



SMALL ACTIONS - BIG MOVEMENTS THE CONTINUUM OF NONVIOLENCE

**WAR RESISTERS' INTERNATIONAL
JOINT INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE
CAPE TOWN SOUTH AFRICA**

4-8 JULY 2014

co-hosted by
The Ceasefire Campaign



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Welcome

The saying goes that small is beautiful! Big transformations often gestate in the work of small groups of committed people, and start with small actions. The challenge is in moving from that initial action to building a bigger movement for social transformation. The War Resisters' International and Ceasefire Campaign international conference "Small Actions, Big Movements: the Continuum of Nonviolence" will try to address this challenge.

This conference has historical significance to WRI, as it is its first major conference to be held in the African continent. This doesn't mean that WRI is new to Africa, as often behind-the-scenes members of WRI have played significant roles in important aspects of the continents anti-colonial and anti-war moments over the past 90-plus years, since WRI's 1921 founding. The July 2014 international conference in Cape Town, South Africa is simply the most public – and perhaps the most ambitious – of these endeavours.

Holding the conference at Cape Town's City Hall also has symbolic relevance. The City Hall is where Dr Ivan Toms of the End Conscription Campaign (and later the City's medical officer) in October 1985 ended his three week fast protesting about the SADF troops in the townships. This is where Desmond Tutu led the Cape Town March for Peace in September 1989, and it is where Nelson Mandela gave his first speech after his release.

The theme of the conference

In WRI we see that all forms and scales of violence are interconnected - from domestic violence, through street violence, ethnic strife, political oppression, economic exploitation, to war and multi-national military interventions. Violence may be direct (e.g. killing), structural violence (e.g. dying through poverty) or cultural violence (whatever blinds us to this or seeks to justify it). To counter violence effectively requires awareness of this continuum, seeing direct violence in the context of structural and cultural violence, connecting the propensity to violence in everyday life with the resort to weapons in macro-conflicts. It means looking at the local and also the global, tackling the immediate yet also maintaining a longer term view. It requires also a repertoire of activities - offering oppressed groups alternatives to submission or taking up arms, building up social solidarity and opening up avenues of participation in the face of overwhelming domination and corruption, and sharing the nonviolent tactics and strategies needed to do this.

South Africa

WRI is coming to South Africa thanks to the invitation of The Ceasefire Campaign; Ceasefire Campaign is an organisation who grew out of the End Conscription Campaign, and with a mandate to work on demilitarisation and for a society that is just, peaceful, anti-war and nonviolent. From the historic struggle against apartheid, South Africans along with international supporters have gained the experience to speak on a range of global demands. The post-apartheid challenges of the country, have seen a revival of civic struggles, and many involved in these struggles in Cape Town and from elsewhere in South Africa will be joining us as speakers, facilitators and participants.

This conference has been a collective effort. As well as co-hosts the Ceasefire Campaign, we would particularly like to acknowledge the contribution of Embrace Dignity, Action Support Network, Terry Crawford-Browne, Mlungiseleli Dywili (who worked in London for three months and then back in Cape Town) and Felicity Harrison and Desiré Jackson at the Goedgedacht Forum.

The conference programme

The conference has four full days plus an opening evening. Each day will start with a short but inspiring morning plenary session, including also more participatory activities. The main programmatic element of the conference are the 13 theme groups. These are groups that meet each day of the conference with the aim to work on a theme in more depth. Some of them cover the core areas of work of WRI, and others represent areas of interest of WRI and of WRI's network. Afternoons are dedicated to workshops offered by participants. There are two workshop slots, the first one being of 2 hours, where most of the proposed workshops are allocated, followed by a shorter slot of 1½ hours. Here we have some planned activities but it is also for spontaneous workshops, and for

workshops from the previous slot that would like to carry on.

Evenings are times for more informal sharing. However, we also have organised some activities to enrich our time together. On Saturday 5, there will be a concert at the city hall, with a focus on environmental rights. On Sunday 6 we plan to have a self-organised film festival, so please bring your films and inform us in advance so we can add it to the programme. The 'main event' for this festival is a film 'Miners Shot Down' on the Marikana massacre of August 2012 – we will also be joined by the film-makers for a Q&A afterwards. For the evening of Monday 7, we plan an activity for engaging with the local community, as connecting with local demands is vital for a successful conference.

To top all this up, we have seven different exhibitions on display during the conference, to show that the way we share and learn from our resistance can take different forms.

Working with others

The conference is not a stand-alone event, but comes within 12-day long cycle of sister meetings, which many of the conference participants will be attending as well.

Firstly, we have the Pan-African Nonviolence and Peacebuilding Network: a pan-African network of nonviolence grassroots activists formed two years ago, also in South Africa. The network meets on the 1 and 4 July, on 4 July the network is partnering with the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict for a session on strengthening nonviolent movements.

Secondly, the Women Peacemakers Program (WPP). WPP affiliated to WRI last year, and we are so glad to have this connection! Their Gender and Militarism Consultation (2-4 July) will feed into the WRI conference strategies and action to engender our struggle against militarism.

Finally, the WRI Assembly and Council meetings take place before and after the conference. This is one opportunity we have to take the impact of the conference and help it shape WRI's work over the next four years.

All these meetings are taking place in Cape Town City Hall.

More than just a conference

A WRI Quadrennial is more than a conference. It is, of course, part of WRI's continuing work. The ideas we discuss should feed into cooperation and action, the people we meet might become co-workers, and so our networks grows in effectiveness, size and scope. The Quadrennials remain a central means in our effort to build a transnational community of resisters who will support each other, and amplify the message of any part of our network in the rest of the world.

Whatever is on the agenda, we try to make the most of a time when so many of us from so many countries will be together. Often people comment that the best part of a conference is what takes place out of session, in the lunch queue, in the evenings, etc. This also may be true of WRI conferences, but in Cape Town we will also do our best to

make the sessions themselves interactive - for instance, each morning we will have a "here is the news" moment, where people in different formats share some known and also not so well known news. Reflectors have become a permanent feature in WRI conference, and this time is not the exception, each morning a pair of reflectors will share their thoughts on the what they have experience of conference to help us in the process of sharing but also continue evaluation as we move along with the programme.

We cannot end without some words about Howard Clark. Howard was the Chair of WRI until he passed away in November last year. Howard would have been opening the conference on behalf of WRI and was one of the main forces behind having this conference in South Africa. Howard had a long lasting relationship with South Africa, from his student years boycotting Barclays against Apartheid, to actively supporting the End Conscription Campaign as a member of WRI staff. Howard used to remember the impact that his first Triennial (1972) made on him, and we look forward to this time of coming together to renew and strengthen our struggles and hope they will have an impact like it had on Howard, 42 years ago.

Practical Information

Phone numbers

Conference number

+27 (0) 608206513

+27 (0) 608260536

Emergency services

Police Flying Squad: 10111

Ambulance: 10177

City of Cape Town General Emergency: 107

Sea Rescue: 021 449 3500

Mountain Rescue: 021 948 9900

Christian Barnard Hospital: 021 480 6111

Lite Kem Pharmacy – Darling Street (5 min walk from City Hall): 021 461 8040

Accommodation

Mountain Manor Backpackers hostel: +27 (0) 21 461 7200

Fuller Residence University of Cape Town: +27 (0) 21689 8506 / 650 3941

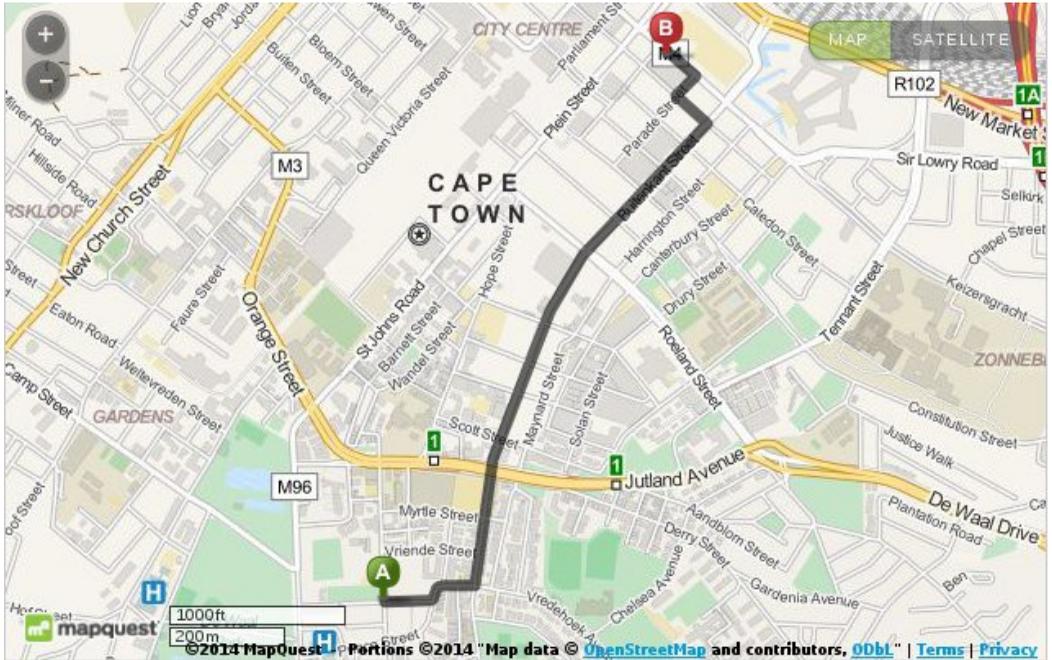
Arrivals

Getting from the airport to the Mountain Manor hostel

Take the regular A01 MyCiti shuttle from Cape Town International Airport's, final destination: Waterfront. The bus leaves the airport every 20 minutes between 05h10 and 22h00. The journey takes just over 30 minutes. Alight at the **Civic Centre**. From there you can take the 101 (towards Vredehoek), 103 (towards Oranjezicht) or 107 (towards Camps Bay) bus. The journey takes just over 15 minutes. Alight at the **Annandale** bus stop. The combined cost of both legs of the journey will be R64.60 (pay on your **myconnect** card - see belowfor details) The Mountain Manor is a 4 minute walk away, at 17 Breda Street Gardens.

The map below shows the walking route from the Mountain Manor hostel to the Town

hall.



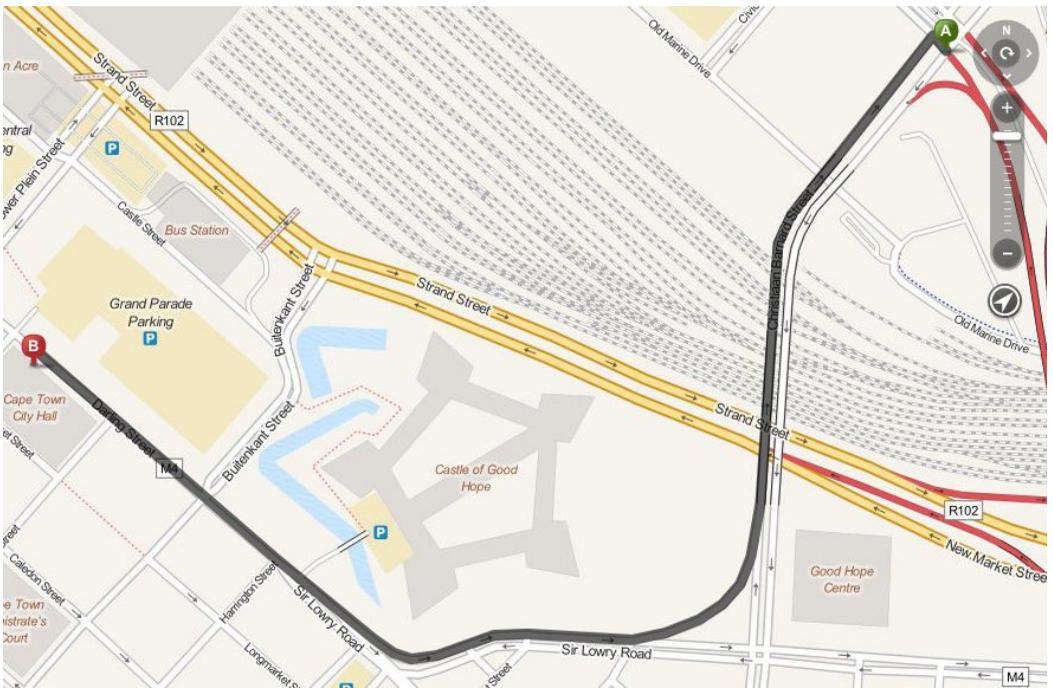
Getting from the airport to the University

The company [GreenCab](#) have offered considerable discounts for conference participants.

They will charge R225 per person for a one-way transfer to UCT. Please write to admin@thegreencab.co.za if you would like to book this. You will then be met at the airport by a meet & greet person with a welcome board displaying your name/s and the event logo.

Getting from the airport to the City Hall

If you are arriving and heading straight to the City Hall, take the regular A01 MyCiti shuttle from Cape Town International Airport's, final destination: Waterfront. The bus leaves the airport every 20 minutes between 05h10 and 22h00. The journey takes just over 30 minutes. It will cost R61.50 (pay on your **myconnect** card - see below for details) Alight at the **Civic Centre**. From there, it is either a 15 minute walk to the City Hall, or, you can take the 103 or 107 bus, alighting at **Darling**. It is a three minute walk from there to the City Hall (see map below).



Registration

Registration will take place at the City Hall. Those arriving earlier e.g. for the WRI Council Meeting on the 3rd July, will be able to register as they arrive.

Weather

The weather in Cape Town in July is due to be generally sunny, with rain expected on a couple of days. Temperatures range between 12 and 20° in the daytime, with the coldest night expected to be just 1°.

You can check the weather forecast for different days here:

<http://www.accuweather.com/en/za/cape-town/306633/month/306633?monyr=7/01/2014>

Transport

Using MyCiti buses To use the MyCiti bus system (which includes travel to and from the airport) you will need to acquire a **myconnect** for 25 Rands (€1.70). There are many kiosks around the city where you can buy a **myconnect** card (including at the airport, where the kiosk is open from 04:20 to 22:30 every day). You can buy your card and top it up with cash or with a debit card.

You will be given a receipt for your **myconnect** card, simply take your **myconnect** card

and receipt to a MyCiti station kiosk to have the price you paid for the card refunded. For more information visit the [MyCiti website](#).

Taxis

Moving around Cape Town, we suggest you **only use metered taxis**: Metered taxis have the taxi sign on top and on the passenger door side, they have the price of the fares.

If you can book in advance, try <http://rikkis.co.za/> // 0861 745 547

Venue

We are grateful for the support of **Cape Town City Hall**, who have given us their space free of charge. The site has a long history in South African struggle, and was the place where Nelson Mandela made his first speech after leaving prison. Entrance for the conference will be at Coronation Street.



