

**Beyond War Study Guide**  
**Readings and Preparation**  
for  
**Session 6**

War is obsolete

We all live on one planet  
We are one

**The means are  
the ends in the making**

The means are  
the ends in the making

Darkness cannot drive out darkness; only light can do that.  
Hate cannot drive out hate; only love can do that.  
Hate multiplies hate, violence multiplies violence,  
And toughness multiplies toughness  
In a descending spiral of destruction...  
The chain reaction of evil—hate begetting hate,  
Wars producing more wars—must be broken,  
Or we shall be plunged into  
The dark abyss of annihilation.

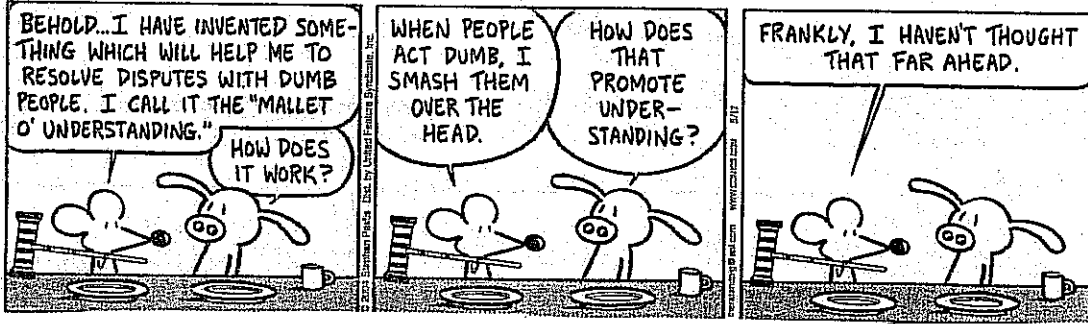
Martin Luther King, Jr.  
Strength to Love, 1963



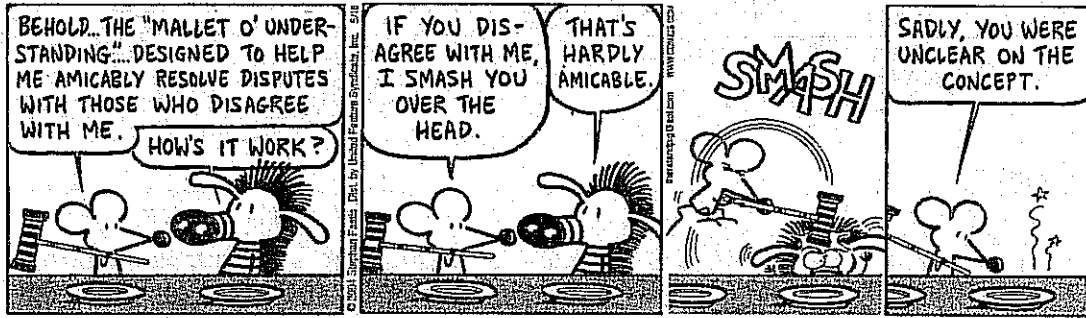
“If you don’t live it, it won’t come out of your horn.”

Charlie Parker

**PEARLS BEFORE SWINE**



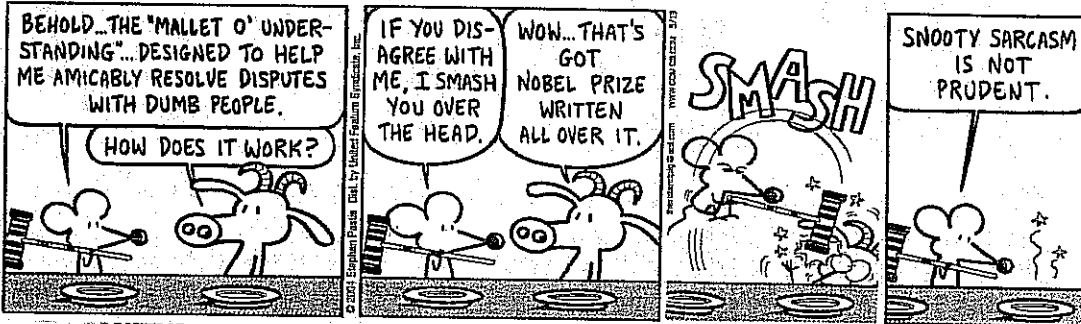
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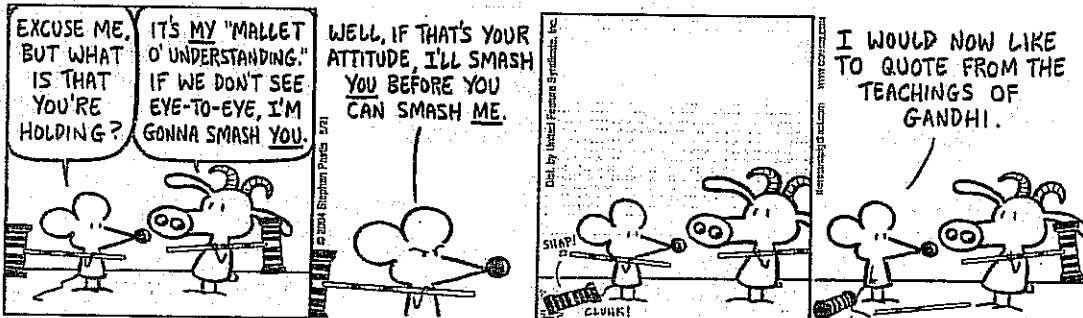
**PEARLS BEFORE SWINE**



**PEARLS BEFORE SWINE**



**PEARLS BEFORE SWINE**



*What if fighting, violence, and war were preventable--and we simply didn't know it? What if we didn't know it because we had never fully tried to prevent them? What if we had never really tried because we had never really believed prevention to be possible?*

I have a friend who says that all of life can be divided into two columns: those things one cannot affect and those things one can. Not long ago, diseases and epidemics were believed to fall into the first category. Yet now the prevention of most epidemics and many diseases is widely accepted. Is it possible that the innocent children, women, and men dying at this very moment--from a stray bullet, terrorist bomb, or air raid--are dying needlessly from a disease as preventable as smallpox?

*Bill Ury*  
*The Third Side*

The means are the ends in the making

**What peoples and nations can do instead of war:**

**In Session 6**

**A. nonviolent conflict resolution processes**

**B. appropriate, humanitarian foreign aid**

In Session 7

C. international law

D. international cooperation and collaboration



## Reading List for Session 6

### Essential Reading

#### A. Nonviolent Conflict Resolution Processes

- Essay
- Focus Questions and Activities

#### **CASE STUDIES**

- Diplomatic Innovation Prevents War
- A Diplomat Speaks Out
- Desmond Tutu and South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission
- Truth and Reconciliation Commissions
- Neve Shalom Wahat al Salam
- Living Room Dialogue Groups
- Nonviolent Resistance: Pashtun Pacifists

#### B. Appropriate, Humanitarian Foreign Aid

- Central Asia Institute
- Peace Corps
- Heifer International
- If Rich Countries Would Boost Aid

#### **FOCUS ON THE UNITED STATES**

- Overview: Terror, Love, and the State of the World
- Where Your Income Tax Money Really Goes
- What Our Money Could Fund
- Afghanistan: 8,000 Children Under Arms Look for a Future
- Tajikistan: Population Explosion Threatens Economy

## Reading List for Session 6, Continued

### Optional Reading

#### **A. Nonviolent Conflict Resolution Processes**

- Terry Gross Interviews former diplomat Keisling
- Push Too Hard and Iran Will Fight Back

#### **B. Appropriate, Humanitarian Foreign Aid**

- Afghan Elders Say al-Qaeda Protected Along Border (Taliban "aid")
- Muslim Youth

## The Means are the Ends in the Making

“The means are the ends in the making” is a powerful concept that can lead to dramatic, systemic change when it is applied to interpersonal relationships and/or relationships between peoples and nations. People who experiment with this idea in their own lives learn first hand about its transformative power. Martin Luther King Jr. expressed his understanding of it within a nation when he spoke about how “darkness cannot drive out darkness...only light can do that...” Those who advocate for and observe the application of “the means are the ends in the making” in international relations see its direct effects in building relationships and promoting peace.

