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## COMPREHENDING JUST PEACEMAKING THEORY AND ITS APPLICATION TO THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

An Essay Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies College of Arts and Sciences of John Carroll University in Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the Degree of Master of Arts

> By Caroli B. Shao 2019

The essay of Caroli B. Shao is hereby accepted.

~ an

Advisor – Dr. Paul J. Lauritzen

<u>22 May 2019</u> Date

I certify that this is the original document.

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#### I. INTRODUCTION

Historically, there have been two theories on how civilized countries are to deal with political conflicts and violence: The Just War theory and the Pacifism theory. Those who espouse the Just War theory include St. Augustine, St. Thomas Aquinas, Immanuel Kant, Hugo Grotius, and Michael Walzer. They have maintained that war can only be justified as long as a nation conforms to the following principles: just cause, right intention, right authority, last resort, proportionality and discrimination. Those who espouse pacifism do not believe that wars can ever be justified, therefore, they refuse to support any war and oppose any military confrontations. Their argument is based upon their interpretation of the teachings of Jesus.

Neither the Just War theorists nor the Pacifism theorists offer an explicit suggestion on how to preempt war and other situations of conflict and violence. It is from this context that a third theory has developed: The Just Peacemaking paradigm. Just Peacemaking offers different ways of combating and preventing war and situations of violence and conflict. In my opinion, this concept is desperately needed in today's chaotic world.

The Just Peacemaking paradigm was not developed to substitute for the Just War theory or Pacifism theory, but to supplement or work in a complementary way to the other two paradigms. Stassen and the twenty-three collaborators of the Peacemaking paradigm worked together for about five years to develop a road map for action. This paradigm actually joins the three theories, as effective forces, in an effort to turn major parts of our world from war to peace. The twenty-three scholars included Christian ethicists, biblical and moral theologians, International relations scholars, peace activists and conflict resolution practitioners. These scholars specialized in peacemaking but come from different perspectives.

The primary intent of the Just Peacemaking advocates like Stassen and the twentythree scholars was not to create a mere list of ten practices that prevent war. Rather, they were determined to create a complementary paradigm that both just war theory and pacifism could embrace "in order to fulfill their fundamental commitment to avoid the horrors of war."<sup>1</sup> They also sought alternatives to conflict that would minimize and avert those situations through peaceful means. They were aware that their method would not end or abolish all wars, but they believed that there are always peaceful ways to resolve conflict between two individuals, or two groups, such as Hutu and Tutsi of Rwanda, or two nations.

Just Peacemaking advocates have always existed, but not identified under that name; for example, the prophets Amos, Micah, and Isaiah (Hebrew Scriptures) and Jesus (Christian Scriptures), the Rev. Martin Luther King Jr. in the U.S., Mahatma Gandhi in India, and Archbishop Desmond Tutu in South Africa, all were effectively advocates of just peacemaking. All these advocates were optimistic that justice could be attained through peaceful means. "Just Peacemaking theory offers a new possibility not simply for thinking through the labyrinth of war but actually preventing many wars. Indeed, just peacemaking is more than a theory; it is chiefly a moral discipline with an array of principles and practices that are intended to transform situations of conflict into ones of harmony and reconciliation."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> John A. Barrett, *The Biblical Foundations of Just-Peacemaking Theory: Matthew 5:38–41 as Active Nonviolent Resistances within the Honor-Shame Paradigm* (M.A. Essay, John Carroll University, 2016), 4.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Simon O. Ilesanmi, "So that Peace May Reign: A Study of Just Peacemaking

Although Just Peacemaking has had both accomplishments and failures, its successes warrant continued use of this system in our approach to conflict. For example, we hear of peace keeping forces in Syria, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Congo Sudan, and Somalia. I believe that these 'forces' are the fruits of this paradigm.

In my view, this paradigm offers the greatest opportunity for peace loving people to see, experience and enjoy peace and justice, but we must admit it is not a perfect system. We know that "this mechanism has achieved varying levels of success in the conflicts to which it has been applied. Cambodia (at least until 1997) and Mozambique may be placed among the more successful examples, while Angola equally clearly belongs among the failures."<sup>3</sup> I would add the Rwanda Genocide to the list of its failures.

The weakness of this system is the 'intent of the partners' in the conflict. Do they want peace, or do they want conquest, power, and regional domination? If they want to have dictatorial dominance and they have strong militaries, they will not come to the negotiating table unless they are losing or they have reached a military stalemate. As nations progress into the nuclear age, the ultimate question will become: Can war ever be justified?

Experiments in Africa," Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics (2003): 215.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>3</sup> Christopher Clapham, "Rwanda: The Perils of Peacemaking," *Journal of Peace Research* 35, no. 2 (1998): 196.

#### **II. JUST PEACE-MAKING PRACTICES**

Just Peacemaking advocates struggle to restore a just and enduring peace in areas of conflict. Those of us who want to see this method succeed must support those efforts and expectations. Their tireless efforts give us insight into what it means to actually make peace. "Stassen's observations of the debates held at the Society of Christian Ethics (SCE) meeting in 1991 eventually led to a group of twenty-three Christian ethicists and international relations specialists gathering at the 1993 SCE meeting to develop a new, complementary paradigm for Christian ethics that would function alongside just-war theory and pacifism."<sup>4</sup> This group acknowledged that just-war theory and pacifism are effective in addressing the question of justification of war, but struggle to address the question of prevention."<sup>5</sup> The SCE group agreed that each of the two normative paradigms should embrace a third complementary paradigm that articulates effective peacemaking practices in order to fulfill their fundamental commitment to avoid the horrors of war. After five years of interdisciplinary work, the SCE group developed a consensus on a set of ten practices "that are not ideals or principles, but realistic, historically situated practices that are empirically demonstrating their effectiveness in preventing war."<sup>6</sup>

These scholars suggested ten practices to be used as an effective means of preventing wars, violence and conflicts and at the same time to function along with the just

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>4</sup> Barrett, *Biblical Foundations of Just-Peacemaking Theory*, 3.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> Glen H. Stassen, "The Unity, Realism, and Obligatoriness of Just Peacemaking Theory," *Journal of the Society of Christian Ethics* 23, no. 1 (2003): 171–94, here 171.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>6</sup> Barrett, Biblical Foundations of Just-Peacemaking Theory, 3.

war theory and pacifism theory paradigms. The scholars decided to refer to the new model as "Just Peacemaking Theory." They suggested ten practices to follow:

#### A. Peacemaking Initiatives

- 1. Support nonviolent direct action.
- 2. Take independent initiatives to reduce threat.
- 3. Use cooperative conflict resolution.
- 4. Acknowledge responsibility for conflict and injustice and seek repentance and forgiveness.

#### **B. Justice**

- 5. Advance democracy, human rights, and religious liberty.
- 6. Foster just and sustainable economic development.

#### C. Love and Community

- 7. Work with emerging cooperative forces in the international system.
- Strengthen the United Nations and international efforts for cooperation and human rights.
- 9. Reduce offensive weapons and weapons trade.
- 10. Encourage grassroots peacemaking groups and voluntary associations.

I will explain the practical implementation of each of these practices in detail. Later I will take up the Rwanda initiative that failed and demonstrate the practices outlined by Just Peacemaking that might have averted the atrocities in Rwanda, had they been tried.

The ten practices outlined by Stassen are vital in the just peacemaking theory, as they all focus on avoiding and preempting all avenues leading to violence, war and conflict. I would like to recall the famous saying "prevention is better than cure" (Desiderius Erasmus), as justification for believing that Just Peacemaking is a useful tool to prevent major conflicts.

#### **III. PEACE-MAKING INITIATIVES**

#### A1. Support Nonviolent Direct Action

Nonviolent Direct Action is spreading widely. It has ended the dictatorship in the Philippines, ended the rule by the Shah in Iran, brought about nonviolent revolutions in Poland, East Germany, and Central Europe. It has transformed and continues transforming injustice into democratic change within the Human Rights movements of Guatemala, Argentina, etc., as well as the removal of the president of Sudan after demonstrations, created a new democracy in Tunisia and supported equal rights and government reform in South Africa.

