

Reconciliation – Theory and Practice for Development Cooperation



Preface

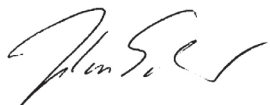
A vast majority of Sida's most important partner countries are in a situation of violent conflict or post conflict. During 2002 the agency supported more than 150 projects and programmes, which had the purpose of contributing to the resolution of violent conflicts and/or the consolidation of peace.

Statistics tell us that around 50% of armed conflicts that have ended will re-emerge within a ten-year period. The experience of Sida, other development agencies and partners is that one has to consolidate peace by addressing issues such as lack of democracy, insecurity and failed development. However, reconciliation is a basis for every attempt to peacebuilding. This realisation is illustrated by the increasing support for truth commissions, trauma healing programmes and war tribunals.

This paper, commissioned by Sida from the Department of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, aims both to enhance knowledge regarding the concept of reconciliation and to identify the role of development cooperation in reconciliation processes in societies after internal conflict. The study highlights some trends in current theory and research on reconciliation, based on particularly important contributions to the field, and gives practical examples of reconciliation projects in post civil war societies.

On the basis of this theoretical and practical knowledge, recommendations are made for how Sida and its partners may work to strengthen and support national initiatives for reconciliation in post-conflict partner countries.

In preparation of the revision of Sida's Strategy for Conflict Management and Peacebuilding (1999), the Division for Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Management initiated a number of studies to highlight important aspects of development cooperation and conflict management. This study has been produced in cooperation between the Division for Democratic Governance and the Division for Humanitarian Assistance and Conflict Management. It examines one of the important areas of conflict management – how to consolidate peace through reconciliation.



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Executive Summary

Studies show that war spurs war. Countries in protracted conflict fall into what some call a conflict trap – a vicious circle of repeating war. Over the last decade, the concept of *reconciliation* has increasingly been discussed as a method to prevent further conflict in war-torn societies (Chapter I).

There are many different views of the meaning of reconciliation but no agreed definition. Therefore, this report begins (Chapter II) with an overview of the literature on reconciliation, deriving common factors with regard to the usage of the term. On the basis of these findings the following definition of reconciliation is proposed, and subsequently used throughout the report: *Reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace.*

Forgiveness is often spoken of as a condition for reconciliation. However, it might be wise to regard forgiveness and reconciliation as two separate processes (Chapter II). Implicitly expecting victims and survivors to personally forgive their perpetrator – for the greater good of society – places a responsibility that is questionable in several ways and that may even backfire the attempt to create peace. In addition, forgiveness is usually a one-way process, while reconciliation is a two-way process, involving both perpetrator and victim, emphasizing mutuality. Our definition of reconciliation does not rule out the possibility of forgiveness; it may occur in a long-term process, but forgiveness is not considered necessary for reconciliation.

Many different factors are important for a process of reconciliation. In this report, six of the most essential are discussed, namely: the religious, socio-cultural, economic, political, psychological, and juridical aspects of reconciliation (Chapter III). Each presentation ends with a short comment headed “Implications for Development Cooperation”.

In order for a reconciliation project to be successful, as many aspects as possible should be accounted for in accordance with the post-conflict society in question.

Lessons learned in this chapter are, for example:

- for many people, the word reconciliation has strong religious connotations, it is thus imperative to have a clear definition and to use the word cautiously;
- for legitimacy and sustainability, local and national initiatives for reconciliation should be supported – not imported;
- restorative justice holds promise for post-conflict societies as a method for reconciliation – here, development cooperation has an important role, for example by providing knowledge of different options for dealing with past suffering (tribunals, truth commissions etc).

Apart from being composed of different aspects, a process of reconciliation can also be seen from three societal levels, top-level, middle-range and grassroots – each with its own actors and methods (Chapter IV). Here the questions to be answered are: who is doing the reconciling, where, and how? The treatment of each level closes with suggestions for development cooperation.

International and national criminal tribunals are seen as *top-level* methods for reconciliation. Justice, accountability, and punishment of certain crimes are considered in both theory and practice to be important for reconciliation. There is a legal and moral perception that the most severe crimes, such as instigating genocide, must be punished. A functioning legal system is vital for reinstating a sense of order and safety after violence, thus criminal tribunals have an important role in the reconciliation process although they may proceed quite far away from the people.

Prominent, respected leaders of peace can be seen as top-level actors of reconciliation. The training of top-level leaders is important as their attitudes and behaviour concerning issues such as suffering, trauma and the past will be reflected in the national work for peace and thus have a “top-down” effect on the population’s rehabilitation and reconciliation.

Middle-range initiatives may perhaps be the most important for reconciliation, as they influence both the top-level and grassroots. Two of the most significant middle-range actors for reconciliation are the media and truth commissions. The media has an exceptional role in influencing atti-

tudes and behaviour. This has been used to provoke hatred – but increasingly also to promote peace. Truth commissions involve both top-level and grassroots and have an important impact on society. In the past two years, as many as ten truth commissions have been established around the world. Some clear trends can be seen in the new truth commissions: they are considered complementary to the national justice system, focusing on the slightly less severe crimes; they use traditional methods of justice and reconciliation; and they work at a community level.

The *grassroots* level is composed of the entire population. Identifying and supporting local methods for reconciliation and helping facilitate meetings for leaders from different sides of the grassroots level to discuss traditional reconciliation processes, are examples of work at this level. The importance of training aid workers (before they are sent to conflict areas) in issues such as the psychological effects of armed conflict and the way aid workers can react on experiencing difficult events, is also discussed here. Such training is important not only for the individual aid worker but will also have an effect on the people they meet – and can thus promote or prevent reconciliation.

After laying the theoretical groundwork, practical examples of reconciliation projects in post-conflict societies are given (Chapter V). Several projects are psychosocial initiatives, aiming at changing attitudes and behaviour in former enemies, such as a children's television programme in Macedonia that focuses on promoting tolerance and peace. In Rwanda and East Timor, traditional methods of justice are being used to deal with past suffering and promote reconciliation. Sida supports a few of the projects, which all have been chosen as “best-practice” examples. Sida currently supports 219 conflict management projects around the world, 17 (8%) of which specifically focus on reconciliation.

Chapter VI discusses how attitudes and beliefs are shaped and formed, and how norms of violence become rooted in society during protracted conflict. Changing these destructive attitudes and behaviour is difficult and slow, therefore reconciliation implies long-term programmes with decade-range thinking for development cooperation. Distinctions are also made regarding other conflict-handling mechanisms and conflict resolution, concluding that they differ in focus and time.

Finally, the following recommendations are made for development cooperation regarding reconciliation (Chapter VII):

I. National and local initiatives for reconciliation – as opposed to externally driven ones – should be supported. There is a significant risk that a donor will be perceived as presumptuous if a ‘programme for reconciliation’ is introduced in the midst of trauma and pain, and it is highly probable that the attempt will fail. Entering a post-conflict country with a programme for reconciliation may fail on such seemingly simple grounds as terminology. National initiatives are more likely to be fruitful as they originate from the country’s specific context regarding all aspects important to reconciliation reviewed in this report, for example religion, culture, and juridical system.

II. Planning support for reconciliation should begin with a *conflict analysis* including: the context of the conflict, root causes, consequences (including psychological trauma), and the existence of any initiatives for reconciliation at different levels in society (top-level, middle-range, and grassroots).

III. The timing of reconciliation initiatives must also be examined in the conflict analysis: when is the time ripe for reconciliation? Although an assessment must be made for each individual case, the following general guideline can be suggested: reconciliation initiatives require that peaceful conditions have become normal in society and that the prospect of renewed violence is remote/sharply reduced.

IV. For reconciliation, it is important that the past is recognised and acknowledged. In the post-conflict country there is often little knowledge of different ways to face the past (tribunals, truth commissions, experiences of traditional reconciliation-attempts). It is important that information as to *different options of how to deal with the past are considered* and creative mixes discussed in the post-conflict country. Donors can help make available such information.

V. In countries working with a truth-seeking process, support governments to provide medical, economic, psychosocial compensation to those participating. Not receiving promised compensation, risks doing serious harm to already mistreated persons. The staff of truth commissions should receive appropriate psychological support as they repeatedly hear tragic and gruesome accounts. Support national initiatives for how such support should be de-

signed, as this is highly dependent on the country's culture and traditions.

VI. The work of truth commissions (and other truth-seeking processes aiming at reconciliation) often finishes with a report including recommendations for the future. For reconciliation, it is important that these *recommendations are followed up and implemented*. Development cooperation has an important role in supporting the implementation of the recommendations.

VII. Support the establishment of “*peace media*” in post-conflict societies. This is a middle-range initiative, by some argued to be the most important level to support, having significant influence on all levels in society. Media is a powerful tool that, used wisely, can promote positive processes of reconciliation.

VIII. Development cooperation can also play an important role by supporting the *preservation of documents* from the period of internal conflict, in order to assure that documentation exists in case of a truth-seeking process in the future.

IX. *Cooperation and coordination* among the actors involved in reconciliation processes, both internal and external, is crucial. Knowing who does what, where, how, and at what level is imperative for a long-term, efficient planning of reconciliation. There should be cooperation among donors to share information and expertise, and learn from progress and mishaps.

X. The last recommendation seeks to emphasize one important factor: *A successful process of reconciliation in one country can never be imported as a magic formula to another*. Every post-conflict country must find its own way to deal with the past, the present, and the future. It is of great importance that representatives from all levels in society, and women as well as men, are consulted. Donors must be sensitive to the necessary interaction between what is general and what is specific in every instance of a reconciliation process.

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1 Purpose & Introduction

Purpose

During the summer and autumn of 2002, an overview of the field of reconciliation has been conducted at the Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, on behalf of the Swedish International Development Cooperation Agency (Sida).

The aim of the study is to both help enhance knowledge regarding the concept of reconciliation and to identify the role of development cooperation regarding reconciliation in societies after internal conflict. The study highlights some trends in current theory and research on reconciliation, based on particularly important contributions to the field, and gives practical examples of reconciliation projects in post civil war societies.

On the basis of this theoretical and practical knowledge, recommendations have been made for how Sida may work to strengthen and support national initiatives for reconciliation in post-conflict programme/partner countries.

The report will hopefully be able to contribute to the upcoming revision of Sida's "Strategy for conflict management and peace building".

