

Four Elements of Peacebuilding: How to Protect Nonviolently



Gianne Broughton

**Canadian Friends Service
Commitee (Quakers)**

Four Elements of Peacebuilding

How to Protect Nonviolently

By Gianne Broughton

Four Elements of Peacebuilding: How to Protect Nonviolently

Published by
Canadian Friends Service Committee
60 Lowther Avenue
Toronto, ON M5R 1C7

www.quakerservice.ca

Copyright © CFSC 2013

All rights reserved

Library and Archives Canada Cataloguing in Publication

Broughton, Gianne

Four elements of peacebuilding: how to protect nonviolently

ISBN 978-0-9731538-1-1

1. Peace 2. Nonviolent conflict resolution. 3. Peacebuilding
4. Nonviolent peacekeeping

Cover Art:

Design: Gianne Broughton
Digital Realization: Kofi Broughton

Layout: Carl Stieren

Photos: Gianne Broughton, Stefan Disko, Sylvia Grady, Athena Madan,
Eric Schiller

Printed in Canada

Contents

Preface 4

How Change Agents Prevented a Clash Between Soldiers and Civilians in D.R. Congo 5

Introduction 6

Community-based Self-reliant Peacebuilding in Cambodia 7

Four Elements of Peacebuilding 8

Preventing Violence Through Training in Goma, D.R. Congo 11

Examples of Effective Nonviolent Protection Approaches 12

Quick Response by Nonviolent Peaceforce Team 13

Nonviolent Creative Action Teams: Example from Chiapas, Mexico 15

Comparison by Five Characteristics 16

How can Nonviolent Protective Action be Encouraged? 20

*Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Commission on National Minorities
Soldiers and a Child* 21

Telling the Story in Solidarity 23

Teenagers in Kinshasa Choose Peace 25

Strengthening Unarmed Responses is a More Effective Protection 26

Quaker Peace Network Africa Organizes Election Observation Teams 27

Community-based 'Peace Committees' to Mediate Land Tenure Conflicts in Burundi 29

Observers from Project Muinda pour la Pax at the D. R. Congo's General Election in 2011 31

Appendices 32

Acknowledgements 42

About the Author 42

Bibliography 43

Preface

By Carl Stieren

For nearly four centuries, Quakers have actively followed the path of peace as a fundamental testimony. From George Fox in England in 1661 to Ursula Franklin and Murray Thomson in Toronto and Ottawa today, Friends have been advancing the practice of peace.

What to do during a war?

As individuals, as members of local Quaker Monthly Meetings, or coming together in larger units of Yearly Meetings, Quakers have acted for peace. Inspired by the peace testimony, American Quakers sent food to starving civilians in the Siege of Boston during America's Revolutionary War. British Quakers provided relief to civilians in towns devastated by the Franco-Prussian War in 1870. American Friends Service Committee sent postwar relief to Germany after World Wars I and II as well as to Japan and Poland. Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) sent medical aid to all sides during the Vietnam War. For their efforts, Quakers were given the Nobel Peace Prize in 1947.

As Nobel recipients, Quakers worldwide were able to start the Quaker UN Offices in New York and Geneva. These two offices have worked continuously through both quiet diplomacy and public campaigns since 1948.

In this publication, Gianne Broughton explains the theory and practice of four elements of peacebuilding that Quakers in Canada and elsewhere have used. One of them was a method that they helped to pioneer: sending trained peace teams to crisis areas. Murray Thomson, former Peace Education Secretary of CFSC, was one of the founders of Peace Brigades International in Canada in 1981. More recently, in 2002, 14 Quakers, including two Canadians - Lyn Adamson and I - were among the 141 delegates that founded Nonviolent Peaceforce.

How can we respond to the UN's "Responsibility to Protect" doctrine?

In 2005, UN member states agreed to their first statement on a doctrine called the Responsibility to Protect, which addressed the responsibility of each nation and the United Nations to protect civilians from "genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity." The first responses they approved were nonviolent ones.

But the text of this statement went on to say "we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council ... **should peaceful means be inadequate** and national authorities are manifestly failing to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity." "Collective action" means military force. The words "should peaceful means be inadequate" provide a positive opening. But peaceful means have not been tried, because until now, such means had not been invented or were not available on a large scale. That is not the case now, as you will see in this document. These peaceful means are here and should be tried.

Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC) is a standing committee of the national church body of Quakers, the Canadian Yearly Meeting.

Carl Stieren is a former Coordinator of Canadian Friends Service Committee and was one of the 141 founders of Nonviolent Peaceforce.

How Change Agents Prevented a Clash Between Soldiers and Civilians in D.R. Congo

As told to Gianne Broughton by a participant the next day

January 2010, D. R. Congo. In Uvira, a unit of the Congolese army was quartered upon the town, and abused some locals enough that some banded together to attack some of the soldiers. They caused some injuries and were able to flee, but the local police found some people that they said were the same ones, and held them at the police station, and the army prepared to invade the police station to execute them. The UN Peacekeepers stationed there withdrew to the safety of their compound. The population came out en masse to impede the army from carrying out the executions, and the population and the army came face to face in the street in front of the main hotel which was near the police station. Some Change Agents for Peace International (a Quaker organization) peaceworkers happened to be overnighing in that hotel on their way from a rural town to Bujumbura in neighbouring Burundi. Three middle-aged women: two Canadians and a Congolese. They heard the fracas from their windows. The Congolese woman went down and placed herself between the army and the population, and, by helping each side recognize its long-term interests, managed to convince the army to abandon the idea of execution, and the population to disperse, and the police to release the prisoners. The Canadians watched from the windows, cell phones in hand. But no emergency calls were needed.



Uvira on a calm day in November, 2005
Photo: Gianne Broughton

Introduction

Quakers in Canada and all over the world have been challenged by the massive human rights violations accompanying civil wars and internal crises since the end of the Cold War – often through direct and personal experience. What does our peace testimony have to say to these realities? The debate in the international community over the concept of “The Responsibility to Protect” and the acceptance in 2005 of some of its components by the UN General Assembly (see appendix) stimulated us to clarify our thinking.

Canadian Yearly Meeting, Britain Yearly Meeting and Switzerland Yearly Meeting have approved minutes (positions) that reject the concept of military intervention as a last resort, but welcome the concept of state sovereignty as a responsibility of the state to ensure the security of its citizens; along with a recommitment to strengthen nonviolent responses to conflicts (see appendix). Canadian Yearly Meeting asked CFSC to provide learning materials to strengthen Friends’ understanding of nonviolent methods for protecting vulnerable populations. In response, we have composed this paper which lays out what CFSC has learned to date about nonviolent intervention.



UN General Assembly hall
Photo: Stefan Disko

In every armed and deadly conflict situation there are people who work nonviolently to de-escalate the conflict and protect non-combatants. Building peace is an innate human potential, present in everyone. Nonviolent intervention involving outsiders, including the “international community,” also exists.

CFSC uses the term “peacebuilding” to denote activities undertaken at any time to build peace – not only after a peace accord has been signed. Most of the examples in this paper occur in the midst of armed and deadly conflict.

In 2005, UN member states agreed to three paragraphs about the Responsibility to Protect in the outcome document of the World Summit. Paragraph 139 begins by saying, “The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity.” Our purpose here is to expand the concept of “other peaceful means”.

This paper offers a framework of four components of peacebuilding, which we then use to describe six approaches to nonviolent protection, with real-life examples for each. We compare these approaches on the basis of five characteristics: (1) Primary level of interaction (Individual, Community, Political Arena), (2) Role of the Foreigner, (3) Role of Funding, (4) Other Distinguishing Features and (5) Quaker Connection. The whole field of peacebuilding includes other approaches. The examples we have included were chosen because one or more people in the network of organizations that work directly with CFSC have relevant knowledge and experience of them.

These examples of nonviolent protection lead us to ask “How can this sort of action be encouraged?” Some ideas are given in the final section.

Community-based Self-reliant Peacebuilding in Cambodia

By Robert Clarke of Ottawa Monthly Meeting

Since the fall of the Khmer Rouge regime in 1979 many communities in south-western Cambodia have been plagued by violence at the hands of marauding heavily armed bands. Some are former Khmer Rouge or government soldiers, some are affiliated with other political factions and some are just bandits. They arrive at villages seeking food, shelter or supplies. While villagers are not unwilling to share their very meager resources with these groups, their visits often result in fights erupting, weapons being fired and villagers dying.

In 1998, women of one village sought the help of several American Friends Service Committee (AFSC) peace workers after hearing that an AFSC project had helped people in a nearby village develop peaceful strategies to address some of their local problems. The staff of that project visited the village and asked the people to describe the violence they experience in their village. After talking it over among themselves for a number of days they decided they wanted to work on the violence that arose from the bands of “men with guns”. They decided that they would not permit the armed bands to bring guns into their village any longer. They could feed them, but the guns had to stay outside. But how were they going to enforce this rule? The women agreed that they would face the risks together and they prepared for the task ahead. They came to understand that they could overcome their fear by acting together, which would give them the power to make a change. So whenever an armed band approached, the women of the village went out to meet them. Unarmed, they formed a circle around the band. They told the men that they could come into the village and have some food, but that they had to leave their guns behind. And they did.