So what should peoples and nations do instead of war? Not enough of us know even the broad categories, the places to begin to use and build on. Beyond War promotes four main categories: nonviolent conflict resolution processes, appropriate, humanitarian foreign aid, international law, and cooperation and collaboration between peoples and nations. They can be fit together to build a world beyond war. In Session Six, we explore the first two categories of nonviolent conflict resolution and appropriate, humanitarian foreign aid.

When enough citizens are familiar enough with the diverse menu of nonviolent conflict resolution roles and options, we will require our governments to use methods that are life affirming and a good investment in people and the earth. Then wars will no longer cost human lives, resources and attention greatly needed for other activities.

Many of the stories included in the readings for Session Six are sources of vision and hope. For example, relatively few people know the story of Neve Shalom Wahat al Salam, the village in Israel where Palestinian and Jewish families have been living together in peace for more than twenty-five years. The families in the village have supported themselves by providing a “School for Peace.” This village, which can be considered a “nonviolent conflict resolution process,” provides a real example of how Jews and Palestinians can live together in peace in Israel--these people have built a village beyond war.

John Robbins writes eloquently about how these two categories of nonviolent conflict resolution and appropriate foreign aid fit together--and illuminates their value--in “Terror, Love, and the State of the World.”

In order to make these methods an enduring part of our culture, some people will need to first discover, adopt, and advocate for them. Beyond War Study Series Participants can be in this number. Citizens playing the roles (informally and formally) of storytellers, artists, advocates and teachers will share them with the rest of society. As successful nonviolent conflict resolution processes, appropriate foreign aid, international law and examples of international cooperation and collaboration become familiar to citizens, we will expect our governments to build on those successes and employ these methods. As you read for this session, why not choose one or more articles to share with friends and family?

## Focus Questions for Session 6

1. What does it mean to say “the means are the ends in the making”?
2. Where is this idea in the Personal Implications?
3. How are nonviolent conflict resolution processes like life at Neve Shalom Wahat al Salam, or truth and reconciliation processes related to the idea “the means are the ends in the making”?
4. How are appropriate foreign aid projects related to the idea “the means are the ends in the making”?

## Focus Activities for Session 6

1. Have a conversation with someone you know about what peoples and nations can do instead of war. What do you want them to know? What is their response to your introduction of the subject?
2. As you watch the television news or listen to news on the radio or read the newspaper, what do you see or understand related to this idea: “the means are the ends in the making”?

## Reading List for Session 6

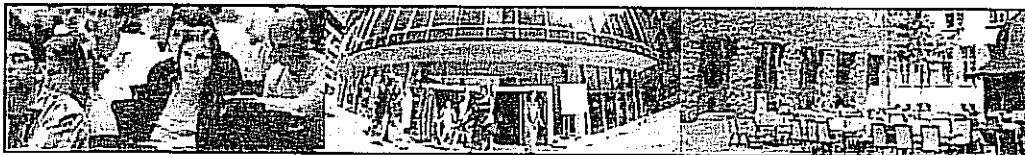
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University

Faculties

Research

International

Universität Jena

## Diplomatic Innovation Prevents War

Political Scientist of Jena's university researches the political ethic of the "father of the Blue Helmets"

The "Blue Helmets" are the peacekeeping forces of the United Nations (UN). The international troops, which provide for order in the crisis regions of the world, affect our idea of the world organization's activities. There is, however, no reference to this important instrument of the United Nations in the UN Charter. "The Blue Helmets owe their existence to a diplomatic innovation of Dag Hammarskjöld," Dr. Manuel Fröhlich reports. The political scientist from the Friedrich Schiller University in Jena researched the actions of the second Secretary-General of the UN after its establishment in 1945 and quasi "father of the Blue Helmets." The results have been recently published in the book, "Dag Hammarskjöld und die Vereinten Nationen. Die politische Ethik des UNO-Generalsekretärs" (trans: Dag Hammarskjöld and the United Nations: the Political Ethic of the UN Secretary-General).

"The invention of the Blue Helmets and their first mission in the diffusion of the Suez crisis in 1956 is one of Hammarskjöld's greatest achievements," Fröhlich says. The crisis situation from almost 50 years ago reminds one of today's debate over Iraq: a "coalition of the willing" decided to put a stop to Egyptian President Gamal Abdel Nasser. The diplomatic means were considered to be exhausted; military intervention was to bring about a regime change and secure the stability in the region. The U.S.A., France, and Great Britain were, however, divided over the goal and method of the secret action, to the extent that the conflict threatened the solidarity of NATO. The Security Council was paralyzed and the future of the United Nations was at stake. Last but not least, the massive military presence of the intervening powers in the region and the inadequate capitulation of the Egyptian heightened the conflict.

"Similar to today," according to Fröhlich, "everything appeared to lead to an unavoidable military action." After an Israeli attack, the British and French intervention troops were to separate the Egyptian and Israeli forces. The political innovation of Hammarskjöld consisted of an international peacekeeping force in the place of the purely British and French troops. Within a few days, the troops were organized with the support of many states (including the U.S.A.) and formulated their mandate. No one expected such quick actions from the UN, let alone from the Secretary-General. When he took office in 1953, the Swedish financial and business expert was considered a technocrat, to whom great visions were not attributed. The UN itself was a young organization, which hardly played a role in the East/West Conflict because of its claim of impartiality. The world was therefore stunned, when the so-called technocrat redefined the role of the world organization.

In his research of partly strictly confidential files and in the study of the Swede's private notes and correspondence, Manuel Fröhlich concentrated on the ethics, on which Hammarskjöld's actions were based. "Hammarskjöld orientated himself on Martin Buber's dialogue philosophy or on Albert Schweitzer's cultural philosophy and developed his own political ethic in his mystically influenced journal." "This political ethic," according to Fröhlich, "was translated into concrete politics by the Diplomat Hammarskjöld." The political scientist from Jena documented the formulation of the moral principles for impartial intervention, on the one side, and the amazing - exemplified by the "Blue Helmets" - practical transfer, on the other, in his book. Hammarskjöld's successor as Secretary-General, Kofi Annan, explains the guiding principle of every Secretary-General's actions as the question, "what would have Hammarskjöld done in this situation?"

Complying with Security Council resolutions and the UN Charta as well as the prevention of violence have proved themselves to be challenging parts of an equation, that will always need to be solved.

Manuel Fröhlich, "Dag Hammarskjöld und die Vereinten Nationen. Die politische Ethik des UNO-Generalsekretärs," Ferdinand Schöningh Verlag, Paderborn u.a. 2002, Price: € 50, ISBN 3-506-72741-9.

Tip for Media:

Pictures of Dr. Manuel Fröhlich and Dag Hammarskjöld are available. They can be requested from the press office at the university (Referat Öffentlichkeitsarbeit): Tel.: 03641 / 931041; E-Mail: [presse@uni-jena.de](mailto:presse@uni-jena.de)

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Until February 27, 2003, John Brady Kiesling was a relatively unknown, mid-level career diplomat who had served in U.S. embassies from Tel Aviv to Casablanca to Yerevan. That all changed when Kiesling sent his letter of resignation to Secretary of State Colin Powell. Within days, the letter had flooded the Internet in multiple languages and appeared in newspapers around the world.

## A Diplomat Speaks Out

### **Dear Mr. Secretary:**

*I am writing you to submit my resignation from the Foreign Service of the United States and from my position as political counselor in U.S. Embassy Athens, effective March 7. I do so with a heavy heart. The baggage of my upbringing included a felt obligation to give something back to my country. Service as a U.S. diplomat was a dream job. I was paid to understand foreign languages and cultures, to seek out diplomats, politicians, scholars and journalists, and to persuade them that U.S. interests and theirs fundamentally coincided. My faith in my country and its values was the most powerful weapon in my diplomatic arsenal.*

*It is inevitable that during 20 years with the State Department I would become more sophisticated and cynical about the narrow and selfish bureaucratic motives that sometimes shaped our policies. Human nature is what it is, and I was rewarded and promoted for understanding human nature. But until this administration it had been possible to believe that by upholding the policies of my president I was also upholding the interests of the American people and the world. I believe it no longer.*

*The policies we are now asked to advance are incompatible not only with American values but also with American*

*interests. Our fervent pursuit of war with Iraq is driving us to squander the international legitimacy that has been America's most potent weapon of both offense and defense since the days of Woodrow Wilson. We have begun to dismantle the largest and most effective web of international relationships the world has ever known. Our current course will bring instability and danger, not security.*