All governments have the obligation to make room for, and to support, nonviolent direct action. In my view, if we can imitate and follow the footsteps of the renowned peacemaking activists like the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. (U.S.A.), Mahatma Mohandas Gandhi (India) and Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, there will certainly be more peace and justice in the world.

The primary objective of Nonviolent Direct Action outlined by Stassen et al. is not passivity in approaching and tackling the potential situations of war, conflict and violence but rather to actively confront and transform situations of injustice into democratic change in a peaceful manner.

It is, therefore, the responsibility of national governments, faith groups and people everywhere to make room for and to support nonviolent direct action. "In the sixteenth century, Desiderius Erasmus depicted war as inhuman and unholy, especially deplored violence by those claiming to act in God's name, and saw peace as so necessary to the blessings of life that war should be avoided at virtually any cost."<sup>7</sup>

Following the reasoning of Stassen et al.; nonviolent direct action is the practical way of confronting and handling situations of injustice already happening and strives to eradicate or minimize them. When the conflict is imminent, the signs of violence are apparent, then nonviolent direct action strategically searches and seeks for the ways of healing without resorting to war. "Nonviolent direct action is designed to deal with injustice that is already happening. It becomes an action that transforms a situation from greater to lesser violence, from greater to lesser injustice, when it is employed out of an analysis of the violence and injustice that is currently underway."<sup>8</sup> Nonviolent direct action became very popular and effective with the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr. in his civil rights movement in the USA and Mahatma Gandhi during the fight for independence in India.

#### a) Implementing Nonviolent Direct Action

#### *i)* Boycotts

This practice is intended to separate an individual or group from support of abusive leadership in order to express peaceful discontent and disapproval that will lead to a demand for change. The term "boycott" is taken from "Charles Boycott, an English state manager whose rent collection tactics in the 1880s so enraged Irish tenants that they refused

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>7</sup> Lisa Sowle Cahill, "Official Catholic Social Thought on Gospel Nonviolence," Background Papers for the Nonviolence and Just Peace Conference (11–13 April 2016, Rome, Italy), 15.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>8</sup> Glen H. Stassen, ed. *Just Peacemaking: Ten Practices for Abolishing War* (Cleveland, OH: Pilgrim, 1998), 31.

to harvest crops for him."<sup>9</sup> Boycott, as a practice of nonviolent direct action, is popular and widely used. It has been effective in many parts of the world in addressing the issues of social, political and economic injustice. In my view, if the boycotts had been tried in Rwanda before the genocide, it would have probably averted the social, political and economic injustice that had ripped the country apart. It has been very effective in addressing the rights of workers, because it is peaceful and nonviolent.

The international Global Boycott of South Africa was the most practical, dynamic and effective use of peaceful boycotts that led to the abolishment of apartheid. This came as a surprise to many, because no one believed apartheid in South Africa would end nonviolently. "Boycotts of companies that invested in South Africa and economic sanctions against that state were a major force in persuading the government to drop the apartheid and to enter into democratic elections and peaceful integration, when most observers had expected apartheid would end, if at all, only after very bloody violence."<sup>10</sup> This was a huge achievement by nonviolent activists because it gave them the courage to continue with their research, which eventually, showed that nonviolent direct action can be effective even in tough and sophisticated cases like that of South Africa. Since the boycotts succeeded in South Africa, there is a reason to think that they could have been effective in the case of Rwanda. It should be understood that "nonviolence is not a mere tactical behavior but a person's way of being, the attitude of one who is convinced of God's love and power, who is not afraid to confront evil with the weapons of love and truth alone."<sup>11</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>9</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 33.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>10</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 33–34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>11</sup> Terence J. Rynne, "An overview of contemporary scriptural exegesis and ethics on Jesus' nonviolence," Background Papers for the Nonviolence and Just Peace Conference (11–13

There are numerous successful boycotts around the world. Several and varied examples of the use of boycott pervade the twentieth century. "In the 1930s, Gandhi encouraged Indians to boycott British textiles and to substitute their own homespun cloth, a significant factor in the success of the movement for Indian self – determination."<sup>12</sup> In United States, "the Montgomery bus boycott of 1955 -1956 launched the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr.'s civil rights movement. Additional boycotts of stores and business districts that supported segregation were integral to the movement's success in many cities."<sup>13</sup> Today boycotts are used by national governments against individuals and organizations. The United States government has boycotts companies, which are directly involved with contraceptives. Individuals boycott buying products from China and other parts of the world where exploitation and the rights of the workers are violated.

Since the primary aim of the boycott is to change rather than to annihilate the wrong party, careful management of the boycott process is of paramount importance. It is advisable to examine its social, political, economic and moral ramifications before implementing it. "This suggests a certain degree of control, foresight, and attention to both the manifest and the latent consequence of this type of concerted action."<sup>14</sup>

April 2016, Roma, Italy), 7.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>12</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>13</sup> Stassen, *Just Peacemaking*, 34.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>14</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 34.

#### ii) Strikes

A strike is a communal repudiation by employees against employers because of unsuitable conditions. Strikes are a practice of nonviolent direct action, which can take the form of an outright walkout, a sit-down strike, a work slowdown, or hunger strike. Strikes provide a strong visual sign of noncooperation with an unjust social, political, economic or religious system. Because of the potential for violence, when you are dealing with large numbers of workers and angry employers, strikes sometimes meet with unexpected challenges. Strikes become violent when the employer tries to break the strike with outside help; e.g. nonunion labor brought in to replace present workers, people hired as strike breakers to physically prevent marches or police interference. Unfortunately, sometimes the strike organizers end up losing their jobs!

Strikes have often been effective and brought about social, political and economic changes in society. The application of strikes as a practice norm is broad. "Because unjust economic practice frequently is a form of institutionalized violence, strikes point out directly to that hidden form of violence. Strikes are particularly effective when combined with other practices such as public disclosure, which prevents the strike from being obscured or distorted by the business or government leaders who oppose it."<sup>15</sup>

Nonviolent direct action requires great courage, effort and sacrifice. Hunger strikes are sometimes a part of the strike effort. "Certainly, Gandhi elevated the hunger strike to a new level of spirituality. As he said in the Fast unto Death in January 1948, my first should not be considered a political move in any sense of the term. It is obedience to the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>15</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 37.

peremptory call of conscience and duty. It comes out of felt agony."<sup>16</sup> Another form of nonviolent direct action could be martyrdom. John Howard Yoder wrote "the cross of Calvary was the political, legally to be expected result of a mortal clash with the powers of ruling society." <sup>17</sup>

Though strikes have been effective, the eminent danger is when the strikers lose their self-control and resort to violence. This is very common in African countries, where strikers are denied the right to strike or when their demands are not met. During my missionary work in Uganda, I saw many strikers beaten and jailed, others ended up in the hospital and some eventually died! One time while the president of Uganda was addressing the nation, he said; "my government will not tolerate any form of strikes, should you dare to strike you will end up in jail or die"! Such common threats are not a new phenomenon on the continent of Africa. This type of threat could have frightened the Tutsi's of Rwanda and prevented any attempt to 'strike' knowing they could die. In my view, striking under these circumstances is a deadly challenge and should be discouraged. It is better managed by other nonviolent interventions.

#### *iii) Marches*

A march is a public demonstration by a large group of people with a purpose of seeking to present an issue, a concern, a point of view or an injustice. There are two reasons to make a public march: Externally, people march with a purpose of educating the public, fundraising or showing social, political and economic dissatisfaction. Internally, people

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>16</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 36.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>17</sup> Rynne, "An Overview of Contemporary Scriptural Exegesis and Ethics on Jesus' Nonviolence," 13.

march with the purpose of building group morale, to identify those who are sympathetic and to foster solidity among the participants. A march usually comprises both a parade and a rally. For example, At St. Colman Church, on the West side of Cleveland, we have a large group of people of Irish descent. On St. Patrick's Day, after mass, they join the other Irish groups from the East side for a parade in downtown Cleveland. This type of march demonstrates solidarity among the Irish people.