Introduction

Considering the immense suffering of so many people during and in the aftermath of internal war and genocide, it can seem out of place and even offensive to begin speaking of reconciliation.¹ However, in recent years there has been increasing discourse concerning reconciliation as a measure for the prevention of further conflict.² Studies show that societies that have experienced war develop a war-spiral, a vicious circle of repeating war – by some called the *conflict trap*³ – whereas countries that resolve conflicts peacefully are inclined to continue living in peace.⁴ Some scholars argue that war and human rights abuses become a self-perpetuating process if anger and hatred are not efficiently addressed.⁵ Helen Fein exemplifies this phenomenon with the occurrences of genocide in Rwanda and former Yugoslavia, both of which, according to her, were preceded by strong polarisation between groups as well as by cycles of crime–revenge–crime.⁶

At a national level, to officially investigate state atrocities and crimes against human rights through truth commissions – with the aim of promoting reconciliation and allowing victims a “cathartic” airing of experiences – has become a method in trying to break the conflict-spiral of fury and revenge. Since the truth commission held in Argentina in 1984, which was the first to receive international attention, the number of truth and reconciliation commissions has increased considerably, particularly in recent years.⁷ During the past two years alone, at least ten truth commissions have been established around the world.⁸

At a local level, in for example Rwanda and East Timor, traditional methods for reconciliation are currently being used in an attempt to come to terms with the past. Parallel to these local initiatives, international or national tribunals or truth commissions are seeking to restore justice. However, in both cases, the number of offenders is so vast that there is no possibility for the national courts to bring all suspects before trial. It is hoped that the local proceedings will expedite the national work of truth and reconciliation.

However, facing history is not an undemanding venture. One must take into consideration a society’s ability to sustain the pressure and tension of exposing difficult truths without collapsing into renewed violence.⁹

For example, war crimes against women often involve sexual violence and humiliation. In many societies atrocity such as rape is associated with shame, guilt, and the possibility of the woman being ostracized. This stigma, among others, is also reflected by the fact that the stories of women in war are seldom heard.¹⁰ There are several reasons for this: the personal risks and shame for the woman testifying of sexual violence, as mentioned; the deliberate or unintended neglect of the commission or tribunal to address the issue of sexual violence; the opinion that rape is not a politically motivated action and should therefore not be included in hearings.¹¹ Another problem seen in the South African truth commission was that the women who came to tell their stories most often spoke of the sufferings of their husbands or sons – instead of abuse inflicted on themselves. The work of some recent truth commissions proves, however, that there might be an increasing awareness of these problems. In Guatemala, for example, there

were efforts to make it easier for victimized women to testify and the report strongly emphasized the atrocity of sexual violence.¹²

Men participate as combatants in war more often than women. The absolute majority of perpetrators committing atrocious crimes are men. Men are more often than women killed or wounded, and they are, as are women, subjected to gruesome violence including sexual abuse. In many cultures, men are not expected to speak of grievances. The traumas from war often follow men silently, resulting in unattended physical and/or mental disorder and difficulties in adjusting to the post-war life. Alcoholism, domestic violence, and criminality among men are common phenomena in the aftermath of war.

War and armed conflict lead to the collapse of government, community, and family support systems. Family security is essential for a child's survival and physical and psychological development. "War violates every right of a child — the right to life, the right to be with family and community, the right to health, the right to the development of the personality, and the right to be nurtured and protected," states the Unicef-report "Impact of war on children".¹³ In war, children lose their childhood. They witness brutal acts, are subjected to all kinds of terrible abuse. The adult-world can many times not protect and, afterwards, it may not want to hear. In conclusion, the issue of how to manage the entire population's truths is an extremely complex one.

Furthermore, if the first casualty of war is truth, as it has been said, the second is perhaps complexity, suggests Marie Smyth.¹⁴ There is no space for complex or nuanced explanations in war. Dualistic (good/evil, black/white) thinking is one factor that makes it easier to explain the pain, and put up with the costs, of war. Dehumanising the enemy is thus also a tool for enduring the conflict.¹⁵ Therefore, at the same time as truth is sought for, the clear-cut beliefs and perceptions of the enemy and self will be challenged and reality seen in all its complexity – not an easy task.

A question raised from time to time is whether we really should remember past atrocity and suffering. Smyth states that the question "is usually asked by people who have a choice".¹⁶ On the same line, Roberto Cabrera writes,

"When considering the question *should we remember?* It is very important to firstly ask, has any victim forgotten? Could they ever forget? Secondly we should ask, who wants to forget? Who benefits when all the atrocities stay silent in the past? Thirdly, are we asking if it is a problem of remembering, or is it a problem of victims speaking truth, or a problem of breaking down silence and reclaiming the victim's dignity?"¹⁷

Timothy Garton Ash, however, has suggested post-World War II France and post-Franco Spain as examples of where a policy of forgetting seems to have worked.¹⁸ In response to this, Nigel Biggar argues that forgetting in these two countries came after a period of national self-scrutiny (in France called the *Épuration*) and that they thus cannot count as examples of successfully burying the past. He continues by proposing three reasons for why deliberately forgetting the past would be non-recommendable: 1) as suggested above, victims will not forget; 2) one of the most fundamental responsibilities of the state is to protect and defend its citizens – in not attending to its citizens "it fails in one of its most basic political duties"; 3) unaddressed grievances will infect future relations between people as well as create deep mistrust of the state.¹⁹

Acknowledging past atrocities recognises the survivors' suffering and can help reinstate a sense of dignity and security. Uncovering the past makes it impossible for future governments to deny history and helps them fulfil one of their fundamental political duties – protecting their citizens. Letting bygones be bygones is not an alternative to disclosing the past – the past is there and will not go away through silence. The question is when, where and how the uncovering should take place in order for society to have the capacity to carry the burden of memories, without breaking up again.

2 Definition

Introductory Reflections

The English word *reconciliation* has its etymological roots in the Latin *reconciliare*: *re-*, “again” and *conciliare*, “make friendly.”²⁰ In most Germanic languages, the word for reconciliation – e.g. the Swedish word *försoning* – has a Low German root, namely *sonen*, which means “to settle a strife.”²¹ However, the Swedish national encyclopedia defines *försoning* as “the re-establishment of peace and solidarity between divided peoples, in religion between deity and mankind.”²² So, even though the Latin and German base words differ, the term holds the same meaning – the re-establishment of peace or friendship. Thus, both refer to going back to a state that existed earlier, before a bond was broken.

The term reconciliation has strong religious connotations. Reconciliation is used in the Christian tradition to describe the broken relationship between God and mankind due to sin, with Jesus re-establishing conciliation between them through the sacrifice of his life: “[T]hat God was reconciling the world to himself in Christ, not counting men’s sins against them. And he has committed to us the message of reconciliation.”²³

What is then meant by the word reconciliation in the context of post-conflict and post-genocidal situations? Does reconciliation have the same meaning when one refers to society and when one refers to individual victims? The word itself not only refers to a state of peace that should be re-established but also has religious connotations which can be problematic for many – not an ideal term to use, it may be argued. “The word [reconciliation] seems to resonate a merciful Christ...,” Colin Tatz writes in an essay where he discusses how reconciliation and forgiveness have become somewhat fashionable, but continues that they still offer “hope, harmony and ‘humane-ness.’”²⁴

It would seem desirable to define reconciliation in a manner that makes it possible to avoid speaking of the re-establishment of peace, as perhaps there was no peace earlier that one can re-establish, and perhaps the atrocities that were committed during the conflict make it impossible to re-establish

lish anything that existed before. There is also the dimension of the religious associations that are connected to the word reconciliation, which can lead to the misconception of having to be altruistic in order to achieve reconciliation. Another difficulty in defining the term is the question of what is being referred to: reconciliation in society or the individual victim?²⁵ Priscilla B. Hayner, a leading authority on truth commissions, suggests that a distinction be made between individual and national/political reconciliation.²⁶ She states that the goal of a truth commission is to promote reconciliation on a national level through speaking openly of a silenced and conflictive past in order to avoid latent conflicts and bitterness between opposing parties. However, Hayner continues, on an individual level, issues such as healing and reconciliation are deeply personal processes. There is no guarantee that knowledge of the whole truth will lead to a survivor's reconciliation with his or her perpetrator.²⁷

Some Definitions in the Literature

There is little critical discussion in the literature regarding the term reconciliation. One paper that does address the issue, however, is "What Is This Thing Called Reconciliation?" from the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in South Africa, in which the authors refer to five ways in which reconciliation has been defined in South Africa:²⁸

- The non-racial ideology of reconciliation
- Reconciliation as an ideology for bridging gaps between separate communities
- The religious ideology of reconciliation which emphasizes forgiveness
- Reconciliation as a human rights approach to regulating and preventing violations of rights from happening again
- Reconciliation as a form of community building.

Hamber and Kibble argue, however, that the term was inadequately defined during the course of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa and has too often simplistically been equated with forgiveness.²⁹

Daniel Bar-Tal, professor of psychology at Tel Aviv University, Israel, defines reconciliation as “a psychological process for the formation of lasting peace”.³⁰ In this process, past rivals come to mutual recognition and acceptance, have invested interests and goals in developing peaceful relations, feel mutual trust, positive attitudes as well as sensitivity and consideration of the other party’s needs and interests.³¹ This transformation of beliefs, attitudes and emotions regarding one’s own group, the others and the relationship between them may take decades. According to Bar-Tal, reconciliation is not needed in all societies but only in those that have been subjected to protracted, intractable conflict; that is, conflicts “...in which the societies involved evolve a widely shared psychological repertoire that supports the adherence to the conflictive goals, maintain the conflict, delegitimize the opponent and thus negate the possibility of a peaceful resolution of the conflict and prevent the development of peaceful relations.”³²

Priscilla Hayner writes that “[r]econciliation implies building or rebuilding relationships today that are not haunted by the conflicts and hatreds of yesterday.”³³ To ascertain whether a process of reconciliation is under way in a post-conflict society, Hayner suggests that three areas can be observed: how the past is integrated and spoken about between former enemies; if relationships are based on the present or past; and if contradictory versions of the past have been reconciled – not into one truth of the past but to versions not based on lies and denial.

A leading scholar and practitioner of conflict resolution, John Paul Lederach, defines reconciliation as being constituted by both “a focus and a locus”.³⁴ The focus of reconciliation is upon building new and better relationships between former enemies. Relationships are both the root cause and the long-term solution of conflict according to Lederach. Thus, relationships must be the core focus. As a locus, Lederach argues, “reconciliation represents a space, a place or location of encounter, where parties to a conflict meet.”³⁵ In this place, the traumas of the past and the hopes for the future must be formulated and brought together by discussing the issues of truth, forgiveness, justice, and peace.

Hugo van der Merwe, Project Manager at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation in Cape Town, South Africa, defines reconcili-

ation as “all initiatives which bring together, or engage, both sides in a pursuit of changing identity, values regarding interaction, attitudes, and patterns of interaction that move them to a more cooperative relationship.”³⁶ Van der Merwe investigates reconciliation from three dimensions: the spheres of relationships (concerning identity, values, attitudes and behaviour), the substantive components of reconciliation (justice, truth, healing and security), and the social levels of reconciliation (national, community and individual). He argues that reconciliation is a significant component in every phase of the peace-building process.