*The sacrifice of global interests to domestic politics and to bureaucratic self-interest is nothing new, and it is certainly not a uniquely American problem. Still, we have not seen such systematic distortion of intelligence, such systematic manipulation of American opinion, since the war in Vietnam. The September 11 tragedy left us stronger than before, rallying around us a vast international coalition to cooperate for the first time in a systematic way against the threat of terrorism. But rather than take credit for those successes and build on them, this administration has chosen to make terrorism a domestic political tool, enlisting a scattered and largely defeated al-Qaeda as its bureaucratic ally. We spread disproportionate terror and confusion in the public mind, arbitrarily linking the unrelated problems of terrorism and Iraq. The result,*



*and perhaps the motive, is to justify a vast misallocation of shrinking public wealth to the military and to weaken the safeguards that protect American citizens from the heavy hand of government.*

*We should ask ourselves why we have failed to persuade more of the world that a war with Iraq is necessary. We have over the past two years done too much to assert to our world partners that narrow and mercenary U.S. interests override the cherished values of our partners. Even where our aims were not in question, our consistency is at issue. The model of Afghanistan is little comfort to allies wondering on what basis we plan to rebuild the Middle East, and in whose image and interests. Have we indeed become blind, as Russia is blind in Chechnya, as Israel is blind in the Occupied Territories, to our own advice, that overwhelming military power is not the answer to terrorism? After the shambles of post-war Iraq joins the shambles in Grozny and Ramallah, it will be a brave foreigner who forms ranks with Micronesia to follow where we lead.*

*We have a coalition still, a good one. The loyalty of many of our friends is impressive, a tribute to American moral capital built up over a century. But our closest allies are persuaded less that war is justified than that it would be perilous to allow the U.S. to drift into complete solipsism. Loyalty should be reciprocal. Why does our President condone the swaggering and contemptuous approach to our friends and allies this Administration is fostering, including among its most senior officials?*

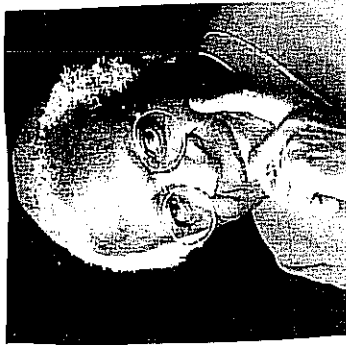
*I urge you to listen to America's friends around the world. Even here in Greece,*

*the purported hotbed of European anti-Americanism, we have more and closer friends than the American newspaper reader can possibly imagine. Even when they complain about American arrogance, Greeks know that the world is a difficult and dangerous place, and they want a strong international system, with the United States and European Union in close partnership. When our friends are afraid of us rather than for us, it is time to worry. And now they are afraid. Who will tell them convincingly that the United States is as it was, a beacon of liberty, security, and justice for the planet?*

*Mr. Secretary, I have enormous respect for your character and ability. You have preserved more international credibility for us than our policy deserves, and salvaged something positive from the excesses of an ideological and self-serving administration. But your loyalty to the president goes too far. We are straining beyond its limits an international system we built with such toil and treasure, a web of laws, treaties, organizations and shared values that sets limits on our foes far more effectively than it ever constrained America's ability to defend its interests.*

*I am resigning because I have tried and failed to reconcile my conscience with my ability to represent the current U.S. administration. I have confidence that our democratic process is ultimately self-correcting, and hope that in a small way I can contribute from outside to shaping policies that better serve the security and prosperity of the American people and the world we share.*

**John Brady Kiesling**



Archbishop Desmond Tutu, recipient of the Nobel Prize for Peace.

WHEN I WAS A BOY IN SOUTH AFRICA, THOUSANDS OF BLACKS were arrested daily under the iniquitous pass-law system, which severely curtailed our freedom of movement. As a black person over the age of sixteen you had to carry a pass. It was an offense not to have it on your person when a police officer accosted you and demanded to see it. I remember vividly, when I would accompany my schoolteacher father to town, how sorry I felt for him when he was almost invariably stopped. Now there was something funny for you: Because my father was an educated man, he qualified for what was called an *exemption*. Ordinary pass laws did not apply to him in that he had the privilege denied to other blacks of being able to purchase the white man's liquor without running the risk of being arrested. But for the police to know he was exempted, he had to carry his superior document. His exemption, therefore, did not spare him the humiliation of being stopped and asked peremptorily and rudely to produce it in the street. This kind of treatment gnawed away at your very vitals.

Years later, after I was grown and married, and my wife, Leah, and our children returned from England, where I had gone to study theology, I faced an exquisite irony. My family was having a picnic on the beach. The portion of the beach reserved for blacks was the least attractive, with rocks lying around. Not far away was a playground, and our youngest, who was born in England, said, "Daddy, I want to go on the swings," and I said with a hollow voice and a dead weight in the pit of my stomach, "No, darling, you can't go." What do you say, how do you feel, when your baby says, "But Daddy, there are other children playing there?" How do you tell your little darling that she cannot go because though she is a child, she is not that kind of child. And you died many

times and were not able to look your child in the eyes because you felt so dehumanized, so humiliated, so diminished. I probably felt as my father felt when he was diminished in the eyes of his young son.

When I became archbishop of Cape Town in 1986, I set myself three goals. Two had to do with the inner workings of the Anglican Church. The third was the liberation of all our people, black and white. That was achieved on April 27, 1994, when Nelson Mandela became South Africa's first democratically elected president. The world probably came to a standstill on May 10, the day of his inauguration. If it did not stand still then, it ought to have, because nearly all the world's heads of state and other leaders were milling around in Pretoria.

A poignant moment that day came when Mandela arrived with his elder daughter as his companion, and the various heads of the security forces, the police, and the correctional services strode to his car, saluted him, and then escorted him as head of state. It was poignant because only a few years earlier he had been their prisoner. What an extraordinary turnaround! President Mandela invited his white jailer to attend his inauguration as an honored guest, the first of many gestures he would make in his spectacular way, showing his breathtaking magnanimity and willingness to forgive. This man, who had been vilified and hunted down as a dangerous fugitive and incarcerated for nearly three decades, would soon be transformed into the embodiment of forgiveness. He would be a potent agent for the reconciliation he would urge his compatriots to work for, and which would form part of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission he would appoint to deal with our country's past.

Since that day, our nation has sought in various ways to rehabilitate and affirm the dignity and personhood of those who for so long have been silenced, have been turned into anonymous, marginalized ones. I have been privileged to be involved in the rehabilitation effort through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission, to which the president appointed me and sixteen others in September 1995. It was the commission's goal to reach out to as many South Africans as possible, offering amnesty to all, both those who had been victims and those who had been perpetrators during apartheid's long reign. Our slogan was: The truth hurts, but silence kills. Our aim was to engage all South Africans in the work of the commission, ensuring that all would have the chance to be part of any serious and viable proposal for healing and reconciliation.

At first we feared that few would come forward, but we need not have worried. We ended up obtaining more than twenty thousand statements. People had been bolder up for so long that when the chance came for them to tell their stories, the floodgates opened. I never ceased to marvel, after these people had told their nightmarish tales, that they looked so ordinary. They laughed, they conversed, they went about their daily lives looking to all the world to be normal, whole persons with not a single concern in the world. And then you heard their stories and wondered how they had survived for so long carrying such a heavy burden of grief and anguish so quietly, so unobtrusively, with dignity and simplicity. How much we owe them can never be computed.

The hearings were particularly rough on the interpreters, because they had to speak in the first person, at one time telling a victim's story and at another telling a perpetrator's. "They undressed me. They opened a drawer and then they stuffed my breast in the drawer, which they slammed repeatedly on my nipple until a white stuff oozed. We

abducted him and gave him drugged coffee and then I shot him in the head. We then burned his body . . ." It could be rough as they switched identities in this fashion. Even those physically distant from the testimony were deeply affected. The head of our transcription service told me that one day, as she was typing the manuscripts of the hearings, she did not know she was crying until she saw the tears on her arms.

In January 1997, while still sitting on the commission, I learned that I had prostate cancer. It probably would have happened whatever I had been doing. But it seemed to demonstrate that we were engaging in something costly. Forgiveness and reconciliation were not to be entered into lightly, facilely. My illness seemed to dramatize the fact that it is a costly business to try to heal a wounded and traumatized people and that those engaging in this crucial task may bear the brunt themselves. It may be that we have been a great deal more like vacuum cleaners than dishwashers, taking into ourselves far more than we knew of the pain and devastation of those whose stories we had heard.