Marching in the context of nonviolent direct action and peacemaking appears to be a recent phenomenon. Marchers today gather to demonstrate against negative situations and issues, which need the attention by governments, organizations and institutions. Recently, citizens in the United States have been marching to oppose the killing of teachers and school children in schools, worshipers in churches, shoppers in public places and challenging the gun control laws and right to gun ownership. Marching by African-Americans opposing the killings of other African Americans (Black Lives Matter) demonstrates an issue that is important to that community. There have been frequent marches by pro-life people opposing abortion on demand. This form of nonviolent direct action sends a message to the government leaders concerned. The march therefore, "is predicated on the faith that the exposure to truth creates its own dynamic and makes for resolution around the true issues rather than false or superficial ones."<sup>18</sup> It was very unfortunate that such a march was not tried in Rwanda, as the underground plans to annihilate the Tutsi by the Hutu government could have been revealed and ultimately preempted the looming genocide.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>18</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 39.

Marching to protest against political and social injustice has become more common in many parts of the world. We have seen people use 'marching' as a way to raise their voices in factories and companies where worker's rights are violated. We have observed women marching to demand civil rights for all women. We have seen people marching in protest against political injustice, especially in countries where democracy is not practiced. "<sup>19</sup> In the United States, East Germany, South Africa, Argentina, and elsewhere, marches have brought dramatic nonviolent change that had been thought impossible without massive violence."<sup>20</sup>

#### iv) Civil Disobedience

Civil Disobedience is the act of ignoring or refusing to observe civil laws or decrees on the grounds of a moral, political, or religious principle. The antagonists consider such laws to be unjust and want to call attention to their injustice in the hope of bringing about legal change or adjustment. Civil disobedience can be best described as "a course of illegal conduct undertaken by a relatively homogeneous or like-minded group for the purpose of obtaining redress of alleged grievances. It is activity conducted outside the framework of rules provided by the established governmental structure."<sup>21</sup> Civil disobedience "although it adopts the tactics of nonviolence, is usually more than mere passive resistance. It often takes such active forms of illegal demonstrations or peaceful occupation of premises. As distinguished from other forms of rebellion, civil disobedience tends to invite a

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>19</sup> Cahill, "Official Catholic Social Thought on Gospel Nonviolence," 17.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>20</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>21</sup> J. L. LeGrande, "Nonviolent Civil Disobedience and Police Enforcement Policy," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, & Police Science* 58, no. 3 (1967): 393.

confrontation with civil authorities (most often leading to arrest) and willingly accepts the penalty for breaking the law."<sup>22</sup>

Civil disobedience is not a new method of nonviolence. It can be traced back thousands of years. Examples are: The Exodus of the Jews from Pharaoh's authority in Egypt, Jesus' challenges to the religious authorities, who were collaborating with the Roman occupiers, by choosing to obey the will of God rather than their unjust rules, and early Christian martyrs. Saints, such as Stephen, Justine, Felicity, Perpetua and all the Apostles (except St. John the Evangelist) were killed, as a result of civil disobedience. "Religion often has been a basis for refusing to obey laws perceived as contrary to belief, as when the Doukhobors in Canada refused to send their children to state-operated schools. The Doukhobors then paraded nude in public to protest their prosecution for passive resistance to the school laws."<sup>23</sup>

Civil disobedience has been very effective in changing, transforming and adjusting many unjust situations. Though many activists and participants of civil disobedience have suffered and even sacrificed their lives, the impact of their disobedience has been huge. The Rev. Martin Luther King Jr.'s visionary policies helped, shaped and changed many government policies throughout the world. Gandhi with nonviolence in India, has shaped, changed and encouraged many other activists to join the nonviolent movement. Jesus, as a nonviolent activist of his time, had the courage to say no to the Jewish authorities. Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., and others "have, in this decade, adapted and perfected civil

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>22</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 39.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>23</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 39.

disobedience to the point of developing a highly effective means of coercive pressure for social change."<sup>24</sup> I believe civil disobedience, as practiced by the Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., was a weapon of peacemaking that would have addressed the issue of injustice committed by the Hutu government in Rwanda.

#### v) Public Disclosure

Public disclosure is a nonviolent direct-action practice that strives to publicize and make information available about facts or events relevant to a conflict that have been hidden or falsified to keep the public deliberately uninformed. A common adage is: "Violence loves the lie." Its operations are best done in secret and, where unavoidably visible, cloaked in justification and even glorification."<sup>25</sup> Exposing the lie is as old as the first codes of moral conduct: "Thou shall not bear false witness against thy neighbor" (Exodus 20:16). The application of public disclosure to the peacemaking strategy is a more recent practice. Public disclosure has been very effective where there has been disinformation and denial that a conflict exists. "When Martin Luther King Jr. led marches in Birmingham and Selma and was met with firehose-wielding police, the lie that the race relations were just fine was met with the force of public disclosure."<sup>26</sup>

In my view, public disclosure practice can be very practical and effective in the world of communication, science and technology. It is impossible to hide anything from anyone, who has access to the internet or a website. Public disclosure activists are using the media and websites; i.e. Facebook, Twitter and Instagram to disseminate information.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>24</sup> LeGrande, "Nonviolent Civil Disobedience and Police Enforcement Policy," 393.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>25</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 40.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>26</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 41.

For example, the recent Ethiopian air crash, was announced within minutes after its occurrence. Pope Francis gives a homily in Rome and it is directly transmitted to every continent. "Positively, public disclosure as a practice norm is rooted in the fact that an unacknowledged conflict cannot be mediated. Open communication regarding the existence of conflict and its contents is the first step in mediation."<sup>27</sup>

#### A2. Take Independent Initiatives to Reduce Threats

Independence Initiatives of peacemaking was recommended in 1962 by a social psychologist, Charles Osgood. Osgood argued that "in a relationship of distrust and heightened threat perception, nations are blocked from initiating peacemaking steps and misperceive peace initiatives from the other side as sincere manipulation."<sup>28</sup> The Independent Initiatives method was accepted and adopted in church statements and peace movements in Europe and the United States. Its success and effectiveness has led to its use by most western governments. The primary objective of independent initiatives is to minimize the other side's distrust or threat perception, in order to bring them to view initiatives or to negotiate seriously to remove threats.

The issue of nuclear weapons testing has been an international concern and perceived as a large threat to all nations in the world. Independent Initiatives altered this threat very effectively. President Eisenhower used Independent Initiatives, when he announced in 1958 that, "the United States would halt above – ground testing for one year. If the Soviet Union reciprocated, he continued, then the United States would halt for an

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>27</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>28</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 47.

additional and perhaps more. The Soviet Union also halted such tests, and the halt lasted almost three years. Both sides already had a nuclear deterrent, and halting tests did not weaken them.<sup>29</sup> Another Independent Initiative occurred during the fighting for independence in Mozambique where more than one million Mozambicans died. Using Independent Initiatives and Just Peace principles "the Mozambican Christian Council (CCM) and the Mozambican Catholic Church helped end the armed conflict.<sup>30</sup>

I believe that independent initiatives reduce distrust and threats of war. If more governments adopted this method of engagement, we would achieve greater feelings of peace and hope. More importantly, this method calls for more honesty, transparency and a stronger commitment to peace. Just Peacemaking activists should strive more vigorously to persuade governments, churches and private organizations to adopt this Independent Initiatives method in their political interactions. Governments that have never used these methods should be encouraged to do so by other governments, who have used this successfully.