William J. Long, professor at Sam Nunn School of International Affairs, Georgia Institute of Technology suggests another definition of reconciliation. In his “forgiveness model”, Long proposes that reconciliation is “mutually conciliatory accommodation between former antagonists” and part of the process of forgiveness.³⁷ From the perspective of evolutionary psychology, Long argues that maintaining social relations despite aggression and violence is fundamental for our survival and well-being. Reconciliation is here seen as a problem-solving mechanism, an emotional process the mind has evolved, adapting to the fact that conflict is part of human relations.

In a recent doctoral dissertation, Maria Ericson draws together current ideas of reconciliation among peace researchers and theologians and arrives at defining reconciliation as “the establishment of a positive and sustainable peace between people involved in armed conflict.”³⁸ There are many different understandings of what should be focused on in the process of reconciliation. According to Ericson, initiatives for reconciliation tend to focus on one of the three pillars in the conflict triangle³⁹: *conflict behaviour* (finding ways to end armed conflict and restore shattered relationships), *conflict attitudes* (challenging stereotypes, misperceptions and beliefs, and enhancing understanding and trust) or the combination of both which leads to changes in *conflict structure* (transforming asymmetric power relations).

In a forthcoming handbook on reconciliation, the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA, Stockholm) defines reconciliation as “a process through which a society moves from a divided past to a shared future.”⁴⁰ The development of democratic norms in the post-war society is fundamental for this process, according to IDEA, as

structural injustice creates the basis for new conflict. In the process of reconciliation, peaceful coexistence, trust and empathy evolve within this framework of democracy for sustainable peace.

Other definitions of reconciliation proposed are for example Johan Galtung's "process of healing the traumas of both victims and perpetrators after the violence, providing a closure of the bad relation. The process prepares the parties for relations with justice and peace"⁴¹ and Louis Kriesberg's "processes by which parties that have experienced an oppressive relationship or destructive conflict with each other move to attain or to restore a relationship that they believe to be minimally acceptable ... Reconciliation also is understood to be an aspect of an existing relationship, marked by varying degrees of mutual acceptance."⁴² Hizkias Assefa argues that reconciliation differs from all other conflict-handling mechanisms by way of its methodology: "the essence of reconciliation is the voluntary initiative of the conflict parties to acknowledge their responsibility and guilt ... the parties are not only meant to communicate one's grievances against the actions of the adversary, but also engage in self-reflection about one's own role and behaviour in the dynamic of the conflict."⁴³

The Question of Forgiveness

Being a widely discussed issue in the area, we will also specifically address the question of *forgiveness* before we arrive at our definition of reconciliation.

In the field of reconciliation there are diverse views as to whether *forgiveness* is part of reconciliation or not. According to the literature covered in the present study, all scholars writing from a theological perspective do include forgiveness in the process of reconciliation.⁴⁴ Reconciliation is here sometimes seen as part of an overarching forgiveness – reconciliation in this case referring to restored relations in behaviour and forgiveness to a deeper transformation based on God having forgiven mankind and that we thereby "can extend forgiveness to others,"⁴⁵ or, as is stated in the Catholic organisation Caritas' handbook *Working for Reconciliation*, "forgiveness is at the heart of reconciliation."⁴⁶ In both the theologically based and the secular literature emphasizing forgiveness, it is said that forgiveness cannot be expected from victims but that forgiveness will liberate them from the past.⁴⁷

In the secular literature there is no consensus regarding forgiveness. Some writers adhere to the theological perspective, including forgiveness as a crucial step in the path toward reconciliation, while other scholars argue that forgiveness must be separated from reconciliation.

Those who wish to separate forgiveness and reconciliation argue *inter alia* that the two involve very different actions; forgiveness requires an emotional transformation in the individual victim but no change in the perpetrator and may result in forgetting, whereas reconciliation builds on a mutual undertaking and commitment from both sides to acknowledge the past and build more constructive relationships for the future.⁴⁸ These writers also argue that some deeds may for the individual survivor be unforgivable – and that it is critical that survivors are never implicitly or explicitly expected to forgive⁴⁹ – but that they still may want to reconcile for the sake of creating peace for future generations. Martha Minow writes “[t]o forgive without a good reason is to accept the violation and devaluation of the self.”⁵⁰

It has also been suggested that the word forgiveness may sound too esoteric, religious, or demanding, and there is also the question of what and who is to be forgiven.⁵¹ Tuomas Forsberg makes an important distinction between societal and individual forgiveness. When a society forgives a former perpetrator, “he or she is taken back into the public moral community. It does not follow from this that they should also be received back into the victim’s private moral community. Societal forgiveness is not a substitute for individual forgiveness.”⁵²

Making such a division between societal and individual forgiveness, is supported in the present report. Furthermore, forgiveness is here seen as a process distinctly separate to reconciliation, and one that is wholly independent of reconciliation. Reconciliation after internal armed conflict concerns how a society deeply scarred and divided by injustice and atrocity may build an inclusive future – one that does not use violence to resolve conflict, and in which all members are respected and accepted as part of the community. In this process, the society may choose as one stepping stone – often under certain conditions – to forgive former perpetrators in order to reintegrate them into “the public moral community.” However, also forgiveness granted by societal institutions such as a truth commission has been ques-

tioned. Gutmann and Thompson argue that societal forgiveness “is not desirable from a democratic perspective independently of forgiveness by the victims themselves”⁵³ and Crocker states that it is “morally objectionable...for a truth commission or any other governmental body to force people to agree about the past, forgive the sins committed against them, or love one another.”⁵⁴

“After learning for the first time how her husband had died, she was asked if she could forgive the man who did it. Speaking slowly, in one of the native languages, her message came back through the interpreters: “No government can forgive.” Pause. “No commission can forgive.” Pause. “Only I can forgive.” Pause. “And I am not ready to forgive.” Does anyone have compelling reasons, let alone the authority, to tell this woman that she should forgive the man who abducted and killed her husband?”⁵⁵

Individual forgiveness is a personal process and decision, based on a person’s own sentiments regarding the past as well as issues such as morality, responsibility, punishment, and empathy. Individual victims and survivors cannot be expected or obligated, implicitly or explicitly, to personally forgive their perpetrator for the greater good of society. Doing so may even cause the attempt to create peace to backfire because it may simply feel inappropriate for the victim to forgive, or too difficult – increasing feelings of incapability, shame, and low self-esteem. Forgiveness from one individual to another is simply a personal undertaking that is not to be meddled with by society.

When forgiveness is spoken of as a condition for reconciliation, victims and survivors are given a responsibility that is questionable in several ways – from democratic concerns regarding society’s duties to protect and defend its citizens to personal concerns regarding dignity and integrity. Reconciliation does not rule out the possibility of forgiveness; in a long-term process, forgiveness may well occur, but it should not be a goal in the post-conflict society.⁵⁶

Arriving at a Working Definition

As always in the social sciences, the phenomena we are interested in studying, here reconciliation, are not exact and constant but quite vague and elu-

sive processes that we need to box into definitions that hold for scientific investigation. As we can see from the examples above, there have been many attempts to define the term reconciliation. Some focus on the dimensions of equality and prevention, others on forgiveness, attitudes and beliefs, or relationships, time, and space. What they do have in common is an emphasis on the following issues:

- Reconciliation involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering (between former enemies)
- Reconciliation involves the changing of destructive patterns of interaction between former enemies into constructive relationships, in attitudes and behaviour
- Reconciliation is a process toward sustainable peace

Thus, our working definition of reconciliation after internal armed conflict will be the following:

Reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace.

In other words, reconciliation mainly focuses on remembering, changing, and continuing with life in peace. Reconciliation does not require forgetting, forgiving, or loving one another.

3 Different Aspects of Reconciliation

In the following we will focus on the literature concerning six different aspects of reconciliation (religious, socio-cultural, psychological, economic, political, and juridical). The objective is to investigate the main issues of concern and dilemmas regarding reconciliation from each perspective.

Religious Aspects

As mentioned above, the term reconciliation has strong religious connotations. In Christianity, reconciliation between God and humanity through Jesus is a fundamental theme. Historically, within Christianity there has also been a division between Eastern and Western traditions regarding the view of sin and thus also of reconciliation. The Eastern Orthodox Church considered sin from a relational perspective, emphasizing the breaking of loving relations between God and man or between human beings. Western Christian traditions (Catholicism and Protestantism) were in the past more influenced by the Roman legal tradition and focused thereby on the legal dimension of sin – seeing sin mainly as disobedience of the law of God. Today, however, the Western traditions have shifted from this preoccupation with normative moral rules to considering sin and reconciliation from a relational point of view.⁵⁷

One approach to the Bible's concept of justice is that it can be seen as interpersonal reconciliation, which focuses in particular on the issues of compassion, mercy and forgiveness.⁵⁸ Interwoven in the theological context of reconciliation is also the notion that human justice is limited. Justice can never achieve full retribution for the victims, especially not for the dead, but the theologian hope is that victims will be vindicated after death. Reconciliation is from this point of view seen as the “ultimate fulfillment of justice”, requiring forgiveness.⁵⁹

In the Buddhist tradition, compassion rather than forgiveness is stressed. The fundamentals of the Buddhist Middle Path are acceptance, tolerance, and above all, compassion. There are no examples as yet of a Buddhist country officially working for reconciliation after internal conflict. In Cam-

bodia, however, ongoing negotiations are being held between the government and the UN on how to deal with the country's conflict-filled past.⁶⁰ In a paper on the pursuit of justice and reconciliation in Cambodia after the atrocious regime of the Khmer Rouge, Wendy Lambourne states that some Cambodians she interviewed were sceptical against replicating the “Christian concept” of truth commissions as they are based on “confessing and forgiving”.⁶¹ One interviewee explained that it would not be applicable to Cambodian tradition where, in accordance with Buddhism, people who have committed crimes will always be held responsible for them – there is no God who will ultimately forgive. Another interviewee argued on the same lines but drew the opposite conclusion, saying that it would be easy for Cambodians to forgive because they believe the perpetrators will be punished in the next life.

Implications for Development Cooperation: Awareness of the Christian connotations reconciliation may have in both Christian and non-Christian countries is important. Consequently, give a clear definition of reconciliation when using the term or use another word if more appropriate in the specific context.

