

With this special edition on the congress on peace politics of the German Commission for Justice and Peace, its staff wishes you God's abundant blessing for the New Year 2011

***"Peace and the continuation of politics by other means"
Congress on peace politics of the German Commission for Justice and Peace on the occasion of the 10th anniversary of "A Just Peace"
25 to 27 November 2010 at the Catholic Academy Berlin***

The congress on peace politics aimed at providing an opportunity to exchange on pressing questions relating to peace and security politics. The intention was to introduce the perspectives of the Catholic teaching on peace, displayed in the German bishops' declaration of 2000 "A Just Peace" for the German context, into the political discourse and to demonstrate their political relevance.

Concrete cases from Afghanistan, Congo and Bosnia and Herzegovina were treated in three forums (page 2 ff.) and served as the basis to make fundamental considerations as well as to find practical approaches to a solution. Significant partners introduced their experiences into the German discourse and thus helped to broaden the perspectives. The main lecture was given by the President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, Peter Kodwo Appiah Cardinal Turkson (p.5).



Informal talks during the congress



Peter Cardinal Turkson (right) and Bishop Dr. Stephan Ackermann

Opening speech of Bishop Dr. Stephan Ackermann on peace ethics

In his opening speech, *Bishop Dr. Stephan Ackermann*, President of the German Commission for Justice and Peace, emphasized the necessity for a differentiated and continuous discussion on subjects relating to peace and security politics. To suppress these issues is of no help, he said. The perspective of peace ethics must go beyond the realities in need of change. The essential fundamental perspectives in this context are justice, truth and reconciliation, without which a clear view on reality would not be possible. The president underlined that the Church's teaching on peace implies that it is not limited to some unchangeable principles, but that it further develops thinking and acting in a continuous dealing with history, similar to a never ending process of learning. The intention of this congress can be seen in the same way.



Bishop Dr. Ackermann during the opening speech

"Responsibility for peace politics and civil society. On the necessity of an appropriate discourse on peace and security politics"

The following panel discussion was opened by a lecture by *Prof. Thomas Hoppe*, the chairman of the Commission's peace department: an adequate discourse on peace and security politics urgently requires an understanding on the normative terms of reference of the respective policies. Although the responsibility of politics is very important in this context, it must not deal with this normative understanding on its own, as it is always in danger of



Prof. Dr. Thomas Hoppe during his lecture

polishing necessary fundamental ethical positions because of a systemic pressure to act. Here Prof. Hoppe assigned a critical and correcting role to the civil society that depends on politics' willingness to talk. A stronger conceptual inclusion of the possibilities of civil conflict management and a clear orientation of overall policy to the concept „Responsibility to Protect“ particularly need civil society's support.

The assessments on the current debate in Germany were shared by the Member of Parliament and expert for peace and security policy *Winfried Nachtwei* as well as by the president of the Committee on Foreign Affairs *Ruprecht Polenz*. In public these discussions are usually held ad hoc, situationally and with a focus on military aspects. Only among experts the necessary attention can be found. The Commissioner for Peace of the Evangelical Church in Germany (EKD) *Pastor Renke Brahms* underlined that the churches think and act in the same way as far as peace-ethical questions are concerned. They are responsible for giving their own ethical perspectives more social importance by joint action.



Winfried Nachtwei, retired MP

Disagreement, however, was shown in view of the assessment of the role of civil society. *Prof. Herfried Münkler* questioned the civil society's competence regarding the assessment of complex peace and security policy contexts and ascertained a "competence to compensate for incompetence". He rather discovered an escape into a sense of satisfaction at one's own "correct" view. According to his opinion, the ethical perspectives often obscure the hard realities and contribute to a false reassurance. For this reason he pleaded for an approach to the

problems oriented towards rationality and interests and suggested a change of perspective from intentionality to functionality. This pronounced position was contradicted, among others, by Prof. Hoppe: without a clarification of the normative terms of reference and a corresponding orientation of one's own actions, one will hardly be in a position to break through the real conditions of violence or even to minimize them. Rather there is the danger of taking them for granted and to unintentionally perpetuate them. During the discussion it was agreed that an honest stocktaking also calls for a critical analysis of the Western way of life and it

has to be taken into account that the high consumption of resources by the West prepares the ground for a large potential for conflict. The seriousness of a debate on peace and security policy is especially demonstrated with the willingness to question one's own involvement in the economies of violence.