But suffering from a life-threatening disease also helped me have a different attitude and perspective. It has given a new intensity to life, for I realize how much I used to take for granted—the love and devotion of my wife, the laughter and playfulness of my grandchildren, the glory of a splendid sunset, the dedication of my colleagues. The disease has helped me acknowledge my own mortality, with deep thanksgiving for the extraordinary things that have happened in my life, not least in recent times. What a spectacular vindication it has been, in the struggle against apartheid, to live to see freedom come, to have been involved in finding the truth and reconciling the differences of those who are the future of our nation.

The past two decades have been a period of intense political change across the world. Dictatorial governments fell, through either military victory or a transition to democratic government, and civil war ended in many countries across South America, Eastern Europe and Africa. One commonality of these situations was the widespread use of violence, including disappearances, murder, torture, rape and illegal detentions to clamp down popular demands for democracy and human rights and for self-governance.

## Truth and Reconciliation Commissions

### *Instruments for Ending Impunity and Building Lasting Peace*

By Paavani Reddy, for the *Chronicle*

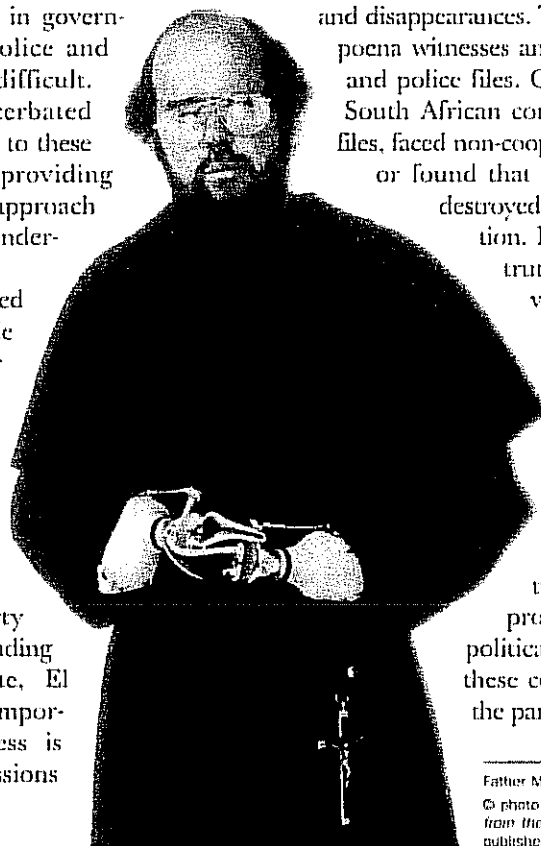
Post-conflict, newly-established or interim governments were faced with the dilemma of addressing the past and its State-sponsored abuses while preparing for the future by building a democratic society based on the rule of law. In many cases, this dilemma was further compounded by peace agreements that provided some kind of amnesty for former oppressors or by former elites granting themselves amnesties before the transition.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, perpetrators of past crimes and their sympathizers often continued to occupy positions of power in government, including the judiciary, police and military, making prosecutions difficult. And this problem was often exacerbated by a lack of evidence. In response to these unfavourable circumstances for providing justice to victims, a non-judicial approach was adopted in numerous States undergoing transition.

Truth commissions were established to officially investigate and provide an accurate record of the broader pattern of abuses committed during repression and civil war. The Commission of Inquiry into the Disappearances of People in Uganda was the first to be established to investigate abuses and make recommendations. Since then, there have been more than thirty truth commissions worldwide, including in Argentina, Chile, Timor-Leste, El Salvador, Guatemala and more importantly South Africa. Their success is highly remarkable. "Truth commissions

today", according to Jose Alvarez, Professor of International Law at Columbia University, "are inescapable tools in establishing the truth of past crimes and a means for victim recompense and instruments to promote peace and reconciliation." Most recently, the United Nations Secretary-General's report on *"The rule of law and transitional justice in conflict and post-conflict societies"* praised them as "a potentially valuable complementary tool in the quest for justice and reconciliation" and in "restoring public trust in national institutions of governance".

Truth and reconciliation commissions, unlike traditional courts, focus primarily on the victims and rely heavily on their accounts. They provide a forum for survivors to tell their stories and suffering through private or public hearings. Such accounts form an integral part of the commission's analysis of the broader pattern of abuse, usually in a comprehensive final report, and in many cases have led to criminal prosecutions and dismissal of perpetrators from government positions. Despite these commonalities, there are no set principles that dictate the nature and scope of the commissions. They differ widely, depending on the nature of the conflict and the political will to address past abuses in a specific context. For example, the truth commissions in South America, particularly in Argentina and Chile, had a limited mandate to investigate crimes committed during military rule or civil war, including politically motivated detentions and disappearances. They did not have the power to subpoena witnesses and had little or no access to military and police files. Others, like the El Salvadorian and South African commissions that had access to such files, faced non-cooperation from the police and military or found that relevant documentation had been destroyed, thus compromising their investigation.

Despite these serious shortcomings, truth commissions have proved to be very successful in compiling the testimony of thousands of victims and bringing the truth to light. Their reports led to the first official acknowledgement of past crimes and suffering endured by victims after years of denial and silence. They also paved the way for future criminal prosecutions, institutional reforms and reparation programmes for victims. The limited political will during the establishment of these commissions was thus overcome by the particular dynamics of their work.



Father Michael Lapsley, Cape Town, 16 February 1997

© photo by Jillian Edelstein from her book *Truth & Lies: Stories from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa*, published by GRANTA, 2001.

The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), on the other hand, had a much more complete mandate. Established through the National Unity and Reconciliation Act of 1995, it remains the prime example of its kind. Its creation was the result of a thorough review of previous mechanisms worldwide, taking into account their shortcomings and best practices. Also, the views and expectations of the South African civil society were taken into consideration, thereby conveying a sense of ownership. It was designed to initiate a process of reconciliation in order to unify the country after decades of racial and ethnic segregation. It considered that "the telling of the truth about gross human rights violations, as viewed from the different perspectives, facilitates the process of understanding our [South Africa's] divided pasts, whilst the public acknowledgement of untold suffering and injustice helps to restore the dignity of victims and afford perpetrators the opportunity to come to terms with their own past."<sup>2</sup> The coming to terms with the past was seen as fundamental to promotion of national reconciliation and for building a new South Africa.

The TRC had a broad mandate and the tools to fulfil it. It could conduct formal investigations, including forensic, subpoena witnesses to testify, recommend reparations for victims and, most controversially, grant amnesty to those who disclosed the full nature of their crimes. It was one of the first commissions to hold both closed and public hearings, where virtually all victims could tell their stories and perpetrators could disclose the truth about the crimes they had committed. These disclosures brought to light the dimension of the gross human rights violations systematically carried out by police and security forces, as well as by armed groups fighting for equal rights. The TRC also investigated the responsibility of the media, the private sector and the judiciary in strengthening apartheid, and thus addressed the oppressive system in all its aspects and provided a comprehensive account of events. Of all such commissions, the TRC probably came closest to telling "the truth".

One element seen as crucial to this success was the Commission's power to grant amnesties to perpetrators who fully disclosed their crimes. Unlike in a regular court or other such commissions, the perpetrators had a real interest in revealing the whole truth, since this was considered their ticket to freedom. But many in South Africa regarded this as too high a price for the truth. Richard Wilson, a critic of the amnesty process, notes in his book, *The politics of truth and reconciliation in South Africa*, that there was a "dissonance between popular understandings of retribution punishment and the version of restorative justice proposed by national political figures".<sup>3</sup> In the meantime, international opinion emerged against granting permanent amnesties in certain instances. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan in September 2003 said: "There should be no amnesties for war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity or other serious violations of international human rights

and humanitarian law." The TRC was further criticized for limiting the scope of its work to the victims and perpetrators of violent crimes, thereby excluding systemic aspects of the oppressive regime which affected the lives of many more people. At the same time, the Government was also blamed for not being proactive enough in prosecuting perpetrators.

The latter problem can be addressed by complementing truth and reconciliation commissions with appropriate judicial mechanisms. The recent truth-seeking processes in Timor-Leste and Sierra Leone had supportive judicial processes. Special courts were established to prosecute the perpetrators, while the truth commissions provided the victims with a forum where they could narrate their experiences and make sense of their lives during the past conflict. These commissions adopted a more forward-looking approach and made extensive recommendations for peace-building and reintegration into society of those accused of less grave crimes. These examples show that the establishment and operation of truth and reconciliation commissions can be very responsive to lessons learned from the past and continue to evolve, while taking into account the needs of the particular post-conflict situation.