Socio-Cultural Aspects

Culture is the rich and complex blend of beliefs, attitudes, and behaviour regarding everything from food to art to politics and religion in a certain society. Culture shapes how we perceive ourselves and others.⁶² Violence, fear and hatred during war result in the modernization of old myths⁶³ and stereotypes to explain one's own or some other group's gruesome behaviour – and thereby justify whatever atrocities are committed. After the war, the societal and cultural fabric is drenched with these beliefs. They can be seen in how history is described, how the language is used, in education, the media, theatre etc. In order to live in peace, these beliefs must be questioned and transformed. Unfortunately there is no universal technique for this. The search for sustainable peace in a society after conflict must begin from its own roots, importing from outside whatever can be of use, but basing that society's transformation on its own unique set of traditions and cultural heritage.

In the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), the African notion of *ubuntu* held important meaning. Ubuntu means that humanity is intertwined, a person is a person through other people, we are human because we *belong*. Through this concept, Desmond Tutu argued that “even the supporters of apartheid were victims” and “the oppressor was dehumanised as much as, if not more than, the oppressed.”⁶⁴ The misconduct of one person reduces everyone’s ubuntu while good deeds increase the ubuntu and well-being of all. Thus, reconciliation was part of restoring ubuntu in both victims and former perpetrators, for everyone is linked together. In this way, the TRC brought together its mission for national reconciliation, which often used Christian vocabulary, with the traditional African cultural heritage in the attempt to pave the way for reconciliation.

In Caritas International’s handbook *Working for Reconciliation* a “Tool Box for Keeping a Cultural Perspective in Reconciliation Work” is proposed.⁶⁵ The recommendations include the following: to identify cultural dimensions to the conflict (e.g. ideology, religion, social inequality), to identify cultural realities that impact negatively (prejudice, fear etc) or positively (shared values regarding cooperation, similar reconciliation customs) on the resolution of the conflict, and to explore traditional or cultural methods for reconciliation.

Implications for Development Cooperation: Support local and national, culturally grounded initiatives for reconciliation. They will have the highest legitimacy and sustainability in the long run.

Economic Aspects

As mentioned above, studies show that post-civil war societies are significantly more likely to experience civil war again than societies with no prior experience of war. Barbara Walter argues that two factors are imperative for this vicious circle to reoccur, both being related to the individual citizen’s incentives to go to war: 1) people feel that continuing life in the current condition is worse than the possibility of death in war, and 2) there is a closed political system that does not permit change (except by use of violence).⁶⁶ Walter’s study of civil wars suggests that improvement in economic well-

being together with increased political openness significantly decreases the risk of experiencing war anew. Walter writes: “Conflict begets conflict not because violence makes poor countries poorer or undemocratic governments more autocratic, but because individuals in these countries fail to experience any improvement over time.”

On the same lines, Collier and Hoeffler argue that negative economic growth rates are the primary source of civil war.⁶⁷ Furthermore, studies show that war greatly strains the economy, “so that there is the potential for a trap – a cycle of economic deterioration and repeat [sic] conflict.”⁶⁸ There is also the risk of spillover effects in neighbouring countries, leading to instability in the region and the risk of expanded conflict.

How does then economy relate to reconciliation? Economic development seems essential for peace, and peace is essential for reconciliation. Furthermore, and more specifically, in the work of truth commissions around the world the importance of economic compensation has become unmistakable. “Reconciliation must go hand in hand with economic justice,” states Alex Boraine.⁶⁹ Survivors of atrocity and injustice have often been denied access to for example education, jobs, housing, and medical care. When the time comes for building a new and peaceful society, the gaps are vast between former perpetrators and survivors regarding all areas. As Robert I Rotberg writes: “Reparations and compensation strengthen the rule of law, reconciliation, and the overall process of institutional reform.”⁷⁰ Money can never compensate the death of loved ones but can help a surviving family build a better life as well as serve as “...an official, symbolic apology.”⁷¹

The truth commissions in Argentina and Chile have had the most substantial economic reparations for victims.⁷² Other countries’ commissions have recommended financial compensation for victims but the governments have failed to provide resources and expedite this crucial step in the work for reconciliation. In South Africa for example, testifiers had been promised economic compensation for witnessing in the TRC but the monetary help was seldom handed over to the victim. This led to renewed anger and feelings of humiliation in victims.

Implications for Development Cooperation: Assist governments in delivering financial compensation to survivors and family members of those killed or

missing, who have given testimony in truth commissions. For reconciliation, economic justice is crucial. Thus, economic compensation must also reach those who do not take part in a truth commission. Supporting micro finance projects, joint market days, and other economic projects in order to reduce gaps and compensate suffering is thus central for reconciliation.

Political Aspects

Is a state of reconciliation politically desirable? Timothy Garton Ash argues “...the reconciliation of all with all is a deeply illiberal idea.”⁷³ Whether this is so or not of course depends on how reconciliation is defined. If reconciliation demands no conflict, no differences, and only love, harmony, and unity – then reconciliation is probably both illiberal and impossible. If we use our definition from above: “Reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace” this neither implies lack of conflict nor total harmony. Rather, it refers to a state, as discussed above, that after atrocity and injustice builds a future on remembering the past, handling conflict without violence, and respecting the rights of all its members.

In the first systematic attempt to study reconciliation on a national, political level, Long and Brecke have examined the presence or absence of ‘reconciliation events’ after civil conflict and subsequent relations between former adversaries.⁷⁴ Reconciliation events are defined as including: 1) a meeting between senior representatives of the former opposing factions; 2) a public ceremony, covered by national media; and 3) ritualistic or symbolic behaviour that indicates peace. Studying all countries that experienced civil war in the 20th century, Long and Brecke found that for countries in which a reconciliation event took place 64% did not return to violent conflict. However, among countries that had not experienced a reconciliation event, only 9% did not return to war. This supports the notion that political attempts at reconciliation after internal conflict are essential in the quest for peace.

An example of political, symbolic behaviour indicating peace is the official apology – an increasingly common phenomenon over the last years. German Chancellor Willy Brandt was one of the first, falling to his knees in

the Old Jewish Ghetto in Warsaw in 1970, gesturing an apology for Germany's atrocities during World War II. The pope has apologized for the Catholic Church's past maltreatment of the Jewish people, the IRA has apologized for having killed civilians in its 30-year anti-British campaign, in 2001 the Japanese Prime Minister Koizumi expressed remorse for the Korean suffering under Japanese rule during World War II. The UN Secretary General Kofi Annan apologized to Rwanda for the UN's inability to act and prevent the 1994 genocide; former US president Bill Clinton did the same. In Sweden, the government and the Church are working for reconciliation with the Swedish Saami, a minority living in northern Sweden who were subjected to discrimination for centuries.⁷⁵ In Australia, *Bringing Them Home*, a best-selling official report published in 1997, described how aboriginal children up until the 1970s had been stolen from their families to be placed in and raised by white families for "assimilation." The Australian population was outraged by this knowledge. The government has not officially apologized for its past conduct, but an annual "Sorry Day" was established, held on May 26, and "sorry books" were distributed around the country for the public to sign. Within a year hundreds of volumes were filled with signatures of over 100,000 Australians.⁷⁶ Official acknowledgment of, and expression of remorse for, past wrongs has an entirely new role in today's world politics.

Implications for Development Cooperation: After internal conflict, in which the state has been an actor, support initiatives for increased awareness among top-level leaders regarding the importance of official self-reflection and acknowledgement of past atrocity committed by the state. After acknowledgment of past injustice, support governments to distribute compensation. Support governments in taking the crucial political responsibility of paving the way for reconciliation through for example laws and education.

Psychological Aspects

On an individual level, traumatic experiences do not disappear through silence. As Hamber writes: "...psychologically, sleeping dogs do not lie; past traumas do not simply pass or disappear with the passage of time."⁷⁷ Psychological trauma research has shown that it is of great importance to heal

traumatic wounds in order for life to continue without the trauma becoming cemented in physical and/or mental disorder. Victims of torture and other human rights violations often have a feeling that no-one would believe them if they told their story – just as they often have been told by their perpetrators.⁷⁸ Official acknowledgement of past atrocity and injustice is important for working with individual traumatic experience because it validates past experiences and helps restore dignity and self-esteem. Telling one's story to someone who listens is thus of greater importance than one might first imagine. However, to speak of traumatic wounds, which often have left feelings of deep humiliation, shame, and guilt, is difficult and painful. Therefore it is of great importance how the talking and listening is done⁷⁹ and that the victim is aware that revealing does not lead to instant healing.

During truth commission hearings, victims must recall and relive traumatic experiences in a public environment, most often having only one opportunity to testify and most likely not meeting the commissioners he/she is speaking to again. In South Africa, the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) had the objective of uncovering past atrocities in order to achieve healing and reconciliation in the nation. The objective of *healing* led to much debate among psychologists in South Africa.⁸⁰ Some expressed their support, others were sceptical, and some considered it to be more harmful than beneficial. Alfred Allan warns for the belief that witnessing in a commission would be healing, referring to studies showing that some individuals, both victims who testified and staff members who listened to the testimonies, were further traumatised by the experience of participating in the TRC.⁸¹

He argues that even though some individuals experienced giving testimony as cathartic, this does not necessarily imply that it was therapeutic. He states that the question remains “whether the process brought about an enduring change for the better, or merely a short-term symptomatic relief,” and calls for research in the area.⁸² Similarly, Swartz and Drennan argue that it is not clear today if emotional self-exposure, even in a clinical setting, automatically has a positive effect on mental health.⁸³ Allan warns that this “myth” – that testifying in a TRC is a healing process – can involve risks, for

example: survivors may be misled to testify in the belief that it will be good for them; the risk that governments believe in the myth and will fail to arrange for treatment needs; and that the belief may deprive people in grave need of treatment from adequate help, as the needs are not appreciated.⁸⁴

Allan and Allan claim that “it is inevitable that, for some of them [testifiers], psychological dysfunction and emotional pain will follow.”⁸⁵ The authors point to the fact that the aim of truth commissions usually is to focus on collective rather than individual experiences, a factor that might be anti-therapeutic. “We still await studies about the psychological impact of truth commissions...” states another scholar.⁸⁶ However, as Hayner writes, “the central aim of a truth commission is not therapy.”⁸⁷ Many truth commissions do nevertheless aspire to function as a therapeutic tool for society. In this process it is important to remember the individual suffering behind the stories, and ensure that appropriate care is given.

Implications for Development Cooperation: Support national initiatives for psychological rehabilitation. How this is designed depends on country, tradition, history, and culture. However, during and after truth commissions for example, some sort of psychological support programme for victims, perpetrators, as well as staff is crucial in order to avoid further suffering and achieve the best circumstances for reconciliation.