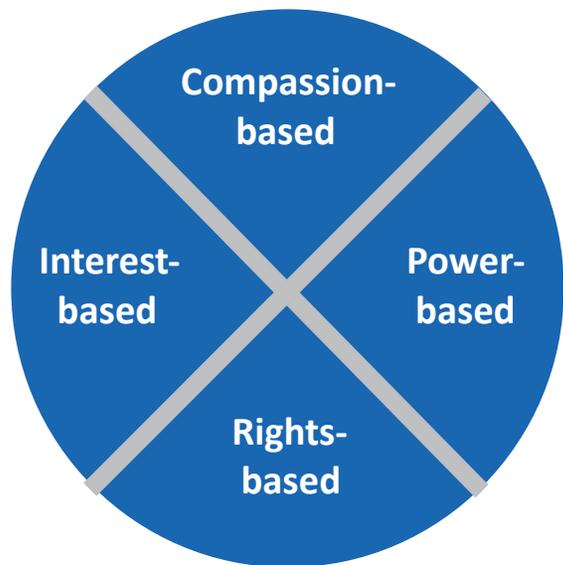
In 1998, in a forest village in Cambodia similar to this one, villagers considered nonviolent options for dealing with roving bands of armed men. The women of the village agreed to offer food to the bands if they left their guns outside the village. And the armed men agreed.

Photo: Susanne Goshko, taken in a village near Siam Reep on the way to Tonle Sap, Cambodia, 2012

Four Elements of Peacebuilding

The dispute resolution literature¹ identifies three kinds of work: power-based, rights-based, and interest-based. CFSC's experience accompanying Indigenous peoples in Canada and internationally, and community-based peacebuilders in Central Africa, southern Asia, and elsewhere, shows that, in the case of peacebuilding, there is a fourth type, which we have called "compassion-based". Since these types have built up historically within different fields of practice, their logical links may not be apparent. In fact, to fully recover from war or threat of war, a community needs all four – and so, they can be called "elements", and together these terms provide a "typology" of peacebuilding.

The four elements link together logically. **Power-based work** is the task of arresting and stopping the people who are doing the hurting. There is an element of coercion. There is nonviolent power-based work which uses nonviolent coercion, and there is the work of a just police using minimal physically hurtful force. Power-based work has to take place within a connected system that includes all four kinds of work.



Four elements of peacebuilding

Power-based work isolated (or separately directed) from the other three elements is damaging, if not actually war-making. Nonviolent coercion often involves people publicly suffering the hurts of injustice and thus appealing to the conscience and compassion of the people misusing power in an unjust system. Active nonviolence is based on a Gandhian analysis of power which recognizes a broad range of powers, many of which are available to those who have thought of themselves or been defined as "powerless". When we act in solidarity with communities that are using nonviolent coercion to address an unjust power structure, we are doing power-based work.

Rights-based work provides the accountability framework for the power-based action. Even nonviolent coercion has to be guided by human rights and related values, and often involves insisting that just laws or recognized rights be fully applied. The rights-based work also provides the trustable justice system to which the just police can deliver the people they have arrested. In order for their work to remain at minimal force, the people they are arresting have to believe that the justice system they face will treat them fairly, and maybe even help them start or continue a just life. Rights-based work is linked to the human faculty of conscience. When a human right is violated, our conscience is alerted. People's consciences are often engaged by encounters that arouse compassion. The work of being present in conflict situations and bearing witness is rights-based work. Much of CFSC's Quaker Aboriginal Affairs and Quakers Fostering Justice programmes is rights-based work. The 2010 "Justice is Possible" minute of Canadian Yearly Meeting draws additional connections between justice and compassion (see appendix).

¹ See, for instance, Stewart A. Mills (2003) *Empathising with the Enemy*, Master of Arts thesis, University of Sidney, Chapter 1 "Conflict Resolution Theory" available online at <http://palestineisraelresolutionscrt.blogspot.ca/>. The conventional definition of the power-based approach accepts violence and war as tools, and diplomacy as the only nonviolent tool. Peacebuilding practice supported by Quakers uses a Gandhian analysis of power.

Peacebuilding: Four Elements

Compassion



Interest



Power

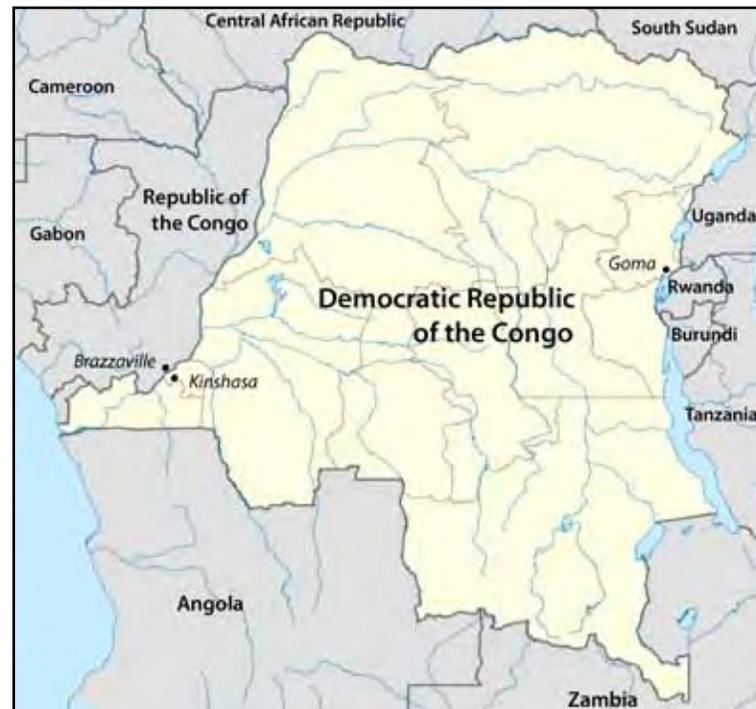


Rights



Interest-based work is where concrete agreements are mediated or negotiated. These agreements organize the community's daily life, and apply the principles promoted by the rights-based work. Diplomatic work that culminates in peace talks is mostly interest-based work. In order to be peacebuilding, interest-based work has to bring the opposing sides to recognize common interests. Sometimes nonviolent coercion or applications of a justice system are required in order to bring recalcitrant parties to negotiate. Mediation is interest-based work. To be peacebuilding, the negotiated or mediated result has to be sincerely “win-win”, and often needs a compassion-based step to reach final closure.

Compassion based work is what changes hearts. When we are in conflict, even if the conflict hasn't become deadly, our hearts are changed. They have to change again for new peaceful, respectful relations to be born and grow. Sometimes a change in heart can motivate people to negotiate in good faith, or to recognize rights or abide by just laws, reducing the need for power-based work. Nonviolent direct actions, even those which seek to force a stop to something, are often designed to appeal to human compassion, in order to open up a new opportunity for dialogue. Along with encounter and dialogue programs, trauma healing and healing of memories are compassion-based work.



Several of our Peacebuilding in Action stories take place in Central Africa.
Map: Wikimedia Commons / **Text:** Carl Stieren

Preventing Violence Through Training in Goma, D.R. Congo

*From a 2011 project report by Bridget Butt of
Change Agents for Peace International*

Levy Munyemana, Congolese Quaker leader of the Jeunes Artisans de la Paix (JAP), was visiting a displaced persons camp in Goma, North Kivu, Congo, where the camp director, Omer Kabelu, said peace training is the most urgent need. Humanitarian aid efforts have been seriously hampered by conflicts between camp dwellers, threats directed to elected camp leaders, and violence by groups of youth. JAP's plans for intensive Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) training delighted Omer, and he has requested that the UN High Commission on Refugees implement programs like this. The young people of JAP, many of whom are former child soldiers or abductees, are from the same part of the province as the refugees, and would have been subject to the same risks in the camps if the local Congolese Quaker meetings, assisted by CFSC and Ottawa Monthly Meeting, had not taken them in to live with them in their homes.



*JAP leads a training session in Goma.
Photo: Bridgit Butt*

Examples of Effective Nonviolent Protection Approaches

Some of these examples could be called “intervention” because foreigners have a role. Others are initiated and carried out by local people, but not the less effective or important.

- 1) Multi-party Off-the-Record Dialogue Leading to Cease-fire Agreement.** This is the keystone of the method practiced by Johan Galtung and his organization, Transcend, as an example. The multi-party dialogue is primarily an interest-based activity, but its success in this case is based on bringing every party to respect the rights of the others, and on compassion that recognizes the injuries of every party. Power-based incentives and consequences may be included in the cease-fire agreement. Multi-party dialogues that are not conducted as the project of a particular external country have the advantage of not raising suspicions of being manipulated in favour of the interests of that external country.
- 2) International Accompaniment of Local Nonviolent Change Workers.** Peace Brigades International (PBI) is the organization we are most familiar with that uses this strategy. Volunteers from powerful countries accompany local civil society leaders who are working nonviolently for social justice, usually through the promotion of human rights and the insistence upon justice. The volunteers use their position of privilege as protection for locals, upon request from local people, and they give testimony in strategic places to what they have witnessed. Their presence gives the local civil society workers more safe space for carrying out their work, increasing the kinds of nonviolent actions they can take. This strategic method is primarily rights-based. Their work is grounded in their local partners’ analysis of the power relationships relevant to their peacebuilding work, and they choose actions that empower them, which may include power-based work. The advocacy that PBI does in privileged countries (like Canada) is in solidarity with that power-based work. Compassion is the motivator for the accompaniers.
- 3) Nonviolent Peaceforce.** This approach is an amplification of the approach of number (2). Typically, teams of about 50 people, 25 people from all parts of the world and about 25 local people, work in a particular location to widen the safe space for nonviolent action. They engage international awareness using information nights and urgent action notices. They model cross-cultural and cross-gender co-operation. They model de-escalation and violence reduction by compassionately negotiating through difficult situations. Such a close mixture of compassion-based work and interest-based work could be called “relationship-based”. The teams are in place for a relatively long time, and their effectiveness depends upon the breadth and quality of the relationships they build.



Alternatives to Violence participants in Burundi role-play a conflict and its resolution in 2006.

