

War Resister's International

23rd WRI Triennial Conference
3-9 August '02
Dublin, Ireland

Frithbheartaithe Idirnáisiúnta Cogaidh

An 23ú Comhdháil Thríbhliantúil

3ú-9ú Lúnasa, 2002
Baile Átha Cliath, Éire



Historias y Estrategias
Stories and Strategies
Scéalta agus Straitéisí

Resistencia No-Violenta y Cambio Social
Non Violent Resistance and Social Change
Frithbheartaíocht Neamhfhóiregneach agus Athrú Sóisialta

Stories and Strategies: Non-violent Resistance and Social Change 23rd War Resisters' International Triennial Conference

Contents

Welcome	3	Conscientious Objectors, Veterans, and Anti-Militarism	28
Introduction	4	Asylum: Strategies to Prevent the Closing of Borders	32
Practical information	6	An Exploration and Introduction to Nonviolence	33
Ireland	... 7	Dealing with the Past	33
Travel to Dublin	.7	International 'peace operations': what they are and what they could be	34
Dublin10	Impact	34
Maps	8,9,11	Workshops	36
WRI Dublin Conference	12	Home Stay Programme	36
Plenaries	13	Articles	
What Role do Stories Play in our Strategies?	14	Building a non-violent moment against war and injustice	40
The Irish Peace Process - Stories and Stages	19	Croatia - a small country for a great plunder	41
Linking Violence in Daily Life with Global Violence	19	Useful Irish Phrases	44
Militarism, Antimilitarism and Civil Society	20		
Grassroots Efforts and Nonviolent Strategies	23		
Theme Groups	24		
Economics, Militarisation and Globalisation	24		
Violence in Society and Nonviolent Social Empowerment	26		
Addressing Ethnic Community and Intra-State Violence	30		

Welcome

Dear Friends, welcome to the 23rd War Resisters International Conference, Stories and Strategies: Non-violent Resistance and Social Change.

We here in Ireland are delighted to welcome the WRI team, their affiliated groups and members to Dublin. We are also happy to have had such interest from Irish groups and look forward to the process of sharing and planning during the conference. It will be an exciting opportunity for Irish people interested in the issue of war, peace, the arms trade, violence, and more to meet others from across the continents.

Likewise for others who may not have visited Ireland previously to learn about our posi-

tion within Northern Ireland, the Peace Agreement and the ongoing process of conflict and resolution.

This is a time for learning from all of us involved in peace movements, social change, and more recently the huge anti war campaigns starting up in light of recent events. So once again welcome to everyone, we look forward to meeting you in Dublin. We have been exchanging mail, speaking on the telephone and someday soon, we will all meet. We look forward to it and we hope you do too.

**Pat Barrett &
Sivanesan Ramamoorthy
WRI Triennial Office
Dublin**

Introduction

I should like to introduce you all to our "Reader" so that we can start getting caught up in this War Resisters' International conference: Stories and Strategies - Non-violent Resistance and Social Change, whose purpose is to assemble peace, social justice and human rights activists from all over the world to discuss how to create a less violent, militaristic world. War and terrorism have increased in recent months, so such an event is now more important than ever.

This conference is named after the one held in India in February 2002 on Non-violence and Social Empowerment. When considering strategy in the light of individual case studies the idea came up of sharing different stories, and this suggested the title for the impending Triennial.

The "Reader" aims to supply basic information about the conference and Dublin. It hopes both to set the tone for

the topics to be discussed, argued about, strategised, analysed and followed up, and to 'invent' new ways to influence this mad world where wars seem to be a daily occurrence. According to our promotion leaflet: "In its long history, WRI's Triennial conferences have often provided the international platform from which to launch new peace campaigns and to discuss new ideas about non-violence". The "stories and strategies" that will be told and propounded at the WRI Triennial in Dublin in 2002 will surely prompt fresh activities and new ways of thinking. This may well not only influence and inspire those who attend the conference, but also lead to many international non-violent resistance and social change projects. Is this possible? Why not?

The Peace Pledge Union, one of our British affiliates, in its 1973 Festival for Peace adopted the workers' movement slogan: "be reasonable, demand

the impossible now" - which currently quite often features in demonstrations and other events --. So, here we are. We are not going to give orders but we will try to make proposals, suggest strategies and indicate and explore possibilities.

Recalling our last Triennial Conference in Porec, Croatia, I can see that there has been both progress and retrogression in the Balkan' region. Impunity is not total, but although there is certainly no justice still Milosevic is on trial in the International Court in The Hague.

We must be positive even when considering deficiencies, realising that we are here in order to enhance the significance and moral influence of our struggle. This is of vital importance - wherever we look nothing seems to be working. We sink into despair whenever a new cause of war looms, which is not actually new but part and parcel of unfinished business from the past - a cycle of institutional violence.

The Conference is organised into five **Plenary Sessions**. The first one will be on Story Telling, in which we shall share true stories from various parts of the world.

There will be eight **Theme Groups**, each having four sessions so that subjects can be studied in depth and participants are able to tell as many

relevant stories as possible.

Workshops

The number of these are not fixed. Everyone is welcome to prepare one and run it in Dublin. Their purpose is to enable people to strengthen networks on shared interests and concerns so that these can continue after the conference is over. Many workshops will be planned in advance, but it will also be possible for them to be set up spontaneously during the Triennial.

A **Home Stay Programme**, with hosts from Irish groups from both the Republic and Northern Ireland, will enable meeting up with local activists, and swapping experiences. This programme will apply both, before and after the conference.

A **Work Camp** too is also being organised. It will enable some young people to join an international team helping over the practicalities of the conference.

There will be other activities too: photographic exhibitions, music and a party on the last evening. And other good ideas may come up - you are welcome to make suggestions.

So, get in the mood, peruse these pages and see you soon in Dublin.

Roberta Bacic
Program and Development Officer WRI
London, May 2002

Practical Information

Visas

According to our knowledge Irish Visas are required from members of the following countries, Afghanistan, Albania, Bulgaria, Cuba, Democratic Republic of Congo, Ethiopia, Eritrea, Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (Serbia and Montenegro), Ghana, Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Moldova, Nigeria, Romania, Somalia and Sri Lankan. However if your country is not listed here we advise you to contact the Irish Embassy in your country to double-check the information as regulations can change.

Visas are issued from Irish or U.K. embassies or consulates. If there is no Irish embassy or consulate in your country contact the Triennial office in Dublin to see if they can help you obtain your visa. To obtain your visa you will need a valid passport for the duration of the time.

For citizens of the EU and most other Western countries no visa is required to visit either the republic or Northern Ireland. Visas are required from citizens of India, Pakistan, and Hong Kong who do not have an U.K. passport. EU nationals are allowed to stay indefinitely while other visitors can usually remain for three to six months. If you want to stay longer or require further information you can contact the Department of Justice (☎ 00 353 1 6789711), 72, St Stephen's green, Dublin 2

Money

Irish currency recently changed from pounds to Euro; the Euro is now the currency for most countries within the EU. One Euro equals 0.64 Pound sterling. Bills come in 100, 50, 20, 10, & 5. Credit cards are accepted in most places. You can cash Eurocheques and travellers cheques at any Bank or Bureau de Change. It is however advisable that you carry some local currency. You can use some cards such as master card, Cirrus Card, and eurocard at automatic teller machines. There is an ATM on campus and banks are spread around the city, some within walking distance. They are however closed on Saturdays and Sundays, so if you are arriving during the weekend or in the evening it is advisable to carry some cash.

Working Hours

The general working day begins and 9.30am and finishes at 6pm. A lot of shops and businesses close between 5-6pm. Banks open between 10am – 3pm Monday – Friday. Some banks remain open until 5pm one day a week either Friday or Thursday. Post Offices and other commercial outlets remain open on Saturdays but all close on Sundays with only restaurants and some small shops remaining open.

Language

Ireland is officially a bilingual country, Irish and English. English is however the most spoken.

Health

Ireland does not pose any serious threats to health. Water is safe to drink straight from the tap although it may not taste the best! EU citizens are eligible for medical care provided they have their E1 11 form, which you can get at your local hospital or health clinic before leaving your country. All other citizens will need health insurance or pay for medical care should they need it. The Telephone no for the nearest hospital is 01 8032000.

Contact in Ireland

The Triennial Office Address is:
84, Templeville Drive,
Templeogue,
Dublin 6W
Tel: 00 353 1 4063060
Email: dublin@wri.irg.org
Contact people in Dublin:
Siva 0866065253
Pat 0868585245

Electricity

Electricity is 220 voltage, 50 cycles AC, and plugs are usually flat three pin. Visitors from difference countries may need adapters.

Telephones

There are public telephones and call centres spread around the city. There are also public telephones on campus. Some require a card to use others just take coins. A local call costs 4 cents per minute peak time and 1 cent per minute off

practical information

peak. National calls cost 9 cents per minute peak time and 6 cents per minute off peak. To make a call outside of Ireland international calling cards such as, century, swift call there are many so check which one gives you the better deal for the country you wish to call. All types of telephone cards are available at newsagents.

Internet Café

There are no internet facilities on campus. If you require internet access you will have to travel to the city centre, see map enclosed. There are many internet cafes either on O'Connell St or in Temple Bar.

Arriving In Ireland

Most international flights will arrive to Dublin Airport. The conference is on in Dublin and there are a range of buses and taxis you can take from the Airport to DCU campus. A taxi from the Airport to DCU will cost you 15 euro approx. to the city centre it will cost 30 euro approx. It is advisable to check the price with the taxi driver first. You can take the number 16a bus from outside the terminal, this will leave you at O'Connell St. (Ask bus driver to stop at O'Connell St for you.) This journey will cost you 1.45 euro, you will need to have exact fare as change will not be given.

When you get down cross the road and from here you can take the no's 11 or 13, you will need to check you waiting at the correct stand. This journey will cost you 1.05 euro and again ask the driver to stop at DCU for you. If you are arriving into Ireland at another destination, there are trains and buses to choose from. Trains to Dublin from any station leave quite regularly and buses leave every hour.