Juridical Aspects

The question of how to deal with the atrocities of the past in a country emerging from internal conflict is critical and enormously complex. Should there be tribunals to punish perpetrators? Should amnesty be granted in order to avoid disturbing a fragile peace? Or should a truth commission be established to ensure that the past will be acknowledged and not repeated, and dignity restored in victims and survivors? What does the justice versus stability equation look like and what is best for the process of reconciliation?

Firstly, Rama Mani states that there are three dimensions of justice that must be taken into account in peacebuilding after internal conflict:

- *The rule of law:* the apparatus of the justice system must be restored as it has usually broken down and lost all legitimacy during the war. The rebuilding of the rule of law also “may serve as an indication to combat-

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- ants and civilians in war-torn societies of a return to security, order, and stability.”
- *Rectificatory justice*: addressing the injustice and pain that has been suffered by people during conflict. This is important from three distinct perspectives: by international law countries are bound to prosecute past abuses; politically it is needed to establish legitimacy and stabilize peace; and psychosocially it aids to understand and heal trauma.
 - *Distributive justice*: “addressing the underlying causes of conflict, which often lie in real or perceived socio-economic, political or cultural injustice” in order to prevent further violence.⁸⁸

In this process of building a new justice system adhering to the dimensions above, a country must then also decide *in what way* it shall deal with the crimes of the past. This decision is central in the discussion of reconciliation: what kind of justice should be used? There is strong consensus that, as Professor Daniel Bar-Tal puts it, “justice is indispensable for reconciliation.”⁸⁹ Within the literature on reconciliation, there has been much discourse in recent years concerning *retributive* versus *restorative* justice.

Retributive justice, also called criminal, procedural, or legalistic justice, focuses on crime as the violation of law. Crime is, one could say, a matter between the perpetrator and the state. Punishment, and suitable compensation to the victim, is decided upon by the criminal justice system, transferring “the individuals’ desire for revenge to the state or official body.”⁹⁰ Although being the most commonly seen form of justice in the world today, retributive justice is a fairly recent idea historically, with roots in the Middle Ages.⁹¹

Restorative justice, on the other hand, with variations also referred to as transitional or reparative justice, focuses on crime as a conflict between individuals as well as on the injuries crime inflicts on all parties: the victim, the perpetrator and the society.⁹² The interest of the justice system is here to reconcile and heal conflictive relationships in order to end the vicious circle of crime, revenge, and recurring crime. This is done *inter alia* by official acknowledgment of the past, publicizing the names of perpetrators (seen as a form of punishment in itself), formalized apologies, and compensation to victims.⁹³

Restorative justice systems can be traced back several thousands of years. There are Babylonian and Sumerian Codes from around 2000 BC with instructions for how conflicting parties should proceed to bring about the restoration of broken relationships and order in society.⁹⁴

The dilemma for a country in the transition from conflict to peace is to find a balance between the moral desire for restoration, which inherently involves compromise regarding justice, and the legal desire for retribution, which innately carries the risk of silencing the past (as war criminals will seek to avoid punishment by withholding certain truths). Or, as one scholar puts it, how to accommodate “individual criminal responsibility and national reconciliation.”⁹⁵

A budding trend can be seen in countries attempting to deal with a conflictive past and promote reconciliation, namely the combination of these two forms of justice. In Rwanda, offences committed during the genocide in 1994 have been graded according to severity. The most severe criminals, such as organizers and leaders of the genocide, are to be tried in the conventional courts, including the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda. The perpetrators of slightly less serious crimes however will be tried in traditional community courts, called the *gacaca* courts. In this way it is hoped that the involvement of the population in the trials will promote a process of reconciliation. Similarly, in South Africa the TRC gave amnesty to those who confessed to having been part of the apartheid rule. The accounts helped paint a picture of the past, and finding the truth was seen as more important than attempting to achieve legal justice, also considering the fact that “[f]ull justice is not always possible in a society in transition.”⁹⁶ In East Timor a similar method of blending restorative and retributive justice is being used in the Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation.⁹⁷ Restorative justice, including (retributive) prosecution for certain crimes, holds promise for the future.

Implications for Development Cooperation: Support national initiatives for restorative justice, including for example education and support for the work in truth commissions and tribunals, securing reparation and compensation (medical, psychosocial, economical) for those witnessing, educational programmes in trauma and human rights, documentation of testimonies and

secret files. Prosecution and punishment of severe crime is also important for restorative justice. Thus, supporting the retributive justice system, such as the police, prisons and the formal legal institutions is also of great importance for reconciliation.

4 Levels, Actors & Methods

Who are the actors in reconciliation? Who is to do the reconciling? At what levels in society are attempts for reconciliation being made and by which means? In this chapter, we will look at the question of who is reconciling and where this is taking place. Building on John Paul Lederach's classification of approaches to peacebuilding, reconciliation will be seen from three societal levels: Top-Level, Middle-Range, and Grassroots.⁹⁸

Top-Level

Prominent, respected leaders of peace (for example Nelson Mandela and the Dalai Lama) can be seen as actors for reconciliation at the top-level. Demonstrating peace and reconciliation through their discourse and behaviour, they become important role models for the transformation of attitudes and behaviour in the population. This is often spoken of as top-down or “trickle-down” peacebuilding⁹⁹ but one could also say that it is simple learning theory: our attitudes and behaviour are greatly influenced by the people around us that we care for, respect, and wish to resemble. In short: respected aggressive leaders arouse aggressiveness and conflict – respected reconciliatory leaders promote reconciliation.

International and domestic criminal tribunals could be seen as top-level methods for reconciliation. They are often supported by the UN or other organisations or governments and proceed quite far away from the people, thus we see them as “top-level” – with the top-down effects spoken of above. Tribunals are perhaps not what first comes to mind when thinking of reconciliation, but they are included here because justice, accountability, and punishment of certain crimes are considered in both theory and practice to be important for reconciliation. There is a legal and moral perception that the most severe crimes, such as instigating genocide, must be punished. “Reconciliation is not the goal of criminal tribunals...”¹⁰⁰ states Martha Minow. However, considering the importance of justice and a functioning legal system in reinstating a sense of order and safety after violence, criminal tribunals have an important role for reconciliation. In fact, the ad hoc International Criminal Tribunals established by the UN for the former Yu-

goslavia¹⁰¹ and for Rwanda¹⁰² (in 1993 and 1994 respectively) both state as their purpose to “contribute to reconciliation” in order to maintain peace in the countries.

However, legal justice takes time. The domestic tribunal in Rwanda has imprisoned 110,000 persons accused of involvement in the 1994 genocide. The conditions in the prisons are dreadful. To have everyone tried conventionally would take the court system in Rwanda 200 years.¹⁰³ Therefore, a traditional participatory system of justice is being used parallel to the domestic and international tribunals, called the *gacaca* (more below). Similarly, the positive aims notwithstanding, there are numerous problems with ad hoc tribunals: they are tremendously expensive, they are limited in time and place, perpetrators escape during the time that they are established and there is also the issue of justice becoming selective: why is there no tribunal here but there? *When* they are initiated and *by whom* are additional issues, all affecting the tribunal’s legitimacy. Hopefully these problems will be solved by the International Criminal Court (ICC), which came into force on July 1, 2002 after 60 member states of the UN had ratified The Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court in April of the same year. The ICC will prosecute individuals (regardless of country or conflict) for crimes such as genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity. The aim is to “secure a universal respect for human rights . . . fight against impunity . . . and struggle for peace and justice and human rights in conflict situations in today’s world.”¹⁰⁴

All perpetrators of gross violence can never be found, tried and punished after mass atrocity and thus retributive justice will always be flawed. In the literature on reconciliation this is often referred to as the need to seek justice short of revenge. Tribunals will fill one piece of the scattered mosaic of the past, no more, no less. Judges risk to be partial in their hearing, the truth risks to be distorted by the defendants as they will want to avoid coercive punishment.¹⁰⁵ However, horrors can be condemned, norms can be established and a sense of security, justice and order begin to be restored.

Top-Level Reconciliation and Development Cooperation: As already argued above, supporting the establishment of national justice systems in war-ravaged societies is crucial, including the juridical training of legal personnel.

The training of top-level leaders, for example politicians, decision makers, religious leaders etc, as well as legal personnel, regarding mass violence and psychological trauma is also imperative. Their attitudes and behaviour concerning suffering, trauma and the past will be reflected in the national work for peace (provided help, laws, etc) and thus have a “top-down” effect on the populations’ rehabilitation and reconciliation.

Middle-Range

Middle-range initiatives for reconciliation could be seen as projects that have a “middle-out” approach, to use Lederach’s terminology.¹⁰⁶ As middle-out implies, the middle-range actors and methods for reconciliation influence attitudes and behaviour in both top-level decision makers and the grassroots community because they are close to both constituencies. “[T]he mid-level actors...often play an important mediating role between national and local level politics” and should be focused upon more, states a conflict analysis by the UK Department for International Development.¹⁰⁷ Middle-range actors are, for example, leading representatives of different organizations, civil society groups, and religious groups, leading representatives of medical and psychosocial staff working with victims and survivors, and the media. Problem-solving workshops with middle-range leaders is a typical middle-range method for promoting sustainable peace.¹⁰⁸ We will concentrate on two other methods that perhaps can be seen as particularly useful for reconciliation: the media and truth commissions.

The media plays an exceptionally important role in influencing both grassroots and top-level actors and can be seen as both an actor and a method for middle-range reconciliation. Within the media, the radio holds a unique position: “[r]adio is still one of the most powerful mediums in countries where much of the population is illiterate or televisions are rare, and it is the key means to reach the public with news and information that can influence people, positively or negatively.”¹⁰⁹ Increasingly, international organizations and media groups are recognizing the potential of the media as an actor and method for conflict prevention and reconciliation. One expert in the area, Ellen Gardner, speaks of *peace media* in contrast to *hate media* (which was used in Nazi Germany, as well as before and during the genocide

in Rwanda, “Radio Mille Collines”, and the ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia).¹¹⁰ Peace media involves taking an active, conscious role in promoting peace and tolerance by balancing previous prejudice with facts, verified and fair information. This has been controversial among journalists as it is against the rule of neutral reporting. However, increasingly, it is argued that journalists already are a third party in any conflict and thus have a moral responsibility “to use that access constructively.”¹¹¹ Reporting for peace may also be problematic as “good news is no news”¹¹² which can result in difficulties in finding funding. Here development cooperation has the chance to play an important role by supplying funding for peace media initiatives as well as for media education. (We will discuss specific media projects in more detail below.)