Forum: War and Peace – Demands on the German Politics The case of Afghanistan

The participants' perception of the present situation in Afghanistan varied. Whereas *Dr. Oliver Müller* of Caritas International especially pointed out a deterioration in the security situation, the delegate of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, *Dr. Philip Ackermann* underlined the indicators for a partially successful work, for example in the fight against infant mortality or the increased frequency of school attendance.

Winfried Nachtwei called for a detailed analysis of the general situation. Only by this, assessments might be gained that could name the limited possibilities of military operations and of civil organizations in an honest, open and rational way and present them for public discussion. The increasing openness of the debate in the past months was welcome by all participants, although deficits were mentioned, for example in the analysis of concrete objectives of the operation.

The participants also talked about the complex hierarchies of power on the different administration levels of a country (central government, province and village) which are not easy to understand for outside observers. Although the experts agreed that the society is characterized by clans and



Prof. Dr. Barbara Krause, chair, and Prof. Dr. Herfried Münkler



Opening panel with Nachtwei, Brahms, Krause, Münkler, Polenz MP and Hoppe (from left to right)



Lüders, Müller, Justenhoven, ITHF (chair), Ph. Ackermann and Nachtwei during the Afghanistan panel



tribal structures, they disagreed on the resulting options for action. The representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs identified the Councils of Elders as participatory elements capable of development, whereas the expert on Islam *Michael Lüders* regarded these structures as an essential reason for the failure of the West, because dominating tribal loyalties on all levels prevent any orientation to the common good. Therefore, it is by no means possible to establish democratic structures at the moment.



In order to improve the quality of discussions and to raise public awareness, *Winfried Nachtwei* suggested a stronger involvement of civil sector returnees from Afghanistan in institutions and discussions. The potential of these highly motivated people could be made more use of in view of a better utilization of resources.

Opinions also varied on the concept of civil-military cooperation. The fact that the government has not yet given a clear definition of the term has proved to be a hindrance, emphasized *Dr. Müller*. This is why a critical analysis is only possible with the help of international specialized literature and not with the help of the

Federal Ministry for Economic Cooperation and Development (BMZ), the Federal Ministry of Defence and the Federal Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The discussion partners were unanimous only with regard to the necessity of an interrelating military and civil commitment. It was assumed that civil society and the federal government disagree on the realization of this concept, because an intensive debate on concrete positions is not possible for the aforementioned reasons.

Forum: War and Peace The case of Congo

There are no peace prospects for the East of the Democratic Republic of Congo. In her analysis of the situation, *Sr. Marie Bernard Alima*, director of the department for peace and justice of the National Conference of the Bishops of Congo (CENCO) and of the Association of Episcopal Conferences of Central Africa (ACEAC), gave an impressive explanation of the different reasons for this. Not only the increasing activities of the armed rebel groups LRA (Lord Resistance Army) and FDLR (Democratic Forces for the Liberation of Rwanda) on the territory of Congo and the continuing attacks on the life and integrity of civilians, but above all the exploitation of the natural resources and the lack of national security forces prevent peace in the Eastern region of the DR of Congo. In order to improve this situation, the Church focuses its work on three main aspects: education in the fields of civil rights and democracy, development of forms of participation on a local level and the fight against corruption.



Sr. Marie-Bernard Alima on the situation in Congo and Günter Nooke

The greatest challenge for peace is the economic dimension of the conflict. A just distribution of the proceeds from the exploitation of mineral resources is an important task for the community of states and calls for international solidarity. *Michael Hippler* of the German Catholic Bishops' Organisation for Development Cooperation Misereor and *Christoph Klitsch-Ott* of Caritas international described their work in the DR of Congo, which is oriented towards the suffering population and supports the cooperation partner in political, financial and instrumental matters.