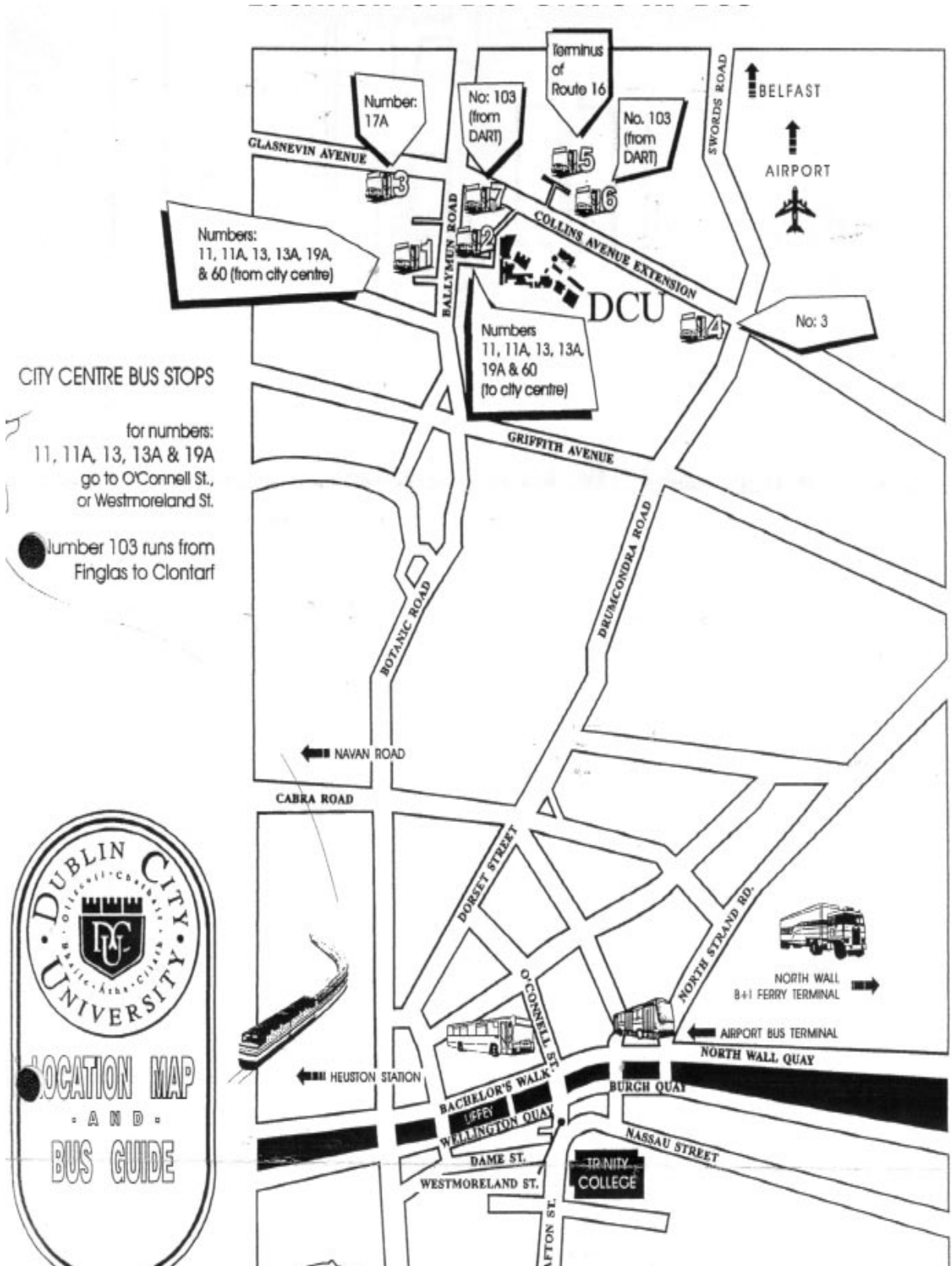
Practical information

- Ireland
 - Travel to Dublin
- Dublin
Maps

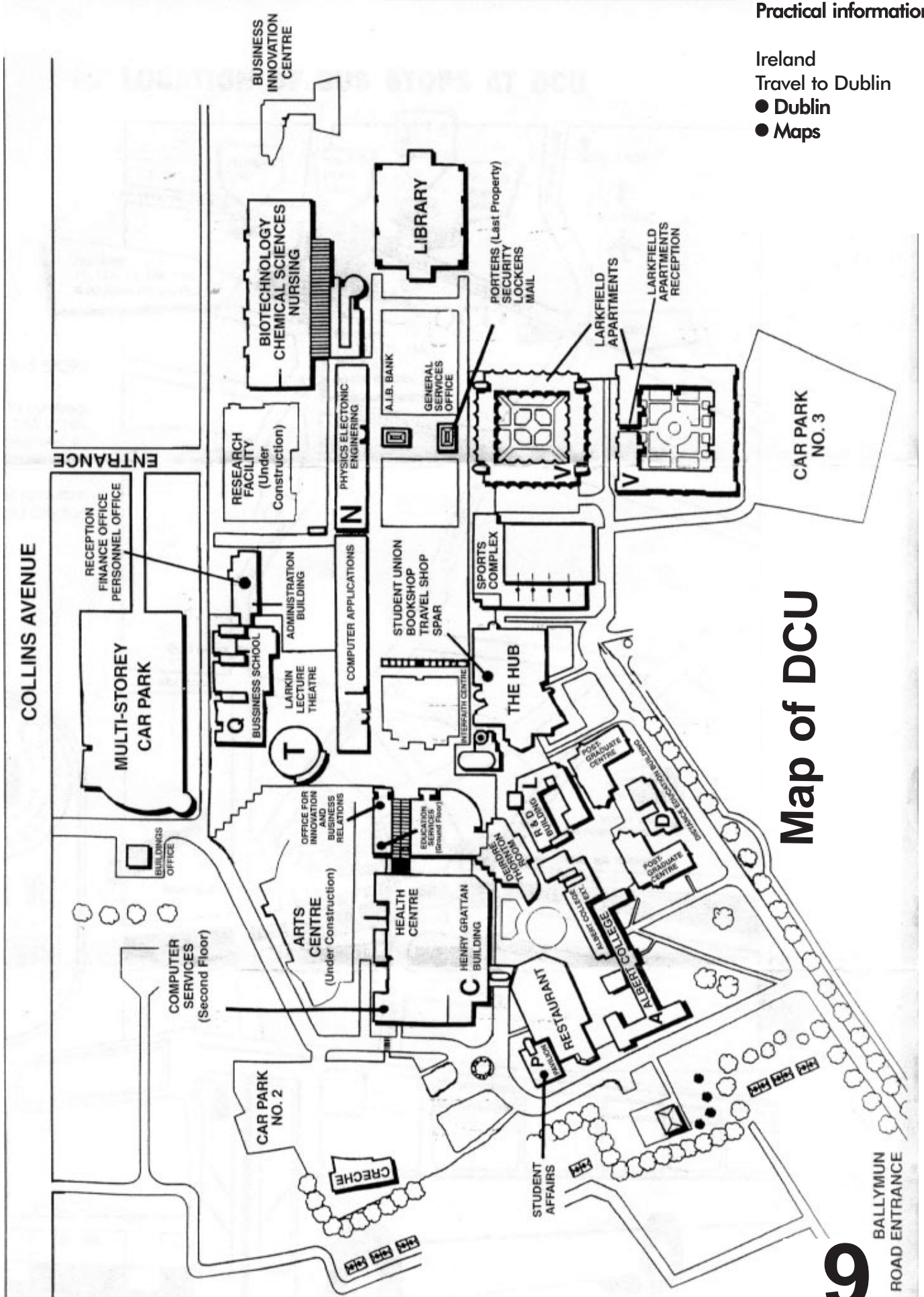
The telephone no of the train station in Dublin is 01 8366222 and bus station is 018720000.

DCU address and directions.....

There are number of buses from different locations which you can take form DCU to the city centre. Please look at the map enclosed.



- Ireland
- Travel to Dublin
- Dublin
- Maps



Map of DCU

Climate

It rains a lot in Ireland so make sure you bring your raincoat. Temperatures could vary between 15 to 25 degrees Celsius 60 – 75 degrees F. The bonus in Ireland is the amount of sunlight, during the month of August there is on average 18 hours of sunlight. The day can start as early as 4.30am with sundown at between 10-11pm.

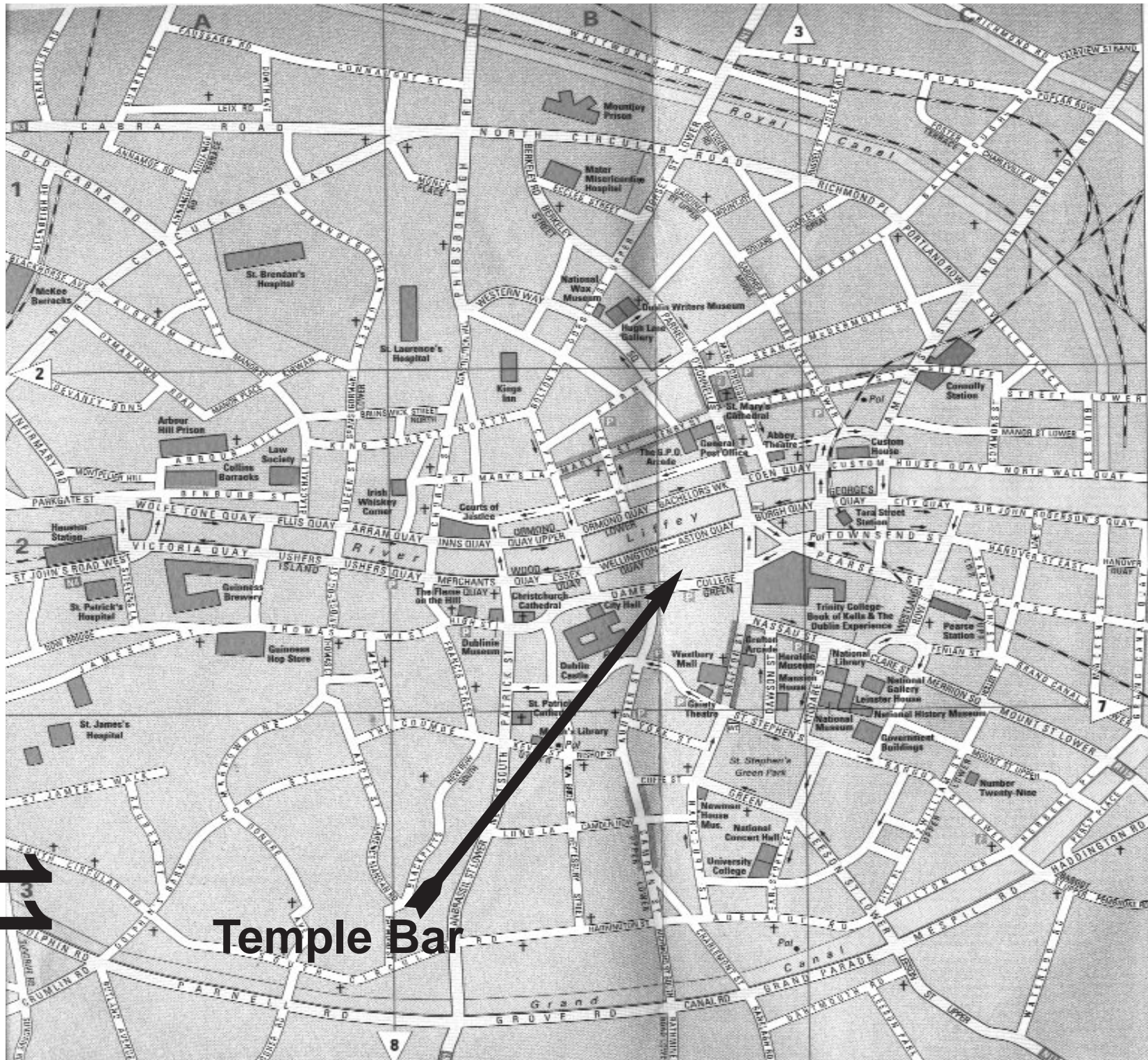
Places to Eat City Centre

The best vegetarian restaurant is Govindas, which can be found on Aungler St, serving cheap, tasty and healthy food. It is difficult to recommend or to find a reasonable priced restaurant. Most places do early bird where you get a small discount this is generally between 4 and 7pm. Many snack bars and cafes serve good soups and sandwiches. Café Irie in Temple Bar just off temple bar square. The winding Stair on Ormond Quay near the Ha'penny bridge.

