is occupied by Dr Marc Gopin, who also acts as the CRDC's director. Currently, the Center has a staff of four, a director and a voluntary board.

Because of the various religious affiliations of the CRDC's director and board members, the Center may well be labelled as a multi-religious research and education centre. For the time being, its geographical focus is mainly on the Middle East, although it aims to expand its work to other regions, such as Central Asia, the Balkans and Northern Ireland The CRDC mainly concentrates on conflicts with a religious overtone, stressing the importance of a cultural-religious approach to conflict and conflict resolution, in addition to, for instance, an institutional and economic reform approach.

The CRDC's activities cover a range from community and grassroots' levels to engaging with diplomats, policy-makers and the business community. Most of the CRDC's activities consist of lectures, interfaith dialogues, workshops and seminars, and take place on its own premises. The CRDC's director, Marc Gopin, and various board members have undertaken paid and unpaid research and education activities in several Middle Eastern countries, most recently in Syria.

The CRDC's core business is education, research and direct action. Education activities includes media education, seminars for government leaders and decision-makers, and encouraging graduate -student study in religion and conflict. Research activities focus on topics such as religion and the state, coexistence in multi-religious states and positive models of religious moderates. Direct action consists, *inter alia,* of the promotion and empowerment of a network of religious peacemakers around the world, organising dialogues between and among members of religious traditions, and conferences and retreats where policy-makers can learn from and interact with religious leaders.

Activities

The CRDC's key objective is to go beyond academics and to after policy-makers, diplomats and others in influential positions concrete suggestions for how to deal with the cultural-religious dimensions of conflict. It is important that these people who can design and make key interventions in conflicts understand the role of religion and religious actors in conflict well enough to treat them with respect, and to cooperate constructively with them for the sake of long-term conflict transformation.

One example of a CRDC activity is the current project the Religion, Diplomacy and Conflict Resolution Initiative. This project involves mobilising resources of religion, diplomacy and conflict resolution to support more effective interventions in global problems. Important citizens across different sectors of society can have a dramatic impact on conflict resolution, especially when these individuals are introduced to influential policy-makers and political leaders in the United States and abroad. Powerful changes can result when key citizens and policy-makers are able to team from each other and together develop innovative strategies for conflict resolution. First, the project entails the promotion of networks of key citizens stemming from cultural, religious, academic, military and business sectors, who can be the principal change agents in conflict settings.

Simultaneously, this builds networks and relationships between these citizens and policy-makers and diplomats in the United States and their own countries. Second, it includes training and seminars for mid-career and upper-level policy-makers, business leaders, diplomats and peacemakers, in new techniques of diplomacy utilising appropriate cultural, religious, and value-based practices that can be adapted to specific conflicts. The project is still ongoing and the outcomes cannot yet be assessed.

Impact

The CRDC has been in operation since 2003, and cannot yet assess the impact of its activities. What it expects to add in terms of religious peace-building is to make policy-makers and diplomats more aware of the religious dimensions of conflict, a terminology in which they are normally not thinking. It seeks to influence them to realise that long-term conflict transformation requires working with the hearts and minds of individuals, including secular and religious leaders at the grassroots' levels. The CRDC's contributions to peace seem to be most visible in the domain of dissemination of ideas.

INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR RELIGION AND DIPLOMACY (ICRD)

The ICRD, based in Washington DC, serves as a bridge between religion and politics in preventing and resolving identity-based conflicts that exceed the reach of traditional diplomacy. It does this by incorporating religion as part of the solution. Through linking religious reconciliation with official and unofficial diplomacy, the Center is in effect creating a new synergy for peacemaking. The ICRD can best be described as a multi-faith NGO specialising in faith-based diplomacy.

With a lean staff of seven and an annual working budget of around US$ 588,000, the ICRD uses four criteria to determine where it will get involved: (1) where it can do the most good for the most people; (2) where there are existing relationships of trust that can be brought to bear on the problem at hand; (3) where the situation is of strategic consequence to the United States; and (4) where governments or other NGOs are not already engaged, this to maximise opportunities for the Center to make a significant contribution wherever it is involved. The ICRD is active both in conflicts that have religious overtones and in those that do not.

The ICRD tailors each of its peacemaking initiatives to fit the situation at hand. It has been active in Sudan, Iran, India, Pakistan, among

other places. In the Sudan, for example, it has pursued a top-down approach, working with high-level religious and political leaders from the Christian and Muslim communities to achieve its intended goals; whereas in Kashmir (India) its emphasis has been on achieving reconciliation between next-generation Muslim, Hindu, and Buddhist leaders from both sides of the Line of Control. Generally speaking, it is fair to say that the Center operates at all levels of the organisational spectrum (local, district, national and international) depending on the need. This is out of recognition that every conflict situation is unique, driven every bit as much by personalities as circumstances.

The ICRD works in cooperation with indigenous and external partners on an as-needed basis. Once it has assessed the local religious and secular capabilities and determined the outside skills that will be needed to buttress indigenous talent, it calls upon partnering organisations (for example, the National Prayer Breakfast Fellowship, Initiatives of Change, the Center for the Study of Islam and Democracy) or selected individuals to help meet those needs. It then deploys inter-religious action teams to trouble spots where conflict threatens or has already broken out. In addition to having the secular skills needed to deal with the problem at hand, these teams also reflect the same religious composition as the local population with whom they will be working. That way those who they are serving can feel reassured that someone on the team understands their religious sensitivities and sense of self-worth.

The Center's core peace-building business is mediation, education and interfaith dialogue. According to its founder and President, Dr Douglas Johnston, the Center's core business is the practice of faith-based diplomacy, a form of intervention that brings the transcendent aspects of personal religious faith to bear in overcoming the secular obstacles to peace. Within this framework, the Center has developed a variety of programme initiatives.

Activities

Within the framework of faith-based diplomacy, the ICRD has developed a variety of programme initiatives. In the Sudan, for instance, it has worked behind the scenes aiming to bring an end to the long-running civil war between the Islamic north and the Christian/African traditionalist south.

In Kashmir, the ICRD has been working for the past four years with next-generation leaders to promote 'peace from within'. Its principal

vehicle for doing this has been through its conduct of faith-based reconciliation workshops that are designed to resolve differences at the personal and communal levels between Muslims, Hindus, Buddhists and Sikhs. In South Asia, the ICRD is in partnership with an Islamic policy studies institute in reforming religious schools, including the Wahabi-oriented *madrasas* that gave birth to the Taliban. Moreover, it is active in faith-based diplomacy efforts regarding Iran.

Impact

In assessing the potential contributions to peace of the various ICRD initiatives, the Center's Sudan project provides a helpful example. For the past five years, the ICRD has been working with Muslim and Christian political and religious leaders in moving toward a peaceful resolution of the north/south conflict. A watershed moment in this process took place in November 2000 when the Center convened a meeting in Khartoum of prominent Sudanese and international Muslim and Christian religious leaders and scholars to develop a plan of action for ensuring the fair and equitable treatment of all Sudanese citizens. Not only was this meeting a valuable exercise in interfaith dialogue, but it also resulted in a number of consensus recommendations. According to the ICRD's president, Dr Douglas Johnston, the meeting, which had incendiary potential (in light of the deep grievances involved), produced a genuine breakthrough in communications between the two faith communities and yielded seventeen action recommendations designed to support inter-religious cooperation in human rights, education, employment and humanitarian support (all areas in which religious minorities did not enjoy the same rights as Muslims).

As one of the above follow-up actions, the ICRD—with the support of the Sudan Council of Churches and the International Peoples' Friendship Council—orchestrated the establishment of an independent Sudan Inter-religious Council (SIRC), which provides a forum where key Muslim and Christian religious leaders currently meet on a monthly basis to work out their problems. More recently, the ICRD also took the lead in establishing a Committee to Protect Religious Freedom (CPRF), which is now bringing accountability to this highly sensitive area.

In just the first few months of its existence, the SIRC was able to advance the interests of non-Muslims well beyond what the churches had been able to achieve acting by themselves over the previous ten years. For example, it facilitated the payment of compensation to the

Catholic Church (from the government of Sudan) for church property that the government had unlawfully confiscated some years earlier. It also defused a highly charged political issue between the Episcopal Church and the Sudanese government. Furthermore, it secured increased national media time for Christian programming and facilitated a ban on commercial development adjacent to Christian cemeteries. It has also conducted extensive workshops on religious freedom for next-generation Muslim and Christian leaders.

The increased trust that the SIRC has created and the positive actions that are taking place as a result augur well for Sudan's future. Indeed, the Council convened a major conference in November 2004 on Darfur (an intra-Muslim conflict that some would say is beyond its purview) and did so against the wishes of the Sudanese government. And that is one of the more remarkable aspects of this ICRD initiative. These independent bodies (that is, the Council and the Committee) were formed within a totalitarian context. Not only did the Islamic regime permit their establishment, but it also agreed to treat their recommendations seriously. To date the government has honoured that commitment, even though doing so has required significant expenditure of funds in compensating the Catholic Church.

In sum, the ICRD's contributions to peace not only include meditation between conflicting parties, but also encouraging reconciliation and interfaith dialogue and the dissemination of ideas.

General Observations on Faith-Based Peace-Building

In terms of religious factors that have made a difference, the successful outcome of the November 2000 meeting, according to Johnston, was largely attributable to the faith-based nature of the undertaking. As mentioned earlier in chapter 4 of this report, each day the proceedings began with prayer and readings from the Bible and the Koran. This was preceded earlier in the morning by an informal prayer breakfast for the international participants and local Muslim and Christian religious leaders (on a rotating basis). Finally, and perhaps most important, the ICRD brought with it a prayer team from California whose sole purpose was to pray and fast during the four days of the meeting, praying for the success of the deliberations. These elements coupled with appropriate breaks in the proceedings to accommodate Muslim prayers and provided a transcendent environment that inspired the participants to rise above their personal and religious differences and work together for the common good.

The ICRD indicates three other key issues with regard to faith-based peace-building, namely, trust; resourcefulness; and coordination with other stakeholders. With regard to trust, religious peacemakers must above all have credibility with the conflicting parties, and this is most often gained through a long-term local presence or by partnering local individuals or institutions that command local respect. More often than not, successful conflict prevention or peace-building requires a long-term commitment that is based on trust.

Regarding resourcefulness, Johnston strongly recommends the inclusion of religious leaders in formal peace negotiations. Because of their unrivalled influence at the grassroots' level, he feels it is important that they feel a genuine sense of ownership in whatever political settlement emerges. Furthermore, their presence brings a moral authority to the deliberations that is often missing and with it, an enhanced capability for dealing with the kinds of religious issues that often arise in such negotiations. A case in point, according to Dr Johnston, is the 1972 Addis Ababa Accords that brought an end to Sudan's first civil war. These accords were brokered by the combined efforts of the World Council of Churches and the All Africa Council of Churches. Then, as now, the Muslims were far more powerful than the Christians. When asked why they permitted two Christian organisations to serve as the mediators, the Muslims involved replied that it was because of the moral authority that they brought to the deliberations.

Finally, when pursuing a top-down strategy, it is important to focus one's efforts on the second and third-tier decision-makers as well as those at higher levels. Otherwise, the former may feel inclined to sabotage the peacemaking initiative if they either misunderstand it or conclude that it is going to work to their disadvantage. Johnston estimates that if the ICRD had been more mindful of this need, the time required to establish the SIRC could have been considerably shortened.

WORLD CONFERENCE OF RELIGIONS FOR PEACE (WCRP)

Description

The WCRP, founded in 1970 and based in New York, is an international coalition of representatives from the world's great religions who are dedicated to achieving peace. It is led by Dr William Vendley. The WCRP works through affiliated inter religious councils (IRCs) in over 55 countries, and has an annual budget of US$ 4-5 million. It is funded by a number of donors, including the Netherlands' Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Although the WCRP is a secular NGO by legal definition, all of its constituents are religious actors. It can therefore best be characterised as a multi-religious NGO focussing on advocacy and service delivery, including in the area of conflict transformation.

The WCRP is organised on several levels. At the international level, there is the governing board comprising senior representatives of the world's major religious communities, and the international secretariat in New York. At the regional level, the WCRP has inter-religious bodies that represent different communities in Africa, Asia and Europe. The regional inter-religious bodies are built on different religious communities' existing regional structures. For instance, in June 2003 the WCRP inaugurated a new pan-African multi-religious structure called the African Council of Religious Leaders (AFRC). Its members include already existing regional structures, such as the Symposium of Episcopal Catholic Bishops in Africa, the All-Africa Conference of Churches, the Muslim Councils and the Hindu Council of Africa. The WCRP's regional structures mostly deal with peace advocacy. At the national level, the WCRP is organised *via* affiliates that include chapters (such as Religions for Peace Netherlands, Religions for Peace China) as well as inter-religious councils (such as the Inter-Religious Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina and the Inter-Religious Council of Sierra Leone). The national affiliates usually consist of representatives of the country's different religious communities, but may also comprise women's religious organisations and/or religious youth groups. The national affiliates are mostly involved in service delivery. Additionally, major decisions concerning the WCRP's mission, its operations and activities, and its governing board membership are made during the World Assemblies convened every five years and gathering hundreds of leaders representing the world's great religions. Finally, the WCRP also enjoys consultative status with ECOSOC, UNESCO, and with UNICEF.

Geographically, the WCRP is active on every continent and works in over 55 countries. Its Conflict Transformation Programme has focussed on south-eastern Europe (for example, Bosnia -Herzegovina and Kosovo), West Africa (for example, Sierra Leone and Liberia), the Great Lakes' region of Africa (including Rwanda, Uganda and the DRC), but also on countries such as Iraq. A substantial share of the WCRP's activities concentrates on conflict and post-conflict countries. Most of these conflict situations are not directly labelled as religious conflicts compared to non-religious conflicts, which may justify the

observation that the WCRP largely focuses on non-religious conflicts—that is, on conflicts without any particular religious overtone.

The focus of the WCRP's activities is on the national level. Although the WCRP has a strong international dimension, as seen for example in its World Assemblies, the national level is most important, according to the WCRP's director, Dr William Vendley. It is the WCRP's national chapters and inter-religious councils that act as the agents for advocacy and especially service delivery. They take the lead in activities in their own country and reach out to the grassroots' community level. However, the national affiliates do have the possibility of calling upon the assistance of the WCRP's regional bodies and its international secretariat. In joint consultation, the WCRP's regional and international bodies could then encourage national affiliates to play a more active peace-building role, could strengthen their peace-building capacity, and could further support peace-building efforts that they have already initiated. So the WCRP's strength is at the national level, and not so much at the local community level.

The WCRP exclusively supports and funds its affiliates initiatives—the religious communities all over the world. In terms of funding and implementation, it thus completely works with religious actors, and not with secular ones. However, in terms of cooperation, meaning working together with partners for the sake of conflict transformation and reconciliation, it works with a wide network of organisations, including non-religious ones such as UNICEF and other UN bodies.

The WCRP is active in the areas of the child and family, disarmament and security, development and ecology, human rights and responsibilities, peace education, and conflict transformation and reconciliation. The WCRP's Conflict Transformation Programme, which was established during the mid-1990s, works around the world in areas engaged in armed conflict to mobilise and equip religious communities to serve as effective agents for peaceful change. The programme works with a special method that involves assisting religious communities to correlate, or work out, a connection between their capacities for action and specific challenges related to stages of conflict. Importantly, the method also makes clear what kinds of capacity building are needed to equip religious communities better for more effective engagement in conflict transformation. This challenge of equipping the religious communities is at the heart of the relationship of the WCRP's international secretariat and its national and regional affiliates.

The WCRP has facilitated various multi-religious collaborations that have helped to mediate peace negotiations among warring parties, and to rebuild peaceful societies in the aftermath of violence. These multi-religious collaborations have often materialised into inter-religious councils (IRCs) that continue to engage in peace-building activities within their societies through the WCRP's support. The overall objectives of the WCRP's Conflict Transformation Programme therefore include: (a) to deepen interfaith commitments to dialogue and cooperation for promoting peace; (b) to equip existing IRCs with relevant knowledge and skills in order to prevent and mediate violent conflicts; (c) to strengthen the delivery capacity of the IRCs in the implementation of concrete responses to conflict situations; and (d) to mobilise and equip religious communities to build new IRCs in conflict areas to serve as a mechanism for peaceful change.

In other words, the WCRP's core peace-building business in conflict and post-conflict countries centres around the IRCs, and mainly consists of promoting interfaith dialogue and cooperation, of educating and capacity-building the IRC, and to a lesser extent of encouraging the IRCs to participate as mediators in Track-1 but especially in Track-II peace negotiation processes.

Activities

The WCRP's Conflict Transformation Programme (CTP) works around the world in areas engaged to armed conflict to mobilise and equip religious communities to serve as effective agents for peaceful change, thereby explicitly considering the gender dimensions of both religion and conflict. The following examples of the IRC in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and Iraq may shed some more light on the WCRP's peace-building efforts. For more information on the IRC in Sierra Leone, please see the separate section on the IRCSL.

Since 1996, the WCRP has worked with senior religious leaders and officials in south-east Europe's main religious communities—Islamic, Serbian Orthodox, Roman Catholic and Jewish—to facilitate and support their efforts, in cooperation and peace-building through establishing IRCs. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, the WCRP's secretariat established a field office in Sarajevo in 1996, just months after the signing of the Dayton Accords and the cessation of armed hostilities. In late 1996, the WCRP successfully sponsored a meeting; where Bosnia's four most senior religious leaders (Roman Catholic, Serbian Orthodox, Islamic and Jewish) came together for the first time since the outbreak of war.

After various follow-up meetings, the four religious leaders publicly issued a statement of Shared Moral Commitment in June 1997 and later that year officially established the inter-religious Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina (IRC-BiH), hoping to develop more communication between their religious communities.

The IRC-BiH provides a forum for confronting a range of institutional issues creating a multi-ethnic society in Bosnia. These include the reconstruction of religious monuments in ethnically cleansed areas and the restitution of expropriated property; the return of minorities and their clerical leaders to places from where they were displaced during the war; and the development of new laws protecting religious freedom and equality throughout the country. Around 1999-2000, the IRC-BiH also played an active role regarding the situation in Kosovo. Following the Kosovo wait, they facilitated a meeting in Sarajevo in February 2000 between the heads of Kosovo's three predominant religious communities. At this meeting the three leaders agreed to a Statement of Joint Moral Obligation. A couple of months later, the three leaders met in Pristina on the occasion of a visit to Kosovo by the IRC-BiH. In the end, the IRC-BiH helped the spiritual leader of Kosovo to form the Inter-Religious Council of Kosovo and Metohija on 13April, 2000.

With continued support from the WCRP, the IRC-BiH established five working groups, namely on legal issues, women, youth, religious education and media. Each working group has undertaken various activities that have contributed to Bosnian's peace and reconciliation process. They have helped 1:0 create a law regarding freedom of religion, and religious communities; established a wide network of women who work together on projects to address society's problems; created dialogue between and equipped youth with the skills to prevent conflict in their own communities; and reached out to the general public through several publications, round-table discussions and radio programmes broadcast throughout the region. Particularly effective has been the work, of the Legal Experts' Working Group. The IRC's Legal Experts. Group was formed as a branch of the IRC-BiH in 1999, with representatives from each religious community.

Together, they drafted a new law regarding freedom of religion and the legal status of religious communities and churches in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The text of the law defined, issues relating to freedom of religion, the legal status of churches and religious communities, the registration of religious communities and churches, and the relationship

between religious communities and the state. After the Legal Experts Group completed its first draft of the law in spring 2001, the WCRP helped to organise four public presentations in Sarajevo, Banja Luka, Tuzla and Mostar. Approximately 25-30 representatives from all sectors of society attended each presentation to give comments and suggestions. Representatives from the IRC Legal Experts' Group (including a Bosnian attorney from the WCRP), national and international attorneys and representatives from the OSCE and the Office of the High Representative (OHR) were included in the meetings. Subsequently the Legal Experts' Group redrafted the law. In late 2002, the redrafted law was submitted to the Bosnia. Herzegovinian presidency's office for further review. In early 2003, the Law on Freedom of Religion was presented to the Ministry of Human Rights. Several meetings were held between the Ministry and the IRC-BiH Legal Experts' Group in order to finalise a few remaining issues, and in March 2004 the law was approved by the Ministry of Human Rights and passed the parliamentary procedure. For the near future, the WCRP aims to strengthen, further the IRC-BiH and to link its efforts with those of other IRCs in the region, such as in Kosovo and with the recently established IRC in Albania. By creating regional inter-religious networks, the WCRP hopes to promote regional, inter-religious initiatives as well.

A final example of the WCRP's peace-building activities may be derived from Iraq. Three weeks after the American intervention in Iraq, the WCRP had set up a meeting with leaders from different religious groups in the country. A little later, in May 2003, the WCRP convened a summit of these senior Iraqi leaders, from Sunni, Shia, Christian and Serbian communities, hosted by its international moderator, His Royal Highness Prince El Hassan bin Talal of Jordan, in Amman. Afterwards, these leaders took various steps to establish an Iraqi IRC. They have countered calls for terrorism in their mosques, churches and temples, and have advocated at the highest levels for a permanent Iraqi government that protects all religious groups equally. They have also been assisted by the WCRP in implementing critically needed humanitarian assistance and conflict-mitigation strategies that are designed to promote tolerance among different religious communities. For example, they got involved with 'strategic humanitarian assistance'—that is, with food distributions to Sunni Muslims by Shia mosques and to Shia Muslims by Sunnis. Christian churches supplied food to mosques for distribution to anyone in need. However, because the situation in Iraq has been so difficult, at the beginning of

2005, after five preparatory meetings with a committee to establish an IRC in Iraq, the WCRP had not yet officially established an IRC in Iraq.

Impact

A rather clear impact of the WCRP's work in Bosnia-Herzegovina is—according to the WCRP—the passage of the Law on Freedom of Religion and the Legal Position of Religious Communities and Churches in Bosnia and Herzegovina in November 2003. Drafted, at the request of the IRC by prominent lawyers from the four religious communities, the historic law gives religious communities and individuals rights not previously provided in the pre-war 1976 Law on Religious Communities.

In more general terms, the WCRP has discerned the following positive outcomes of its Conflict Transformation Programme.

- Developed Conflict Transformation Standing Commissions (Global, African Council of Religious Leaders, and European Council of Religious Leaders) that strengthen coalitions among religious leaders of shared experiences in, conflict environments and commitments towards, common action;
- Increased, awareness and support among the INGOs, UN and other international organisations of the valuable and significant role of the IRCs in resolving conflicts and promoting peace;
- Strengthened the IRCs' capacity to resolve conflicts proactively, prevent further conflicts, and serve as major stakeholders in the rebuilding, of just and peaceful societies;
- Increased the IRCs' capacity to serve as independent and sustainable indigenous NGOs that play a leading and constructive role in civil society development;
- Increased commitment among religious leadership to the inclusion and leadership of women in the process of peace-building, and increased the level of programming, that includes gender mainstreaming;
- Established regional mechanisms for religious leaders confronted with violent conflict to respond to regional challenges and crises and address the root causes of conflict;.

The WCRP's contributions to peace thus seem mainly to consist of challenging traditional structures (gender), drafting, committed people to peace-building, the ability to connect different faith communities at

various levels, and the encouragement of reconciliation, interfaith dialogue and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration,

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

The WCRP's Secretary-General indicates three important lessons learned regarding faith-based peace-building. The first is the advantage of multi-religious cooperation. Multi-religious cooperation is important but does not require similar religious beliefs, rather, it requires that all of the participating religious communities identify deeply held and widely shared moral concerns as a shared platform for action. The advantage of multi-religious cooperation is that it brings great strengths. First, it can ameliorate tensions and conflicts among religious groups that can directly contribute to poverty. Second, cooperative efforts can be substantively stronger because of complementary and reinforcing capacities, for action, Third, cooperation can bring great efficiencies, insofar as cooperation on key trainings and service delivery through religious communities allows for greater economies of scale. And fourth, cooperation among religious communities, on one issue can help to develop habits of cooperation that are relevant in other areas. A positive experience of multi-religious cooperation in one area builds a base for effective cooperation in another. It is vital that different religious actors have an equal say in multi-religious cooperation. According to William Vendley, 'in most places of the world today the Christian (infra)structure is overwhelming. Islamic actors and other religious actors usually do not have a similar infrastructure. This may be complicating multi-religious peace-building efforts, because Christian, actors like the World Council of Churches, cannot set the table for the rest of the world. Other religions must be part of the process right from the beginning Religious leaders together must create the table'.

A second, lesson learned is that religious communities, at the national level, are the prime actors in peace processes, but not always the prime supporters or initiators of peace processes. According to Vendley, this means that religious communities surely have the potential for peace-building, but that they require external support and incentives to act as peace-builders. External international support is also needed when religious communities themselves are involved in the conflict. External interventions could then be required to delink religious communities from the conflict, to deconstruct the possible religious legitimacy for conflict, and to assist restoring the image of religious communities as peace-builders in conflict-prone settings. Critically speaking, organisations such as the WCRP should carefully consider

how to separate harnessing the peace-building potential of local, religious communities by enforcing them, in a top-down manner, to refrain from conflict and to work for peace. Or, as Appleby put it already five years ago, "eventually, vigorous leadership must come not only or even primarily from the New York-based UN headquarters but from religious leader heading the national and regional chapters and IRCs; to the extent that the WCRP is perceived as primarily 'a first world' organisation with a vague *Pax. Americana* stamp of approval, it will risk inspiring as much resentment and resistance as cooperation".

A third lesson learned, is that the WCRP as a multi-religious NGO has a role to play in the field of peace-building, and conflict transformation. Intervention like the one in Iraq fight after the American invasion would have been impossible for secular peace-building agencies. At that moment, the Iraqi population did not sufficiently trust any external peace-builder and was suspicious about outsiders intervening in Iraq. However, the WCRP was trusted, in Iraq because some of the religious leaders on its board were closely related with some of Iraq's religious leaders, regarding each other as family. This resulted in enough trust and confidence that the WCRP could directly start working with some of the most senior Iraqi religious leaders.

David Steele

Description

David Steele has been included in the analysis because of his long-term experience with the topic of faith-based peace-building. Steele, a Christian theologian by background, has carried out faith-based peace-building work for a number of different international organisations. Following a brief introduction to peace-building in the Balkans, under the auspices of the Mennonite Central Committee and the Life and Peace Institute in Sweden in 1993, David Steele initiated a religion and conflict project in the Batons under the auspices of the Centre for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in 1994. During the first five years of the project, he carried out reconciliation seminars for religious communities exclusively. Later on, in the lead-up to the war in Kosovo, he started working with actors outside the religious communities, and became involved in back-channel communication between the United States and Serbian and Kosovo Albanian governments before and during the war in Kosovo, aimed at encouraging the Milosevic regime to allow the deployment of NATO peacekeepers in Kosovo. David Steele worked for CSIS from 1994-2002 in the Balkans on faith-

based peace-building. He then joined the Mercy Corps Conflict Management Group (Mercy Corps CMG), which is a merger between the international relief and development agency Mercy Corps and the Cambridge MA-based Conflict Management Group, where he works part-time on the topic of faith-based peace-building.

Activities

One of David Steele's key activities has been to direct an eight-year project (1994-2002) at the CSIS designed to facilitate dialogue and provide conflict resolution braining through seminars for religious people in the Balkans. Within this project, Steele exclusively worked with religious communities. Given his background in Christian ethics and practical theology and in international conflict resolution, he felt challenged to bridge the gap between religion and conflict resolution. To gain access to religious communities, he could tap into the networks of his former employer—the Mennonite Central Committee—especially those of the head of the Mennonite's Balkans Peace Initiative, a man who had lived and worked in Croatia and Bosnia in the 1980s. While contacting Muslim Bosnians and Croatian Catholics went relatively smoothly, building up a relationship with the Serbian Orthodox Church was more difficult. The Church was rather suspicious towards outsiders, particularly Americans. However, through continuous dialogue, Steele gradually gained the trust of various Serbian Orthodox leaders, and managed to gain their support for, and eventually their sponsorship of numerous interfaith reconciliation seminars.

Steele's entry points within the religious communities were so-called 'religious change agents'— that is, religious leaders from among the local clergy and influential lay people, as well as hierarchy, who were open to interfaith dialogue and reconciliation efforts. Some of these 'religious change-agents' came from traditions, like the Franciscans, which are known for their peace-building perspective, while they came from communities known to encourage hardcore nationalistic perspectives. These 'agents of reconciliation' often provided the catalyst for dialogue. They, and those contacted through them, frequently formed the nucleus of those invited to the CSIS's reconciliation seminars.

The reconciliation seminars focussed on community building among ethnic/religious groups and encouraged cooperative efforts between them. While most seminars targeted various ethnic/religious groups together, a few seminars also focussed on members of a single confession or ethnic group, since such homogeneous settings were more conducive

to the kind of internal reflection that was most useful in marginalising extremist elements within the group. According to Steele, creating dialogue between rnoderate and nationalistic elements within a given religious tradition can potentiality confiront the latter with perspectives within their own, theological tradition that question their nationalistic orientation. When handled well, such an intra-party dialogue over issues of essential identity can lead, to recognition for the first time, of cognitive dissonance between values espoused and values acted. Bosnian Franciscans, for example, were able in a mono-ethnic religious seminar to speak, more openly and thoroughly to other Catholics about their theological rationale for reconciliation efforts, thus building a better case against religious extremism, especially among undecided Catholics.

The seminars followed a six-step approach to help transform the participants' attitudes towards others. The six steps included: (1) processing grief by listening to one another's stories; (2) sharing fears in order to build trust; (3) identifying the other group's needs, which helps to rehumanise the enemy; (4) admitting wrongs done by oneself or one's own group to transform the relationships among the participants; (5) forgiving others;—defined as 'giving up all hope of a better past'—a process that usually takes a great deal of time; and (6) envisioning a restorative justice that is bigger than punishment or revenge and that is based on meeting the needs of people rather than enacting retribution.

Impact

The reconciliation seminars for religious leaders in the Balkans have yielded a number of concrete results. First, they contributed to relationship-building between the different religious communities. Second, they resulted in a number of joint (humanitarian) efforts. Third, they laid the foundation for indigenous interfaith institutions. Fourth, their methodology ('the six steps approach') was later applied within a secular context as well. Fifth, the materials that Steele has written on faith-based peace-building work in the Balkans became required reading to the training of some US diplomats.

A living example of improved inter-religious relations comes from the Serbian Orthodox Bishop Hrizostom of Bihac-Petrovac in Bosnia-Herzegovina. In a concrete effort to bridge the religio-ethnic divide at the close of one inter-religious seminar in Bihac, Bosnia, in 1998, Bishop Hrizostom led the delegation of participants to visit the mufti of Bihac. This was the first such meeting of Serbian Orthodox, and Muslim

leaders in this region since the war. Another example comes from the initiatives of Father Ivo Markovic, a Bosnian Franciscan, who was an active peace-builder before, during and after the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina. Father Markovic attended an initial seminar, co-led by David Steele, outside of Bosnia in 1993, during which he expressed the need to learn more about the application of conflict resolution, theory and practice to religious peace-building. After the seminar, he became one of the principal figures that enabled the introduction of the CSIS's religious reconciliation seminars into Bosnia during the war. After the war, he was among the first religious leaders from Sarajevo to visit Serbian Orthodox people in the Bosnian Serb capital of Pale. He made 50 trips during the year following Dayton, visiting whole neighbourhoods of Serbian people, taking messages and letters back and forth between them and former Sarajevan neighbours, and talking Serbian young people into the city of Sarajevo to visit.