Klitsch-Ott (middle) and Hippler (right) with Dr. Hagemann (chair)

An important task on the local level is to maintain or to rebuild the infrastructure, roads, schools, and health services. In order to improve prospects for peace it will be necessary to integrate the refugees. The tasks comprise three areas: work with the population on a local level, debates with perpetrators and armed groups on a regional level and the establishment of structures which impede the outbreak of new claims and acts of violence on an international level. As the rebel groups are internationally active, they must be combated internationally.

in the front Myroslava Rap, former JP Ukraine

With regard to the political work, Sr. Marie-Bernard referred to the importance of national laws in the beneficiary countries of rare ores and raw materials, as for example the planned Act of the United States which hopefully will help to put a stop to the flow of money from the exploitation of raw materials to armed terror groups and encourage other states to enact similar laws.

Günter Nooke, the Chancellor's Commissioner for Africa, pointed out that the German government makes substantial financial contributions to the EU, the UN and the World Bank. With its support for the civil peace service and the work of NGOs in this region, the German Government wants to strengthen the civil society in order to create structures for stabilizing peace in the long run. The Federal Government in particular supports the work of the International Criminal Court and is committed to the protection of human rights defenders. The plenary assembly of the forum called for an overall concept for the region and a more definite policy of the Federal Government.

Forum: After war and before peace The case of Bosnia and Herzegovina

Prof. Dr. Niko Ikić, President of the Institute for Interreligious Dialogue in Sarajevo gave an introduction into the problematic situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. He pointed to the responsibility of the international community for the construction of the State in the Dayton peace treaty of 1995. It sanctioned a Constitution which does not allow to develop a functioning body politic. In particular it is not suited to help overcome the ethnic division of the country. The recent years have repeatedly shown that the Bosnian politics is unable to solve the serious problems by its own efforts. Therefore Prof. Ikić called on the international community to be more interested and committed to the developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina.

Dietmar Nietan and *Michael Brand*, members of Parliament participating in the panel discussion, both emphasized the necessity of further international and especially of European initiatives. In view of the massive poverty and the widespread hopelessness resulting from the social stagnation, there is an urgent need for new impetus to the situation in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The continuous commitment of Justice and Peace to raise awareness for the developments in Bosnia and Herzegovina was considered to be very helpful. Ambassador *Nikolaus Graf Lambsdorff*, Fed. Gov. Commissioner for Southeast Europe, reminded that despite the indisputable economic

stagnation in the past decade, some important progress has been achieved and so one should be careful not to paint a too black picture. In this context he particularly mentioned the emerging prospect for an EU accession. At the same time he ruled out a possible revision of the Dayton-Agreement by the international community as an inopportune act of late colonialism. Changes must be initiated by the people in Bosnia and Herzegovina themselves and should be supported and promoted by the international community and especially by the EU. Graf Lambsdorff was quite confident that the current constitutional reform efforts will have a productive outcome. The discussants stressed the necessity to increasingly cooperate with modern forces while considering the influence of developments in Serbia and Croatia. During the discussion it was underlined that substantial progress is needed in the reconciliation processes. In this process, it will be important to restore social confidence that has been lost, but this is very difficult because of the deep wounds suffered. The churches and other religious communities face these challenges and they play an important part in the reconciliation process.



Alima, Nooke, Hagemann, Kiitsch-Ott and Hippler (from left to right)



Prof. Dr. Niko Ikić on tensions in Bosnia and Herzegovina



Participants in the Bosnia Forum



Nietan MdB, Ikić, Dr. Albert, Renovabis (middle, chair), Lambsdorff and Brand MP

Dealing with a past burdened by violence. Prerequisites and obstacles to reconciliation processes

The panellists outlined situations and experiences made during their reconciliation work. *Peter Konteh* of *Justice and Peace Sierra Leone* described in a concise way the problems resulting from the fact that after the civil war perpetrators and victims live together. *Georg Hörnschemeyer* used the introductory words „forgiveness is terrible“ to describe the difficulties regarding forgiveness and reconciliation *Pax Christi* was confronted with after World War II. *Dr. Nicola Rooney* talked about the activities of the church in *Northern Ireland* that help to contribute to the peace process. *Prof.*



Father Peter Konteh on the situation in Sierra Leone



Dr. Nicola Rooney, JP Ireland

Dr. Niko Ikić, president of the Institute for Interreligious Dialogue in Sarajevo shared his reflections on remembrance, truth and reconciliation that arose from long-term work in Bosnia and Herzegovina with the participants.