Photo: Gianne Broughton

Quick Response by Nonviolent Peaceforce Team Ensures Safety of Hundreds of Civilians

By Kim Vetting, Nonviolent Peaceforce

A joint security operation by the Armed Forces of the Philippines and the Philippine National Police to counter the presence of an armed group, allegedly members of the MILF, in Payao, Zamboanga Sibugay (North-western Mindanao) led to the displacement of 1,273 families in October 2011. The quick response to this situation by NP and its partners provided direct protection to these families and enabled them all to return to their communities. Since then, there have been no renewed hostilities between the armed actors in this area.

In response to the fire-fights which lasted 15 days, NP along with local partners and in coordination with the cease-fire mechanism immediately conducted numerous visits to the affected areas, provided protective accompaniment for displaced persons, carried out needs assessments for the displaced communities, and shared information with national and international humanitarian organizations. The team also engaged the armed actors directly to remind them of their obligations to protect civilians while conducting combat operations.

Nonviolent Peaceforce deployed 21 National and International Civilian Protection Monitors as part of the Civilian Protection Component (CPC) of the International Monitoring Team. These Civilian Protection Monitors are mandated to monitor, verify and report on the compliance and non-compliance of the parties to the conflict, the Government of the Republic of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), on their commitments to civilian protection.

<http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/quick-response-np-team-ensures-safety-hundreds-civilians>



Nonviolent Peaceforce monitors visit displaced people in Northwestern Mindanao.

Photo: Nonviolent Peaceforce

- 4) **Personal Transformation Encounter Workshops.** Quakers have been much involved in the development of the Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP), an example of this approach. In AVP workshops, participants from different sides of a community division are invited to learn together about alternative responses, through very experiential exercises that invite them to reflect upon their personal responses. Equipped with skills learned through the exercises, people develop a personal commitment to searching for nonviolent responses to conflict. They also develop a strong sense of trust with the other participants thus providing a good foundation for collaborating to solve community problems. Healing and Rebuilding our Communities workshops (another program) in Burundi use a similar method: they invite participants to reflect on their traumatic experiences and learn about healing responses that can help them recover. Again, participants are from the different sides of community divisions and one of the most important things they learn is that people who have been thought of as “perpetrators” have been hurt as well. In a spirit of reconciliation, the people from the different sides can help each other heal. Before the end of a workshop, the group chooses a constructive project to realize together. These approaches are primarily compassion-based. They can have immediate protection effects, because participants can recognize the seeds of violence in a situation, and by responding compassionately, prevent a riot or a reprisal.
- 5) **Nonviolent Creative Action Teams.** Turning the Tide, a project of Quaker Peace and Social Witness in the UK, as well as Christian and Muslim Peacemaker Teams are examples of this approach. Groups with a common concern learn together about how to plan and conduct a nonviolent campaign with a particular goal. Different types of actions - such as compassionate, humorous, informative, demonstrative, or nonviolent direct action - are used to bring about a new opportunity for negotiation or application of just laws. A team of outsiders, as “interveners”, only acts at the invitation and in collaboration with at least one local organization. The approach can also be used by local people organizing their own nonviolent campaign. In the four-part typology, this approach is more power-based than most of the others in this paper.
- 6) **Regional Intergovernmental Human Rights or Human Security Commissions.** In recent decades, countries have begun to gather into regional groupings, such as the European Union (EU), the African Union (AU), and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), in order to create a number of mutual advantages. Compliance with human rights norms can be a requirement for membership, and a commission can be formed to help member states to form and implement policies that protect human rights and maintain their compliance. The commission can also have the role of recommending that a state’s membership be suspended if they are found to be unwilling to comply. The primary technique that such a commission has at its disposal is “good offices”, a term from the vocabulary of diplomacy. “Good offices” is very much like “multi-party dialogue”. The commissioners stay in very close touch with a wide range of people in each member country, and facilitate the development of consensus about how minority populations and majority populations can accept and implement a local legal and policy framework that protects everybody. In West Africa, the early warning and early response system of the 15-member Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) reflects a partnership between the intergovernmental body and a civil society network with an emphasis on human security. This is primarily rights-based work, though the background threat of suspension is a power-based sanction.

Nonviolent Creative Action Teams: Example from Chiapas, Mexico

By Esther Kern of CPT

During the Zapatista uprising in Mexico in 1994, Christian Peacemaker Teams (CPT) concluded that the presence of international and national nonviolent observers could have a significant impact in deterring violence on the part of the Mexican army. In Chiapas, CPT was there to act in solidarity with the Abejas, who were a group who shared the objectives of the Zapatistas but who, unlike the Zapatistas, used nonviolent methods. The actions of CPT in this context served to reinforce the nonviolent efforts of Abejas and to connect them with a worldwide nonviolent movement. Since Abejas' primary concern in Chiapas was militarization, CPT worked to encourage soldiers to lay down their weapons.



Christian Peacemaker Teams worked to deter violence by the Mexican army during the Zapatista revolt in the state of Chiapas in 1994.

Map: Carl Stieren

Comparison by Five Characteristics

In this section, we analyze each of the six examples by five characteristics: (1) Main level of interaction (Individual, Community, Political Arena), (2) Role of the Foreigner, (3) Role of Funding, (4) Other Distinguishing Features and (5) Quaker Connection

1) Multi-party off-the-record dialogue leading to cease-fire agreement

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Main level of interaction | Political Arena (in the sense that the participants are political leaders, but the context is off-the-record). Sometimes there is some connection to community level. |
| Role of the Foreigner | Dialogue facilitator, mediator, confidential counsellor. |
| Role of Funding | Funding pays salary of mediation team, research costs. Funding source has to be credible to all sides, that is, not raise suspicions of hidden agendas. |
| Other Distinguishing Features | Deep multi-disciplinary study of the history of the conflict. |
| Quaker Connection | Adam Curle, British Friend, was one of the pioneers for this kind of practice, mediating during the Nigerian civil war in the early 1960s. |

2) International Accompaniment of Local Nonviolent Change Workers

| | |
|---------------------------|---|
| Main level of interaction | Community and Political Arena - Consensus decision-making among the group of volunteers, an important individual level of peacebuilding experience. |
| Role of the Foreigner | Peace Brigades International (PBI) provides more direct accompaniment of civil society leaders or human rights defenders., explicitly in violent contexts. Use privilege as protection for locals, upon request from local people. PBI has a peace education component which is elicitive, following the work of Jean Paul Lederach. PBI becomes involved only at invitation of local human rights defenders. The respectful decision-making relationship with those human-rights defenders is central to their method. Each PBI local team develops their model, which contains some universality and some specificity. Experience has taught that it is important not to become a status symbol or a crutch, but to work for local self-reliant capacity. The foreigner has a role beyond volunteering in the field – the political media and policy campaign work in their own country is a required role which strengthens the security and role of the volunteer in the field and of the human rights defenders. |

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Role of Funding | No single funder is a majority funder of any compartment of the work. This work is difficult to sell to government sources. PBI screens funders on ethical criteria. They frame their fundraising within a political analysis. Funds support the teams in the field and the offices in “donor countries”. Since PBI is not involved in the work that the local human rights defenders do, they do not fund that work. The focus is to create space for them to work. |
| Other Distinguishing Features | PBI practices include: consensus decision-making; international mix in all teams; not local nationality; 25 years old or older (need for a good level of life experience); diversity is a resource; only accompany civilian non-governmental organizations; don't accompany people who have armed guards – need separation from that as unarmed civilians (they may network with such organizations). Training of prospective team members is a major element. |
| Quaker Connection | In the case of PBI, a high proportion of participants have been Quakers, and Quakers were involved in the founding of PBI. Quakers are willing to walk the walk and to bring others in and to persevere, and then let go when our usefulness passes. |

3) Nonviolent Peaceforce (NP)

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Main level of interaction | Community – creating space for civil society to work for nonviolent change. For example, in Sri Lanka from 2003 to 2011, Nonviolent Peaceforce was accompanying local organizations with a team of 55 (29 Sri Lankans and 28 visitors) and engaging international awareness using information nights and urgent action notices. Space for mass action. |
| Role of the Foreigner | Unarmed peacekeepers. Building towards a reserve pool of thousands of people. International teams pool the “privilege-based protection” element of PBI. They model cross-cultural and cross-gender co-operation. They model de-escalation and violence reduction. They are in place for a long time. |
| Role of Funding | Team members are paid a salary. The goal is to develop peacebuilding as a career option. |
| Other Distinguishing Features | Does include local nationals in teams. Training of prospective team members is a major element. |
| Quaker Connection | 10% of participants at the convening event of NP were Quakers. |

4) Personal Transformation Encounter Workshops

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Main level of interaction | Individual mostly and some community (inclusive; intentionally distant from politics). |
| Role of the Foreigner | Catalyst/ Facilitator/ Animator/ Organizer – Has these attitudes: is curious; transformation is possible; encourages individual empowerment; creates safe space; models guidelines for interaction; models analysis of conflict and violence. Is always on a team that includes a range of experience and skill. Some are more like trainers with an aim to hand over a proven model for local implementation. Some are more like consultants building a workshop methodology with local people. In general, the methodology provides a safe space for individual awareness of one's own power to respond alternatively. Facilitation and communication skills are taught. In the case of Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP), there is an on-going debate among practitioners about how much to adapt the proportion of experiential methods to lecture-style methods in order to accommodate local cultural norms. |
| Role of Funding | Provide the logistics of the workshop and lower financial barriers to participation. |
| Other Distinguishing Features | Challenge – how to transfer the learning from and experience of the workshop beyond the workshop. |
| Quaker Connection | Principles are rooted in Quaker testimony and theology. “Quakerism with the God talk washed out”, i.e., inclusive language. Quakers bring strengths to AVP because of our history of empowering and nonviolent practice. |