A clear joint effort was that at a seminar in Kosovo, a number of young adults, representing most of the religious traditions, decided to meet afterwards to discuss ways in which religious communities could work together to confront organised crime, and to turn other young people away from drugs, prostitution and the trading of weapons. Another example was the determination of participants at an interfaith seminar in Sipovo, Bosnia, (within the Bosnian Serb Republic) in 2000 to raise public consciousness around the problems of corruption in Bosnia after the war. They convinced Bosnian Serb TV to air a prime-time programme highlighting corruption, its effects on society and the failure of political and religious leadership to confront the issue successfully.

Encouraged by the reconciliation seminars, the CSIS's activities were transformed into indigenous initiatives as the Centre for Religious Dialogue (CRD) in Bosnia-Herzegovina was established in December 1998 with offices in Sarajevo and Banja Luka, and the Inter-Religious Centre (IRC) in Serbia was opened in April 2000 with an office in Belgrade. The mandates of both organisations have been to develop further the work of braining religious people in conflict resolution, reconciliation and peace-building. After a transition period of about three years (1998-2001), the two centres became fully independent from CSIS assistance. To date, they are active not only in their own countries, but in the broader Balkans' region. One example of this was an event sponsored by the IRC in Serbia that brought together religious leaders and educators to discuss how religion should, once

again, be taught in schools following the termination of secular communist control over the educational system. Moreover, regarding a third indigenous initiative, the CSIS project in Croatia resulted in the addition of a new programme arm, providing conflict resolution training for religious people, onto the already existing Centre for Peace, Non-violence and Human Rights in Osijek. CSIS seminar participants and consultants formed the nucleus of this programme arm when the CSIS project officially gave complete responsibility for these efforts to the Osijek organisation in 1998.

Moreover, title methodology that Steele applied to reconciliation seminars for religious and non-religious communities. The methodology thus moved beyond the faith communities to influence the peace-building capacity of the wider society. At the request of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Steele assisted in training OSCE staff on the role of religion in conflict resolution, using the same relationship-building process ('the six steps approach') that had proven so successful for religious people. He also assisted in leading a number of workshops for municipal leaders, and professionals, which was sponsored by USIP. Two of these were held in Gjilan/ Gnjilane, Kjosovo, in 2000 and 2001, and one in Virginia in 2001, The success of both the OSCE and USIP ventures indicates the value of utilising practices developed in a religious context, for other population groups. They demonstrate the potential impact that faith-based initiatives can have on the development of peace-building capacities, both within and beyond the religious communities.

Finally, having gained substantial experience with faith-based peace-building in the Balkans, Steele was regularly called upon to speak about the role of religion, in the Balkans in classes at the Foreign Service Institute. In addition to his lectures, materials he had written became required reading for all classes, not just those related to the Balkans. These classes were required for all US diplomats being deployed to the Balkans (or elsewhere) and represented recognition—on the part of the US State Department—that religion plays an important role. Generally speaking, the activities described above seem to contribute peace mostly in the form of altering behaviour, attitudes and negative stereotypes, drafting committed people to peace-building, and encouraging reconciliation and interfaith dialogue.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

One of the key lessons learned, according to Steele, is the tremendous difficulty that Western pluralisms (religious or secular) have in creating

dialogue with conservative religious communities that see their particular brand of faith as the ultimate expression of truth and their pursuit of its dominance within their culture, or beyond, as part of a divine initiative that will, by definition, bring good to all people. Most moderate Western organisations, irrespective of being faith-based or secular, are associated with Western, humanistic value systems and their very presence is therefore perceived as a threat to conservative religious communities. The Western pluralist approach, with its emphasis on tolerance towards the other, is seen as destructive and opposed to the values that the conservatives hold. The key challenge this raises, in the context of many flashpoints around the world, is how to establish true dialogue with conservative, politicised, religious groups. According to Steele, the question is not whether faith-based or secular organisations are better geared for such a dialogue; the key question is how to create a dialogue between equals, where neither side enters with a sense of superiority.

It is therefore important, first, to realise that each of us automatically brings a certain value orientation with us into any conversation. We must not forget that secular humanism and Western liberalism are not universally seen as the broadminded alternatives that they purport to be. The dogmatic certainties, pervasive ideology, and even coercive strategies that sometimes accompany this mindset are usually apparent to the conservative counterparts. Second, it is therefore very important for the Westerner to avoid acting with a sense of superiority, and to regard the conservative religious communities as equals. To accomplish this, we need to build solidarity with 'others' on their terms—finding the points where we hold common, or compatible values that can become a basis for common vision, utilising wisdom from the others' religious traditions to raise questions and pose alternative view-points. Within all religious traditions, there are elements of the tradition that can be used to stretch believers' perceptions. The challenge is to utilise the conservatives own frame of reference to create cognitive dissonance *vis-a-vis* their current attitudes and behaviours.

Steele's example of building up relationships with some of the Serbian Orthodox Church's leadership, is illustrative in this regard. Through constant dialogue with certain Serbian Orthodox leaders, he gained their trust, enabling the participation of Serbian priests in the reconciliation seminars and even the sponsorship of seminars by some bishops. Within the seminars, Steele was frequently able to motivate the Serbian Orthodox participants, along with those from other faith

traditions, to acknowledge the wrongs committed by their own nationality against others. This was done by appealing to their own understanding of the importance of confessing sin. One instance that demonstrates this occurred when a Serbian bishop's deputy responded to a call for acknowledgment of wrongdoing by telling the story of a Bosnian Serb commander confessing to him his involvement in a massacre of Bosnian Muslim civilians. The deputy bishop ended the story with a ringing call to all Serbian priests to acknowledge that their people had much to account for in the war in Bosnia.

INTERNATIONAL FELLOWSHIP OF RECONCILIATION (IFOR)

Description

IFOR—founded in 1919—is an international, spiritually-based movement of women and men committed to active non-violence as a way of life and as a means of political, social and economic transformation. IFOR has about 70 branches, groups and affiliates in more than 40 countries on all continents with a total of around 100,000 members. It has an international secretariat in Alkmaar in the Netherlands, with eight paid staff and an annual budget of around US$ 1 million. IFOR can probably better be regarded as a spiritually-based actor committed to non-violence than a multi-faith peace-building actor.

Representatives of IFOR members meet every four years at an IFOR Council to decide on policies and develop international programmes. The Council elects an International Committee, which meets regularly between Councils to oversee the implementation of these decisions. IFOR's international secretariat coordinates communication, among IFOR members, links branches to capacity-building resources, and helps coordinate international campaigns, delegations and urgent actions.

IFOR works on issues of non-violence, but not necessarily in conflict and post-conflict zones. Only part of its work takes place in conflict-affected countries. It has branches in Bangladesh (for example, the Chittagong conflict), Israel, Palestine and Uganda, among other places. It has groups in Congo Brazzaville, Cambodia, Croatia, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Nepal, and it has affiliates in conflict countries such as Sri Lanka. It thus works in conflicts that may or may not have a religious dimension.

With regard to the level of implementation, most IFOR activities are carried out at the grassroots level. Even though IFOR's international

secretariat is active at, for instance, the United Nations in Geneva and New York and although IFOR has members that operate at the national level of their respective countries, the lion's share of IFOR's activities, worldwide take place with civil society at the local community level.

IFOR's activities are carried out through its members, which from IFOR's primary beneficiaries. IFOR's membership includes adherents of all the major spiritual traditions as well as those who have other spiritual sources for their commitment to non-violence. All members subscribe to IFOR's constitution, which commits them to spiritually-based non-violence. As such, IFOR's primary beneficiaries are largely although not exclusively, spiritually-based, (faith-based) actors. In terms of cooperation, IFOR works together with both secular and spiritually-based actors. It has extensive working relationships with like-minded NGOs and CSOs around the world, such as Musicians Without Borders, Pax Christ International, War Roisters International and the World Council of Churches. Besides, IFOR has consultative status with the United Nations' ECOSOC and operational relations with UNESCO,

Because of IFOR's commitment to spiritually-based non-violence and building up fellowships of people committed to that vision, it is active in various peace-building areas. Cynthia Sampson, an expert in faith-based peace-building, particularly refers to IFOR as a religiously motivated actor that is active in the area of non-violence training. Specific education in non-violence is undertaken by the IFOR Women Peacemakers' Programme and by many IFOR members. According to IFOR's international director, David Mumford, IFOR is especially active outside the official education system. It is very much involved in training-the-trainer projects, at the community level.

However, IFOR members do not exclusively focus on non-violence in education, but are also active in mediation, observing transitional justice and interfaith dialogue. For instance, the IFOR branch in Northern Ireland has also acted as an intermediary at the community level between civilians and the police, and civilians and the IRA. In addition, IFOR Japan is dealing with issues of transitional justice by currently campaigning on the issue of Japanese compensation and an apology to the 'Comfort Women' who were forced into sexual slavery by the Japanese military during the Second World War. Moreover, IFOR's International Women Peacemakers' Programme is active in the area of observation, and sponsors a Swiss peace observer in the Palestinian territories. The local IFOR branch in Zimbabwe has participated in training monitors at the recent election. Lastly, in the Israeli-Palestinian

conflict, IFOR supports inter-religious dialogues among, for instance, Jewish, Christian and Muslim leaders in Israel and the Palestinian Territories. Also, IFOR's Ugandan branch—JYAK—has been involved, for several years in a multi-faith effort for peace in Gulu, facilitating dialogues among other things.

Activities

In its commitment to spiritually-based non-violence, IFOR is active in different peace-building areas, paying explicit attention to women's concerns in conflict and peace through its Women Peacemakers Programme. Depending on the country's situation and the strategic choices about how to allocate limited resources, IFOR members undertake different peace-building activities. The below-mentioned example of the IFOR Ugandan branch's involvement in peace mediations in northern Uganda is not necessarily indicative for the peace-building efforts of IFOR members in other countries.

IFOR's Ugandan branch—JYAK *(Jamii Ya Kupatanisha)*—has been involved for several years in a multi-faith effort for peace in Gulu in northern Uganda. JYAK was founded by Bishop Nelson Onono Onweng as a peace club in 1988 to change the culture of violence in Uganda and was registered as an NGO in 1997. In that same year it started in Gulu with a community vocational school. JYAK. became a branch of IFOR in 1997, and contributed significantly to the creation in 1998 of the Acholi Religious Leaders' Peace Initiative (ARLPI), which is analysed separately in this Annexe III. JYAK promotes non-violence, reconciliation, tolerance and common understanding among the different peoples, ideologies and cultures of Uganda, mainly through education and training.

Just recently, JYAK—together with the Acholi Parliamentary Group and ARLPI, among others— organised an Acholi leaders' retreat in Gulu. The retreat, which took place on 23-26 June 2005 under the theme of Together, making a difference for peace, attracted over 60 political, religious and traditional leaders, from Acholi. It aimed at harmonising the peace efforts of Acholi leaders and adopting a common approach in expediting the restoration of peace in the region. The retreat consisted of addresses on how to settle differences and disputes from a Biblical, Koranic and a traditional African perspective. It provided room for the Acholi leaders to discuss the divisions among them. President Museveni also attended the retreat, commending the Acholi leaders for openly condemning violence and indiscriminate killing

meted out on innocent people by Joseph Kony's Lord Resistance Army (LRA). The leaders at the retreat came up with a 26-point declaration—the Paraa declaration—and called on the government together with development partners to design, develop and implement a comprehensive programme for the reconstruction and development of the Acholi sub-region

Impact

The Acholi leadership retreat resulted in a number of achievement and challenges. Some of the key achievements include the honest dialogue among leaders over obstacles that hindered their leadership for transformation; reconciliation among leaders who were not able to work together; former LRA, commanders accepted before elders and leaders their mistake and asked for pardon, which was granted; acceptance and recognition that the Council of Chiefs *(Ker Kal Kwaro Acholi)* lake leadership in championing the cause of peace and development in the Acholi sub-region; consensus on the Paraa Declaration among the leaders and government, which contained broad directions for the peace process in Acholi; and President Museveni's approval of the Declaration and offer for further dialogue on how to implement it. A major challenge of the retreat was the limited involvement of all leaders, LRA and grassroots' people, which should have led to wider support. Another challenge has been the broad directions of work by Acholi leaders, which need to be given a push to make them work. The Declaration surely needs to be operationalised by developing concrete action points and a monitoring framework for implementation. This example does indicate the complexity of measuring the impact of single peace-building events in the overall peace process. Documentation/observation of peace initiatives, violence and oilier conflicts that result from an intervention could be a good measure of the impact of spiritually-based interventions, according to Reverend Onweng. At the more general level, IFOR's contribution to peace has been most successful in the domains of dissemination of ideas, including on spiritual non-violence, challenging traditional structures and the ability to connect different faith communities at various levels.

MENNONITE CENTRAL COMMITTEE (MCC)

Description

MCC is the relief, development and peace-building agency of the Mennonite and Brethren in Christ Churches of North America, based

in Pennsylvania. It employs 1,200 long-term workers in 60 countries, and has an annual budget of approximately US$ 85 million. MCC has more than 80 years of direct involvement in international relief and development work, and over 25 years of international peace -building experience. It is regarded as one of the pioneers in the area of faith-based peace-building.

Rooted, in the traditional Anabaptist values of non-violence, social justice and reconciliation, MCC has for a long time been interested in the topic of peace-building. In the 1970s, it started within the United States to build the capacity of local churches and congregations to work for peace. Later on in the 1980s, it became internationally involved in peace-building, including through efforts in Nicaragua, Colombia, Somalia and various other (conflict) settings under the rubric of the International Conciliation Service. In the 1990s, MCC took the decision not to continue building its own peace-building training arm, but instead to support such training at institutions of higher learning (such as at Eastern Mennonite University (EMU)). This meant that part of MCC's budget was directed to sending local counterparts and its own staff to these institutions for (peace-building) training.

Additionally, MCC decided to integrate peace work more and more into its international relief and development programmes, particularly through employing staff with specific peace-building skills to support and guide local partners to become peace-builders in their own local environment. MCC to date can thus be regarded as a relief, development and peace-building agency.

MCC works in about 60 conflict and non-conflict countries all over the world, trying to integrate peace-building activities into its relief and development programmes. For instance, in the DRC, it supports a local Mennonite peace association, which trained village peace committees in conflict transformation as well as published a peace education curriculum for primary schools around Congo. In Bosnia-Herzegovina, it funded the Centre for a Culture of Peace and Non-violence in Tuzla, as well as Face to Face in Sarajevo for its work in inter-religious and inter-ethnic dialogue and peace-building. And in Indonesia, it partnered with Solo Interfaith Forum to promote peace in Solo, and with the Peace Centre of Duta-Wacana Christian University by funding the development of new peace training modules. MCC thus undertakes peace-building activities in both religious and non-religious conflict settings.

MCC's activities mainly focus on the grassroots' community level. Through local actors, it seeks to establish working relationships across cultural lines, especially among mid-level community leaders, which include religious leaders, village headmen, local, elders and leaders of women's associations. MCC assumes that these local actors have the skills and traditions of peace-building, aims to remind them of those and build on them. It intends to strengthen local peace-building capacities through offering funding, training and other logistical support.

Clearly emphasising its own Christian identity, MCC attempts—where possible—to work together with local (Mennonite) churches. However, it also cooperates with non-Christian faith-based partners, especially in settings where religion is a polarising factor, such as in northern Nigeria and on the West Bank, and with various local NGOs that are secular in nature. Or, as Appleby has put it, "The MCC aims to build relationships and introduce the biblical foundation, peace-building orientation and development philosophy of MCC to church and community leaders in the countries that have MCC programmes. At the more international level, it also maintains close links with like-minded faith-based organisations such as EMU and Christian Peacemakers Teams, as well as with secular organisations such as the United Nations in New York, to which MCC is accredited.

MCC's core peace-building business is education/skills training in conflict resolution and peace-building advocacy (to a lesser extent) and mediation (on occasion). In terms of education, it primarily aims to strengthen the peace-building capacity of local actors. It supports, local counterparts to go on peace-building training at EMU in the United States, as well as sends out MCC workers specialised in peace-building to support local partners in bringing peace-building training to people caught in situations of conflict and tension. It is preferably engaged with long-term peace-building activities. In terms of advocacy, MCC is an active lobbyist for international peace issues, particularly at the United Nations in New York and the US and Canadian governments. Finally, in terms of mediation, MCC only at times sponsors someone to join, and advise local mediators in conflict. More typically, however, it offers training to these local mediators, because it prefers to strengthen local capacities instead of creating its own teams of mediation experts.

Activities

The first, example illustrates MCC's support for peace mediations between the Sandinista government and a coalition of exiled Indian

groups from the east coast in Nicaragua. The second example describes MCC's interfaith peace education work in Northern Nigeria.

One of MCC's earliest peace-building actions can be derived from Nicaragua in the late 1980s. At that time, a negotiations process between the Sandinista government and a coalition of exiled Indian groups from the country's east coast was mediated by a Conciliation Commission of religious figures, which brokered a preliminary agreement between the two sides in 1988. Commission members included a minister, Andy Shogreen, and three other representatives of the Moravian Church (time predominant denomination in the country's east coast provinces) a Baptist pastor and director of an ecumenical relief and development agency, Gustavo Parajon, and an American Mennonite, John Paul Lederach, who served as MCC's conflict resolution consultant. The agreement apparently opened the way for a substantial number of Indian refugees living in exile to return to Nicaragua. Although subsequent rounds of talks failed to resolve the remaining issues at the time, a final agreement was brokered by former US President Jimmy Carter in 1989 on a trip to arrange for monitoring of the upcoming Nicaraguan election, thus opening the way for the remaining Indian leaders to return and participate in the elections. That agreement was signed in a Moravian church on the east coast, with the Conciliation Commission members present.

The second, more recent example concerns MCC's Nigeria Peace Programme in northern Nigeria, in Jos in the Central Plateau, which started in 2001. MCC started working in Nigeria in 1963, primarily in the education sector. As more trained Nigerian teachers became available, it gradually became involved in other activities, such as income generation, health with a focus on HIV/AIDS, handicapped services and peace education. MCC's active interfaith peace involvement started in 2001 with the establishment of MCC's Nigeria Peace Programme. The programme embarked on a series of meetings and consultations in Jos with Muslim and Christian stakeholders involved in the conflict. After identifying the primary stakeholders, it started a number of interfaith activities—that is, for both Muslims and Christians—including trauma-healing sessions, joint practical activities and interfaith peace-building workshops to strengthen the resilience of pastors, Muslim leaders and other community stakeholders against groups from outside the community that attempt to incite local tensions. Programme activities targeted Muslims and Christians—those mostly affected by the conflict—at the grassroots level. It has aimed at the

personal transformation of participants and structural transformation of the conflict context, and has focussed on sustainable peace. In 2005, the programme has been running for five years.

Impact

As the overall results of MCC's peace-building efforts—and of peace-building work in general—are difficult to measure in a clear way. MCC often relies on stories of incidents where conflict was averted. Furthermore, it looks at how participants of MCC peace-building programmes have utilised the ideas and skills in their own life and own peace-building work.

For instance, the MCC-sponsored peace-building activities in Jos in northern Nigeria have probably—among numerous other factors—contributed to improved community resilience against external spoilers. They managed not to react violently to violence that was externally exerted on them. Additionally, the workshops have—to a certain extent—changed the attitude of individual Muslims and Christians towards the conflict. Participants have come up with the following testimonies "I am particularly moved as a result of this workshop. I am totally changed. I know that Muslims are not my enemies. I wish all Christians were in attendance at this training; 'I used to see Christians as murderers but now my perception has changed'; and 'This workshop has changed my attitude against the "enemies of the gospel". I see them as products of a societal problem rather than as troublemakers. Moreover, it has resulted in a number of organisational changes. Among others, interfaith peace teams are being established in all the 117 local government councils in Plateau State to monitor the progress/indicators of conflict and peace in the state. An Emergency Preparedness and Response Stakeholders Committee is being established in Plateau for crisis intervention by the Catholic Justice Peace and Development Commission, in partnership with MCC. About fifteen interfaith facilitators from both Christian and Muslim groups have been trained and a peace office is being established for the Ecumenical Council of Churches in Northern Nigeria (TEKAN), with conflict monitoring and peace teams at denominational, district and congregational levels.

Regarding MCC's support to the peace mediations in Nicaragua, one of the results of the Conciliation Commission, which was comprised of a small group of Protestant chruch leaders, was that it became the moving force in bringing the Sandinistas into negotiations, with the Indian and Creole leaders who sought political and economic autonomy

for their people. Their efforts not only led to a series of formal negotiations in 1988, but also substantially contributed to ending a difficult conflict within the wider armed struggle that engulfed the nation for nearly a decade. Another result of the Commission's efforts was that after the preliminary agreement was signed, an increasing number of Indians who had fled the country in the 1980s felt safe to return home. In 1998, the year that the Conciliation Commission-mediated accord was reached, 7,948 Indian refugees returned home—a substantial increase compared with earlier figures.

All in all, MCC's peace-building efforts seem to have contributed in particular to healing traumas and injuries, encouraging reconciliation and interfaith dialogue, and to a certain extent to mediation between conflicting parties as well.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

MCC argues that establishing long-term relationships, and building up trust as a common result, have shaped the success of MCC's international peace-building work. Generally speaking, the Mennonite congregations, MCC host country partners, and MICC's relief and development work have provided the type of long-term day-to-day presence needed for successful peace-building activities. It is, inter alia, these MCC relief and development workers—with their reputation for integrity, disinterested service and long-term commitment—that inadvertently prepare the way for intentional Mennonite peace-building efforts. For instance, the success of the Conciliation Commission in Nicaragua, depended on long-term relationships and trust. According to one of the members, the Commission could play the role of the insider-partial third-party role because of the Commission members' local roots and ongoing presence in the situation, and because longstanding relationships of trust that crossed political boundaries made such involvements possible. The Commission's success could thus be attributed to its perceived integrity and the trust that this generated among the Sandinistas and the Indians. In northern Nigeria, MCC's success also depended on long-term relationships. MCC's peace worker, Gopar Tapkida, was able to gain the trust of the Muslim communities involved in the peace-building workshops from 2001 onwards, because in the 1970s, and 1980s MCC sent teachers to community secondary schools in this region of Nigeria. These teachers, mostly from the United States and Canada, lived in these communities and were neighbours of the Muslim people involved. These community members trusted MCC's peace worker, because they remembered these

teachers. Other enabling factors, such as MCC's perceived neutrality, its focus on victims of violence and its less bureaucratic and practical peace-building approach also played a role in MCC's Nigeria Peace Programme.

A second lesson learned that partly relates to the issue of long-term presence is the importance of selecting adequate local counterparts, meaning counterparts with good connections with the communities and regions of intervention, and counterparts that help MCC staff to grasp the local reality and the ways that local stakeholders perceive the reality on the ground. In the case of northern Nigeria, the MCC peace worker could establish contact with Muslims and Christians on both sides of the divide, because he knew the right Christian contacts in the communities that could put him into contact with the key Muslim stakeholders in these same communities.

A final lesson learned is that faith-based organisations such as MCC are relevant in interfaith conflict if they are open about their own identity and respectful of the 'other'. One example of this is MCC's work in northern Nigeria. Another would be the work of MCC in Iran. MCC began working in Iran with relief response to an earthquake in the late l980s. Through its work with the Iranian Red Crescent, it was able to register its interest in further contacts with the society. Since the early 1990s, MCC has had workers placed in Qom, studying at the Imam Khomeini Education and Research Institute, which is an advanced studies institute for Islamic clerics. This is an exchange in which MCC workers study about Shia Islam, and clerics from the institute study about Christianity at the University of Toronto through the Toronto Center for Anabaptist Theology. Although MCC has not (yet) engaged in specific peace work growing from this relationship, it may well be an example of the ability to operate as an actor with a clear Christian identity—being respectful to people from another religion and culture—in a context where Christians are strongly in the minority.

CENTER FOR JUSTICE AND PEACE-BUILDING (CJP) AT EASTERN MENNONITE UNIVERSITY (EMU)

Description

The CJP is based at EMU, which is a Christian university based in Harrisonburg, Virginia. The CJP started in 1994 under the name Conflict Transformation Programme (CTP), but was renamed in 2005.

The CJP work; in/on a large number of conflict situations, carrying out a number of practical, faith-based peace-building initiatives.

Currently, the CJP has about 29 employees working as staff, faculty and administration, and an annual budget of US$ 1.8 million.

The CIP aims to further the personal and professional development of individuals as peace-builders and to strengthen the peace-building capacities of the institutions that they serve. Moreover, it builds upon the Mennonite Central Committee's experience in relief, development and peace work. It consists of a graduate programme, a Summer Peace-Building Institute, and a Practice Institute. The graduate programme provides value-based applied education in conflict transformation, and peace-building. The Summer Peace-Building Institute offers specialised, intensive training to peace-building practitioners from around the world. The Practice Institute (PI) in turn attempts to connect the CJP's academic programme with current practice in the United States and abroad. The CJP can probably best be labelled as a faith-based and practice-based centre specialising in peace-building and conflict transformation.

CJP staff, graduates and *alumni* support conflict transformation and peace-building efforts in potentially violent conflicts in the United States and abroad. Especially through the Practice Institute, they are engaged in countries such as Egypt, Guinea, Jordan, Kurdistan, Lebanon, Liberia and Sierra Leone. Given these countries, the CJP is active in conflict situations with a religious overtone, as well as in (conflict) situations where religion is not a major factor in the conflict.

It is the CJP's premise that conflict transformation approaches must address the root causes of conflict, must be developed strategically, and must promote healing of relationships and restoration of the torn fabric of human community. Even though the CJP focuses; its activities on all levels of conflict societies, and is positioned as a think tank for policy or as a preparation ground for leadership in governmental organisations like the United Nations or US State Department, it utilises an obvious grassroots community-level approach towards peace-building and conflict transformation, most clearly expressed in its field activities in the US and overseas.

In terms of beneficiaries and partners, the CJP's academic programme is open to people from all faith traditions. The CJP's field activities also target religious and non-religious actors. For instance, the STAR (Strategies for Trauma Awareness and Resilience) workshops that the Practice Institute organises in the United States and globally for religious and civil society. Headers have been attended by a large variety of religious actors—mainly Christian, Muslim and Jewish leaders, and to a lesser extent Hindu and Buddhist leaders—as well as by a substantial

number of non-religious civil society leaders. The CJP not only works with different beneficiaries; it also cooperates with a large variety of religious and secular partners, such as the Church World Service (CWS), several Christian Councils in West Africa, the Jordanian Institute of Diplomacy and the Lebanon American University. Despite the CJP's openness to a broad range of target groups, the majority of its beneficiaries and counterparts tend to be faith-based organisations and practitioners.

The CJP covers a wide spectrum of topics, including peace-building, conflict transformation, trauma healing and restorative justice. Its Practice Institute in particular is involved in a large number of practical activities, including training sessions, consultancies, peace-process design, conciliation, mediation and action-oriented research. The CJP's core peace-building business is thus clearly (practice-based) education and training, particularly taking place within the United States at EMU's premises but also in the field in different conflict countries around the world.

Activities

Highlighting one of the CJP's various field activities, this section focuses on the STAR (Strategies for Trauma Awareness and Resilience) workshops in Sierra Leone, an interfaith activity carried out by the CJP's Practice Institute (PI) in cooperation with the Church World Service (CWS).

The STAR programme is an ongoing programme that was first developed for religious and civil society leaders in the United States in the wake of the 11 September 2001 attacks. STAR trains clergy and other care-givers to recognise and respond to societal-level trauma. It provides them with tools to help break the destructive cycle of trauma, and work instead towards healing. Starting off with training workshops in the United States, which include both US and international religious, and civil-society leadership, it began offering contextualised training opportunities in conflict countries overseas too.

After leaders of the Christian Council (CCSL) and Inter-Religious Councils of Sierra Leone attended the STAR workshops at EMU in the United States, they encouraged exporting the programme to Sierra Leone as part of title church community's psycho-social and trauma work. This later resulted in the launch of a five-year STAR programme for West-Africa (2003-2007), covering the three countries of Guinea, Liberia and Sierra Leone. The first West African STAR workshop took place in January 2004, in Freetown, in Sierra Leone, and was attended

by 46 Christian, Muslim and civil society leaders from Liberia and Sierra Leone.

Since January 2004, a number of other STAR activities have taken place in Sierra Leone. They have been implemented by PI and CWS in close cooperation with the CCSL. They have targeted church and community leaders, first to discuss their own experiences with trauma and recovery, and then to carry the skills learned to their congregants and communities. The workshop's curriculum focuses on healing trauma, an introduction to broad justice, security and peace-building issues, and how resolving trauma can promote restorative justice rather than retribution. After having followed one workshop, the participants actually applied the ideas and skills generated at the workshop. In this interim period, PI and CWS—mainly through staff at CCSL—provided them with further coaching and advice. The initial eight-day workshop was followed several months later by a five-day workshop, at which participants stared their experiences and challenges in addressing trauma issues in practice. So far 46 religious and civil society leaders have followed the STAR workshops in Sierra Leone. The PI is currently applying for funds to start new STAR programmes in the countries of Sudan, El Salvador, Guatemala and Nicaragua.

Impact

According to PI's co-director, Janice Jenner, the results of the STAR workshops in Sierra Leone have so far been relatively successful. One tangible outcome is the establishment of the so-called STAR-Net by 42 former workshop participants, who together represent a number of religious and civil society organisations. The STAR-Net activities are guided by the CCSL, which receives financial support from CWS to do so. Tangible results of STAR-Net activities include: (1) local radio broadcasts on the issues of trauma and healing; (2) institution of a required STAR-based course for all students at the Evangelical College of Theology (TECT) in Freetown; (3) development of materials for care-givers of children in difficult situations; and (4) interfaith memorials/healing rituals and massacre sites.

In more general terms the PI attempts to evaluate the impact of its STAR programmes in various ways. For the short-term impact, it holds questionnaires among workshop participants. For the longer term, it tries to track the participants to see to what extent they use the lessons of STAR programmes. Additionally, it attempts to grasp the programmes' impact at the personal, communal and societal level by documenting effects all each of these levels. According to Janice Jenner,

these ways of evaluation are currently sufficient for the agencies that fund the STAR programme. However, she is of the opinion that a more thorough evaluation of (faith-based) peace-building efforts is required and that measuring the impact of peace-building efforts is currently and will continue to be one of the major challenges in the upcoming period, for both donors and peace-building organisations. Despite this ongoing challenge of impact measurement, it seems fair to conclude that the CJP's main contributions to peace include the dissemination of ideas of justice and peace-building, as well as healing trauma and injuries.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

One key observation regards the possible differences between faith-based and secular peace-building actors. Faith-based and secular peace-building practitioners and organisations tend to operate from different paradigms, each with strengths and weaknesses. One difference, according to Janice Jenner, is that faith-based organisations are more inclined than secular organisations to long-term peace-building activities based on strong relationships with local counterparts. Another related difference, she argues, is that faith-based peace-builders tend to be less results-oriented than secular peace-builders. According to her, this commitment to long-term relationships, and a less results-oriented stance are at the same time strengths and weaknesses of faith-based peace-buildere. In addition, some—and only some—ecumenical peace-building organisations appear to have fewer specific peace-building and conflict transformation skills than their secular counterparts.