You'll find many restaurants in Temple Bar ranging from Mexican, Italian, traditional Irish, Indian, Cajun, and many more.

Places to Visit

Dublin has many tourist attractions. There are a number of Museums. The National Museum on Kildare St., national gallery on Merrion Sq. The Irish Museum of Modern Art, Kilmainham. Parks include Phoenix Park at the end of North Circular Road, St Stephen's Green. Other places of interest include Trinity College where you will find the Book of Kells. If you want more information on what tourist attractions there are, you can call into any of the local tourist offices. Dublin Tourism can be contacted on 1850230230 or you can visit their centre at St Andrews Church in Suffolk St. near Trinity College. It is open from 8.30am to 8pm Monday to Saturday and on Sunday 10.30am to 2pm.



- Abbey Theatre A2
- Arbour Hill Prison A2
- Book of Kells C2
- Christchurch Cathedral B2
- City Hall C2
- Collins Barracks A2
- Connolly Station C2
- Courts of Justice B2
- Custom House C2
- Dublin Castle B1
- Dublinia Museum B2
- Dublin Writers Museum B2
- Saicy Theatre B2
- General Post Office B2
- Grafton Arcade B2
- Guinness Brewery A2
- Guinness Hop Store A2
- Heraldic Museum C2
- Houston Station A2
- Hugh Lane Gallery B1
- Irish Whiskey Corner B2
- Kings Inn A2
- Law Society C2
- Lenster House B2
- Mansion House B2
- Marsh's Library B1
- Mater Misericordiae Hospital B1
- McKee Barracks A1
- Mountjoy Prison B3
- National Concert Hall C2
- National Gallery C3
- National History Museum C2
- National Library C2
- National Museum B1
- National Wax Museum B3
- Newman House Museum C3
- Number Twenty Nine C2
- Pearse Station A3
- St. Brendan's Hospital A1
- St. James's Hospital A3
- St. Laurence's Hospital B1
- St. Mary's Cathedral B2
- St. Patrick's Cathedral B3
- St. Stephen's Green Park A2
- Tara St Station C2
- The Dublin Experience B2
- The Flame on the Hill B2
- The G.P.O. Arcade B2
- Innity College C2
- University College B3
- Westbury Mall B2

Legend

- Main road / Throughroutes
- Pedestrian street
- Shopping street
- Place of interest
- Railway station
- Car park
- Public toilets
- Police station
- Cathedral / Church
- One way street

Temple Bar



WRI Dublin Conference

War Resisters' International conference Dublin, Ireland, August 3-9, 2002, entitled Stories and Strategies-Non-violent Resistance and Social Change. It will bring together peace and social justice activists, as well as practitioners and academics, from around the world to discuss how we can make the world less violent and less militarised. As wars and acts of terrorism have increased in recent months, this event has taken on a new importance.

Since September 11, violence within and between peoples, nations and societies has become a part of everyone's awareness, while the power of the military and the police in even the most liberal societies has been strengthened in direct bold ways. Fear and insecurity are no longer an exceptional emotion for many people; they are now a part of daily life.

We are at a time when the task of building a peaceful and just society is immensely difficult. Presenting and promoting a nonviolent approach to social problems has become a formidable task with great personal risks. Yet this is a time when we must find ways to break into and interfere with a cycle of violence that is spinning faster than ever. The War Resisters' International conference has the potential to make a major contribution to this effort.

We need to develop new nonviolent strategies for ending the threat of terror, as well as for revealing and deconstructing institutional violence. We need to find ways to listen and enter into dialogue with the large numbers of people in our societies who find a nonviolent, pacifist

approach too difficult. We need to strengthen our own international network and make it a model of globalisation from below. The WRI conference will provide a forum for steps to be taken toward all of these goals.

The title and theme of "Stories and Strategies - Nonviolent Resistance and Social Change" holds new meaning in these changed political times. Storytelling and stories are powerful threads, which help people learn from each other, connect to each other, heal from painful experiences, and make our truths known. They attest to the value of each person as a part of the social fabric.

War Resisters' International provides a strong organizational base for the conference. WRI, which was founded in 1921, is a network of pacifists and nonviolent activists on every continent, who work to end war and the causes of war. WRI members are active in over 90 Sections and Associates, situated in more than 45 countries. With its long history and broad network, WRI serves as a central gathering point for a broad community of concerned and active citizens.

It is fitting for a conference with the title and theme, "Stories and Strategies - Non-violent Resistance and Social Change" to take place in Ireland, where storytelling is a rich part of the culture. Sharing stories, from personal narratives to lengthier case studies, is a creative, empowering way to strengthen the sense of community between people and among peace activists from many countries.

Continued on page 13

Plenaries

A key segment of the conference will be plenary sessions held every evening.

Here, speakers and panellists will share their stories and case studies and engage in public dialogues that highlight the conference theme.

One panel will focus on the use of stories: how they have been used to heal communities in conflict, how they can be used to develop new strategies of nonviolent resistance.

Two of these sessions will bring out stories from local community activists, one evening looking directly at the role of grassroots efforts in creating social change, and another looking at the links between global violence and violence in daily life.

One session will introduce the international audience to the work of NGOs in Ireland and Northern Ireland

and issues they address, such as ethnic conflict and economic globalisation.

Strategy will be the focus of a plenary on how to link anti-militarist work with other efforts to strengthen civil society. A final evening will review what the conference deliberations mean for WRI's future work.

The goal of the Plenary Sessions is to highlight political questions and strategic ideas that have broad relevance to nonviolent activists. Each Plenary Session will include speakers from various countries who have information and experiences related to the sessions' topic.

Many of the sessions will be panel discussions that incorporate presentations and questions from the audience. Others will be structured as creative debates between the speakers.

Plenaries

What Role do Stories Play in our Strategies?

The Irish Peace Process - Stories and Stages

Linking Violence in Daily Life with Global Violence

Militarism, Antimilitarism and Civil Society

Grassroots Efforts and Nonviolent Strategies

Continued from page 12

Everyone attending the conference will be encouraged to bring their own stories to share, about their campaigns and individual efforts at resisting violence and building peace.

Under the "Stories" theme, the Conference will examine a wide variety of social issues, from the international arms trade to violence at the community level. Some of this will be done through Plenary sessions, Theme Groups, workshops and discussion groups.

Plenary 1: What Role do Stories Play in our Strategies?

(Facilitation: Florencia Mallon, University of Wisconsin)

The history of war and peace is not only found in studies by academics, or in military war reports. It is also conveyed through the stories of ordinary people, those who experience changing political situations and must survive and resist violence as part of their daily lives. Invited speaker Florencia Mallon is a well-known historian at the University of Wisconsin (U.S.), who has specialised in the use of storytelling as a way to approach history. She will give an introduction to storytelling.

Stories will be told by:

Elhalm Bayour, a Palestinian born and raised in a refugee camp in Lebanon, who is writing her masters' thesis on Palestinian women political prisoners.

Koussetogue Koude is a peace and human rights activist from Chad living in France. He has a PhD in Human Rights Studies, with special focus on the African situation.

Michael Randle, pioneer of nonviolent direct action in Britain (Committee of 100, CND, WRI), peace researcher and academic.



Telling Stories Across Generations: History, Memory, and Identity

● Florencia E. Mallon

From the rural health worker who rolled up his sleeves to show me the purple scars left on his wrists from the electric shocks, to the mother who remembered running with her two-year-old child in front of her, held to her stomach to protect him from flying bullets, everybody in the community had a story to tell.

For years most stories had been guarded with fear and pain inside a single heart. Yet starting in 1996, they were retold in kitchens and fields, reorganized so they made sense to an outsider. In the process they made new sense to the tellers and to other family and community members who heard them.

Woven together into a larger tapestry of community experience, they recalled a dramatic past, full of heroism and untold sacrifice. By reminding people of their common history of oppression, resistance, confrontation and survival, these stories became a vehicle through which several generations could see more clearly who they were in the present, and were thus inspired to begin dreaming a different future.

In December 1970, the Mapuche indigenous community of Nicolás Ailío, located in the southern

Chilean region of La Araucanía, participated in the illegal takeover of the fundo Rucalán, a farm that was later incorporated into the agrarian reform sector under Salvador Allende's Popular Unity government.

After two and a half years of state-supervised prosperity, the same community became a target of repression before, during and after the military coup that violently terminated Allende's democratic socialist experiment. The families of those most strongly targeted by the military suffered such extreme poverty that, for years, their children's only source of food was a soup kitchen set up by the Catholic Church. In 1996, six years after the return of democratic rule, the community of Ailío successfully petitioned the state for a land subsidy to help alleviate the poverty and suffering of its families, leading to the purchase of a farm and the subdivision of the community into two: one group remaining on the original site and the other moving to the new land.

For the new generation that grew up during the dictatorship, this history is hazily remembered and poorly understood.

As one of the sons of the most

Plenaries

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important community leader once asked, "why did you take over Rucalán, Papa?" He wasn't looking for the political and strategic reasons his father gave him. Instead, he wanted to locate his family's and his community's history on a personal, emotional, and moral map.

Otherwise he would continue rejecting the "politics" he felt had only brought suffering to his family. And yet, at the same time, his father and the other members of the community who were imprisoned and tortured, and who had their dream of participation and prosperity shattered, had trouble walking through the wall of pain that separated them from that older emotional and moral map. Sometimes those memories were like physical wounds.

They acted up on rainy days, when it got cold, when people had been out in the fields and felt tired. Other times they were emotional wounds, slashes in the heart or soul that hurt when, remembering, people touched them.

Often, therefore, silence was the adaptation, even as the memories and questions continued to lurk in the space of misunderstanding between the generations.

When community leaders first invited me to present my project on community history for approval in community assembly, we began collecting oral histories.

With the life stories from seventeen different community members and the use of a variety of documentary sources in national and regional

archives and newspapers, I have produced a book-length history and collective ethnography that takes the community of Ailío from their origin in the first decades after the military defeat of the Mapuche (1884) through the present day. In essence, it provides an answer, through the memories and perspectives of the community's members, to the question: "why did you take over Rucalán?"

At the same time, however, recovering the stories and memories that have gone into the book has also encouraged people to recall existing divisions, political differences, and resentments that had accumulated between factions or families over the previous fifty years.

Originating in a disagreement over whether to participate in the Rucalán takeover and deepening during the repression and poverty that followed the military coup, these divisions also helped defined who struggled for and received the new land.

Ultimately, then, the people who left to settle the new land provided by the state in 1997 were roughly the same people who had participated in the illegal takeover a generation before.

Since I began working with the community before it split into two, between 1997 and 2001 I have shared and discussed the results of the research and received suggestions and reactions from both communities. Most recently, when I took a completed first draft of the book to Chile in August 2001, the

plenaries

two communities collaborated in organizing a joint meeting at which we read and discussed parts of the manuscript.

I followed up with additional separate readings and discussions on site in both places. People provided me with an initial set of comments, reactions, and suggestions, which will be dealt with in the revised final draft of the book.

Based on this experience, I believe that it is possible to use storytelling and the recovery of history as a tool for consciousness raising and inspiring activism across generations and community factions. I am supported in this belief by the experience I had with the community of Nicolás Ailío this past August, and the reactions of different generations and factions to the readings we did of the book manuscript.