Unlike earlier truth commissions (for example in Chile and Brazil where they were held behind closed doors), the South African TRC wanted to engage the public – their goal being “national reconciliation” – and used the media to spread the process to the population. “[T]he mass media...played a powerful and often ambiguous role in the work of the commission,” write Villa-Vicencio and Verwoerd,¹¹³ referring to the considerable problems that arose concerning the media. For example, the Afrikaans media used the information from the proceedings to accuse the TRC of being an “ANC witch-hunt”; formerly forbidden media took their chance to use the commission for the settling of scores with the past regime. Also, the constant, almost endless reporting from the TRC during the first two years led to “TRC fatigue” among both the media and the people, which was unfortunate.¹¹⁴ An analysis of the South African experience of the media and the TRC would undoubtedly generate important lessons that could be used when designing guidelines for the media’s role in truth commissions elsewhere.

Truth commissions are an important middle-range method for reconciliation. They affect top-level politics and engage the population, hopefully promoting reconciliation on both levels. Since 1974, at least twenty-one truth commissions have been established around the world, with a radical increase in recent years.¹¹⁵ A few of the most internationally recognised commissions have been Argentina (1984), Chile (1990-91), and South Af-

rica (1995-98). Priscilla Hayner defines truth commissions as having the following four characteristics:¹¹⁶

- truth commissions focus on the past
- truth commissions investigate the pattern of abuses over a period of time, not a particular event
- a truth commission is a temporary body that completes its work with an official report
- truth commissions are officially sanctioned in order to assure the accessibility of information and that recommendations of the concluding report are taken seriously.

Furthermore, truth commissions investigate recent events, most often at the point of political transition. A truth commission is not a juridical body, it does not issue punishment. “[T]ruth commissions have gradually developed into a justice-supportive machinery, designed to complement rather than replace national or international prosecution,” writes Stahn.¹¹⁷ The duty of a truth commission is to investigate and acknowledge the truth and add to justice by creating an officially accepted account and document of the past. There are no empirical studies to date confirming that truth indeed leads to justice and reconciliation after internal conflict. However, as Sangster writes, “the verdict is still out there as to whether truth can achieve justice. But perhaps the only real thing to do is ‘to look the beast in the eye,’ and hope.”¹¹⁸

Ms Aloisea Inyumba, Executive Secretary of the National Commission on Unity and Reconciliation in Rwanda stated that security is the largest challenge in Rwanda today and that “truth is crucial: both to establish what has happened and for the feeling of security for victims and survivors.”¹¹⁹ In societies where grave atrocities have taken place, the regime has an interest in withholding, covering up or denying the truth. This can persist for decades. Uncovering the past makes denial impossible, may increase trust and thus facilitate coexistence.

As discussed above, testifying in a TRC may be painful, even re-traumatizing. Interviews with testifiers in the South African TRC suggest that for those who had been tortured or “had loved ones murdered or maimed, the

Truth Commission may feel like a double-edged sword. It will inevitably inflame old hurts, bring them back...[i]t may open old wounds as much as it may heal.”¹²⁰ It is imperative that there is a clear understanding among the population as to the possibilities and limitations of a truth commission and that this is widely communicated and repeatedly stressed. Unrealistic expectations can thereby be appeased and the positive aspects hopefully seen to outweigh the negative.¹²¹

Middle-Range Reconciliation and Development Cooperation: Many scholars and practitioners suggest that mid-level initiatives are the most important for peacebuilding and reconciliation. However, middle-range initiatives in general “do not typically attract significant funding.”¹²² This report would suggest intensifying support for media projects promoting peace and reconciliation. An analysis of how the media best can be used in order to spread and promote the work of truth commissions in countries after violent conflict would be of great importance. Regarding truth commissions: supporting the many components of TRCs is central, for example the education and support of personnel, the (medical and psychosocial) support and compensation of testifiers, and the implementation of recommendations.

Grassroots

The grassroots level of reconciliation is first and foremost characterized by the massive numbers of people it is composed of. The actors are the population of the country, however, as no project can reach everyone, the methods attempt to involve leaders for the grassroots who then in turn spread knowledge to their communities or villages.¹²³ A strong process of reconciliation at the grassroots level will be a difficult threat to belligerent leaders: experiencing constructive relationships with former enemies – with the sufferings of the past in mind – the peace of the present will be too precious to waste on further war. To use the jargon of Lederach’s peacebuilding: this is the ‘bottom-up’ approach to reconciliation. By strengthening and empowering the local actors for peace, the foundations are laid for national reconciliation.

“In all societies there are capacities for peace,” writes Mary B Anderson.¹²⁴ However, due to the acute nature of conflict that overwhelms

both the local population and the arriving international assistance, these capacities are often forgotten. In all societies there are methods for handling conflict without violence, people who are respected and turned to when there are disagreements to be sorted out. There are, as we have seen above, cultural methods for reconciliation that are imperative to put into practice, if possible during the conflict but if not, at least after.

In Somalia, for example, women have an important bridge-building capacity. A woman belongs to her father's clan but her children belong to her husband's clan, thereby she creates a bond between the clans, used "in traditional reconciliation processes".¹²⁵

At the grassroots level it would also be important to recognize the importance of aid workers' understanding of the specific conflict they are involved in,¹²⁶ the effects of war on people, and the fundamentals of sustainable peace. Aid workers often meet people from the grassroots level, many of which are struggling for everyday survival. To have an understanding of the enormous difficulties conflict has brought to these people, and to meet them with respect and empathy, is perhaps one of the first steps in a reconciliation process for many at the grassroots level. Aid workers without knowledge of what has happened in the conflict, what it has meant to people and how this suffering should be met, may involuntarily display attitudes and behaviour that are experienced by the survivors as humiliating or disrespectful. These feelings may lead to renewed hatred and desire for revenge against former enemies – thus leading away from a process of building constructive relationships. Therefore, the workers in international assistance also have responsibilities in the process of reconciliation on the grassroots level.

Grassroots Reconciliation and Development Cooperation: Identify and support local methods for reconciliation, for example, help facilitate meetings for leaders from different sides of the grassroots level to discuss traditional reconciliation processes, or support local practical initiatives in which victims and perpetrators meet in joint ventures, for example building a school or hospital in order to raise the level of local societal well-being.

Before being sent to conflict areas, aid workers should be trained in understanding the specific conflict, the effects armed conflict can have on people (psychological trauma), how aid workers can react on learning about

and experiencing difficult events (crisis psychology), and reconciliation as a process toward sustainable peace. This is important not only for the individual aid worker but will also have an effect on the people they meet – and can thus promote or prevent reconciliation.

5 Examples of Reconciliation Projects in Post-Conflict Societies

The projects described below deal with different aspects of reconciliation, seen, according to our definition, as “a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace.” On these lines, several are psychosocial initiatives, aiming at changing attitudes and behaviour toward former enemies by different means. Two projects are examples of attempts to deal with acknowledging past suffering and the remaining projects highlight different important aspects of reconciliation discussed above.

The projects have been chosen to illustrate “best-practice” examples in the work for reconciliation. Unfortunately, unsuccessful projects fail to be published and are therefore difficult to review.

The Gacaca Process and A Project of Healing in Rwanda

Gacaca

As mentioned above, 110,000 persons are incarcerated in deplorable conditions in jails around Rwanda, accused of involvement in the 1994 genocide in which around one million Tutsi and Hutu-moderates were killed. In order to quicken the pace of the time-consuming conventional legal proceedings, a traditional participatory court system called the *gacaca* has been established.

The 260,000 judges for the *gacaca* courts are “respectable people of at least 21 years of age,”¹²⁷ elected by the population. The crimes of the genocide have been divided into four categories, the worst being found in Category One (e.g. leaders of the genocide; notorious murderers; sexual violence) and the least severe crimes found in Category Four (offences against property).

Those accused of crimes in Category One are to be judged in the conventional courts. Those accused of slightly less severe crimes will be judged in the *gacaca* courts in their home communities. There are *gacaca* courts at four levels: the Cellule Level (villages, will deal with crimes from Category

Four), the Secteur Level (Category Three), the Communal Level (Category Two), and the Prefecture Level (passes judgements on appeals from lower gacaca courts).

The aim of the gacaca is to reconcile the Rwandan people and thereby bring an end to the vicious circle of extreme violence that has ravaged the country several times since the 1960s. It is argued by the government that reconciliation cannot take place without justice and thus the gacaca system has been introduced. The population plays an imperative role in this making of justice. All citizens over the age of 18 are seen as members of 'the General Assembly at the Cellule Level,' with the task to make a list of the people (in their 'cellule') who died or were raped in the genocide, as well as of those who participated in these crimes. They are also asked to list those who moved away during the genocide, and to give evidence that can convict or acquit those accused of having taken part in the genocide. The government hopes that the population's participation will hasten the country's reconciliation and promote sustainable peace.

In spite of the great promise the gacaca system holds for Rwanda, there are also many dangers. For example, there is considerable risk that people are re-traumatised by the hearings and that children who are too young to remember the genocide themselves become traumatised through the accounts; the judges of the gacaca are not as well trained as legal professionals which involves risks primarily for the accused, e.g. those accused of lesser crimes may receive harder punishment than the real "big fish";¹²⁸ and fact-finding cannot be done as rigorously as in conventional justice. Despite these difficulties there seems to be no better choice: the Rwandan juridical infrastructure is poor, many legal professionals were killed in the genocide and conventional trials would therefore take centuries to complete.

Sida supports the National Commission on Unity and Reconciliation (which was set up by the Rwandan government in 1999 to work for national reconciliation and establish the gacaca justice system after a survey in the country) through a New York based NGO called the International Rescue Committee (IRC). The IRC supports the Commission through capacity building in the areas of organizational development, communication, conflict management, and monitoring.¹²⁹

The gacaca justice system illustrates how a country may deal with acknowledging past suffering and the juridical aspects of reconciliation based on its own unique cultural tradition, as discussed in chapter 3.

Project on Healing and Reconciliation

Ervin Staub, professor of psychology at the university of Massachusetts at Amherst, is heading an ongoing project since 1999 on healing and reconciliation in Rwanda.¹³⁰ The project provides supplementary training to staff engaged in already existing programmes for reconciliation; the aim is to augment and enhance the already ongoing reconciliation work. The training includes having participants write, draw, or think of their experiences during the genocide and then share the experiences with each other, responding empathetically to each other's stories. There are also psycho-educational components in the training, in which participants learn about the psychological effects of trauma, methods of healing, as well as about the origins and development of genocide. Evaluations of the training show that for many, learning about the origins of genocide has had a great impact. "Participants seemed to feel their humanity reaffirmed: If these things happened elsewhere ... horrible as was [in Rwanda, it] does not exclude them from the human realm."¹³¹ For the project, Staub and his co-workers have also developed a pilot measure, the 'Reconciliation/Forgiving Measure,' in order to assess perpetrators' and victims' readiness to reconcile after genocidal conflict.