In other words, some ecumenical, peace-builders do not have the capacity to operate as professionally as their secular counterparts, although faith-based, peace-builders often bring experiences and understandings to their work that give them advantages over secular organisations/practitioners. This calls upon these actors and their funding agencies to look beyond, a faith-based motivation for peace work or a well-established network of local counterparts, and to regard peace-building as a profession for which an organisation, requires specific skills and experiences.

JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME

Description

Founded in 1986, the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame in Indianapolis conducts

research, education and outreach programmes on the causes of violence and the conditions for sustainable peace. It is involved in practical peace-building activities, such as running an international network of Catholic peace-building actors to expand its peace-building capacity, organising capacity-training workshops for faith-based peace-builders, and faith-based reconciliation or mediation efforts in conflict situations on the ground. The Institute has an annual budget of about US$ 2.1 million (not including tuition scholarships), and employs ten core faculty, 39 faculty fellows, six visiting fellows and ten institute staff.

The Kroc Institute is headed by Dr Scott Appleby, a well-known expert in the area of faith-based peace-building and the author of *The Ambivalence of the Sacred Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation,* and has among its cone staff John Paul Lederach—widely known for his pioneering work in conflict transformation—as professor in international peace-building. It plays a leading role in the international discussion on faith-based peace-building, particularly on Catholic peace-building.

The mission of the Kroc Institute is integrally related to the mission of Notre Dame, which is an international Catholic research and teaching university. The Institute draws on Catholic social thought and teaching on war, peace and economic justice as it engages in dialogue and collaboration with other religious and secular traditions to strengthen the capacity for peace-building.

One of the Institute's research projects is the Programme in Religion, Conflict and Peace-Building (PRCP), which started in 1999. This interdisciplinary, inter-religious programme explores the complex roles of diverse religious traditions, in contemporary conflicts. The PRCP encompasses the full spectrum of religious involvement in contemporary conflict from the religious legitimatisation of violence to religious peace-building efforts, such as mediation by religious groups and efforts to promote inter-religious and intra-religious dialogue. Through deeper understanding of religion's multi-faceted role in conflict situations, the PRCP hopes to strengthen the potential for peace-building within all religious traditions. The PRCP hosts visiting fellows, including both scholars in the humanities and social sciences as well as religious leaders and peace-building practitioners whose research would explore the role of religion in a diverse range of religious, cultural and political contexts, including Hindu, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Sikh, or Christian traditions and movements.

Geographically speaking, the PRCP focuses on the religious dimensions of conflict and peace-building in regions including the

Middle East (particularly Israel-Palestine, Lebanon and Turkey), South Asia (Kashmir, Sri Lanka, and Bangladesh), Africa (particularly eastern and southern Africa) and south-east Asia (Myanmar and Indonesia). In general, the programme focuses on contexts where religious identity issues are part of the conflict dynamics and where faith-based, actors or institutions have played or could play a role in peace-building.

Drawing on the work of John Paul Lederach and others, the Kroc Institute seeks to strengthen peace-building efforts by building closer links between initiatives at different levels, from the grassroots to the international level. The Institute's educational programmes, and particularly its MA programme in peace studies, educate peace-builders from around the world for a wide variety of career paths. Many move on to lead community-level or national peace-building initiatives in areas of conflict, while others take positions in multilateral organisations or pursue academic careers. The Institute maintains close contact with these former students through an active *alumni* network of over 380 peace-builders worldwide.

The Institute's work is inter-religious in nature. Its staff include Catholics, Mennonites and Muslims. In its research and international consultation work, the Institute cooperates both with religious and secular counterparts. It maintains close relationships with Catholic peace-building agencies (for example, Catholic Relief Services, Maryknoll and Sant'Egidio) and multi-faith peace-building actors (such as the International Centre for Religion and Diplomacy), but also with a large number of secular actors such as NGOs, research institutes and governments.

While Institute faculty members are primarily engaged in teaching and research, they also serve as consultants on initiatives ranging from grassroots' efforts to high-level policy discussions. These include conducting conflict assessments and training for community-level, and national actors in Nepal in order to prepare a peace-building programme, to the organisation of an international assembly of 400 religious leaders in Spain, and the writing of a consultation piper for Northern Ireland's First Minister on improving community relations in Northern Ireland Faculty members have consulted with ministries of foreign affairs and UN agencies on issues including religiously-rooted violence, faith-based peace-building, economic sanctions and international counter-terrorism efforts. At the same time, the Institute has strengthened links with grassroots efforts around the world through the Summer Institute on Peace-building for Catholic Relief Services and the Catholic

Race-building Network, which aims to share the best practices of Catholic peace-building efforts. In sum, the Kroc Institute's core peace-building business is mainly in education, teaching and research.

Activities

This section highlights three examples of the Institute's more practical involvement in faith-based peace-building. One example is the Catholic Peace-Building Network (CPN), which the Institute helped to establish in 2002 with other Catholic institutions, and which the Institute to date is coordinating. The CPN is a voluntary network of practitioners, academics, clergy and laity from around the world, which seeks to enhance the study and practice of Catholic peace-building, especially at the local level. The CPN aims to deepen bonds of solidarity among Catholic peace-builders, share and analyse 'best practices', expand the peace-building capacity of the Church in areas of conflict, and encourage the further development of a theology of a just peace. While it is a Catholic network, the CPN believes that authentic and effective Catholic peace-building, involves dialogue and collaboration with those of other religious traditions and all those committed to building a more just and peaceful world. The CPN aims to contribute to Catholic peace-building through regular meetings, a clearing-house function, research and publishing, as well as through training and support. In July 2005, it organised its Second Annual Conference in Mindanao, the Philippines.

A second example is the Summer Institute on Peace-Building (SIP), which the Kroc Institute started organising in 2001 for the Catholic Relief Services (CRS). SIP is an annual event designed to train CRS participants in conflict analysis and resolution to deepen their understanding of Catholic social thinking, to establish a long-term network, of US-based Catholic peace-builders and their counterparts overseas, as well as to prepare CRS-related programming and planning. In 2003, for instance, 40 international aid workers for CRS participated in the third annual SIP held at Notre Dame. In 2004, SIP brought together some 35 senior CRS field staff and administrators, along with, Catholic bishops and other local leaders from war-torn regions. This year the fifth SIP has taken place. SIP trainers usually include Scott Appleby, John Paul Lederach, Mary Anderson (Do No Harm Approach) and Andrea Bartoli (Sant'Egidio Community in the United States).

SIPs draw extensively on the peace-building framework developed by John Paul Lederach. Lederach provided support for the design,

development and evaluation of Catholic Relief Services' justice and peace-building programmes in the 1990s. This involved multiple initiatives, including conceptual design with Baltimore headquarters' staff, programme design, and evaluation in south-east Asian and Latin American (particularly Colombian) programmes. Building on these efforts, Lederach, along with Kroc faculty member Larissa Fast and colleagues at CRS, developed a widely used training manual on peace-building published by Cantos Internationalis. SIPs proved an important testing ground for the ideas and exercises included in the manual.

A third example is the involvement of Kroc Institute faculty fellow and [associate] professor of political science Daniel Philpott in faith-based reconciliation in Kashmir as Senior Associate of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy (ICRD). In his work in Kashmir under the auspices of the ICRD, civil society leaders have come to embrace a vision of reconciliation through seminars in which they reflect on what their own faith traditions teach about subjects such as conflict resolution, social justice, the healing of historical wounds and forgiveness, and on the meaning of these teachings for themselves and thein communities. Since September 2000, Daniel Philpott—together with Brian Cox of the ICRD—has conducted eight of these seminars, involving over 400 members of Kashmiri civil society on both sides of the Line of Control. The results have sometimes been dramatic, as in the case of a Hindu Pandit who apologised to Muslims for his sensitivity to their suffering in the conflict and forgiving them four their violence against Hindus, or of a Muslim man who forgave militants who had killed his father and brother eight years earlier and had riddled his own body full of bullets.

Impact

As an academic institute, the primary impact of the Kroc Institute is its research output and the achievements of its *alumni*. In these areas, the Institute has made significant contributions to the field of faith-based approaches to peace-building. The peace-building framework developed by John Paul Lederach in *Building Peace* (1997) is widely used by both religious and secular agencies to understand conflict situations and develop broad-based, peace-building initiatives. Scott Appleby's nuanced analysis of religious militancy and religious peace-building in *The Ambivalence of the Sacred* (2000) played a key role in shaping the Institute's Programme in Religion, Conflict and Peace-building, which, has sponsored research by thirteen visiting fellows. The PRCP is poised to publish an edited volume on religion and

conflict in Africa and a volume on women, religion and violence in South Asia Related research by Rashied Omar, an *Imam* from South Africa who coordinates the PRCP, examines Muslim approaches to peace-building and the impact of interfaith initiatives. Current research being conducted by Dan Philpott offers new perspectives on the relationship of reconciliation and justice, with particular attention to religious approaches to these issues. In addition, the Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC)—a collaboration between researchers and peace-building practitioners led by John Darby, Professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies at the Kroc Institute—will shortly publish four volumes on the dynamics of peace processes in the post-accord environment.

The Institute's MA programme claims over 380 alumni originating from over 90 countries. Participants have come from nearly every continent and from a variety of conflict areas, including Israel and Palestine, the Middle East, Northern Ireland, East Asia, South Asia, Latin America, the former Soviet Union, South Africa and the former Yugoslav republics. The Institute currently has graduates working in 68 countries. Several *alumni* currently lead peace-building initiatives that incorporate religious perspectives, including Zoughbi Zoughbi, director of Wi'am, the Palestinian Conflict Resolution Centre in Bethlehem; George Wachira, executive director of NPI-Africa in Nairobi; Lidia Zubytska, director of the Brussels office and liaison to European institutions and states for the Institute on Religion and Public Policy in Washington DC; and Nell Bolton, Acting CRS/Nigeria Justice and Peace Programme Manager in Abuja.

In terms of specific outcomes and results, the case of Kashmir may also serve as a good example. Asking themselves the question of how the faith-based reconciliation seminars create 'capital' for the peace process between India and Pakistan, particularily as it involves Kashmir, Philpott and Cox indicate two assets. First, the seminars have contributed to transforming the hearts of grassroots and civil society leaders on both sides of the Line of Control in Kashmir, as shown by the Hindu Pandit and the Muslim man above. However, they remark, such transformations alone are not enough. Civil society leaders must also be connected and coordinated with one another. Connectivity—the networking of civil society leaders committed to a common cause—is a second asset for peace that the seminars have generated. According to Philpott and Cox, the faith-based reconciliation seminars in Kashmir have created connectivity in civil society by giving rise to a "core

group" of committed leaders, as well as a network of "cell groups" that meet together for mutual encouragement in reconciliation.

The resulting connections are sometimes surprising. At recent conferences in London and Geneva, leaders from both sides of the Line of Control who had never met before discovered a common commitment to faith-based reconciliation formed through their involvement in the seminars. Finally, if the assets of transformation and connectivity are brought to bear on the Kashmir peace process, it is through an organic linkage between these civil society initiatives and track-I negotiations. In the view of Philpott and Cox, this linkage should preferably be forged through creating two Kashmir diplomacy round tables, one on each side of the Line of Control, which would connect faith-based diplomacy in civil society with the work of track-I officials involved in the peace process.

The authors are of the opinion that the Kroc Institute's contribution to peace-building particularly includes the dissemination of ideas on the role of religion in conflict and peace, ability to connect faith communities of different levels and not only the Catholic community, and encouraging interfaith dialogue and reconciliation.

RELIGION AND PEACE-MAKING INITIATIVE (RPMI)

Description

The RPMI is a programme that is carried out under the coordination of the United States Institute of Peace (USIP). USIP is an independent federal institution created and funded by the US Congress to strengthen the nation's capacity to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflict, and is clearly not a faith-based, organisation itself. Consequently, the authors have doubted whether to include the RPMI in this study. They admit that as USIP is a secular institution, all of its programmes are secular too. Nevertheless, they have included the RPMI for two specific reasons. One is that the RPMI is headed by Dr David. Smock, who is a scholar of religion with a Masters in Divinity from New York's Theological Seminary, and the RPMI as such fits the selection criteria of the presence of religious clerics and/or laymen among its staff (see paragraph 1.5). Another is that the RPMI is a good example of highlighting and strengthening the peace-building potential of faith communities.

In terms of contents, the RPMI builds on and modifies USIP's earlier initiative on Religion, Ethics and Human Rights, which primarily focussed on the role of religion in world conflicts and title applicability

of human rights norms to such conflicts. After that, USIP decided that the emphasis of a new programme of this kind should shift from religion as a source of conflict to religion as a source of peace-building. Hence, in July 2000, the Institute started a new programme—the RPMI. The purpose of the RPMI is to enhance the capacity of faith communities to be forces for peace. In other words, it aims to facilitate the resolution of international disputes through aiding the efforts of faith-based organisations, as well as to expand knowledge about the actual and potential roles of faith-based organisations in international peace-making. Since its start, the Initiative has convened workshops and published reports on the contributions of individual religious communities and faith-based NGOs to peace-building; documented interfaith dialogue and peace-building facilitated information exchange and networking among religious and inter-religious peace-builders and initiatives and it has been active in facilitating inter-religious dialogue among the three Abrahamic faiths or between Muslims and Christians in the Middle East, Macedonia, Nigeria and Indonesia. More recently, the Initiative also started working on an Iranian interfaith dialogue and a Sudanese interfaith dialogue. In 2004, the RPMI had a budget of US$ 4,88,000 and in 2005, it receives a budget of US$ 8,23,000. So far, the RPMl is ongoing and has no end date.

Looking at the countries in which the RPMI is working (for example, Indonesia, Iran, Israel/Palestine, Nigeria, the Philippines and Sudan), it clearly focuses on conflicts with a religious overtone. According to Smock, the RPMI works on conflicts between, religious communities, particularly between two or more of the Abrahamic faiths—Islam, Christianity and Judaism.

Being part of an education and research institute that works with local counterparts, tile majority of the RPMI's work is probably based in Washington and other capitals around the world. At this (inter)national level, it has organised numerous seminars workshops, visits and briefings regarding the role of religion and religious actors in conflict and peace processes for varying audiences, including policy-makers, academics, faith-based organisations and religious actors at different levels. For instance, it facilitated a recent high-level visit of an Iranian interfaith delegation to religious leaders in the United States, sponsored a conference in Cairo with Muslim clerics from the West Bank and Gaza to discuss the link between Islam and non-violence, and is preparing a conference for Muslim and Christian leaders in Khartoum, Sudan. At times, however, the RPMI also works art more

sub-national and local levels, for instance in Nigeria, in Plateau State, where it supports the peace-building efforts of its local counterpart, the Interfaith Mediation Centre.

The RPMI's beneficiaries are mostly religious and not secular actors. That is the majority, if not all, of the RPMI's local counterparts are interfaith organisations that include religion in their work and in their peace-building efforts. It cooperates with, *inter alia,* Muslim and Christian councils in Sudan, Muslim clerics from the West Bank and Gaza, the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Nigeria, and religious, leaders from the United States and Iran.

The RPMI's core peace-building business is education and interfaith dialogue. Next to educating and training local peace-builders in zones of conflict, it, for instance, held a two-day consultation on teaching about the religious 'other' in schools, universities and seminaries internationally. In terms of dialogues, it has actively facilitated interfaith dialogues, including between Iranian and US religious leaders, religious stakeholders in Israel and Palestine, and the New Sudan Council of Churches and the New Sudan Islamic Council.

Activities

This section elaborates on two specific RPMI activities, namely the Sudanese Interfaith Dialogue and the peace mediation efforts of USIP's local counterpart in Nigeria the Interfaith Mediation Centre.

The Sudanese Interfaith Dialogue is part of the Institute's larger Sudan programme USIP has been working since 1995 to advance peace and resolve conflict in Sudan. Through its research and studies, fellowships, grants, training, rule of law, and religion and peace-making programmes, the Institute has advanced international efforts to bring religious and ethnic groups together to address their differences, develop peace strategies, and learn conflict resolution skills. The Institute's Sudan activities, focus on five major themes: (1) promoting religions tolerance (currently through the Sudanese Interfaith Dialogue); (2) facilitating, dialogue; (3) supporting research and education; 4) training leaders, including leaders of religious groups; and (5) raising public awareness on the situation in Sudan. The Sudanese Interfaith Dialogue is envisioned as an opportunity to apply lessons learned from the Institute's experience of working with various religious groups in the Balkans and elsewhere, Hence, in late 2004 the Religion, and Peace-making Initiative started working with the Sudani Inter-Religious Council (SIRC), the New Sudan Council of Churches and the New

Sudan Islamic Council of Churches to organise dialogue between Christian and Muslim leaders to promote post-agreement reconciliation. In February 2005, Dr David Smock, the RPMI's director, visited Sudan to prepare further the conference, which took place in May 2005. The Sudanese Interfaith Dialogue has not been USIP's first activity with religious leaders in Sudan. Already in 1997, the Institute held a major conference focussing on religious conflict in Sudan and options for resolution.

In Nigeria, the RPMI is providing advice and financial support to the Interfaith Mediation Centre of pastor James Wuye and Imam Mohammed Ashafa, whose story is itself a narrative of faith-based peace-building. In 1992, they fought on opposite sides of a religious conflict. Wuye lost his right arm and Ashafa lost his spiritual teacher and two cousins in a Muslim-Christian clash in Zongon Kataf. But in 1995, they recognised the warrants for peace in their two faiths. They established the Interfaith Mediation Centre and committed themselves to working collaboratively to promote interfaith reconciliation. In 1999 they co-authored a book entitled *The Pastor and the Imam; Responding to Conflict'*, which describes their experiences and sets out the Biblical and Koranic mandates for peace. Since then they have helped bring religious peace to the troubled city of Kaduna, and with RPMI support they have trained, many religious youth leaders to be peacemakers.

At the invitation of the administrator of Plateau State in November 2004, Wuye and Ashafa carried their message and skills to Yelwa-Nshar, a town in Plateau State in northern Nigeria, where in May 2004, nearly 1,000 people were killed. They gathered key leaders for five days of sharing and negotiation. Noone had previously brought the two communities together for a face-to-face encounter. As facilitators, Wuye and Ashafa used a combination of preaching and conflict resolution techniques. The most remarkable feature of the process was the frequent quotes from the Koran by the pastor and from the Bible by the Imam.

Although the atmosphere at the outset was tense and confrontational, on the final day Muslim and Christian Headers managed to draft a peace affirmation, which was subsequently shared with the two communities. The Peace Affirmation referred to issues such as the acknowledgement of local leadership issues, affirmation of the sanctity of all religious place of worship, the recognition of ethnic and tribal diversities, disapproval of the use of derogatory names for Muslims, and Christians, condemnation of the unruly behaviour of Muslim and

Christian youths, concern that some of their brothers and sisters are still at large having been displaced, as well as the intention to work collectively with the security agencies to maintain law and order in their communities.

Several thousand turned up on 19 February 2005 for the peace celebration, including many of those who had fled their homes in May 2004 and now felt sufficiently safe to return and resettle. The celebration was attended by the Governor of Plateau State and many other dignitaries who gave their support to the peace settlement.

A little later, Wuye and Ashafa turned their peace-making attention to the city of Jos, the capital of Plateau State, which has experienced comparable religious violence. After three days of interactions between representatives of the Christian and Muslim communities, a similar peace accord was reached and signed.

Impact

The outcomes and results of the faith-based peace-building activities that RPMI sponsors may differ substantially. For instance, the peace agreement that the Interfaith Mediation Centre mediated between Christians and Muslims in some of the most strife-torn regions in Nigeria is a dramatic success, according to Dr David Smock. However, the outcomes of the Sudanese Interfaith Dialogue are not yet known. Even the next steps are uncertain, and depend on the outcomes of the conference, which will hopefully generate a number of possibilities for RPMI to facilitate the peace-building efforts of Muslim and Christian leaders at the sub-national and local levels in Sudan. What RPMI does to grasp somehow the progress and impact of the Sudanese Interfaith Dialogue is to track conference participants and see whether they actually do become or continue to be involved in peace-building efforts.

According to David Smock, RPMI is not yet measuring the impact of its peace-building work as well as it should. RPMI did, for instance, contact with a local Nigerian NGO to conduct a *post-facto* evaluation with one of the peace-building training programmes for religious leaders conducted by the Interfaith Mediation Centre. Moreover, it did recently publish the report *What Works? Evaluating Interfaith Dialogue Programmes*, which elaborates on the need for evaluation of interfaith dialogue and faith-based peace-building, and particularly on the need to assess their 'effectiveness'. The report goes into different modalities and options for evaluating interfaith dialogue and faith-based peace-building activities in general. However, despite these attempts, there remains a

need for RPMI and other organisations in the field of faith-based peace-building to develop better ways of measuring their activities' impact. On a more general note, however, it is fair to say that RPMI's efforts have contributed to peace, mainly in the domains of the dissemination of ideas on the role of religion in conflict and peace, encouraging interfaith dialogue and cooperation, and supporting the mediation efforts of local religious actors.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

Some of David Smock's lessons learned regarding faith-based peace-building include the following. One lesson learned is the importance of selecting a credible local counterpart. For example, the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Nigeria was successful in peace mediations because of the respect that their founders—pastor James Wuye and Imam Mohammed Ashafa—enjoy in Plateau State and beyond. As former religious warriors who are familiar in their personal life with the negative impact of conflict and who have turned into active religious peace-builders, they have a certain leverage in the eyes of the conflict stakeholders. Besides, they have the capacity to integrate successfully and modify Western conflict resolution, methodology with religious exhortation and local custom, turning them into effective faith-based peace-builders.

Another lesson learned is that secular and faith-based peace-building are complementary and go hand in hand whereas the Interfaith Mediation Centre could initiate/facilitate; the mediations in Yelwa-Nshar, the Governor of Plateau State and many other dignitaries in the end had to ratify the peace settlement. Another example is that of Sant'Egidio's contribution to the peace process in Mozambique in the early 1990s. While it could, establish the first contact between the RENAMO leadership and the FRELIMO government at its headquarters in Rome, it had to call upon the Italian government, advisers of the United States and the United Nations actually to participate in the peace negotiation process and to sign the General Peace Accord in 1992.

A final observation made by Smock is that it is sometimes more productive to consider emotionally divisive issues when these are discussed by religious leaders than when debated in secular/political contexts. This is particularly true in contexts where governmental and religious authority overlap. When two communities share a faith commitment, even when the commitment is to different faiths, issues

can be discussed that might be off-limits in secular/political debate. It has been even rather evident in the faith-based dialogue co-sponsored by USIP between. American religious leaders and Iranian and Saudi religious leaders. Particularly with Iranians many topics that are off the table in diplomatic discourse can be discussed freely in contexts of religious dialogue. This may well encourage Western governments to be more open and more sophisticated in their interactions with religious institutions in countries where religion is a significant source of conflict.

MUSLIM ACTORS: WAJIR PEACE AND DEVELOPMENT COMMITTEE (WPDC), KENYA

Description

The WPDC is a network of 27 governmental and non-governmental organisations representing a variety of people—including business-women, elders and religious leaders—operating primarily in the Wajir district of north-eastern Kenya. It attempts to deal with conflicts in its communities at various levels. Although Wajir started as a local organisation, it now operates at national and international levels in Africa. Its areas of activity mainly include education, observation and advocacy with a special focus on intermediation, conflict prevention and resolution. For instance, Wajir initiated the establishment of a Joint Committee of Clans, composed of elders that mediate between conflicting parties, which has been quite effective in preventing conflicts. Wajir also organises public meetings, discussions, conferences, peace festivals, peace days, workshops, analysis of root, causes of conflict and drought monitoring data, instituting early intervention measures and training youth and leaders, which have contributed to conflict reduction in its communities. In its activities, Wajir uses both traditional conflict resolution tools, which require the involvement of the entire clan for the resolution of a conflict, as well as modern mechanisms. Traditional law seeks justice not so much through punishment as through material appeasement. Wajir utilises religious values and traditions, and cooperation from local religious leaders and elders who are well respected in their community and have significant moral and spiritual legitimacy and leverage. Wajir is considered a Muslim peace-building actor because it operates in an area where the majority of people are Muslim Somalis and where Islamic laws, values and traditions play an important role. For that reason, Wajir members incorporate Muslim traditional leaders and Islamic principles of conflict resolution and peace-building values. However, Wajir also incorporates other African religious leaders and traditions, in addition to Islam.

Activities

Wajir is regarded as one of the most visible and successful peace-building actors in the region. Its work is quite well recognised and often cited. Initially formed by a group of women to encourage dialogue among waning parties in the Wajir district of Kenya, Wajir's activities expanded to different areas of Kenya alter about five years.

For instance, Wajir intervenes as a mediator to resolve local conflicts in the Wajir region. One of Wajir's interventions led to a meeting of women from different clans to resolve the conflict at hand 60 people attended this conflict and a Joint Committee of Clans was formed, which would act as a kind of vigilante body to diffuse tension and to report incidents to police. The formation of this committee helped to prevent conflicts before these conflicts turned violent. Before, one of the major challenges that Wajir faced was the practice and attitudes of the community, which made women believe that they had no role to play in peace-building. The few women, who dared to do peace work faced intimidation and rejection. In order to overcome this challenge, women of Wajir approached young and elderly male members of the community who were interested and willing. They slowly worked towards overcoming bias towards women from within the traditional structures. Their success has contributed to a change in the way that woman's role is perceived in their society. Consequently, women are now recognised and work actively as legitimate peacemakers in their communities and are more active in communal decision-making.

Wajir also held a peace festival in 1995 entitled "Peace is a Collective Responsibility", where Wajir invited and funded the chiefs, who were generally the ones to mobilise their communities to fight other clans, to come to the festival. Wajir awarded the chiefs as peacemakers. Being awarded as peace-makers, the chiefs were confused. They all thought, "I finance war and now I am not only being invited to the peace festival, but I am also being honoured at it as a peacemaker!" This creative incentive altered the chiefs' psychology and led them to regard themselves, as peacemakers. According to one member of Wajir, these police chiefs now think of themselves as peacemakers and favour resolving conflicts, non-violently.

A third example concerns Wajir's effort to incorporate peace education in schools. This effort called Peace Education Network, resulted in the government's agreement to provide peace education at schools and to make peace education a part of the school curriculum in the district.

Impact

As shown above, Wajir's peace-building efforts have *inter alia*, contributed to the establishment of Joint Committees of Clans to monitor tensions in the district and aim to prevent violent conflict; increased recognition of women as peacemakers in their communities a change in attitude among local police chiefs; and the incorporation of peace education in schools. Additionally, Wajir's efforts to resolve regional conflicts also led to a major conference in 1993, where a 28-member committee was instituted, and whose outcomes included the 1993 cease-fire and the 14-point resolution, known as the Al-Fatah Declaration, which is still used as the basis for most conflict resolution in the district today.

Additionally, Wajir's example also led the community to take initiatives to solve their conflicts without waiting for the government. Before the community would wait for the government to resolve the conflict. Yet the government now involves the community to resolve the conflict without using violence. The movement's success encouraged more institutions and individuals to take active roles in peace-building, and the public started raising funds for peace rather than war. Mediation and other non-violent means of resolving conflict have been accepted, rather than violence. Many people started rejecting violence and incitement to violence on an individual level as well. These developments also led to a reduced level of violence in the district. Wajir's success has been influential not only in Kenya, but in neighbouring states as well, as they have been invited to share their experiences. More women and youth became involved in the peace process.

It is thus clear that Wajir has made a significant contribution to peace in the region, and through its peace-building efforts has contributed to altering behaviour, challenging traditional structures, mediating among conflicting parties, encouraging reconciliation and dialogue, and policy change.

COALITION FOR PEACE IN AFRICA (COPA), KENYA

Description

COPA is a membership organisation for building its members' capacity and providing support to existing service providers in Africa to achieve sustainable peace in the continent. It aims to promote peace and respond to conflict nationally and throughout Africa, particularly in anglophone, lusophone and francophone countries. COPA's activities include advocacy, education, interfaith dialogue, and especially,

intermediation based on the traditional Islamic justice and conflict resolution mechanism of *Suluh.* In that respect COPA works with traditional cultural religious leaders in Kenya, Uganda and Somalia, where *Suluh* informs the communities' approach to conflict resolution to resolve conflicts. With regard to its advocacy work, in its response to *Salam's* survey questions, COPA, states that the process of *Suluh* informs its training, research and advocacy work to influence Islamic policy governing community peace processes for reconciliation in the region. In terms of its work regarding education, it teaches peace education in schools, publishes books, videos and disseminates these among the population. It does not engage, however, in transnational justice and observation activities. COPA is considered a Muslim peace-building actor because it operates mostly among the Muslim communities and utilises Islamic principles, and mechanisms of peacemaking.

Activities

COPA works on projects that deal with network development human safely and security linked to governance linking practice and policy, peace education among youth, and rapid response to community conflicts. It supports networks (such as the Peace Education Network, as mentioned above) for teachers and students, training the teachers as trainers, giving financial support to undertake school-based activities, monitoring, bringing teachers together at the end of the year to share experiences, helping and funding case studies relevant to teachers work and helping with printing and publication.

One example of a COPA activity is a joint project with Responding to Conflict (RTC), a UK-based organisation, entitled Linking Practice and Policy (LPP). Realising the risk that community level peace-building might be destroyed by policies that ignore such initiatives, the project aimed at linking policy and practice. This project involved producing videos at community level, based on specific peace-building work in Wajir, Kenya; Somaliland; Daveyton, South Afirca; and Gulu in northern Uganda, COPA worked with communities where the videos were made to distil the learning from their peace-building experience and create channels of communication between people on the ground and the people making the policies.

Impact

The LPP project led to articulation of key themes, including critical research questions for further exploration in each country, such as

policing in South Africa; isolation and the need, to revitalise and strengthen the traditional methods of conflict resolution and the role of non-state actors in Kenya; questions of long-term sustainability of the peace committees in Kenya; the need to evaluate peace and how to strengthen traditional institutions, gain recognition, and have elections free of violence in Somaliland; and how national, regional and global issues—including terrorism—impact on the local situation, therefore the need for early-warning mechanisms, early response, and community policing in Uganda. These themes were pulled together under the heading of "Human Safety and Security", and exchange visits of communities, including peace practitioners, community leaders, elders and police have been organised, in addition to workshops.

The project's impact has been recorded based on interviews and questionnaires sent to participants. The participants, for instance, noted:

- Enhanced capacity in the African countries that participated in the project by sharing experiences and developing common strategies, in addition to the learning experience *via* workshops and exchanges;
- Development over a sustained time period of strong case studies of community peace-building in different contexts in Africa, particularly seeking to identify good practice that can support efforts elsewhere;
- Video case studies in particular became a primary way to strengthen traditional African methods of conflict, management and resolution, particularly with elders, chiefs, youth and women;
- Involvement of elders, chiefs and police officers as trainers and resource persons to market the traditional mechanisms of reconciliation and to integrate community policing to African countries/areas where such structures have totally collapsed;
- Involvement of different categories of people (such as the elders, traditional/religious leaders, local leaders, youth, women, NGOs, policy-makers, government representatives, law enforcement institutions and some community members), which has enabled a wide range of stakeholders and role-players within and between African countries in finding ways of undertaking joint activities! (such as lobbying and advocacy).