#### A3. Use Cooperative Conflict Resolution (CCR)

Cooperative Conflict Resolution (CCR) is imperative in any peacemaking scenario. It emphasizes the active co-working; i.e. teamwork of the parties in the conflict. Each party tries to develop several creative solutions that each party can live with. This method allows both parties to become responsible for conflict resolution, as a shared enterprise. They establish an active partnership in problem-solving that provides mutually beneficial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>29</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 48.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>30</sup> Rosie Marie Berger, "No Longer Legitimating War: Christians and Just Peace," Background Papers for the Nonviolence and Just Peace Conference (11–13 April 2016, Rome, Italy), 46.

outcomes. The objective of this approach is to increase the number of possible solutions to any given conflict. Instead of seeing a confrontation, as an unavoidable deadlock, each party begins to see several solutions to their confrontation. It allows them to transform their view of the other party from enemy to partnership. Theologian, Jürgen Moltmann, states the aim well when he calls for a "provisional peace in which fighting enemies can become "quarreling partners" and deadly conflict can become "non–lethal controversy." As a result of such a process, the resolution of current conflicts and prevention of future ones can proceed with maximum success with respect to both peace and justice."<sup>31</sup>

The Cooperative Conflict Resolution process is practical, transparent and transformative. It requires self-critical honesty, yet it is nonjudgmental toward others. Sometimes it necessitates risk taking and spiritual consciousness. Historically, it draws its strength from religious tradition that instructs its followers to respect and value each person, even loving enemies. It also teaches about healing and forgiveness, as crucial to the search for fullness in life. Stassen et al. state: "In their totality, they highlight the importance of often neglected aspects of conflict – the historical, spiritual, cultural, emotional, individual and social elements of our experience."<sup>32</sup>

Historically, the principles of Cooperative Conflict Resolution have been at the center of many movements for social change during the twentieth century. For example, Caritas International (CI), a confederation of 165 Catholic relief, development, and social service organizations operating in 200 countries, mission is to work for a better world,

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>31</sup> Stassen, *Just Peacemaking*, 53.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>32</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 53.

especially for the poor and oppressed. Emergency response to "natural disasters, conflicts, and climate change is one part of IC's work."<sup>33</sup> Gandhi's "principled strategies as well as those of civil rights workers like Martin Luther King Jr. were all built on the ten principles ideated above."<sup>34</sup>

In my opinion, Cooperative Conflict Resolution may be more effective and practical in solving individual conflicts, but remains a huge challenge in solving group, community or national conflicts. It may not be all that easy for the group members with different ideas, understanding, orientation and temperament to agree or accept the same principles of conflict resolution. Regarding the ten practices one may argue that, "this can be tested for effectiveness, provide guidance on constructive actions for peace, and point toward a comprehensive just peace pedagogy and skills-training."<sup>35</sup>

## A4. Acknowledge Responsibility for Conflict and Injustice and Seek Repentance and Forgiveness

Peacemaking, as an individual, group, nation or part of international relations entails a diversity of capabilities for self-transcendence. Self-Transcendence in this context calls for an individual, group or nation to put aside pride and exercise the virtue of humility. Self-Transcendence gives up personal interest and perception, for the sake of understanding the interest and perception of the other party calls for the virtue of empathy. The absence of Self-Transcendent will interfere with one's acceptance of the damages done

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>33</sup> Berger, "No Longer Legitimating War," 41.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>34</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 55.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>35</sup> Berger, "No Longer Legitimating War," 42.

to the others and interfere with one's ability for repentance and probably restitution. By contrast, Self-Transcendence involves giving up one's own objections and desire for revenge and assume responsibility for injuries caused, and open the door for forgiveness.

Acknowledging responsibility for conflict and injustice and seeking repentance and forgiveness sounds easy, but in practice remains a large challenge. Forgiveness always reminds me about the story of the poor servant in the Bible, who was forgiven a large debt by his master, but when he left his master's house, he was unable to forgive another poor servant a very small debt. "The poor wretch threw himself down and begged, 'Give me a chance and I'll pay it all back.' But he would not do it. He had the man arrested and put into jail until the debt was paid. When the other servants saw what was going on, they were outraged and brought a detailed report to the king (Mt. 18:29-31). In my opinion, the first servant failed to transcend his individual interest and out of pride and lack of humility, thus he failed even to remember what was done for him by his master.

People have the responsibility and capacity of creating peace for themselves and for the others only if they can see each other as friends and not adversaries. The moment we fail to comprehend our imperfections and believe ourselves superior, we will only see others as imperfect. We become unable to acknowledge responsibility for conflicts and the need for our own repentance.

In peacemaking, genuine sorrow is of paramount importance because that is where the healing process begins. Supposedly, "empathy, repentance, and forgiveness are possible and necessary practices in the work of peacemaking. Moreover, they are unique forms of power rather than expressions of weakness."<sup>36</sup> In the experience of individuals, groups and nations repentance and forgiveness have been and may be the prerequisites of reconciliation. After the harrowing experience of genocide in Rwanda one of the first steps taken was "the creation of a National Reconciliation Commission, headed by Aloysie Inyumba, which was charged with the responsibility of holding consultations throughout the country on issues related to coexistence."<sup>37</sup>

Individuals, groups and countries wounded by another, continue to struggle in transcending their personal and community interests, put their pride aside, and humble themselves to forgive. Some do succeed while others fail. The most stunning example of this practice can be witnessed in South Africa. "South Africa is currently engaged in extraordinary efforts to overcome the brutal legacy of apartheid, notably through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission chaired by Archbishop Desmond Tutu and through the promise of amnesty for the confession of criminal conduct. The moral authority of Desmond Tutu and Nelson Mandela offers a powerful opportunity to confront and to transcend the burdens of history."<sup>38</sup> The success of reconciliation in South Africa could have an impact and transform the political and ethical debates about the appropriateness of repentance and forgiveness.

As stated above, sometimes reconciliation and forgiveness may end up in failure. If reconciliation fails, what can you do? The answer is the same, as what happens in our families, communities, and places of work. When a brother does not acknowledge his faults

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>36</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 79.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>37</sup> Ilesanmi, "So that Peace May Reign," 221.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>38</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 82.

and fails to reconcile with his brother, you must start the process over again. I have personally witnessed failures many times in my own home and in communities where I served. It usually takes several efforts to bring reconciliation and forgiveness. Some may end up as a total failure even after trying many times. We may not appreciate the success of repentance and forgiveness, but history shows time and again that lack of such expression merely sows seeds of future conflicts.

#### **IV. JUSTICE**

## **B5.** Advance Democracy, Human Rights, and Religious Liberty (DHR)

The advance of democracy, human rights, and religious liberty, as a practice of peacemaking, has widespread empirical evidence that shows that democracy and respect for human rights, comprising religious liberty, is broadening the zones of peace around the world.

Modern democracies have fought no wars against one another. They have had fewer internal military conflicts (civil wars). They generally have had lower military budgets, United States which decreases feelings of threats to other individuals, groups and countries. Communal ties of economic interdependence by trade and investment also decreases the incidence of war. Commitment to international organizations like the United Nations and to local regional institutions, which gather to discuss problems is another factor preventing war and conflict.

It appears that democratic forms of government breed peace and justice, because their internal system of 'listening and adjusting' allows them to feel confident and safe with other democracies. For example, democracies have greater social equality, economic equality, political equality, religious equality, classless societies and a habit of ruling by consensus. Communities or nations engage in war with one another because of an injustice committed or when one of the 'equality' factors are forfeited.

Democracy is a 'way of life'. Its purpose is to level the 'playing field' so we share equally in a nation's resources and opportunities. This approach allows us to lose our fear of being deprived of the necessities of life and allows us to respect the rights of others to the same opportunities. Democracies search for ways of resolving conflicts and disputes peacefully. Democratic states apply the same principles, when they negotiate with the other national states. "The more democratic states are, the more peaceful their relations are likely to be. In their disputes with each other, democracies are more likely to employ democratic means of peaceful conflict resolution. They are readier to reciprocate each other's behavior, to accept third–party mediation or good offices in settling disputes, and to accept binding third–party settlement."<sup>39</sup>

In my opinion, democracy lays foundation for human rights and religious liberty. In recent year's many human rights movements have emerged in different parts of the world and have made a great impact wherever they have been started. Citizen groups and non-governmental organizations have often been vital to this process. For example, "in the Helsinki negotiations, human rights organizations prodded Western governments to insist on the human – rights plank. The resulting agreement put strong level in the hands of many different movements in Central Europe and the Soviet Union, who pushed for actualization of the guarantees that had been official endorsed."<sup>40</sup> Human rights and democracy movements have been very successful in changing the military and constitutional dictatorships in Latin America, Zimbabwe, South Africa, South Korea and Taiwan. Other successful human rights movements include the women's movement, labor movements, and civil rights movement in U.S.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>39</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 97.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>40</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 99.