Currency

South Africa's currency is the Rand. There is a currency converter available online here: <http://www.oanda.com/currency/converter/>

There are foreign-exchange outlets in the public concourse of the International Arrivals hall at Cape Town International Airport.

Food

Breakfast is available in the Mountain Manor and University for those staying there.

Lunch and dinner are available in the City Hall, at 12.45 – 14.30 and 18.00 – 19.00.

There will be Halal, vegetarian and vegan options at every meal, as well as provision for other dietary requirements people have made us aware of.

Calendar Of Events: A Guide

1 and 4 July: African Nonviolence and Peacebuilding Network Meetings.

Participation only on special registration with the convenors of the network.

2-4 July: Women Peacemakers Program Gender and Militarism Consultation

Participation only on registration with the coordinators of the WPP.

3 July (afternoon): WRI Council meeting

The WRI Council (which normally meets each year) is the decision-making body of WRI between the 4-yearly WRI Conferences. This meeting is the last meeting of the outgoing Council. After the Conference, the new Council will take office.

Members of the Council are the Chairperson, the Treasurer and the other members of the Executive Committee of the International ex officio (having been elected from among the Council members); not more than twelve persons elected by the WRI Assembly; and one representative of each Section appointed by that Section. One member of each Associate Organisation shall have the right to attend and speak, as a non-voting observer, at Council.

4th July (morning): WRI Assembly

This is the 4-yearly meeting open to all members of all WRI organisations. It is technically (i.e. in the WRI constitution) called the "Conference"; however it is here called the WRI Assembly, to save confusion with the public conference we have in South Africa. It is the sovereign decision-making body for all the WRI's political, organisational, and "business" matters. All members of WRI Sections and WRI Associate Organisations have the right to attend and speak at the meeting.

Voting rights are allocated to each WRI member organisation, with the number of votes for an organisation depending on whether the organisation is an Associate or a Section, and on the size of the organisation. It is the responsibility of each organisation represented to designate one of their number to co-ordinate the use of their voting allocation on behalf of all of their members present. For certain matters, the 12 individually elected members of WRI Council also have a vote.

Organisations interested in joining the WRI as Associates or Sections are welcome to

send observers.

4 - 8 July: from evening of 4 July, [Small Actions, Big Movements: The Continuum of Nonviolence International Conference](#)

This is a public conference. International and South African participants have mostly registered in advance; however, day guests are welcome for the afternoons to join the workshops.

8th July, evening: WRI Assembly

See the description for morning of the 4th.

9 July: Excursion day

Only for participants of the Conference who have registered in advance.

Starting at 9.00am with an orientation at the [District Six Museum Homecoming Centre](#), then a visit to Roodebloem Road to Community House, with a discussion centring on 'the unfinished business of the fight against apartheid' and walkabout. Followed by a visit to the [Guguletu 7 memorial](#), and a visit to the site of [the Ray Alexander Centre of Memorym](#).

After lunch we leave for the [Lwandle Migrant Labour Museum](#).

A contribution towards covering transport, lunch and dinner will be charged upon arrival at the Conference in Cape Town

Our thanks to the District Six Museum for their organisation of this excursion.

10 July: WRI Assembly

See the description for morning of the 4th.

11 July (morning): WRI Council meeting

See the description for the afternoon of the 3rd. This meeting is the first meeting of the new Council, including the 12 newly elected individual Council members.

Time	Friday 4 July	Saturday 5 July	Sunday 6 July	Monday 7 July	Tuesday 8 July
9:00-10:30		Plenary session			
		The Continuum of Violence “Here is the news”: Steve Sharra (Malawi) Participatory activity Plenary speakers: Bernedette Muthien (South Africa) and Zenzile Khoisan (South Africa)	The Continuum of Nonviolence – beyond regime change “Here is the news”: Eric Stoner (USA) Reflectors: Miles Tanhira (Zimbabwe) and Sophie Schellens (WPP) Plenary speakers: Yash Tandon (Uganda) and Janet Cherry (South Africa)	Nonviolence defence of livelihood and corporate militarism “Here is the news”: Priyanka Borpujari (India) Reflectors: Jungmin Choi (South Korea) and George Alain Ah-Vee (Mauritius) Plenary speakers: Lexys Rendón (Venezuela) and Anand Mazgaonkar (India)	Education/Peacebuilding “Here is the news”: Pelao Carvallo (Paraguay/Chile) Reflectors: Andrew Dey (UK) and Kanya D’Almedia (Sri Lanka) Plenary speakers: Moses Monday John (South Sudan) and Kesia-Onam Akpene Yawo (Ghana)
10:30		THEME GROUPS			
12:45-14:30		LUNCH			
14:30-16:30		Workshop session 1 (see individual day plans below)			Closing Session Theme groups report back Ahmed Kathrada (South Africa), Ceasefire Campaign Speaker, Christine Schweitzer (Chair of WRI) Closing activity
16:45-18:00	Workshops session 2 (see individual day plans below)				
18:00 – 19:00	Launch of Exhibitions		DINNER		
19:00	Welcome to the conference (see pX for details.)	Evening Programme			WRI Assembly
		Concert	Film Festival	Music	

Programme details

4 July – evening welcome

Welcome by Kennedy Mabasa of the Ceasefire Campaign, Christine Schweitzer and Dominique Saillard of War Resisters' International and handover from the Global Consultation on Gender and Militarism by the Women Peacemaker Program.

Speakers include: *Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge* (Embrace Dignity, South Africa), *Jenni Williams* (Women of Zimbabwe Arise, Zimbabwe), *Sahar Vardi* (American Friends Service Committee, and, New Profile, Israel), *Omar Barghouti* (Co-founder of the Palestinian Boycott, Divestment and Sanctions (BDS) Movement against Israel), plus a special video message from *Archbishop Desmond Tutu*, *DreamWolf poetry/performance*, *UMUVUGANGOMA* Drummers of Burundi and a 60-voice African Choir

5 July Workshops

14:30-16:30

1. **The human right to refuse war service vs. the right to refuse based on reasons of conscience:** Gernot Lennert (DFG-VK, Germany)
2. **Direct Disarmament: Hammering Swords into Plowshares:** Ellen Barfield and Paul Magno (WRL, USA)
3. **BDS for Palestinian rights: What role can South Africa play?:** Omar Barghouti, (Palestinian Campaign for the Academic and Cultural Boycott of Israel, Palestine)
4. **Peace and Conflict in the Republic of South Sudan:** Light Aganwa (South Sudan)
5. **Shared Security: A New Framework for Global Wellbeing:** Aura Kanegis, Kerri Kennedy, (American Friends Service Committee)
6. **The danger to Africa, the Middle East and the World of the US Diego Garcia military base on Mauritian, thus African land:** George Alain Ah-Vee (LALIT, Mauritius)
7. **Breaking a wall of silence maintained by fear:** Selam Kidane (Eritrea) Roberta Bacic (Chile)
8. **Nonviolent Alternatives in Syria:** Stephen Zunes (International Center on Nonviolent Conflict, USA)

9. **Peace begins on your plate (Veganism's critique of the roots of society's violence):** Neil Mitchell (World Peace Diet Circle, South Africa)
10. **Resistance to militarism and extractivism in Latin America:** Lexys Rendón (Laboratorio de paz, Venezuela), Juan Karlos Obando (Serpaj, Ecuador), Pelao Carvallo(Coordinación Curuguay, Paraguay), Estefanía Gómez (Colombia) and Igor Seke (WRI).
11. **Freedom from Violence: Peace, Security and Conflict Prevention in the Post-2015 Development Agenda:** Holly McGurk (United Nations Association of South Africa)
12. **Pawns of War: Prostitution, Sex trafficking and Patriarchy Towards the Abolition of War on Women's Bodies: Facilitator:** Nozizwe Madlala-Routledge (Embrace Dignity, South Africa). Speakers: Shalini Kishan, Rosemary Garsi, Jeremy Routledge, Tlale Rakubu
13. **Identity Exploration at the Heart of the Quest for Nonviolence:** Elavie Ndura (Burundi/USA) and Sixte Vigny Nimuraba.
14. **Democracy as a catalyst and foundation for peace and security in the Great Lakes Region:** Gabriel Hertis (Rwanda/South Africa)

16.45 – 18.00 Workshops

1. **Launch of Second edition of WRI's Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns**
2. **Arpilleras drop in workshop**

6 July workshops

14.30 – 16.30

1. **Transforming Conflict Systems:** Richard Smith and Fatima Swartz (Action Support Centre, South Africa)
2. **Rupturing the norms: social and political responses to sexual violence in South Africa and India:** Facilitators: Claudia Lopes and Paula Assubuji(Heinrich Boell, South Africa); speakers: Vivienne Lалу, Joy Watson and Urvashi Butalia
3. **Nonviolent spirituality and action:** Sharon Verwoerd (Pace e Bene, South Africa)
4. **Ukraine crisis and how peace movement could respond to it:** Christine Schweitzer (WRI,Germany) and Igor Seke (Serbia/Mexico)

5. **100 Years of African Nonviolence (with special emphasis on the life and legacy of Bill Sutherland, and a view to the next 100 years):** Yash Tandon (South Centre, Uganda), Kassahun Checole (Africa World Press, Eritrea), Charlotte O'neal (United African Alliance Community Centre, Tanzania), Shan Cretin (AFSC, USA), Dereje Wordofa (AFSC, Ethiopia), Matt Meyer (WRI, USA) and with a special video from the Sutherland family in Ghana and from George Houser in the USA.
6. **Challenges of the “Arab Spring”:** Sherif Joseph Riz (Egypt)
7. **Violence & Nonviolence (considering some of the ways that violence works and explore how analyzing violence can help us understand more about nonviolence):** Beatrice Atieno and Benard L Agona (CAPI, Kenya)
8. **Social responses to conscientious objection:** Martin Struthmann (Quaker Peace Centre, South Africa)
9. **Gender Reconciliation Taster Workshop:** Jeremy Routledge, Judy Bekker, Zanela Khumalo, Les Thomas (Embrace Dignity, South Africa) 3 hours long
10. **Who controls the arms controllers? International comparisons and lessons for the peace movement:** Laura Pollecut (Ceasefire Campaign, South Africa) and Rob Thomson (Ceasefire Campaign, South Africa)
11. **Dealing with the traumatic memories of war. A case study of people living in the South African town of Worcester:** Wilhelm Verwoerd & Deon Snyman (Restitution Foundation, South Africa)
12. **Wounds Unkissed:** Using Artistic Tools to examine the Sri Lankan Civil War: Facilitator: YaliniDream. Speaker: Varuni Tiruchelvam
13. **Journalism and the political economy of humanitarianism:** Ibrahim Shaw (IPRA, Sierra Leone)
14. **Imbadu Men’s Project providing men in prison with safe space to access and share their vulnerability and explore alternative behaviour to violence:** Lesley Thomas, Arthur Rengqu and Laurie Gaum (Centre for Christian Spirituality, South Africa)
15. **Women in Nonviolent Movements - obstacles and opportunities:** Kerri Kennedy (AFSC, USA), Matilde Gomis-Perez (AFSC, USA) Merle Gosewinkel (WPP).

16.45 – 18.00 Workshops

1. **Celebrating the life of Howard Clark**
2. **Arpilleras drop in workshop**

07 July workshops

14.30 – 16.30 Workshops

1. **Non violent resistance VS institutional violence of governmental organisation , the case of the African refugees in Israel:** Aladin Abaker (Israel)
2. **Research on nonviolent activism. What is the contribution of research on nonviolent activism to campaign work and movements? What kind of knowledge exist and how could it be improved?:** Stellan Vinthagen (WRI/Sweden), Stephen Zunes (ICNC, USA)
3. **Tzedakah and Ubuntu: Ancient Roots to Modern Solidarity:** Rabbi Sam Thurgood (Afrika Tikkun, South Africa), Sergei Sandler (New Profile, Israel), Mazibuku Jara (Amandla!-invited, South Africa), and Faith Manzi (Centre for Civil Society-invited, South Africa)
4. **Movements and the media — What's their relationship status?:** Brian Farrell (Waging Nonviolence, USA), Eric Stoner (Wanging Nonviolence, USA), Priyanka Borpujari (independent journalist, India)
5. **Gender and nonviolent action:** Lena Gruber (Germany)
6. **Conscientious objectors using human rights system:** Rachel Brett (Quaker UN office) and Hülya Üçpınar (lawyer and nonviolence trainer, Turkey)
7. **Igniting Community Peace through building a Culture of Peace:** Dayana Dreke (Programme Coordinator of Western Cape Network for Community Peace and Development, South Africa)
8. **Alternatives to Violence Project (AVP) as a peoples tool for resisting war through many small actions creating a big movement:** Mlu Dywili (WRI intern, London), Les Thomas (Embrace Dignity) and Subhash Kattel (Nepal) (3 hours session)
9. **Political Prisoners and Prisoners of Conscience - USA to South Africa and Beyond:** C'de Anele, Kanya D'Almedia. Paul Magno and Greg Payton
10. **Advancing the Anti-War Movement Through Lantern Floating:** Ineko Tsuchida (Japan), Sixte Vigny Nimuraba and Elavie Ndura (Burundi/USA)
11. **Creating Space for Peace in Conflict Areas: The work of Nonviolent Peaceforce:** Stephan Brües (Germany)
12. **Alternatives to the military:** Christine Schweitzer (WRI, Germany)
13. **WWI - lessons for today?:** Bill Hetherington (PPU, UK) and Albert Beale (PPU, UK)
14. **Rise of nationalism and responses from the peace movement?:** Boro

Kitanoski (Peace Action/Macedonia), Igor Seke (WRI, Mexico/Serbia)

15. **Community Outreach Workshop:** An afternoon outreach workshop in a community called Mannenberg (located 20mins outside Capetown). Organised in partnership with Daily Violence theme group. (limited numbers)
16. **Small Actions, Big News:** How do we want to establish international action alert and exchange of breaking peace news. (Frank Feiner, PAIS, The Netherlands and Jan van Criekeing, Agir pour la Paix, Belgium)

16.30 – 18.00 Workshops

1. **Arpilleras drop in workshop**
2. **Hip Hop from Brooklyn to Cape Town: Jendog Lonewolf**

Evening programme

5 July

Concert: *Act now against climate catastrophe - from Satyagraha to Ujamaa*, Featuring The Bongani Blax Sotshononda Jazz Quintet, Mama Charlotte O'neal, Frank Paco's Art Ensemble and a special presentation by Wahu Kaara.