An example of such a joint activity is that a number of community groups from many African countries are currently seeking avenues, for engaging constructively with Continental Institution and Processes,

the African Union (AU) and New Partnership for Africa's Development (NEPAD) through the Peace and Development Platform (PAD). Finally, the project has also created space for the exploration of the Human Safety and Security concept, broadened the understanding of security to include not only the protection of people and their property or the military, but also as a condition that includes constitutional order, non-discrimination, no impunity and all issues of good governance, respect for human rights (including protection from abuses, humiliation, torture, ethnic cleansing and freedom of movement and speech), food security and other basic needs. As a result, current understanding of security now goes beyond state security to include local community development agendas and international issues (such as war, terrorism, straggle for power and control of world resources).

Based on the analysis of projects stated here, COPA's contribution to peace-building thus includes altering behaviours, policy changes, dissemination of ideas, and encouraging reconciliation and dialogue.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

A final remark is that in response to the authors' survey questions, COPA stated with regard to its activities in Somalia, which is an Islamic country with a justice system that is based on the Islamic community justice system, of *Suluh* that Islamic practices and values inform its training, research and advocacy, especially to influence the state's policies to recognise Islamic policy governing community peace processes for reconciliation. From these communications, the authors got the impression that basing its work on Islamic values renders COPA's work more effective than basing it on secular, non-Islamic models and values. Whether this is the case for peace-building work in Islamic communities in general needs to be substantiated by further research.

INTERFAITH ACTION, FOR PEACE IN AFRICA (IFAPA), KENYA

Description

Coordinated by Sheikh Saliou Mbacke of the *Muridiya Sufi* order, IFAPA aims to get religious communities across Africa to work together for the sake of peace in Africa, to deepen interfaith commitments to dialogue and cooperation for promoting peace in Africa, to equip African interfaith partners with knowledge and skills related to peace promotion activities, to respond to existing conflict situations, and to respond to the challenges of promoting a culture of peace to Africa, human rights and humanitarian law education. IFAPA attempts to

reach these goals by building on existing frameworks, developing practical strategies, methodologies, and tools for cooperative engagement by faith communities in the areas of conflict resolution, peace-building and promotion of a culture of peace. Its activities include capacity-building workshops for religious leaders in the areas of conflict resolution and peace-building, advocating for social justice and care for the vulnerable from government authorities, convening regional and sub-regional conferences on peace and dialogue in Africa, conducting a series of presentations, case studies and workshops by experts in the fields of peace and conflict resolution from professional and religious perspectives, and sending interfaith delegations to express solidarity and mediate between conflicting parties. It thus mainly focuses on interfaith dialogue, but is also involved, in education, advocacy and intermediation. As IFAPA's coordinator is a Muslim religious leader inspired by Islamic values of peacemaking and tolerance, IFAPA is included in this report as a Muslim peace-building actor.

Activities

One of IFAPA's major activities is a major interfaith peace summit—West African Interfaith Peace Summit—which, it convened in December 2003. The Second Interfaith Peace Summit took place in Johannesburg in South Africa from 18-25 April 2005. These summits aim to bring Africa's major religions to work towards peace and harmony and to deal with issues of poor governance, corruption and the HIV-Aids pandemic.

Impact

Based on the directives of the first IFAPA summit, numerous activities have been implemented some of these have included:

- Distribution of copies of Interfaith Peace Declaration, and Plan of Action to African Union, the Southern African Development Community, Economic Community of West African States, Inter-governmental Authority on Development, Common Market of Eastern and Southern Africa and East African Community;
- Letters to heads of states and mediators in peace negotiations in Sudan, Cote d'lvoire, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo and Ethiopia, expressing the concerns of the religious community and urging the authorities to find rapid solutions;
- Three sub-regions have organised their respective interfaith summits;

- A number of national interfaith peace networks and forums have been established;
- Solidarity visits to Liberia to promote peace and a high-level interfaith delegation visited Democratic Republic of Congo;
- Interfaith, peace missions in conflict-affected areas across Africa (Liberia, the DRC and southern Sudan);
- Exchange visits between landmine survivor groups in Africa, for advocacy and awareness-raising about the suffering of victims of war.

Exchange visits and peace missions aim at providing better knowledge of each other, expressing solidarity and contribute to the promotion of peace in the region. The IFAPA coordinator feels that as a result of IFAPA's work, it has managed to make people of different faiths "become friends'" by providing a basis for human dialogue and interaction, regardless of what religion one belongs to. Then religious misconceptions and prejudice are gradually eliminated.

Overall, as a peace-building actor in Africa, IFAPA is quite active and successful, as it is a big success in itself to organise a comprehensive summit where representatives of different religious communities from the majority of African countries participate, commit themselves to peace and interfaith dialogue, and strategize. How to improve and encourage women's participation and role in peacemaking was also included in the agenda of the initial summit.

Furthermore, regional meetings followed the initial summit, leading to the second summit in April 2005. However, it has not been possible to gather more information regarding concrete outcomes and results of the activities stated above, or how successfully each activity that followed these meetings was undertaken. Many of these initiatives and activities take time to produce outcomes, and a thorough evaluation of concrete outcomes and results requires a field trip to the region and interviewing members of the communities involved.

Nevertheless, the authors conclude that IFAPA's main contributions include the dissemination of ideas regarding global governance, HIV/Aids, and encouraging reconciliation and dialogue among different religious and ethnic groups in Africa.

INTERFAITH MEDIATION CENTRE, NIGERIA

Description

Founded by the evangelical reverend James Movel Wuye and Imam Istaz Muhammad Nurayn Ashafa, the Interfaith Mediation Centre's

core business is mediation and encouraging dialogue among youth, women, religious leaders and the government. In addition, the Centre undertakes efforts to inculcate and promote the culture of mutual respect and acceptance of the diversity of each other's cultural, historical and religious inheritance to propagate the value and virtues of religious harmony and peaceful coexistence to save as a resource body in conflict intervention, mediation and mitigation and to cooperate and collaborate with other organisations with similar objectives at local and international levels.

The Centre uses Islam and Christianity as tools to propagate social justice, equality, healing and peace, and works to establish conflict management and poverty alleviation structures for youth and female victims of ethnic and religious crisis. For example, Imam Ashafa is an Islamic preacher engaging in outreaching to excluded youth in order to promote peace and reconciliation among the religious groups within Nigeria and other parts of West Africa. He engages in building peaceful coexistence within his immediate grassroots' area as well as with students in teaching what the Koran instructs, including Islamic values and principles regarding peace. He works in areas of intervention in de-escalating ethno-religious crises in a community, state and the country in general. He also works in mediation between people of diverse faiths, as these issues relate to religious, social, political, economic and environmental justice. He works with grassroots' communities, NGOs, religious bodies such as *Jama atu Nasril Islam* (JNI), and a government body—the Bureau for Religious Affairs-Islamic Matters.

Activities

The Interfaith Mediation Centre has been particularly active in various peace mediations in Nigeria. For example, as the co-founder of the Centre, Imam Ashafa was an initiator of the peace agreement between the religious Muslim and Christian bodies of Kaduna State, he facilitated the outcome of peaceful coexistence within the warring communities of the Birom and Fulani communities in Plateau, and he mediated in ethnic-religious conflicts in Zangoin Kataf. Because of these achievements and his contribution to peace-building, Imam Ashafa, together with reverend Wuye, received the Tanenbaum Peacemakers, in Action Award in 2000.

In terms of educational activities, Imam Ashafa and reverend Wuye also co-published the book: *The Pastor and the Imam: Responding to Conflict in 1999;* as a guide for peaceful management of conflict and reconciliation based on passages from the Bible and the Koran.

In addition to his interfaith mediation work, Imam Ashafa also teaches Muslim youth Islamic values, and the principles and practices of peacemaking. Futhermore, he works on policies that will govern the standard conduct of religious clerics, and aims for a religious peace pact document, which will serve as a working document for the community to observe the laid-down rules and regulations. He also advises on the training of teachers and on the policy of training students with regard to the relevance of religious understanding among the various religious groups in schools.

Impact

Finding out more concrete outcomes and results of the activities undertaken by Imam Ashafa and his colleague reverend Wuye would require a field trip to the region and interviews with community members such as school teachers and students. Nevertheless, it is fair to say that Ashafa's efforts are widely respected and its concrete achievements recognised by his community as well as the international community. Because of these achievements and his contribution to peace-building, Imam Ashafa received the Ansairhdeen Islamic Merit Award for Meritorious Service to Islam in Nigeria in 1999, and as already mentioned, the Tanenbaum Peacemakers in Action Award in 2000. His religious credentials give him the necessary legitimacy, moral authority and credibility to undertake peace-building roles in his community. His main contributions to peace thus include healing, altering behaviour, mediation, encouraging reconciliation and dialogue between Christians and Muslims.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

It is important to note that Imam Ashafa was faced with various challenges in its efforts. Some of these challenges and difficulties, include the lack of understanding about the scope of peace itself. Its efforts have been viewed by some as being for financial gain, or for promoting the personalities of political leaders that are trying to achieve peace in the community. Others viewed these efforts as bringing about a new-formed religion or because of the funding received from donor agencies. Some criticised them as promoting the West (for example, the US and the UK) and their economic development. Imam Ashafa also had to deal with misinterpretation of the Koran, using it to justify certain ends with conflicting parties.

CENTRE FOR RESEARCH AND DIALOGUE (CRD), SOMALIA

Description

CRD is an independent non-profit corporation that aims to promote the social, economic and political rebuilding of Somalia. CRD aims to empower Somali communities transition to peaceful change by providing them with a neutral venue to identify their issues and set priorities for response, and it utilises Islamic values, teachings and principles as a basis of action and guidance.

CRD's main activities include acting as an intermediary, advocacy, and education, mostly at local, national and international levels. CRD's activities do not focus much on transitional justice issues, observation and interfaith dialogue. Its activities are usually directed at Muslims. They focus on women's and children's issues, but work with various target groups to achieve their aims.

CRD provides a neutral forum for dialogue and creates opportunities to discuss and address development and reconstruction issues that are of common concern to Somali society. It brings together actors from local and international institutions, civil society groups, the private sector, community leaders, and local and international NGOs. CRD identifies and prioritises reconstruction and development needs, conducts action-oriented research and problem-solving, develops recommendations for improved policy and practices, and provides people with the skills that they need to work through their own conflicts. CRD works with Somali political leaders, traditional elders, civil society organisations and religious leaders. It aims to provide Somali non-governmental actors with resources and skills for peace-building and conflict resolution. It has developed close partnerships and implemented various projects and programmes with international organisations such as the World Bank, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), UN Habitat, the European Commission, UNICEF and UNIFEM. It is also an affiliate of War-torn Societies Project International (WSPI), whose Somali programme is designed to assist local and national actors as well as the international community in responding more effectively to the challenges of overcoming conflict, preventing its reoccurrence and building lasting peace in Somalia. CRD undertakes projects aiming at demobilisation, demilitarisation and reintegration initiatives; reconciliation on land and property disputes; research on issues of political, social and economic rebuilding; and the availability and accessibility of justice for vulnerable groups, particularly women's groups.

CRD is considered a Muslim peace-building actor because it is established and run by Muslims, operates in an Islamic environment and employs Islamic principles, values and practices to promote peace and conflict resolution. In response to the authors' survey, CRD stated that because Somalia is an Islamic country, the social values and principles of Somalians are based on Islam. Connecting its work and aims with these values and principles therefore not only adds to their effectiveness, but also is *sine qua non* of its work. Moreover, the work and activities of the Centre itself are guided by Islamic values and principles, such as the Islamic principle that 'building peace is an Islamic obligation'. The Center therefore stated that it uses Islamic teachings as bases of action and guidance, which adds to its credibility and legitimacy in the community.

Activities

One of the ways in which CRD aims to contribute to peace-building in Somalia is by bringing together actors from local and international institutions, civil society groups, the private sector, community leaders, local and international NGOs, and external assistance partners. It also provides workshops and skills' training in peace-building, and conducts research.

CRD is currently working with UNICEF on the Youth Peace-building Programme in Somalia to engage youth from various regions in Somalia. The Programme focuses on training in peaces building, conflict resolution and advocacy and seeks to empower Somalia's young people in the areas of peace-building and conflict resolution. More specifically, 250 young Somalians will participate in this programme (50 per cent will be girls). The project aims to provide training and facilitation skills in peace-building and conflict resolution to a core group of 25 Somali youth leaders through training-the-trainers'/facilitators' workshops; to equip Somali youth from across the country with peace-building and conflict resolution life-skills and thereby increase their opportunities to participate in community-based peace processes; to facilitate the establishment of an effective network of Somali youth who are committed to peace throughout the country; and to provide a permanent forum for their continuous engagement in the Somali peace process.

Another project in which CRD is currently engaged is entitled the Dialogue for Peace Project, which among other things involves national reconciliation in Somalia. Through this project, CRD is conducting an extensive process of public consultation on issues that are essential to

peace-building and state reconstruction, which will involve meetings to be held across Somalia, bringing local communities, civil society representatives and Somali political leaders and international actors together to identify and agree on key issues and methods of addressing them in order to build a sustainable peaceful society.

Impact

As both the Youth Peace-Building Programme and the Dialogue for Peace Project are still ongoing, it has not been possible to gather information on the concrete results and outcomes of the activities involved in these projects. Even though these concrete outcomes and impacts are not yet available, the authors argue that some of CRD's significant contributions include altering attitudes, encouraging dialogue and reconciliation, and dissemination of ideas. The authors reached this conclusion based on information received from the organisation itself as well as information on its website.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

It should be remarked that even though CRD has faced various difficulties and challenges in its work, its beneficiaries and international partners value its peace-building work. Some of the challenges encountered by CRD include lack of security; limited resources; and war profiteers. Moreover, deep mistrust among the people and political leaders and external influence on the current Somali dynamics are other challenges it faces. Based on the evaluation of external evaluators, people that have participated in CRD's peace-building forums and members of the community who participate in its work, however, CRD is a respected institution that is considered neutral and where people can voice their ideas and concerns. Continued partnership and collaboration with organisations such as UNDP, the World Bank and the EU indicate that these organisations value CRD's work, contributions, professionalism, transparency and work ethics.

IDAACADDA QUR'ANKA KARIIMKA (IQK) (HOLY KORAN RADIO), SOMALIA

Description

Idaacadda Qur'anka Kariimka (IQK) is a radio station that was established in 2001 in Mogadishu, Somalia, whose core peace-building business is advocacy and education at the local and national levels. Towards that end, the station airs discussion programmes on important events and issues, educational and health programmes, as well as

daily peace messages based on Islamic values for peace, justice and tolerance.

Until the 1990s there were only two radio stations active in Somalia. During the 1990s, Somali intellectuals debated and supported founding radio stations to support the peace process following the civil war. IQK was established within this context. In addition to providing the Somali community with media services, IQK aims to contribute to the peaceful settlement of the conflict in Somalia by neutral and independent reporting. The station focuses particularly on the reconciliation efforts following the confrontations, by transmitting the appeals and meetings of the chiefs and clans, and absolutely avoiding the transmission of threats and menaces carried out by some straggling parties. Towards that end, the station emphasises the values of Somalian society, which are rooted in the Islamic tradition. They emphasise the Islamic values and principles of peace, conflict resolution, justice, equality and tolerance.

Activities

IQK radio station is involved in a number of peace-related efforts, one of which is to air a daily peace message in a distinguished poetic style sponsored by the local Somalian organisation DBG. The station aims to play a neutral party by not taking sides in political and tribal conflicts, as well as aims to promote understanding and cooperation among all parties by airing the different dialogues. For example, in addition to a special programme on Fridays, the radio also airs a daily programme for one hour where listeners discuss developments in their community with the aim of getting them used to listening to the other side. With these kinds of educational programmes, the station aims to alter harmful traditions such as the exclusion of various clans and depriving them of their rights to cooperate and intermarry. Moreover, the station broadcasts charitable deeds to encourage and publicise them. It also airs educational and health programmes that are relevant to society's needs. The radio station has cooperated with Somalian media internally, and with global media establishments such as the BBC, Independent Radio News and UNICEF.

Impact

Journalists in Somalia have been pressured and harassed by both militias and different sections of the government. For example, on 18 March 2004 two IQK reporters were harassed and refused entry to report on a closing ceremony of a seminar being held by the Mogadishu police force at the Police School, which was officially brought to a

close by the President of the Transitional National Government of Somalia, Dr Abdulkassim Salad Hassan.

Despite these difficulties, IQK continues to serve the Somali community and to transmit a message of peace based on Islamic values. As a radio station, it reaches out to a large number of people, including women, youth and the illiterate. Even though the authors have not managed to obtain much information on the results and impact of IQK's radio broadcasts, it seems that its main contributions to the Somali peace process include altering behaviour; disseminating ideas of justice, peace and rights; challenging traditional structures; and encouraging reconciliation and dialogue.

INTER-RELIGIOUS COUNCIL OF SIERRA LEONE (IRCSL)

Description

IRCSL was established in April 1997 by religious leaders with the active support and encouragement of the World Conference on Religions for Pace (WCRP). It can mainly be regarded as a multi-religious initiative, where Muslim actors play a role. Its Muslim members include the Supreme Islamic Council, the Sierra Leone Muslim Congress, Federation of Muslim Women's Associations in Sierra Leone, the Council of Imams, and the Sierra Leone Islamic Missionary Union. Christian members include the Roman Catholic Church, the Pentecostal Churches' Council and the Council of Churches in Sierra Leone (an umbrella for eighteen Protestant denominations).

The Council was primarily inspired by religious beliefs in the promotion of social justice. The example of the Inter-Religious Council in Liberia, which was very vocal against human rights' abuses during and after Liberia's civil war, was another inspiration for the Council. Finally, religious leaders were urged by members of their communities to take an active role in stopping the violence and also in the peace process.

IRCSL mainly operates in the areas of mediation, interfaith dialogue and advocacy at national and international levels. Rather than focussing solely on the Muslim community, the Council's work focuses on Sierra Leone's various religious communities. Among other things, the Council's most significant contribution to peace-building has been its mediating efforts between conflicting parties, which is its main area of activity. For instance, some of the founders had been active throughout the Abidjan peace talks in 1996, earning the respect of both the

government and the rebels in the process. The Council's efforts have contributed to the reduction of violence, as well as the prevention of further human rights' violations.

Activities

Some of IRCSL's founders were active mediators throughout the Abidjan peace talks in 1996. During the conflict, the Council became a bridge between the government and the rebel forces. Although IRCSL could not prevent the *coup* in 1997, it actively pursued dialogue with the *coup's* leaders, listened to their complaints, and condemned the *coup* and human rights' abuses committed by the junta. They also tried to convince the *coup's* leaders to listen to the population and international community and pressured them to return the country to civilian rule. Although they were not able to stop the violence completely, the Council's high visibility and engagement with the *junta* prevented greater abuses against civilians. Their involvement and attitudes earned the respect of both the government and the rebels. When violence returned in late 1998, the UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy turned to IRCSL as a key player in the search for peace, to initiate dialogue between the government and the rebels. IRCSL launched a campaign for a negotiated settlement and recommended convening a national consultative conference, closing the border with Liberia, and the appointment of a peace ambassador.

More specifically, early involvement with the rebel leaders secured the release of 52 hostages, including a large number of child soldiers. IRCSL also met with the heads of states of Guinea and Liberia. The Council appealed to President Charles Taylor of Liberia, whom they suspected had great influence over Colonel Foday Sankoh and his rebels. During the violence, religious leaders stayed in Sierra Leone to advocate peace. They issued press releases over the national radio and two international broadcasting services the BBC and Voice of America. They wrote statements to those who usurped power, asking them to hand over power, held face-to-face meetings with *junta* leaders, talked through arm-radio/transverse, networked with partners, provided humanitarian assistance and finally participated in the Lome peace talks in June 1999.

After signing the peace accord, IRCSL gradually became involved in various post-conflict rehabilitation and longer-term development efforts. In 1999, for instance, it provided strategic humanitarian assistance and as a credible and neutral voice for peace, distributed bags of rice

to both sides of the dividing line. Later, in February 2001, WCRP facilitated a strategic planning workshop for IRCSL that addressed the Council's future priorities and plans. In addition, IRCSL and WCRP conducted human rights' training that was focussed on preparing trainers for each of the four regions of Sierra Leone in which IRCSL had established committees. Throughout 2002-2003, IRCSL continued its peace-building work, including by conducting human rights' training seminars throughout Sierra Leone, sponsoring national days of prayer and reconciliation, engaging in multimedia programmes promoting religious tolerance, and making numerous public statements urging all stakeholders to fulfil their commitments for peace.

In that same period, IRCSL also organised national, regional and district conferences to educate the population on the newly established Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), into which IRCSL's President was nominated in 2002 as the President of the TRC for Sierra Leone. In October 2003, after various preparatory meetings facilitated by WCRP, IRCSL—together with IRC Liberia, IRC Guinea and the Forum of Religious Confessions Cote d'Ivoire—formed the West Africa Inter-Religious Coordinating Committee (WACC), which serves as an inter-religious network to support regional initiatives for the advancement of peace, stability and security in West Africa. Since 2004, IRCSL has also served on a collaborative forum that is responsible for monitoring the Special Court of Sierra Leone.

Impact

IRCSL's involvement in Sierra Leone's peace process has led to various outcomes and results. These Council activities seem to have contributed to the restoration of democratically elected government; disarmament, demobilisation and now reintegration of ex-combatants; and institution of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission and the Special Court. Moreover, 'the Council's active role in encouraging and promoting the negotiations that resulted in the Lome Agreement [in 1999] was recognised by giving IRCSL a predominant role in the Council of Elders and Religious Leaders, which was to be established to mediate disputes of interpretation of the accord.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

Although the impact of IRCSL's involvement was quite positive, it was not without costs and challenges. First, the process took a long time and the Council's persistent, resolute involvement. Some religious leaders left the Council and joined the rebels, and in the process some

lost their lives; others felt threatened and afraid of the Council's ventures, so they withdrew; and many became pliable and played double roles. One lesson learned was that religious leaders should avoid taking sides on national political matters, which does not mean, as indicated earlier, that they have no role to play in mediation.

Against these challenges, the Council has proved successful in encouraging reconciliation and dialogue, connecting with other religious leaders, as well as other segments of society, and mediation.

SUDANESE WOMEN'S CIVIL SOCIETY NETWORK FOR PEACE OR SUDANESE WOMEN'S INITIATIVE FOR PEACE

Description

The Sudanese Women's Civil Society Network for Peace is mainly an advocacy group for bringing about peace and development in Sudan. Other areas of activity include education, interfaith dialogue and research. As part of the Royal Netherlands Embassy's initiative, the Network works with other groups in Sudan to advocate peace and development. It also engages in the education of adults and children for peace and development, conflict resolution training and conference organising. The group especially focuses on women, both Muslim and non-Muslim, and works towards integrating women's agendas into the peace process. It intends to unite women of Sudan, irrespective of religion, ethnic or racial origin, especially in areas of conflict such as the Nuba Mountains, Darfur, Beja and Blue Nile.

In these efforts, the Network works with civil society organisations, government, opposition and other parties to include women's issues into the peace process, particularly the Inter-Governmental Authority on Development (IGAD) process. In its work, the Network employs Islamic values of peace, with a particular emphasis on Islamic ideas of respecting ethnic, racial and religious diversity, respect for human life, and tolerance. This is an integral aspect of its work, as Sudan is an Islamic state with a non-Muslim minority, and Islamic values play a crucial role in the social life of the Muslim community as well as government policies. One of the Networks important achievements was to organise the Maastricht Conference in 2000, and to issue the Maastricht Declaration of Sudanese Women's Peace Initiative.

Activities and Impact

The advocacy work of the Sudanese Women's Civil Society Network for Peace, in developing a women's agenda for peace contributed to

the Sudanese peace agenda's orientation towards all civil society groups and other community members as well as educating these groups on the peace process, and thus to policy change. This was a novel development that had never happened before. Its work also contributed to the inclusion of women's perspectives and issues in the peace process, thus challenging traditional perceptions and structures. It was also able to build solidarity among Sudanese women from different religious and ethnic backgrounds. The Network also worked to organise the Maastricht Conference in 2000, which issued the Maastricht Declaration of Sudanese Women's Peace Initiative. However, it is not possible to collect more information on the concrete outcomes and results of these activities without a field trip to the region and interviewing different members of the community.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

Similar to many other Muslim peace-building actors, the Network faced various difficulties, including the negative perception of women's role in the public space. However, the Network's success and persistence contributed to challenging traditional structures and changing attitudes towards women.

Another challenge faced by the Network was the misunderstanding between it and the Netherlands' initiative. When the initiative was first launched, Sudanese people were not clear about its goals and objectives. There was a suspicion that the initiative wanted to use Sudanese women for its own interest. Even the women involved in the initiative were not fully convinced by the process. Based on this miscommunication, an initial mistrust developed between the initiative and the Sudanese people. Moreover, Sudanese women were not accustomed to being involved in the peace process because of the way in which women were perceived in their community. They felt that the project's aims and participation in the peace process were something they could never reach. However, these misperceptions and mistrust faded away after the first year of the initiative as the Sudanese women started taking the lead, and also ownership of the initiative, as well as seeing the positive impact of their involvement. The Network is therefore now convinced that this project and its involvement enabled them to challenge and to a degree, change the traditional structures.

In conclusion, the authors think that the initiative's main contributions to the peace process have been in the areas of policy change, challenging (gender) structures and dissemination of ideas.

ACHOLI RELIGIOUS LEADERS' PEACE INITIATIVE (ARLPI), UGANDA

Description

ARLPI is a multi-faith peace group in northern Uganda that provides a proactive response to conflicts through community-based mediation services, advocacy and lobbying and peace-building activities.

ARLPI's core business is mediation and observation. ARLPI's specific activities include workshops and education projects, reporting facts about the war and violence, advocating human rights and peace, organising peace rallies and prayers, and mediation. ARLPI has established a network of peace committees in the main centres throughout the Acholi sub-region. It trained Volunteer Peace Animators (VPA) for both Gulu and Kitgum districts, and it managed to establish rapid response teams and a peace forum engaging youth, elders and women in the peace process. It also initiated a meeting with fighting clan members and negotiated a document known as the Al Fatah Declaration, which constituted the bases for a peace settlement between feuding clans. Moreover, it has mediated in violent conflict between the Acholi and their Jie neighbours, between Teso and Karimojong rural communities, and also between rebels and the government. Because of its efforts for peace, ARLPI received the Japanese Niwano Peace award in 2004.

In this report, ARLPI is categorised as a Muslim peace-building organisation, because some of its leaders are Muslim religious leaders, such as Sheikh Musa from the Qadi district of Kitgum, Suleiman Wadrif from the Qadi district of Gulu, and Lanyero Karima Obina from the Acholi Muslim Youth and Women's Association.

Activities

One example of an ARLPI activity is its effort to mediate between the government of Uganda (GoU) and the rebel group Lord's Resistance Army (LRA), which has won ARLPI international recognition as the voice of the suffering people in northern Uganda. Soon after the launch in 2002 by the Ugandan Army of 'Operation Iron Fist' inside Sudan—a move publicly opposed by ARLPI—some of the main religious leaders, together with some traditional cultural leaders, after gaining the government's consent, started meeting with rebel top commanders to form a bridge between the rebels and the GoU. Twenty one meetings of this kind have taken place, often and high risks, misunderstandings

and threats. Despite all these trials, ARLPI's position regarding a peaceful end to the conflict has remained firm.

Another activity in which ARLPI is currently engaged is the project entitled Community Mediation and Peace-Building Programme (CMPP), which aims at enhancing the community's capacity to engage in non-violent conflict resolution and peace-building in northern Uganda.

For additional information on multi-faith peace-building efforts in northern Uganda, also see the analysis of IFOR's Ugandan branch JYAK *(Jamii Ya Kupatanisha).*

Impact

ARLPI's mediation efforts between the GoU and the LRA have not yet resulted in any kind of peace accord. Very practically, however, ARLPI's contacts with the rebel officers have led some rebel officers to lay down their arms and to take advantage of the current government's amnesty.

The specific outcomes and results of the CMPP's project are not yet clear, as the project is still ongoing. Based on ARLPI's previous experience, targeted project results will most probably include:

- Strengthening interfaith networks for peace;
- Strengthening the capacity of community members in peace-building;
- Strengthening peace mediation and mediation services;
- Enhancing and strengthening advocacy and research on peaceful dialogue at local, national and international levels;
- Enhancing community coping mechanisms for resettlement and reintegration of people from and within the internally displaced persons' camps and those displaced in other districts;
- Improving the women's capacity to engage in non-violent approaches to conflict resolution and peace-building;
- Improving the management and coordination of ARLPI's programme.

Other expected impacts of the project include:

- Members of the community will reconcile;
- The GoU and LRA will be able to sit down and negotiate peace and a meaningful peace process will be built and sustained;
- The Acholi community and its neighbours will have a harmonious coexistence;

- Community members will be willing and able to accept returnees in their midst;
- Religious actors and ARLPI staff will be empowered in peace-building;
- A strong interfaith network for peace will be formed and will become active in most of the region's areas;
- Peace-building activities will be integrated into other community activities;
- Peace committees at sub-county levels will be strengthened and made functional;
- Collaboration and networking for peace among different stakeholders will be enhanced;
- Peace committees and religious leaders will be involved in exchange visits;
- Women will become active in community reconciliation and peace processes;
- Culture of tolerance and avoidance of violence as a way of resolving conflict will be promoted.

In more general terms, the authors conclude that Acholi's main contributions to peace-building include, altering behaviours; reducing violence; contributing to change in the government's policy and attitudes by encouraging it to negotiate, mediation, encouraging reconciliation and dialogue among different parties; and disarmament, demobilisation and reintegration.

ISLAMIC COMMUNITY OF BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

Description

The Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina mostly operates in the areas of education, advocacy, interfaith, and as an intermediary at the national level. It does not seem to engage in observation so much. The Community has been involved in peace-building activities under the leadership of Reis-ul Ulema Mustafa Ceric in various capacities. These activities involve advocacy for peace and justice, reconciliation and education for peace. One of the Community's important activities has been to participate in the Inter-Religious Council of Bosnia-Herzegovina. Also, Reis-ul Ulema, with other religious leaders, has issued a statement of shared moral commitment because of concern about the slow and inefficient implementation of the Dayton Accords and continuing violence in the region. Among other things, this statement

stated that the task of religious communities was to establish durable peace based on truth and justice, to show respect for each religious tradition and to cooperate. The statement also called for respecting the dignity of all human beings, condemning violence, acts of hatred and revenge, and the abuse of the media to spread violence.

Activities

The Islamic Community of Bosnia-Herzegovina has been involved in peace-building activities under the leadership of Reis-ul Ulema Mustafa Ceric in various capacities. One example of the peace-building work of the Community is that it has enabled over 100 *Imams* to visit peace-building organisations in the West, and to participate in international workshops and conferences. For example, members of the Community have been invited to share their experiences at international platforms, such as at the interfaith colloquium on the future of religion and inter-communal relations in Bosnia-Herzegovina, Croatia and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, which took place in Serbia from 12-14 October 1997, and which was organised by USIP.