Despite the different experiences made and the different basic situations all participants agreed that the dialogue on truth is indispensable. The manifold dimensions of reconciliation described by Father Konteh as a reconciliation with oneself, with the neighbour, with the community, the ancestors and with God have to be addressed properly. In view of the necessity to address “unreconciledness” Prof. Ikić called truth, love and freedom essential parts of a grammar of reconciliation. The panellists agreed that a rash theologization of reconciliation talk would hardly support the required capacity for communication. The question for the role of justice when dealing with a past burdened by violence made obvious that it is a big difference whether people are in a direct post-war situation or whether the conflict that has to be dealt with dates back three generations. In a situation like in Sierra Leone, where many victims lack the most basic things for life, the expenses spent to meet international standards for the criminal prosecution of perpetrators can soon cause quite a stir.

This point of the discussion showed that the question of truth certainly is indispensable but that it always requires to take into account the overall situation and not to focus on matters of criminal law. Material help and symbolic actions which aim to restore the wounded dignity of the victims are also necessary. As to the role of the Church it was underlined that the Church cannot fulfil its reconciliatory mission in a credible and effective way unless she seriously examines her involvement in a past marked by violence or the influence of this past on her.



Panel discussion on dealing with a past burdened by violence, Georg Hörnschemeyer, Dr. Nicola Rooney, Jörg Lüer (chair), Prof. Niko Ikić, Peter Konteh (from left to right)

The wars of today and the peace of tomorrow. Or: How to achieve a world peace order?

- Main lecture of Cardinal Turkson -

Cardinal Turkson, President of the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, based his lecture on the theme of the 1974 World Day of Peace „Peace depends on us“. After a critical examination of the use of the word “war“, also against the background of the international fight against terrorism, Cardinal Turkson described the manifold realities of violence and wars in the world. He explained that in talking about the phenomena it is important to make distinctions and that this is essential for an appropriate dealing with the problems.

Peace is not just the absence of war, it must always include justice and freedom of the people. Especially the media should avoid to present armed conflicts and wars carelessly as peace operations. In his description of the development of the Church’s doctrine of peace since Benedict XV, he showed that this doctrine evolves with the problems and phenomena of the time. Truth, justice, love and freedom are the central pillars on which to build our striving for peace. Citing South Africa as an example, he particularly stressed the importance of religious actors in peace building, mediation



Cardinal Peter Turkson during the main lecture

and reconciliation processes. In this context he specified some reflections on truth and reconciliation and on justice and forgiveness. He emphasized that, irrespective of given structures and systems, the peace of tomorrow depends on our readiness for personal change and renewal.

- Round of discussions -



Dr. Ulrich Schlie, Bishop Dr. Stephan Ackermann

Dr. Ulrich Schlie, director of the planning department of the Federal Ministry of Defence (BMVg) replied to the statement of Cardinal Turkson. He emphasized the necessity of linking military operations with other instruments of conflict management. The ethical legitimacy of military actions always presupposes among other things their legitimation under international law. Top priority must be given to the "rule of law", especially when the international community is in a state between integration and disintegration. Schlie cited Barack Obama who said "if we give up our hope for peace, we lose our moral compass". Schlie's assessment that military action was not always „ultima ratio“ in a temporal way but that in some situations it had to be started early or in time provoked protest.

In the ensuing conversation chaired by *Bishop Dr. Ackermann* and the debate with the participants of the conference, Cardinal Turkson underlined the necessary strengthening of the UN so that it might really work as a global authority. The verbal promises for peace-keeping-programmes or for halving poverty (within the MDGs), for example, are not sufficient. The member states have to keep their promises, have to finance the programmes and have to provide troop contingents, if necessary. Asked for the ambivalent role of religion and violence, Cardinal Turkson answered that today the church is an ambassador of peace. Using the example of the latest massacre in Jos, Nigeria, which was described as a religious conflict by the press, he explained the ethnic and economic backgrounds for the escalation of violence. The Bishop and the Emir of Jos both had a moderating and confidence building influence before, during and after the fights.