6 July

Film Festival, featuring *Miners Shot Down*, a documentary about the Marikana massacre, followed by a Q&A with the makers of the film. There will also be a number of other films available to watch that participants bring along.

7 July

Co-created musical performance brought to us by DreamWolf, Sounds of the South (SOS) and Ubuntu Academy.

Exhibitions

SMALL Actions BIG Movements: the Continuum of Nonviolence - an arpillera and other textile exhibition

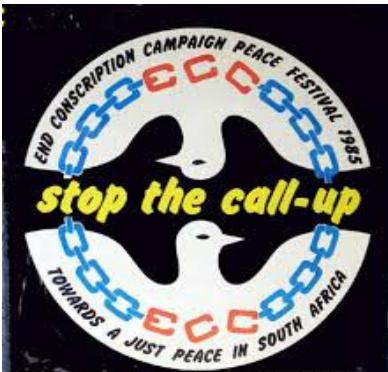
Curated by Roberta Bacic



When visiting this exhibition you will experience courageous, collective and creative responses of communities worldwide to the erosion and abuse of their human rights as a central theme. Here, women recount on cloth stories, mainly arpilleras which originated in Chile, of disappearances, forced execution, torture, resistance,

denouncement, displacement, forced exile, indigenous land struggles and the gradual transition to democracy. Grassroots women, as well as textile artists from different countries around the globe, have contributed to this 2014 exhibit which also aims to create a piece while the conference is going on.

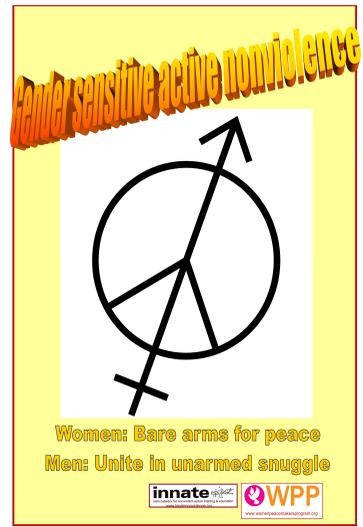
The ECC25 Virtual Exhibition



To commemorate the 25th anniversary of the launch of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC), the South African History Archive (SAHA) has developed this virtual exhibition to document how this campaign provided a united voice for young white South Africans opposed to an increasingly militant apartheid state. Details of regional programmes of ECC activities, as well as photographs, news clippings, posters and anecdotes contributed by ECC members.

INNATE posters series

INNATE has a set of A4 size mini-posters or information sheets. The major categories covered (listed alphabetically) include Dealing with the past, Gender issues, Green issues (including climate change), Human rights, Irish historical, Militarism (including war and armaments), Nonviolence, Northern Ireland, Nuclear power, Peace, Power, Religion. We welcome further suggestions to add to the series.



The Human Cost of India's Development

Photography by Priyanka Borpujari

While India is perceived as an emerging market, the stories of the plundering of natural resources and the systematic annihilation of the indigenous peoples go unheard. In this race to make India a superpower, and a growing media industry that champions this idea, social inequality has reached its zenith, and easily gets pushed aside. Reporting on the 'hidden civil war in India,' Priyanka Borpujari, an independent journalist based in Mumbai, reports and photographs from the dark territories of mineral-rich India, which are rife with violence and disease, which are only silenced.



The Objectors

A photographic portrait series by Thom Pierce

Formed in 1983, the End Conscription Campaign brought together a number of men and women who campaigned tirelessly to protest against mandatory conscription - risking arrest, detainment and interrogation. The Objectors is a photographic portrait series of conscientious objectors and ECC campaigners who risked their personal liberty to fight for equality and freedom in South Africa. This series was



The Objectors

by thom pierce

inspired by the book 'Under Our Skin' by Donald McRae.

Embrace Dignity photovoice exhibition

An exhibition of photographs by eight women of the stories they wish to tell about their marginalization, their community and their dreams for the future. Photovoice is a powerful methodology that enables marginalized communities to find their voice and take action to change their circumstances.



Ghosts

Ralph Ziman is a South African film director now resident in Los Angeles, who left South Africa in 1983 as a 19 year old conscientious objector to avoid conscription into the apartheid army. His photographic exhibition of AK-47s made of beads and wire, entitled GHOSTS, opened at the MUTI Gallery at 3 Vredehoek, Cape Town, South Africa on 24 April and will run until the start of the conference.



Public art installation on Grand Parade

Ralph was so impressed by the themes of our WRI conference whilst in Cape Town for the opening of his exhibition that he has now designed the representation of a "Broken AK-47" wrapped in money to symbolise the devastation inflicted upon the world by the international war business. Following are photographs of the "Broken AK-47" displayed on the Parade in front of the City Hall and sketches showing the detail of the broken weapon wrapped in money and held up by the two arms of an African. The intention is that the image is so large that it can be picked up by satellite and transmitted around the world as a viral message promoting both Cape Town World Design Capital 2014 and the WRI. To emphasise increasing global objections to war, Ralph is now also negotiating to have a similar "Broken AK-47" image somewhere in New York with Control Arms and Human Rights Watch, which he has supported and funded in the US.



Theme groups

1. Military alliances and military intervention: Convened by Jan van Crieking and Emanuel Matondo

In the last five years, WRI helped initiate the European network of Nonviolent Action against NATO, which has organised or supported actions in several countries - including outside Europe, in Korea and the USA - to draw attention to the impact of their participation in NATO. WRI has also published analyses or declarations concerning various military interventions, including in Libya, Syria, the Congo, Mali, and most recently South African military engagement in the Central African Republic. WRI has also supported experiments in nonviolent civilian intervention, such as the Freedom Flotilla, the Nonviolent Peaceforce, and Peace Brigades International.

2. Daily violence (domestic violence, hate crimes, urban insecurity, etc...): Convened by Fadzai Muparutsa & Igor Seke

As well as the pervasive presence of domestic violence throughout the world, and the increasing tendency for this to involve lethal weapons, from southern Africa to Venezuela, Colombia to Russia and Zimbabwe and Sweden, WRI groups are also facing issues of everyday violence and hate crimes. This is world issue not just of the so called "Global South". The response favoured by states tends to be strong-arm policing, suppressing the symptoms of a deeper illness. This theme group will look at causes and consequences, and share citizen-based alternative responses. As well as participants linked with the International Action Network on Small Arms, and the campaign Gun-Free South Africa, one Cape Town group involved will be the anti-sex trafficking group Embrace Dignity.

3. Campaigning against war profiteering: Convened by Guntant Govindjee and Seungho Park

War profiteering has been a permanent feature of the military landscape. It is not just that the search for profits can foment war. Military rivalry has also gone hand in hand with industrial and technological mobilization for war, reaching new heights in the 21st century. Those who profit from war form a powerful lobby in favour of military expenditure and war preparations. To combat their influence requires identifying and exposing their activities and their interests and developing campaigns that oppose their activities.

4. Civil resistance and 'people power' movements: beyond regime change: Convened by Stellan Vinthagen

Throughout most of its history, WRI has been a reference point on nonviolent struggle, both encouraging study and evaluation of nonviolent methods, and spreading know-how through nonviolence training exchanges and the publication in 2009 of WRI's Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns (now available in 10 languages). In many countries in transition, WRI members have found themselves criticising the new power-holders, including in South Africa itself, and in Egypt WRI was one of the first international bodies to take up issues about the continuing power of the military after the the downfall of Hosni Mubarak.

5. Countering the militarisation of youth: Convened by Sahar Vardi and Dola Olouch

War, and violence in general, cannot happen without people, especially young people, being educated to support it, see it as natural, and for some—to join it and perpetrate it. In recent years, WRI has been leading an effort—the first of its kind—to bring together activists working to counter militarisation of youth all over the world to share their experiences, knowledge, tactics and strategies.

6. Dealing with the past: Convened by Boro Kitanoski and Tim Murithi

This has been a major issue for WRI groups in countries emerging from war or criminal regimes (such as the apartheid regime or military dictatorships). There is a perpetual tension between Truth and Reconciliation - between investigation and determining responsibility on the one hand, and establishing a new basis for coexistence on the other - and models developed in one culture have been found inappropriate elsewhere.

7. Nonviolent community struggles: Convened by Swati Desai and Lerato Maragele

Extractive industries, such as mining, pose a range of threats to local communities - from displacement and ecological disruption to the exacerbation of social conflict. Frequently, these industries are accompanied by military or paramilitary forces. WRI members in Asia, Africa, Europe and Latin America have been involved in such struggles, devising nonviolent strategies to defend livelihoods, to strengthen local autonomy and in favour of sustainable development.

8. Peacebuilding: Convened by Christine Schweitzer and Moses Monday

The theme group will look at the concept and the experiences made in peacebuilding on the African continent (and beyond), focussing on the role of civil society, but also looking critically at the so-called international community and its approaches. South Sudan will be a prominent example, but there will be also opportunity for participants from other countries and continents to share their experiences and insights. On the concluding day, we will seek to draw lessons from the case studies, and discuss the issue of peacebuilding, nonviolence and the contributions of international solidarity and support. The key question will be how can we better work together?

9. Economic crises and militarism: Convened by Susan Kingsland and Dereje Wordofa

Capitalism can't live without militarism, and this is made clearer in times of "crisis". As people in corners of all continents are hit by cuts to social spending, there is one sector that tends to be more protected than the rest - not other than the military. WRI has been involved in the Global Day of Action on Military Spending, campaigning to redirect military spending to other social needs. At the same time the work on countering the militarisation of youth involves challenging the targeting of vulnerable communities by the military. In WRI building the alternative is as important a resistance, constructive programme initiatives of building economic alternatives are crucial to challenging capitalism and militarism.

10. Formal and non-formal education and nonviolence: Convened by Elavie Ndura and Kai-Uwe

How do we learn has a huge impact on the society we shape. If we want a nonviolent society, where aims and means are coherent toward a society that respect all species and nature, we need forms of learning accordingly. We are too used to being educated within the same principles of the violent society we live in. History is the history of the oppressors and the military structure is too often is replicated in our school systems. Challenging how we learn both in a formal way as well as valuing the role of non-formal education and challenging the power distinction between who teaches and who learns is key to nonviolent struggles. This theme group will look at the role of formal and non-formal education in building a nonviolent society.

11. Nonviolence Training: Convened by Hülya Üçpınar and Agona Bernard

Nonviolent movements do not just happen. They are planned and worked at, often by hundreds of people and grassroots activists. Training can play a huge part in

empowering all kinds of people to take part in nonviolent campaigns. People come at nonviolence from many different perspectives. It can be a tool, a way of life - or somewhere in between. How can we come from those different perspectives to produce good nonviolence trainings? Everyone is welcome at this theme group! It will share experiences and network nonviolence trainers worldwide, to become better and more inclusive trainers.

12. Resisting the War on Mother Earth, Reclaiming our Home: convened by Clare Bayard and Faith kaManzi

In this theme group, we will share, develop, coordinate, and nourish work around the world for climate justice and a world without war. What is politely called 'climate change' – and what is causing climate change - is in fact war on large sections of humanity by a small minority of exploiters from within our own species, and also an unprecedented war on Mother Earth.

13. Transnational Solidarity: convened by Bernedette Muthien and Stephen Zunes

This workshop will examine successful examples of how international solidarity efforts with a major focus on strategic nonviolent action have played and can play an important role in complementing liberation struggles within particular countries.

Theme group articles

1. Military alliances and military intervention

Jan van Crieking and Emanuel Matondo

Looking back over the history of Africa from the arrival of slave traders from the Western and Arab world, external armed powers continuously ran military expeditions all over the continent, in search of black people to export as slaves. These armed powers, mostly acting under the orders of royal houses and noble families from Western and Eastern empires, were militarily in competition in Africa and fighting each others on the prowl for the "black gold"; black men, women and children. Most of these slave traders, their employers and sponsors from the royal societies in the USA respectively in Portugal, Spain, Sweden, France (Europe), Brazil or the Arab world enrich themselves, industrialise their countries and build their modern cities from this trade in barbarity. Some of the commanders who ran these murderous military expeditions to gain control over Africa were in the nineteenth century are still being celebrated as heroes in their native countries today. One of this notorious figure or mass murder is for example Henry Morton Stanley, the beloved among the royals of Europe and noble societies of the Americas.

In 1885, the former slave traders from the West and East committed to joined forces instead of fighting each others over Africa, and convened the "Berlin Congo-Conference" in Germany, in order to form military alliances beyond colonial lines after an arbitrarily partition of the black continent without consideration of existing traditional and socio-cultural societies or regions. The real retrogression of Africa began with the ratification of "the General Act of the Congo-Conference of Berlin", on 26 February 1885, by representatives of the President of the USA, European and Ottoman empires. After banning the slave trade, these super-powers agreed to secure free access into lands and waters in Africa in order to get control over ressources in this continent for "the development of the commerce and of civilizations in certain regions" of the black continent, and "to assure all the people the advantages of free navigation upon the two principal African rivers which empty into the Atlantic ocean.". With the brutal partition of Africa they promised "to increase the moral and material wellbeing of the indigenus populations." But, as their colonial militaries arrived in the continent, the apocalypse also began for the Africans. The so-called civilized from Europe and their allies exposed themselves as the most barbaric people, as enemies of humanity. To extend their system or to strengthen their power, they formed alliances with corrupt local traditional leaders and with small ethnic groups. They created segregated societies all over Africa, divided between "militarily allied local traditional leaders and their ethnic groups" and hostile populations, who were resistant to external powers, looters and murders. At the same time, the colonial powers built in the midst of African societies a kind of local "intellectual elite" in different cities, who could get some high school skills and they later qualified as "assimilated persons". While the rural populations were barred from schools and then dubbed "indigenous people" or "the brutes". This is the conflict line designed by the former slave traders and later colonial military powers, which is hurting the African continent since then until today.

In the middle of 1950s, Africa entered into a process of independence. In reaction to the permanent resistance by rural populations, during centuries and mostly without arms, "local intellectual elites" or the so-called "assimilated persons" took the lead of the liberation struggles in Africa. In the most cases, some "assimilated persons" turned into other military powers as China, Cuba and the former Eastern Soviet Union for alliances. It was now the beginning of the Cold War in Africa, with the Western colonial powers looking for to maintain the total control of natural ressources of the black continent and the Soviets to extend its communist empire there. Both imperial powers were fighting for influence over Africa and its leadership; the dream of African independence did not become a reality and turned into a nightmare for the majority of its populations, with uncounted civil wars, more crimes of genocide, crimes against humanity, permanent starvations and extreme poverty.