Reading aloud was probably the best strategy we followed, given the differential literacy of distinct generations. It allowed people to hear the experiences of their neighbors or, in a few cases, their own, and react to or deepen the meanings these experiences contained.

At the same time, by experiencing the stories in a group, whether reliving them or hearing them for the first time, people were able collectively to imagine a shared identity and common history.

One way this happened was through direct identification with the experiences of another.

One elderly man who could not read, for example, upon hearing an

account of the poverty of his generation through the story of another member of the community, shed tears while exclaiming that yes, that was the way it had been; that they hadn't had shoes, and that when they got home to wash their feet after having walked a long way, their feet bled.

Reading aloud the common history of oppression and resistance also allowed people who today carry resentments with each other, due to either personal or political disagreements, to step back from them to understand the broader commonalities of history and experience that originally helped constitute them as a community.

One such person, today the leader of the community who stayed at the original site, arrived at the discussion with hostility and skepticism; he said goodbye with the comment that the book had "turned out well."

In particular, community leaders expressed the hope that the book would help the younger generations of the community understand their history. There was much discussion during our meetings of how groups in the community could follow up with further reading, involving both older and younger members. High-school and college-age young people did attend the readings, and in most cases managed to grab hold of a copy of the manuscript to further peruse afterwards. I recently received an email from a friend at an NGO working with them, where she informed me that the younger people were discussing setting up a theater group to act out the history contained in

Plenaries

● What Role do Stories Play in our Strategies?

The Irish Peace Process - Stories and Stages

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Militarism, Antimilitarism and Civil Society

Grassroots Efforts and Nonviolent Strategies

18 reader

Stories and Strategies: Non-violent Resistance and Social Change

the book.

Several of the older leaders also expressed the wish that the retelling of community history would also help people understand their location in an unbroken chain of resistance to oppression, dating back to the moment of the Mapuche's military defeat.

One of the leaders made a clear connection between Ailío's older struggles and the present-day confrontations between Mapuche communities and transnational lumber companies by suggesting that these companies were today's "Duhalde"-the name of the immigrant landowner who had usurped Ailío's lands at the beginning of the twentieth century.

He suggested, and several others agreed, that it was easy for them to understand the suffering of the peñis (Mapuche brothers) who were in jail today, because the people from Ailío also knew about repression and jails from earlier times.

This project of recovering history through telling stories in the community of Ailío is still a work in progress. It is too soon to tell whether the young people will follow up on their idea to start a theater group.

It is also too soon to tell if the resentments and divisions remembered or deepened by the process, will prove more resilient than the forms of identity and unity rebuilt through the rearticulation of collective memory.

Ultimately, when the book is published, yet another layer will be added to people's perceptions of the value of their history as others share in the understanding of the community's dramatic story.

Even though it has been especially difficult to follow the project from the distance at which I live, I remain committed to seeing it through to completion, and to making sure that copies of the Spanish-language edition make their way into every house in both communities.

It is the hope of community elders, as well as mine, that the younger generation will see in this book a source of pride about who they are, and what their past has been.

Perhaps they will also better understand the value of land, place and identity, as they remember the courageous struggles of their ancestors to protect land, community, and family.

The unbroken chain of resistance is reproduced by retelling stories across generations; the only way we can clearly see where we are headed, is by remembering where we have been.

As the Mapuche and many other indigenous peoples insist, this is why the past is, and must always be, in front of us as we make our way through the world.

Florencia E. Mallon
Department of History
University of Wisconsin-Madison,
U.S.A.

Plenary 2: The Irish Peace Process - Stories and Stages (Facilitation: Rob Fairmichael, INNATE)

The conflict in Northern Ireland was once considered a great mystery to many. But then people began to realise that conflicts, which are described in ethnic terms, are everywhere, and that what has been taking place in Ireland is just one example of such conflict. And it's not over yet. Through their individual stories, presenters will describe for the audience of international nonviolent activists, how the conflict has developed, from

the early years of the 'Troubles' through to today, and how stories of cross-community dialogue and peace building can play an important role in the construction of peace in Northern Ireland.

Rob Fairmichael is a nonviolence trainer and coordinator of the Irish Network for Nonviolent Action Training and Education, one of the sponsors of the conference.

Plenary 3: Linking Violence in Daily Life with Global Violence

Facilitation: Joanne Sheehan, War Resisters' International

Speakers in this plenary will try to answer the challenging questions about whether the global violence of war and militarism has an effect on the violence people experience in their personal daily lives. What is the effect on children of growing up in a violent society? How does militarism have particular effect on women's experiences and daily lives? How is family life affected by violent community conflict? Panellists will share sto-

ries where nonviolent strategies have been used to break this cycle of violence.

Joanne Sheehan is the chair of War Resisters' International and lives and works in the United States.

Speakers will include activists from RAWA, women from Northern Ireland or representatives from Southall Black Sisters.

Plenaries

What Role do Stories Play in our Strategies?

● The Irish Peace Process - Stories and Stages

● Linking Violence in Daily Life with Global Violence

Militarism, Antimilitarism and Civil Society

Grassroots Efforts and Nonviolent Strategies

Plenary 4: Militarism, Antimilitarism and Civil Society

Facilitation: Andreas Speck, War Resisters' International

The reaction to the terrorist attacks on the symbols of the world economic power, the World Trade Center, and of the military power USA, the Pentagon, divided the world. In particular by the "dominant powers", i.e. the "center", the world is being divided into good and evil, into friend and enemy. There is no in-between any more. This division contradicts the qualifying, enlightened thinking mediating between these extreme positions. However, this thinking not only dominates foreign policy, but increasingly becomes effective in the domestic policies of the nation-states as well. The "war against terror" that so far has led to the bombing of Afghanistan and to the killing of thousands of civilians, is supposed to be continued for a long time. This threat is intimidating, and it should lead to dissent as well.

Simultaneously, each society tries to identify "internal enemies". Here, too, the state sounds the charge against "deviants". Those people who are marginalized and pushed to the edges of the society are the first to be suspected, and the first to become the victims of this old security policy posing as new. Not surprisingly, these people are, above all, foreigners, refugees, and direct or indirect victims of the worldwide competing economic interests. Within the nation-states, however, critics of the contemporary societies are suspected of siding with "the evil", "the

enemy". All states tend to disparage their critics as terrorists, against whom they may then take action - by (almost) any means necessary.

Due to this policy, however, all citizens become suspects in principle. This suspicion is supposed to justify the extension of all mechanisms of control, the constantly increasing restriction of civil rights and liberties in favour of a supposed security, and the building of an authoritarian police state. Basic human rights and democratic requirements are given up thereby. Therefore, the citizens' security is lost, and at most a (merely supposed) security for the state is won - i.e., state security.

These "good" states - i.e., how they perceive themselves in self-assured arrogance - claim to fight for freedom, democracy, and human rights. However, they are the ones who time and time again contravene these basic rights worldwide. Disregarding international law, they wage war on other states, thereby violating the human rights of the bombed, frightened and distressed people. Within their own countries, the human rights of those who are arbitrarily suspected of terrorism cease to be in force. Prisoners' rights are disregarded. These are but a few examples for this "new" politics.

However, the character of the terrorist attacks fundamentally contradicts everything that might be regarded as

plenaries

a politics of liberation. Though these deeds could be popular among marginalized people who are the victims of the increasing world disorder. At least, this has to be understood.

If one wants to fight for the establishment of a worldwide politics that at least basically meets the principles of human rights, democracy, and social and humanitarian development, the states are not the addressees. They will not initiate a development going in the right direction. A new politics beyond the state, and massive pressure by social movements is needed. The cause of the global conflicts lies in the way of living of those people living in the "central states", and whose way of living is now to be defended by the military. This has to be opposed by an international movement building resistance and working for changes of the people's everyday life and living conditions.

After 11 September not only the military machine was mobilised, also civil

liberties were seriously restricted even more. But too often the activist movements to strengthen civil society and to resist militarism are separate developments running on parallel paths with little coordination. WRI can help to bridge this gap by developing and clarifying an analysis that identifies the immense threat that militarism carries to any civil society.

This plenary session will examine how militarism limits civil liberties and the building of a strong civic sector. Speakers will outline ways that peace and antimilitarist efforts can contribute to the strengthening of civil society.

Elke Steven is on the staff of the Germany based *Komitee für Grundrechte und Demokratie*, an organisation working on civil liberties and antimilitarism from a pacifist perspective.

Activists from various antimilitarist groups will share their stories and experience that link these two issues in campaigning work.

Plenaries

What Role do Stories Play in our Strategies?

The Irish Peace Process - Stories and Stages

Linking Violence in Daily Life with Global Violence

● **Militarism, Antimilitarism and Civil Society**

Grassroots Efforts and Nonviolent Strategies

 **reader**

**Stories and Strategies:
Non-violent Resistance and Social Change**

Plenary 5: Grassroots Efforts and Nonviolent Strategies *Facilitation: Dorie Wilsnack, War Resisters' International*

It is common for stories and case studies from other communities to be woven into grassroots campaigns, whether as inspirational models, humorous anecdotes or rumours about failure. A panel of grassroots activists will take a closer look at how the local stories transfer across cultural divides.

They will begin by sharing their own campaign stories, and then describe how the reports from other grassroots efforts influenced their strategies.

Eduvina Vilches is a 70 years old Chilean woman from the grassroots movement living in the poor districts of the outskirts of Santiago. She has been raising children abandoned by their parents. During the dictatorship she helped musicians and artists to

keep arts alive by assisting them. *Luis Nieves Falcon*, one of Puerto Rico's leading activist-intellectuals, the founder and coordinator of its Committee for Human Rights.

Coskun Üsterzi is a peace and human rights activist in Turkey. He works with torture survivors, and was imprisoned for more than 10 years.

Joanne Sheehan is the chair of War Resisters' International and an organizer with War Resisters League in the United States.

Conference participants will spend the mornings meeting in Theme Groups, which they return to each day. Having such extensive time together gives participants the opportunity to delve deeply into a topic.

Plenaries

What Role do Stories Play in our Strategies?

The Irish Peace Process - Stories and Stages

Linking Violence in Daily Life with Global Violence

● **Militarism, Antimilitarism and Civil Society**

● **Grassroots Efforts and Nonviolent Strategies**

Theme Groups

Conference participants will spend the mornings meeting in Theme Groups, which they return to each day. Having such extensive time together gives participants the opportunity to delve deeply into a topic. In the Theme Group deliberations, a wide variety of methods are used to draw out participants' experiences: role-plays, presentations by resource people, and group exercises.

Theme Group sessions will include analysis of a problem, the pooling of information and experiences, devel-

opment of new strategies and if there is interest, the design of coordinated efforts for the future, including the role WRI could play. Each theme group will have resource people knowledgeable about the topic, as well as a facilitator who monitors the group process. Where possible, preparations for each Theme Group preparations are being handled by both international and Irish conveners. which are discussion groups that meet together for a few hours every day. These are a central part of the conference agenda

Theme Group 1: Economics, Militarisation and Globalisation *Facilitation: N.N., Ireland and Ellen Elster, Norway*

The aftermath of the terror attacks on 11 September against the World Trade Centre and the Pentagon, the symbols of the world's two most powerful centres, illustrates the connection between the economical and military globalisation. Weapons production and trade operating across all borders involve many countries in a complex system. Military and economical alliances (e.g. NATO and WTO) defend the rich countries' economical interests within and outside their borders and create social injustice and environmental imbalance.