5) Nonviolent Creative Action Teams

| | |
|---------------------------|--|
| Main level of interaction | <p>The purpose is to create a bridge between the community and the political arena, to organize community action that stimulates a new political negotiation.</p> <p>Turning the Tide, a project of Quaker Peace and Social Witness in the UK, as well as Christian and Muslim Peacemaker Teams are examples of this approach.</p> |
| Role of the Foreigner | To add their strength to local nonviolent campaigns and share experience with the local nonviolent campaigners, taking direction and guidance from them. To bring in the element of international witness and connection with the international media, and organize supportive nonviolent action in their own country, including their own publications. |
| Role of Funding | To pay for the travel and living expenses of the intervention team, cover costs of maintaining a coordinating office and its personnel, and costs of training their teams. |

| | |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Other Distinguishing Features | <p>Training of prospective team members is a major element, especially in the methods of nonviolent direct action, including coercive action.</p> <p>Christian Peacemaker Teams very clearly identify themselves as a faith-based organization, and affirm that “the last resort for Jesus was self-sacrifice”. As followers of Jesus in faithful obedience, they also believe that they must be ready to make that ultimate sacrifice. Notwithstanding this obedience to the model set by Jesus, they minimize “God language” in their communications, and use “inclusive language”, somewhat in the way Alternatives to Violence Project does. A CPT coordinator said, “So many people have been ‘abused’ with the God languages, especially the Aboriginal communities with whom we relate.”</p> |
| Quaker Connection | Friends are one of the founding churches of Christian Peacemaker Teams, and founded Turning the Tide. |

6) Regional Intergovernmental Human Rights or Human Security Commissions

| | |
|-------------------------------|--|
| Main level of interaction | Political Arena, with some connection to community level. |
| Role of the Foreigner | Diplomat representing an intergovernmental body, not a particular state. Neutral resource person who also scrutinizes compliance. |
| Role of Funding | Funded by dues from all member states. Workers are salaried professionals |
| Other Distinguishing Features | |
| Quaker Connection | Another term for “good offices” is “quiet diplomacy”, a method that Quakers actively use in different forums, particularly within the United Nations system. |

How can Nonviolent Protective Action be Encouraged?

From January to April 2008, two Ottawa University students conducted a literature review to discover what has been documented on experience of nonviolent action for protecting vulnerable populations. They found that there was surprisingly little literature to review. (The bibliography of their literature review is in the appendix.) There was a need for frameworks for studying this question. Their work did uncover some indications for how nonviolent responses can be strengthened. In particular:

- In order for policies that promote nonviolent responses to be created, the peacebuilding experience needs to be more visible and better understood among non-practitioners in the policy-making network, which could be a goal for collaborations between practitioner/activists and researchers.
- Linking different types of action together can lead to a more effective strategy.
- Organizations doing this work are relatively isolated from each other, and could benefit from more collaboration and co-ordination.
- Practitioner or activist organizations could invite more involvement from researchers, and vice versa.

I have observed that experience stories are very powerful. Several of the individual and community-level methodologies listed above use experience-sharing as the primary learning mode. The Alliance for Self-Reliant Peacebuilding, working in Cambodia, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka, is collecting experience stories from individuals and publishing them. Sometimes print or visual media sharing can be as helpful as face-to-face sharing, and the internet offers new opportunities for distribution (though when books can be published at reasonable cost in local languages, they can be very accessible). Human beings learn by imitation, so we need to multiply the telling of the stories of nonviolent courageous action so that they can be imitated.

In 2008, a Special Adviser to the Secretary-General on the Responsibility to Protect was appointed, and the Quaker UN Office in New York arranged for me to meet with one of his researchers. I offered him this observation about learning by imitation of experience. Others must have echoed this, for the resulting report, “Implementing the Responsibility to Protect” (2009, UN Doc. A/63/677), includes the following paragraphs (bold characters are in the original):

“26. In all of the discussions of global, regional and national institutions, care should be taken not to lose sight of the individual victims and survivors of such crimes. They need to be supported and encouraged to tell their stories candidly and fully, without fear of retribution or stigmatization. In that regard, women’s non-governmental organizations have often played a critical role in engaging and assisting survivors of systematic sexual violence. They deserve our full support.

Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) Commission on National Minorities

By Alan Pleydell of Quaker Peace and Social Witness, UK

By dint of their membership in the OSCE, Max van der Stoep, the OSCE High Commissioner on National Minorities, was able to negotiate with many governments (the Baltic States, Hungary, Slovakia and Romania) on improving their relationships with minority ethnic and linguistic populations – and equally to negotiate with the representatives of the populations themselves. These were new governments which had attempted draconian nationalist legislation seeking to throw off the yoke of former oppressors, in the form of harshly restrictive and inherently discriminatory nationality and language laws. Through van der Stoep's good offices, these were gradually replaced by legislative accommodation to the reality of more than one culture and language. It involved relaxation of the respective governments' stance, and also the corresponding relaxation of their less realistic demands for secession, irredentism or greater independence on the part of the new minorities, averting crisis. The essence of Van der Stoep's capacity to do this was the skilled application of "good offices": being repeatedly and at length in touch with all parties from an early stage, working behind closed doors, acknowledging the reality of their insecurities, and talking with each of them about the enduring reality of the others' positions in order to create and establish a basis for exchange. It also involved having something desirable and credible to offer – continued and increasing membership of the "European club" (from OSCE towards NATO, the EU) for the potentially abusive authoritarian/majority government, and a guaranteed reduction of threat to their security and welfare and full access to the benefits of citizenship to the minority populations.



OSCE Office in Kazakhstan. This watchdog organization protects minority and linguistic rights across Europe.

Photo: Jeremy E. Meyer

“27. Similarly, one of the keys to preventing small crimes from becoming large ones, as well as to ending such affronts to human dignity altogether, is to foster individual responsibility. Even in the worst genocide, there are ordinary people who refuse to be complicit in the collective evil, who display the values, the independence and the will to say no to those who would plunge their societies into cauldrons of cruelty, injustice, hatred and violence. We need to do more to recognize their courage and to learn from their actions. States that have suffered such traumas, civil society and international organizations can facilitate the development of national and transnational networks of survivors, so that their stories and lessons can be more widely heard, thus helping to prevent their reoccurrence or repetition elsewhere.”

Reviewing the strategies described in the earlier sections of this paper, we observe that nonviolent interventions to protect vulnerable populations build upon this individual courage to organize collective action.

The overall strategy presented in the report “stresses the value of prevention and, when it fails, of early and flexible response tailored to the specific circumstances of each case.” The strategy has three pillars: (1) the protection responsibilities of the state; (2) international assistance and capacity-building; and (3) timely and decisive response. This stress on prevention and capacity building is welcome, and the framework presented in this paper may assist in fulfilling the responsibility to prevent as well as the responsibility to react. In 2013, Nonviolent Peaceforce continues to promote “nonviolent civilian peacekeeping” at the UN, and is reaching increasingly higher levels of policy-makers.

There could be a positive connection between regional human rights commissions (the approach in Table 6) and the community-based work that is so prevalent among the types presented in this paper. The community-based work provides the activities through which states can build and maintain their positive status with such a commission, in addition to enacting the necessary legal and policy framework. This kind of support for the development of nonviolent protection could make a difference in “successful” states as much as “failing” ones. When I was in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania in July 2006, there was a battle between rival gangs in a rough neighbourhood. Twenty-three people were injured and a few died. That is more violence than was reported in Bujumbura, Burundi, in the same month, but the US Embassy’s advice to travellers was that Bujumbura was too dangerous to visit. If a state had agreed to comply with prevention standards overseen by a regional commission, it might need a department that organizes the preventive activities. The Department of Peace Initiative is studying how such a preventive department could be structured. But the commission would need to remain in touch with non-governmental organizations, because the experience of the people who actually live with each state’s system is a source of truth in the matter.

The world has inherited a system of international relations based on conceptions of national interest and competition that Machiavelli observed and expressed. What we need is a system of international community-builders, people who do social work between nations, building cooperative relationships, and are accountable for their actions, that is, compassion-based and rights-based work. Carne Ross’ *Independent Diplomat: Dispatches from an Unaccountable Elite*¹ describes the dysfunction of the current mind-set and proposes the antidote. The staff of the Quaker UN Offices work as community-builders within the diplomatic community, as I am sure the staff of other faith-based and NGO offices at the UN do. There is much experience to build upon.

¹ Ross, Carne (2007) *Independent Diplomat: Dispatches from an Unaccountable Elite*, London: Hurst & co. ISBN:9780801445576

Soldiers and a Child

By Esther Kern of Christian Peacemaker Teams, from her experience in July 2007

The screams of a young child wafted in through the office windows of the CPT apartment in Hebron. Looking out the window we saw six fully armed Israeli soldiers surrounding a terrified, crying, eleven year-old boy and leading him down the street. We rushed downstairs to confront the soldiers and remind them they cannot detain children under the age of thirteen. While my colleague talked to the soldiers, I summoned a CPT Palestinian female friend who quickly came and comforted the lad and talked to the soldiers as well. They left - without the young boy. Nonviolent confrontation had been effective once again.

Telling the Story in Solidarity

By Esther Kern of Christian Peacemaker Teams, from her experience in July 2007

The phone rang early one morning in the CPT office. It was the frantic voice of Atta Jaber, telling us that two bulldozers, accompanied by about a dozen Israeli soldiers, had just arrived in their community outside of Al Khalil, to start demolishing two homes. An order for demolition had been delivered sometime before, an order which the home owners were challenging through the Israeli High Court. In spite of the protests of the community members, the bulldozer operators insisted they had their orders and proceeded to reduce the two structures to a pile of rubble and dust. The community gathered to watch in horrified silence, among them, many terrified children. Once the demolition was complete, I asked Atta, a community leader, "What would you like me to tell our community at home in Canada?" He seated himself on a pile of rubble and said "Take my photograph, show it to your people, and tell my story." I just did.