In the discussion Dr. Schlie underlined that prevention of violence is the key to a peaceful future and the new strategic concept of the NATO-alliance has to take this into account. He considered it important to link the different military and civil instruments.



Round of discussion with Dr. Ulrich Schlie, Bishop Dr. Stephan Ackermann and Cardinal Peter Turkson



middle: Member of the JP Commission
Lieutenant General Schelzig

Generals who had gathered for a day of retreat organized by the Catholic Pastoral Care for Military Personnel also participated in this part of the programme of the peace congress thus acknowledging the importance of the bishop's word of a „just peace“ for their tasks.

Arms policy, disarmament and world peace order. A recurring underestimated problem

In his introduction, *Prof. Dr. Michael Broszka* portrayed the dynamics of arms policy, disarmament and wars over the last twenty years. At the beginning of the 1990ies, positive developments were manifested in the declining number of wars, the conclusion of various disarmament treaties and the world-wide banning of mines and cluster bombs by civil society commitment. These positive developments have been opposed by an increase of so-called asymmetrical wars, the growing deployment of private military security forces in conflict and war regions and the efforts for nuclear disarmament coming almost to a standstill. Dealing with the role of nuclear strategic concepts still is essential for a successful world-wide disarmament.

Ambassador Peter Gottwald, Federal Government Commissioner for disarmament, stressed the dynamics set off by Barack Obama with „Global Zero“. However, the domestic US-american situation, as for example the opposition to the latest START-treaty, and the basic circumstances of Russian military strategies do hardly offer prospects for the putting into practice of an ambitious disarmament programme in the near future. According to Dr. Thomas Hoppe, it is necessary, due to an increasing political instability, to restructure the unstable system of mutual nuclear threat in a way that the instabilities of various countries turn into a state of greater political stability. The always latent (il)legal proliferation, given the existence of numerous nuclear weapons, can only be controlled by an effective international cooperation. To create the prerequisites for this is one of the most important tasks.

The participants were pleased that the objective to reach a complete nuclear disarmament has become part of the NATO strategy since the recent NATO summit in Lisbon. But this strategy is still based on nuclear deterrence. Only a change of perspective guided by new military concepts can lead to a lasting nuclear disarmament.

Whereas nuclear arms are playing an important political role at present, small arms are of great relevance in current conflicts. Dr. Bernhard Moltmann, chairman of the GKKE expert group on arms exports, underlined the importance of international arms control regimes. Germany should strongly support a world-wide Arms Trade Treaty (ATT) and should press for an inclusion of small arms. Moltmann pointed out that arms reduction or modernization of arms in Europe or in Germany because of a reorganization of the German Bundeswehr should not lead to discarded systems being sold on the free market. This would not only shift, but increase the armament problem.

Ambassador Gottwald mentioned the UN Programme of Action on Small Arms and methods of permanent marking for small arms. By this, delivery routes or the ways from legal arms trade to illegal business could be traced more easily. Germany could use its seat in the UN Security Council to start an initiative for the regulation of small arms exports.

In the end security concepts should be changed and give more priority to the prevention of violent political situations. War must not be a part of problem solving strategies. Conflict prevention as the first element of the „Responsibility to Protect“ has to be given much more attention. So violence prevention has to start earlier, even if possible ambivalences are known. In cases of grave systematic violations of human rights, possibilities to act have to be extended, even if governments are not willing or not able to interfere. The church is asked to give emphasis to these views.

"In the midst of a world dominated by war and violence, the Church will not be able to function as a sacrament of peace if it conforms to the world. This world does not need to have its strife mirrored by a religion that agrees slavishly to anything and everything. What we need is pro and contra, agreement and dissent."
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Panel on disarmament with Moltmann, Gottwald, Casel (chair), Hoppe and Brzoska (from left to right)

More information on the declaration "A Just Peace" are available at www.alt.dbk.de/gerechter-friede

For the Lectures and contributions to our congress please visit our website www.justitia-et-pax.de and click on „aktuell“.

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