Stories will be on: political and economic development in Ireland and Northern Ireland seen in relation to international economic and military institutions; how the oil in Angola plays a role on the international market and in the international politics; how the "integration" into Europe,

NATO, WTO takes its toll in the republics of former Yugoslavia, will serve as the starting point for exploring broader patterns of global pressures to build military-dependent economies. Stories presented from these countries will show how military alliances, the increased importance of the arms trade and the role of corporations play for the economies and the consequences for people and their environment.

Resource persons will be **Andy Storey** from Ireland is a lecturer in development studies, former aid worker in Rwanda and chairperson of NGO *Action from Ireland (Afri)* responsible for campaigns on issues of militarisation and opposing Ireland's growing involvement in international military alliances and the global arms trade.

theme groups

He will cover the following themes:

- i) The incorporation of the Republic of Ireland into military alliances through NATO-linked bodies and the EU.
- ii) The growing importance of the arms trade in the economy of Ireland (North and South).
- iii) National-level, political campaigns of resistance to the developments outlined in 1) above, with a case-study of Afri's opposition to the Nice Treaty in 2001.
- iv) Local-level opposition to the developments outlined in 2) above, with a case-study of the Foyle Ethical Investment Campaign's struggle against the location of an armaments facility in its area during 1999 and 2000.
- v) Educational action for anti-militarism, with a case-study of a second-level school project that combined the development of educational materials and the organization of workshops for teachers and students.

Filomeno Lopes from Angola have for a long time work with the problems of the oil business and the corruption that is linked between oil exploitation, arms trade and illegal diamonds export as he worked for many years as an economical expert for SOGANOL, the Angolan state oil company. Since the end of the 1990 he got involved in the Angolan peace movement as coordinator of GARP, *Angolan Group of Reflection for Peace*, and later also as coordinator of *Rede de Paz* (Angolan Peace Network), which was created in July 2001 and brings together COIEPA (the different churches) with 15 other groups from the civil society for a last-

ing and just peace.

After the death of UNITA leader Jonas Savimbi earlier this year, has given the hope for peace. But Angola is facing enormous challenges after decades of war, even being rich of resources. In the theme group the focus will be the countries resources linked to the international corporations and WTO. What demands for building the Angolan society will come from these institutions? And what roles will the peace movement be able to play?

Drazen Simlesa, professor of sociology currently working at the Institute of social sciences "*Ivo Pilar*" in Zagreb and a local activist in various NGOs (e.g. ATTAC, Autonomous Culture Factory).

Author of the book "Power of utopia", conveying seminars at Center for peace studies in Zagreb.

The Balkans and The Eastern Europe are working actively to become a part of the Western world. Integration into the Western institutions as EU, NATO and WTO are not only regarded as positive, e.g. US putting pressure on Croatia through WTO to allow production and import of genetically modified food, military reforms, professional armies etc.

In addition there will be resource people who will report from the World Social Forum in Porto Alegre, Brazil in January this year. The Forum accepted a statement of the links between the global economics and militarism by calling the social movements for resistance to neoliberalism, war and militarism, and for peace and social justice. Resource people who

Continued on page 26

Theme Groups

● Economics, Militarisation and Globalisation

Violence in Society and Nonviolent Social Empowerment

Addressing Ethnic Community and Intra-State Violence

Conscientious Objectors, Veterans, and Anti-Militarism

Asylum: Strategies to Prevent the Closing of Borders

An Exploration and Introduction to Nonviolence

Dealing with the Past

**Theme Group 2:
Violence in Society and Nonviolent Social Empowerment
Facilitation: Joanne Sheehan, USA, and N.N.**

How does violence manifest itself in our whole society? This theme group will look at this large issue as it affects life at the level of daily experience. What are the patterns of socialisation and of domination that encourage and nurture violence, both within society and between societies? How do the manifestations of violence at the local and global level feed one another? How are youth affected by growing up in violent societies? The group will look for examples where the cycle of violence has been broken and will try to design strategies where nonviolence can

be used as a means for social transformation.

Resource persons will be

Hilal Demir is an activist with anti-militarist feministler and öteki-ben in Izmir/Turkey.

Martin Rodriguez is a Colombian activist with the *Red Juvenil* in Medellin, especially working on youth organising against violence.

Hasina Khan is a member of *Aawaz-e-Niswan*, a Muslim women's organisation from Mumbai/India.

**For the participants of the Theme Group on
"Ethnic Conflict and Intra-State Violence"**

We anticipate that many of you will have your own experiences with ethnic, religious, or cultural conflicts and will bring this into the Theme Group. If you plan to participate in the group on "Ethnic Conflict and Intra-State Violence" we invite you to please bring your stories, posters and leaflets, pictures, slides, videos, newspaper clippings and other material about the violent conflicts you are trying to end. Any material that will help us to look beneath the surface of the conflict (see the following article) will be especially useful for our discussions and analysis.

Continued from page 25

took part in the Forum will report and bring forward what this call for action

mean, and hopefully WRI can give input to the next year's Forum on nonviolent strategies to this resistance.

Beneath the Surface of Religious and Cultural Conflicts

● Paula Green

Although most conflicts involving culture and religions currently are fought within state boundaries, the roots of these conflicts extend beyond the nation-state to include the interests of external stakeholders. Interlocked sources of armed conflict, such as unjust economic and political arrangements, massive arms trade, poverty, inequitable distribution of land, water and other natural resources, failed post-colonial governments, centuries of exploitation, historical grievances, and misuse of power, may be framed or misconstrued as conflicts of identity, religion and culture.

Identity or religious and cultural differences seldom, if ever, cause armed conflict, but are frequently exploited to foment conflict. Popular leaders may evoke sacred images or historical memories to incite violence, manipulating populations for private gain or glory and creating the illusion that religious or cultural differences are provoking war. Competition for scarce resources and, at a deeper level, greed, anger, fear and misguided notions of separateness, more likely underlie

the causes of war.

Religious or cultural fundamentalism may stimulate conflict, but fundamentalism often masks a deeper fear of annihilation, a sense troubling many cultural and religious groups today that global homogeneity, aggressive commercialism, and diminishing resources will displace their centuries-old practices and patterns of culture.

Religion, culture, ethnicity, and identity per se do not cause rampant inter-communal violence, but function rather as banners to which communities rally in the search for protection from complex and menacing forces of change. Applying the label of identity-based Conflict masks the complex macro forces and deep existential fears confronting the human family. Thus we understand the phrase religious and cultural conflicts to stand for an aggregation of subterranean issues that fuel contemporary violence.

Excerpted from an article by

Paula Green,
**"CONTACT:
Training A New Generation of
Peacebuilders"**
published in **Peace and Change: A
Journal of Peace Research,**
**Consciousness and
Transformation, January 2002**

Theme Groups

- **Economics, Militarisation and Globalisation**
- **Violence in Society and Nonviolent Social Empowerment**
- **Addressing Ethnic Community and Intra-State Violence**

Conscientious Objectors, Veterans, and Anti-Militarism

Asylum: Strategies to Prevent the Closing of Borders

An Exploration and Introduction to Nonviolence

Dealing with the Past

International 'peace operations': what they are and what they could be

**Theme Group 3:
Addressing Ethnic Community and Intra-State Violence**
*Facilitation: Dorie Wilsnack and Eric Bachman,
Germany/USA*

Many violent conflicts today appear, at first, to be based on divisions and hatreds between ethnic, religious or cultural communities. On closer look, however, one finds that people's insecurities and fears are often manipulated and exaggerated by stories told by political leaders and

the media. This Theme Group will investigate how nonviolent activists can help people resist the fears and hatreds that drive them toward war with their neighbours. It will cover both strategies for long-term bridge-building as well as short-term nonviolent intervention.

**Theme Group 4:
Conscientious Objectors, Veterans, and Anti-Militarism**
*Facilitation: Emanuel Matondo, Angola/Germany and
Andreas Speck, Germany/UK*

The "war on terrorism" leads to increased militarisation in most parts of the world. While individual refusal to participate in the military has been a powerful way to challenge militarism, it is an open question what role it can play today.

This Theme Group will look at conscientious objection and total resistance to conscription and their role in building an anti-militarist movement. The first day will start with an introduction by Ekkehart Krippendorff on "State and militarism after 11 September" (see below). This will set a framework for an analysis of the present situation, and present trends of militarisation (Peace News 2447: Antimilitarism: where next? is recommended reading for this theme group). Based on that analysis, participants will discuss the challenges they face in their countries,

such as the need for new strategies as more countries professionalise their armies. From an antimilitarist perspective, the theme group will look at entry points for antimilitarist strategies - what is the role of conscientious objection, or maybe limited refusal (such as "Yesh Gvul" and the refuseniks in Israel)? How can veterans play a role in our antimilitarist struggle?

Emanuel Matondo is an Angolan peace activist living in Germany.

Andreas Speck is a total objector and nonviolence trainer and on the staff of War Resisters' International.

Resource persons: **Ekkehart Krippendorff**, plus antimilitarist activists and veterans from different countries.

The state and militarism after 11 September

● Ekkehart Krippendorff

Since 11 September the militarist rhetoric spewing out of the US and Europe has reached new heights. Ekkehart Krippendorff looks at the intrinsic relationship between state formations and the military in the post 11 September political environment.

People in the fields of international relations and peace research may have read a lot of polemics against - and are thus revisionist of - the historically and systematically argued thesis of the intrinsic, symbiotic relationship between state formations and the military.

This theory (to which this author has devoted a great part of his academic work) states, in short, that the formation of the modern (nation-)state in the 17th century - at the conclusion of the devastating 30 Years' War - was, in essence, a historical re-organisation of rule and domination, based on military structures, values, and reproductive needs.

The new "territorial state" with all its baroque rationality, efficiency, bureaucracy and symbolism was - and continues to be - the mantle covering the iron skeleton of professionally organised standing armies. It thus follows that wars are "made" by states - and not by "the people", and do not represent an outlet for collective aggressive instincts.

Neither do wars "break out", they are prepared, planned, and decided by the political classes, groups, and/or individuals as instruments of policies (that these people often need and require popular support is secondary - though the fact that such support can also be used to overcome internal contradictions - with their appeal to

"national unity" - is not secondary). Large-scale gang warfare.

In the aftermath of the end of the Cold War - a war which is sometimes seen as the last (and obviously the most extreme) form of state confrontation - it was claimed that this 350-year-old historical pattern had come to an end. The spread of violence and civil wars, of ethnic massacres and the disintegration of states was - and is - interpreted as the end of the state-military symbiosis.

Many scholars and analysts began to see this process as a secular phenomenon: these wars were no longer wars in the historically dominant pattern and structure, rather they were seen as a form of large-scale gang warfare, originating not from the state but from the very collapse of state authority: A kind of emancipation of violence from politics - the possession of arms and the organisation of loyal followers around crude ethnic or religious ideologies, became a career for uprooted, jobless young men and a profitable way of life (for example in west Africa, in Ethiopia or Somalia).