Atta Jaber: "Tell my story."
Photo: Christian Peacemaker Teams

We are very encouraged that the World Council of Churches has issued an “Ecumenical Call to Just Peace”¹. That the Churches have come to consensus on “the affirmation that war can no longer be considered an act of justice” is a wondrous and joyous thing. In this call, the World Council of Churches has offered a new vision to replace the formerly widely held “Just War” theory, upon which the military intervention element of Responsibility to Protect was based. The *Just Peace Companion*² asserts:

“However, the vision of Just Peace as suggested here reaches beyond the effort of reconciling the tension between ‘pacifism’ and the theory of ‘just war’. It stands for a fundamental shift of paradigm and a transformed ethical discourse that does not start from war in order to move to peace, but focuses attention on the praxis of nonviolent, peaceful resolution of conflict. In their commitment to the vision of Just Peace Christians and churches must, therefore, face ‘the challenge to give up any theological or other justification of the use of military power and to become a *koinonia*³ dedicated to the pursuit of a just peace.’ ”

All four types of peacebuilding work appear among the examples of community-based nonviolent action that are presented in the Just Peace Companion. It also calls on congregations to learn the skills of peace. Such a global network will surely develop and spread the use of nonviolent intervention.

¹ World Council of Churches, *An Ecumenical Call to Just Peace*. Geneva, 2011. http://www.overcomingviolence.org/fileadmin/dov/files/iepc/resources/ECJustPeace_English.pdf

² World Council of Churches, *Just Peace Companion*. Geneva, 2011. P 44. [http://www2.wcc-coe.org/uploads.nsf/index/just_peace_companion/\\$FILE/JustPeaceCompanion_draft_18Apr.pdf](http://www2.wcc-coe.org/uploads.nsf/index/just_peace_companion/$FILE/JustPeaceCompanion_draft_18Apr.pdf)

³ Definition from the Free Webster Dictionary (www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/): intimate spiritual communion and participative sharing in a common religious commitment and spiritual community.

Teenagers in Kinshasa Choose Peace

As told to Gianne Broughton by the Lemba Peace Cell Members

While visiting Project Muinda in Kinshasa, D. R. Congo, in February 2011, Gianne Broughton, staff of Canadian Friends Service Committee, heard a heartening story. It began in 2003 when members of the Peace Cell in Lemba neighbourhood noticed that teenagers who lived on one side of the main road were afraid of those living on the other side, and vice versa. A culture of violent intimidation was building up, and the Peace Cell members were concerned that it could degenerate into armed banditry, locally known as “kuluna”. They realized that they could turn this trend around. The five of them met together and discussed what they could do. They decided to visit the parents of the teenagers and listen to their concerns and suggestions. They also conversed with the young people when they met them here and there. They met and listened and counseled people informally for several weeks. The young people began to think about how they could enjoy friendly activities. Then, when they knew that people would come, the Peace Cell members invited the families from both sides to a party. Everybody came, all ages, men and women, boys and girls. There were refreshments, music and dancing. There was also an open floor for speakers. People from each side recognized the same difficulties of life in Kinshasa, and realized that they could still enjoy it better in friendship than in hostility. To this day, the former hostility has not come back, and people join together from time to time to do constructive things, like cleaning up the litter and filling in potholes.



Members of the Lemba Peace Cell recall how they helped teenagers in their neighbourhood turn away from violence.

Photo: Gianne Broughton

Strengthening Unarmed Responses is a More Effective Protection

In 2005, when I first visited North Kivu Quakers, in Goma, D.R. Congo, I asked them about Responsibility to Protect. “Should international law be changed to allow the international community to send in soldiers as a last resort to protect civilians from crimes like the genocide?” I asked. Their answers were, “If the international community abided by the declaration of human rights, there would be no crimes like that.” “The UN peacekeeping mission has been here for two years, and they have not been able to stop village massacres and mass rapes.” “Debating about changing international law is a distraction from doing the things that really need to be done.”

At the time, I did not really understand what “things really needed to be done.” Now I am beginning to identify concrete, practical things that the international community really needs to do.

In 2005, the Quaker peacebuilding organizations of Central Africa mobilized a large number of local election observers and did a lot of public democracy education. The UN and International NGOs were working hard to help Congo carry off a credible election. But the promise of better governance and peace never materialized. In late 2010, a book that explained why was published by Séverine Autesserre, *The Trouble with the Congo*.¹ Her key point, backed up by exhaustive research, was that the UN and key Western countries based their objective of a credible election upon a false narrative that denied the on-going conflicts and also defined themselves as incapable of addressing the community based conflicts over land that underlie the various armed rebellions.

Essentially, Autesserre explains, during the Belgian regime and the Mobutu period (the first nine-tenths of the twentieth century) the colonial and dictatorial governments created conflicts between populations in order to control them. For instance, when the Belgians couldn't get local South Kivu people to work on their plantations, they imported Rwandans as indentured workers. The South Kivu people had enough clout at that time to insist that these incomers would not be allowed to own land. But a generation or so later, the plantation economy collapsed, and the Belgians were able to dispossess some of those South Kivu people of land and grant that land to the descendants of the Rwandans. Then independence came, and the elected prime minister was assassinated, and the dictator Mobutu Sese Seko, was supported by the West to deny the Congo to their cold-war rival. Mobutu played these two populations (the original South Kivu people and the incomers) off against one another, sometimes granting land rights to one, and sometimes to the other, or to segments of one or the other. In a barely-industrialized place, access to land is access to food. Land is life. A more effective formula to create deep-rooted ethnic-associated conflict can hardly be imagined. Mobutu repeated this formula in many parts of this huge, diverse country, compounding the damage by not developing a reliable system of travel or communication, so that each community remained isolated from help.

Mobutu was overthrown as a result of armed rebellions begun in 1994 and supported by foreign troops from Rwanda and Uganda. In opposition, Mobutu invited armed support from Zimbabwe and Angola.

¹ Autesserre, Séverine (2010) *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations (No. 115). ISBN:9780521156011. Notably chapter 3 and pages 183-186.

Quaker Peace Network Africa Organizes Election Observation Teams

By Gianne Broughton

In 2005, I was working for American Friends Service Committee as Interim Quaker International Affairs Representative for Central Africa. The Quaker Peace Network Africa had been formed by local Quaker peace organizations several years earlier, and they had begun training election observation teams in 2004. My pre-conception of election observers was UN-trained intellectuals, in large numbers, from many countries, visiting many polling stations. I did not understand why the African Quakers thought that election observation was worth their while. Then I observed a three-day training session for local election observers in Burundi, and it all came clear to me. An election is a “teachable moment”. The whole community is thinking about political questions and the future of their country. By inviting people from all walks of life, and from different ethnic backgrounds to learn together about democratic procedures, the peace organizations created a context for sharing conflict resolution skills. Also, the participants could readily see the practicality of those skills. One of the trainers told me a wonderful story. A couple of weeks after they had done an observation training workshop in a small town, a candidate had come and addressed the people in the marketplace. The candidate had started to cast ethnic slurs on an opposing party’s candidate. The people in the audience started to shout. “We won’t listen to that kind of talk!” “That’s not the way a democratic politician should talk!” They made so much noise that the candidate’s amplification system was drowned out!



Election Observation Training in Gitega, Burundi, July 2005
Photo: Gianne Broughton

What the Congo needed, after the foreign troops were withdrawn and a peace accord was signed by the Congolese belligerents in 2002, was international help to establish a land-tenure conflict resolution process that would patiently and transparently work through each case to the satisfaction of all sides. This need was communicated to the UN authorities, but ignored. Instead, in 2005, the Congolese got an election in the midst of massacres and mass rapes perpetrated by a complex of non-state armed groups. No land claims resolution process was attempted after the election.

The UN made some attempts at dealing with the material basis of the armed conflict. There was an Expert Panel that identified companies that were complicit in the exchange of minerals for arms, but the panel's recommendations were barely implemented. There was an international arms embargo agreement, insisting that the elected government would be the only legitimate destination for arms sales, and that all sales would be properly monitored, but both the US and China were found to have delivered arms that were never accounted for.¹

The peacekeeping mission was often unprepared, unable to develop useful community-based peacebuilding relationships. At one consultation meeting between the mission and local community spokespeople in Goma, the Quaker peace workers who happened to be present had to mediate to prevent fisticuffs. The dramatic events in Uvira that are recounted on page 5 took place during this period.

In this manner, the mandate of the credibly elected president was wasted without the root conflicts being addressed at all. Eighteen months before the legal end of his mandate, President Kabila's majority in the national assembly started to stack the electoral process in his favour. They changed the constitution to allow for a single-round presidential election, instead of the two-round process which would have allowed the supporters of several alternative candidates to line up behind one or the other of the two strongest. The courts to adjudicate claims of malpractice were not established. The Independent Electoral Commission was headed by partisans of the president and not launched or equipped until late. The budget was not approved or released on schedule. During all this period, the international community raised only small noises. When people were falsely arrested to intimidate them from their legal activities in support of opposition candidates, the UN monitor reported it, but only asked that the practice stop. He did not insist that the wronged-against be recompensed or the people responsible be dismissed.²

In early February 2011, eight months before that year's national election, I attended a consultation with Roger Meece, the head of the UN mission (called "MONUSCO"³). I was surprised to learn that there had been some anxiety about whether the Kabila regime would continue to accept the presence of the mission. The members of the mission considered their continued presence in itself to be an accomplishment. It did not seem to me that the UN's attitude towards the sovereignty of the Congo was affected by the regime's manifest failure to prevent armed conflict or to protect civilians.

In November 2011, CFSC had five Canadians accompanying the 100 local people organized by the Kinshasa Quakers to monitor the elections. The climate of fear was high. The actual casting of votes, counting, and posting results outside the polling stations was quite faithfully done. But the Electoral Commission did not collect the results transparently or with any due care for the procedures and safety of the materials. The population overcame obstacles that would have discouraged most Canadians in order to get to the polling stations and vote, but the Electoral Commission betrayed that good will. There was an increase in peaceful protest in Kinshasa after the election, and also, an increase in repression of civil liberties. A new armed rebellion appeared in North Kivu, resulting in mass displacements of populations.