Despite their varying mandates, powers and results, these commissions try to fulfil certain fundamental purposes in post-conflict societies:

*Address the needs of victims.* The truth commissions provide a forum for victims to recount, often for the first time, their experiences and suffering. These accounts serve as an official acknowledgment of their suffering and the gravity of the crimes committed against them, which were previously denied or not widely known. Such acknowledgment, experts believe, is more vital than just a mere knowledge of the crimes and affirms that the crimes were wrong and the trauma and suffering of the victims were no longer ignored, thereby aiding them to come to terms with their past. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Chairperson of the TRC, stresses that it is through acknowledgment that victims "can be empowered and can have their human and civil dignities rehabilitated" (*see UN Chronicle, Issue 4, 1996, page 4*). It also helps the society to better understand the victims and be more sympathetic towards their needs. Furthermore, truth commissions often make recommendations for reparations and other benefits for the victims and suggest ways for reintegration and reconciliation.

*Clarify, document and establish the truth.* The truth commissions, through analyzing the testimony of victims, establish the truth about gross human rights violations, which were often denied by the Government. Who were the victims? What were the injustices done to them? Why were these crimes committed and by whom? Commission reports clarify, document and publicize the tortured past, opening it to wide public discussion. This documentation becomes part of the national consciousness and helps to

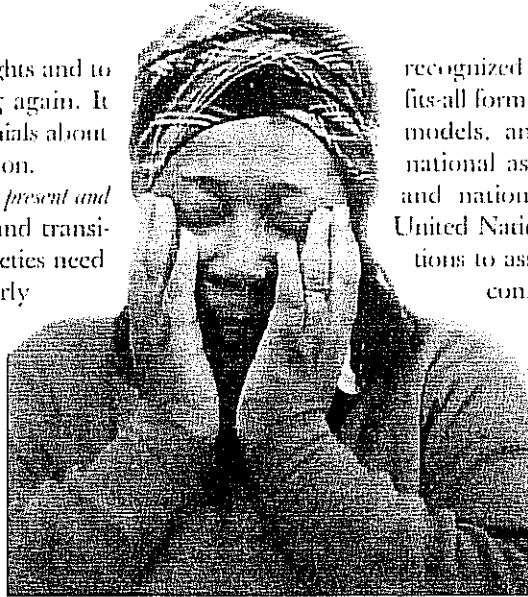
build a culture of respect for human rights and to prevent such crimes from happening again. It also reduces the potential for future denials about the past and conflict over such contention.

*Help to establish the difference between the present and former governments.* The newly-elected and transitional governments in post-conflict societies need to establish their credibility, particularly in upholding human rights principles. By setting up and supporting the truth commissions and their findings, new governments underscore their commitment towards human rights, addressing the impunity of previous regimes and more transparent governance, to both their people and the international community. Along with other peace-building measures, including institutional reforms, this strengthens human rights and the rule of law in the post-conflict society.

*Promote peace and reconciliation.* Some truth commissions are designed to promote peace and reconciliation and initiate a peace stabilization process. Priscilla Hayner, co-founder of the International Center for Transitional Justice, explains in her book that many proponents of truth commissions believe that full truth would lead to reconciliation and that it is important for the victims to know "whom to forgive and what to forgive them for".<sup>1</sup> The truth about the past helps the community to understand the gravity of the suffering that conflict had brought on all parties, thus reinforcing the need for peace. However, opinions on how best to achieve peace and reconciliation vary from society to society; some might support retributive justice processes, while others might be open to reconciliation. To better assess the situation, commissions often rely on civil society organizations' expertise to access the needs of victims and their attitudes towards peace and reconciliation.

*Recommend structural reforms.* Truth commissions, through investigation of abuse patterns of the past, are in a position to evaluate institutional responsibility. They can assess the flaws and weaknesses in the judiciary, police, military and other government structures, and make recommendations for reforms. Implementation of reforms depends on the political will, support and pressure of the international community and local civil society, as well as on Governments.

The commissions' success in addressing gross human rights violations during conflicts, promoting peace and reconciliation and strengthening democracy has led them to be recognized as vital instruments for peace-building and the promotion of transitional justice in post-conflict societies. The United Nations plays an active role in supporting and promoting transitional justice, while respecting the need for national and local ownership. In the Secretary-General's report on the rule of law and transitional justice, it is



Filile Mlotshwa, Johannesburg, 29 May 1997

© photo by Jillian Edelstein from her book *Truth & Lies: Stories from the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa* published by GRAPPA, 2001

recognized that it needs to "eschew one-size-fits-all formulas and the importation of foreign models, and instead base our support on national assessments, national participation and national needs and aspirations". The United Nations should involve local organizations to assess the needs of a particular post-conflict society and adapt truth commissions to meet that—be it the need for establishing the truth or a means to prosecute perpetrators. Further, local organizations are in a better position to evaluate and advise on the root causes of a conflict, and suggest ways and means to strengthen peace and democracy through transitional mechanisms and structural reforms.

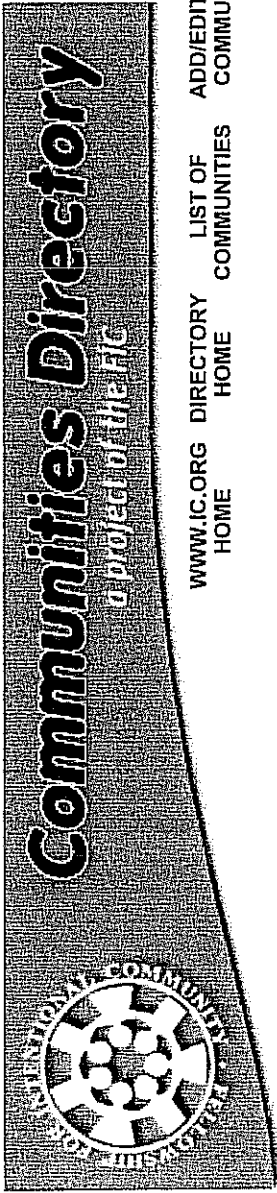
Mr. Alvarez points out that at the same time some fragile peace process could depend upon granting amnesties to former perpetrators. However, the statute of the International Criminal Court (ICC) stipulates that perpetrators of war crimes should be held accountable. It also specifies that if nations are "unwilling and unable" to prosecute, the ICC prosecutor could step in. This, Mr. Alvarez warns, could lead to future tensions and "undermine some peace processes and transitional governments". Therefore, the United Nations should resolve these tensions concerning granting amnesties in a worst-case scenario and also with the ICC mandate to prosecute known criminals of war. Furthermore, transition measures also need to be strengthened with other peace-building and development measures, including disarmament, demobilization and reintegration programmes and micro-financing, to prevent conflicts from surfacing or reoccurring, as well as to promote a culture of deliberation and human rights. ▬

#### Notes

1. *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, Priscilla B. Hayner, 2001, page 12.
2. Reconciliation Commission, *Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa Report*, (Macmillan reference limited, 1998).
3. *The Politics of Truth and Reconciliation in South Africa: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State: Legitimizing the Post-Apartheid State*, Richard A. Wilson, Cambridge University Press, 2001, page 25.

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*Jillian Edelstein kindly provided the photographs from her book Truth & Lies (Grappa 2001), the result of a four-year project photographing people who appeared before the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. A native of South Africa, she graduated as a social worker before starting her career as a photojournalist in 1981.*



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## Neve Shalom - Wahat al-Salam (Oasis of Peace)

Doar Na Shimshon, Israel

Formed: 1970 Established: 1977



Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam (pronounced nevey shalom/wahat as-salaam) is a cooperative village of Jews and Palestinian Arabs of Israeli citizenship. Situated equidistant from Jerusalem and Tel Aviv-Jaffa, Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam was founded in 1972 on 100 acres of land leased from the adjacent Latrun Monastery. The first families came to live in the village in 1977. By 2004, 50 families had settled there. Eventually, the population is expected to reach 140 families.

The members of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam are demonstrating the possibility of coexistence between Jews and Palestinians by developing a community based on mutual acceptance, respect, and cooperation. Democratically governed and owned by its members, the community is not affiliated with any political party or movement.

Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam gives practical expression to its vision through its various branches:

- The bilingual, bi-cultural school, founded in 1984, educates some 300 children from the area, and works to establish this form of education as a viable model.
- The School for Peace, founded in 1979, conducts courses and seminars for Arab and Jewish youth and adults in Israel and from the Palestinian Authority.
- "Doumia-Sakinah," The Pluralistic Spiritual Center provides a framework for exploring religious, cultural and spiritual resources that may be drawn upon in working and educating for peace.
- A Hotel, with dining facilities and conference halls, offers comfortable

**Website:** <http://nswas.org/>

**Contact:**

Public Relations Office  
 Goodwin Drive

Neve Shalom - Wahat al-Salam, Doar Na  
 Shimshon 99761 Israel

*Address Status: Good as of 10/12/2005*  
 Phone: 972 2 9915621, 972 2 9912222

**for\_email go to <http://nswas.org/auteur20.html>**

The American Friends of Neve Shalom - Wahat al-Salam

12925 Riverside Drive, 3rd Floor  
 Sherman Oaks, California 91423 United States

*Address Status: good as of 0/0/0000*  
 Phone: 818-325-8884

**[afnswas@oasisofpeace.org](mailto:afnswas@oasisofpeace.org)**

The American Friends of Neve Shalom- Wahat al-Salam

4201 Church Road, Suite 4

Mt. Laurel, New Jersey 08054 United States

*Address Status: good as of 10/1/2004*  
 Phone: 856-235-6200

**Links: [American Friends of Neve Shalom - Wahat al-Salam](#)**

accommodation and a variety of educational programs.

Last Updated: 10/12/2005

**Visitors Accepted** (By prior arrangement)

Visitor Process: Individual visitors should contact the public relations office (pr -at- nswas -dot- com ). Group visitors should contact the group visits coordinator (rita -at- nswas -dot- com). Those wishing to stay at the guest house should contact the guest house directly (hotel -at- nswas -dot- com).

**Population**

**Adult Members:** 102  
**Child Members:** 100  
**Non-member Residents:** 0  
**Gender Balance:** 50% M 50% F  
**Open to new adults:** Yes(Contact the village regarding application process)  
**Open to new children:** Yes

**Government**

**Decision Making:** By majority rule (Elected secretariat + general assembly for major decisions)  
**Identified Leader:** No  
**Leadership Core Group:** Yes(Elected secretariat)

**Labor and Money**

**Financial Style:** Members have independent finances  
**Labor Contribution:**  
**Join Fee:** Yes(Newcomers must lease land and build a home)  
**Regular Fees:** Yes(Municipal taxes and fees, school tuition fees)

**Land and Buildings**

**Rural**  
**Area:** 50 acres (20.2 hectares)  
**Land Owned By:** The community  
**Number of Residences:** 50  
**Cohousing:** No

**Food, etc.**

**Percentage of Food Grown:** none  
**Share Community Meals:** Rarely  
**Dietary Choice or Restrictions:** Diet is up to each individual  
**Dietary Practice:** Omnivorous  
**Alcohol Use:** Used occasionally  
**Tobacco Use:** Used Occasionally

**Social Factors**

**Open to Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, and/or Transgender members:** Yes(No established policy, no gay members as yet)  
**Shared Spiritual Path:** No  
**Which Spiritual Path(s):** (Muslims, Christians, Jews)  
**Educational Style(s):** Private school at the community (Village school is state funded)



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# Beyond War

Learning about war and peace beyond war

## CASE STUDY: Neve Shalom Wahat al Salam

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### MISSION STATEMENT

Our mission is to explore, develop, and promote effective ideas, methods and actions that will build a world in which conflicts are resolved nonviolently — a world beyond war.

### THOUGHT OF THE DAY

We must use time wisely and forever realize that the time is always ripe to do right. —Nelson Mandela

### OUR STORIES



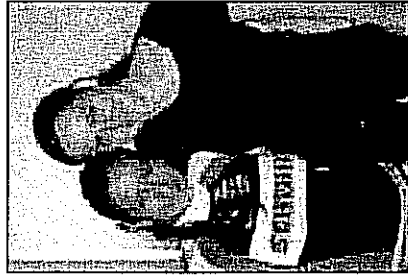
Mako Miyamoto  
Learning to make a difference

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### CURRENT ACTIONS

Introductory

### The Territory Beyond War



### MIDDLE EAST HEROES

Story courtesy of [Global Heroes Magazine](#).

Laila Najjar and Adi Frish

It is a typical scene. Two friends in their early twenties are sitting at a coffee shop, drinking beverages while talking and laughing over inside jokes and events from the previous night. No bystander would have the slightest notion that Laila Najjar, a Palestinian Muslim, and Adi Frish, an Israeli Jew, should be mortal enemies. As they effortlessly speak to each other in both Arabic and Hebrew, one would think that the two girls are oblivious to the fact that their two people groups are involved in one of the most deep-rooted and complicated conflicts in our world's history.

Most Israelis see Palestinians not as friends but rather potential human bombs preparing to kill innocent civilians. This certainly is not the case based on Adi's behavior towards Laila. And despite the Palestinian sentiment that their people are victims of oppression inflicted by Israelis, Laila shows no signs of animosity towards Adi. As the pictures of hatred and violence fill media news time slots around the world on a daily basis and as politicians spend countless hours and money seeking solutions to the crisis, these two young girls offer an image and an example representing hope and peace.

"We have a very special friendship," Laila says. "We are like sisters. I know everything about Adi and she knows everything about me."

Our friendship does not depend on politics, but rather on mutual respect for each other," explains Adi.

One of the driving forces behind this friendship is the Oasis of Peace (Neve Shalom in Hebrew, Wahat al-Salam in Arabic), a small village situated midway between Jerusalem and Tel Aviv. The Oasis of Peace was

presentations of key Foundational Ideas and what people and nations can do instead of war, *The Health Effects of War and a Sensible Approach for a Safe America* presentations, pilot testing a new study series-- and more.

[>View more](#)

jointly established by Palestinians and Israelis, including the two girls' parents, in the 1970s as a place where the two groups could live, work and raise their children together. Over 50 families reside in the village, which has been nominated five times for the Nobel Peace Prize.

"We are one of a kind," explains Adi. "We are not segregated. We live and cooperate with each other. We treat everyone as an equal."

Laila and Adi were among the first children born in the community and developed a close friendship when they started kindergarten at the integrated primary school. It is the only bilingual and bicultural school recognized by Israel's Ministry of Education.

"We learn about each others histories, cultures and languages," states Adi. "We understand each others identities."

The best example of this can be seen in the way that holidays are celebrated. Although fundamentally and devoutly different in beliefs, Adi's family invites Laila over for Jewish holidays and Laila's family will in turn reciprocate for Arabic holidays.

As the political conflict has intensified, the friendship between Laila and Adi has grown closer, partly due to the encounter workshops that are offered as part of the educational system at the Oasis of Peace. Students, both Israeli and Palestinian, are encouraged by trained facilitators to examine each other's opinions and emotions and thus develop tools to manage conflict.

"Of course we have disagreements," says Laila. "But the best way to deal with problems is to speak about them not with aggression but with openness and respect."



Treaties and political negotiations have produced little results since the outset of the conflict. With the recent failure of the 1993 Oslo Accords, the collapse of the 2000 Camp David Summit and the stalling of the current roadmap to peace designed by the United States, European Union, United Nations and Russia, perhaps it is the ideas of two young girls who have not yet completed their university studies that truly offer us the framework to peaceful coexistence.

The integrated primary school at Neve-Shalom, Wabat al-Salam, Oasis of Peace.

For Laila, the way to peace is best exemplified in the village by living, learning and dealing with problems together.

“To truly have peace, both sides have to learn to relate to each other,” she says.

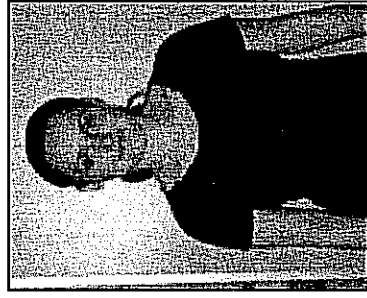
“We all are human beings,” Adi states. “We have to know the other side better. We need to communicate and listen.”

Adi currently works at a fitness club and has plans of attending university in the near future. Her choice of study would be communication between people, a subject that would be useful for many in the region.

Laila studies jewelry design in Jerusalem and hopes to return back to the Oasis of Peace to raise a family while also promoting the ideals of the village.