After the failure of independence, and external powers acting to destabilise different African countries, most African leaders redesigned their policies and formed new military alliances. Among their allies were former colonial powers, as well as new ones like China, Brazil, India, Japan, North Korea, South Korea, Israel, Pakistan, Iran, Emirates Arab United and Turkey. In this constellation, the corruption of the elite became a means of influencing local political leadership from outside in order to defend the interests of these external powers. Those leaders who tried to resist the established military power

in Africa, were brutally assassinated. The case of Emery Patrice Lumumba (Congo independence leader and the first elected prime minister of the Democratic Republic of the Congo, who was deposed after just 12 weeks and then killed by firing squad) is still in our memory.

Some of these external powers are very hostile to each others when competing for natural resources or other issues outside Africa, but share interests in a single country. There are many military alliances existing, from the past to today, and others are under way. Taking a look on existing military alliances throughout Africa, we find deals and cooperation aimed at gaining influence over the continent, which also enable the external powers to get free access in raw materials or Rare Earths at a low-cost. Through the militarisation of African countries, these external powers instigate violence and wage wars in order to maintain the statu quo. It's a continuation of the spirit of the 1885 Berlin-Congo Conference, putting the plundering in the centre of politics.

Among old military alliances existing in Africa, we should consider the US-Belgian coalition on DR Congo, which went back to the 1940s at the beginning of the War World II, as the Americans entered into partnership with the former colonial power to get free access to uranium for the production of the first atomic bomb, dropped later on May 1945 in both Japanese cities of Nagasaki and Hiroshima. Since then the Americans have kept their eyes on the uranium site in the DR Congo, and from this US-Belgian military alliance resulted the strong armed partnership between the CIA, the Belgium's secret service and Mobutu Sese Seko, who seized the power in 1961 after his contribution to the killing of Patrice Lumumba. Mobutu Sese Seko entered into the modern African history as a notorious and most repressive dictator, who stayed in power for 36 years forming also several strategic military alliances with Germany, Israel, China, the Apartheid regime of South Africa, France and UK among others. For many of these external powers, the dictator Mobutu was a kind of frontman in the destabilizing policy of the Central African Region and the guarantee for the free access to raw materials like cobalt, copper, diamonds, and gold. Countries like Germany, USA, Belgium, France and Israel supplied arms as well as military training to this dictator, which Mobutu used over the years to run war games against neighbour countries like Angola or supporting the former Hutu-regime in Rwanda. With the emergence of extremists within this Hutu-regime, backed by some Western countries, the world witnessed another human tragedy, with the genocide of hundred thousands of Tutsi and moderate Hutu populations in 1994. The Hutu-regime was thrown out and the Tutsi-led armed forces seized power. Some years later, in 1997, the regime of the dictator Mobutu Sese Seko also collapsed after the march of a new military alliance between Tutsi-led power and Congolese exiled resistance, an alliance which opened the to chaos, which has affected the region of Central Africa since. From then, many different African countries formed military alliances in the struggle for the DR Congo, a country at a permanent risk of partition, with the president of Rwanda acting now as a frontman of the external powers from Western and Eastern countries.

Among all military alliances set up in the last two-three decades in Africa, AFRICOM (US Africa Command) is the largest one, and includes Special Operations, covert drone attacks and "Security Cooperation Programs", as well as close partnership with the

majority of countries in the continent. Founded on 2007 by the US President George W. Bush, AFRICOM claims to play a geo-strategic role to promote security as well as to be in charge of 53 African countries, except Egypt, which has a special military partnership with the USA since more than three decades. With Headquarter located in Germany, city of Stuttgart-Moehringen, Africom set up different subordinate military commands operating from several cities, namely the "US Army Africa" from Böblingen, Ramstein (both in Germany) and from Vicenza (Italy). It's very important to mention that Germany and Italy are playing a key role in many US special operations and covert wars in Africa. In 2011, from its subordinate Command in Vicenza (Italy), Africom took the lead of military actions by a coalition between France and UK against the dictator Muammar al-Kaddafi in Libya, who later was brutally killed, with the Germany's secret service supplying a support to its Western allies.

At the the French military "Camp Lemonier", in Djibouti, East Africa, the US Command Africom set up its biggest military base in the black continent, from where the US Army Africa runs all special operations and supplies its forces on the war against terrorism over Somalia and Jemen as well as the Indian Ocean. In addition, Africom maintains strong alliances with following countries with small military bases in Niamey (Niger) supporting French and German troops in Mali, in Ethiopia (Arba Minch) for Drones actions over Somalia, Seychelles (Victoria) for Drones war over East Africa, and in Uganda (Entebbe) for Drones and special operations in South Sudan, Central Africa Republic (CAR) and Eastern Region of the Democratic Republic of the Congo. The US-Uganda military partnership enabled also the USA to set up its NSA-Centre as well as a small unit of the Defence Intelligence Agency (DIA), operating from this African country through the continent.

Beyond this, there are many other military alliances. But it makes sense to focus only on some of it. Most of these alliances base upon supplying arms or war equipments and manufacturing plants for the local production of small arms & ammunitions, permanent military trainings and warfare know-how while some others of these external powers are boosting their economies through arms and drug trafficking in Africa.

A longer version of this article can be found at: <http://wri-irg.org/node/23206>

2. Daily violence

Fadzai Muparutsa and Igor Seke

Daily violence is a form of violence that is very difficult to endure and even harder to eradicate. When violent behaviour and violent actions become a part of the everyday life, when people are unable to live without fear of being threatened, beaten up, expelled from their homes or even killed, we can then diagnose daily violence.

Daily violence can be perpetuated either by the forces of the state - when the police or the military are the ones who apply the violence against their own citizens. We can also talk about the violence perpetuated by the para-military groups, on the "other side" of the law, but usually deeply connected with at least some structures of the state. Daily violence is also the one applied by the criminal groups that control vast territories in

many countries, leading some of them to be considered “failed states”. For many millions of women worldwide, it is violence on the streets or in their homes, at the hands of intimate partners or strangers. The other forms of daily violence mentioned are also deeply 'gendered', in that their impacts are imbalanced, affecting women and men differently, including sexual violence against women by militaries, paramilitaries and guerrillas.

The victims of daily violence are usually those not in position to defend themselves, so here we are not talking about an armed conflict such as war. Daily violence is unidirectional towards the minority groups (ethnic, sexual, political...) or towards vulnerable groups such as migrants, people with low incomes, etc. Also, as its victims we need to include the activists: human rights activists, peace activists, ecologists, and all others who act or just try to raise awareness against violence and its instigators, where we also need to include journalists. However, daily violence suffered by certain groups is well hidden, or is simply of no interest for the majority of the population. For example, the LGBTI community in many African countries is under a constant threat, and its members not only suffer everyday discrimination but are also murdered because of their sexual preferences, while the majority decides to turn a blind eye. Members of the indigenous communities in Latin America and elsewhere in the world also face very harsh and violent treatment by the authorities, while the majoritarian “mestizo” and “criollo” population pretends like it's not aware of it.

In Central America, El Salvador, Honduras and Guatemala, are some of the countries that have an enormous problem with gangs (Las Maras and others) who not only control the drug business but also take part of the earnings of all small businesses, even from those who make not more than 50 \$US a month. Those who refuse to pay them usually end up dead. People who press charges against them usually end up leaving their hometown in fear of revenge, and many end up as refugees in Mexico and elsewhere. Those who are forced to flee also risk their lives during the entire journey, that's usually northward as the migration routes are also controlled by the criminals. Mexico's borders - both the southern and northern – are among the world's most dangerous places. In Ciudad Juarez on the very border with the US a new common crime called “femicide” had to be added to the criminal law, because of the huge amount of murdered and disappeared girls and women.

In Mexico, the war between the state and the drug cartels causes more than 10,000 victims every year. More than 2 million people are considered to be internally displaced in Mexico due to the activities of the criminal groups. Crime has also infiltrated the structures of the state, including the police, and the distrust of the people led to creation of the “self-defence” forces, consisting of ordinary people who armed themselves in order to obtain the protection that the state failed to provide them. Constant clashes between these groups and the criminals made violence an everyday experience in many parts of the country.

When the state decides to allow big corporations to excavate large territories populated by the rural or indigenous communities which oppose these projects, we know we're facing a situation that will cause a rise in daily violence. We've witnessed many situations where states actually use the tactics of implementing, or allowing the increase

of daily violence in certain areas in order to break popular resistance and pave the way for the corporations. Then, we see workers rights violated in many places and in many ways, while the states use their forces on a daily basis to maintain the unjust economic relations.

Unfortunately, our experience tell us that the daily violence usually embeds itself in the social tissue, and any attempt to remove it requires much more effort than it would have taken for its prevention. However there are examples of effective struggles against daily violence, and it's our aim to make them known, learn from them, and see how the experiences from one context can be adapted and applied in another.

3. Campaigning against war profiteering

Gunvant Govindjee and Seungho Park

War profiteering has a long and loathsome history. However, in the age of neo-liberalism - during which large-scale privatisation has been taking place - war profiteers have found new opportunities to rake in enormous profits. In particular, in the aftermath of the 9/11 attacks, the launching of wars of aggression by the US and its allies, both military and non-military corporations have enriched themselves to an extent never seen in history. For example, Halliburton made \$39.5 billion as a result of no-bid contracts, gross overcharging and worker exploitation during the war against Iraq. There is a view that Dick Cheney, who had been Halliburton's CEO until 2000 and was US vice president at the time of the invasion of Iraq, supported the war in order to rescue his struggling oil company.

War profiteers come in many guises such as arms dealers, commodity dealers, politicians, scientists in the service of the military, and civilian and military contractors. According to Stephen Lendman, "War profiteers are in a class by themselves. They thrive on war. They depend on it. Their businesses require conflicts and instability to prosper. The more ongoing, the greater the potential profits." ("Making the world safe for war profiteers," Global Research, December 16, 2013.)

The victims of war profiteers are not only the citizens of countries against whom war is waged, but also the taxpayers in the aggressor country. By playing on the security fears of citizens and by appealing to their sense of nationalism, war profiteers achieve their ambitions with relative ease. Recall Tony Blair's claim that the Iraqi military was capable of launching chemical and biological weapons within 45 minutes of receiving an order.

How can we put an end to war profiteering? The obvious answer is to abolish war, but this is an unrealisable goal for now. Our challenge then, is to find creative ways to oppose war profiteers, and to expose their greed and corruption. Most importantly, it is necessary to relentlessly campaign for demilitarisation at home and abroad which would deprive war profiteers of their undeserved bounties.

To a very large extent, wars can only be waged and sustained through public support. Warmongering politicians - in collaboration with the corporate media - manipulate public opinion to promote their ulterior agendas. Despite having been hoodwinked repeatedly through propaganda and appeals to patriotism, the military-industrial media complex

continues to successfully fleece taxpayers and use the youth as cannon fodder. An important factor that enabled both the British and US empires to grow and survive for so long was the brainwashing of their citizens. Our task is to explore ways to encourage citizens to stand up against an uncritical acceptance of war rhetoric spouted by politicians and media, who are in reality the agents of war profiteers. In other words, the reach of War Resisters' International needs to be extended globally, so that the organisation has a presence and influence well beyond its present spread.

On 15 February 2003 an estimated ten million protesters took to the streets in many countries to oppose the invasion of Iraq. Such mobilisation showed us that there was strong, global opposition against war, but the decision-makers/war profiteers were not dissuaded from their course of action. We need to consider what lessons have been learnt from our past experiences, and what can be done to be more effective in opposing those who profit from war.

4. Civil resistance and 'people power' movements: beyond regime change

Stellan Vinthagen

Today it is obvious that unarmed popular movements are able to overthrow authoritarian regimes, even militarized and dictatorial regimes that have controlled countries for decades. Through mass demonstrations, civil disobedience, noncooperation, strikes and boycotts some 30 dictatorships have fallen during the last decades. We have more recently seen how entrenched authoritarian regimes have fallen within "the Arab Spring" in Egypt and Tunisia, and previously similar dramatic transitions have happened throughout Latin America, Eastern Europe, Western Africa, as well as in South Africa, Iran, Indonesia, the Philippines, etc. All these examples point towards the people power or nonviolent revolution that Gandhi was instrumental in developing during the struggle in South Africa and India. However, it is also obvious today that these regime changes point towards a number of problems and challenges, some of which our theme group want to engage with.

It seems today equally obvious how difficult it is to get a really different and more just society after that the regime collapses. Probably the recent 96 % election of the military leader Asisi in Egypt in an election that had problems to gather enough voters is the clearest example of this. But other examples are plentiful. The recent second regime change in Ukraine also illustrates the problem. The new rule after the Orange Revolution became not only less democratic and more corrupt than what the opposition imagined, but the old ruling elite came back after an election victory, and now with the "second Orange revolution" the country seems to be violently divided between a Russia oriented East and EU oriented West. Furthermore, already the first recognised nonviolent revolution, the Indian liberation from colonial rule of Britain, also did lead to a depressing development. India joined the nuclear weapon club, the force behind the liberation, the Congress, developed a kind of family rule and system of endemic corruption, centralized large-scale industrialization, maintained the caste system and accepted permanent poverty. The result was quite the opposite of what Gandhi worked for; the

disempowerment of the rural villages that Gandhi viewed as the basis of a future decentralized village republic.

Basically the challenge is to find ways of how to build a sustainable society after a regime change that is (at least more) just, democratic, developed and secure for humans and their rights:

- To deal with the divisions after a regime change (the old elites, the different social/ethnic groups and earlier tensions, etc.)
- To find the resources and finances to run the country after regime change without being hostage to IMF and the World Bank (very few countries have succeeded to avoid the power of these finance institutions and their pressures of 'liberalization')
- To prevent a counterrevolution, return to old politics or fear of (more) change in society
- To make new alliances within and outside of the community in order to stabilise the revolution and get the needed support (Cuba as an example, had to forge ties with a whole set of new countries and stakeholders in order to survive when the US and some right wing Latin American countries decided to isolate and boycott)
- Questions about punishing the crimes and criminals of the previous regime and/or reconciling a society (There is most likely a limit to how much criminal proceeding a society might take before renewed tensions arising or risks of civil war evolve. Many countries tend to not punish much at all, not making rule of law powerful and letting old elites and criminals be, even giving them seats in the new regime alliance)
- How to avoid that the eruption of opposition against a repressive regime evolves into a chaos of different strategies by different groups and even a civil war situation? (There are those both inside and outside that might take advantage of a stalemate and existing opening, as in the civil war in Syria)

Our theme group will start by making an inventory of the experiences and resources of knowledge among the participants, and then work on the theme through a problem presentation, and discussions and evaluations of experiences in different contexts. A recurrent illustration will be the struggle in West Papua. Our aim is to develop a number of recommendations and questions for movements to consider, and ideas of projects that could help us understand possible solutions.