Impact

The *Imams'* involvement in these programmes has increased their own peace-building capacity, and has encouraged peace-building, interfaith/inter-ethnic dialogue and reconciliation among the Muslim community. Increasing numbers of refugees who are returning to their homes may be viewed as a sign for increasing religious tolerance and feeling of security. While it has not been possible to gather more specific information on the Community's specific programmes and their concrete outcomes, the authors conclude that the main contributions of the Islamic Community in Bosnia-Herzegovina include altering behaviours and stereotypes, the ability to draft people and encourage reconciliation and dialogue.

General Observations Regarding Faith-Based Peace-Building

Women to Women was faced with various challenges. Some of these challenges include the influence of politicians in citizens' everyday living; powerful ethnic and religious orientations; poverty; dealing with the large number of war crimes; dealing with refugees; accessibility to justice and human rights; and the structure of political and state authority, which is established on the basis of ethnic principle. Moreover, lack of a joint platform for peace-building, where communities' common issues can be discussed, is another limitation identified by *Zene Zenama.*

Despite these challenges, the authors are of the opinion that Women to Women has contributed to policy changes, encouraging dialogue and reconciliation and the dissemination of ideas.

FACULTY OF ISLAMIC STUDIES, UNIVERSITY OF PRISTINA, KOSOVO

Description

Established in 1992, the Faculty aims to educate students and the Muslim community in Kosovo about Islamic teachings regarding peace and tolerance. It contributes to peace-building in the region, in particular educating students from an Islamic point of view in the areas of peace-building, coexistence and tolerance. Besides education, it is also active in the areas of advocacy and interfaith dialogue. The Institute participates in and organises conferences and seminars, and appeals for peace and tolerance through public magazines, TV and other public sources. The Faculty cooperates with international and regional organisations such as the World Conference on Religion and Peace, Norwegian Church and Boston University.

Activities

The Faculty has been active in numerous peace-related initiatives in/on the Balkans. For example, as part of a peace-building project, the Faculty took part in a ten-day seminar in Coux (Switzerland) organised by the University of Boston and other organisations such as the Center for Strategic and International Studies. This seminar included students from different religious communities in the Balkans, such as students from Belgrade, from Sarajevo, from Zagreb in Croatia and from Kosovo, to discuss the topic of 'What kind of role should religious leaders play in the Balkans in the future?' At this seminar, both students and religious teachers, such as Xhabir Hamiti from the Faculty of Islamic Studies at the University of Pristina, discussed issues such as tolerance, freedom and coexistence. At the end of the seminar, the participants agreed that they all belong to one God, and if they believe and respect the God, they have to respect each other. They should hence work very hard for reconciliation among different ethnic and religious groups in their countries.

Impact

Although the authors did not manage to gather more information regarding the concrete outcomes and results of the Faculty of Islamic Studies' activities, Xhabir Hamiti of the Faculty did state during

telephone conversations that he uses Islamic values of peacemaking to promote peace and reconciliation between religious and ethnic communities, to educate students in the fields of Islam and peace, to publish in these areas, as well as to organise conferences and meetings. He also stated that the Faculty's encouragement and involvement in this project have encouraged students and the Muslim community in Kosovo to participate in reconciliation, dialogue and also to reduce negative stereotyping. Consequently, based on the current information, the Faculty's contribution to peace has mostly been in areas of disseminating ideas about peace, tolerance and democracy, and encouraging reconciliation and peace.

SALAM INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND JUSTICE, UNITED STATES

Description

Established in 2004, Salam is a non-profit organisation for research, education, and practice on issues related to conflict resolution, non-violence and development, with a focus on bridging differences between Muslim and non-Muslim communities. Its operation areas include education, advocacy, interfaith and intermediation, both among Muslims and between Muslims and non-Muslims at international levels. Education is the main area of business of Salam. Salam's activities include providing scholarly and professional knowledge and expertise to governmental and non-governmental organisations and individuals on various dimensions of political, socio-cultural, religious and economic aspects of conflicts in an Islamic context, thus enhancing the knowledge base of Islamic models for conflict resolution and peace, disseminating these among conflict resolution practitioners, academics and policy-makers, promoting and undertaking interfaith dialogue, building capacity for peace actors in the Muslim world, and providing training to religious leaders and other peace-building actors, especially among Muslim communities.

Activities

In the short time, since it became operational, Salam has undertaken various projects. One involved comprehensive research and writing a report on the education system in the Muslim world, entitled *Implementing Approaches to Improved Quality of Islamic Education in Developing Nations,* for Creative Associates International. This report analysed Islamic educational systems in the Muslim world with the aim of developing strategies to improve it. Salam's research paid particular attention to the *madrasa* system in countries like Bangladesh

and Pakistan. Based on its assessment, Salam concluded that there is a dire need to improve the quality of the education system and a need to revise the traditional *madrasa* curriculum, especially to include Islamic values and principles of peacemaking and tolerance. However, Salam also concluded that this revision should not take place without serious consideration of the context and should not be imposed. Moreover, Salam observed that a new curriculum will only be accepted if such a curriculum is attached to the larger project of improving the infrastructure and condition of the *madrasas* in general. Salam is currently seeking funding to develop curricula for these schools.

Another project in which Salam is currently involved is the interfaith dialogue between Muslims and evangelical Christians in the United States. This project is undertaken in conjunction with the Fuller Theological Seminary and aims to encourage collaboration between Christian and Muslim communities through interfaith conflict resolution training and workshops, to reduce misperceptions and to pursue social justice goals in the community. So far, two meetings have taken place between the two communities. This project also entails research and development, leading to a publication for both religious communities, designing a community dialogue process, and also developing pilot projects in selected communities to further mutual understanding. Because this is still an ongoing project, Salam is not able to state the particular outcomes and results of the project.

IMPACT AND GENERAL OBSERVATIONS REGARDING FAITH-BASED PEACE-BUILDING

It is probably too early to assess the impact of Salam's projects during the last year. However, based on its experience, Salam did observe a pressing need for Muslim participants to convene an intra-faith dialogue before the interfaith dialogue takes place. During the process it became clear that it was crucial for the success and effectiveness of the interfaith dialogue to provide an opportunity and space for Muslims to discuss and identify their needs prior to meeting the other group. There is no recognised Islamic authority or a hierarchical religious structure that interprets Islamic texts. There are thus various different interpretations of Islamic texts. Consequently, Muslims who were present at the meeting did not have the opportunity to clarify their concepts and approaches beforehand. This led to lack of consensus and intense debating. Based on this experience, Muslim participants emphasised the need for an intra-Muslim dialogue before meeting with their Christian partners.

SALAM SUDAN FOUNDATION (SSF), UNITED STATES

Description

Established in 1985, SSF is an independent, non-partisan, non-profit cultural foundation dedicated to promoting a universal culture of justice, peace, dignity, democracy and human rights. It operates at the international level, mainly in the areas of advocacy and interfaith dialogue. SSF's activities can be mostly categorised as advocacy for peace and more specifically involve raising US and Western awareness about Africa and the Middle East, raising Middle Eastern and African awareness about the United States and the West, and aim to develop a more enlightened, shared policy agenda for action that can contribute to peace, security, democracy and prosperity. In that respect the main focus areas include cross-cultural, inter-religious, and development-focussed research, reflection, education, dialogue and communication, with the objective of contributing to global efforts for conflict resolution through education for peace and a more compassionate dialogue of cultures, civilisations and religions. In its efforts of citizen and public diplomacy, Salam Sudan wrote a letter to US President G.W. Bush regarding the situation in Sudan, and organised a meeting in February 2005 on "The Sudan Peace Process: Where Do We Go From Here?', where various NGOs, think tanks, human rights' groups, religious communities and government agencies participated. Thus, motivated by Islamic values of peace and tolerance, Salam Sudan's contribution has mainly been to disseminate ideas about democracy, human rights and justice, both in Sudan and in the world, to encourage dialogue and reconciliation and to influence the policies of Sudanese and US governments.

Activities

In its attempt to promote democracy, peace, human rights and justice in Sudan and throughout the world, the Salam Sudan Foundation undertook many activities. For example, the President of the Foundation, Hisham El-Tinay, led a delegation to Khartoum and met with President Abdel Rahman Suar El Dahab, advising him to help Sudan move towards democracy, and signed the Civic Organisations' National Charter to resist any future military intervention in politics. Based on his influential work, El-Tinay was invited by the grassroots' community (Um *Rwaba-Kordofan)* to be their representative and run for a seat in the new parliament with their Umma Party. More recently, on 9 February 2005 the Foundation held the panel discussion mentioned above, entitled

'The Sudan Peace Process: Where Do We Go From Here?', in Washington DC, where a large number of Washington-based think tanks, human rights' organisations, government agencies, universities, various faith communities and nationalities, NGOs and grassroots organisations came together to discuss issues regarding the peace process in Sudan. El-Tinay also wrote letters to President Bush regarding the current situation in Sudan.

Impact

The founder and President of Salam Sudan, Hisham El-Tinay, travelled to Sudan and engaged intellectuals, politicians, Muslim and Christian leaders and the public on issues such as justice, peace, democracy and human rights in Sudan and globally, as well as on the importance of working for a better understanding among Sudan, Africa, the Arab and Muslim world, America and Europe, through better and sustained dialogue. Salam Sudan is credited with having played a positive role, by lobbying both the US administration and the Sudan government, leading to a strategic shift towards peacemaking and the signing of the Sudan Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) in Nairobi, Kenya, on 9 January 2005. Hashim El-Tinay received the Tanenbaum Peace Award in 2001 for his work in Sudan.

FACTORS SHAPING FAITH-BASED PEACE-BUILDING

Based on a short review of the literature on religion, conflict and peace, a number of contextual, institutional and personal factors can be defined that shape the possibilities for faith-based peace-building and that influence the performance of (local) religious actors in the field and (international) faith-based peace-building organisations that support them.

In most cases, the factors outlined apply both to the (local) religious actors and to the (international) faith-based peace-building actors. The overview of factors should not be regarded as complete and exhaustive, but more as indicative for what factors play a role in the area of faith-based peace-building.

It should be noted that the factors outlined do have a positive and a negative side. For instance, the long-term presence of religious actors in a conflict zone can be seen as something positive, but may become negative if people associate this long-term presence with repressive governments in the past, colonialism, or with shunning away from politics and political oppression. A case in point could be Sri Lanka. Although, according to Jayaweera, the churches currently strike a lofty

moral tone, their voice lacks credibility, both internationally and nationally, and not because they stand for righteousness, but, to the contrary, because their history is highly tainted by lack of it.

CONTEXTUAL FACTORS

Contextual factors that shape faith-based peace-building are, *inter alia,* that:

- In various conflict-affected areas the state apparatus is weak or absent and religious structures are some of the strongest institutions in place;
- Religion is, on a wide base, deeply rooted in society. In contrast to Western Europe, for example, secularisation is a relatively unknown phenomenon in large parts of the world;
- The less stable the situation, the clearer religious actors may position themselves. While peace times may make it difficult for religious actors to define their fields of action, conflict times usually trigger religious actors to 'fight' for peace and justice, or conversely to fight against it.

INSTITUTIONAL FACTORS

The performance of religious actors and their supporting faith-based peace-building actors likely depends on institutional factors, such as:

- Being regarded as a moral beacon. 'Dealing with or resolving conflict is not only a political but also a moral issue. Therefore, religious actors could better give people the capacity to deal with the more deep-rooted sources of human conflict than politicians, military or the business community;
- Presence before, during and after conflict. Religious actors usually have a long-term commitment with the community and as such are well embedded in a cultural and relational sense;
- Status and legitimacy. Their daily contact with the masses, long record of charitable services, and reputation for integrity in most settings have earned religious leaders privileged status and unparalleled legitimacy. For instance, the Catholic Church in Rwanda was even after the genocide still regarded as a trustworthy partner in promoting reconciliation;
- Political leverage. Religious actors must have sufficient leverage in the eyes of governments and politicians in order to influence peace processes, if they decide to become politically active;

- International network. 'The blooming of religious movements has created international networks that bind groups of people, often without reference to states. This may make it easier for religious actors to mobilise international support and more difficult for a government to dominate them;
- Wide presence in society. 'Religious actors rooted in local communities with representatives operating in regional, national and often international organisational structures, inhabit a unique social location. Moreover, a religious actor could be a stable institution, which is present in urban and rural areas, even in areas of conflict where many other NGOs are unable to operate;
- Good leadership of the religious organisations;
- Adequate organisational structure that has an exemplary function, and which prevents religious actors themselves from becoming involved in corruption, human rights' violations and misuse of power;
- Transparency with regard to its own functioning;
- Compassion plays a great role in experiencing and exercising faith;
- Women can play a significant role.

Personal Factors

Indispensable attributes of religious individuals building peace—whether or not in relation to a larger religious organisation—include:

- Religious and spiritual baggage. 'Religious individuals operating on a religious or spiritual level are often better equipped to reach people at the level of the individual and the sub-national group—where inequities and insecurities are often most keenly felt—than are most political leaders who walk the corridors of power;'
- Certain spiritual authority. This either through their ties with a religious institution or through the trust evoked by a personal spiritual charisma;
- Ability to persevere against overwhelming odds, as their motivation to be reconcilers and peacemakers stems from a deep sense of religious calling;
- Specific peace-building skills. Not every religious individual can play a peace-building role. Peace-building is a kind of sport for which skills need to be developed. Religious individuals therefore

require continuous capacity-building in various aspects of peace-building;

- No 'guilt of association' with the policies and acts of central headquarters or other branches of the religious organisations for which they are working;
- Principles and values like truth, justice, respect, tolerance, humility, commitment, dialogue-led; and sensitive to social/ cultural/personal and gender dimensions;
- Support. If individual religious leaders cannot free up time and do not have enough personnel and resources, it is often impossible for them to engage in peace-building actions next to the normal job.

DIPLOMACY FOR PEACE THE NEW CHALLENGES

Four and a half years later, when I left India in the autumn of 1991, almost *every feature of that landscape—the landscape in which we had all grown up and come to take for granted—had changed.* Germany was reunited the Warsaw Pact had dissolved itself, the Soviet Union had renounced Communism and was on the point of disintegration, after having collaborated with the Western powers in punitive military action against a Third World country Iraq—which had counted on Soviet support. The whole concept of the command economy was discredited in its own homeland and the ideological rift by which the world had been divided since 1917 had simply disappeared.

The speed of these events left diplomats like myself, and foreign policy planners everywhere, almost literally breathless. In the West, the universal first reaction was one of profound relief relief that the threat to our security and way of life represented by the military strength of a hostile and potentially aggressive Soviet Union was no longer there, undeniably, there was also satisfaction that the failure of communism to provide either prosperity or basic human rights had been exposed, and that democracy—or at least people power was reasserting itself in areas of the world from which it had so long been absent.

For myself, I felt no urge to celebrate the changes as a triumph of capitalism over communism, but rather as a triumph of the human spirit over a repressive and demoralising political system and I rejoiced that the peoples of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union were so to speak rejoining the human race and coming back into the wider European civilisation to which we and they both belong.

In the Third World, and not the least in India not everyone saw what was happening in quite these terms. There were differences of interpretation, and a belief, for example, that what we were witnessing was an overdue victory for the principles of non-alignment as Jawaharlal Nehru had defined them. But there were also, as of course there still are, serious doubts about the likely consequences fears that an overweening capitalism, backed by American military, technological and economic power, and freed from the counterweight of the Soviet Union, would ride roughshod over the countries of the Third World and impose its will on them wherever it could.

And there was understandable dismay at the reappearance of ethnic and national conflicts between the former subject peoples of the Soviet Empire, and the reemergence of religious rivalries which had been thought to have been extinguished by the anti-religious and homogenising policies pursued by the Soviet State towards its minorities over a period of seventy years. In the six months since I left India, these fears sharpened as civil war had broken out, not only in parts of the former Soviet Union but also in Yugoslavia. Aside from sufferings of those directly involved are we to expect unwelcome repercussions worldwide in other countries containing disaffected minorities and mutually suspicious ethnic and religious communities?

The Global Risks

As with all watersheds in world affairs, the end of the Cold War has both positive and negative potential. The task facing the statesmen of the 1990s is to maximise the former and neutralise the latter. To start with, it would be a tragedy if the old mind-set of East West confrontation were to be replaced by a vision of the world as divided into North and South, with the two sides destined to struggle implacably against each other for influence and resources. *To assume that this* is *going to happen could help to make it happen.* But in reality, such a fear exaggerates both the malignity of Western (and specifically of American) society and also the extent of American power in what is becoming not a unipolar world but a multipolar one.

Already the end of the Cold War has enormously eased the fears of a nuclear holocaust which dominated the ’70s and ’80s—and this despite anxieties about control over the nuclear arsenal of the former Soviet Union as authority passes into the hanes of its constituent, and now independent republics. The positive potential in this new situation is that the disappearance of an overriding military threat and the end of ideological confrontation have cleared the way for a more straight

forward and constructive relationship between developed and developing countries, with cooperation in political and economic fields being seen to be both natural and mutually beneficial. *The present global trend towards reduction in defence spending can be reinforced without damage to any country's real security needs, and the resources used more profitably elsewhere.* The problem of nuclear proliferation can be tackled in a more hopeful atmosphere. We may even be able to reach a common view on how to tackle the threats to the global environment. Although, I know how difficult this will be. And trade and technology transfers should be able to flourish without being inhibited by yesterday's political constraints and worries about the effect on the world power balance.

New Challenges and New Paths

Of course there is an Utopian quality about this vision. Yet *the chance of afresh start on these lines is certainly there, if our political masters—and our journalistic opinion-formers—can be educated to see and build on the positive elements in the new world situation and not just the negative ones.* Meanwhile, however, the negative features cannot be wished away. What are we to make of the resurgence of nationalism, the reopening of ethnic and territorial disputes that had seemed buried by the march of history, the boost these may give to fissiparous tendencies already threatening the cohesion of established states? How are these to be dealt with? Here, indeed, is a challenge which could nullify attempts to create a new and more equitable world order from the outset.

There is no panacea for dealing with problems of ethnic or religious separatism. As with terrorism, it is an illusion to think of separatism as a single, global phenomenon, responsive to some uniform cure if only one could find the right prescription. Each case is different, with own causes and its own historical context. *There is only one universal rule: no compromise with outright terrorism*—that is to say with the infliction of indiscriminate frightfulness on innocent people in order to stir up hatred and make a political point.

Beyond that, there are only certain guidelines. *The first of these, it seems to me, is not to assume that separatism is necessarily bad or unjustified.* It would be easy to draw the lesson from what is happening in the former Soviet Union or Yugoslavia that the communism of the past was better than the apparent anarchy of the present, because communism at least kept nationalism and separatism in check. Easy, but wrong. The real lesson is that national and ethnic feelings cannot simply be suppressed by force where force has been tried with apparent success

over a period of many years the only result has been to drive the national/ethnic dynamite underground so that it bursts out with even greater strength when the constraints are lifted.

Of course, a judgement has first to be made about the strength, depth and likely durability of the separatist dynamic in each case. By no means every minority of a minority agitating for independence or autonomy has the backing of the people it claims to represent or their backing may be transient, resulting from some strongly felt but remediable grievance. In general, however, the separatist dynamic is one that has to be managed, rather than simply outlawed; for outlawing a genuine expression of popular feeling will only drive its exponents into the arms of extremists and make the whole problem more intractable. Managing separatism inevitably means treating it as a political and not just a security or law and order problem; it may in certain cases mean giving in altogether to separatist demands; it will certainly mean starting a dialogue with the separatists and making compromises with them.

For if there is one principle of government on which we are all for the moment at least agreed, it is that *government today only has legitimacy to the extent that it rests on the consent of the governed.* This is a principle very difficult to apply selectively, as the former colonial powers found when their colonies claimed the right to apply to themselves the same principles of government as the metropolitan power professed to follow with its own people at home. And as Macaulay sagely remarked, "the reluctant obedience of distant provinces generally costs more than it is worth".

It may at first sight seem paradoxical that the world should apparently be moving simultaneously in two contrary directions, towards a pooling of independence and national authority in organisations like the European Community and SAARC; and at the same time towards fragmentation into smaller and smaller national units. But the paradox is more apparent than real. The movement towards sharing sovereignty or partially surrendering it to some wider, supranational entity has succeeded only where the impetus has come from truly independent legislatures with the support of the electorates to whom they are answerable in order to share or give up sovereignty, a people must first have enjoyed it; and the decision to part with all or part of it must be theirs. It is interesting that in Europe the new small nations which are emerging from the ruins of enforced wider

entities like the old Soviet Union or Yugoslavia are already clamouring to be admitted to the voluntary supranational entity which is the European Community. The same could be said of a potentially independent Scotland as it has already proved true of an independent Irish Republic. Perhaps, there is a lesson and a challenge here for all of us.

PEACE AND RELIGION

The models of modernisation covary with the choice of ideologies. The composite nature of this concept renders it pervasive in the vocabulary of social sciences and evokes its kinship with concepts like 'development', 'growth', 'evolution, and 'progress'. Its ideological moorings, however, suffuse it with value loads that render social scientists and the public equally ambivalent to its notion as modernisation becomes an issue for rejection or approval, prejudice or pride. Ideology also serves as a canopy under which the similarities and differences of contra-distinct models of modernisation of societies, the changes in their material and technological conditions, modes of production, distribution of wealth and power and relative deprivation of classes and sections of people in a society, all these processes tend to have a fit on a calculus of meaning that is ideological. The basic problem of modernisation in the third world nations is ideological. The process of economic growth, expansion of science and technology and changes in the social structure commensurate with demands for social and economic growth are its essential components, but what looms large over these processes is the principle of valuation and symbolisation of these instrumentalities of change in conformity with the national ethos. Modernisation thus becomes a value loaded term, because its main challenge lies in the discovery of relevant ideology.

The relevance is determined not merely by the gross national output or the material indicators of modernisation, i.e., standard of living, the rate of economic growth and the rate of expansion of science and technology in various modes of activities, the armed forces and other formal structures, but by the manner in which these harmonise with the past history and cultural tradition and are evocative of its symbols. The urge for modernity is co-mingled with the urge for identity. This problem becomes central when we examine the modernisation ideology in Indian Muslims. The basic theme around which these basic issues could be woven together is whether Indian Muslims have been able to evolve an ideology of modernisation commensurate with its search

for identity. In descriptive terms modernisation covers a large number of hetrogenous trends organisation of societies at the national level, industrialisation, commercialisation, increasing participation and mobilisation of population at large, secularisation, and rationalisation of political, cultural and lifeways etc. The process of modernisation involves a diffusion of world culture-based on advanced technology and the spirit of science, a rational view of life, a secular approach to social relations, a feeling for justice in public affairs and on the acceptance that to be modern means to see life as alternatives, preferences and choices. Lerner has advocated the use of modernisation to refer to a "disquieting positive spirit" diffused among a wider population and touching public institutions and private aspirations based upon his study of six different societies.

According to Michael M. Ames , "Modernisation refers to a set of related processes and changes involving such things as mechanisation, industrialisation, urbanisation, and bureaucratisation etc. and the impact of these forces on social, political and religious life. Modernisation is a broad concept compared to westernisation, secularisation, and mobilisation. Besides there are divergent views about the scope that is to be covered by the concept of modernisation. Sutton limits modernisation to agriculture, industry, technology and ecology. Apter confines it to political realm. The psychological meaning is subscribed by Lerner and Primary of science and secular life-ways are advocated by Horowitz.

Srinivas prefers westernisation and secularisation to modernisation, because the value of 'humanitarianism' is implicit in westernisation and this includes two other values; viz., 'equalitarianism' and 'secularism'. The latter of these two includes "rationalism," Srinivas's analysis of westernisation and secularisation categorically implies the dichotomy of tradition and modernity as absolute and separate polarities in Indian society. Expression such as, western technology, technology and education replace traditional patterns and secularisation roots out 'sacred' or religious element form society.

Similarly, modernisation has been equated with mobilisation. Deutsch explains that social mobilisation denotes most of the socio-demographic aspects of modernisation. He defines it as a process through which old commitments are eroded and broken and new patterns of socialisation and behaviour are made available. The dichotomy between tradition and modernity is quite explicit in the view of Deutsch too. There are some who regard the advent of

modernisation as it consequence of the adoption of a new ideology. And there are others who hold the view that factors responsible for modernisation may be both the internal inconsistencies of the value-system of a society and the external or structural forces of charge.

The concept of modernisation, however, still remains to be adequately defined. A four-fold classification of the divergent views on modernisation has been made by Yogendra Singh. Thus, the basic conceptual instrument of the modernisation theory is the tradition—modernity dichotomy used in a classical form of two polar types or a modified version of a definite or infinite continuum. To quote him theorists as representatives of the prevailing definitions of modernisation.

"The patterns of the relatively modernised societies, one developed, have shown a tendency to penetrate any social context whose particulars have come in contact with them. The patterns always penetrate; once the penetration began—the previous patterns always change in the direction of some of the patterns of relatively modernised society. "Traditional settings can be utilised where appropriate conditions prevail—there is then, the possibility of gradual transformation of the traditional institutions through incorporation in the modern institutional frame work. The analysis of change within this dichotomous frame work rests on several directional and typological assumptions. Change is conceptualised as a transformation from traditional to modern society, usually with a provision for a transitional stage or as a linear movement along the tradition modernity continuum. However, the break with this form of analysis has been only reluctant and the notion of the possibility of the co-existence of the traditional and the modern patterns has not made a significant dent in the basic tenet of the theory. The directional assumptions obscure theoretical alternatives, there may be no inherent incompatibility between the two systems. Tradition and modernity may be mutually reinforcing rather than conflicting forces, their relationship may be of the interaction rather than unidirectional character, resulting in multiplicity of possible outcomes. More important however, is the methodological implication of these assumptions. They tend to focus the analysis around the modern end of continuum, with the model of traditional society built with a set of contrasting concepts. Western societies provide the explicit standards for conceptualising the direction of historical (and implicitly desirable) change.

The inadequacies of the "modernisation" approach are reinforced by a general tendency of the modernisation theorists to present modernisation in neutral, natural law terms, schools spread,

consumption patterns spread, political institution spread. But it is not a natural law, operating in socio-political vacuum. Technology, presumably, a neutral force, is a two edged instrument, it can be used for opposing purposes. School itself is an important and influential phenomenon but it can not be separated from the content of education determined by macro social conditions. Conspicuously missing from the modernisation analysis is the fact that modernisation is taking place under specific circumstances and that they are processes highly selective at both the modernising and the modernised end. There is an alternative mode of analysis of the process of change in the contemporary world developed by social scientists of the third world, and a few scholars in the west. It employs Marxian categories of analysis-mode of production, classes etc. and is associated with the Marxist theory of imperialism. The world, not the separate national system, should be a unit of analysis. The international system provides the framework, within which change occurs, but it also penetrates each society.

"The International, historical and structural reality of the developed and under developed countries is the product of this worldwide system. The critical questions are—what are the causes and nature of under development? The questions avoided by the theory of modernisation or answered unsatisfactorily without the critical inquiry into the international historical situation. The world is of one piece and of one history. The rich and the poor countries do not have two separate courses of development explainable by historical accident or by some psychological and cultural characteristics of the inhabitants. The development of one and the under development of another are closely interconnected one is a result of the other, one is the cause of another. History is not the initiative process of repetition, some countries developed somehow first and other countries follow up but it is a specific dialectical historical process and should be examined as such.

Any society has possibilities of development. These possibilities are limited by a given historical situation. ''Man makes his own history but he does not make it under circumstances chosen by himself, but under circumstances directly encountered given and transmitted from the past. Given conditions of today are an internationally stratified world dominated by few developed nations, and in terms of the reality of the third world, which continue to be dominated by colonialism and imperialism.

There is still no unanimity on concepts and evaluative standards of modernisation among social scientists, and each approach can be charged with having latent ideological bias. Sociologists having a Marxist approach to modernisation might deny the very ' concept of breakdown as employed by sociologists from the "free world" block, for Marxist "breakdown" maybe a vulgarised conceptual substitute for 'revolution' which is a pre-requisite for modernisation in all developing as well as developed capitalist societies. It is, therefore, necessary to evaluate some important theoretical presuppositions of modernisation which may have a bearing upon modernisation in the analysis of Muslim community.

Most approaches to modernisation could be grouped under two broad categories structural and evolutionary. The structural approach is rather preponderant in social sciences. It sees to analyse modernisation with the help of selected variables—such variables as "social mobility" growth of "communication" 'media exposure' democratic political institutions and values. Morals and norms conducive to modernisation, technological and economic resources of society; and initial conditions of society with respect to the presence of cultural and structural autonomy of parts within the social system, have been taken into consideration. Modernisation is supposed to follow as a result of the presence of these variables in the social system; their intensity and proportion would determine the nature and extent of modernisation in specific situations.

"Evolutionary approach to modernisation treats modernisation as an evolutionary stage in the life of human society. There are however differences in formation of the process of evolution and its direction. Its methodological formulation may either be structural functional, or dialectical, similarly direction of evolution may also be either unilinear or multi-linear. A major difference between dialectical (Marxist) and structural functional, evolutionary approaches to modernisation is that the former treats "breakdown" in the established political, economic and structural framework of a society as a necessary and inevitable condition for development towards modernisation. "Class struggle and its international form of struggle between the rich and poorer nations are here assumed as a necessary process for such evolutionary achievements. Even modernisation as a concept is understood differently, its focus is upon changes in stratification system, of property ownership, and ownership of productive resources in a nation, and not on psychological normative variables like 'achievement-orientation',

'psychic mobility' and 'national hedonism' etc., common among the treatments of many social scientists. Individual characteristics are here treated as 'byproducts of major aggregates of changes in institutional structure of society and its structure of power and property relationships. The structural functional evolutionary treatment of modernisation is drawn primarily from an organismic analogy where evolution is treated as a continuity from the sub-human to human phase and beyond.

In an essay on modernisation as an 'evolutionary universal' of human society, Talcott Parsons writes that such evolutionary changes would engulf all human groups despite their typicalities in other facts of social and cultural organisation. His view assumes that the watershed between sub-human and human does not mark a cessation of the developmental change; but rather a stage in a long process that begins with many pre-human phases and continues through that watershed into our own time and beyond. Modernisation follows a succession of 'evolutionary universals', which are defined as "any organisational development sufficiently important to further evolution that, rather than emerging only once, is likely to be 'hit upon' by various systems operating under different conditions. An important 'evolutionary universal' in the sub-human organic world as a whole, is that of vision, and in case of man it is development of hand and brain. In the social realm the sequence of its evolution is set by four pre-requisite universals; these are communication with language, religion, social organisation with kinship and technology. These integrated together constitute a set for elemental social organisation. On this foundation universals like 'stratification', 'cultural legitimation', bureaucratic organisation, 'money and market complex', generalised universalistic norms', and finally, the democratic associations develop in a sequential order. Of these, the last four (bureaucratic organisation, money and market complex, the generalised universalistic norms and democratic associations) constitute the structural normative conditions of a modern society."