I believe that, religious liberty is imperative in peacemaking. In any democratic state or country each citizen has a freedom to worship, the freedom to choose or join any kind of religion he or she wants. In democratic countries freedom of worship or religion finds its directives and guidelines from their constitution. Unfortunately, some Catholics, Protestants and Muslims have tried to impose their beliefs on each other, coming belatedly to see freedom of religion not merely as a matter of prudence, but as an essential moral and ethical principle.

#### **B6.** Foster Just and Sustainable Economic Development

Sustainable economic development, as a practice of peacemaking, happens in the process of maintaining a just peace, where the needs of the present time are met without menacing the needs of the future, where those who cannot afford sufficient material needs and economic resources gain access, and those who have power to control such resources use and preempt future exhaustion.

A key to sustainability and peace is economic development. This occurred in East Asian countries, especially Korea and Taiwan, where land reform made wealth more equitable and thus created a sizable local market for developing firms. By contrast, Africa and Latin America lack real land reform and equality. Therefore, local consumers cannot afford to buy the products produced by their local industries. The result of denying land reform has led these continents into objective poverty with its inability to provide for adequate basic human needs, such as, food, shelter, medical care, good education and clean water. In describing such kind of objective poverty Sobrino argues that, "this poverty, as a collective fact, is an injustice which cries to heaven."<sup>41</sup>

Sustainable economic development is essential and integral to making peace and to maintaining justice for several reasons. We have to understand that, "peace is not only an absence of war, violence and hostility, it is also a state of reconciliation, human flourishing and natural beauty. Severe privation and want requires our response. A world where many are trapped in dire poverty while others have an abundance, or in which nature is destroyed, unnecessarily crushes the spirit and offends justice."<sup>42</sup> Love and concern for the poor, all those in need and the care for the environment is, simply in itself, a part of living in peace. Pope Francis, in his encyclical *Laudato Sí*, follows Benedict XVI in arguing that "the world cannot be analyzed by isolating only one of its aspects, since 'the book of nature is one and indivisible', and includes the environment, life, sexuality, the family, social relations, and so forth."<sup>43</sup> Subsequently, developing human powers and capabilities, permitting people to exercise their talents and gifts freely and doing whatever they can to improve their surroundings, which are a part of any just order.

Any kind of unjust order that violates the proper patterns of human life that require consistency and family safety will lead to conflict. "The process of sustainable development will enable people of all sectors of society to participate in governing

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>41</sup> Jon Sobrino, Jesus the Liberator: A Historical-Theological Reading of Jesus of Nazareth (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis, 1993), 32.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>42</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 112.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>43</sup> Pope Francis, *Laudato Sí* §6.

themselves more fully than many of them are now able to do. Sustaining a just order, besides its intrinsic value, is therefore a crucial foundation for peace and justice."<sup>44</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>44</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 112.

#### V. LOVE AND COMMUNITY

## C7. Work with Emerging Cooperative Forces in the International System

Work with emerging cooperative forces in the international system has changed and will continue to change the four trend conditions and practices of international relations. We can now make it possible to create and sustain voluntary associations for peace and other common commitments that are operational and will lead to the decline in the utility of war. The future priorities will be the value of trade and the economy over war. The emphasis will be on the strength of international exchanges, communications, transactions, and networks. This will lead to the strengthening of representative democracy with its mixture of welfare-state and an unrestricted market economy.

Advocates of peacemaking should focus more on this practice of Just Peacemaking to consolidate and strengthen their mission around the world. The saying "United we stand, divided we fall" (Aesop), makes sense as the world needs to stand united in advocating and fighting for peace. The international system has attempted to solve and manage problems of wars and conflicts between independent states with claims, rights and goals. "While these systems have seldom met the problem of recurrent wars durably and satisfactorily and have sometimes broken down completely or made the problem worse, overall they certainly have produced more peace and less war than would have occurred without them."<sup>45</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>45</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 133.

What is important for us to comprehend is that human society is constantly evolving. This evolution demands that we update our national structural systems and rules. This is also true with international systems. The rules and practices governing relations between national states changes with time, as well. Therefore, there is a need of constantly updating the international systems as "its basic rules, institutions and procedures do not, as some believe, stay the same forever; rather, they develop, grow, and change like any other social institutions."<sup>46</sup> Changes in society and dramatic developments in international politics have made the old, perennial and insoluble problems of preserving international peace at least manageable.

Our set of international rules, norms and practices may not apply equally between national states. These norms, rules and practice to be effective, must be adjusted by considering the social, economic, spiritual and political developments maturity between states.

Work with emerging cooperative forces in the international system, as a practice of peacemaking, has contributed to restoring peace and order. For example, "the long period of peace under the Concert Europe (1815 -1853) resulted not from a balance of power but from the influence of transnational ideas and forces."<sup>47</sup> In some instances the international system has experienced setback. Critics contend that "dramatic events since the end of Cold War in Somalia, Chechnya, Rwanda and Burundi, the Persian Gulf, the former Yugoslavia, especially Bosnia, and elsewhere prove clearly that conciliation, persuasion, and the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>46</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 134.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>47</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 142.

influence of transformational linkages and pressures do not work in cases of real conflict."<sup>48</sup>

In cases of failures, what should the international system do to contain such situations of war and conflict? We may not have a clear-cut answer to this question, because the fundamental concern for the peacemaking people is not to engage in wars but to preempt wars and violence by all means available. Our best weapons are our understanding of the complexities of the international system in handling issues of war and violence. We must realize that "there are so many sources of war and conflict, so many ways for peace to break–down or fail to emerge, it is essential to concentrate on doing practical good, such as serving and strengthening the system and solving or managing immediate problems, sometimes even simply limiting the damage and binding up the wounds, rather than seeking comprehensive solution. We need a kind of Hippocratic oath in peacemaking: First, do no harm."<sup>49</sup>

### C8. Strengthen the United Nations and International Efforts for Cooperation and Human Rights

Strengthening the United Nations and other international efforts of cooperation and strengthening human rights help the national state to minimize issues and situations. Working in isolation, countries or states cannot solve problems of trade, debt, interest rates or pollution, ozone, acid rain, depletion of fish stocks, global warming, refugees seeking

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>48</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 143.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>49</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 148.

asylum, military security. Therefore, collective effort and action is of paramount importance.

States and governments have an obligation to pay their UN fees and to act in ways that strengthen the effectiveness of the United Nations, as well as other regional organizations, and multilateral peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peace building efforts. These groups aid in conflict resolution, monitor, nurture, and even enforce truces. They provide for human needs during conflicts (for example, food, hygiene, medicine, education, and economic interaction). Since most wars and conflicts at present are happening within nation-states, collective action needs to include UN-approved humanitarian intervention, particularly since war often leads to grave and extensive violations of human rights, as occurred in the former Yugoslavia, Haiti, Somalia, and Rwanda.