“Everyone has dreams and we have accomplished our dream of living in peace,” Laila says. “It is important to spread the idea of the village to as many people as possible.”

One can only imagine what the situation would be like if Laila’s wish is fulfilled and the ideals of the Oasis of Peace are prevalent throughout the entire region. If this message is communicated, how many other young Israeli Jews and Palestinian Muslims could be laughing together over a drink instead of resting in graves?



**ADI FRISH PERSONAL PROFILE:**

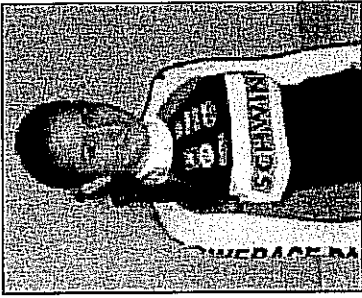
**DATE & PLACE OF BIRTH:** October 1, 1982 - Neve Shalom, Wabat al-Salam, Oasis of Peace, Israel

**BEST MOMENT IN LIFE:** When my parents built an apartment for me

**FAVORITE BOOK:** *Someone to Run With*

**FAVORITE FILM:** *Fifth Element*

**LAILA NAJJAR PERSONAL PROFILE:**



**DATE & PLACE OF BIRTH:** September 24, 1983 - Neve Shalom, Wahat al-Salam, Oasis of Peace, Israel

**BEST MOMENT IN LIFE:** The day I was accepted into the university I am currently attending in Jerusalem

**FAVORITE BOOK:** *Crazy About Laila*

**FAVORITE FILM:** *Love Actually*



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*Beginning with compassionate listening, Jews and Palestinians start change from within.*

## Hope Within the Fire

All wars eventually end, but you have to wonder what it will take to end one so emotionally charged as that between the Israelis and Palestinians. The fear and hatred of both peoples seems to crowd out understanding and compassion, needed ingredients for a lasting peace. Intractable old leaders pursue courses that make things worse. Outside interventions only seem to fuel the fire.

But there exists, even in this conflagration, possibility and hope.

### Face to Face

One success that has been growing throughout the U.S., in the Middle East, and in many other parts of the world is the dialogue group where Jews and Arabs, Palestinians and Israelis, meet together to share of themselves. Len and Libby Traubman of San Mateo, who started such a group in 1992 in their living room and who now work closely with five such groups, say the secret is engaging in true dialogue.

“It is not discussion or debate, or even conflict resolution,” the Traubmans emphasize. “Instead it is what we call ‘compassionate listening.’”

It was not easy to start that first group, the Traubmans note. “Few Israelis and Palestinians, Jews and Arabs, have the chance to get to know one another, and typically, the thought of even being with one another is abhorrent. So it took some persuading to gather ten Jews and ten Palestinians for our first meeting. It’s easier now, because those who have experienced this kind of dialogue share with others how meaningful the experience has been to them, and how important understanding each other is to any chance of peace. There are now more than a hundred dialogue groups meeting regularly in people’s homes and on college campuses in a dozen countries.

“When people first participate in such a group,” note Len and Libby, “some are quiet, cautious, and protected. Some are assertive, clinging to anger and hurt,

unable to hear others or focus on anything but their cause and view. But over time, as they hear each other's stories, their identification expands and they begin to see each other as human and equal, interrelated and interdependent. Seeing their oneness—and differences, as well—they begin to want the best for each other.”

While realizing that only government leaders can set the actual arrangements for peace, the Traubmans point out that governments alone cannot do all that is required. “Creativity, correcting stereotypes, and discovering trustworthy knowledge—these are not going to come from governments. But if enough citizens have this expanded identification, it will make the environment fertile and right for the government peace process to go to completion. As Henry David Thoreau observed, “Things do not change; we change.”

## Peacemakers Camp

Dialogue groups also carry out a wide variety of joint projects. One of the most successful took place in September at a camp near Yosemite National Park. There, 45 adults, 24 youth, and 50 staff members—families, singles, ages 1 to 65—spent a weekend together at what was called the First Palestinian-Jewish Family Peacemakers Camp: *Oseh Shalom-Sanea al-Salam*. Along with dialoguing far into the night, there were hikes together, boating and ropes courses, evening campfires with a music and talent show, shared art and Middle Eastern meals, and a closing ceremony with personal statements of connection and change.

For many, the camp with its concentrated time together added to the impact of the dialogue groups. One who experienced

*continued on next page*



A portion of the 120 participants in the Palestinian-Jewish Family Peacemakers Camp.

the camp, a Palestinian psychologist who had attended dialogue groups for eleven years, had what she called a transforming experience. "I have never felt so welcomed by Jews," she said. "I was so moved that I was unable to speak when I first returned to our regular dialogue group."

### OneVoice

One of the new citizen initiatives that are beginning to appear is OneVoice. They believe that, overwhelmingly, Palestinians and Israelis want to live in peace, and that it is the extremists on both sides who keep the war going. As noted on their website (*see below*), "The majority of people have been disenfranchised, fallen prey to external fears and hatreds....The political process is deadlocked and people feel hopeless. We must change that by bypassing it."

OneVoice's idea is to go directly to the people with the goal of creating a People's Mandate which expresses the clear will of the majority of citizens on both sides. Politicians, they say, will then have to decide whether to act according to the will of the people, or face replacement. OneVoice has taken the first step by drafting a Proclamation of Principles for Reconciliation. This Proclamation is being revised in consultation with some 200 experts—Israelis, Palestinians, and others—into a document whose basic human principles all agree on. OneVoice then plans to secure 10,000 signatories for the Proclamation, all of whom will be invited to engage in a fully participatory, back-and-

forth consensus process to reach as detailed agreement as possible on each of the ten most salient issues facing the two peoples. These ten Core Agreements, then, become the People's Mandate.

**A**n extensive analysis of OneVoice's plans appears on their website, and covers questions skeptics might ask, along with answers to concerns in sections titled "Palestinian, Arab, and Muslim Concerns," and "Israeli and Jewish Concerns."

Interestingly, some of those involved in OneVoice are leaders with whom the Foundation for Global Community's Middle East team has worked closely for many years. One of the documents OneVoice used as a basis for creating their Proclamation of Principles for Reconciliation was the document produced by these same Israeli and Palestinian leaders who worked hard and productively together in a seminar held at the Foundation's retreat center in California a dozen years ago.

The website for OneVoice is  
[www.silentnolonger.org](http://www.silentnolonger.org)



*Learning to understand and appreciate each other's symbols.*

# Why Dialogue?

Len and Libby Traubman carry on worldwide communication about the value of dialogue on their web site: <http://traubman.igc.org>, and by email, sending out hundreds of information packets and videos. Among the many questions, requests, and comments the Traubmans receive daily, was the following email (edited slightly for brevity) from Gaia Muallem, a senior at Rice University. Observes Len Traubman, "When anyone asks, "Why should I be in dialogue?" and I had just one document to show them, this would be it."

*Hi Libby and Len,*

*Thank you so much for your inspirational e-mail. It came just when I needed some focus and motivation. I would love to have a phone conversation with you. I agree that talking would be ideal. Things are a little bit crazy at the moment (as they always are for me during the holidays), but after next week, I should have no problem finding a time that would work for you.*



*My parents are Israeli. They left Israel before I was born, but we go back to visit about every other year, and they haven't exactly immersed themselves in American society. I first realized how much of a bubble I had lived in when I came to college, and I think that's when I really started getting interested in exploring my Israeli side. (I had never had to explore it before—it was right there at home.)*

*Actually, at first, I probably would have been the last person to participate in this kind of thing. I was pretty anti-Palestinian (and, to tell you the truth, anti-Arab), and I didn't want to talk about my feelings. I felt like I was always attacked, and it made me sick to my stomach to have to discuss Israel with people who didn't understand, who didn't have a personal stake in the issue. As far as speaking with Palestinians was concerned, I was content to live my whole life without doing so.*

*In my sophomore year of college, one of the organizations here sponsored a "discussion panel." The intentions were good—the guy planning it really wanted to learn, but somewhere along the way and through the rest of the committee, it became a debate without the debating. We weren't allowed to speak unless called on (we went one by one) so that even*

*continued on next page*



*though we were allowed to respond to one another, it wasn't allowed to be direct. Basically, it turned into an evening of a bunch of arguments started and not finished. (It was advertised on a flier with CONFLICT in big letters and then some words about discussion, so we went into it a little wary to begin with.) Surprisingly enough, though, that experience was the first that really started to open my eyes because I actually had to interact with Palestinians. We went out as a group a lot right before the panel discussion because the organizers wanted us to feel comfortable with each other. We actually didn't talk about our views at all in those pre-panel sessions because we were trying to relax, so we just became friends.*