The process called modernisation is not restricted to one domain of social reality but envelops all the basic aspects of social life. An attempt is made here to discuss the type of processes which are subsumed under the rubric of modernisation without the definitional restrictions imposed by social scientists.

Modernisation is high differentiation and specialisation with respect to individual activities and institutional structure. It refers to the separation of different roles held by the individuals especially among

the occupational and political roles, and between them and the family and kinship roles, "specificity" and not "diffuseness" is implied in the separation of roles, and recruitment to the roles is not determined by ascription based on any fixed kinship, territorial, caste or estate basis but is free-floating based on achievement.

Modernisation in political spheres impliede four major features:

1. The legitimacy of the sovereign authority of the state is derived not from supernatural sanctions, but from secular sanctions inhering in the people and based on accountability of citizens.
2. The continual diffusion of political power to wider groups of society ultimately to all adult citizens, and their incorporation into a consensual moral order.
3. A growing extension of the territorial scope and especially by the intensification of power of the central legal, administrative and political agencies of the society.
4. Unlike the rulers of traditional societies, the rulers of modern societies, whatever may be their nature totalitarian, bureaucratic, oligarchic or democratic—"accept the relevance of their subjects as the objects, beneficiaries and legitimisers of policy". The differences between the modern democratic or semi-democratic forms of government lies in the extent to which they permit institutional expression in political institutions, public liberties and in the welfare and cultural policies.

Modernisation manifests itself in the following features: (a) substitution of inanimate power such as steam, electricity or atomic energy for human and animal power as the basis of productions distribution, transport and communication, (b) separation of economic activities from the traditional setting, increasing replacement of tools by machine and technology, (e) as corollary to this high level of technology growth of an extensive sector of secondary (industrial commercial) and tertiary (service) occupations, over-shadowing the primary (extractive) ones in quantitative and qualitative significance growing specialisation of economic roles and units of economic activity—production, consumption and marketing and (d) a degree of self-sustaining growth in the economy, atleast growth sufficient to increase both production and consumption regularly; and (e) finally growing industrialisation the key characteristic of economic modernisation.

The shift from the use of human and animal power to inanimate power from tools to the machine as the basis of production and its

implications in terms of the growth of wealth, technical diversification, differentiation and specialisation leading to a noval type of division of labour, industrialisation and urbanisation are accepted to all scholars as features of modernisation.

In traditional societies the position, statuses and roles are generally based on the hereditary principle and are ascribed. On the other hand, it is generally assumed that in modern societies statuses and roles are based on achievement, merit, qualification and training rather than on ascription. In this simplified conceptual dichotomy of traditional and modern societies the achievement orientation of the latter against the ascriptive basis of the former, we can logically discuss an increasing role of education and training for acquiring skill, knowledge and demonstrate merit. This necessarily implies that recruitment to various roles and statuses will be more and more open based on tested merit and the recruitment would not be foreclosed on the basis of heredity.

This also implies that classes and groups which were formerly denied access to educational facilities would be allowed to avail of them to provide a broader base for recruitment. Does this simple logical dichotomy work? Does modernisation mean a unlinear broadening of the educational reach and an alround diversification of educational opportunities for all irrespective of ascription due to birth? Does the demand for scientific and technological personnel generated by modernised economy seek out recruits from all sectors and areas? These are some of the questions that demand concrete answers.

Social change in the form of modernisation was introduced in India by the British rulers. The traditional social structure of Indian society was changed and the process of modernisation were initiated by the British rulers. The new social context had its impact on the education system which was rendered more open. The British rulers elaborated a bureaucratic administrative machinery which required a rational system of education.

This recruitment was in consonance with the British aim of establishing a colonial social order. Subservient and dependent on them in every way they desired an education system that would provide the necessary training and skills for personnel to fill up the subordinate bureaucratic structure and to be loyal to the British at all time. Exigencies of the colonial expansion demanded a system of education that would fulfil this limited objective and it was not intended to satisfy the aspirations of the mass of people for modern learning.

British trained Indians, with a view to staff the vast politico-administrative machinery, and to imbue the personnel with the underlying principles and producers governing it. British trained and educated people to acquire skills and assimilate values arising out of the new capitalist economic system which the British were creating in India, and which had different laws of operation based on a money economy, contractual relations, and production for profit and for the market. The aim of the colonial rulers was to win over the confidence of the upper classes of society who had lost their political influence through the British conquest and make them allies of the British government, in short to create a class Indian by birth, but English in taste, manners and outlook who could be relied upon as strong supporters of the British rule. For example, according to Desai the policy of "downward filtration theory'" was formulated in order to prevent the mass of people from taking advantage of modern education. Changes in the politico administrative set up after independence have created a new 'demand for education.' The Government of India, in contrast to the British rulers took a more positive interest in shaping of the educational policy. An important requirement after Independence was the extension and diversification of educational opportunities and educational institutions necessary to provide the diverse skills and techniques required for the new economy and polity. The conscious and deliberate process of planning introduced with the first five year plan and the universal adult franchise introduced in the constitution both required participation by the mass of people.

Education is necessary to enable citizens to participate intelligently in the economic and political processes. The right to work and right to vote, logically and inevitably demands for its effective use, the right to education. The constitution and the planning mechanism initiated by it have neglected the right to work and right to education, which are and should be concomitants of the right to vote. The right to work and right to education do not find a place in the chapter on Fundamental Rights guaranteed by the Indian Constitution. Instead they have been included in the directive principles, mere resolutions to be fulfilled rather than rights to be guaranteed, denying the people work and education as fundamental rights is to deny them their potential power to create the kind of society they wish. So far modernisation on capitalists line has precluded the possibility of providing those rights to the citizens and consequently the possibilities of creating a different social order.

Modernisation's ideological context is made explicit in the two types of development seen in developing societies. As Peter Worsley rightly pointed out, there is nothing like modernisations *per se*. There is either modernisation on capitalist's lines or on socialists line. Either it takes place on axis of private property in the means of production and the capitalist and land owning classes eliminated as driving forces. Modernisation on capitalist lines assume profits accrue to the free enterpreneurs. Modernisation on non-capitalists, socialist lines assumes the meeting of the assessed needs of the society as central objectives of production. It also assumes mass production based on machine power, but not producing for an anonymous market but production according to a central plan based on assessed needs.

Modernisation on capitalist lines elaborates a social stratification wherein the fundamental distinction between classes owning means of production and classes who live by selling their labour power skilled or unskilled, persists and its perpetuated "private means of production remains a crucial and 'ingrained feature of stratification shaping distribution of wealth, consumption patterns, styles of life, and leisure activities". Modernisation on non-capitalist socialist line is based on elimination of the propertied class which owns the means of production and elaborates a new principle of stratification based on public ownership of the means of production, transforming into various strata of skilled and unskilled categories differing from one another in diversities of skills. This principle of stratification is qualitatively different from the principle of stratification in capitalist societies. This crucial difference is very often forgotten, leading to tremendous amount of confusion in the proper study of modernisation. In my opinion this classification of modernisation on the basis of the two paths will help us to distinguish the nature of the core processes going on in various third world countries.

Modernisation in India started mainly with the western contact, especially through establishment of the British Raj. This contact had a special historicity which brought about many far-reaching changes in culture and social structure of the Indian society. Not all of them, however, could be called modernising. The basic direction of this contact was towards modernisation, but in the process a variety of traditional institutions also got reinforcement. This demonstrates the weakness of assuming a clear-dichotomy between tradition and modernity. "This polarity may be more heuristic than real." However, only after the establishment of British rule in India, modern culture

institutions and forms of social structure were introduced. Both Yogendra Singh and M.N. Srinivas have pointed out that the British rule produced radical and lasting changes in Indian society and culture. "It was unlike any previous period in Indian history as the British brought with them new technology, institutions, knowledge, beliefs and values." The new technology and the revolution in communications which this brought about, enabled the British to integrate the country as never before in its history.

But basic intention of the colonial rulers was not to modernise the traditional society. Modernisation of Indian society was merely an unintended consequence of colonial exploitation. Whenever they needed modern institutions to fulfil their aims they introduced them.

The role of railways and similarly of foreign trade is a good example of a prospective agent of capitalism and development turning into an agent of the colonisation of the economy and its under-development. While railways heralded a new advanced stage of the development of capitalism and production forces in England and they helped develop Germany and U.S.A. into major industrial economies and rivals of Britain. In India, they enabled British manufacturers to penetrate in interiors and thus to destroy handicrafts on a larger scale and to prevent the rise of rival modern industries. Instead of initiating in India new industries based on the direct needs of railways for steel, wagons, engines etc., they created demand for these materials in Britain. Bipan Chandra points out that Marx had expected the railways to atleast link the Indian villages with each other thus end their mutual isolation. In reality, the railways and the limited road, system failed to do so. The colonial pattern of their construction was concentrated on linking each village with the world capitalist market through its satellite Indian towns and cities.

An efficient and modern administrative structure and institutions only enabled the structuring of colonialism and colonial exploitation of the peasantry by the non-capitalist landlords, usurers, merchants and the lower bureaucracy. Modern education was first sought to be used to create a colonised intelligentsia, and a free press. Thus, modern means of communication and modern system of education were introduced to support colonial domination. About the introduction of modern technology, it is true that technology is an agent of modernisation but it can be an agent of exploitation in a colonial situation. It is double edged weapon which can be used for both liberating as well as exploiting.

Modernisation is not just superficial acquisition of some isolated traits and elements characteristic of the more advanced societies. Their selection in a logical order and sequence and integration into the cultural pattern in a widely ramifying manner is essential. Thus modernisation of any community depends upon two basic characteristics of society *viz.* institutionalisation of modern values and the adaptability of the society concerned. So, logically the next question under consideration is under what structural-cultural conditions does modernisation lead to integrative transformation of society? What are the structural pre-requisites for institutionalisation of modernising changes without breakdown?

Structural breakdown in modernisation according to Parson's theory, emerges when, due to historical or other cultural factors, the sequence of evolution is reversed or made uneven or when some of the universals become far too rigid and offer more than normal resistance to further evolution. Such conditions according to a later study by Buck and Jacobson prevail in the Asian nations. These nations being ex-colonies, have many evolutionary structures like bureaucracy, democratic associations and generalised universalistic norms introduced into their social structure without adequate development of other basic founding universals like communication, technology, stratification and principles of legitimation.

The major potential source of breakdown in the Indian process of modernisation which is to be taken as the frame of reference for the analysis of the Muslim community may be in one form or another, be attributed to structural in consistencies, such as, democratisation without spread of civic culture (education) bureaucratisation without commitment to universalistic norms, rise in media participation (communication) and aspiration without proportionate increase in resources and distributive justices, verbalisation of a welfare ideology without its diffusion in social structure and its implementation as a social policy over urbanisation without industrialisations and finally modernisation without meaningful changes in the stratification system.

Modernisation is rooted in the scientific world view, it has a deeper and positive association with levels of diffusion of scientific knowledge, technological skill and technological resources in a particular society.

The distinction been modern values and traditional values may be maintained on the ground that modern values, like science, being evolutionary universal, might not be typical to any one particular

cultural tradition, whereas traditional cultural values may be particularistic and typical. Modernisation in its essential attributes or in ideal-typical forms is a universal-cultural phenomenon. Like science, modernity is not an exclusive possession of any one ethnic or cultural group, but belongs to the humanity as a whole. This, however, should not mean that in all substantive details all modernised societies or cultures will be alike. On the contrary, the existential adaptations to modernisation in every society, as evidence suggests, take a historical and distinctive forms. But the substantive adaption to modernisation should be distinguished from modernisation *per se* since in all likelihood, not for a long time to come (perhaps never) any where in the world shall we have a fully modern society.

Thus, following Singh, a paradigm for an 'integrated approach' may be formulated to study the modernisation process in Muslim community keeping in view the advantages of the various approaches referred above.

Without being involved in the definitional wrangle as there is a paucity of empirically verified statements about the relationships involved, we corroborate the views of some others (Gusfield, Singh etc.) that tradition and modernity constitute a single simultaneously ongoing process. A society may have modern values in certain respects and traditional values may prevail in other respects. The modern may become traditional in course of time and vice-versa. This logic applies to individual human beings as well. The same man in one situation may behave in a traditional, dogmatic and religious way, and in another he may behave differently, as a secular, rational and democratic being.

Following the views advanced by Gusfield, that modernisation does not stand as an opposite polar to tradition, nor does it follow that tradition and modernity are found in a form of a synthesis. These are continually generating, reviewing and renovating parts of the same process of change. Modernisation denotes change not only in the sacred or non-sacred existing components of social organisation, but also the adoption of new forms of social, economic, cultural and political values, means and relationships based on rationality.

As such, modernisation becomes both an instrumental value and an articulate device for change in the existing economic, social, political and cultural structures. The existing values, however, old they might be, could be even more pragmatic and utilitarian than newer values. The newer values are taken up not necessarily by discarding the existing

ones; they may be adopted for reasons of greater efficiency, economy of means, and rewards. The new values may be innovations of the "moderns" or they may be borrowed from certain sections of the same society or that of aliens.

Thus, following Singh, the process of modernisation in Muslim community can be evaluated at two levels (a) as a system of values (b) in terms of role structures. Modernisation requires 'infrastructures' and a scientific world view. This has support of the two universals examined by Parsons *viz.* that of stratification system and cultural legitimation.

We propose to analyse the process of modernisation in terms of adoption of new values and emergent role structures and in terms of 'distributive justice'. Objects of Study

Broadly-speaking, the main objects of the present study are:

(i) To study, the nature or existing traditions in the Muslim community.

(ii) To assess the degree of modernisation in values prevailing in respect of institutional structure and to assess how far they are pro-modern.

(iii) To find out the sections of the Muslim community that have a greater proneness to modernisation.

(iv) To identify the barriers to modernisation.

The present study is confined to the Muslims in Jaipur city. Muslims constitute 21.4 per cent (1,66,313) of the total population of Jaipur city (total population of Jaipur city being 7,76,278). Although Muslims are scattered in different parts of the city, but for the present study, we have chosen those 'wards' which have the Muslim population of 10,000 or more. Thus, the total number of wards studied are only four. These are: (i) Ward No. 2, *i.e.,* Chokri Topkhana Desh, (ii) Ward No. 5; i.e., Chokri Ramchanderji, (iii) Ward No. 8, i.e., Chokri Topkhana Hajuri and (iv) Ward No. 10; i. e., Hawali Sahar Garbi. From these four wards the sample has been selected on the basis of 'random sampling'. The important variables which we have taken into consideration for analysis of the data are occupational status, income, educational level and age of the respondents. Household has been taken as the unit variable for selecting the sample. per cent (Three per cent) households were taken from each of the four wards. For this purpose, the total population of these four wards was converted into the total number

of households on the basis of the following formula. The total population of each ward was divided by the aggregate number of members in each household (i.e. 5.21) and thus the total number of households in each ward was obtained.

Thus, to say that so far as the selection of the total number of cases to be studied from each ward is concerned, it is based on random sampling, but taking into consideration the major hypotheses of the study, we have further selected the head of the family household as the respondent from each ward; keeping in view the variables such as occupational status, income and education level. Thus, forming a stratified random sampling. Besides, the head of the family household, women head from each household was also being contacted, in order to analyse the position of women in the Muslim community in Jaipur city. The present study is confined to Sunni religious sect.

Any study in order to arrive at reliable results must proceed on the basis of a set of scientific techniques to collect data. For this purpose an 'interview-schedule' was designed in which the previous studies and inquired have been taken as a basis. Some direct and indirect questions forming a scale have been asked, to measure the media-exposure aspirations, values and their political participation and ideology etc. At the same time a set of interview-schedule was also administered (in order to study the position of women in the community studied) to the head of the women in each household. Apart from this, non-participant observation technique is also being extensively used to cross-examine the validity of the responses. By observing the style of their life, standard of living, the number of modern equipments being used in their household etc. The schedule was pre-tested on 40 respondents (i.e., head of the family household).

When the data is collected, it is to be tabulated and analysed. In the process of classification and tabulation some of the statistical methods were being used, as they enabled us to study and to describe precisely averages differences and relationship. For tabulation of questions forming a scale, the 'Mean' value of the score was calculated. On the basis of the 'Mean' score the respondents were classified as 'high' and 'low'. To make the study more analytical rather than descriptive, certain variables were taken into consideration for the tabulation of the data. The basic variables which were taken into account were the occupational status, income educational level, age and the degree of exposure to the media of communication.

The formulation and verification of hypothesis is a goal of scientific inquiry. The importance of hypothesis has been emphasised by Cohen and Nagel, who say "We cannot take a single step forward in any inquiry unless we begin with a suggested explanation or solution of the difficulty, which originated it. Such tentative explanations are suggested to us by something in the subject-matter and by our previous knowledge; when they are formulated as propositions, they are called as hypothesis".

Some of the hypothesis formulated for the present study are as follows:

1. The degree of modernisation is proportionately related to educational achievements and economic roles.
2. The more a person is exposed to various media of communication, the more likely he is to adopt the new ideals of life.
3. There is a direct relationship between the high level of aspiration and the high degree of confidence for achieving various aspirations.

Before analysing the collected data, it will be worthwhile to mention some of the general background characteristics of the respondents.

Age has been considered as an important factor in modifying and reconstructing the structure and organisation of any community. On the basis of the chronological age, the respondents were classified into three groups, viz., young, middle aged, and old. The young group consisted of those respondents who were between the age of 25-35 years. The middle-aged group comprised those respondents who were between 36-50 years of age and all those respondents who were above 51 years of age were put in the old age group. The figures reveal that the majority of the respondents i.e., 54.6 per cent were in the middle aged group, 28.6 per cent were in the young group and only 16.8 per cent belonged to the old group. The marital status of the majority of the respondents was that of married ones. (i.e., 86.7 per cent), only 10-7 per cent respondents were unmarried and 2.6 per cent were widowers. In terms of the traditional and modern occupations figures show that the majority of the respondents (i.e., 75.2 per cent) were engaged in their traditional occupations, where only 24.8 per cent respondents had modern occupations to their credit. This shows that there is some change in the traditional occupational structure of the Muslim community. Detailed analysis of the data for occupation of the respondents reveals that of the 375 respondents studied, only 6.7 per

cent respondents were in the category of administrative, technical, professional jobs, 18.1 per cent were engaged in government or semi-government or private petty jobs, including industrial workers. The majority of them i.e., 48.0 per cent were those who owned and worked in some or the other above mentioned home industry including a small-scale self owned business and a very few in large scale business enterprises e.g. of tyres, tobaccos and poultry farms etc., 24.5 per cent respondents were labourers, e.g. manual workers and mere wage earners like, rickshaw pullers, cart pullers and other manual works which required more physical labour (Palladars etc.) 2.7 per cent respondents were the religious heads (i.e. Maulvis).

Thus, it is clear from the above figures that in modern industry and business except for isolated instances, respondents did not own large-scale industry or business and they had been traditionally aloof from banking and finance. No doubt there were some medium and small-scale consumer goods enterprises which had been started and owned specially by the Muslims but by and large they had not demonstrated high enterpreneurial traits. They seemed to be much less investment oriented than several other communities. To analyse the effect of income on the degree of modernisation of the respondents, we had taken the economic classes under consideration.

On the basis of the monthly income of the respondents, we had divided the respondents into four groups, viz , upper income, upper middle, lower middle and low income group. All those respondents who earned Rs. 200 or below were put in the low income category, all those respondents who earned Rs. 201-600 were put in the lower middle income category, all those respondents who earned Rs. 601-1000 were put in the upper middle income group and finally those respondents who earned Rs. 1001 and above per month were put in the category of upper income group.

The analysis of the data reveals that only 3.2 per cent respondents belonged to the upper income group, 12.5 per cent belonged to the upper middle income group, 40.0 per cent belonged to the lower middle income group and the rest of 44.3 per cent belonged to the lower income group.

The correlation of the variables, occupation and income supports the pre-assumption that the prestigeous secular occupations were virtually monopolised by the upper income groups. It is clear from the data collected that out of 3.2 per cent respondents from upper

income category 2.4 per cent were engaged in administrative technical professional jobs and only 0.8 per cent were engaged in business. In upper middle income category, out of the total 12.5 per cent respondents 4.3 per cent were in the category of administrative technical professional jobs and 3.7 per cent were in service, also the same percentage was of those who were in the category of business 0.5 per cent respondents were in the category of labourers and only 0.3 per cent i.e., only one respondent was a religious head. In the lower middle income groups out of the total 40.0 per cent respondents 11.2 per cent were in service, 18.2 per cent were engaged in some or the other home industry business, 10.1 per cent were labourers and only two respondents i. e., 0.5 per cent were the religious heads. In the low income category 3.2 per cent respondents were those who were either working in some private shops etc., 25.3 per cent were those who were engaged in home industry business. 13.8 per cent were labourers and 1.9 per cent were religious heads.

Education has also been considered to mould and shape the views of an individual which determines his growth and governs his attitudes. It cannot be omitted as insignificant factor since it includes the communication of knowledge and shapes the values. Hence, due importance has been given to education while studying the change in the Muslim community. The level of education has been judged on the basis of the respondents educational attainments. For the purpose of the present study, we had defined the 'liberates' as those persons who did not know how to read and write. All those respondents who had some knowledge of their "religious texts" or else who could read or write Arabic or Urdu or Hindi or English, were put in the category of 'home educated'. All those respondents who had some formal education to their credit (i. e., from middle to secondary) were put in the category of school educated respondents and finally all those respondents who were having a university degree or diploma were put in the category of "college educated" respondents.

Traditionally, education was imparted to the Muslims through schools (Madarsas which varied in respect of size and grades upto which education was imparted on traditional lines. The situation, however, changed with the arrival of the British. Many universities were established although the traditional institutions continued along with these modern centers of education, but gradually even they came under the influence of the former. At present although many traditional institutions of education continue to impart instruction on traditional

lines, the trend is towards modern education. This view is supported by Yusuf Ali.

Since Independence, the aspiration for Modern education has increased in all communities, so Muslim community is no exception to it. Many states including Rajasthan have also taken policy measures to curtail the element of communalism in education for reinforcing the policy of secularism. This has not always succeeded or been accepted without resentment. However, the emphasis on modern education will in the long run produce results in conformity with the culture of modernisation.

Yet in the fields of professional, vocational and university education, the number of Muslim respondents appear to be far lower than their relative percentage in the total population. The data collected from this study supports this statement. We find that only 10.7 per cent respondents, out of the total (375 No.) were "highly educated" (i.e., who had the university degree or diploma) 33.1 per cent were "school educated", 35.4 per cent were "home educated" (i.e. who could read or write either Arabic or Urdu or Hindi or English etc.) and the rest of the 20.8 per cent respondents were completely "illiterate", i.e., who could not even read and write.

Although Islam Proclaims equality of all believers and claims to lay the basis of an equalitarian society, yet, caste among Muslims is wide spread in some or the other form. Many historians and sociologists have explained the rise of caste among the Muslims in terms of Hindu influence, others though not denying the influence of Hindus also find elements in Islam which legitimise social stratification.

The respondents were divided into castes, class, professions and their styles of life and localities were also designated accordingly. As a reflection of "Varna cum jati" divisions of the Hindus, aspects of caste system or endogamous social formations were also found among them.

For purposes of social stratification a distinction was made between Ashraf and Ajlaf, the former including Sayyad, Shaikh, Mughals and Pathans and the latter professional groups like weavers, butchers, carpenters, oilmen, barbers, washermen, leather-workers etc.

However, due to the explicit emphasis on the "brotherhood" of the faithful (momineed) in Islam and the Prophets' firm refutation of race, colour, and tribal origin as a valid basis of distinctions between man and man, rigid caste formations were non-existent among the

members of the fraternity, but it was only observed at the times of prayer in the mosque and pilgrimage at 'Mecca' and 'Medina', otherwise the class divisions and caste distinctions between the elite and the mass were as rampant among them as among other religious communities.

The analysis of the figures reveal that the respondents were divided into various groups which were referred to by them as (jats) castes; nevertheless the precise referent to this local term often varies according to the context, as also the level of general information, the respondents assumed about the social composition and structure of their community. Depending on the context, the term was used to refer to broad religious communities as well as smaller social groupings. When first inquired from the respondents, we were told that there were no castes (jats). Again, we were told the same thing by others, however, after they assumed a general understanding of the broad communal divisions of the community, the term 'jai' was invariably used to refer to smaller social groupings whom we designate here as castes.

The castes (jats) were broadly similar groups, possessing a set of attributes which were closely identical to the ones commonly associated with caste in India. The first characteristic of these groups was that they bear distinct names which were used to identify all those belonging to the group. The castes were in other words, named groupings. These names were either derived from the occupations, which their members were traditionally associated with or denote their source of origin. Thus, names like Julaha, Teli and Faquir, which refer respectively to the caste of weavers, oil pressors and religious mendicants and beggars, were derivations from traditional occupations which members of these group either pursued in the past or were engaged in today on the other hand, names like Sayyad, Shaikh, Pathan, Qureshi etc., indicated the source from which the members of these castes claimed their origin and descent. The Sayyads and 'Shaikhs' belonged to the nobility of Islam. They were considered the descendants of early Islamic nobility and thus they were regarded as sacred almost like the Brahmins in the Hindu tradition. The Mughals and Pathans on the other hand had been by tradition warriors, feudal aristocrates and rulers. The Shaikhs claimed to be descendants of those who followed the Prophet Muhammed during his historic flight from Mecca to Medina.

The second important attribute of castes, (jats) in the community studied was their association with a traditional occupation which, as we indicated above, was implied by the name of some of the castes.

This association applied in the case of all Ajlaf caste in this sample. Like Weaver (Julaha), Iron worker (Luhar) Bangle maker (Manihar) Tie and Dye worker (Rangrez), Cotton carder (Pinara) labour or *Majdoors*, i.e. manual-workers who work in grain uplifting work etc. (Palledar), Butchers, (Kassaban), water suppliers (Bhisti), Jewellers, (Negina Ghisai worker), Faqir (Devotee) etc.

For the purpose of the present analysis of the caste composition of Muslims in the sample, the figures are as given below. The caste distribution of the population reveals that only 22.7 per cent of the total respondents belonged to the "Ashraf" (i.e., higher caste), the majority of the respondents (i.e., 77.3 per cent respondents) were of the 'Ajlaf caste viz., caste like *Julaha, Luhar, Manihar, Rangrez, Pinara, Palledar, Kassaban, Bhishti, Faqir,* etc. Though there existed a rather important distinction in the nature and exclusiveness of the occupations associated with those castes whose traditional calling was implied by their caste name and those whose caste names were indicative of origin or descent. The occupations of the former group of (jats) castes were closed in the sense that those belonging to other castes would not like to take them up. The occupations traditionally associated with the latter group of castes whose names generally reflected their origin were concentrated in them; but these occupations were not specifically reserved for them. As a matter of fact, wherever the circumstances of a person belonging to a caste whose callings was a closed occupation, in the sense indicated above, allowed his taking to what have been called open occupations, he did often engaged in them even if his involvement was only marginal or supplementary. Such involvement usually resulted in raising the persons economic and social status among his caste fellows.

It should not be thought from the above that every one in the Muslim community was engaged in his traditional calling only and that no occupational change had taken place in the community. Several weavers and butchers etc., who had succeeded in accumulating some capital, had taken to trading. Some of them had also invested in small-scale industries, like carpet or woollen carpet (Namada) factories. At the same time, those respondents who were engaged in closed occupations in the sense indicated above, could get some job in modern factories or else in shops etc. had preferred that job. Many of them had sent their young children to work in some Suvegamoped repairing shops, cycle shops or else in factories like carpet weaving etc. It is worth noting here that attitudes and ideas about occupation changed

with the changed in the context and place. No *luhar* (Iron worker) would have thought of engaging in weaving within the community. If he did, his status would have suffered greatly. On the other hand, their young children (hardly of the age of 10-15) who were being sent to work in some carpet factory etc., or in textile mills, they would not mind. This was largely because working as a weaver or as a craftsmen etc. in some good concern was not considered as leading to any lowering of their status in the community. The essential point worth remembering in this connection is that each caste in the community, and especially the castes, whose names themselves implied association with a traditional occupation, were deemed to have special occupation associated with them. Further more, while occupational changes did occur, a persons castes as a whole was identified with the occupation which was considered traditional for that caste.

To sum up, it can be said that age, income, occupation, education and caste are the variables which may play a considerable role in moulding the personality of an individual and in shaping his values. These variables are considered, to assess as to how far they determine the degree of modernisation of the respondents in the Muslim community.

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FREEDOM TO BELIEVE, SHARED WISDOM AND MUTUAL SURVIVAL

SHARED WISDOM: CASE STUDY OF A BOOK ON INTERFAITH STUDIES

INTRODUCTION

There will be no peace among nations until there is peace among religions. And there will be no peace among religions until there is dialogue among religions.—Hans Küng, 1993

Shared Wisdom, a book about engendering friendship among strangers, comes from an inter-religious team of people in Marin County, California, just across the Golden Gate Bridge from San Francisco.

Inspired by a growing global grassroots interfaith movement, we believe the ability to nurture authentic friendship among strangers from different religious backgrounds has become an important survival skill for the human family in the twenty-first century. We are *not* interested in creating a new religion, proselytizing, or becoming a political movement. But we share a profound commitment to knowing each other and collaborating on projects important to us all.

- We think dialogue and relationship are critical in communities, large or small, that wish to stay civil, much less vital and robust.
- The multi-religious dialogue we envision is open to all points of view, theistic and atheistic, spiritual and material, rational and imaginative.
- We treat each other with mutual respect.
- And we hope that the friendship we learn *between* traditions will be used for reconciling bridge-building *within* traditions when we find ourselves divided.

Shared Wisdom explores the unique religious diversity we live in today. It surveys several post-World War II documents that have helped shape our thinking about dialogue and relationship. You'll find suggestions about studying the material and getting acquainted with neighbours from different traditions and, in chapter 5, a provocative chart for developing dialogue skills by Professor Patrice Brodeur. The book ends with an annotated list of resources and links.

Shared Wisdom was conceived when a group of Mill Valley congregations sponsored a course in world religions taught by Philip Novak of Dominican University in San Rafael. People enjoyed the class thoroughly and wanted more, something taking them the next step, offering opportunities to meet and get to know neighbours from as many different traditions as possible. A planning group formed.

Dominican University, the International Association of Sufism, and the Marin Interfaith Council all became sponsors, and the Interfaith Center at the Presidio was brought in to help organise and support a new kind of project. A course titled "Waking Up in the New Religious America – Building Bridges of Interfaith Understanding" was planned, taught by Paul Chaffee, executive director at the Interfaith Center, who wrote this text with help from an editorial team drawn from the planning group. A concluding conference is planned for January 2005. *Shared Wisdom* was written for anyone interested in developing healthy relations among different faith families. It is a resource for the Marin County course and conference, and we hope it inspires similar ventures everywhere.

The planning group, hoping to engage as many as possible in Marin's religious community, decided to send a copy of the book to each congregation in the county to use as it wishes, including making copies. The work at hand, though, need not wait a moment. To begin, all you need is an hour or two of your time spent with an acquaintance from a different faith. Find a quiet, comfortable place, have a cup of tea or a meal or a walk in the park, and explore the issues below.