Questions and problems to discuss:

- What alliances matter for forging a strong opposition?
- Is it the same kind of alliances that are needed in order to govern and develop after a regime change?
- Could the alliances be forged in a way that serves both purposes?

- What kind of resistance strategies is needed to effectively fight the repression and authoritarian regime?
- Is it the same strategies that are needed to govern and develop the society towards a more just, democratic and rights-based society?
- Could the way and forms of resistance adapt to the needs of governance and development already during the struggle?
- What kind of models of alliances, regimes, governance and development are celebrated and evolving in the oppositional movement? Could they be refined, tried out and trained on somehow during the struggle?
- Should the same kind of people and groups that have been successful in overthrowing a regime be the ones governing after the revolution?
- What kind of lessons could be drawn from the present situation of regime changes, challenges and possibilities?
- Is a negotiated outcome, where the regime and the opposition agree on a transition process, better for creating a more just, democratic and rights-based society, or is it rather more difficult (since the elites are still within the transition, having a stake and forging the terms of change)?
- There have been some 30-50 regime changes today, as a result of unarmed popular movements.

There seems to exist a tendency to have less risk of civil war and more chance of liberal democracy if the struggle is clearly nonviolent in character. But what could we learn from the differences in outcome?

5. Countering the militarisation of youth

The images of war, armed conflict, and organized violence worldwide can take different forms, but the one thing they almost always have in common are the young men and women filling the lines of military and paramilitary organizations.

In both countries that still have conscription, and countries with professional militaries, governments, education systems, the militaries themselves and even private companies and organisations, are all actively promote militaristic values; to fill the ranks of armed forces and to legitimise the use of organised violence socially.

In conscript societies - even though conscription is enforced by law - there are still great efforts to militarise youth. For example, in Israel, much of the effort is concentrated in schools. Soldiers going in and out of classrooms explain about units and positions, teachers are being measured according to the enlistment rate of their students, principals promote their schools by showing off the high rate of combat soldiers or officers that graduated from the schools, and ministers of education have declared outright that the preparation for military service is one of the goals of the education system. According to a survey done by WRI in 32 countries (both with conscript and

professional militaries), in 18 of them there's an official collaboration between the ministry of education and the military, and in the majority of countries with no mandatory service, the military does overt recruitment in schools. But militarisation of youth doesn't start or end within the walls of education systems.

While more and more countries in the world abolish conscription and move to a professional army there are plenty of other ways to militarise young people without laws forcing conscription.

While most youth around the world have never shot a gun, how many of us have fired - and killed - someone in a computer game? While most youth in the world might never wear a military uniform, how many of us have worn camouflaged cloths presented as just another form of fashion? How many of us played with toy guns? Militaries also find more and more ways to be appealing to young people not only through traditional violent-militaristic values. The promise of adventure, upholding values of democracy, or even gender equality, and finally, the promise of personal gain, whether it be by subsidizing education or by promising a lasting career are all ways and means of militarising young people. In the survey done by WRI on the militarisation of youth it was found that in 30 of the 32 countries surveyed, this idea that the military will lead to future employment or study opportunities is one of the strongest selling points used by all militaries - conscript and professional as one. Even when many of these promises are based on lies, this rhetoric targeting youth who still can't form strong opinions or explore different horizons, especially in underprivileged groups of different societies, seems to work. Young men and women enlist on the pretence of these false promises and social values that push them to do so.

But the militarisation of youth is not reserved just to militaries. Similar processes occur in countries in which strong para-military groups operate. As an example, while Kenya is considered a non-conscript country, militarisation takes a totally different form where the common denominator is the false notion that the use of force is necessary for effective leadership and control. It has been noted before in many quotas that such a notion is in fact the premise of militarisation. The existence of the same comes at the expense of rule of law mechanisms and democracy, as well as the realization of human rights. As witnessed in the Kenyan situation the architects of militarisation are not always put in place by the state. In fact, there are instances where the state "is missing in action" and this opens space for militarisation by groups, such as the militia groups in Kenyan informal settlements like Mungiki¹. Similar situations are witnessed in many sectors that are considered disorganised. In public transport, security, or social services, these groups initially come in to fill the gaps, but eventually turn into militias and terror groups that extort money from residents in the name of protection/security, garbage collection etc. The challenge however, is the fact that militarisation makes its mark not only on political and legal systems, but also on social behaviour. Frequent threats and

¹ Mungiki is a Kikuyu (largest tribe in Kenya) word that means a united people or multitude or mass. It's a group that mostly consists of young people. Mungiki operates most extensively in Nairobi's informal settlement as essentially constituting a street gang or a criminal network that contributes to, and feeds off of, an environment plagued by a state of perpetual security crisis. It is said that it originally rejected westernization and everything that was believed to be theirs including Christianity and therefore wanted to practice the African culture.

harassments are symptoms of the breakdown of social relationships as well as the institutions of rule of law and democracy. In these circumstances, the above mentioned threats are accompanied by extrajudicial killings, physical harassment of all types, and other vices.

So what can we do about this?

Many anti-militarist activists around the world are finding different ways to counter the militarisation of youth, and the more creative we are, the wider the affect we can have.

Working on school, municipal and regional levels to try to demand military-free education has been the main focus of some groups, while others have been working on designing and changing computer games. Some activists focus on creating alternative spaces for youth to escape to and be able to criticise and challenge the direction their society is forcing them in, and some focus on giving nonviolence trainings to provide young people with an alternative way of reacting to everyday situations in which violence might otherwise be the default. Some groups focus on highlighting the use of militaristic symbols and soldiers in advertisement, and others in exposing the real conditions of soldiers as opposed to the one shown in military advertisements. An intentional day of action for military free education, that will be expanded into a week of action this year, has been an opportunity for many of these initiatives to come together.

In the Kenyan case, as an example of many others, most young people targeted for militarisation are ones with minimal levels of education. Architects of militarisation ride on their vulnerability due to lack of basic education and exposure to other ways and means of living life. This lures them into this system which eventually becomes the only thing they know, and most remain as such unless lucky enough to find a way out. In response, offering or ensuring accessibility to basic education is also a method to counter militarisation. Education and the exposure that comes with it introduces youths to alternative and better ways of living, offering them a non-militarised path in life. Coaching, mentoring and accompaniment through informal, tailor-made dialogue processes can also play important roles in deconstructing the old notions of militarisation. The Kenyan constitution 2010 opens space for citizens' participation in governance and allows for an alternative way of engaging young people in other means of building the nation. For a while now, citizen participation forums have been an alternative way of making sure that young people are involved in local and national processes, aimed at bringing on board their contribution to development, peace and reconciliation and governance. Young people are slowly but steadily becoming part of crucial decision-making processes. The outcome is that young people are engaged constructively in nation building, as opposed to being part of militarisation activities.

By highlighting the affects militarisation has on youth, on women, on the poor, the uneducated, on LGBTQ, and on other marginalised communities who are either targeted by the military for enlistment - or become targets for violence in their own society due to militaristic values - we are able to challenge all of these.

6. Dealing with the Past to Promote Peacebuilding

Tim Murithi and Dora Urujeni

Introduction

As we progress through the second decade of the twenty-first century, the protracted nature of conflict around the world illustrates the urgent need to effectively deal with the past, resist war and consolidate peacebuilding. This article will discuss the challenge of dealing with the past, which has been a major issue for WRI groups in countries emerging from war or authoritarian regimes, such as the apartheid regime or military dictatorships. There is a perpetual tension between the pursuit of peace through recovering the truth and utilizing this as a basis for reconciliation, and the use of the evidence generated through this process to prosecute those who are alleged to have committed war crimes. In other words, there is a tension between investigating war crimes with a view to determining responsibility and sanctioning perpetrators, on the one hand, and establishing a new basis for coexistence through acknowledgement and reconciliation.

Peacebuilding in Context

At the heart of the peacebuilding project is the identification of more effective ways of stabilizing and improving the livelihood and well-being of war-affected citizens. In 1992, the Agenda for Peace, published by the then United Nations (UN) Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali, defined peacebuilding as the medium to long-term process of rebuilding war-affected communities. It defined peacebuilding as 'action to identify and support structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace to avoid a relapse to conflict.'² Over time the definition of peacebuilding has 'gradually expanded to refer to integrated approaches to address violent conflict at different phases of the conflict cycle.'³ At a fundamental level peacebuilding involves addressing the root causes of the conflict and enabling warring parties to continue to find solutions through negotiation and when necessary through mediation. These activities are ultimately striving to bring about the healing of a war-affected community through effectively dealing with the past and promoting reconciliation. Reconciliation however is not sustainable without socio-economic reconstruction and development. All of which cannot be done without the mobilization of resources. Peacebuilding is effectively a political activity but one that seeks to unify the judicial, social and economic spheres.

² Boutros Boutros-Ghali, *An Agenda for Peace: Preventive Diplomacy, Peacemaking and Peacekeeping*, New York: United Nations, 1992.

³ Necla Tschirgi, *Peacebuilding as the Link between Security and Development: Is the Window of Opportunity Closing?*, (New York: International Peace Academy, 2003), p.1.

Understanding Dealing with the Past

Dealing with the past includes establishing processes of justice and redress as a means to promoting peacebuilding and reconciliation. In 1997, the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (predecessor to the UN Human Rights Council) approved the Joint Principles on Combating Impunity which established the rights of victims and the obligations of states. The Joint Principles identify four key parallel processes that are necessary to mitigate against impunity, namely:

1. the right to know;
2. the right to justice;
3. the right to reparation; and
4. the guarantee of non-recurrence.

The processes are premised on confronting the atrocities of the past and undertaking certain judicial and quasi-judicial measures to safeguard against the potential recurrence of similar abuses in the future.

Some of the processes for dealing with the past fall under the rubric of the still contested term 'transitional justice'.⁴ In particular, transitional justice seeks to advance processes and establish mechanisms and institutions to confront the past and to address the key issues that have sustained political repression or fuelled conflict.⁵ Transitional justice 'seeks to address challenges that confront societies as they move from an authoritarian state to a form of democracy'.⁶ More often than not such societies are emerging from a past of brutality, exploitation and victimisation. In this context, transitional justice does not seek to replace criminal justice, rather it strives to promote 'a deeper, richer and broader vision of justice which seeks to confront perpetrators, address the needs of victims, and start a process of reconciliation and transformation towards a more just and humane society'.⁷

The ultimate purpose of a process of transitional justice is to establish a quasi-judicial framework to undo the continuing effects of the past. South Africa remains an important model in this regard. At the heart of the South African transition was the need to deal with a past through procedures that were acknowledged and accepted by the key interlocutors who were affected by the deep divisions of the past. It is also necessary not to lose sight of the fact that transitional justice is just that, a 'transitional process' and it should not be viewed as a permanent solution to addressing the atrocities of the past. It is rather a transient process that will have to give way to the rule of law and the restoration of a constitutional order that will manage and resolve the social, political and

⁴ United Nations Security Council, *The Rule of Law and Transitional Justice in Conflict and Post-Conflict Societies*, Report of the Secretary-General, S/2004/616, 23 August 2004, p.3.

⁵ N. Kritz (ed), *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes*, (Washington, D.C.: 1995; and A. J. McAdams, *Transitional Justice and the Rule of Law in Democracies*, (Notre Dame: Notre Dame University Press, 1997).

⁶ Alex Boraine, 'Transitional Justice', in Charles Villa-Vicencio and Erik Doxteder (eds), *Pieces of the Puzzle: Keywords on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice*, (Cape Town: Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, 2004), p.67.

⁷ Boraine, 'Transitional Justice', p.67.

economic tensions within society. Bodies such as truth and reconciliation commissions and special courts are temporary and time-bound institutions and should not be considered as a permanent solution.

There are at least five components of dealing with the past through transitional justice processes identified in a publication entitled *Pieces of the Puzzle: Keywords on Reconciliation and Transitional Justice* compiled by the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, based in Cape Town, South Africa. These include:

1. ensuring accountability in the fair administration of justice and restoring the rule of law;
2. the use of non-judicial mechanisms to recover the truth, such as truth and reconciliation commissions;
3. reconciliation in which a commonly agreed memory of past atrocities is acknowledged by those who created and implemented the unjust system as a prerequisite to promoting forgiveness and healing;
4. the reform of institutions including the executive, judiciary and legislative branches of government as well as the security sector to ensure that a degree of trust is restored and bridges between members of society can be re-built;
5. the issuing of reparations to victims who had suffered human rights violations, including gender-based violence, as a way to remedy the harm suffered in the past.

Cultural Approaches to Dealing with the Past

Different cultures have developed their own models for promoting peace and reconciliation, as well as pursuing punitive justice. What is evident is that justice and reconciliation models that have been developed in one culture cannot be transplanted into another society. This suggests that each society has to determine which cultural approach to reconciliation is most likely to sustain peace and advance the cause of justice and redress for past violations. It is necessary for each culture to excavate the lessons that it can learn from its peacebuilding and reconciliation processes so that this knowledge can be shared with the global community.

The Rwandan context

Rwanda had hit the bottom rock, twenty years ago, we lost one million people; ten thousand people were dying every day at the hands of Rwandans. The genocide is an example of the worst human beings can do. Reconciliation is showing us the best human beings can be as we work to leave this tragic past behind us. “

The Genocide destroyed Rwanda's social fabric which had been deliberately damaged over decades. Our work as a new nation in the last twenty years has been about restoring social [cohesion](#) and the dignity of Rwandans.

For us, what came out of that tragedy is energy and renewal. We have gained power to work in coherence. If you don't learn from the tragedy you went through, it is another way to invite another tragedy.

Some of home grown initiatives that inspired by the Rwandan culture are:

INGANDO: (solidarity camps):

A civic education activity that has facilitated the smooth reintegration of former returnees, X-FAR, provisionally released prisoners back to their communities. Target group include Women, Youth groups, students joining university and local leaders.

INGANDO provide forums to Rwandans to come to terms with their past by facing history, forging a common vision for a united future.

ITORERO RY'IGIHUGU:

This is also a homegrown initiative inspired by the Rwandan culture that was formerly a traditional Rwandan school to instill moral values of integrity, and capacity to deal with ones problems.

Itorero ry'Igihugu has today been revived to promote values of unity, truth, culture of hard work.

GACACA:

are traditional community courts. The Gacaca courts initiative is very timely because:

- It will enable the truth to be revealed about Genocide and crimes against humanity;
- It will put an end to the culture of impunity in Rwanda;
- It will reconcile the people of Rwanda and strengthen ties between them;
- It revives traditional forms of dispensing justice based on Rwandese culture;
- It demonstrates the ability of local communities to solve their own problems;
- Helps solve some of the many problems caused by Genocide.

ABUNZI:

Community reconcilers who resolve day to day conflicts before refer in them to Courts.