*To my surprise, the Palestinian panelists were my favorite people on the panel. And I learned they never attacked me—I learned that people who really care listen and try not to fight. So obviously I had to change a few misconceptions.*

*As an aside, but related, the revelation that I always bring up to people who are willing to discuss this issue with me is that each side refuses to see the other as individual people. How can you think about respect and acceptance when the word "Palestinian" connotes, in your mind, a community responsible for every hardship in your life?*

*When Israelis hear about Israelis being killed, the first thing that they do is rush to go online and see who it was; what unit they were in; how old were they; who are their parents? But when a Palestinian is killed, even if the response is not happiness (which it unfortunately is in a lot of cases), for many people it's: "Oh, just a Palestinian," and not a person. That, to me, is the biggest obstacle to any kind of resolution.*

*OK, back to my story. I didn't change automatically, but subconsciously I started thinking about how Ibrahim's family would feel whenever I heard about a military incursion or curfew or more restrictions (they live in Ramallah). At first, I pushed those thoughts out of my head because I felt like it would make me a bad Jew and a bad Israeli to understand or care about the plight of my Palestinian friend's family (which is another issue that I struggle with and try to talk to people about). But once I started thinking along those lines, I couldn't go back (thankfully).*

*I studied abroad in Israel the next fall, which was the most wonderful experience of my life and just helped to change me even more. I lived in Beer Sheva, so there were always Bedouins around, and I was really uncomfortable about the fact that there was absolutely no interaction between them and us unless there absolutely had to be. I mean, not even eye contact. I think that just exemplified the sentiment that exists in both camps right now (and these were just Bedouins who don't even provoke much of a response among Israelis).*

*And still, when I would walk through the streets and see "Exile to Arabs" spray-painted everywhere, I would wonder how there can be hope with people like this. It was really hard for me to see Muslims of various origins in the university with me who were fluent in Hebrew and to know that they were walking on the same streets and seeing the same signs. I think that was really the first time that I allowed my fiercely defensive view of Israel to crumble just a little. I was actually hurt that Israelis could do something like that—or, more, that Jews could do something like that not even a century after the horrors of the Holocaust that started with signs like those.*

*When I got back to Rice, I wasn't sure where I wanted to go with this, but I was experiencing a lot of different things and still reacting to everything that I had experienced in Israel. When Liora first approached me about the dialogue group, I was a little wary because I didn't really understand the concept of dialogue. And she didn't either at first, so we had a couple of bumpy first meetings, which is to be expected, but then you guys sent her the meaning of dialogue, and everything changed.*

*Originally, we had been planning activities for meetings, such as two people in the group would discuss their views and then the rest would join in or comment. And this was really hard for a lot of us because to open ourselves up about such an issue was like baring our souls in a lot of cases, and not everyone appreciated that. But I'll never forget the day that Liora came and explained to us what dialogue actually means. I just felt something click when she talked about creating a safe environment and expressing emotions and responses so that other people could share them and take them on, not defend or argue with them.*

*I feel like so much growth can occur if we just have people who are willing to experience things together. I mean, even without that, I feel like I have learned so much, and I want to be able to take it to the next level. I am graduating this year and hope to go to medical school in Israel, and I am really hoping to have a strong foundation in dialogue so that I can get involved there, where things really need to happen.*

*There's so much more. Even as I was writing this, I thought of a thousand different experiences that I could share with you, but this is a general idea of my history and my feelings about dialogue. I'm sure we will discover more about each other in conversation. Thank you so much again for your support. It really means so much for me to have it. I am looking forward to speaking with you.*

*Gaia*



*“There is nothing surprising in a Muslim or a Pathan [Pashtun] like me subscribing to the creed of nonviolence. It is not a new creed. It was followed fourteen hundred years ago by the Prophet all the time he was in Mecca, and it has since been followed by all those who wanted to throw off an oppressor’s yoke. But we had so far forgotten it that when Ghandiji placed it before us, we thought he was sponsoring a novel creed.”*

**Badshah Khan**

## PASHTUN PACIFISTS

*Badshah Khan, a Pashtun Muslim leader*

**S**ome people are so violent that nothing works with them but sheer brute force. Right?

The Pashtuns—the majority tribal group of Southern Afghanistan and neighboring parts of Pakistan who provided the core of Taliban support—are among the most frequently nominated candidates for this category of irredeemably violent. Occupants for centuries of Southern Afghanistan and the famous Khyber Pass, the strategic gateway from India to Russia, these vicious tribesmen defeated every invader. The 19th-century British considered the Pashtuns the most savage warriors they had ever met. India’s first Prime Minister, Jawaharlal Nehru, observed that the male Pashtun “loved his gun better than his child or brother.”

An astonishing, often overlooked episode of Pashtun history, however, hints at less

violent possibilities. Inspired by Gandhi’s nonviolent campaign for freedom from British colonialism, the Pashtuns created the first highly trained professional nonviolent army—80,000 nonviolent Pashtun peacemakers who refused to kill even under extreme provocation. Badshah Khan, a Pashtun Muslim leader, persuaded tens of thousands of his fellow tribesmen to embrace Gandhi’s vision of nonviolent struggle. Khan’s nonviolent army, called the “Servants of God,” marched, drilled, wore a special red uniform, and developed a careful organizational structure complete with officers and a bagpipe corps!

In April 1930, when Gandhi launched a widespread campaign of civil disobedience across India, the British responded brutally. Soldiers beat unarmed protesters with steel-tipped staffs.

One hundred thousand Indians landed in jail. Nowhere was the repression as bad as in Badshah Khan's Pashtun homeland in the strategic northwest frontier. When he called his Pashtun people to nonviolent resistance, Khan was quickly arrested. Nonviolent civil disobedience promptly broke out everywhere among the Pashtuns. Bayonets and bullets were the British response. On one bloody afternoon, they killed over 200 unarmed protesters and wounded many more.

British brutality inspired massive support for Khan's nonviolent army, which quickly swelled to 80,000 volunteers. Fearing this Pashtun nonviolence even more than their former savagery, the British did everything to destroy the "Red Shirts" and provoke them to violence. They ordered them to strip naked in public and beat them into unconsciousness when they refused. After public humiliation, many were thrown into pools of human excrement. Everywhere, the British hunted Badshah Khan's nonviolent army like animals. But the proud Pashtuns remained firmly nonviolent.

For the next decade and a half, Badshah Khan and his nonviolent Red Shirts played a key role in the battle for independence. They worked consistently for peace and reconciliation. In 1946, when thousands died in Hindu-Muslim violence, 10,000 of Khan's Servants of God protected Hindu and Sikh minorities in the northwest frontier and eventually restored order in the large city of Peshawar. Finally, in 1947, Gandhi's campaign of nonviolent intervention wrested Indian independence from the British Empire. Badshah Khan's peaceful army of Pashtun Red Shirts

deserved a good deal of the credit. "That such men," Gandhi exclaimed, "who would have killed a human being with no more thought than they would kill a sheep or a hen, should at the bidding of one man have laid down their arms and accepted nonviolence as the superior weapon sounds almost like a fairy tale."

The fact that they did—if only for a couple of decades—should caution us against despairing of the struggle to create nonviolent alternatives even in the toughest circumstances. "Just War" theorists argue that war must be a last resort after all practical nonviolent alternatives have been tried. Pacifists claim to have an alternative to war.

Surely an obvious next step is for both to work together to train tens of thousands of nonviolent troops like Khan's Muslim Servants of God and the Mennonite-initiated Christian Peacemaker Teams that today move between warring groups in places as difficult as Hebron, Chiapas, and Colombia. Perhaps Jesus' summons to "love your enemies" is not as naive as many suppose. One need not believe that nonviolence can quickly resolve every violent conflict to accept the fact that stunning examples of nonviolence exist—even among the Afghan Pashtuns.

Perhaps a billion or two dollars spent on training thousands (both Just War and pacifist folks) for disciplined peacemaker teams ready to intervene nonviolently in the most intractable conflicts might be a wise investment. What exists is possible.

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Reference: *A Man to Match His Mountains: Badshah Khan, Nonviolent Soldier of Islam*, by Eknath Easwaran, Milgiri Press, 1984.

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