Arguing from my own experience in Africa, I can unequivocally assert that the United Nations and other international human rights groups have done commendable work in African countries. During my pastoral experience, I had an opportunity to visit the United Nations High Commission for Refugees in northern Kenya in 1993. I was stationed at Kakuma Refugee Camp it was the largest camp in Northern Kenya. This semi-arid area had no water, food, sanitation, health care, schools or transportation. The mission was to provide food, water, education, sanitation, transportation, and health care to the refugees. UNHCR workers were from the United States, Germany, the United Kingdom and France. The majority of the refugees in this camp came from the Southern Sudan and Somalia. I was quite surprised at the orderly efforts of the United Nations implementing this cooperation. Kenya lacked the experience or the resources to handle the influx of refugees. The United Nations, with international cooperation, has been very effective and successful in many parts of the world. The member states, particularly the super-powers (Russia, China, and the United States) have intervened in many areas of war and conflict around the world. On the international level, the United States remains the most important player in terms of global military power. The United States and Russia combined have the capacity to destroy the planet several times over. In promoting peace and preempting war, the United Nations has deployed peacekeeping forces to Afghanistan, Pakistan, Syria, Southern Sudan, Congo, Liberia, Uganda and Central Africa. "In the period from 1988 – 1994, the U.N. initiated nearly twice as many peacekeeping missions as it had in its entire history until then. The budget for peacekeeping operations rose from \$230 million in 1988 to 3.61 billion in 1994."<sup>50</sup>

United Nations security measures to reduce war, conflict, and threat should not only focus on the international level, but also utilize and train the lower-level peace organizations. These organizations should also "develop capacities and norms to damp down and even to prevent conflicts. The examples of Rwanda and Bosnia are daunting because they demonstrate the rudimentary and imperfect capacities of such organizations to deal with deep-seated conflicts. And yet they have also up the urgent necessity to develop such capacity."<sup>51</sup> This is best demonstrated (in the case of Rwanda) by "the annual OAU summit in Abuja Nigeria, in June 1991 moved the conflict a further stage by authorizing a regional mini summit under OAU auspices, designed to achieve settlement."<sup>52</sup> This

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>50</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 152.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>51</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 148.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>52</sup> Clapham, "Rwanda," 201.

Organization of African Unity (AU) has become involved in many wars and conflicts in Africa. It has become effective despite its economic weaknesses.

International and regional human rights organizations must learn to work together to make sure that peace and justice prevail in the world. Whenever, human rights are violated or not respected, action must be taken; e.g. the violation of labor laws, civil laws, issues of gender and race, child labor, slavery, human trafficking, economic freedom, political freedom and religious freedom. These organizations are proving effective in their local areas, but imagine how powerful they would be united in a common front. For example, the "just global anti-nuclear movement has applied nonviolence to the struggle for a world without weapons of mass destruction, thousands of other movements have been proliferating for more democratic societies, human rights, economic justice, and environmental sustainability over the past half-century using the power and methods of nonviolence for effective change."<sup>53</sup>

#### **C9.** Reduce Offensive Weapons and the Weapons Trade

The reduction of offensive weapons and the weapons trade is the main reason in the decrease of war, conflict and violence, between groups and nations. The cost of these weapons has become prohibitive. Weapons, particularly offensive weapons, have become so destructive in our society that war is not worth the price. The reduction of offensive weapons and the shifting of nations toward defensive forces aid in the decline. Forbidding chemical and biological weapons, and reducing strategic (long-range) nuclear warheads

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>53</sup> John Dear and Ken Butigan, "An overview of Gospel nonviolence in the Christian Tradition," Background Papers for the Nonviolence and Just Peace Conference (11–13 April 2016, Rome, Italy), 35.

from 3,500 to 1,000 each, are additional key steps to preventing catastrophic war. With such efforts, "arms imports by developing nations in 1995 dropped to one-quarter of their peak in 1988."<sup>54</sup> In my opinion, political corruption and the influence of money invested by arms manufacturers in politicians' campaigns are major obstacles to reductions.

It is clear that the weapons trade or weapons industry is one of the most lucrative businesses in the world today. Owners of such businesses make billions of dollars by selling weapons. Consequently, they will not be inclined to advocate for peace. This does not even cover the issue of nuclear and offensive weapons. Even peaceful nations have difficulty with simple 'gun control issues involving the local citizenry'. Of course, Just Peacemaking people are always ready to pass strict laws while those who are beneficiaries of such a lucrative trade, such as "Russia, China, and France are competing ferociously for shares in the global arms market, with Britain, Germany, Israel, Italy and the Czech Republic claiming riches for themselves."<sup>55</sup>

Many nations, including super powers, may be willing to reduce nuclear and offensive weapons or place restraints on their production, but not weapons they deem are necessary for their national protection. We must admit that the weapons trade will not disappear in the near future. The United Nations should discuss the limiting of weapons of protection to national governments only. This would prevent the brutalizing of peaceful populations by guerilla groups, drug cartels, and so forth. Disarmament activists can aid in

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>54</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 165.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>55</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 169.

this process. That included "teachings on nonviolence and called for the abolition of war and nuclear weapons."<sup>56</sup>

In my perspective, world restraints in arms proliferation and export would make a huge and true contribution to the world and regional peacemaking and peacekeeping. "Restraining arms export would likely reduce the need for preemptive diplomacy, refugee support, and peacekeeping missions. For example, arms exports to Angola, Somalia and Iraq in the 1970s and 1980s greatly increased the level of violence and chaos which led to current U.N. peacekeeping operations."<sup>57</sup> Nations desiring peace while purchasing weapons are cynical and counterproductive. Efforts toward weapons reduction needs the support of the peacemaking advocates in consultation with peace loving people, as both care about a peaceful world.

## C10. Encourage Grassroots Peacemaking Groups and

#### Voluntary Associations

The reality of growing a worldwide peace movement that would create another positive force for peace makes the Just Peacemaking theory possible. Individuals, groups, and communities, who are engaged in learning and understanding these peacemaking practices, should persuade governments to utilize these practices. Governments in turn should do whatever they can to protect these peacemaking associations by laws passed for their protection. Government agencies should work closely with them and provide them updated information that impacts their movement to create peace at home and abroad.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>56</sup> Dear and Butigan, "An Overview of Gospel Nonviolence," 35.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>57</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 170.

Collectively, peacemakers exert strong influences that can help in reducing local, national and international crisis. We contend that Just Peacemaking practices are ethically obligatory for persons, groups, and governments to strengthen them and help overcome any negative forces.

In today's multicultural world, the most appropriate trajectory to peaceful coexistence and creative cooperation must be grounded in self-transcendence. Pope Francis follows Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew in asserting that "to commit a crime against the natural world is a sin against ourselves and a sin against God."<sup>58</sup> This self-transcendence must be taught in the family, the religious communities, the schools, in the workplace and applied to government actions until it becomes a natural response for all group behavior. Transcendence is the only real alternative to extinction

Citizen movements, church movements, NGOs can learn from one another so they can transcend their narrow interests. They need help in learning a generational approach to their goals that allows their perseverance to become a long-term 'just peace' that lasts indefinitely. They must learn to work cooperatively and speak with one voice. "The ashram was central to the success of Gandhi's nonviolence struggle in India. Bishop Desmond Tutu and the South African Council of Churches were in the forefront in advocating nonviolence in the struggle in South Africa."<sup>59</sup> Disagreements and disputes moving in contrary directions will undermine peacemaking efforts. Disunity of any kind will

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>58</sup> Pope Francis, *Laudato Si* §8, citing Patriarch Bartholomew, "Address in Santa Barbara, California" (8 November 1997); reprinted in John Chryssavgis, ed., *On Earth as in Heaven: Ecological Vision and Initiatives of Ecumenical Patriarch Bartholomew* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2012).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>59</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 184.

undermine peacemaking efforts. Their goal should be to become an example of cooperation, commitment and direction. "They can thus become a center for teaching and organizing. In 1981, a youth pastor and some people started weekly Monday prayer services for peace at St. Nicholai Church in Leipzig, East Germany, one of the small seed planted early which contributed to the crumbing of the Berlin Wall."<sup>60</sup>

Archbishop Oscar Romero of El Salvador inspired a generation of Catholic peacemakers by his courageous homilies, which gave moral directions to the peace movement. He said, "Christians were forbidden to kill and that members of the military and death squads should disobey orders to kill, quit their positions and stop the repression in his country."<sup>61</sup> Citizen movements have greater credibility with the public since they are not attached to the politics of government office holders and have more trust and support of government party members since they are not seeking power for themselves.