¹ *Final report of the Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Security Council S/2008/43, 13 February 2008.*

² *See for example MONUSCO Press Release, Kinshasa 06 Sept. 2011, "MONUSCO calls for constructive dialogue to promote peaceful elections," and Kinshasa 08 Nov. 2011, "MONUSCO urges Congolese political leaders to restrain from incitement to violence."*

³ <http://monusco.unmissions.org/>

Community-based 'Peace Committees' to Mediate Land Tenure Conflicts in Burundi

As told by Dieudonné Kibinakanwa to Gianne Broughton

In Burundi, successive cycles of ethnic-identified massacres have led to community-based disputes over much of the rural land. Members of one ethnic group would flee during a period of massacre, and members of the other would come and occupy the land. Then the descendants of the refugees would return and claim the land. The documentary evidence of ownership is often in doubt. In 2006, the Friends Church in Burundi, primarily through an organization called Mission pour la Paix et Reconciliation sous la Croix (MiPaReC), began to join with other churches and the Muslim communities to form and train rural neighbourhood peace committees with representation from different elements of the local community. Among other functions, the peace committees mediate between the claimants of a piece of land, and arrive at a satisfactory arrangement. Sometimes the land is divided. Sometimes one family stays on the land and provides a dowry portion for the other family. Different accommodations arise according to the particulars of the situation. The peace committee mediators help both sides to become aware that neither is guilty for the situation, because the overall conflicts of the past were beyond their control. Also, that the conflict over the land is a burden in the lives of both families, and that both families need the substance of life. So both sides surrender some of their claim, and both sides get some benefit in every solution. Once the arrangement is worked out with the mediators, the details are legalized with the municipal authorities, and there is a community ceremony to publicly clear the air and put the conflict behind them.



The presidents of the Peace Committees of one region of Burundi take a minute off from their meeting for sharing experiences to have their picture taken.

Photo: Dieudonné Kibinakanwa

Now, if the international community is willing to think about sending in military troops to “protect” in cases where a government is “unable or unwilling”, why can’t it consider setting up a land claims commission? That would be a sovereignty-overriding intervention to some purpose. Or, in the wake of the voting, why not set up a commission to retrieve what election result materials were available and determine whether a fair result could be obtained or whether a new election would be necessary? Given that the signs of an attempt to steal the election were clear well in advance, why was the international community so unprepared to respond to its eventuality?

Within the framework of state-based membership that is the foundation of the UN, outside intervention, whether military or nonviolent, is very difficult. Within that framework, interventions that actually build peace can barely be practical. R2P cannot deliver what it promises. There is a widely-held assumption that armed intervention is less complicated and has a high likelihood of success. In fact, massive human rights violations, like genocide and the mass rapes that have become a common resort of armed groups, are fueled by conflict at the community base. They require community-based solutions, which are not the province of externally organized “peacekeeping forces” or “intervention forces”. In the face of UN failures, it is encouraging to note that community-based peace work can address land-tenure conflicts. An example from Burundi is given on page 29.

So, Quakers in Goma were right. Debating whether there is ever a justification for armed intervention is a waste of time. When resorted to, it is not likely to work. The appropriate, practical interventions that are likely to end the violations are non-violent and often community-based.

In the Congo case, the interventions required include: resolving the land disputes; closing the gaps in the arms embargo; pursuing the cases of the miscreant mineral developers; Canadian companies being held responsible by Canadians for the ecological and human rights abuses that they perpetrate overseas; and uncovering and sanctioning the role of Rwanda and Uganda (There are indications of Rwandan assistance to Congolese armed groups; Uganda accepts contraband minerals over Lake Edward). None of these actions require military intervention. Most of them rely on permissions that were already in effect before R2P.

In 2012, Responsibility to Protect language was used to justify armed intervention in Libya. Peace has not resulted, arguably because of long-standing community-based divisions which were used to maintain a regime in power. Again, in 2013, this language has been used to promote proposed armed intervention in Syria. At the moment of writing, such attacks have not been initiated. Given the evidence presented in this paper, it is unlikely, if attempted, that peace would result.

We have tried to show how the four elements of unarmed peacebuilding work to protect people in the midst of conflict. The Congolese woman who prevented the massacre in Uvira was a skilled peace worker, deeply educated in conflict de-escalation, and also deeply grounded in her faith, from whence came her courage and her humility. There are now more and more people of this calibre available, but they are under-utilized because funding is so scarce. In every armed and deadly conflict situation there are people working non-violently to de-escalate the conflict and protect people. In the global militarized culture, their stories are seldom told. We have attempted to tell some of them in this booklet.

Observers from Project Muinda pour la Pax at the D. R. Congo's General Election in 2011



A local observer gets his official T-shirt.
Photo: Athena Madan



Poster shows voters how a polling place works.

All Other Photos: Eric Schiller



Election posters for four different candidates compete for space.



Three observers line up before their tour of duty.

Appendices

1. 2005 Statement on Responsibility to Protect (R2P) from United Nations General Assembly
2. Statements on Responsibility to Protect from Quaker Yearly Meetings
3. Justice and Compassion
4. Bibliography of Literature Review
5. Websites of Peace Organizations Cited

1. 2005 Statement from United Nations General Assembly

The Responsibility to Protect concept figured in the deliberations of the Secretary-General's High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges, and Change and in the Secretary General's response to their report¹. These processes were in preparation toward the World Summit, which took place in September 2005, and produced a number of results laying out a program of reform for the UN system as a whole. On this question of intervention and state sovereignty, the final communiqué of the World Summit stated:

Responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity

138. Each individual State has the responsibility to protect its populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. This responsibility entails the prevention of such crimes, including their incitement, through appropriate and necessary means. We accept that responsibility and will act in accordance with it. The international community should, as appropriate, encourage and help States to exercise this responsibility and support the United Nations in establishing an early warning capability.

139. The international community, through the United Nations, also has the responsibility to use appropriate diplomatic, humanitarian and other peaceful means, in accordance with Chapters VI and VIII of the Charter of the United Nations, to help protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. In this context, we are prepared to take collective action, in a timely and decisive manner, through the Security Council, in accordance with the Charter, including Chapter VII, on a case-by-case basis and in cooperation with relevant regional organizations as appropriate, should peaceful means be inadequate and national authorities are manifestly failing to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity. We stress the need for the General Assembly to continue consideration of the responsibility to protect populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and its implications, bearing in mind the principles of the Charter and international law. We also intend to commit ourselves, as necessary and appropriate, to helping States build capacity to protect their populations from genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing and crimes against humanity and to assisting those which are under stress before crises and conflicts break out.

140. We fully support the mission of the Special Adviser of the Secretary-General on the Prevention of Genocide.

¹ <http://www.un.org/secureworld/report.pdf>

2. Statements on Responsibility to Protect from Quaker Yearly Meetings

a. Switzerland Yearly Meeting, 2008:

Epistle of Switzerland Yearly Meeting

To Friends everywhere!

Our theme was the integration of all generations to promote the future of our Quaker Society. Two international speakers shared their experience with us on how to create a vibrant Quaker community. A group of young friends had prepared a creative project in a worship setting so that we were able to put multi-generational work into action. The amazing result reflected the Inner Light and filled us with joy.

In our Meeting for Business we decided to forward to the Quaker Council for European Affairs (QCEA), a *Statement on the Responsibility to Protect (see below)*, which advises that international interventions must be carried out in the Quaker spirit. We are very grateful to belong to the worldwide Quaker family.

The Responsibility to Protect

The statement below is the response of Switzerland Yearly Meeting to an invitation of QCEA to consider a report of the “International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty”. Our position is intended to help QCEA to reflect the Quaker opinion on this important matter at the level of the European Union.

Statement by Switzerland Yearly Meeting on the Responsibility to Protect

Humanitarian crises fit into a long process of which three stages are identified by the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty: the events leading up to and preparing the crisis, the crisis itself and the social reconstruction which follows. For us as Quakers, the heart of the matter throughout the whole process lies in the **spirit** in which action is undertaken. It is essential at all stages to eschew any bullying spirit. Our starting point is “the virtue of that life and power that takes away the occasion of all wars” (George Fox, 1651).

THE RESPONSIBILITY TO REACT DURING THE CRISIS

We agree that where internal conflict is causing serious suffering to the population and the State in question is unable to halt it, then intervention by outside bodies, as a last resort after preventive actions, overrides the principle of national sovereignty.

We are opposed to any military intervention, which can only undermine non-military, nonviolent approaches and which runs the risk of provoking further violence rather than preventing it. We are concerned about the “military drift” creeping into thinking on this subject.

We believe that the types of non-military action outlined below bring less harmful and more long-lasting results. Whatever type of non-military action is used, it should only be to protect the population and not with the intention of changing the regime or bringing in a new order.

1. International police intervention

We favour police intervention which is limited to protection of the civilian population from harm. It requires professional police forces specially trained in the techniques of conflict resolution, mediation, dialogue, conciliation. We are not all opposed to the police using arms, if necessary to protect life, depending on the immediate situation.

2. International law and order provision

Containing a conflict situation and preventing escalation of violence requires a system of law and order where those suspected of contributing to the violence are brought to justice. In this, the role of the police force mentioned above is fundamental, as is also the presence of prosecutors, lawyers, law courts, judges, prisons and laws in conformity with international norms. Intervention of this sort needs to be rapidly provided internationally where the local system is inadequate to see that justice is done.