Conclusion

Dealing with the past is a vital part of the overall strategy to resist and prevent war in the future. In a real sense justice postponed can become reconciliation deterred. However, a blind pursuit of prosecutorial interventions can also increase tensions in a country and undermine the prospects of consolidating peacebuilding. Citizens are often the direct

targets of previous oppressive and repressive regimes and therefore they need to become actively engaged in monitoring and raising awareness about the efficacy of dealing with the past mechanisms and peacebuilding processes. Therefore, a progressive shift of emphasis is required towards the active participation of citizens in monitoring the incorporation of strategies for dealing with the past. Ultimately, war will continue to be a dominant form of human interaction unless we can understand and establish effective processes for dealing with the past in order to promote peacebuilding.

There is no future in the past. You can never live in the present and create a new and exciting future for yourself if you always stay stuck in the past.

Recovery from wrongdoing that produces genuine forgiveness takes time. For some, it may take years. Don't rush it. It helps to focus your energy on the healing, not the hurt!

Being willing to forgive can bring a sense of peace and well-being. It lifts anxiety and delivers you from depression. It can enhance your self-esteem and give you hope.

Forgiveness offers the possibility of two types of peace: peace of mind- the potential healing of old emotional wounds and peace with others... the possibility of new, more gratifying relationships in the future.

"The weak can never forgive. Forgiveness is the attribute of the strong."

Mahatma Gandhi

7. Nonviolent Community Struggles

A vast majority of people today are reduced to being small cogs in mega machine where the established system wants consumers but not free citizens. Consequently common citizens, whether they live in authoritarian States or democracies, are subject to injustice and violence especially where there is a push for 'modern development'.

Various Communities, and the forms of violence they face

- Communities subject to State violence, organised violence, vigilante violence, usually without "due process of law",
- Communities subject to 'development violence' after "due process" of law; e.g., State-corporate nexus trying to appropriate natural, national, mineral resources
- Violence in the name of religion, ethnicity, beliefs, ideology
- Communities subject to subtle violence – the oppressed often being so conditioned as to be unaware that they are victims of violence.

Clearly, most people are peace loving and would like to avoid struggle and would resort to resistance only when left with no option. It must also be appreciated that communities, before they face some form of violence and fall into the definition of "affected communities,"

- are usually engaged in a daily struggle for mere survival
- are not trained in the philosophy, science or art of nonviolence

- live peacefully till some form of State or corporate aggression hits them out of the blue
- their response is reflexive rather than strategically planned
- they are up against the resources and might of the State-corporate nexus

Communities across the world are currently engaged in struggles for the right to life, livelihood, justice and peace. More often than not they are up against very powerful forces such as State military or paramilitary forces, corporations, organised militant groups, existing law, established media, technocrats, vested interests, a vocal group that benefits from the status quo etc. It is therefore a very unequal battle. Those fighting with their backs to the wall, because they challenge the status quo, their every thought and action is subject to the most intense scrutiny and are likely to be labelled 'anti development', 'anti-national', 'retrogressive', etc.

These communities, for an effective and durable struggle, must use nonviolent resistance to fight violence and oppression.

Nonviolence

The expression 'nonviolence' would seem to imply just 'absence of violence'. Both theoreticians and practitioners of nonviolence would vouch that it is actually a proactive, positive, forward-looking, potentially uplifting process for participants. It can be an evolutionary journey if pursued as a means to an end without compromising on values.

There is often a tendency among those fighting injustice to attempt militant (often violent) quick-fix solutions to State violence against unarmed people, or violence resulting from the State-corporate nexus against traditional communities or even deep-rooted systemic problems. The means resorted to in such struggles may not be paid much attention to as it is often a life and death struggle for the affected people. It would be easy for puritans and theoreticians to find fault with such struggles. They often do not have a conception of the gravity of the life and death struggle some threatened communities are engaged in, hence they enjoy the luxury of sitting in judgement over a struggle as being 'not up to the mark' in terms of purity of nonviolence. At the other extreme activists who 'represent' the oppressed often do not themselves engage in actual violent action but do encourage or incite the oppressed 'others' to offer violent resistance. They too enjoy the luxury of holding radical positions without having to put themselves on the line. There is an obvious fundamental problem with both positions.

It would be a travesty of sit in judgement over the reflex actions of such affected communities. The starting point for them would most likely be a mere 'absence of violence'. As they start coming to grips with the problem they are up against, as they get conceptual, technical, training and material support from conscientious non-affected sympathisers their struggle may evolve to a well strategised programme of nonviolent resistance. That process can assume the form of an evolutionary journey. That journey could further take the affected communities from dealing with their immediate, local problem to becoming aware, concerned and proactive on macro, long term issues.

Whatever be the outcome of a struggle it is absolutely important that nonviolent

struggles are waged because they do not only contribute to a more just order, they deepen democracy and sow the seed for a continuing revolution.

Nonviolent community stuggles: COP17 South Africa case study

In 2011 South Africa hosted the 17th United Nations Conference of the Parties on Climate Change (COP 17) in Durban. The COPs are high-level governmental negotiation spaces where governments come together to assess progress in dealing with climate change; there is limited room for engagement from civil society. While many civil society bodies met and strategised within the COP space in Durban, many more held meetings outside. From the time of the announcement in Copenhagen that South Africa would host the conference, civil society came together to plan for a space to caucus, meet, strategise and socialise.

Civil Society committee for COP17

The **C17**, (Civil Society Committee for COP 17) was given a mandate from a broader South African civil society grouping to host the international civil society community at an open and inclusive venue. C17 was also charged with the mobilisation and communication at and in the lead-up to COP17, and the coordinaion of the Global Day of Action on December 3rd 2011.

Global Day Of Action

On December 3rd 2011, mid-way through the COP17 negotiations, about 12,000 people from around the world gathered in Durban for the Global Day of Action. The Global Day of Action resulted in a mass march of local and international community, labour, women, youth, academic, religious and environmental organisations. While the negotiations continued inside the conference venue, these groups took to the streets in an effort to demonstrate civil society's common determination to tackle climate change.

The Global Day of Action (GDA) is a traditional and important event at the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change (UNFCCC) COP meetings; however, the march through Durban was unique in that it enabled activists from across sub-Saharan Africa the opportunity to show that addressing climate change is as important for the people of Africa as for those of the North.

A lot of preparation went into the event beforehand; such as nonviolent tactics, strategies and training in different communities. The methods of nonviolent protest and persuasion were taught and applied; as well as examples from previous Global Days of Action, the challenges and the victories for organising such a big event. The march culminated in the handing over a memorandum of concerns to negotiators in the UN process.

8. Towards a culturally sensitive peacebuilding approach in Africa

Moses Monday John

Introduction

Africa is perceived differently by many people from all around the world. Some see Africa as a continent of hope where people are hospitable, flexible and simple with plenty of natural resources - most of it unexplored. Then there are those who see Africa as a continent of senseless conflicts, violence, poverty, ignorance and the like. The truth is there are opportunities and challenges in Africa. One way to invest in Africa is to embark on peacebuilding to transform conflicts and negative relations to the potential for peace and prosperity.

The term peacebuilding was popularized after 1992, when Boutros Boutros Ghali, then United Nations Secretary General, presented the report: An agenda for peace. In his report Boutros defined peacebuilding as a range of activities meant to identify and support structures which will strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid relapse into conflict, distinguishing it from peacemaking and peacekeeping.

However, it was not Boutros-Ghali who invented these terms, but the peace researcher Johan Galtung 20 years earlier who called them “approaches to peace”. Together, peacemaking, peacekeeping and peacebuilding formulate a general theory of achieving or maintaining peace. As Miall et al (1999) wrote:

“With reference to the conflict triangle, it can be suggested that peace-making aims to change the attitudes of the main protagonists, peace-keeping lowers the level of destructive behaviour, and peace-building tries to overcome the contradictions which lie at the root of the conflict.”

There are many approaches and techniques to peacebuilding; through arts and music, dialogue and reconciliation, sports, and nonviolence education. Each approach has its uniqueness, significance and challenges. In “Strategic Peacebuilding” Lisa Schirch says:

“Peacebuilding seeks to prevent, reduce, transform, and help people recover from violence in all forms, even structural violence that has not yet led to massive civil unrest. Strategic peacebuilding recognizes the complexity of the tasks required to build peace. Peacebuilding is strategic when resources, actors, and approaches are coordinated to accomplish multiple goals and address multiple issues for the long term. Therefore, peacebuilding requires multiple and well coordinated approaches to transform violence and conflict into more sustainable, peaceful relationships and structures.”

Why culture is important in peacebuilding?

In our experience, peacebuilding projects are more effective when designed and adapted to the socio-cultural, economic and political context and needs of the local

people. There is no “one-size-fits-all” solution to African problems. This is because every context in Africa is unique and finding “African solutions to African problems” requires analysis and understanding of indigenous complex African culture, values, norms and traditions. Even within a given African country there are diverse cultural differences: what works in community “A” may not work in community “B”. For example; in some communities in South Sudan beating a wife may be considered an expression of love while in another community, it's violence. That's why there is a need to carry out regular research and conduct experience sharing and trainings in order to widen our understanding of local culture for building a culturally sensitive and coherent peacebuilding approach.

Peacebuilding is not new in Africa. History tells us that Africa is the cradle of humanity, an assertion that suggests the existence of rich and diverse indigenous resources and institutions of conflict resolution and peacebuilding dating back centuries.

What is new is the exportation and imposition of peacebuilding and development interventions based on the liberal peace project. Peacebuilding has nowadays entered into the agenda of international agencies, and in the form of “post-war peacebuilding”, based on the concept of “liberal peace” made a standard concept of international wars and military interventions.

The idea of liberal peace, according to Mark Duffield (2008), combines and conflates liberal (as in contemporary economic and political tenets) with “peace” (the present policy prediction towards conflict resolution and societal reconstruction). This view reflects the notion that war-torn societies can and should be rebuilt through the utilization of a number of interrelated strategies for transformation. The emphasis is on conflict prevention, resolution, institution-building including so-called democratic elections, and strengthening civil society organizations. A review of existing literature (Ali and Mathews 2004; Reyhler 2001, Rupesinghe 1998) on the subject of peacebuilding in Africa, however, reveals a limited analysis restricted to the post conflict phase of armed conflict, which has very limited short term prescriptions for a return to order and stability in a country that has experienced violent armed conflict (David, 1988).

Why peacebuilding matters

Since the end of the cold war, Africa has suffered its share of violent wars and armed violent conflicts. In Africa, there are many ongoing inter-ethnic and political armed conflicts aimed at achieving political and economic power. Countries emerging from long civil wars often experience challenges in managing former combatants, militia groups and armed civilians. Hence, violent conflicts have become major obstacles to peace and development, particularly in fragile and post-conflict countries. Maintaining the rule of law, good governance and delivery of equitable basic social services is equally challenging. The results are continued wide-spread physical, psychological, cultural and structural violence.

Violence is not restricted to one country, continent, one region or religion. It is universally used to achieve objectives; sometimes through sheer naked aggression, or at other time subtly, covered in the grab of legislation and legitimacy as a tool to maintain law and

order (2011). For women, this takes many forms including: rape, forced domestic labour, men beating their wives, detention and denial of widows to inheritance and discrimination from economic benefits. Elopement of girls (“hijacking girls for marriage”) is perceived as a legitimate cultural practice in many Africa countries. Peacebuilding interventions are needed to build safe and secured environment where people can pursue happiness without fear.

So our thesis is: Peacebuilding is needed. But not in the form of importing abstract recipes coming with the liberal peace paradigm. As Africa faces challenges of importation and imposition of peacebuilding and development interventions, this weakness can be addressed by encouraging and building local capacities to conduct baseline assessments, research or studies and making relevant recommendations to the both local and international peace actors as well as policy makers for improved engagement. Peacebuilding involves building democratic structures through participation of citizens and other stakeholders in democratization processes without which peace will be meaningless. It also means equitable sharing of resources. There are significant challenges in many African countries when it comes to alignment and fair distribution of resources to expenditure priorities. Economic growth and revenues generated from oil and other natural resources are not being channelled to address poverty.

This creates a situation where peace dividends are hardly enjoyed by impatient and impoverished civilians, forcing them to question the meaning of peace. In our experience, many people think peace means the absence of violence and the maintenance of law and order. However it is not only guns that kill. Lack of access to basic means of life, dignity and enjoyment of rights can be as destructive as weapons. Meaningful peacebuilding is not an end in itself - rather a means to a safe and prosperous state, where every person enjoys basic rights and life in dignity. Therefore, addressing structural violence aimed at creating fundamental state reform, in which equitable social services are provided without discrimination, is critical if we are to build Africa safe for all.

The role of peace stakeholders

There are many actors working on peacebuilding in Africa. In the heart of these organizations are social and peace movements affiliated to WRI, IFOR, COPA (Coalition for Peace in Africa) and other regional movements. The African Centre for Constructive Resolution of Dispute “ACCORD” is based in Durban with offices in other countries, and there are women-focused groups including Women Action Network for Peace (WANEP) and Women Peacemakers Program (WPP).

At the same time, newer research into peacebuilding strategies and effects teaches us that while civil society has an important role to play in peacebuilding, state actors (with their much greater resources) cannot be neglected, and peacebuilding works best where the various actors manage to cooperate. Hence, the role of regional and sub-bodies, such as the African Union (AU), Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD), Economic Community Of West African States (ECOWAS) and

Southern African Development Community (SADC), is important. Although sub-regional bodies were originally established to promote socioeconomic welfare of the region, they ended up playing greater roles in peacemaking as an entry point to economic development.

There is also, especially from the side of international donors and agencies, an over-emphasis on certain activities and a neglect of others that may have much wider impact. For example, to look at another region, in the Balkans after the wars of the 1990s, everyone talked about and paid for “reconciliation” while lack of adequate education and professional perspectives caused a whole generation of youth to remain without any meaningful perspective what to do with their lives.

Conclusion

The theme group will begin with an interactive session on: What do we mean by peacebuilding? An introduction to the meaning of peacebuilding in general and on the African continent in particular.

On day 2, we will look at South Sudan as an example, and discuss various approaches, looking at a wide range of actors: civil society groups working to change peoples' attitudes, the role (or non-role) of civil society in peace negotiations, discussing approaches preferred by the international community like security-sector reform and state-building, looking at the problem of security for civilians including the role of UNMISS and unarmed civilian peacekeeping provided by the INGO Nonviolent Peaceforce, along with questions of economics, gender, etc.

Day 3 with the help of resource persons from other countries we will look at challenges and issues of peacebuilding in other countries in Africa and beyond.

On the concluding day, 4, we will seek to draw lessons from the case studies, and discuss the issue of peacebuilding, nonviolence and the contributions of international solidarity and support. The key question will be how can we better work together?