After analyzing the application, effectiveness, and failures of just peacemaking practices in different parts of the world, it is imperative that we now turn to the Rwandan conflict and look at the application, effectiveness, and shortcomings of those peacemaking practices.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>60</sup> Stassen, Just Peacemaking, 184.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>61</sup> Dear and Butigan, "An Overview of Gospel Nonviolence,"35.

#### **VI. BACKROUND TO THE GENOCIDE**

In this section, in order to understand the genocide in Rwanda, it is necessary to analyze briefly the history and the origin of the Hutu and Tutsi. It is affirmed that the Hutu and Tutsi of Rwanda are members of a Bantu-speaking people forming the majority population in Rwanda. It is also worthy to mention a small number of pygmies known as Twa tribe. It is believed that "the Twa was the first to settle in Rwanda around the year 800 BC–300 BC."<sup>62</sup> They were followed by the Hutu and Tutsi, who are believed to have "migrated and settled in Rwanda between 700 BC and 1500 AD."<sup>63</sup> Like many other Bantus in different parts of Africa, the Hutu, Tutsi, and Twa shared the same culture, known as "Banyarwanda" and the same language commonly known as "Kinyarwanda." The two communities were not "territorially separable, but lived intermingled with one another, and as is normal with African communities, the distinction between them was by no means hard and fast." <sup>64</sup>

# Historical Relationships between the Hutu and Tutsi

## 1. Hutu and Tutsi Relationships during the Pre-Colonial Era

In the history of Rwanda, there was no animosity and hostility between the two predominant groups (Hutu and Tutsi) before colonialism. Of course, like any other human society there could have been some differences and local conflicts among them but not as a big issue to the level of thinking or leading to the genocide. "Although the pre-colonial

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>62</sup> Julia Sanders, *Rwandan Genocide: The Unspeakable Evils of Ethnic Cleansing and Genocide in Rwanda* (independently published, 2017).

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>63</sup> Sanders, *Rwandan Genocide*, n.p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>64</sup> Clapham, "Rwanda," 197.

government was dominated by Tutsis, with Hutus appearing only in relatively minor positions of authority, there is no pre-colonial conflict between Tutsis and Hutus; rather Rwanda followed the normal pattern of conflict in egalitarian agrarian societies structured on patron-client lines, by which particular Tutsi patrons, with their Hutu and Tutsi following, confronted other similar cross group alliances."<sup>65</sup> If the two groups coexisted peacefully with no major hatred or animosity and maintain their cultural, tradition systems and structures of governance, then how does the genocide come about? The answer to this question will be examined below.

#### 2. Hutu and Tutsi Relationships during Colonial Era

It was very unfortunate, in my opinion, that Rwanda, like many other parts of Africa, experienced the horror of colonialism. Germans and later Belgians sowed the seeds of superiority, division, hatred and animosity in the land of Rwanda. This hatred progressively grew and led to division and later genocide. In Rwanda, "Colonialism hardened the distinction between the two ethnicities, not least through the ascription of stereotyped characteristics of each of them, and aroused the possibility of communal action, as Hutu or as Tutsi, which had barely been conceivable in the pre-colonial situation."<sup>66</sup>

In my view, in Rwanda the colonial masters Germans and Belgians took advantage of these poor Africans and deliberately favored one tribe over the other. At the beginning the Germans favored the Tutsi over the Hutu. This was the same with the Belgians at the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>65</sup> Clapham, "Rwanda," 197.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>66</sup> Clapham, "Rwanda," 197.

beginning, but later on the Belgians shifted their position and sympathized with the Hutu. This divide and rule system was a common phenomenon among the African countries during the time of colonialism. Choose one or multiple tribes to rule the others on behalf of their colonial masters. The selected African tribal leaders were not true leaders but rather puppets. They were selected not because they were skillful but rather to implement the harsh rules of their colonial masters. As a result, this system of governance left a lot of hatred and negative impact among many African countries.

The culmination of peaceful coexistence between the Hutus and Tutsi came in late 1959 when a Hutu uprising cleared the monarchy from power, aided by the Belgians who, in the lead-up to independence, switched sides to backing the majority Hutu. "Tutsi fled the country to exile and settled in Uganda, Zaire, Burundi and Tanzania."<sup>67</sup> The Tutsi in exile "retained a powerful sense of Rwandan identity, which eventually encouraged them and their descendants to form the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), and demanded the right to return. The RPF launched attacks that were mostly unsuccessful. These attacks led to more Tutsi exiles and murders which lasted for the next thirty–five years."<sup>68</sup>

#### 3. Hutu and Tutsi Relationship during Post-Colonial Era

At this juncture, Rwanda is divided, the majority of the Hutu population have all the power over the country. The minority Tutsi are exiled in Uganda, Tanzania, Congo and Burundi. The remnants of Tutsi in Rwanda were under the clemencies of the Hutu. "Though the Habyarimana regime which took power in Rwanda in 1973 was initially

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>67</sup> Sanders, *Rwandan Genocide*, n.p.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>68</sup> Sanders, *Rwandan Genocide*, n.p.

relatively moderate. The Tutsi were systematically discriminated against in public life, but were otherwise for the most part left undisturbed."<sup>69</sup> The regime was nonetheless oppressive. It was very unfortunate that all Rwandans had their ethnic group and place of residence ascribed on their identity cards. This is something the Tutsi had never experienced before. They could not move freely from house to house without permission. This was unusual in Tropical Africa, where people's movement is not limited to families, communities and societies.

#### Conclusions on the Relationships of the Hutu and Tutsi

It was not easy for the Tutsi people of Rwanda to bear the oppression, exploitation and suffering. Instead of turning to a peaceful resolution, the Tutsi opted to fight, which eventually led to genocide and claimed so many lives in Rwanda. Unfortunately, these military confrontations were disastrous on both sides. "Internally, it articulated an increasingly overt ideology of Hutu supremacy that had never been far beneath the surface and which was readily mobilized to confront the largely (though not exclusive) Tutsi RPF; the extreme version of this ideology, which was to culminate in genocide, was associated with particular factions in the government, and especially that of the president's wife and her family."<sup>70</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>69</sup> Clapham, "Rwanda," 198.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>70</sup> Clapham, "Rwanda," 198.

# VII. THE APPLICATION OF PEACEMAKING PRACTICES IN THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

Some of the peacemaking initiatives of Just Peacemaking would have been very effective if they were applied in the Rwanda genocide. Nonviolent direct action would have helped the government of Rwanda to use nonviolent alternatives that would have prevented their resorting to war, conflict and violence. Since all the plans for genocide in Rwanda were hidden from public view, the use of boycotts, strikes marches, public disclosure, civil disobedience, etc. would have exposed the evil plans of the Hutu government to annihilate all the Tutsi. These methods would inform the public and draw additional attention from the regional and international world. Peacemaking activists would have taken the initiative to confront this kind of injustice committed by the Hutu government against the Tutsi, who were the minority and defenseless at this point.

If the Independent Initiatives employed in Rwanda before the genocide had been taken seriously by the Rwandan government, the individual groups, the international organizations, and the church groups, they could have reduced or averted the threat of genocide. For example, the U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, Herman Cohen, and Salim Salim, OAU Secretary, did initiate peace negotiations between the Rwandan government and RPF in Arusha, Tanzania in July 1992. The negotiations "took over a year until the signing of the eventual peace agreement on 4 August 1993. It was internationalized to a very high degree."<sup>71</sup> It was unfortunate that the Arusha accords were not honored by either party.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>71</sup> Clapham, "Rwanda," 202.