After discussions and workshops with members of the Rwandan government, the project is presently planning to also engage in work around the gacaca process. Ervin Staub and Laurie Pearlman have designed a trauma support plan composed of two aspects: interpersonal support and public information. Trauma counsellors will be trained for interpersonal support regarding the gacaca and radio programmes will be broadcasted about trauma reactions and experiences one might have during the gacaca hearings.¹³²

Sida is planning to support this media project in Rwanda, which will be conducted by an independent group of Dutch radio journalists beginning in 2003.¹³³ The healing and reconciliation project, and the forthcoming gacaca-related project, are examples of programmes dealing with the psy-

chological aspects of reconciliation at all three levels of society: grassroots, middle-range and top-level.

Reconciliation in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa

Diakonia works with eight partner organisations in KwaZulu Natal, South Africa, in a programme for conflict resolution and reconciliation. Diakonia states that “for [reconciliation] to happen in South Africa the culture of violence must be dealt with and the social and political injustices addressed.”¹³⁴

The programme sees the church as one of the key actors for a process of reconciliation as it can provide both meeting places and spiritual rituals. Dealing with traumas in survivors and offenders and practical steps to change the many injustices caused by apartheid, are also seen as important components for reconciliation. The programme aims *inter alia* to assist important civil society actors to influence political, traditional and religious leadership to promote reconciliation in their communities, establish trust and communication between previously antagonistic groups through conflict resolution workshops, and bring the police and communities to work together. The programme also tries to establish support groups “in former no-go areas” to help survivors and engage church laymen in work for mediation, counselling, and trauma healing. Politicians and traditional leaders are also encouraged to publicly work for reconciliation.

Diakonia’s programme takes both psychosocial and religious aspects into account and also works politically, as it focuses on political and traditional leaders. There are also financial management components included in the programme. With one partner, some “organisational weaknesses” were found in a recent evaluation study and these are currently being discussed with the partner.

Rehabilitation in Liberia

The Lutheran Church in Liberia and the Lutheran World Federation/World Service run a trauma healing and reconciliation programme that aims to help rebuild Liberia after the civil war of 1989–1997.¹³⁵ The programme provides help for traumatised individuals, as well as conducting workshops for ex-fighters, traditional and religious leaders, military and

para-military personnel, and others, regarding trauma and reconciliation. Trainers also travel to conduct workshops in small communities all over the country in order to spread awareness of the effects of war and the importance of reconciliation. The programme is a national initiative, based on the principle that only people who have been involved in or closely affected by the war can build real peace and reconciliation in the country.

The Church of Sweden and its back-donor, Sida, provide the main funding for the programme, which is an example of another project with a psychological focus.

A Children's Magazine in Lebanon

During the bombings of Beirut in 1989–90, Unicef staff decided to write an “exercise book” for the children spending long hours in shelters.¹³⁶ The magazine was called *SAWA* (Together in Arabic) and aimed to give the children stories that took them to places beyond war, and to emphasize the similarities of all Lebanese and everyone’s longing for peace, regardless of ethnic group. It had crafts and arithmetic exercises, stories about the country and the Lebanese culture, and messages of peace and non-violence. One section was called “Right or Wrong?” in which the reader could decide upon suitable behaviour for different situations. The magazine quickly became immensely popular.

This project focused on changing destructive attitudes and behaviour in children of opposing groups. *SAWA* was produced until a few years after the end of the war. In countries that have experienced internal violent conflict for many years, and where prejudice and fear prevail, such a project could be considered to be part of a long-term programme for reconciliation.

A Children's Television Programme in Macedonia

Macedonia’s population of 2.2 million comprises of Macedonians (65%), Albanians (25%), and smaller percentages of Turks, Roma, Serbs, and Vlachs, all ethnic groups profoundly segregated from one another. Hence, there is little knowledge of the concerns of other ethnic groups, and much fear and prejudice. These factors create a risk for political instability and potentially violent conflict.

Since 1999, a children's television programme called *Nashe Maalo* (Our Neighbourhood) has been broadcasted in Macedonia by the organisation Search for Common Ground.¹³⁷ *Nashe Maalo* aims to reduce negative stereotypes and prejudice, and increase mutual respect, understanding and tolerance among children of different ethnic backgrounds.

Nashe Maalo is about Karla, an animated, dilapidated building that talks, and eight children with different ethnic backgrounds. Karla wants peace within her walls and has chosen the children because she sees that they have great capacity for learning, understanding and kindness. She has tried to talk with the adults for a long time, but they do not listen. She arranges so that the children begin to meet and they eventually become friends. Karla leads the children on journeys through magical doorways so that they begin to see the world from different perspectives.

The programme has been evaluated by the University of Skopje with very encouraging results. For example, *Nashe Maalo* proves to have a very positive impact on the children's views of their own and other ethnic groups as well as on their willingness to invite children from other ethnic groups into their homes. The study also demonstrates that 75% of the children (and 50% of the adults) in Macedonia watch *Nashe Maalo* and that the show is very popular (important factors, since the children must enjoy the programme to watch it and thereby be able to receive its message of peace).

Sida supports Search for Common Ground in this project with a sum of 3.3 million SEK (7.5% of the total budget, 44 million SEK, for two years).¹³⁸ *Nashe Maalo* can be seen as a middle-range project reaching many at the grassroots, and perhaps top-level.

The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation in Bosnia-Herzegovina

The Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation has been working in Bosnia-Herzegovina since 1993 with the objective to give women psychosocial support, help process trauma, and regain strength to go on with life after war. Their projects in Bosnia-Herzegovina include Psychological Centres in Tuzla and Sarajevo that give psychosocial and juridical support to abused women, a Centre of Legal Assistance in Zenica in which a group of female lawyers support women in gender-related legal issues, an educational centre

outside Srebrenica for women returning from refuge, job training, and medical support. Local women who have received special training run the support centres, which is an important factor for their stability.

Recently, an evaluation report was published regarding the organisation's work five years after the Dayton Peace Accord (1995–2000).¹³⁹ The general conclusion of the report is that psychosocial support was vital for the women after the war in Bosnia-Herzegovina and has been effective in helping heal trauma. Women who had received help in the women's centres have also rebuilt trust and networks for emotional support. Some interesting factors that proved to impede the healing process, reflecting aspects important also for reconciliation, are highlighted in the report:

- Economic hardship was one factor that had an important impact on the healing process in the women. Lack of jobs made them dependent on men – “a risky situation in post-war societies with increased domestic violence.”¹⁴⁰
- Political decisions affect people's lives and also proved important for the healing process. Women feel abandoned by the government which has not provided the basic support that was expected. They also feel insecure because war crimes have not been dealt with by society and women are afraid of talking about the people who committed atrocities during the war as it may put their lives in danger.

Furthermore, the findings also demonstrated the importance of continuing the support for a long period after the war. As the illustrative title of the report points out: “War is not over with the last bullet.”

The work of the Kvinna till Kvinna Foundation supports several aspects important for reconciliation: economic, juridical, and psychological support at a grassroots level, and at the same time capacity building in the middle-range.

Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor

The Commission for Reception, Truth and Reconciliation in East Timor was established in 2001, with the mandate to inquire into human-rights violations committed between April 1974 and October 1999 and to facilitate

community reconciliation.¹⁴¹ The Commission consists of one national office with 7 National Commissioners and 6 regional offices, with 29 Regional Commissioners. It had its first hearing in August 2002. The Commission is complementary to the justice system and addresses less serious crimes (such as looting, burning and minor assault) from the period of concern, leaving the more serious crimes to be processed legally. The Commission has different divisions working with issues such as truth-seeking (which is the largest), reception and victim support, and public information.¹⁴²

The community reconciliation procedures aim to reintegrate people who have committed relatively minor offences in their communities and are based on the offender's voluntary participation. In November 2002, 143 perpetrators had provided statements to the Commission and reconciliation hearings involving 50 of these persons had been held. Reports from the first three months of hearings suggest that victims, perpetrators and communities consider the hearings relevant and important.¹⁴³

At the reconciliation hearings, which are headed by a panel consisting of a Regional Commissioner and local community leaders, victims can question deponents and speak about how the violence has harmed them. All hearings involve local ceremonial rites with a special traditional leader, the *lia nain* – keeper of the system of traditional law and custom of the village, playing an important role which gives credibility to the hearings. There is often a festive atmosphere around the hearing and hundreds of people gather. At the end of the hearing an agreement is made for how the offender should repair the harm he or she has done. Examples from recent hearings are repairing a local school (together with the victim in this case, who volunteered to assist), working one day a week for 4 weeks with building a church, and payment of livestock. In some cases no community reconciliation act has been considered necessary and the offender and perpetrator have eaten betel nut and drunk palm wine as a sign of reconciliation.

The work in East Timor exemplifies an integrated approach to reconciliation, attempting to deal with the sufferings of the past by combining culture, religion, justice, politics, and psychology. It is an effort that stretches from the top-level to the grassroots of society.

Practical Considerations for Swedish Development Cooperation: Considering the immense importance of dealing with past suffering and changing destructive attitudes and behaviour in order to break circles of violent armed conflict and promote sustainable peace, supporting long-term reconciliation projects is imperative for development cooperation.

Sida currently supports 219 conflict management projects around the world.¹⁴⁴ 17 of these (8%) specifically focus on reconciliation, a few of which have been described above. However, several of the other conflict management projects are engaged in areas that could be seen as reconciliation attempts (for example psychosocial rehabilitation, peace and development media programmes), giving a total of 18% that involve reconciliation-related matters.