9. Economic crises, poverty and militarism

Colin Archer

Economy: coming out of crisis?

The world has known [dozens of economic crises](#) over the centuries. Among the great weaknesses of capitalism is its inability to steady itself, its tendency to generate bubbles that burst with terrible effects. Its strength seems to be its surprising ability to recover – and usually without major structural reform. The banking collapse of 2007-9, followed by the Eurozone crisis, has had severe economic and social consequences especially in the Global North, leaving unemployed great swathes of the population (especially among the young) notably in the peripheral states of the EU.

It can be argued that the financial crisis and its aftermaths did not greatly affect developing countries, for several reasons: Africa is less integrated in the world market. Latin America and Asia seemed better prepared, since they experienced crisis before. Latin America's banking regulations are very strict, which is something most Western countries have yet to learn.

On the other hand, with the financial meltdown, other dimensions of the global systemic crisis –notably environment, food and inequality - became more visible. However it has been the political uprisings, notably in the Arab world, that have attracted the headlines over the last 5 years.

Meanwhile globalization continues its seemingly inexorable course: The wealth of the 1% richest people in the world amounts to \$110 trillion, 65 times as much as the poorest half of the world. ([Oxfam Report 2014: Working For The Few](#))

What is disturbing is that the whole upheaval has noticeably not led to mass revolt (outside the MENA region), nor increased support for the left, whose Keynesian approach to reflating the economy might have been expected to win out over those preaching market-led solutions. As a result, right-wing governments in the West are now presiding over a mild improvement in the aggregate numbers, notably in terms of output, and taking the political credit. But this is not translating into a significant drop in unemployment – partly because of the inexorable march of automation and restructuring in industries who no longer need so many skilled workers. What new jobs there are have often been generated at the lower skill levels of the system, and/or are related to developing economies where labour costs are low.

Question:

What models do we have of an alternative perspective: union militancy, workers' control, social enterprise, coops, community business, alternative currencies, barter systems, etc ?

Ecology: climate, the last chance

While recovery from this multiple crisis has taken the primary place in public debate, the much darker shadow of climate change has gradually come to occupy a central place in political discourse. The realisation is finally dawning that the survival of the biosphere as a liveable system is at stake and that far too much time has been wasted in the crucial years when the levels of CO2 emissions could have been curbed by embarking on a low-carbon economic system. The series of COP meetings have been essentially a long chain of missed opportunities, with next year's COP 21 (Paris) offering a kind of 'last chance saloon' for the world's governments to cut a deal on CO2 emissions which is not just a lowest-common-denominator compromise but which represents a truly radical socio-economic transformation. How to achieve this turnaround in 18 months is a mighty challenge indeed for the progressive movements. Yet it is one we have no choice but to grasp.

Question:

How to build effective alliances with environmental movements?

The military: as greedy as ever

Meanwhile militarism is alive and well. Despite the significant drop in resources available to western governments over the last 5 years, and therefore small reductions in national defence budgets, global military spending remains more or less at the highest levels in history: \$1,700 bn according to SIPRI. Twenty-five years after the fall of the Berlin Wall, this might seem hard to explain if one fails to factor in three key driving forces:

1. the permanent lobbying power of the major arms industries and related bureaucracies and institutions (Military-industrial-etc... complex) ;
2. the replacement of the USSR as primary adversary of the US and NATO by a) Islamist terrorism, b) a fast-rising China, and c) Russia (again) under an autocratic Putin. Thus 100 years on from 1914 we face the prospect of major war (both inter-state and asymmetrical) on 3 fronts.
3. potential (and actual) armed conflicts over all key economic resources: oil, gas, water, minerals, precious metals, rare earths, land, fishing zones and undersea resources....

For all 3 reasons, the arms industry (not only in the West) can rub its hands in anticipation of major sales far into the future.

Question:

Does militarism have an Achilles heel and if so where?

Connections

There are a number of important connections between the three areas: economy, ecology and conflict.

1. It is principally the economy that is destroying the ecology
2. Much conflict is caused by inequality and struggles for resources. The system appears insatiable. Its managers lack social vision.
3. The military system diverts enormous public and private resources that could be used to fix both the economy and the ecology. At the same time it causes huge damage to both when let loose in actual warfare; and ultimately has the potential to destroy all life on earth through nuclear destruction.

Responses

How have progressive people's movements responded to this moment of multiple crisis? Here is a schematic analysis of some major political movements and trends. Naturally there are many overlaps, possibilities for collaboration, as well as exceptions.

Charity	Food banks...increased role for religious groups of all types.
Mutual aid	Traditional credit unions, coops, workers' takeovers of failing companies. Some new forms linked to Indignés etc.
Labour struggle	Traditional strikes for improved wages and conditions, demonstrations against austerity, appeals for regulation of banks etc. In the wake of the Thatcher/New Labour decades they are much reduced in membership and organising/negotiating power.
Social democracy	Managing the system, riding the tiger, trying (unsuccessfully) to regulate the banks. Losing popularity and in most places elections too. Corruption scandals (including MPs) don't help. Also failure to mobilise against populism and the Far Right.
Leninists	Much reduced everywhere, except arguably Latin America. Torn between unsuccessful attempts to win in electoral races and re-building their popular base through labour struggle. But their history and style of operation elicits suspicion among potential allies, and the historical model they represent is bankrupt.
Far left	See Leninism above. Some limited success eg Die Linke (Germany), NPA (France) but Trotskyists et al are often perceived as both marginal and manipulative of genuine people's struggles. Sect-like behaviour doesn't help.
Greens	What was once a welcome breath of fresh air in politics is now seen mostly as just another set of wheeler-dealing politicians vainly trying to control the great beast of globalisation. Compromised in the eyes of pacifists by willingness to endorse armed intervention, eg Kosovo. In most places marginal to the big political decisions.
Anarchists/libertarian	Central role in Indignés/ Occupy. Local direct action struggles and protests of all types. Internet activism, hackers, wikileaks/Snowden etc. Strong link with environmental movements and actions eg anti-fracking, anti-airports, highways and dam-building, climate camps, anti-racist actions, solidarity with undocumented migrants... The challenge is making and sustaining links to the mainstream political system. Suffer from problems of transience, marginality and ineffectiveness eg Occupy. Like other political families, it relies on its avant-garde ideas permeating (or 'pollinating') society, helping to shift the discourse (eg 'the 1% v the 99%').
World Social	Once seen as a dynamic new form of local and transnational organising,

Forums	a horizontal civil society space, has given rise to great hopes and also great disappointment. Funding is running out and political energy too. Inspiring but unwieldy. Will there be another one?
NGOs - associations	A vast biodiversity of competing and cooperating organisations, often run and supported by 'refugees' disillusioned with the various political movements listed above. Some are clearly linked to parties, religious bodies, charismatic leaders, and many are funded by govts. Some specific successes (eg landmines...) but limited precisely by their specificity and narrow focus – unable to mount a full blown challenge to the dominant system.

Question:

Where do conference participants place themselves in the above system, if at all? Do they have different political perceptions of the left-landscape? Where are the most positive elements and with whom do they ally themselves?

Choosing our roads, finding our actions

So how do we pull all these dimensions together? Many books have been written analysing these subjects in far greater detail than we have the scope to consider here. We offer the following observations:

1. We recognise that the WRI locates itself broadly in the anarco-pacifist-feminist corner of the political map; not that all in the wider circle would necessarily accept that label, but it comes closest to defining what the movement has stood for over close to 100 years.
2. We are not in a movement, nor at in time in history, in which setting up rigid doctrines and programmes for all to follow is acceptable; the essence of the libertarian approach is that each individual and constituent organisation / branch must find their own way to defining their analysis, priorities and methods of work. The key lies in effective networking and mutual support.
3. One of the main conclusions we can draw from the type of analysis sketched out above is that none of the responses to capitalist crisis listed has proved successful. Certainly not in overturning the established order and replacing it with a sustainable progressive alternative. A case can be made for certain regimes in Latin America (Venezuela, Bolivia, Ecuador...) and among the Arab Spring outcomes probably Tunisia can be regarded as some kind of success. But each of these examples could be questioned from several points of view; and each has grown from a particular political background which is not necessarily found elsewhere. Given the immensity of the task, and of the power of the vested interests ranged against us, it is no surprise that we find ourselves

facing various types of heroic failure. But history has shown (Cuba?) that even heroic failures can lead to victories later on...It is also a question of how we choose to live. Radical non-violent politics implies an engagement far beyond that of casting a vote for a candidate or party that we think will help bring about change. It implies making choices about the whole range of everyday issues, from jobs and living arrangements to the way we use our resources and talents.. 'Better to die fighting for freedom than be a prisoner all the days of your life' said Bob Marley.

Question:

Is the idea of heroic failure unacceptably pessimistic? What is the life-philosophy behind our politics?

Finally...

What is important is that:

- we increase our impact by improved forms of cooperation at all geographical levels;
- we communicate our projects and share the lessons of what we undertake
- we reach out as widely as we can to the societies in which we find ourselves
- we prefigure in our lives and work the society we want to bring about
- we inspire each other through creativity, courage, persistence and other positive qualities.

10. Education and Nonviolence

Elavie Ndura and Kai-Uwe Dosch

How we learn has a huge impact on the society we shape. If we want a nonviolent society, where aims and means are coherent toward a society that respect all species and nature, we need forms of learning that reflect this. We are too used to being educated within the same principles of the violent society we live in. "History" is the history of the oppressors and the military structure is too often replicated in our school systems. Challenging how we learn both in a formal way as well as valuing the role of non-formal education and challenging the power distinction between who teaches and who learns is key to nonviolent struggles. This theme group will look at the role of formal and non-formal education in building a nonviolent society.

We want to see a really nonviolent society, but we can't see it yet. Thinking about getting the whole society from here to there we have to think about education, too, because education, both formal and non-formal, is one way of socialization, one way society constitutes itself. Thinking about nonviolence and education means that we have to define both of them as well as their relation. Nonviolence (principled or pragmatic) means minimizing violence (physical, mental, structural, cultural); it entails being

coherent or developing respectful relations between individuals in the society. Education means constructing knowledge, habits and skills as well as developing personality or respectful relations amongst individuals in the society. Hence, nonviolence already implies education and - vice versa - education already implies nonviolence.

But this is an idea, it's not yet reality. In fact, we see a really violent society and a violent education still. How do we get from violent to nonviolent education? There are different answers to this question as there are different aspects to education. In modern society there are different educational institutions. There is formal education (intentional and certified, e.g. schools) and non-formal education (less structured than formal, more structured than informal, e.g. WRI Conference, Theme Group, Workshop). As our violent social systems too often are replicated in our school systems, we have to challenge how we learn in a formal way, as well as value how we learn in a non-formal way.

There are different levels and different subjects in education. But nonviolence relates to all levels from primary education through secondary education to tertiary education. And it does matter for many subjects from Art through Citizenship, Geography, and History to Languages.

Some schools are public while others are private. On the one hand, public schools are free and often run by militarist governments; on the other hand, private schools charge fees, and may be run by pacifist providers.

There are compulsory and voluntary schools. On the one hand compulsory schools force one into their system; on the other hand they guarantee education for all.

So, we have to discuss and perhaps argue about these aspects of educational institutions. Do we want to abolish compulsory education? Or are we able to offer opportunities and environments to learn nonviolence within public education? What can administrators, parents, students, or teachers do to transform formal education? What rights and duties do they have? This leads us to the aspects of educational curricula, which are as many as there are institutions. If we see the relation between nonviolence and education institutions as "nonviolent education", we see the relation between nonviolence and education curricula as "nonviolence education". Nonviolence is not only a form of learning, but it also refers to the content of learning.

What do we need to learn, if we want to learn to create a truly nonviolent society? Like a society itself, a nonviolent society has at least two, if not three levels. On the micro-level we have to learn personal nonviolence. This includes specific attitudes, perceptions, communication styles, and behaviors. A good example for micro-level nonviolence education is peer mediation among youth in school. On the meso-level we have to learn social nonviolence. This deals with discrimination and promotes respect between local groups, be it ethnic, linguistic, or religious groups. For example local or regional reconciliation in post conflict situations can be seen as meso-level nonviolence education. Finally, on the macro-level we have to learn political nonviolence. This means we have to analyze intra- and international conflicts including civil wars and develop their civilian nonviolent resolution like in civic education in schools. Although these ideas seem to be global or universal, there will be regional or local differences of nonviolence education because there are differences of situations between countries like, say,

Burundi and Germany.

We propose to focus the theme group “nonviolence and education” on formal (primary and secondary) education curricula because we imagine that the theme group “counter-militarisation of youth” will deal with formal education institutions, while the theme group “nonviolence training” will deal with non-formal education curricula, and the theme group “peace building” will deal with non-formal education institutions.

We propose on day (1) to get to know each other, our interests, our expectations, and the issues of education and nonviolence. Perhaps we can do that talking to a teacher and two students. On day (2) we want to look at formal education and micro-level (non)violence and its problems including structural violence of education institutions themselves. On day (3) we would like to talk about formal education and macro-level(non)violence and its problems including political influence and principles of political education (like controversiality and no indoctrination) in public schools. And on day (4) we will discuss options of transnational cooperation for nonviolence education and prepare the report for the market.

The aims and principles of both education institutions and curricula should be to advance liberty and equality or simply democracy as much as possible. “As much as possible” implies that there will be some problems or conflicts because most students are still developing, not yet fully developed personalities like most parents and teachers. There never will be any final state of nonviolent education, but like nonviolence itself nonviolent education will be a process.

11. Nonviolence Training

Hülya Üçpınar and Agona Bernard

Ever asked yourself the question: what does it take to have successful nonviolence training?

Nonviolence - people power for social change - takes many forms. Likewise, nonviolence training takes different approaches to provide individuals and groups tools to challenge social injustice. Techniques used by nonviolence trainers may include a variety of exercises: brainstorming, working in small groups, role plays, presentations, discussions, audiovisuals - the list is endless. As trainers conduct nonviolence workshops, the main goal is to develop a better understanding of all aspects of nonviolence through questioning patterns of violence, i.e. hierarchy. Trainings may provide grounds for needs assessments at many levels, to create awareness on vast number of subjects such as gender/queer, to analyse situations/relations/dynamics, to build up strategies, to organize campaigns, or to prepare people for direct action. Nonviolence trainings may create energy, reinforce group dynamics, provide concrete action plans that pushes them to take action against injustices.

Nonviolence trainings provide tools to strengthen groups, develop community spirit, where people learn to work better together to build strong movements.