In addition, there were many players ready to assist in resolving the issues at hand, but again the employed efforts by different local and international groups were not effective. At the Arusha peace negotiations, "Tanzania acted as facilitator of the peace process, and there were also delegations from Rwanda's neighbors, Burundi, Zaire, Uganda, along with observers from Senegal, France, Germany, Belgium and the United States."<sup>72</sup> The Organization of African Unity also tried numerous times to intervene in the conflict in Rwanda, but their efforts were useless. "Chief among the peace protocols was an armed international mission to Rwanda. The United Nations Security Council authorized the United Nations Assistance Mission in Rwanda (UNAMIR) on October 5, 1993. Under this agreement, the United Nations was to provide a peacekeeping force to oversee the implementation of the ceasefire protocol."<sup>73</sup>

I believe that, the peacemaking efforts in Rwanda were not successful because of the failure to accept responsibility and the humility to seek reconciliations and forgiveness. Neither of the contending groups in Rwanda was bold and courageous enough to put aside pride, transcend individual or group interest, humble themselves, and say I am sorry! There is no true peace, if there is not true repentance and reconciliation. True repentance and reconciliation bring healing! If Rwanda had followed the example of South Africa of true reconciliation, they could have survived the genocide.

It is very clear that in Rwanda before and during the genocide, democracy and human rights were unequivocally violated. These violations began occurring immediately

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>72</sup> Clapham, "Rwanda," 202

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>73</sup> Susan Thomson, *From Genocide to Precarious Peace* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, (2018), 68–69.

after Rwanda's independence, when the Tutsi were expelled from Rwanda to languish for many years in exile. In my view, where democracy reigns with its emphasis on equality and fairness, peace and justice prevail and thus, genocide will not occur. Regrettably, democracy was missing in Rwanda, and as a result of societal imbalances the enmity between the Hutu and Tutsi eventually culminated in genocide.

Love, respect, fairness and community was never experienced in Rwanda from the time of their independence. The absence of love in any community will create tension, suspicion and hatred among its members. The tension and conflict in Rwanda was a big challenge within Rwanda and in the international community. It is really hard to work in isolation and succeed. In the case of Rwanda, there was no vibrant and authentic cooperation between the regional and the international communities.

A collective intervention could have worked better. As suggested by Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the basic principle that should guide international interventions is this: "Individual state sovereignty can be overridden whenever the behavior of the state, even within its own territory, threatens the existence of elementary human rights...and whenever the protection of the basic human rights of its own citizens can be assured only from the outside."<sup>74</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>74</sup> Thomson, *From Genocide to Precarious Peace*, 153.

# VIII. THE INVOLVEMENT OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND THE ANGLICAN CHURCH IN THE RWANDAN GENOCIDE

From the time of Jesus to the present time, the Church has always been on the forefront in advocating for peace and justice. The Church has actively been the voice of the voiceless in different parts of the world. In the previous sections of this paper, we have seen how the Church has been involved in the initiatives of peacemaking around the world and how those initiatives were effective. Given the fact that, the Catholic and Anglican Churches were the predominant and most influential in the Rwandan society. It is worthwhile to examine its involvement in the Rwandan genocide.

For many centuries the Church has always been actively involved in different activities in the Rwandan society. These encompass spiritual, moral, social, economic and political. The church gives the society and its member's a sense of guidance and direction. In the area of peacemaking, the church has played a very significant role of advocating for the gospel of nonviolence. While the church worldwide has been the champion of nonviolent direct action, urging governments to shun war and violence, but unfortunately in Rwanda the "Christian churches were not only closely allied with the state and involved in battles over state power, but they were themselves important arenas of political struggle. Church had substantial resources and significant influence in the society."<sup>75</sup>

In this section, I will describe briefly how the church in Rwanda failed to heed to the teaching of the Lord himself on peace and justice. Recalling the commandment, "you

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>75</sup> Timothy Longman, "Church Politics and the Genocide in Rwanda." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 31, no. 2. Leiden: Brill NV, 2001), 164.

shall not kill" (Matt. 5:21). In this passage the Lord is "asking for peace of heart and denounced murderous anger and hatred as immoral. Anger is a desire for revenge. To desire vengeance in order to do evil to someone who should be punished is illicit."<sup>76</sup> It was so unfortunate that the Church in Rwanda, instead of advocating for peace, justice and reconciliation, participated actively in the genocide. This is contrary to the Lord's teaching, moral teaching and social teaching of the church.

During the genocide in Rwanda, thousands of members of the minority Tutsi ethnic group sought sanctuary in Catholic and Protestant parishes. But death squads encircled the churches and systematically slaughtered the people within, throwing grenades through Church windows, firing into the crowds with rifles, and then finishing off the survivors with machetes, pruning hooks and knives. One human rights group asserts that, "more Rwandese citizens died in churches and parishes than anywhere else (African Rights 1995:865)."<sup>77</sup> It is said that in these killings and massacres of the Tutsi in churches and parishes were orchestrated by Christian Hutus, including members of the clergy and religious nuns.

The involvement of the church in this negative way, is a sad experience which must be condemned and repudiated by all. Pope Francis apologized on behalf of the Catholic church of Rwanda in his private meeting with President Kagame of Rwanda at the Vatican, March 20, 2017. For some Rwandans, however, "the country's churches stand as a reminder of the violence that decimated their families. The images of the bodies piled up

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>76</sup> Catholic Catechism 554.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>77</sup> Longman, "Church Politics and The Genocide in Rwanda," 163.

at the altar does not easily fade from the minds of those who survived the carnage, and for some, churches can never again serve as a place of refuge."<sup>78</sup>

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>78</sup> Longman, "Church Politics and The Genocide in Rwanda," 164.

#### **IX. CONCLUSION**

In this essay I have introduced the Just Peacemaking paradigm, as a complementary theory between Just War theory and the Pacifism theory. While the Just War theory tries to prevent war by demanding certain criterion be met before you are justified to go to war, the Pacifism theory rejects supporting any nation that desires to go to war even with justification. This methodology provides only stalemate that does not offer a solution, but allows antagonism to continue indefinitely.

I have explored the origin, historicity and the evolvement of the Just Peacemaking theory from its inception until the present time. We have seen how the methodology of Just Peacemaking theory can succeed on occasion with political conflicts or a public outcry against a despotic government.

Its weakness is that it is dependent upon the desire of both parties to make peace rather than war. When one party has overwhelming strength or military power they often have less desire to play compromise or 'give up' to the weaker party. When the other international 'power' nations involve themselves in the political struggles of a smaller nation and support an aggressive solution, it is difficult for 'peace' to occur, as we see in the present Venezuela situation. The public has had mass demonstrations with little success because the public confrontation is not backed by the military. Negotiated peace could occur if the international power players: (Cuba and Russia and China behind the scene) have political and financial interest to see Just Peacemaking fail. As long as the United States does not declare itself in military support to balance the scales of power, the public opposition cannot get to the Just Peacemaking negotiating table. Just Peacemaking cannot absolutely be effective until all the major power players leave and let the local people make their peace negotiations.

The success of Just Peacemaking is based upon everyone coming out in a win-win position. It is also dependent upon the acceptance of democratic ideas: the people's right to choose, respect for the other party, equal access to the economic means to gain financial support. Just Peacemaking requires good intentions and not selfish aggrandizement. There is no referee to enforce fairness. Thus, Just Peacemaking must occur between the international power brokers before it can occur between the local inhabitants.

The greatest gift of Just Peacemaking is that it offers a 'method' to create peace and it educates the public when it succeeds. As the public over several generations sees its successes, the public will gradually accept its methodology, which ultimately places pressure on the 'power' nations to use more amicable means.

I believe Just Peacemaking can be successful in regional conflicts but not internationally where political, economic and philosophical ideas are still in conflict. Just Peacemaking requires trust and that is hard to come by when nations still act in Darwinian 'survival of the fittest' mentality.

Finally, it is right and fitting to appreciate the efforts, initiatives and the achievements of the Just Peacemaking activists. The world today does not need war, violence and conflicts but rather peace, justice, unity, harmony, democracy and love. I will strongly urge the peacemaking advocates to face the challenges, obstacles and oppositions with courage and determination. And all of us must uphold such efforts and initiatives.

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