3. Nonviolent techniques

We urge that the way of nonviolence - neither passivity nor violence - be recognised as a legitimate approach in extreme situations. The examples of Gandhi and Martin Luther King, of resistance movements in Poland, Czechoslovakia, the Philippines and elsewhere, of Latvia's official nonviolent defence against Russian tanks, as well as of individual mediation efforts such as Will Warren's in Northern Ireland - all these and many others demonstrate the value of nonviolent action. This method can fail as can military intervention, but it has the merit of not provoking further conflict. Support for nonviolent intervention by NGOs as by official bodies, should form part of the panoply of action which the international community stands ready to provide or support.

THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PREVENT

We strongly agree with the International Commission's Priority 4A: "Prevention is the single most important dimension of the responsibility to protect".

The first responsibility is to consider our co-responsibility for human suffering in unstable countries. We need to recognise that we in the developed world are part of the problem. Much should be done in our own countries to modify lifestyles and to influence those policies of our governments which directly or indirectly contribute to conflicts elsewhere.

It is our firm conviction that neither standing armies nor ready-made solutions imposed from outside can prevent internal conflicts. We believe that the many bodies practising and teaching the use of dialogue and mediation in decision-making hold out the best hope of preventing conflicts flaring into violence.

We urge that such conflict-solving actions be undertaken, whether by governments or NGOs, much earlier in situations of potential conflict in a country - the dramatic situations of suffering we see in many countries have been openly simmering for years, with little or no official international intervention. NGOs can move faster, but lack of financial means limits their action.

We plead therefore for increased support from governments and international organisations to these bodies.

THE RESPONSIBILITY TO RECONSTRUCT

Crises should be handled by all concerned in the perspective of rebuilding a society which can live in peace, bearing in mind that as Gandhi said “there is just the same inviolable connection between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree.”

-- Statement adopted by Switzerland Yearly Meeting at its yearly meeting May 10, 2008

b. Quaker Peace and Social Witness, of Britain Yearly Meeting, 2006:

QPSW/TC/06/26 Civil Society Group Statement on Responsibility to Protect:

We have received from central committee minute QPSW CC 06/67 The Responsibility to Protect statement, together with papers entitled: ‘Civil Society Group of the United Kingdom Statement on Responsibility to Protect’, ‘Giving meaning to ‘Never Again’: the International Responsibility to Protect’ by Alan Pleydell and ‘Pacifism and the responsibility to protect’ by Diana Francis. Alan Pleydell, QPSW Europe Programme Manager, joined us to introduce the session.

In our discussion we have become clear that we are uncomfortable with QPSW signing the Civil Society Group document. We see a risk of the document being misused, it would be perceived as Quakers ceasing to be pacifists, and in focussing on major, extreme situations it takes attention away from on-going but equally terrible violence. We recognise the value of the prevention and reconstruction and are supportive of and grateful for those parts of the document, but the responsibility to react section of the document undermines much Quaker belief and action.

We recognise that we cannot lay any claim to innocence, nor shirk our responsibility to do what we can, as individuals and as a Religious Society, to increase the good in face of the evils of the world. However, there may be times when we can do nothing to prevent violence. This is a painful truth. It is right that we should wrestle with the moral issues raised by situations such as Darfur. We need to be careful not to fall into a complacent idealism.

As individuals, we may sometimes judge that limited force, in certain tightly defined circumstances, may be the lesser evil. However, we also recognise that the myth of redemptive, effective military force is beguiling and pernicious. As a Religious Society it is right that we continue to hold and provide an unwavering commitment to seeking out nonviolent alternatives. We fear that the ‘R2P doctrine’, however well-intentioned, risks undermining this position and these efforts.

c. Canadian Yearly Meeting, 2007:

Minute 57. Canadian Friends Service Committee (CFSC), re: Responsibility to Protect: This matter arises as part of a requested response to a statement on this issue from the Canadian Council of Churches (CCC). Gianne Broughton presented a report from the Special Interest Group (SIG) on Responsibility to Protect held earlier this week. This report, and the synthesis report presented by CFSC to the SIG, will be attached to these minutes.

We approve the following three recommendations from the report:

- a. that the CYM clerks and other representatives of CYM use the first two parts of the synthesis report¹ as their guide to act on our behalf in response to the Responsibility to Protect issue. Such response could be in writing or in dialogue with the CCC and other groups.
- b. that CYM ask CFSC to consider how an education program on nonviolent peacebuilding could be organized for Monthly Meetings, in response to the thirst evident in the Monthly Meeting reports.
- c. that CYM ask CFSC to facilitate further discussion on the issues raised by the concept of “just policing”.

We thank Gianne and the many Friends who have worked on this issue and these reports. Friends also expressed a hope that we could develop our own, pro-active statement.

Special Interest Group report from Canadian Yearly Meeting sessions, 2007:

Excerpt from Responsibility to Protect Special Interest Group report:

“Responsibility to Protect” or R2P is a concept for international policy that has been developed through several international commissions and UN processes since 2000, and was accepted as a general principle by the UN in 2005. It is intended to give the international community more effectiveness in responding to cases of massive human rights violations, war crimes and genocide. R2P redefines a state’s sovereignty as the responsibility to protect all of its citizens, including protection from threats that originate within the state. It insists that in cases where a state is unable or unwilling to protect, the international community, under the authority of the UN, has a responsibility to intervene and protect. Intervention is interpreted as including armed force “in the last resort”.

The Canadian Council of Churches, of which CYM is a member, has circulated a draft statement on R2P for discussion by its member churches. Last August, CYM asked CFSC to organize a discussion process with Monthly Meetings in order to formulate a response to the CCC statement. Atlantic Friends Gathering and 7 Monthly Meetings used a resource paper developed by CFSC’s Quaker Peace and Sustainable Communities Committee to discuss the statement and return written responses to CFSC. Gianne Broughton wrote a synthesis report which was studied by this special interest group.

The CCC draft statement consists of 18 paragraphs. The first eleven paragraphs call for prevention. Friends supported this and recommended strengthening this emphasis towards promotion of peace. The last 7 paragraphs describe what some churches believe is the last resort, including detailing limits on the use of military force for intervention. Friends would not be able to sign on to this part. The responses from Friends meetings were in unity that we could not support “military intervention in the last resort”. Thinking of military intervention as a “last resort” assumes that it is inevitable. It hinders non-military action such as nonviolent inter-positioning. Insisting upon the spiritual imperative of respecting that of God in every person, Meetings showed the effectiveness of the wide range nonviolent intervention strategies that are available. As one Meeting wrote: “the last resort for Jesus was self-sacrifice.”

¹ The synthesis report is available on the CFSC website at <http://quakerservice.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/summary-of-discernment-R2P.pdf>

3. Justice and Compassion

By including compassion-based work in our concept of peacebuilding, we bring peacebuilding practice close to restorative justice practice or “justice as healing”. As an example of “justice as healing”, we include minute 79 of Canadian Yearly Meeting 2010, “Justice is Possible: Compassionate Response as a Foundation of Public Safety”. This minute describes the conceptual framework of “justice as healing” in the historical context of an unfortunate ideologically motivated rollback of some gradual progress in policies at a time when all three main Canadian political parties had recently included “tough on crime” elements in their election platforms. We hope, by drawing attention to the role of compassion-based work in the effectiveness of both justice and peacebuilding, to contribute to the task of public education with a goal of achieving more effective public policy.

Justice is Possible:

Compassionate Response as the Foundation of Public Safety

Canadian Friends call for and agree to work towards a radical transformation in the way Canadians deal with crime. We know that mainstream law enforcement, through the courts and correctional systems, currently does little to alleviate the suffering of victims of crime, and equally little to rehabilitate the perpetrators. The ineffectiveness of this system also leads to pain for those who work on our behalf within it. Violence, pain, and suffering are real and affect us all.

Friends in Canada have held long-standing concerns with prisons and we called for prison abolition as a response to crime in 1981 at Canadian Yearly Meeting, Minute 93. We recognized that addressing economic and social justice concerns would reduce crime. Punitive approaches are guided by coercion, misuse of power, and fear, fostering additional trauma. The predominant focus on punishing offenders commits the great majority of the system’s energy and resources to legal processing, prisons and incarceration. Justice for survivors and communities becomes unlikely.

When those who have been harmed lament their pain, we know justice has not been achieved. Friends believe there is that of God in all people, those harmed and those who have caused harm. Therefore, we feel an obligation to respond compassionately to alleviate pain and tragedy, and recognize the many who cry injustice and are not heard. Alongside our long-standing concern for the dehumanization created by prisons and punishment, we raise up our concern for those who have been harmed.

Crime’s lasting legacy is the torn fabric of people’s lives. We believe the system needs to focus on the harm caused by crime in the context of all the lives it has disrupted. We believe that harm to people and relationships is the main outcome of crime, and that the burden of this harm is borne mostly by its survivors and their communities, who in the current system are little more than passive witnesses to the proceedings.

We call for Canada to transform into a country where our first response is to help those affected by crime, encouraging them to embark on healing journeys. We recognize the complexity of human relationships that often confounds simplistic and static labels of victim and perpetrator.

This change in focus will transform our pursuit of justice to one that fosters peace in our communities.

Populations who are vulnerable to victimization and imprisonment in Canada include the mentally ill, brain injured, developmentally delayed, and

those who struggle with addictions. Indigenous peoples, the poor, and those who are less educated are also vulnerable.

The current “justice” system allocates minimal resources to support of victims of crime and their communities, while the punitive system has enormous resources and is rapidly growing. This growth is happening although crime rates in Canada continue to fall and are lower now than at any time in the past 30 years. There are adequate measures currently in place to keep in prison the few who are truly dangerous. Many careful approaches exist to help re-integrate the more-than-95-per-cent of prisoners who once again become our neighbours. Yet the current federal government has passed or promised legislation that will increase public spending by more than \$8 billion to expand prisons. They predict new legislation will increase incarceration by over 30 per cent in the next three years. We protest this use of our precious resources and call for those monies to be redirected towards supporting the social and practical needs of those most affected by crime in our communities, and addressing the social injustices, which both foster criminal activity and inhibit the development of effective community support for its victims and survivors. Further, we are greatly alarmed at the dismantling and under-resourcing of the rehabilitative programs that have been working.