The term "military" - when used to describe the activities of these warlords from the southern fringe of Russia to Afghanistan and the Balkans - became almost a misnomer, the perversion of the type of armed forces we had known in Europe and many other cultures, because the established state militaries operated with certain ethical standards and values - all variations of the medieval notion of "chivalry". Analysts were now looking back with nostalgia to the

Theme Groups

Economics,
Militarisation and
Globalisation

Violence in Society
and Nonviolent
Social Empowerment

Addressing Ethnic
Community and
Intra-State Violence

● **Conscientious
Objectors, Veterans,
and Anti-Militarism**

Asylum: Strategies
to Prevent the
Closing of Borders

An Exploration
and Introduction
to Nonviolence

Dealing with the
Past

International
'peace operations':
what they are
and what
they could be

teachings of von Clausewitz -(the influential 19th Century military thinker and author of *On War*) who had attempted to discipline the military and to establish, normatively, the primacy of politics over warfare, to define wars as an instrument of politics, as a well-circumscribed means to specific ends.

Same ol', same ol'

So, do we need to create new categories to enable our understanding of the current violence following the declaration of "war against terrorism"? This is not an academic exercise, because all strategies to oppose violence and war, if they are to have a minimum chance of success, depend on us having an adequate understanding of what exactly we are opposing; goodwill, good intentions, and morally correct attitudes, do not suffice and don't translate into action. My answer to this question about categories is twofold: we are confronted with a historically new situation, but at the same time we also observe the return to an old pattern.

What is new is the inability of relatively young states (for example, some of the African, CIS, and Yugoslav states) to integrate their armed forces into a political body and to create a political and ideological loyalty or state identity. In some cases, it was only, or mainly, the well-organised, well-paid, privileged army who identified with their states - and fought, for very plausible material reasons, against the dissolution of their states. In other cases the military could not care less about any political purpose or project and fought purely for themselves - like the gangs in Liberia.

For the military to fight for their

socio-economic privileges within a given state -if need be by way of a coup d'état, Latin American style - now seems a rather old-fashioned pattern and not typical for most post-colonial new state formations, even if we do have some important examples of military coups, notably those in large countries such as Pakistan or Burma. The case of Afghanistan - independently of "9/11" - is a case in point: Even though it has had a lengthy historical identity, the Afghan state of the 1970s and 80s disintegrated into military factions of rivalling warlords, mobilising tribal loyalties against each other.

It's not just nation-states!

In short: the "march of history" towards a presumed "end" did not travel in the direction of the territorial nation-state as the only modern form of political organisation. In fact, the US itself experienced -during the lost decades (1980s and 90s) - a slow and subtle, barely noticeable erosion of national loyalties and political identity, expressing itself largely through not voting, non-participation in politics, widespread cynicism towards the political class, privatisation, consumerism, and disinterest in the public domain.

This was not, as one might assume, entirely comfortable to a political class which could thus rule more easily, with less interference and less democratic control. There was, in the US, an outspoken liberal-left opposition to the more narrow-minded, crude and, last but not least, military, strategies with the respective defence expenditures of a world hegemony in the interest of corporate big business, oil being not the least important among them. And a historical heritage of

civil liberties was, and remains, a potential obstacle to all long-range fantasies of strengthening and streamlining US society internally for its new role in a world hegemony.

Historically-minded American elites have often made references to the model of the Roman Empire, as a stabilising and civilising force for a period of about three to four centuries. If they read this history correctly (and I presume some of them did), they were certainly aware of the fact that Imperial Rome had to pervert, hollow and eventually destroy the democratic institutions of this first constitutional political community, this first republic. (The speedy and sweeping reactions to "9/11" constitute an unexpectedly gigantic step into such a direction for the American Republic and polity. 11 September 2001 was used by conservative US forces, technically in much the same way as the burning of the Reichstag in February 1933, was used by the Nazis to dismantle the Weimar constitution with the "Empowering Act", ten days after this attack.)

Writing blank cheques

This, then, is the return to the old pattern of military-state-relationships following the events of 11 September: not only were US citizens united behind the flag, they were induced to give a blank cheque to a government which is in the hands of a particularly crude and unsophisticated faction of its political class, sacrificing almost without hesitation and certainly without debate or opposition, civil rights and civil liberties, the greatest achievements of almost 250 years of history.

Not only did they give a free rein in

the a qualitative jump in the militarisation of their foreign policies - thus returning to the old pattern and structures of "Modern State Formation" - but the European allies followed suit, blindly, and without even a brief moment spent thinking about the possible consequences of their unconditional solidarity.

The European Union had (and still has) a chance of not becoming a militarised "world power player", and of developing a political identity, different not only from the US federal state super-power, but also from its own bloody and self-destructive military history. This was supposed to be the lesson of history which needed to be learned, when a united Europe was dreamt of - and slowly conceived - after World War II.

Even though alarming signals that the military would become the second pillar of strength in a "United Europe" have been detected for many years (the first pillar being economic interests), after 11 September the militarisation of European policy, the so-called "defence and security identity", has become official doctrine, together with new security legislation directed against the citizens of all member states and attempts at discouraging the democratisation of their political institutions.

War has become thinkable again, in fact, while this Europe was created precisely as an answer to its own history of wars, the political classes want their Europe to become a war-faring political actor, a Europe, defined in foreign policy by its military capacities. This would not be "our" Europe, the civilised, cultured, humanistic Europe, the Europe of literature and music, of philosophy and the arts, the Europe of the enlightenment which gave birth to

Theme Groups

Economics,
Militarisation and
Globalisation

Violence in Society
and Nonviolent
Social Empowerment

Addressing Ethnic
Community and
Intra-State Violence

● **Conscientious
Objectors, Veterans,
and Anti-Militarism**

Asylum: Strategies
to Prevent the
Closing of Borders

An Exploration
and Introduction
to Nonviolence

Dealing with the
Past

International
'peace operations':
what they are
and what
they could be

the idea of universal human rights and a political project called Eternal Peace (a philosophical text written by Immanuel Kant in 1795), which is based upon the premise of human reason as the opposite to violence and war.

Means and ends

The military is not - and never has been - a technically neutral means towards specific political ends (as Clausewitz wanted it to be), it lives by its own dynamics and logic.

But if it were to be considered as a means only, then one should know: in any society the means by which it deals with its problems, solves its conflicts, deals with governments and the governed, define its profile and identity. "The way is the goal", to put it into a common phrase.

That thinking also applies to the armed forces when used as a means in resolving conflict. Wherever arms are being used in an attempt to solve socio-political or any other conflicts, the results will be compromised and conditioned by their very violence. A

peaceful society on the other hand - national or international - can only be achieved or attempted to be built by peaceful means.

If 11 September continues to be used as a primary factor in pushing towards the build-up of a European military capacity, then a European State emerging from it will be a monster. If we do not want to give up the historical chance and project of a political Europe, then we have to conceptualise it as de-centralised and de-militarised, because its greatest asset is its cultural pluralism. It is this culture, indeed this pluralism of cultures, that should be recognised as an enormous, non-militarist, political resource.

Ekkehart Krippendorff is an author and radical academic. He lives in?

You can read Kant's Eternal Peace (sometimes translated as Perpetual Peace at

www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/intrel/kant/kant1.htm.

You can find out all about Clausewitz at <http://www.clausewitz.com/>

Reprinted from Peace News 2447: Antimilitarism: where next?

Theme Group 5:

Asylum: Strategies to Prevent the Closing of Borders

Facilitation: Doro Bruch, Germany and Tikiri, France

This Theme Group will look at issues of migration, asylum, and deportation, and how these are directly related to war and militarism - even more obvious after 11 September. In sharing strategies, the Group will discuss campaigns to challenge the "Fortress Europe" policy, and the closed-border practices at the US-Mexican border.

They will learn about specific actions such as the International Human Rights Team at the German-Polish Border.

Doro Bruch has a diploma in social work, and is involved in asylum and migration policy in different groups in Germany.

Tikiri is an antimilitarist activist with MOC and Le Rire in France.

Theme Group 6: An Exploration and Introduction to Nonviolence

Facilitation: Helen Stevens, Scottish Centre for Nonviolence, Scotland and a nonviolent activist from the Southern hemisphere

This Theme Group, which will be convened by the Scottish Centre for Nonviolence, is for people who are relatively new to the field and the concepts of nonviolence or while experienced, are interested in revisiting the basic principles. This will be an opportunity for partici-

pants to explore nonviolence and its repercussions in detail.

Helen Stevens is on the staff of the Scottish Centre for Nonviolence. The theme group will be co-facilitated by a nonviolent activist from the Southern hemisphere.

Theme Group 7: Dealing with the Past

Facilitation: Roberta Bacic, Chile/UK, Brandon Hamber, Northern Ireland/South Africa

This Theme Group is about what it means for people to learn to live in the present. Many people's lives are marked by war, violence, and other repressive events, which they did not choose, want, or provoke. How can people learn to handle such experiences and use them for finding meaning and significance in their present lives? With the help of knowledgeable resource people, the Theme Group will discuss the psychological effects of war and other trauma. They will explore various approaches for dealing with the past, including the use of storytelling and other ways of making their experiences known. The Group will give a special look at how justice, reconciliation, and forgiveness fit together.

Roberta Bacic was born in Chile and was involved in the movement

of the relatives of the disappeared. She later joined the Chilean aftermath of the Truth Commission, Corporación Nacional de Reparación y Reconciliación. Presently she lives in Britain and is on the staff of War Resisters' International.

Brandon Hamber was born in South Africa and presently lives in Northern Ireland. He worked on violence and trauma at the South African Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation.

Elizabeth Stanley is a lecturer at the Centre for Studies in Crime and Social Justice, UK, and works on Truth Commissions, storytelling and social justice.

Siva Ramamoorthy is from Sri Lanka and lives in Ireland.

Theme Groups

Economics, Militarisation and Globalisation

Violence in Society and Nonviolent Social Empowerment

Addressing Ethnic Community and Intra-State Violence

● **Conscientious Objectors, Veterans, and Anti-Militarism**

● **Asylum: Strategies to Prevent the Closing of Borders**

● **An Exploration and Introduction to Nonviolence**

● **Dealing with the Past**

International 'peace operations': what they are and what they could be

**Theme group 7:
International 'peace operations':
what they are and what they could be
*Facilitation: Howard Clark***

Howard Clark - WRI Council member, resource person on Kosovo/a, author of *Civil Resistance in Kosovo* (Pluto Press), and *Kosovo Work in Progress: Closing the Cycle of Violence* (University of Coventry Centre for the Study of Forgiveness and Reconciliation)

Resource people:

Jill Sternberg - formerly IFoR and PBI-USA, resource person on East Timor, NGO Forum/Peace and

Democracy Foundation, East Timor
Christine Schweitzer - WRI Council member, resource person on the expansion of UN operations and developments in international nonviolent intervention, research coordinator of the International Nonviolent Peace Force and editor/co-author of their *Nonviolent Peaceforce Feasibility Study* and (with Howard Clark) of the *Final Evaluation of the Balkan Peace Team*.

How the target group will benefit from the project

The Conference will have an impact within the Irish peace and human rights movement. In preparation of the conference, a working group of different Irish groups (Glencree, Latin America Solidarity Committee (LASC), Action from Ireland (Afri), Peace and Neutrality Alliance (PANA), Musicians Opposing War, and others) was set up. One of the outcomes of the conference will be the strengthening of links between these Irish groups, and connecting them to nonviolent grassroots activists from other parts of the world, working on similar issues.