As you begin your dialogue, remember some of us grew up in highly religious families; other families are happy to be free of religious language and institution. Most of us, regardless of family and institution, have deep spiritual roots, but they can be defined and reembodied in thousands of different ways. The idea here is to share with each other what we find particularly valuable in our own religious/spiritual backgrounds, the values forged, the truth discovered, and the journey that follows.

- *Please tell me about your spiritual, religious tradition, how it influenced you and what you found most valuable about it, then and today.*
- *How does your religious background approach the issues of peacemaking and 'healing the world'? Can you tell me a story about witnessing your community stand up for justice and peace in a way that made you proud? Or a story about reconciliation and conflict within your faith family or close friends?*

The reward for starting up (especially if the two of you do yourselves the favor of finding the time and place to be comfortable and relaxed about the conversation) can barely if ever be completely explained. You'll understand as soon as you get there.

FOR REFLECTION OR DISCUSSION

- What do you think of the quote from Hans Küng? Do you feel that peace is important? Do you think that dialogue among the world's religions will help facilitate peace? Is this dialogue important for other reasons? What else could the world's religions do to facilitate peace?
- Have you seen times when dialogue facilitated reconciliation? Please describe.
- Have you previously been involved in inter- (or intra-) religious dialogue? What occurred? What worked in the dialogue? What were the lasting benefits?
- With whom and when could you try the exercise suggested above? Can you report the results afterwards: What worked? What benefits did you derive from the experience? What did you learn that might help you in future dialogue?

WHY MEETING MY NEIGHBOUR THE STRANGER IS IMPORTANT FOR OUR MUTUAL SURVIVAL

Who is my neighbour? The question resonates back through the centuries in every religious tradition. But an intense new immediacy attends the question today, in what Harvard professor Diana Eck calls "a new religious America." In less than half a century, the demographics of our nation's neighbourhoods—large and small, urban and rural—have generated a startling religious diversity.

On a bus, in a classroom, at work, buying groceries, at the ballpark, most of us in this country continue to rub shoulders with Catholics, Jews, Protestants, and the unaffiliated. But the 20th century witnessed

a massive shift in this country, particularly when immigration law was reformed in 1965 to end racial discrimination against certain groups. Today the American family has been joined by significant numbers of Buddhists, Confucians, Hindus, Jains, Muslims, Sikhs, Taoists, and Zoroastrians. These traditions all found their first public forum in this country at the 1893 World's Parliament of Religions; now their temples, restaurants, and cultural festivals have become part of our lives. Simultaneously, newer religions are proliferating, bringing us Latter Day Saints, Unitarian Universalists, Baha'i's, and the Brahma Kumaris, to name but a few. Equally important is growing recognition and respect for dozens of earth-based, indigenous traditions, communities that fall under such mantles as American Indian, Neo-Pagan, and Shinto.

The amazing religious landscape emerging is unprecedented. But the core issue facing religious communities learning to live together goes back at least to the 1840s, when interfaith peace societies started sprouting up here and abroad, all focussed on ending war. Approximately 425 peace groups around the world were active in 1900, largely people of faith who had survived the bloodiest of all centuries and wanted a change. In February 1914, Andrew Carnegie invited Catholic, Jewish, and Protestant leaders to his home and offered to fund an interfaith effort to abolish war. Their initial conference was scheduled that September in Germany. The day it convened World War I was declared, and 24 hours later, after sharing prayers, the participants hurried home.

Today, in a world more bloodied than ever, not all is bleak. Peace studies and conflict resolution theory are in the second or third generation of a renaissance, starting with the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. Leading up to the 1993 Parliament of the World's Religions (commemorating the 1893 gathering), Catholic theologian Hans Küng suggested that until religions make peace, nations will be at war, and until religions are in dialogue, they will not be at peace with each other. The 8,000 who went to the 1993 Parliament provided an enthusiastic choir for Professor Küng's notions about inter-religious dialogue, but the rest of the world paid scant attention.

Little changes started taking place on their own, though, across the land. Starting in the early 1990s, ecumenical groups (Christians from different denominations) increasingly have moved to interfaith membership. Chaplains in hospitals, universities, and the military learn on the job from day one about ministry to multi-religious constituencies. Directors of neighbourhood food programmes, emergency housing,

and local/global crisis response efforts have become savvy about increasing their capacity to meet goals by welcoming participation from all faith families. But it took September 11, 2001, to wake the world up to the scope and import of Dr. Küng's challenge.

Several Sundays after that historic tragedy, 30 Muslims showed up on the doorstep of First Congregational United Church of Christ in San Jose as worship was about to begin. "We are Muslims," they explained. "Are we welcome?" They were welcomed in.

After worship, the Muslims said, "We are your neighbours, and we don't know you. We think we should know each other." From that first conversation flowed a series of collaborative events. The raw courage of the Muslims walking into an unknown worship environment within weeks of 9-11, and the startled Christians' ability to respond openly and in friendship, exemplifies the essence of what is required for interfaith relationship building. Demonising people behind their backs is so much easier than walking across the street and introducing yourself. But in neighbourhoods everywhere, people—a few here, a few there—are putting shyness and fear of the unknown aside, and starting their introductions.

FOR REFLECTION OR DISCUSSION

- Who are your neighbours? Where do you live? How long have you lived there? How has the religious and racial composition of your neighbourhood changed? Are you aware of the variety of religious practices of your neighbours?
- Have any other religious groups visited your place of worship recently? Have you visited any neighbouring places of worship recently? If yes to either question, what was your experience? What did you gain from the meeting? What did you learn from the meeting that you can use in similar circumstances in the future?

PREPARING TO MEET 'THE RELIGIOUS OTHER'

Before introducing yourself to 'the religious other,' a few simple answers to several persistent, fearful questions (which we won't take time to repeat) might be helpful:

- Interfaith relationships tend to be about friendship, cooperation, and collaboration around shared stories, values, and goals—not about creating a new religion or a lowest common religious denominator.

- Healthy interfaith relationships are never about taking away your faith and practice. People who most actively pursue interfaith dialogue and cooperation, including leaders like Gandhi and the Dalai Lama, typically report that interfaith dialogue enriches rather than diminishes the faith they brought to the table. One's own personal faith, far from being lost or diluted, is deepened by the experience.
- Many religions seek to convert outsiders to their tradition, an attitude that deserves respect. Proselytizing is inappropriate, though, at interfaith events where developing friendship and mutual respect is the goal.
- Very few in 'the interfaith movement' are relativists, people suggesting that, 'after all, all religions are mostly the same anyway.' On the other hand, interfaith activists do tend to believe that human beings have a variety of authentic ways to believe and practice and build a relationship with what Abrahamic religions call God, and ancient Hindu saints (not wanting to delimit divinity with their definitions) called 'neither this, nor that.'

Most religions have a minority of followers who claim to own the 'exclusive' truth—and they are frequently opposed by those who see the goodness, beauty, and truth in different religious/spiritual approaches. The 2003 Gallup Religious Tolerance Index suggested that in this country, 17 per cent believe they alone know what is true and are labeled isolated or exclusivist. By comparison, 46 per cent are labeled tolerant, or "sort of' inclusive. That leaves 37 per cent who are called integrated or pluralistic, people who tend to be religiously involved as well as interested in others.

These figures should allay the fears which most of us have harbored at some point, that "those folks over there are taking over everything." Diversity reigns and is not going away, so we need creative ways to build relationship. The din between pluralists and exclusivists, for instance, can get nasty and judgmental, but it doesn't need to be that way.

Most if not all religions propound some version of the Golden Rule; the version in your tradition is your best starting point for preparing to meet the religious other. Quietly embodying love gives everyone a huge additional advantage. This applies equally to fundamentalists and progressives, old-timers and newcomers, friends and strangers.

Whatever your own truth claims, whatever attitude —humble or assertive—you take towards your truth, interfaith dialogue is enhanced with a few ground rules:

- Offer everyone the same respect and dignity you hope to receive.
- Listen to the other person with enough care to begin to discern the "positive core," the life-giving energy, in his or her faith.
- Speak from the heart, not to make a point but to build understanding and relationship.
- Remember that many traditions stay away from alcohol and meat; and many worship on a day other than Sunday, making time sensitivity important when planning shared activities.

The issue of sharing ritual and worship evokes some additional protocol:

- When praying, leading meditation, or otherwise contributing to interfaith worship, speak in your own language and idiom, just as others will when they come to the podium.
- When sharing spiritual practices, offer those attending three options—to actually participate if and when appropriate, to simply observe, or to leave and take some time out. Shared practice should never be coerced.

These guidelines reduce potential missteps. For several decades the World Council of Churches has worked on more elaborate interfaith guidelines, and in recent years a number of denominations and nonprofits have developed their own. All are good tools for learning to treat each other well.

Similarly, the art of graceful hosting, music and the arts, and good food almost always improve relationship building. Sacred space can be fully enjoyed by interfaith groups when all present feel respected, safe, and comfortable enough to participate. Providing one another hospitality in such a setting is a small but tangible step toward creating a world of sustained peace.

FOR REFLECTION OR DISCUSSION

- Did (or do) you have any fears or apprehensions about meeting the "religious other"?
- What positive feelings do you bring to the opportunity of meeting "the religious other"? What are your hopes for the meeting? What do you want to learn?

- Do the "ground rules" at the bottom of page 5 help to resolve any apprehension you may have had? In what way?
- Is there anything about the "ground rules" with which you would have difficulty complying? Do you think anything else should be added to the "ground rules"?
- Would you be open to sharing ritual and worship with the "religious other"? What interests or attracts about this? Do you have any reservations? If yes, what would have to change for you to be comfortable?
- Do you have any experience with shared ritual and worship? How did you find these experiences? What was challenging? What was positive? How did you grow in your understanding of the "religious other" as a result of these experiences?

ENGAGING WAYS TO BUILD GRASSROOTS INTERFAITH RELATIONS

In church, synagogue, mosque, coven, sanga, or gurdwara, clergy and lay leaders know full well how to design worship, create programmes, give life to religious education curricula, and organise service projects. In spite of this expertise and experience, though, figuring out what to do following interfaith introductions can be awkward. As an old-timer said, "So you've had a beautiful multi-faith Thanksgiving service, but then what are you meant to do?"

The first person with his or her hand up usually says, "Let's find out what we all agree on, the things that make us alike." People well-read in religious studies can offer fascinating insights into this subject, but the approach is strewn with the dangers of oversimplification and distortion. Simplistic comparisons reduce religious experience—one of the most precious particularities of human experience—to a common denominator.

The one arena where studying religious convergence is useful and important is ethics. As noted above, the Golden Rule gives us a shared starting point. From there, comparing and contrasting what we teach about public and private ethics, about justice, compassion, forgiveness, reconciliation and peace, about walking the talk, is fascinating and edifying, a huge opportunity for interfaith dialogue. Lessons for sustaining the human family peacefully start to emerge.

Download from the Web, for instance, *Towards a Global Ethic—An Initial Declaration*. It is a 10-page document that 200 religious leaders

signed at the 1993 Parliament of the World's Religions that we will be examining in chapter 5. A cry from the heart over the violence of the world, the declaration suggests that we can rediscover the sources of peacemaking within each of our particular traditions. By itself this initial declaration provides a rich syllabus for any religious education project. It can be used within your own community but is so much more interesting when half of those in the room are from a different faith.

A caveat: Issues weighted with political controversy and polarised opinions need to be set on the shelf while people become friends, or dialogue can degenerate into irresolvable acrimony. An example can make the distinction clear. Interfaith groups around the world are studying forgiveness from the perspective of different religions, with remarkable results. They succeed because mutual respect has been established and they stay focussed on the issue—forgiveness in each of their traditions. If these conversations veer into an argument about who is right in the Israel-Palestine conflict, or the India-Pakistan conflict, a harsh debate is the best you can expect, and mutual demonising the worst. Can we ignore these conflicts? Of course not. But milk comes before solids, and friendship—real human connection where people have learned to appreciate each other—comes before tackling problems that have confounded the best and brightest for centuries.

Before taking on something as ambitious as the global ethic, you might want to implement a getting-to-know-you ice-breaker that creates friendship among people from different religions for no other reason than the satisfaction of doing so. The following sets of questions can be used in various contexts and formats. The most popular way to begin is one-on-one for 45 minutes to an hour, followed by people introducing each other in small groups. Initial interviews work best when the pairs don't know each other and come from different faiths, but even old friends from the same congregation can enjoy a rich conversation with these questions.

- Thank you for introducing yourself and telling me a little about yourself. Please tell me something about your religion and how you practice it day-by-day.
- What is most valuable and important to you about your spiritual life and faith family? Perhaps you would share a story about a particularly meaningful religious experience.
- What does your tradition teach about how to treat strangers? Do you have hospitality traditions in your faith—stories or lore

or community practices for welcoming the visitor and relating to your neighbours peacefully?

- Let's put aside for a moment the conflicts communities experience internally and with the world. Could you tell me of a time when you witnessed a situation that moved from conflict to reconciliation and became a positive influence for peace, a bridge-builder among strangers? How did it happen and what did you learn?
- If in 100 years the human race is able to create a sustainable peace among religions and nations, what do you think it would look like? What are some of the steps that might lead us toward that vision, and what part of that vision should we start working on here and now?

The secret ingredient in this interfaith introduction recipe is keeping the questions and discussion focussed on assets rather than deficits. Reflect on what works best in your communities and relationships, rather than what doesn't work. When problems come up, they can be reframed as opportunities, challenging possibilities for doing better instead of roadblocks. The failure of dedicated international peacemakers trying for a century and a half *to abolish war* suggests that shifting the focus *to creating cultures of peace* is infinitely more practical, fruitful, and transforming. Positive little steps now, starting in our own backyards, will inspire others to become active.

The question sets above and many more were used in creating United Religions Initiative (URI), an international interfaith network chartered in 2000 and connecting 240 (and growing) local interfaith groups in 50 countries. Taking time for the questions, encouraging every participant to be a listener and a contributor, is a wonderful introduction to the joy of grassroots interfaith community.

The kind of interfaith relationships we've talked about seem modest but can be deeply satisfying. Once they begin, things may seem to return to normal, but if the relationships are nurtured, the 'neighbourhood' gradually finds itself with new life, unexpected gifts, a renewed imagination, rich conversations, and the energy to participate in healing the world.

FOR REFLECTION OR DISCUSSION

- Have you previously heard of or read *Towards a Global Ethic—An Initial Declaration?* What was your response then?

- Reading it now, what is your response to *Towards a Global Ethic*? Do you personally share its outcry about the violence in the world? Why or why not?
- To make the changes called for in *Towards a Global Ethic*, the writers of the document call for a change in "the 'hearts' of people." How do you feel about making this change yourself? What kind of impact would such a change make if the majority of individuals took this first step? How would the world be different than it is today?
- Are there any other parts of *Towards a Global Ethic* that particularly moved you? Why?
- Try the exercise that is described on the bottom of page 7 and the top of page 8. How did you find it? Easy? Difficult? What did you learn? What moved you about the other participant's responses? Did their sharing of their spiritual life allow you to understand anything more about your own faith?
- Were there times when the conversation strayed from discussing assets to discussing deficits? If a similar thing should happen in another discussion, what could you do differently to steer the conversation in a more positive direction?

SACRED AND FOUNDATIONAL TEXTS

Religious and spiritual traditions typically store their treasure – the narrative, wisdom, and values informing each faith family – in some sort of record. This documentation can come in the form of holy scripture, writing set aside, historically authorised in some way, revered, studied, and used in meditation and worship. Scripture is so important in Christianity, Judaism, and Islam that they are frequently called religions "of the Book."

Orally transmitted stories take the place of authorised scripture in other traditions, particularly indigenous communities. Whether canonised or open-ended, the form and content of humankind's sacred words are manifold… poetry, songs, religious tales of every kind, history, ethics, all providing guidance, nourishment for believers and practitioners as well as interested outsiders.

Most followers in most traditions find their own sacred texts fully adequate for spiritual and communitarian concerns. Many are learning, though, what a pleasure it is to hear the sacred words of other traditions, particularly in ritual settings. Grassroots interfaith activity is sprouting

up across the country, with communities sharing their stories and scripture with each other for the first time, an experience humbling and empowering all at once. Over and over people who worried that the experience might be strange or threatening find themselves enriched when it happens.

If there is any limitation in these wonderful words that knit together the meaning of life for us, it might be that very few traditions mention the religious other in tones of appreciation or goodwill. When other religions are mentioned, it tends to be judgmental, without much room for mutual respect. The *Guru Granth Sahib*, the sacred text of Sikhs, is a book of devotional songs, and it includes Hindu and Muslim hymns in a display of spiritual magnanimity hard to imagine in other faiths. Sikhism is an exception to the rule. Most traditions until recently have done little to create or encourage a level playing field of mutual respect for interreligious dialogue. But the tide is turning.

As noted above, Catholic theologian Hans Küng observed that *until religions make peace, the world will be at war, and that religions will not be in peace until they are in dialogue*. To inspire and inform the interreligious dialogue Küng calls for, sacred texts by themselves don't suffice. We need a new literature, not more scripture but a series of foundational, shared documents holding up *the value of every human being and the importance of religions working together to heal the world*.

Let us hope a library accumulates around the care of the whole human family. The selections discussed below, at this point in time, seem foundational, critical texts for the care and sustainability of the human family.

UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (1948)

In 1948 the United Nations passed the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, a Magna Carta for the whole human race. Human rights till then were defined, enforced, and evaluated nation by nation, with 'mind your own business' the international ethic of the day. But the opening clause to the 1948 Declaration proposed that the *"recognition of the inherent dignity of the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice, and peace in the world."*

Some, like this writer, may have assumed as children that the ethic in the faith you grew up with—valuing every human being as an invaluable child of God—would be a high priority for everyone.

You may have assumed that since the United States of America Constitution is grounded in the inalienable rights of *every* human being to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that Americans would be supportive of inalienable rights for us all, in this country and everywhere else. Those turned out to be false assumptions.

To be sure, most religions have a high conception of human beings. But the horrors of the holocaust spurred the world's leadership to craft the 1948 Declaration. It passed the United National General Assembly as a resolution, and did not carry the force of international law. Yet it has become one of the 20th century's most significant documents, a bill of rights for all people, regardless of race, religion, or nationality.

Ironically, in the family of nations, the United States, with its own shining Bill of Rights, has turned out to be one of the least enthusiastic about the UN Declaration, much less the implication that international law should enforce its values. The same cannot be said at the grassroots, where millions of Americans hunger with the rest of the world for an end to violence and poverty for all. More than half a century later, studying the Declaration is an excellent starting point in defining the kind of world we wish to create for our children and grandchildren.

TOWARDS A GLOBAL ETHIC—AN INITIAL DECLARATION (1993)

A second document emerged from the 1993 Parliament of the World's Religions in Chicago, a centennial celebration of the 1893 gathering where Buddhist, Hindus, Muslims, and other religious minorities were given their first public forum in this country. Professor Küng, working with many others, drafted a text titled *Towards a Global Ethic – An Initial Declaration* that was signed by more than 200 leaders, scholars, and theologians from dozens of the world's communities of faith.

The preamble begins as a confessional exhortation about a world broken and full of pain.

The world is in agony. The agony is so pervasive and urgent that we are compelled to name its manifestations so that the depth of this pain may be made clear.

Peace eludes us... the planet is being destroyed... neighbours live in fear... women and men are estranged from each other... children die!

This is abhorrent!

We condemn the abuses of Earth's ecosystems.

We condemn the poverty that stifles life's potential; the hunger that weakens the human body; the economic disparities that threaten so many families with ruin...

Between the litany of failure and the affirmations that follow comes the notion of a global ethic bursting forth.

But this agony need not be.

It need not be because the basis for an ethic already exists. This ethic offers the possibility of a better individual and global order, and leads individuals away from despair and societies away from chaos.

We are women and men who have embraced the precepts and practices of the world's religions:

We affirm that a common set of core values is found in the teachings of the religions, and that these form the basis of a global ethic.

We affirm that this truth is already known, but yet to be lived in heart and action.

We affirm that there is an irrevocable, unconditional norm for all areas of life, for families and communities, for races, nations, and religions. There already exist ancient guidelines for human behaviour which are found in the teachings of the religions of the world and which are the condition for a sustainable world order.

The idea of a Global Ethic remains controversial and has spawned dozens of conferences, classes, and books. Agree or disagree, though, the morning news each day suggests that it may be the soundest, safest idea still available to us, locally as well as globally. The second half of the preamble offers a series of powerful affirmations.

We Declare: We are interdependent. Each of us depends on the well-being of the whole, and so we have respect for the community of living beings, for people, animals, and plants, and for the preservation of Earth, the air, water and soil.

We take individual responsibility for all we do. All our decisions, actions, and failures to act have consequences.

We must treat others as we wish others to treat us. We make a commitment to respect life and dignity, individuality and diversity, so that every person is treated humanely, without exception. We must have patience and acceptance. We must be able to forgive, learning

from the past but never allowing ourselves to be enslaved by memories of hate. Opening our hearts to one another, we must sink our narrow differences for the cause of the world community, practising a culture of solidarity and relatedness. We consider humankind our family. We must strive to be kind and generous. We must not live for ourselves alone, but should also serve others, never forgetting the children, the aged, the poor, the suffering, the disabled, the refugees, and the lonely. No person should ever be considered or treated as a second-class citizen, or be exploited in any way whatsoever. There should be equal partnership between men and women. We must not commit any kind of sexual immorality. We must put behind us all forms of domination or abuse.

We commit ourselves to a culture of non-violence, respect, justice, and peace. We shall not oppress, injure, torture, or kill other human beings, forsaking violence as a means of settling differences.

> *We must strive for a just social and economic order, in which everyone has an equal chance to reach full potential as a human being. We must speak and act truthfully and with compassion, dealing fairly with all, and avoiding prejudice and hatred. We must not steal. We must move beyond the dominance of greed for power, prestige, money, and consumption to make a just and peaceful world.*

It concludes with a spiritually nuanced commitment:

> Earth cannot be changed for the better unless the consciousness of individuals is changed first. We pledge to increase our awareness by disciplining our minds, by meditation, by prayer, or by positive thinking. Without risk and a readiness to sacrifice there can be no fundamental change in our situation. Therefore we commit ourselves to this global ethic, to understanding one another, and to socially beneficial, peace-fostering, and nature-friendly ways of life.
>
> *We invite all people, whether religious or not, to do the same.*

The Declaration continues for another half a dozen pages, focussing on commitments to a culture of…

- *non-violence and respect for life,*
- *solidarity and a just economic order,*
- *tolerance and a life of truthfulness, and*
- *equal rights and partnership between men and women.*

The document is short and was purposely endorsed with a sense of tentativity and newness by including "towards" and "initial." It is full of interesting notions and suggestions, a curriculum by itself about religious values, their effectiveness, and the future of the human race.

THE CHARTER OF THE UNITED RELIGIONS INITIATIVE (2000)

In 2000, the United Religions Initiative (URI) was signed and a network of interfaith groups around the world joined in a shared commitment. As the Charter says,

> *The purpose of the United Religions Initiative is to promote enduring, daily interfaith cooperation, to end religiously motivated violence and to create cultures of peace, justice and healing for the Earth and all living beings.*

Any group of interfaith people with at least seven members representing at least three religious, spiritual, or indigenous traditions is welcome to apply for membership in URI if they are committed to URI's purpose as unfolded in the Charter. At this writing there are over 250 "Cooperation Circles" in 50 countries participating.

The preamble of the Charter covers much of the same territory as the affirmations found in *Towards a Global Ethic*. But a new series of principles were also enunciated, built on shared values, that provide diverse groups of people a way to safely, fruitfully interact with each other. Here are the principles:

1. The URI is a bridge-building organisation, not a religion.
2. We respect the sacred wisdom of each religion, spiritual expression and indigenous tradition.
3. We respect the differences among religions, spiritual expressions and indigenous traditions.
4. We encourage our members to deepen their roots in their own tradition.
5. We listen and speak with respect to deepen mutual understanding and trust.
6. We give and receive hospitality.
7. We seek and welcome the gift of diversity and model practices that do not discriminate.
8. We practice equitable participation of women and men in all aspects of the URI.
9. We practice healing and reconciliation to resolve conflict without resorting to violence.
10. We act from sound ecological practices to protect and preserve the Earth for both present and future generations.
11. We seek and offer cooperation with other interfaith efforts.
12. We welcome as members all individuals, organisations and associations who subscribe to the Preamble, Purpose and Principles.

13. We have the authority to make decisions at the most local level that includes all the relevant and affected parties.
14. We have the right to organise in any manner, at any scale, in any area, and around any issue or activity which is relevant to and consistent with the Preamble, Purpose and Principles.
15. Our deliberations and decisions shall be made at every level by bodies and methods that fairly represent the diversity of affected interests and are not dominated by any.
16. We (each part of the URI) shall relinquish only such autonomy and resources as are essential to the pursuit of the Preamble, Purpose and Principles.
17. We have the responsibility to develop financial and other resources to meet the needs of our part, and to share financial and other resources to help meet the needs of other parts.
18. We maintain the highest standards of integrity and ethical conduct, prudent use of resources, and fair and accurate disclosure of information.
19. We are committed to organisational learning and adaptation.
20. We honour the richness and diversity of all languages and the right and responsibility of participants to translate and interpret the Charter, Articles, Bylaws and related documents in accordance with the Preamble, Purpose and Principles, and the spirit of the United Religions Initiative.
21. Members of the URI shall not be coerced to participate in any ritual or be proselytised.

DECALOGUE OF ASSISI FOR PEACE (2002)

In January 2002 Pope John Paul II called together 200 religious leaders from the world religions to pray and craft a new ten commandments, one which provides the groundwork for peace and dialogue among religions.

1. We commit ourselves to proclaiming our firm conviction that violence and terrorism are incompatible with the authentic spirit of religion, and, as we condemn every recourse to violence and war in the name of God or of religion, we commit ourselves to doing everything possible to eliminate the root causes of terrorism.
2. We commit ourselves to educating people to mutual respect and esteem, in order to help bring about a peaceful and fraternal

coexistence between people of different ethnic groups, cultures and religions.

3. We commit ourselves to fostering the culture of dialogue, so that there will be an increase of understanding and mutual trust between individuals and among peoples, for these are the premise of authentic peace.
4. We commit ourselves to defending the right of everyone to live a decent life in accordance with their own cultural identity, and to form freely a family of their own.
5. We commit ourselves to frank and patient dialogue, refusing to consider our differences as an insurmountable barrier, but recognising instead that to encounter the diversity of others can become an opportunity for greater reciprocal understanding.
6. We commit ourselves to forgiving one another for past and present errors and prejudices, and to supporting one another in a common effort both to overcome selfishness and arrogance, hatred and violence, and to learn from the past that peace without justice is no true peace.
7. We commit ourselves to taking the side of the poor and the helpless, to speaking out for those who have no voice and to working effectively to change these situations, out of the conviction that noone can be happy alone.
8. We commit ourselves to taking up the cry of those who refuse to be resigned to violence and evil, and we desire to make every effort possible to offer the men and women of our time real hope for justice and peace.
9. We commit ourselves to encouraging all efforts to promote friendship between peoples, for we are convinced that, in the absence of solidarity and understanding between peoples, technological progress exposes the world to a growing risk of destruction and death.
10. We commit ourselves to urging leaders of nations to make every effort to create and consolidate, on the national and international levels, a world of solidarity and peace based on justice.

Taken together, these pioneering documents and others coming in their wake give the human family essential tools for creating a peaceful future. Here at last, in spiritually inclusive language, is the groundwork for including and honouring each one of us, wherever we come from and whatever our race and religion.

FOR REFLECTION OR DISCUSSION

- To what kind of religious tradition do you belong? Is yours a tradition that has a form of holy scripture or is your tradition transmitted orally?
- Have you ever explored the written or orally transmitted words of another tradition? What was your experience? What did you learn about the other tradition in this encounter? How did the encounter enrich your understanding of your own tradition?

Universal Declaration of Human Rights

- How do you feel about the fact that the United States has been the least enthusiastic about the *UN Declaration*?
- What was the part of the *UN Declaration* that moved you the most? Why? What part of the *UN Declaration* was most surprising to you? Why? If it were to be re-voted today, would you add anything, or cut anything out?

The Charter of the United Religions Initiative

- What was your response to *The Charter of the United Religions Initiative*? What did you like about it? Why?
- What did you feel about *The Charter*'s call for a grassroots movement? Do you think that this is an effective approach? Is this something that you would like to be involved in?

Decalogue of Assisi for Peace

- What did you think of the *Decalogue*? Do you think that these commitments will foster peace and dialogue among religions? Why? Which do you find the most important?
- What were you most moved by in the *Decalogue*? Why?

LEARNING AND DOING

The new interreligious neighbourhood we've been exploring offers an unprecedented set of learning opportunities. On your own, in a classroom, a congregation, the new demographics mean most of us have resources nearby to study interreligious dialogue and relationships and start to take our learning seriously. Teachers abound, starting in your congregation and your neighbour's. They know how to lead a class through the remarkable documents we've described, and compare them perhaps, with passages in their own traditions and literature.

Until you are able to include the 'stranger' in your classroom, of course, studying interfaith relations stays two-dimensional. One of

the best first steps is to invite members of other faiths to visit and perhaps speak to your community. A panel allows several religions to be represented. Taking an interfaith group to a series of sanctuaries or communities, each representing a different tradition, is another popular way to get acquainted.

Making the stranger-to-friend transition gracious and relaxed is the prelude to good interfaith relationships. Whatever the programme, whoever is invited, following a few guidelines can help this highly sensitive beginning, when people meet each other:

Offer Hospitality—Most racial, ethnic, and religious traditions have elaborate hospitality rituals and conventions, though they tend to get lost in today's bustling world. The stories and lore of hospitality are well worth rediscovering whenever strangers are meeting for the first time. Food is important. Music is usually a winner. Graciousness is the key. Mutual respect, as we noticed several times already, offers the ground we walk on.

Deep Listening—The art of listening turns out to be a crucial factor in building healthy communities. Strong personal relationships among people from different traditions depends on listening carefully. Careful listening deepens into a discernment that goes beyond words. Faith and practice regularly take us to regions beyond words, so this is no surprise; yet, when you share sacred time with people from different forms of faith and practice than your own, its startling to feel the whole universe gets a little bigger, along with your appreciation.

The Power of Dialogue—In the past decade, the nascent interfaith community locally and globally has learned to depend on engaged dialogue – one-on-one conversation about issues that matter and small group work, punctuated by plenary sessions where learnings are shared.

Keynote speakers and panels are important, clerics and lay leaders are often wonderful contributors, and every tradition has wisdom to share. But conversation among members of different traditions, where *everyone* in the circle is heard, is the force growing the interfaith movement. When people are offered a friendly place to talk about what is most important to them, vitality and trust start to seep into the community.

How do you deal with red-hot issues that are too sensitive to talk about, particularly with strangers? The key is to initiate your conversations (and relationships) around issues of value focussed on what people find most important, not the issues which come with

complex disagreements and conflicted emotions. The questions in chapter 3 are an example of the kind of conversation people can have safely, that is, where they don't stumble over differences but learn to profit from them. The questions focus our attention on what we most value from our respective backgrounds and help us frame a vision of a religiously peaceful world we can start to create.