The choice of exercises for any specific workshop may depend on the type of group

asks for a training. It therefore calls for skills in group diagnosis. One needs to consider age, gender, language, education levels, and economic status, among other things. The theme and the length of the training may depend on the need of the group, the available resources, how urgent the issue is, the nature of the training – is it a basic training or an advanced level of training, a strategy planning training or a campaigning training? While questioning the power relations in the societies, the trainers at the same time need to consider power relations, especially those emerging from the gender dynamics within the training group. It is clear that nonviolence training is no easy job. Developing a team of experienced and knowledgeable trainers/facilitators would create an atmosphere for empathy, good basis for discussion and thus fruitful outcomes.

For example: in Kenya, it took concerted efforts of trainers from UK and local peace actors to introduce the Turning the Tide program, a fast growing programme on nonviolence. It all started with a needs assessment after the 2007/8 post-election violence. Peace-implementing organisations had done much work to calm the situation, but there was a dire need to address the underlying issues that caused the repeated election violence. After the needs assessment, a concept paper was developed and the program designed. In 2010 the program was introduced to a team of identified resource people in western Kenya with great results. After an intensive two weeks training, participants were able to start thinking differently and slowly started to develop a keen interest in nonviolence campaigns. What followed was amazing. The trained resource people easily mobilised their communities and challenged some of the existing social injustices. Starting small, and pushing on until something happened, the informed and charged resource people were able to challenge bad leadership and, little by little, transformed communities to hold leaders accountable.

In one notable campaign, students in one of the public university wanted to demand for fair allocation of education bursary. A two-hour nonviolence training conducted by trained resource people made a big difference. The students were simply introduced to the nonviolence concept and taken through some of the nonviolence training exercises – such as the nonviolence spectrum line, 'an action is nonviolent if...', the pillars of power, and social speedometer, among others. At night the students prepared to ensure that all adhered to nonviolence principles. The following day they marched to the local constituency office with a memorandum listing their demands. They sung religious songs to encourage themselves, carried posters explaining their issue and had documents to prove their case. Along the way they were joined by community members who were attracted by the way they conducted themselves and who were in support of the issue. At the end of the day they were given audience by local leaders who immediately responded to their grievances.

12. Resisting the War on Mother Earth, Reclaiming our Home

Clare Bayard and Faith kaManzi

The workshops around this theme aim to be an exploratory, reflective, and self-critical space where participants can draw on their wide range of experience in different parts of

the world, and critically and collectively explore the subject. The goals are:

to share experiences and understandings and to deepen our individual and collective understandings of the emerging situation, and especially of the War on Mother Earth, to emerge better prepared for regional and global coordination across different projects by learning more about each other's work,

to leave Cape Town with concrete next steps for how we will continue to strengthen our resistance to the War on Mother Earth, work proactively to reclaim our home, and develop functional alternatives (in and from our respective home locations and also collectively, worldwide).

The workshops will be participatory, where all participants will help articulate both the key questions and also some answers. We will root our conversations in work that is currently happening as well as discuss possible new initiatives and visions.

In this theme group, we will share, develop, coordinate, and nourish work around the world for climate justice and a world without war. What is politely called 'climate change' – and what is causing climate change - is in fact war on large sections of humanity by a small minority of exploiters from within our own species, and also an unprecedented war on Mother Earth. From the intensification of militarised resource wars, to catastrophic weather and climate refugees, we already have countless examples, which we will share to root our discussions in concrete reality.

Together, we will work to:

- discern what has to be done in order to build a mass understanding of climate change as war – war both on vulnerable peoples and on Mother Earth,
- comprehend the consequences of this new war, and the transition that is already underway,
- delineate what we must do to counteract it, looking to the leadership of peoples who are closest to the front lines of this war,
- put forward strategic plans that can address this emerging future, and build the alliances and networks which provide those plans with roots and wings.

Towards a shared understanding of resisting the war on mother earth

We must forge a new system that restores harmony with nature and among humans, and in order for there to be balance with nature, there must first be equity among humans. To face climate change, we must reorient civilization to the principles established in the 'People's Agreement of Cochabamba : Statement from the World People's Conference on Climate Change and the Rights of Mother Earth', (<http://pwccc.wordpress.com/2010/04/24/peoples-agreement/>).

We must also engage with the relationship between ecology and economy. We will look

to examples like the Universal Declaration on the Rights of Mother Earth (<http://pwccc.wordpress.com/programa/>) to provide a compass for our action plans.

In this theme group, we will work on building a path that can address the specific threats and opportunities of the interlocked crises we face. How do we:

- Take actions and live our lives in ways that protect the climate?
- Restructure social, economic, and political institutions to meet the changing circumstances?
- Build new institutions, to meet the changing circumstances?
- Take the responsibility of being constantly engaged with social and political institutions?
- Support indigenous peoples' struggles for self-determination?
- Reclaim cooperative control over natural resources including land and water?

*

To address these questions, we need first to recognise and accept that we come from different worlds, and so we need to develop and to practice a culture of transcommunal respect. We need to listen to each other, and especially to the voices of indigenous peoples, who have been calling for some decades now for a different understanding of our world, of ourselves, and of our relationships with the world.

We work in the living legacies of grassroots movements around the world against extraction, mining, destruction by dams and nuclear power plants, and struggles for land, dignity, and survival. These endeavors offer a range of visions and strategies. In this theme group, we will explore what lessons and challenges we must take up from these struggles in order to nourish powerful, interconnected movements. We will also explore what new understandings and actions are necessary, and critically examine proposals for new action or expansion of existing activities. Relevant reading on such proposals include:

- Jeremy Brecher's proposal of climate insurgency <http://fpif.org/wanted-global-insurgency-protect-climate/>
- Ecosocialist Horizons' call for a Climate Satyagraha <http://ecosocialisthorizons.com/>

A longer version of this article can be found at: <http://wri-irg.org/node/23205>

13. Transnational Solidarity

Stephen Zunes and Bernedette Muthien

This workshop will examine successful examples of how international solidarity efforts with a major focus on strategic nonviolent action have played and can play an important role in complementing liberation struggles within particular countries.

Among the cases examined are those in which nonviolent activists in advanced industrialised nations successfully mobilized in support of liberation struggles in the Global South, altering their governments' policies in ways which contributed to these movements' victories. These would include the international anti-apartheid movement, which eventually forced reluctant governments in Europe and North America to impose targeted sanctions on South Africa's white minority regime, which contributed to the government's decision to negotiate a transition to majority rule; campaigns in support of East Timor, which succeeded in stopping U.S., Canadian, British and Australian support for the Indonesian occupation, helping to make possible East Timor's independence; and campaigns in the United States against U.S. intervention in Central America and elsewhere, which ended active U.S. military involvement and support for violence and repression.

Other cases examined include examples of South-South cooperation and solidarity, including efforts by women's groups, labour organisations, environmental activists and others to learn from each other and supplement each other's struggles. Southern African nations, despite being subjected to severe retaliation from the apartheid regime, remained resolute in their support of the South African people. Today, South Africans are in the forefront of international solidarity efforts with Western Sahara, Palestine, and other struggles; South African dockworkers have refused to unload Chinese arms bound for the Mugabe regime in Zimbabwe. Meanwhile, the pan-African gender network, the pan-African nonviolence and peacebuilding network, the Unrepresented Nations and People's Organization, and other groups are challenging the isolation and divisions created by colonially-imposed boundaries to bring together activists in their common struggles.

In each of these cases, we would examine various strategies and tactics utilized by the transnational solidarity efforts, obstacles they faced, and evaluate their effectiveness in advancing the struggle.

The workshop would then turn to ongoing struggles, such as the boycott/divestment/sanctions movement against the Israeli occupation; solidarity struggles against the occupations of Western Sahara and West Papua; and, various solidarity efforts against corporate abuse, neo-liberalism, environmental destruction, the International Monetary Fund and other international financial institutions, and other manifestations of global capitalism.

Discussions could include the appropriate role of capacity-building groups such as WRI, the International Fellowship of Reconciliation (IFOR), the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC), CANVAS, and other groups which offer workshops for activists on the history and dynamics of nonviolent action, ways to think more strategically, and methods to encourage nonviolent discipline.

Still another area addressed will be the use of Third Party Nonviolent Intervention (TPNI) —exemplified by groups such as Peace Brigades International, Witness for Peace, Nonviolent Peaceforce, Shanti Sena, Christian Peacemaker Teams, and the International Solidarity Movement—in which teams of internationals maintain a physical presence in conflict areas as unarmed bodyguards and other roles to prevent violence.

As Nelson Mandela said in 1993, all our freedoms, our struggles and our oppressions are deeply interconnected and interdependent. This theme group will also address how those involved in such transnational solidarity work, especially those from the Global North, need to be particularly aware of power dynamics on an interpersonal level as well as an international level, never giving unsolicited advice or assuming expertise, and being able to listen.

Discussions and exercises will focus upon such issues as:

- what constitutes solidarity? how are movements formed across international boundaries? what are the advantages and disadvantages of formal organizations versus informal networks?
- ways that all people, particularly from the global North, could be more sensitive regarding intersectional issues including racism, sexism, heteronormativity and homophobia, and “do-goodism.”
- effective means of utilizing strategic nonviolent action and effectively sequencing tactics to raise awareness and popular consciousness of struggles elsewhere and the complicity of governments and corporations in the oppression
- the optimal use of boycotts and divestment, under what conditions sanctions can be productive or counter-productive, and ways of analyzing and targeting the foreign pillars of support of a repressive regime
- under what conditions, if any, should a nonviolent movement consider accepting funding or other support from a foreign government or government-funded foundations
- in supporting movements in which there are internal divisions or no clear leadership, the ways in which outsiders can discern who is representative of the struggle and the implications of effectively “choosing sides” within a movement
- how to address false charges that indigenous nonviolent movements are part of international conspiracies against the state

Finally, the workshop can discuss struggles with which individual participants are involved and help map out a draft plan of action to build a more effective transnational solidarity movement in support of their movements.

Conference Organisers

Ceasefire Campaign

Started in 1993, the **Ceasefire Campaign**'s initial step was to encourage people to “use the ballot not the bullet” in our first democratic election.

Ceasefire is one of the few organisations in South Africa promoting demilitarisation and increasing a better understanding of what that means, especially in regards to increases in military spending. Ceasefire opposed the arms deal of 1999 (Strategic Defence Procurement Package) which saw billions being spent on unnecessary weaponry and equipment. The money was sorely needed at the time to address the massive gaps in equality and poverty created by years of apartheid. We currently oppose the latest proposals for further spending on military expenditure that have been approved, in principle, by the Cabinet.

We promote nonviolence and nonviolent solutions to conflict at all levels. This includes interpersonal daily violence and gender-based violence. Our initial campaign was to ensure that as many Ceasefire members as possible had training to an advanced level before finally becoming facilitators and going into the community to spread the message. From 2006, we pioneered workshops on women, domestic violence and guns. We went on to explore stereotypes that feed into violent masculinities. Our seminars and cooperation with organisations committed to, and involved in reconciliation and peace building on broader scale add a further dimension to this programme.

Promoting arms reduction and disarmament is central to our work, hence we work in solidarity with international campaigns with the same vision, lobbying our own government to support new conventions and treaties that have taken years to garner sufficient support to become international instruments. In South Africa, Ceasefire is the leading local organisation to play a critical role in the ban on anti-personnel landmines and, in later years, the ban on cluster munitions.

Locally we monitor South Africa's arms exports through our attempts to hold the National Conventional Arms Control Committee to account and campaigning for the closure of South Africa's arms manufacturer Denel.

Our campaign on war and the environment has seen Ceasefire working closely with environmentalists and anti-nuclear campaigners. Our focus has been on human security emphasising wherever possible that human security is no longer be seen as a function of the military.

War Resisters' Internationals

War Resisters' International (WRI) works for a world without war. We are a global pacifist and antimilitarist network with over 80 affiliated groups in 40 countries. We remain committed to our 1921 founding declaration that '*War is a crime against humanity. I am therefore determined not to support any kind of war, and to strive for the removal of all causes of war*'. All wars, including wars of 'liberation' and 'humanitarian military intervention' are used to serve some power political or economic interest. All war leads to suffering, destruction, and new structures of domination.

WRI is primarily a network of organisations, groups and individuals. We facilitate mutual support, by

- **linking people together** through publications, events and actions,
- **initiating nonviolent campaigns** that actively involve local groups and individuals,
- **supporting** those who oppose war and who challenge its causes,
- **promoting and educating** people about pacifism and nonviolence.

Our two programmes – the Right to Refuse to Kill and the Nonviolence Programme - focus on supporting the network and campaigning on particular themes.

The Right to Refuse to Kill programme

Supports conscientious objectors, especially those facing repression. This includes attending trials, visiting COs in prison, lobbying governments to hear their demands, and mobilising advocacy support.

- **Monitors and documents military service and recruitment** around the world, especially human rights abuses. We present analysis to international bodies, such as United Nations committees, to support refusers against their own governments.
- **Counters the militarisation of youth** by identifying and challenging ways that young people are encouraged to accept war and militarism as normal.

The Nonviolence Programme

WRI **embraces and promotes nonviolence**, from active resistance to militarism and non-cooperation with systems of oppression to the use of dialogue and the building of alternatives. Our Nonviolence Programme **connects movements** using nonviolent methods for social change (e.g. through organising workshops and exchanges on nonviolence training).

- Pooling resources, for instance through our '**Handbook for Nonviolent Campaigns**'.
- Runs a **War Profiteers project**, on activities exposing the economics of war-making.

Funders And Partners

- Action Support Centre <http://www.asc.org.za/>



- American Friends Service Committee <https://afsc.org>

- AJ Muste <http://www.ajmuste.org>



- Barrett Foundation <http://barrettfoundation.org/>



- EcoSocialist Horizons: <http://ecosocialisthorizons.com/>



- Folkereising Mot Krig

- Goedgedacht Forum <http://www.goedgedachtforum.co.za>



- Heinrich-Boell <http://www.boell.org/>



- International Centre on Nonviolent Conflict <http://www.nonviolent-conflict.org/>



International Center on Nonviolent Conflict

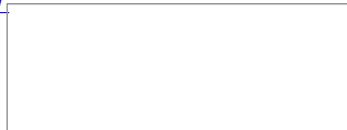
- Karibu <http://www.karibu.no/>



- Samuel Rubin Foundation <http://www.samuelrubinfoundation.org/>



- Sebastian Cobler Stiftung <http://www.sebastian-cobler-stiftung.de/>



- Stiftung Die Schwelle <http://dieschwelle.de/index.html>

- Stiftung Umverteilen <http://www.umverteilen.de/>



- The Thomases Family Endowment of the Youngstown Area Jewish Federation

- Warder Fund

And other individuals donors and supporters of WRI internationally, many of whom contributed through the Howard Clark Solidarity Fund.