On the international level, the use of story telling provides the oppor-

tunity of building bridges between activists and academics - broadening the perspectives of practitioners in both fields, and widening the impact of peace and human rights activism on the grassroots level into new and broader social areas.

An event like the Triennial Conference of the War Resisters International coming to Ireland is something that is only likely to happen once in a lifetime, certainly no more than once in a generation. For a small country it represents an amazing opportunity to interact with peace and nonviolent activists around the world, to learn from them, and for them to learn about and from here.

There will be a certain amount of the input to the Triennial on the situation in Ireland - especially the conflict in Northern Ireland and the search for - and partial arrival at - solutions there. There will be more general information on Ireland, including the Republic's military neutrality and what that means or does not mean now, and generally on Irish culture and politics. This is primarily for external consumption in the sense that it is aimed to help people learn about here.

Of course in this process local people from the island of Ireland will be able to reflect and think about the same matters, and sometimes its is in explaining to others that people find out what they really feel and think.

But the presence of such a large number of peace and nonviolent activists from around the world is an opportunity for learning about different approaches on a really global scale. What strategies and tactics have people used in particular issues and struggles? And what issues have people found that galvanized movements into effective action? How in detail have issues been developed? Both the detailed work in the theme groups, and plenaries and other workshops, will enable this learning to go on.

By holding the event in Ireland, and engaging in the necessary work, the groups and individuals involved are also making a contribution to global networking and peacebuilding. This may not, as such, have a big impact on Ireland but it may be important in sustaining and building peaceful responses at a worldwide

level.

But there are two other ways in which it is hoped the WRI Triennial will have ongoing effects in Ireland. Firstly, that the experience of the different sponsoring groups, and others, working together will enable ongoing cooperation and closer relationships in the future. There are half a dozen groups sponsoring the WRI Triennial and involvement in working together should be a positive template for other future work. One of the groups involved, INNATE, is itself a networking organisation.

The intention behind the home stay programme, where international visitors can stay several days with local activists in many different parts of Ireland, is a two-way learning process. Again it is hoped to be an effective networking tool but also enabling 'the Triennial' to have an effect on parts of Ireland far removed from Dublin where the conference itself will take place. The idea is not just that insiders and outsiders can learn from each other, but that the outsiders - many with great experience of work for peace and political or social developments in their countries - can be used by their local hosts for meetings or informal events which will raise the profile of the hosts in their locality. This is part of the planning process for the Triennial to avoid holding an international conference which happens to be in Ireland but 'could be anywhere'.

Workshops

Workshops will be organised every day. It will be up to each individual to inform the organisers if they wish to conduct a workshop. Information will be given each morning on the workshops for the day

Home Stay Programme

The purpose of this programme is to take the Triennial to different parts of the country (north, south, east and west) and enable international visitors to see Ireland and what Irish activists are doing. It is intended very much as a two-way process; visitors can be used to increase awareness of particular issues through local meetings, formal or informal, and to increase the profile of local groups associated with the hosts.

The WRI Triennial Home Stay Programme will operate both before and after the Triennial conference itself. The dates beforehand are 31st July - 3rd August (when the Triennial starts); the dates afterwards are 10th - 13th

August.

INNATE (Irish WRI associate) will handle arrangements for both hosts and visitors. Offers to host visitors, and requests to take part as Home Stay Programme visitors, should go to INNATE, 16 Ravensdene Park, Belfast, Northern Ireland, Phone +44 - (0)28 - 90 64 71 06, e-mail innate@ntlworld.com If possible please communicate by e-mail.

While we will do our best to take information given and requests into account in matching hosts and visitors, please note that we cannot give guarantees about compatibility, language skills etc. The working languages for booking the Home Stay Programme are

Continued from page 35

It is always difficult to project what 'the outcome' of such an event will be. But to summarise the points made above, the aims for Ireland include; to have local peace and social activists better informed and prepared for their work through

international and local interaction; to facilitate groups working together; to network on a countrywide scale. These aims are all important for building up a movement which can respond constructively in the future and which can maximise the effectiveness

English, French and Spanish (if you are able to use English in booking that will make it easier at the Irish end of the programme).

How will it work?

Hosts will be recruited around Ireland and asked a certain amount of information to help match them with visitors. Those booking for the Triennial who request information on the Home Stay Programme will be sent details and told what information they need to provide to book (to make life easier there is no booking form, rather a list of information which needs to be provided). INNATE will attempt to match visitors and hosts; hosts will be sent the visitor's booking information and asked to get in touch with the visitor themselves - and visitors will be advised this is happening. It is then up to hosts and visitors to sort out exact arrangements about arrivals, departures, and possible use of visitors for meetings and gatherings locally.

Visitors

Please note that you cannot stay with hosts outside the time periods given above except by invitation from the hosts. You can request the Home Stay Programme to stay both before and after with different hosts but preference will be given to ensure everyone is fixed up one time before offering a second stay. If you do not speak English it is advisable to travel with someone who is fluent in a shared language and English, if possible. If you do not speak English we will attempt to place you with hosts who speak a

language you would both speak but this may not always be possible.

Travelling from Dublin to stay with hosts is your responsibility both in making arrangements and in paying for travel. Most places in Ireland can be reached from Dublin in a couple of hours and almost everywhere within 4 - 5 hours; the cost by bus is unlikely to be over 30 return (train is more expensive).

As part of the Home Stay Programme, it is requested that you are available to meet people locally, either formally or informally. The groups which hosts are involved in may wish to organise a meeting or social event so the information about your willingness to speak on your particular involvements and concerns is important. If you do not feel comfortable offering to speak at a formal meeting, you could offer to talk with a small group (workshop style) or chat to people informally.

A number of hosts will be located in Northern Ireland which is politically part of the United Kingdom and not in the same state as Dublin. If you require a visa for the Republic of Ireland please note that you will probably need a separate visa for Northern Ireland. If this is a problem please let us know so that you are placed only in the Republic of Ireland.

Please note that the closing date for the Home Stay Programme is 1st July. If you have not booked before 1st July please check whether it is still possible before booking as the aim is to allow hosts time to plan local meetings.

Visitor Information Required

Please provide the following information to INNATE. You do not need to restate the question but you must give the question number (1, 2, 3 etc) for your reply.

1. Full name
2. Name usually known as.
3. Age.
4. Gender
5. Contact points including postal address, phone, fax, e-mail (as available),
6. Your national and/or cultural identity as you wish to state it.
7. If travelling with anyone else.
8. If willing to share a room or wishing to share a room with someone.
9. Languages spoken; please state for each language if you speak it a) fluently b) moderately c) basically.
- 10 Interests and involvements you have, especially in nonviolence and political action (not more than 50 words, please).
11. Why do you want to take part in the Home Stay Programme (maximum 50 words, please).
12. Any dietary requirements (lacto-vegetarian, vegan etc).
13. Do you want to stay as a visitor a) before the Triennial (31st July - 3rd August) or b) afterwards (10th - 13th August) or c) both - but if

requesting 'both' please state a preference if we cannot fix you up for both before and afterwards.

14. Would you be willing to participate in a meeting on your interests listed above a) as a speaker in a formal meeting b) as a speaker/resource person in a small group c) to speak informally to people at a more social gathering. Please note that c) is the minimum requested from Home Stay Programme visitors.

15. Any other issues or concerns you wish to mention, including any medical requirements or disabilities.

Please return this information to INNATE at the contacts points listed above (also given at the end)

Hosts

We hope that having visitors to stay will be an opportunity for you to network internationally, and to use their presence to increase your profile locally, e.g. through organising local meetings, workshops or informal gatherings. You can also attempt to interest the local media in covering what you are doing through the presence of these visitors. Feel free to get together with anyone else locally hosting visitors from the WRI Triennial to organise a joint event. If you are looking for someone who might speak on a particular topic or geographical area, please say so.

Hosts do not need to be off work when having Home Stay Programme visitors, though of course if you are you may wish to offer to show visitors things of inter-

est locally. You are asked to provide breakfast and an evening meal to visitors, except by arrangement. You can also provide information to visitors about your locality, tell them interesting places to go, and talk about mutual interests. Once you are provided with information on visitors it is up to you to get in touch as soon as possible, make arrangements about any meetings or other events, and provide information about travel to your home etc.

As we cannot tell how many requests we will get to be WRI Triennial Home Stay Programme visitors, we cannot guarantee that numbers will match and that all host offers will be taken up. We have deliberately set an early closure date for the Programme and will inform you at the earliest opportunity of your potential guests or, after 1st July, if your services may not be required. But in any case we are very grateful to all those prepared to host visitors.

Host Information Required

We need to get the following information from you - you don't need to rewrite questions so long as you give the number of the question:

1. Your name(s) and contact details including postal address, phone, fax, e-mail (as appropriate).
2. Dates you can offer accommodation; a) 31st July - 3rd August and/or b) 10th - 13th August. If you need to qualify this offer in any way regarding dates, please state.
3. The number of people (1,2, 3 or whatever) you can accommodate.
4. Whether accommodation is in single rooms or sharing. If sharing, are there twin beds or a double bed?
5. Do you have particular interests in the fields of nonviolence and political action relevant to the placing of Home Stay Programme visitors with you?
6. Are you hoping to use visitors for a meeting or other event? Please be specific if you wish but we cannot guarantee to meet requests.
7. What languages do you speak
a) fluently b) moderately c) basically ?
8. Any other information or comments which you think will be helpful.

Please return this information to INNATE at the contact points listed above or below.

WRI Triennial Home Stay Programme

**C/o INNATE, 16 Ravensdene Park,
Belfast BT6 0DA, Northern Ireland.**

Phone/ Fax +44 - (0)28 - 90 64 71 06. E-mail: innate@ntlworld.com

Building a non-violent moment against war and injustice

● Roberta Bacic

In every country, in every struggle, there are people who use nonviolence to resolve conflicts, to resist injustice, and to provide real security to their communities. Where can these pacifists turn for encouragement? Where can they acquire the organising tools to carry out their campaigns? War resisters' International.

War Resisters' International is a network of pacifists and nonviolent activists on every continent, who work on national, regional and international levels, as well as in local communities, to end war and the causes of war. Originally founded in 1921, WRI is based on the declaration made by each member:

War is a crime against humanity. I am therefore determined not to support any kind of war and to strive for the removal of the causes of war.

WRI serves first and foremost as a communication and information link. But it goes further. We build support campaigns for individual objectors and anti-war groups that come under attack for standing up for their beliefs. And we promote active nonviolent strategies for transforming militaristic societies.

What do WRI members believe?

That war is never the way to solve conflicts, that it serves to perpetuate cycles of violence and hatred.

That the cycle of war and violence can only be broken when people refuse to participate in the institutions of war and militarism.

That we have to build alternatives to the systems and relationships of domination which lie at the root of war.

That nonviolence and nonviolent direct action can be powerful forces for transforming society.

WRI members: who are we?

WRI members come from over 40 countries, participating through national Sections and Associate organisations. This extensive network brings together a diverse community. Young men in dozens of countries who refuse military service and war tax resisters in a dozen more. Peace researchers; nonviolence trainers. Those who work against rape or racial attacks, and those who protest against nuclear testing. And while many WRI members take an activist role in campaigns, others may carry out their war resistance in quieter ways in the decisions they make in their daily lives.