Given that most crime is unreported, mainstream legal systems are largely irrelevant to addressing crime. According to reliable data from Statistics Canada, less than 35% of violent crime is reported to police. Less than 5% of crime that occurs in Canada results in convictions. Less than half of those found guilty are incarcerated, most for non-violent offences. We believe that an appropriate response to unreported crime is to create a system that will encourage people to seek justice, not increasing the incarceration of the vulnerable.

Justice is possible when those harmed become the centre of restorative and transformative approaches that foster, with Divine assistance, transformed relationships that are safe and healthy for all involved. These approaches must be guided by a concern for safety for all, while promoting honesty, compassion, and emotional and material support for all who are touched by crime.

Our work will be tempered and inspired by our vulnerabilities as we remember our own experiences of both being hurt and hurting others. Canadian Friends will offer our voices and actions to encourage institutions, governments and communities of people to recognize their vital role in restorative and transformative work, emphasizing that people and communities are deserving of a central focus in this collective quest for justice. We will look for examples of policy alternatives within nations and peoples whose compassionate responses to crime lead to even lower incarceration and crime rates.

This then is our vision: Justice is done when those most affected by crime are satisfied that things have been made as right as possible, when the affected communities learn from the past, and are confident in their ability to undertake, with compassion, expectancy, faith, and hope, the task of building and sustaining peace. We have a long, long way to go.

*So let us hasten along the road,
The roads of human tenderness and generosity.
Groping, we may find
One another's hands in the dark.*

- Friend Emily Greene Balch (1867 - 1961)

4. Literature Review

The following is a literature review on "Theories and Practice of Nonviolent Intervention in the Midst of Armed Conflict," by Lisa LeRoy and Khia Nayaran, created in 2008 at the University of Ottawa.

Crist, John T. ; Harriet Hentges and Daniel Swer. "Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: Lessons from the Past, Ideas for the Future: Special Report 87." Washington, D.C.: United States Institute for Peace, 1 May 2002.

Currie, John. *Public International Law* (Essentials of Canadian Law series). Toronto: Irwin Law Inc., 2001.

Goodhand, Jonathan and Nick Lewer. "Sri Lanka: NGOs and Peace-Building in Complex Political Emergencies." *Third World Quarterly* 20, no. 1 (February 1999).

Hastings, Tom H. *Meek Ain't Weak: Nonviolent Power and People of Color*. Lanham, MD: University Press of America, 2002.

Hastings, Tom H. *Power: Nonviolent Transformation from the Transpersonal to the Transnational*. Lanham, MD: Hamilton Books, 2005.

International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty. *The Responsibility to Protect: Report of the International Commission on Intervention and State Sovereignty*. Ottawa: International Development Research Centre, 2001.

Lopez-Reyes, Ramon. "El Salvador: in search of a non-violent peace," *Peace Research* 29, no. 4 (November 1997).

Martin, Brian, and Wendy Verney, "Nonviolence and Communication." *Journal of Peace Research* 40, no. 2 (March 2003).

Moser-Puangsuwan, Yeshua, and Thomas Weber (eds.) *Nonviolent Intervention Across Borders: A Recurrent Vision*. Honolulu, HI: Spark M. Matsunaga Institute for Peace, 2000.

Rigby, Andrew. "Unofficial Nonviolent Intervention: Examples from the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict." *Journal of Peace Research* 32, no. 4 (1995).

Samiti, Darshan, and Gandhi Smriti. "Declaration: Global Convention on Peace and Nonviolence." *Peace Research* 36, no. 2 (November 2004).

Satterwhite, James. "Christian Peacemaker Teams as an Alternative to 'Redemptive Violence.'" *Peace & Change* 31, no. 2 (April 2006).

Waver, Paul Neufeld. "Restoring the Balance: Peace Teams and Violence Reduction in Chiapas Mexico." (Ed. D. thesis, University of St. Thomas, St. Paul, Minnesota, June 2002).

5. Websites of Organizations Cited in the Document

Alternatives to Violence Project www.avpinternational.org

American Friends Service Committee www.afsc.org

Canadian Friends Service Committee www.quakerservice.ca

Christian Peacemaker Teams www.cpt.org/work

Department of Peace Initiative www.departmentofpeace.ca

Healing and Rebuilding Our Communities - African Great Lakes Initiative www.aglipft.org

Nonviolent Peaceforce www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org

Peace Brigades International www.peacebrigades.org

Transcend International www.transcend.org

Turning the Tide www.turning-the-tide.org

Acknowledgements

The flash of insight that there are four elements of peacebuilding, not three, and that the fourth is compassion-based, came to me during a consultation about possible roles for Indigenous persons in the Canadian government's peacebuilding activities. Listening to the Indigenous participants describe their work, I noticed parallels with some of the Quaker work that didn't fit the three-part typology. Peacebuilding practice in general has learned from Indigenous peoples all over the world, and I wish to acknowledge that contribution first.

The staff of Christian Peacemaker Teams, Nonviolent Peaceforce, and Peacebrigades International corrected my descriptions of their work, contributed peacebuilding in action stories and photographs, cheerfully finding time in their overloaded workdays. Without that co-operation this project wouldn't have been possible.

Lyn Adamson of Toronto Monthly Meeting, who has worked with all three of these organizations, helped with the preliminary drafts of their descriptions and the comparison tables. She also put me in touch with Sylvia Grady, also of Toronto Monthly Meeting, who searched diligently through her massive photo file till we found some iconic images for the cover graphic. Meredith Egan, then CFSC's program coordinator for Quakers Fostering Justice, co-facilitated the workshop where Friends with diverse experience first applied the four elements to the various peacebuilding approaches they had worked in.

Jane Orion Smith, CFSC's General Secretary, provided feedback on several drafts. Bakamana Mouana of Kinshasa Friends Meeting checked my description of the historical background of the D. R. Congo that figures in the final section. Carl Stieren of Ottawa Monthly Meeting put some of his soul into the final stage of laying out and copy editing and offered the gift of the preface. Shannon Elliot in Ottawa converted our InDesign 6 file of this document into one that could be edited by InDesign 5.

But the most important contributors are the "frontline" peaceworkers, many of whom are not named in this booklet, who take the risks that protect people and build peace, and who took the time to share their stories with me, or agreed to have their pictures taken. I thank them, and will always remember them.

About the Author

Gianne Broughton has been CFSC's Program Coordinator for their Quaker Peace and Sustainable Communities Program since 1998. In 2005 and 2006, she was seconded to American Friends Service Committee in order to be Interim Quaker International Affairs Representative for Central Africa, based in Bujumbura, Burundi.

Bibliography

Autesserre, Séverine. *The Trouble with the Congo: Local Violence and the Failure of International Peacebuilding*. Cambridge Studies in International Relations no. 115. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010. Notably chapter 3 and pages 183-186.

Broughton, Gianne. "Summary of Canadian Quaker Discernment on 'The Responsibility to Protect', 2006 -7: A report." Toronto: Canadian Friends Service Committee, 2007. <http://quakerservice.ca/wp-content/uploads/2011/06/summary-of-discernment-R2P.pdf>

Carne, Ross. *Independent Diplomat: Dispatches from an Unaccountable Elite*. London: Hurst & Company, 2007.

Merriam Webster Unabridged Dictionary. "koinonia (definition)." <http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/koinonia>.

Mills, Stewart A. "Chapter 1: Conflict Resolution Theory." In "Empathising with the Enemy" (master's thesis, University of Sidney, 2003), <http://palestineisraelresolutionscrt.blogspot.ca/>).

MONUSCO -United Nations Organization Stabilization Mission in the D.R. Congo. <http://monusco.unmissions.org/>

_____. Press Releases, Kinshasa 06 Sept. 2011, "MONUSCO calls for constructive dialogue to promote peaceful elections," and Kinshasa 08 Nov. 2011, "MONUSCO urges Congolese political leaders to restrain from incitement to violence."

United Nations High Level Panel on Threats, Challenges and Change. "A more secure world: our shared responsibility" (the 'Responsibility to Protect' document). New York: United Nations General Assembly, 2 December 2004. <http://www.un.org/secureworld/report.pdf>

United Nations Security Council. "Final report of the Group of Experts on the Democratic Republic of the Congo." New York: UN Security Council, 13 February 2008. S/2008/43.

World Council of Churches. "An Ecumenical Call to Just Peace." Geneva: World Council of Churches, 2011. http://www.overcomingviolence.org/fileadmin/dov/files/iepc/resources/ECJustPeace_English.pdf

World Council of Churches. Just Peace Companion. Geneva: World Council of Churches 2011. [http://www2.wcc-coe.org/uploads.nsf/index/just_peace_companion/\\$FILE/JustPeaceCompanion_draft_18Apr.pdf](http://www2.wcc-coe.org/uploads.nsf/index/just_peace_companion/$FILE/JustPeaceCompanion_draft_18Apr.pdf)



Four Elements of Peacebuilding summarizes decades of experience in nonviolent peacebuilding, and draws attention to a core human quality often overlooked in this field. It outlines the methods developed by leading organizations, explores the interrelationships among them, and promotes collaboration. The book blends theory with action-packed frontline stories: tales of courage, creativity, intelligence and above all, grounded perseverance towards peace. Readers will glimpse caring persistent diplomatic work; a woman standing alone between an army and an opposing gathering of people; a crowd of voters drowning out a politician who is inciting ethnic hatred; and many more. This exploration of the developing techniques shows how skilled peace work can achieve humanity's greatest dream—peace.