One of the most involved interfaith dialogue networks in the world, the Interfaith Encounter Association, with offices in Jerusalem, organises ongoing dialogue programmes in Jerusalem, between Palestinian and Jewish communities, and throughout the Middle East (www.interfaith-encounter.org). They include youth meetings, meetings for women, and those for the whole community. Rather than talking about their disagreements, Christians, Jews, and Muslims, by the hundreds, even thousands, listen to each other with respect as they talk about scripture, theology, holy days, fasting, religious education, life-style, and dozens of other issues. They do the work to keep from demonising the enemy and to enrich themselves, and they are providing a lamp of hope in the Middle East.

From Learning to Doing—Learning about faith and practice usually includes moving from the idea to the act, challenging us to walk the talk. The emerging interfaith community is finding its significance and vitality in networking, developing connections with similarly minded people near and far. Without any traveling, you can become both locally and globally connected by starting a United Religions Initiative circle in your own community, perhaps with a circle of friends or a group of congregations. Those who have attended the twice-a-decade Parliament of the World's Religions typically come home with new local friends they met thousands of miles from home.

These associations, formal and informal, strengthen your own interfaith work. The mantra among activists is collaborate and build capacity. The internet in particular has given collaboration all sorts of new meanings.

Parallel networks outside of the religious community exist, full of secular people with deeply spiritual lives who probably share many of your values and dreams for the future, and it is worth connecting with them. A number of interfaith groups are focussed on the environment, for instance. They will find valuable colleagues who share many of their values at the Earth Charter Initiative, a global network of people whose Charter echoes and resonates with the themes

we've explored in *Towards a Global Ethic* and elsewhere (http://www.earthcharter.org/).

The International Bill of Rights project (IBOR) is a non-profit group started in the late nineties supporting "a process for individuals, organisations and governments to draft—in a single document—an International Bill of Rights enforceable in the local courts of all countries." IBOR (http://www.ibor.org/) represents a strong potential partner for the aggregate faith community, a place where secular and religious folk can work on common cause and learn to enjoy their differences. Interfaith dialogue can be introduced into all sorts of community activities, enriching the local community while making it safer. The local Rotary Club, for instance, is an interfaith organisation these days, and the local library serves an interfaith constituency. Paying attention paves the way to action.

How should we study interfaith dialogue and relationship? Finally it is a personal question and a congregational question. Answering it for yourself and in your community is a tangible step towards healing a wounded world.

FOR REFLECTION OR DISCUSSION

- What have you gained from this interfaith dialogue?
- Of all the things that you have read and heard, what do you think you will remember long after the end of this course?
- What kind of tangible difference does interfaith dialogue make in your life? Have you made any new commitments or decisions based on what you've learned?

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MODEL INTERFAITH GUIDELINES TO RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY

THE RELIGIOUS SOCIETY OF FRIENDS

Navigating this website: Entries are not in alphabetical order but instead age order. New entries are added to the bottom of each section. Use the search function of your browser to locate entries.

Introductory Items

- Curious? Want to attend a Quaker meeting?
- Ted Hoare's introductory pamphlet on the RSOF
- Hans Weening's Meeting the Spirit
- Joel Gazis-Sax's book list
- Dan Schlitt's Bibliography of vocal ministry
- Ed Dommen's Glossaire Quaker Glossary (French and English)
- Descriptions of Religions and Ethical Systems, of the Quaker flavor
- How a Quaker Meeting for Business works
- Quakers and the Political Process—an exhibit by Philadelphia Yearly Meeting.

Categories of organisations

- o Quaker-originated schools
- o Quaker-originated colleges and universities
- o Quaker bookstores

The big three umbrella organisations

- o Friends General Conference

  - Friends United Meeting
  - Evangelical Friends International
- Friends World Committee for Consultation
  - Africa Section
  - Section of the Americas
  - Asia/West Pacific Section
  - Europe & Middle East Section
- Quaker Retreat Centers
  - Pendle Hill
  - Ben Lomond Quaker Center
  - Powell House, the NYYM retreat center.
  - A retreat programme of NEYM for children in grades two through six.
  - Woolman Hill, a Quaker retreat center.
  - Woodbrooke, a Quaker Study and retreat center in Birmingham, England.
  - Glenthorne Quaker Guest House and Conference Centre, Grasmere, England
  - Quaker Oaks Farm, PYM retreat center
  - Michigan Friends Center
  - Claridge House Healing Centre
  - Sierra Friends Center, also hosts the Woolman Semester.
  - Swarthmoor Hall.
- Friends Committee on National Legislation
- Friends Committee on Legislation of California
- Quaker Universalist Fellowship
- Quaker Universalist Group (UK)
- Friends for a Non-Violent World
- Friends Service Committees
  - American Friends Service Committee
  - Canadian Friends Service Committee
  - German Friends Service Committee
  - Quaker Service Australia

  - Quaker Service Norway (Kvekerhjelp)
- AVP International
  - AVP Germany
  - AVP USA
  - AVP Britain
  - AVP New Hampshire
- Friends for a Non-violent World
- Friends for Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Queer Concerns - formerly FLGC
- Quaker House of Fayetteville NC
- Peaceworkers
- Friends Council on Education
- Friends Committee to Abolish the Death Penalty (*no longer active*)
  - *See:* The Religious Organising Against the Death Penalty Project
- Quaker Volunteer Service and Training
- Friendly FolkDancers
- William Penn House
- Jeanes Hospital - a Quaker Acute Care Hospital in Philadelphia.
- Casa de los Amigos in Mexico City.
- Friends Association of Higher Education
- Barclay Press
- Friends Conference on Religion and Psychology
- Friends Bulletin
- Quaker Information Center
- New Foundation Fellowship (UK)
- New Foundation Fellowship (USA)
- Quaker Lesbian Conference
- Friends Peace Teams
- Fellowship of Quakers in the Arts
- Washington Quaker Workcamps
- Si a la Vida - a four-year old project to rescue and rehabilitate glue-sniffing street-kids in Managua, Nicaragua.
- Friends Committee on Washington State Public Policy

- Quaker Peace Centre, Cape Town, South Africa
- Quaker Experiential Service and Training, Seattle
- QUIP is Quakers Uniting In Publishing, a consortium of Quaker Publishers.
- Northern Friends Peace Board, UK
- Quaker United Nations Offices
- Quaker Council for European Affairs
- The James Nayler Foundation for the treatment of violent behaviour and severe personality disorder
- Clarence and Lilly Pickett Fund for Quaker Leadership
- The Tract Association of Friends
- Friends House Moscow (US supporters)
- Friends House Moscow (UK supporters)
- Beacon Hill Friends House
- Friends International Library - International Childrens Peace Project
- The Leaveners, Quaker Performing Arts Project.
- Friends Christian Ministries, Conservative Friends in Greece.
- The Dallas Peace Center
- Quaker Social Witness Committee of the Central & Southern Africa Yearly Meeting
- QUEST: Quaker Ecumenical Seminars in Theology
- Right Sharing of World Resources
- Evangelical Friends Mission
- The Coalition for Hispanic Ministries
- Quakerdale, a family service organisation in IA.
- Women's Goals 2000
- Fellowship of Friends of African Descent
- Friends Fiduciary Corporation
- Friends Committee on Scouting
- Friends Services for the Aging
- Quaker Theological Discussion Group
- Friends Center of Ohio Yearly Meeting
- Quaker Conflict Resolution Network (forming)

- Quaker G.O.P., Guerilla Outreach Project
- North Carolina Friends Historical Society
- School of the Spirit Ministry
- The Friendly Gangstaz Committee
- Quaker Bolivia Link
- Friends Afghan Concern
- Project Lakota
- World Gathering of Young Friends, Lancaster University, August 2005
- Nontheist Friends
- White's Residential and Family Services, Inc., a Quaker child care agency of Indiana Yearly Meeting.
- Latvian Quaker Group
- Arlington Friends House, a cooperative near Boston
- ProNica supplies funds, equipment and information to established community organisations in Nicaragua.
- Quaker Initiative to End Torture
- Northern Spirit Radio
- Southern Appalachian Young Friends
- Friends Center home of AFSC, PYM, CPMM, and others.
- Quaker Esperanto Society
- Palo Alto Friends Meeting El Salvador Projects

Friends and Nature

- Friends Energy Project
- Quaker Earthcare Witness
- PYM Committee in Unity with Nature

Quaker Meetings

A more or less comprehensive listing of Yearly, Monthly and Quarterly Meetings organised by location of meetinghouse. An even more comprehensive listing of Western US Meetings.

Quaker Nursing/Retirement Homes

Note that Friends Services for the Aging has their own list.

- Friends Fellowship CommunityContinuing Care Retirement Community, Richmond, IN

- Friends House of Santa Rosa, California
- Friends House Retirement Community, of Sandy Spring, Maryland
- Foulkeways at Gwynedd, Pennsylvania
- Medford Leas, New Jersey
- McCutchen Friends Home, North Plainfield, New Jersey.
- Pennswood Village, Pennsylvania
- Foxdale Village, State College, PA
- Stapeley in Germantown, Philadelphia, PA
- Lauramoore Friends Home, Richmond, IN
- Kendal Communities, multiple locations.
- The Hickman, West Chester, PA
- Friendsview Retirement Community, Newberg, OR
- Friends Home and Friends Village, Bucks Quarterly Meeting, PA

Historical Quaker Meetinghouses

Some of these are still active meetinghouses; some not. All are much, much older than the Internet.

- Burlington (NJ) Meeting House
- Philadelphia Free Quaker Meeting House
- Plainfield, NJ Meeting House and its cemetary map
- The Friends' Meeting House on Quaker Hill, Uxbridge Township
- Brierfield, near Pendle Hill, England
- Radnor, PA Meeting House
- Great Friends Meeting House, Newport, RI
- Merion Meeting, Merion Station, PA
- Birmingham Meeting, Birmingham, PA
- Old Kennett Meeting, Kennett, PA
- Maison Quaker, Congenies France
- Wooldale Meeting House, near Holmfirth, UK
- 1758 Randolph Friends Meeting House, Randolph, NJ
- Flushing Quaker Meeting House, Flushing, NY
- Centre Quaker Meetinghouse, Hopewell Centre, NJ

Writings of Historical Friends

- Autobiography of George Fox
- Journal of John Woolman
- Another Journal of John Woolman
- George Keith. New-England's spirit of persecution. [New York], 1693.
- Travels in Virginia and North Carolina. George Fox. 1672.
- Lucretia Mott
- William Penn—America's First Great Champion for Liberty and Peace
- Pirates of Penn's-ance
- The Richmond Declaration
- Alice Stokes Paul
- Rev Thomas Beals, first Friends minister in Ohio
- Susan B. Anthony
- Thomas S. Clarkson, Abolitionist, author of *A Portraiture of Quakerism*.
- Wordsworth and the Problem of Action: The White Doe of Rylstone—also contains a reference to the above Thomas Clarkson's book *A Portraiture of Quakerism*.
- Larry Kuenning's collection of historical Quaker e-Texts
- The Quaker Writings Home Page, Peter Sippel, editor.
- Margaret Fell's essay "Women's Speaking Justified, Proved, and Allowed of by the Scriptures, All such as speak by the Spirit and Power of the Lord Jesus. And how Women were the first that Preached the Tidings of the Resurrection of Jesus, and were sent by Christ's own Command, before he Ascended to the Father, John 20. 17" (written about 1666 or 1667).
- The Memoirs of Sunderland P. Gardner
- U of Mich Quaker Collection
- Herstory—interesting little stub of a page
- Quakers and the Arts Historical Sourcebook
- The Record of a Quaker Conscience: Cyrus Pringle's Diary—A Vermont Quaker in the Civil War.
- Voltaire and the Quakers—about, not by.

- The New Foundation Fellowship (UK), proclaiming the Christian Quaker message.
- James Nayler's Spiritual Writings
- Earlham School of Religion has scanned many texts which are free of copyright restrictions and made them available online in their Digital Quaker Collection.
- LeavesofGrass is devoted to the Quaker testimony in Walt Whitman's life and poetry.
- Records and library at Pickering College
- The Flushing Remonstrance, a 350th Anniversary of a step towards religious freedom for Quakers and all in America.

Free books by Elton Trueblood available

"We have been blessed with a number of his books that are out of print - they are free for the asking - but donations for shipping would be greatly appreciated." Contact Sue Kern - Center for Quaker Thought and Practice, Earlham Drawer 104 Richmond, IN 47374 or quakercenter@earlham.edu

- The Essence of Spiritual Religion
- The Encourager
- A Place to Stand
- Basic Christianity
- The Future of the Christian
- Your Other Vocation
- A Philosopher's Way

Writings of (or about) Contemporaneous Friends

- Chuck Fager's Bit of Quaker Bible Study
- One Quaker's approach to the Bible
- Glenside Friends Meeting's paper on disownment
- The Declaration of Life—an anti-death-penalty request
- Chuck Fager's position paper against the Richmond Declaration.
- Peter Sippel's "Quaker Bible Study of Jonah"
- Hans Weening's Meeting the Spirit: An introduction to Quaker beliefs and practices
- Bibliography for Christology and the historical Jesus
- Davide Melodia's Il Signore del Silenzio / The Lord of Silence
- Chuck Fager's missive on why liberal Quakers are authentic Quakers.
- Movies on Peace and War Issues Recommended by Quakers

- "Without Apology"—Larry Ingle reviews Chuck Fager's new Book
- Thou and You—an article by Alan Firth on the demise of thee/thou in the English language
- NYYM Renewal Report
- A list of Quaker periodicals
- Quaker Electronic Archive
- Jim Flory's Contemplative Quakerism page
- Tom Cunliffe's Journey of Life
- Advertising blurb for R. Charles Stevens's Letters from Viet Nam - the author's experience in Viet Nam during 1962-4 serving as concientious objector.
- Quaker Science Fiction
- Merle Harton publishes *The New Quaker*
- Herb Lape wrote a case study describing how NYYM has dealt with minutes on sexuality.
- Eden Grace has a paper explaining Quaker decision-making practice and its theological presuppositions.
- Bill Samuel maintains a Quaker Information site.
- Lord, make me an instrument of your peace.
- Geraldine Glodek's Friends and Fragrances
- The AFSC's seminal pamphlet, Speak Truth to Power
- Quaker humor, some in Danish.
- The Quaker Economist—economics with a Quaker twist.
- Quaker and Ecumenical Essays by Eden Grace
- A Gay Quaker Timeline, 1820s-1950s
- Thoughtful, compassionate, and generous: American Heroes of the Asian Prodigal
- Confronting the Powers that Be: A Study Guide by Vern Rossman
- A World of Love and How to Get There
- A Short History of Conservative Friends
- Quaker Pamphlets
  - William Penn Lectures
  - Pendle Hill Pamphlets
  - Quaker Universalist Pamphlets
- Letters from Viet Nam, a book by Charles Stevens.
- A Statement from Leaders of Friends Organisations in the U.S.

- A Quaker in the Military—Reflections of a Pacifist among the Warriors
- Quakers in the News—a blog format summary of news that mentions Quakers
- Tony Junker's historical sea novel with Quaker themes.
- Philadelphia Reflections - William Penn's Quaker Colonies
- Hall V. Worthington's interpretation of Fox's Journal
- Quakers and slavery in New England
- The Generous Qur'an, by Michael Sells.
- Reducing Poverty, Building Peace, by Coralie Bryant and Christina Kappaz.

Peacemaker sites

- Anti-war—antiwar news.
- CCCO—Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors.
- Conscientious Objectors and the Selective Service Act
- Western Peacemakers
- Ann Arbor Friends Peace Committee
- Landmine Action
- PeaceWeb
- Future of Freedom Foundation
- AbuSaleh
- Peaceful Tomorrows
- the Peace Tax Fund—put your taxes to peaceful purposes.
- The Center on Conscience & War
- Beyond War
- Non-violent Peace Force
- Fellowship of Reconciliation
- Preparing for Peace is a project run by Westmorland Quakers.
- Peace Rider—On Horseback For Peace
- The Peace Party—does your EU representative stand for peace?
- Pacifist Party of America
- From Warriors to Resisters

Quaker History

- Chuck Fager's Landmarks and Heroes of Liberal Quaker History
- David Murray-Rust's booklet about Quaker history and practice.
- Anglicans, Puritans, and Quakers in Seventeenth-Century Newfoundland

- The Quaker Religion (in re architecture)
- Quakers [Society of Friends] in Illinois
- Frontier Press - Quaker Ancestry
- Quaker Dates - 1st month used to be March!
- Sharon Temple—Sharon, Ontario, Canada
- List of Some Quaker Monthly Meetings (historical)
- Woodbridge & Vicinity - a History of New Jersey Quakers from 1686 to 1788
- Street Corner Society—Levellers, Diggers, early Quakers, and others
- History of the Friends Meeting at Lobo Township, Middlesex County, Ontario, Canada.
- Allen Smith's recent Quaker History article.
- Friends Historical Association
- Story of Mary Dyer, martyr for religious freedom
- Biography of William Penn
- The Iron Bridge, a novel about eighteenth-century Quaker ironmasters.
- Pendle, England, birthplace of the Religious Society of Friends.
- A Brief History of Quakerism in Japan
- Ham Sok Hon - weighty Korean Quaker
- The Quaker Tapestry is made in a form known as a narrative crewel embroidery. As with the famous Bayeux Tapestry it is a hanging which tells a story - the story of the Quaker movement over nearly 350 years.
- Wyck, a historic house, home to nine generations of the same Quaker family.
- Several maps of Early Quakers in England and Wales
- Yorkshire (UK) Quaker Heritage Project
- A Western Quaker Reader
- Friends in Korea, written in 1969
- Flushing: From Quakers to Asians: Welcome
- A dramatic troupe of players whose repertoire includes The Sword Of Peace, a tribute to the RSoF.
- Some African-American members of the RSoF
- Kouroo Quaker History, has many pages put online by Austin Meredith.
- Bent on Having Their Own Way: Three Women Journalists of the Civil War

- Fair Hill Burial Ground in Philadelphia.
- Swarthmoor Hall.

Quaker Genealogy

- The Quaker Corner
- The Quaker Research Guide
- Cindi's List
- Katie's Surnames

Links to other sites

- A Peace Antiwar Homepage
- soc.religion.quaker FAQ
- Sea of Faith Network
- Canadian Council of Churches, of which Canadian Yearly Meeting is a member.
- Some pages on Peace Pilgrim, maintained by a pair of Quakers.
- The Mennonites, another historic peace church.
- An atheist's struggle for Conscientious Objector status
- Consensual Decision-Making
- a minute on Living in Unity with Nature approved by Acadia Friends Meeting in Bar Harbor, Maine
- The Arms Sales Monitoring Project, which works for restraint in the global production and trade of weapons.
- Positive Church Online, Santa Fe, NM
- Norbert's Bookmarks For a Better World
- Christian Quakers in Australia and the Asian Region
- Yahoo directory listing for Friends
- Peace Church Bible Study

Young Friends

- Phila. Young Adult Friends
- Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Young Friends
- NYYM Powell House Young Friends
- Young Friends General Meeting, Britain
- Northwest Yearly Meeting Young Adult Friends
- Baltimore YM Young Adult Friends
- Young Adult Friends Email Contacts Worldwide
- Baltimore Yearly Meeting Young Friends
- Baltimore Yearly Meeting Young Friend Discussion List - to subscribe write with message subscribe bym-yf in the body.

- Australian Young Friends
- Quaker Service Opportunities
- NC Yearly Meeting Young Friends
- FCNL's Young Adult Friends
- YouthQuake
- FriendLink
- European and Middle East Young Friends

Miscellaneous

- The Quaker Peace Fair, in Buckingham, PA.
- Quaker Storytellers, told by Tom and Sandy Farley.
- Positions available for Friends, attenders, and/or people with a Quaker education.

The listing is only available for non-bulk email use. If you agree not to use it to send mail to everyone on the list, you can see the list.

QUAKER-RUN BUSINESSES

Computer Businesses

- Crynwr Software
- Support Engineering
- Harmonic Functions, Inc. Digital Audio Software
- Desert Dragon SOHO Solutions Small Office Computer Solutions
- Friendly Systems, a business software developer and reseller.
- Dan Cooperstock's DONATION, an inexpensive software programme for churches and charities to track donors and donations and issue receipts.
- 2-Minute-Website.com, web design for small businesses and organisations.
- Educational Simulations.
- AngelFish Media, UK based web designers, IT support and security
- Some Creative Guys
- David Chandler, websites.
- Sane Planet Web Design.
- Arthur Fink Consulting, User interfaces, database design, whole systems

Communications

- Ford Public Relations
- Art & Design from MOTTASIA's Studio

- Ethnoscope Film & Video
- Ralph W. Henn, Public Relations, Editorial & Marketing Communications Services
- McGuire & Spickard: Writers, Researchers, Consultants
- Blot Publishing does publishing on paper and on the web.
- Friendly Spirit Ltdlow maintenance website help business.
- Posti Communications
- Pam Rider copyediting, indexing, writing.
- Rathmann-Fronberry LLC
- Ron Cooper, Publicity Guy P.R. consultant/writing and editing.

Health Practitioners

- Ann Foster - Shiatsu / Acupressure
- Mary Grimes is a Gestalt Psychotherapist with a private practice in Manhattan.
- Marcia V. Ormsby, M.D.—physician, plastic surgeon.
- Dr. Tanya R. English—chiropractor.
- Robbin Phelps—certified massage therapist in Washington, D.C.
- Beacon Health Care Associates—Asheville, NC
- The Davis Pain Clinic—Davis, CA
- The Healing Way—London, UK
- Barbara M. Simmonds—Post-Trauma Healing & Reiki
- Lynn Patricia—Massage Geek

Consultants

- Delta Environmental Consulting
- Aetheling
- Max Hansen, leadership development and innovation management
- Full Circle Group, mediation services.
- Vickey Kaiser, Professional Organizer.
- Community Well, Research and Evaluation, Inc.
- Van Temple, Management and Organisational Development.
- JSpear, environmental engineering.
- Kingsbury International Ltd., economic and business consulting
- GRE Consulting (Samuel Mahaffy), Process facilitation for community and faith-based organisations.

Performing and Visual Artists and Musicians

- John McCutcheon, Hammer Dulcimer Musician

- Aaron Fowler: Interactive programmes (having nothing to do with compute for teachers, parents and students.
- Aaron Fowler & Laura Dungan, music that leads the listener to be attentive and appreciative of one's place in the world, examine matters of the heart and conscience, and lend courage to take next steps on the journey.
- Carrie Newcomer, Folk Musician
- Piano Classic Restorations...by Terry Farrell, offering complete rebuilding of fine grand pianos.
- Bill Harley, singer/storyteller.
- Women's History ALIVE! One woman plays by Sandra Hansen on famous women in American history.
- Sara & Kamila (Singer-Songwriters)
- Bonnie Raitt, singer, songwriter, activist.
- Quaker Wedding Certificates by Jennifer Snow Wolff, Calligrapher & Artist,
- Wynne Llewellyn, calligrapher, specialising in Marriage Certificates and Naming documents
- Mercedes Walker - documentary filmmaker, singer, musician & activist
- Kat Burke - singer, songwriter, performer.
- Melanie Weidner - artist.
- Arthur Davenport has a CD out.
- Joyce Rouse, aka EarthMama.
- Spontaneous Combustion Storytellers - Tom & Sandy Farley - performances, workshops, CD
- Dan Gilliam
- Arthur Fink Photography: people, places, objects, events
- Adrian Martinez
- Quaker Wedding Certificates, by Sally Sanders-Garrett
- Annie and Peter Blood-Patterson - of Rise up Singing fame.
- Benjamin Lloyd - artist.
- Mark Holdaway
- Bull and Mouth Records - A coalition of young musicians (Friends and friends) started in 2006 by Quaker musician Jon Watts at Pendle Hill
- Saundra Sturdevant Photography
- Alfred Muma, Among Friends Studio
- Caroline Jariwala, Visual artist

Publishers and Bookstores

QUIP is a consortium of Quaker Publishers. Bookstores have their own page.

- Pittenbruach Press
- Kimo Press
- Boundless Books
- David Chandler Company designs and markets astronomy-related educational materials and software.
- Canmore Press
- Friendly Spirit Cards
- interFriend Publisherthe "wit, wisdom, and religious experience" of Quakers in Ireland.
- Blot Publishing does publishing on paper and on the web.
- Bob Jolly has self-published his book about hiking and biking trails in the Bay Area, Leave Your Car At Home.
- Good Read Press
- Shoes and Ships and Sealing Wax Ltd
- Intentional Productions
- The Capital Citizen Newspaper, Washington D.C.'s advocate for political freedom, speaking truth to power, holding the people of Washington in the light.

Summer Camps

- Camp Katahdin - run by Douglas W. Crate Sr.
- Friends Camp, a Quaker summer camp for youth.
- Friends Music Camp, meets each summer at Olney Friends School in Barnesville, OH
- Camp Onas
- Camp Woodbrooke
- Farm & Wilderness
- Catoctin, Shiloh and Opequon, all run by Baltimore Yearly Meeting.
- Camp Quaker Haven, Kansas.
- Ben Lomond Quaker Center, a week-long preteen camp.
- Sierra Friends Camp, in the Sierra Nevada foothills of California.
- Camp NeeKauNis, in Ontario, Canada.
- Camp Dark Waters, New Jersey

Other Businesses

- Quaker Tours running Quaker-oriented tours of Philadelphia

- investing ethically, ltd
- Creative Investment Research, an investment research and management company.
- Davoll's General Store, Dartmouth, MA
- Blue Water Property, Rob Patterson's independent real estate brokerage on the coast of Maine
- The Octavia Hill Association, Inc. is a real estate management and residential multifamily development business.
- Law Offices of Thomas N. Rothschild, Esq.
- Kristina Elaine, Life Coaching for Adults with Asperger's Syndrome.
- W.W. Lee & Son, Family Insurance
- The Life Altaring Institute
- Forest Echo Farm offers three rental cabins near Ludlow, VT.
- Sandhill Services, for the real property owner
- Smile Herb Shop
- Kingston Friends Mediation, providing mediation services and training in the UK and overseas.
- Fractured Glass
- Sturge Conservation Studio - A specialist conservation and restoration service for historic leather.
- Old Harbor Capital Mgmt, investment management focused on Friends principles.
- Acorn Timber Frames
- Spanish For Social Change, Sara Koopman, Translator (written) and interpreter (oral).
- Anne Henslee, Realtor, Baltimore, MD.
- Baby gear for the last frontier

Newsgroups

- news:soc.religion.quaker, and Google Groups Usenet archives. You can also post at that URL.
- soc.religion.quaker FAQ, and an HTML version of same.
- news:bit.listserv.quaker-p—no longer active.

Mailing lists

- Mailing lists on quakerlists.org
- Quaker-L-moderated.
- Quaker-Canadian.
- Quaker-P-peace-n-justice concerns.

- FCNL-News-FCNL Alerts. Send a message saying "subscribe FCNL-News".
- Friends-Church-evangelical.
- Quaker-Spectrum-unmoderated. Send a message saying "subscribe quaker-spectrum".
- Quaker-B Mailing list.(Britain Yearly Meeting) This serves (but is not exclusive to) British Friends.
- Q-Light A list for queer (lesbian, gay male, bisexual, transgendered or questioning) Quakers and interested guests to discuss issues relating to being queer, being a Friend, and the intersection thereof. Discussion will be respectful and non homo-/bi-/ transphobic.
- Quaker-Roots, a list for Quaker genealogists. Send a message with "subscribe" in the body of the message (not the subject line).
- Quaker Family History Society (mail mode) (digest mode). Send a message with "subscribe" in the body of the message (not the subject line).
- Friends-Theology This conference was designed for evangelical, Christ centered Friends to discuss theology and biblical interpretation with each other. Those interested in a discussion focusing more on the practical side of ministry as well as current topics in the Friends church might wish to subscribe to Friends-Church@XC.org.
- BYM-News-news for and about members of Baltimore Yearly Meeting (BYM). Send a message to subscribe.
- "EFM-MEN is the email conference for EFM MEN. EFM MEN was created to encourage men to become involved in the world ministries of the Evangelical Friends International. Men are motivated to seek practical and direct involvement, using their skills and abilities to assist and support missions. The principal work will be to raise mission awareness through existing yearly meeting structures for men, bringing national recognition to mission efforts arising from those yearly meetings. This will be done through work crusades, prayer journeys and innovative stateside projects." The list also welcomes interested men who are not members of EFI meetings.

SUBSCRIBE EFM-MEN

- FCUN

  FCUN was created "for Friends (and friends of Friends) of the environmental persuasion." It discusses the Friends Committee

in Unity with Nature (FCUN) and other environmentally-related topics. Begun July 31, 1997. Visit the FCUN list's web page for more information.

- QVSTC

  This is a list to facilitate communication among those interested in Quaker volunteer service, training and witness.

  To subscribe, send the message

  subscribe qvstc Yourfirstname Yourlastname

  To: listproc@list.serve.com

- Friends Council on Education

  The Friends Council on Education Technology Committee has established this list of educators in Friends schools and Friends in non-Friends schools.

  To subscribe, send an e-mail message with your name and relation to Quaker education

  to: fce-web@forum.swarthmore.edu

- Michigan Quaker Teens

  We're a small group largely based in Ann Arbor, Michigan with members from all around lower michigan (namely Troy, Kalamazoo, Grand Rapids, and the Traverse city area). We hold quarterly retreats and we run a mailing list. To subscribe to the list send an empty message.

- Quaker Books For Friends

  Quaker Books for Friends is distributed free of charge as an independent monthly newsletter featuring eclectic reviews of books of interest to Christian Friends. Each issue features two or more contemplative reviews of books for enlightened Christian readers. The newsletter has no commercial connection with any bookstore or publisher, and the mailing list is unpublished and carefully-supervised.

- Young Adult Quakers.

- ERAF—Ending Racism Among Friends

  The ERAF list provides on-line networking for Friends with a concern for issues of race, diversity, inclusiveness and privilege, especially as they play out in the Society of Friends. It is one of several activities to follow up on the April 1999 Friends Gathering with a Concern for Issues of Racism, Diversity and Inclusiveness.

- Canadian Young Friends—This list is focused on Canadian young and young adult Friends. We hope to use it to help (A)YFs keep

in touch and to provide a way of letting (A)YFs know about service opportunities, retreats etc.

- Yahoo Groups for Friends
- Q-trans—Quaker TransPeople—a discussion group to support transsexual and transgender people in the Society of Friends.
- Quaker-MM, for discussion of Monthly Meeting Clerking Issues.

Contributors

- Ken Sutton, of Friends Journal, Friends Journal pages
- Randy Oftedahl, FCADP pages
- Dick Bellin, FCRP pages
- Simon Grant, FWCC pages
- Chuck Fager, various writings including the Pendle Hill pages
- Chris Faatz, QUF and Lucretia Mott pages
- Reuben Snipper, William Penn House page
- the late David Washburn, Pirates of Penn's-ance page
- Alice Drewery, YFGM pages
- Jennifer Snow Wolff, Quaker-run business reorganisation
- Paul Sladen, for many URL updates.
- ...and anyone else I may have missed.

Please email suggestions and contributions. Quakerism is a multifarious religion. Everything on these pages should be considered representative of some but not all Quaker thought. Free web space is available on this server for any meeting-sponsored Quaker activity.

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