Our links with Latin America

At present we have affiliates in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia and Chile. In 1994 we had an International Triennial in Brazil and we are planning to have our next annual Council and Seminar in Medellín, Colombia in August 2003. Spanish is one of our official languages and our Programme and Development Worker in London is from Chile

Triennial 2002 in Dublin

Dublin will host our international meeting in Dublin. The title of it: Stories & Strategies - Nonviolent Resistance & Social Change. LASC is one of the groups of the Republic of Ireland who is hosting us there. We invite you to participate, invite people from Latin America to come and also to visit our web page at www.wri-irg.org

You can also contact our Dublin office at Dublin@wri-irg.org, Pat and Siva will be more than happy to give you as much info as you need.

Croatia - a small country for a great plunder

● Drazen Simlesa

Since Dayton, Croatia has been developing in the typical western model: privatisations, foreign banks, Partnership for Peace, and a new liberal government. But in this post-war society there are both unresolved and new issues that threaten to polarise the population.

Several years ago the Croatian Department of Tourism led a big marketing campaign to try to attract the long dreamed about tourists who were still afraid of the instability in the region. The Department promised a small country for a great holiday. The only thing left out of the entire advertising trick is in the title of this article.

The minister who devised this tourism slogan subsequently had to step down from government due to being exposed for nepotism, after hiring his wife who applied for a job in his department under her maiden name. To make things even more tragicomic, the minister tried to justify his actions by claiming he didnt know his wifes maiden name. Oh, modern love...

This is just a small example, but it shows, quite vividly, the corruption of the former right-wing government, led by the ex-general, Franjo Tudjman, who hasnt lived to see the total collapse of his followers during the general election just over a year ago.

The regime that hid plunder and murder behind national interest left the Croatian population with a foreign debt four times larger than before tak-

ing office (now equivalent to US\$ 2200 per head), and a one-way ticket to emigration for about 250,000 young people (including the exiled Serbs).

Selling the family silver

Today's Croatia meets the conditions necessary to be given the status of a highly indebted country, as the ratio of debt in the GNP has risen to 57% and the risk limit is set at 30%. Along with additional loans owed to the IMF and the World Bank, both governments (Tudjman's and the new) have been trying to settle the foreign debt through selling off the state-owned companies (HT, HEP, INA, banks, hotels...), for a pittance, privatising them. What neither government seems to have considered is how they will return the loans when there is nothing left to privatise.

At the beginning of year 2000 Croatia elected, roughly speaking, a social-liberal coalition of six parties (yes, they did translate Giddens's The Third Way) which announced a change in direction from the former, and dangerous, policy of isolationism.

Unfortunately, the changes that had been promised have ended up in the embellishing of the façade, while the foundations continue to decay. The Croatian population was left crushed between two false alternatives, both with their basis in an identical violence, since neither provide a real choice.

The only choice is between a hundred rich families controlling the country's entire property and asset base, or a complete sell-out to for-

● Building a non-violent moment against war and injustice

● Croatia - a small country for a great plunder

eigners for a pittance.

If you are against the first choice, you will be accused of being a traitor of the homeland, and if you are against the latter choice, you are against Croatiias integration with the rest of the world.

With more and more debts, the countrys main problem which has been swelling quietly all these years and momentarily reached its peak in the new millennium is the money flowing out of Croatia. Foreign banks make up 87% of the banking market in Croatia, and all the money leaves the country, while there are very few real investments actually made in Croatia.

Granting monopolies

With all this, the number of unemployed, now approaching 400,000 (the equivalent of more than 20% of total labour force), doesnt come as a surprise. Even the leaders of the present government expressed disapproval with the huge profits being drawn out of Croatian Deutsche Telekom (which holds 35% of shares in Croatian Telekom) which resulted in a criminal investigation conducted by the police department into certain irregularities during the process of privatisation. And people in Croatia will feel the consequences of the affair with the energy corporation Enron, for a long time to come as in India, Egypt, Bolivia and other countries where this corporation has violated human rights and polluted the environment.

Enron was supposed to serve as a lobbyist to the former government to ensure Tudjmans visit with Clinton, and Croatiias entry to the WTO, so the government signed a contract guaranteeing that Croatia will buy electricity from Enrons power plant, at the highest prices in Europe, regardless of Croatiias demands during the next

20 years!

Those who disputed the Enron contract, citing the unfavorable terms for the Croatian population, signed an even more unfavorable contract with Enron last year after being elected to office. At first the new government tried to break the original contract. But after being pressurised with all kinds of blackmail about further help (with what?), primarily through the protests of the US ambassador to Croatia, William Montgomery, and with the unfavorable effect it would have in the business world, the government caved in.

With great ceremony they signed a new contract including an agreement to pay damages to the corporation because of the delay in the construction of their plant. Now Croatia is obliged to buy electricity from the sole supplier, Enron, for a price 90% higher than usual in the European market, until Enrons expenses are covered.

The free-trade myth

Not long after signing the contract and thus ensuring the monopoly, not only in Croatia but also in the entire region, Enron issued an advertisement in almost all the mass media. In this they hypocritically informed the population that in future, through the liberalisation of the energy market, they would be able to choose from whom and at what price they buy electricity. So, after protecting itself from any surprises in the market, Enron declared that energy is a product just like anything else, and gave us, in the most cynical way of all, a manifestation of the free trade political dogma.

Tudjmans dream to be officially invited to visit Clinton remained an unfulfilled wish; but the new president, Stipe Mesic, and Prime Minister Ivica

Racan, had the honour last August. So, guess which corporation paid for the business lunch of the representatives of Croatian government and the executives of certain US corporations in the American Chamber of Commerce? At the end of August last year Enrons CEO had announced a 25% increase in the price of electricity, which took effect in October 2000.

Greenwash

The next example reports on Croatias involvement in global affairs. Bad ones, unfortunately. Not long after the newspapers had reported on extremely poor working conditions (\$0.22 per hour) and the violation of human rights (child labour) in McDonalds toy factories in China, the report on the extremely disrespectful attitude of McDonalds towards their employees in Croatia was published. Thirteen cases of violations of work safety had been discovered.

The stories from the employees themselves range from unpaid overtime to not being allowed to keep tips. McDonalds spokesperson for Croatia, also in charge of human resources, rejected all accusations, claiming that all complaints can be delivered to her personally, that all employees are allowed to engage in union activities in their free time (but that the workers themselves refused to do so), and that the atmosphere in McDonalds is ideal, everybody is on a first name basis so there is no apparent hierarchical structure. Like in every other greenwash story, to show its human side, McDonalds donated \$7000 for the medical treatment of a sick child.

Partnership for Peace

Soon after the change of government Croatia became a member of

Partnership for Peace. This has resulted in closer collaboration with NATO and by the end of the last year their army exercise was carried out at a military range in Slunj near the Plitvice National Park. Croatias Ministry of Defense has refused to give information on the costs of this exercise.

An even more tragic fact is that the petition against the military exercise organised by local environmental groups was only signed by 125 people, which only pointed to the vast amount of work ahead for the environmental movement in Croatia. Often local people themselves comment on the destruction of the environment by army exercises, but excuse it with comments like man, these soldiers order 100 pizzas in my restaurant. These short-term advantages dominate over long-term strategies based on environmental sustainability.

An ultra right-wing group, best known for raising a monument to a notorious fascist World War II war criminal, also protested against the NATO exercise, but they protested with their ever-present racism and warnings against bad imperialists from the USA, expressing the need for isolationism from western decadence. This is why activists from the environmental groups had to be very careful and emphasise their antimilitarism and environmental consciousness.

Generally speaking, when violent and right wing groups fall from power the problem is not solved. Sometimes we end up with the impression that they were less violent before they lost power, because Tudjmans government kept them on a short leash. This kind of collaboration with the government no longer exists, so alongside verbal threats

articles

● **Building a non-violent moment against war and injustice**

● **Croatia - a small country for a great plunder**

there are more and more terrorist actions. Bombs are not just for destroying monuments with anti-fascist symbols, but also for the killing of unwanted opponents which is what happened to one of the witnesses in a war-crimes case taking place at the International Tribunal at the Hague. The perpetrators of these attacks have not yet been found.

Right-wing reactions

Because of the possible extradition of one of the Croatian militarys generals for war crimes against civilians during the 1990s, Croatia is under a real siege by right-wing groups who call for a coup and who spread nationalist and other kinds of hatred. At a rally in Split, in February, there were 150,000 people waving pictures of this general, like some Orwellian scene, identifying with him. Once again the concept of the mass is gaining momentum in this sad Balkan tale.

Anti-war, anti-militarist, and other civilian initiatives have sent out an appeal condemning all crime, regardless of

motive or nationality. We also refuse to be put under a uniform and unified collective umbrella, with no regard to ideology, and we will therefore keep emphasising the need for the appreciation of variety and uniqueness in this world.

Regardless of the few positive steps that have been taken in the new millennium, facing our own responsibilities and the crimes that were committed during the war, still remains a problem that needs to be worked on in this region. No matter that there is, fortunately, no more real danger of war. The moment we forget how to laugh and enjoy life, the language of hate and fear, like that spread and encouraged in Split, will be without obstacle.

Drazen Simlesa has worked with ARK and ATTACK, and gives seminars on globalisation

**Anti-war Campaign Croatia (ARK), Vukovarska 237c, 1000 Zagreb, Croatia
Tel/fax +385 1 615 7183; email ark@zamir.net**

Useful Irish Phrases

Hello	-	Dia dhaoibh
Welcome	-	De bhur mbeatha
Good Luck	-	Go n-eiri go geal leat
Have a good day -	-	La maith agaibh
Goodbye	-	Slan
Goodbye till later -	-	Slan go foill
Good night	-	Oiche mhaith agat
Thank you	-	Go raibh maith agat
Ladies	-	Mna
Gentlemen	-	Fir
City centre	-	An Lar

Stories and Strategies: Non-violent Resistance and Social Change

	Saturday 3 August	Sunday 4 August	Monday 5 August	Tuesday 6 August	Wednesday 7 August	Thursday 8 August	Friday 9 August	Saturday 10 August	Sunday 11 August
8.00-9.00		Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast	Breakfast
9.00-9.45			Plenary	Plenary	Plenary	Plenary	WRI Business Meeting	WRI Business Meeting	WRI Council Meeting
9:45-10.00									
10.00-12.30		Council Meeting	Theme Groups	Theme Groups	Theme Groups	Theme Groups			
12.30-15.00		Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	Lunch	
15.00-18.00	Reception starts at 15.00 hrs	16.00 (?) Opening Plenary	Workshops	Workshops		Workshops	WRI Business Meeting	WRI Council Meeting	
18.00-19.30	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	Dinner	
19.30-21.30	Cultural Event/ Concert	Plenary: What Role do Stories Play in our Strategies	Plenary: The Irish Peace Process - Stories and Stages	Plenary: Linking Violence in Daily Life with Global Violence	Plenary: Militarism, Antimilitarism, and Civil Society	Closing Plenary: Grassroots Efforts and Nonviolent Strategies		WRI Council Meeting	
22.00 til morning	[Open End]					PARTY			

reader **Stories and Strategies:
Non-violent Resistance and Social Change**