6 Time Aspects of Reconciliation & Conflict Resolution

The question of time

The question of how long it takes for reconciliation to become rooted in a society after internal conflict has been answered in the most unanimous, even if not exact, way by all writers: reconciliation takes time. Both theoreticians and practitioners emphasize the importance of having a long-term commitment – even spanning generations – to programmes aiming at reconciliation. As Caritas puts it: “There is no ‘quick fix’ in reconciliation work.”¹⁴⁵

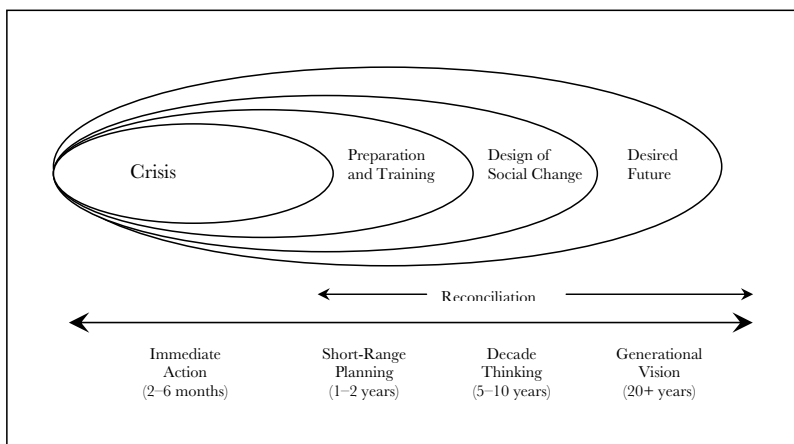
Most internal conflicts today have long histories. Daniel Bar-Tal describes them as *intractable conflicts*, conflicts in which the dispute is protracted over generations, is violent, perceived as zero-sum in nature and irreconcilable by the parties, and is costly in both human and material terms.¹⁴⁶ For society to cope with such a conflict, Bar-Tal suggests that “a psychological infra-structure” develops in the form of *societal beliefs*: the shared cognitions on topics and issues that are important for the uniqueness of one’s own society, organised around collective memories, ideologies, goals, myths, etc. Delegitimisation of the opponent, positive self-image, and the victimisation of one’s own group are examples of societal beliefs. The formation of these societal beliefs is constructed through selective information intake and biased interpretations of this information. As there are often many vested interests present in a conflict (economical, political, ideological) and as a conflict cannot proceed without the participation of individuals, it is imperative for the nation to support and enhance these beliefs in society. Bar-Tal argues that this leads to a *conflictive ethos* in society, created by these societal beliefs regarding one’s own group, the adversary and the relationship between them, making it easier for people to cope with the conflict situation.¹⁴⁷ The conflictive ethos also fuels the maintenance of the conflict, making it a self-perpetuating cycle – the conflict reinforcing the conflictive ethos and vice versa.¹⁴⁸

In order to achieve sustainable peace, Bar-Tal argues, the conflictive ethos must be transformed to an *ethos of peace*. This requires reconciliation, which according to Bar-Tal involves a process of psychological change of attitude after the conflict. In this process, which may take decades, the majority of the population shapes new beliefs, motivations, goals, and emotions regarding the conflict, themselves, and the other group.¹⁴⁹

Darby and Mac Ginty discuss along the same lines, referring to the “custom of violence” that is created in protracted conflict which “...alters fundamentally the entire society’s norms of acceptable behaviour.”¹⁵⁰ This custom of violence becomes even more entrenched when the conflict passes over generations, “into the very fabric of society”, and violence becomes a normal part of life.¹⁵¹ Stressing more the importance of behaviour than attitude, Darby and Mac Ginty conclude by stating that the “...central task [of the peace process] is to alter human behaviour from a helpless acceptance of fell deeds to the civilised conduct of human relationships.”¹⁵²

Similarly, Rigby emphasizes the importance of involving all levels of society in efforts to promote reconciliation in order to create “...a culture of peace as opposed to a culture of violence.”¹⁵³ This process takes a long time, passing through the four stages of 1) Securing the peace, 2) Uncovering the truth, 3) Approaching justice, and 4) Putting the past in its proper place.¹⁵⁴

Finally, Lederach writes of the transformation from “...a war-system characterised by deeply divided, hostile, and violent relationships into a peace-system characterized by just and interdependent relationships...,”¹⁵⁵ which will take generations. He proposes that a vision of the future is created among the former opponents in order to know how one must work for this goal to be achieved. Lederach demonstrates the time-frame for peace-building with an illustrative figure:¹⁵⁶



Reconciliation has been placed as an addition in Lederach's figure, stretching across the three phases of Short-Range Planning, Decade Thinking, and Generational Vision. Even though it probably will take decades or generations before sustainable peace can be seen, the process of reconciliation will be going on continuously throughout these phases. Changing destructive patterns of thinking, feeling, and behaving in order to have constructive relationships in society and sustainable peace, is a mission of the highest – and most difficult – order.

In terms of time, what does our definition of reconciliation imply?

Reconciliation is a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace.

The first part, acknowledging past suffering, is the initial crucial step in the process of reconciliation. It demands a government or leadership that is committed to the well-being of its population, that takes responsibility for the country's conflictive past, that initiates a forum in which the past can be uncovered and recognised. In spite of all the difficulties these responsibilities may involve, given a leadership that takes on the challenge this is perhaps the easiest step in the process of reconciliation, taking 2–3 years.

The second part of our definition speaks of changing destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships. For development cooperation, as has been discussed above, this implies long-term programmes with decade-range thinking.

Comparing Reconciliation to Conflict Resolution

Finally, how is reconciliation distinguished from other forms of conflict-handling mechanisms and conflict resolution? Assefa argues that the methodology of reconciliation is the primary distinguishing factor “from all other conflict handling mechanisms.”¹⁵⁷ In negotiation, mediation, arbitration etc, the parties defend themselves and accuse the other of being responsible for the grievances of war. Reconciliation, writes Assefa, involves voluntary self-reflection and acknowledgement of responsibility. Thus, it does not stop at accusations and defence, but also requires reflection of one’s own guilt in a kind of dialogue with the other.

Compared with conflict resolution, reconciliation may be seen to differ primarily regarding focus and time.¹⁵⁸ Ohlson and Söderberg state that conflict resolution has three phases: the dialogue phase, the implementation phase, and the consolidation phase.¹⁵⁹ The first two phases focus on the elites and aim to produce clear-cut tangible results: war termination, a peace agreement and the carrying out of this agreement.

The consolidation phase is more concerned with the relations between the elites and the masses – without the support of the masses, the peace agreement will not hold. By improvements in life regarding for example politics, justice, and the standard of living, the probability that the consolidation phase will have a positive result is seen as greater. In the consolidation phase, which is often defined to end some five years after the peace agreement signature, “...the main goal is no longer to terminate one war, but prevent another one from starting,”¹⁶⁰ which has large similarity to reconciliation. It is possible to think of reconciliation as beginning where conflict resolution ends, even if its seeds are sown earlier. Indeed, negotiating and implementing a peace agreement may often trigger acts of reconciliation in society.

Even though many aspects of conflict resolution also are important for a process of reconciliation, the focus in reconciliation is specifically on how to deal with past suffering and how to influence and change destructive attitudes and behaviour between former antagonists. Thus, reconciliation requires that peace to a certain extent has been consolidated in society. Furthermore, reconciliation is a long-term process, stretching over decades, perhaps generations, whereas conflict resolution is first and foremost focused on the time-period around a peace agreement.¹⁶¹

7 Reconciliation and Development Cooperation:

Recommendations

The aim of this report was both to help enhance knowledge regarding the concept of reconciliation and to identify the role of development cooperation regarding reconciliation in societies after internal conflict. The study has highlighted some trends in current theory and research on reconciliation, and has given practical examples of reconciliation projects in post-conflict societies.

On the basis of this theoretical and practical knowledge, recommendations will be made below for how Sida may work to support reconciliation processes in post-conflict partner countries.

Firstly, it is important to emphasize that reconciliation requires a long-term vision. The process of reconciliation involves profound changes in beliefs, which in turn involves profound changes in the interactions with former enemies as well as in the circumstances of living (regarding economy and justice for example). Difficult as it may seem, it may be one of the most efficient ways to stop war from happening again.

To refresh our memory, reconciliation is in this report defined as “a societal process that involves mutual acknowledgment of past suffering and the changing of destructive attitudes and behaviour into constructive relationships toward sustainable peace.”

I. The first recommendation, and presumably the most critical factor, that must be emphasized is the importance of supporting *national and local initiatives* for reconciliation – as opposed to externally driven ones. War involves atrocity, abuse, trauma, great loss, and deep grief. There is a significant risk that a donor will be perceived as presumptuous if a ‘programme for reconciliation’ is introduced in the midst of trauma and pain, and it is highly probable that the attempt will fail.¹⁶² There is also the risk of putting an obligation for reconciliation on the shoulders of the victim. Furthermore, the word reconciliation has often been ‘hi-jacked’ by the perpetrators and has thereby lost any positive or neutral meaning it may have had ear-

lier.¹⁶³ Or, as discussed above, there might be difficulties with the concept due to the religious connotations it may convey. Which word and what methods are used to embark on a process of reconciliation must evolve from the specific traditions and context of the country. Thus, entering a post-conflict country with a programme for reconciliation may fail on such seemingly simple grounds as terminology. National initiatives are more likely to be fruitful as they originate from the country's specific context regarding all aspects reviewed above, for example religion, culture, and juridical system. Finding and supporting national initiatives that aim for acknowledgement of past suffering and that work to change destructive attitudes and behaviour in former enemies, will promote a process of reconciliation.

II. Planning support for reconciliation should begin with a *conflict analysis* including: the context of the conflict, root causes, consequences (including psychological trauma), and the existence of any initiatives for reconciliation at different levels in society (top-level, middle-range, and grassroots). The phase of gathering information and analysis must be given enough time; it will be the starting point of a very long process and a rushed approach (to both this phase and the longer project of reconciliation) may turn out to be counterproductive. In the analysis, it is also important to determine who is doing what, where, and how.

III. The *timing* of reconciliation initiatives must also be examined in the conflict analysis: when is the time ripe for reconciliation? Although an assessment must be made for each individual case, the following general guideline can be suggested: reconciliation initiatives require that peaceful conditions have become normal in society and that the prospect of renewed violence is remote/sharply reduced.

IV. For countries in transition from conflict to peace, it is important that *different options of how to deal with the past are considered* and creative mixes discussed. For reconciliation, it is important that the past is recognised and acknowledged. There may be little knowledge in the post-conflict country of different ways to face the past (tribunals, truth commissions, experiences of traditional reconciliation-attempts). Donors can help make available "comparative information and expertise ... so that domestic actors are better suited to debate options."¹⁶⁴ There are several international organisations working with such programmes.

V. In countries working with a truth-seeking process, *support governments to provide medical, economic, psychosocial compensation* to those participating. Survivors who have shared their testimony of the past must be justly compensated as it is of great importance for the country as a whole to receive information. Not receiving promised compensation risks doing serious harm to already mistreated persons. Similarly, the staff of truth commissions should receive appropriate psychological support as they repeatedly hear tragic and gruesome accounts. Support national initiatives for how such support should be designed, as this is highly dependent on the country's culture and traditions. For reconciliation, economic justice is crucial. Thus, economic compensation must also reach those who do not take part in a truth commission. Supporting micro finance projects, joint market days, and other economic projects in order to reduce gaps and compensate suffering is thus central for reconciliation.

VI. The work of truth commissions (and other truth-seeking processes aiming at reconciliation) often finishes with a report including recommendations for the future. For reconciliation, it is important that these *recommendations are followed up and implemented*. Development cooperation has an important role in supporting the implementation of the recommendations.

VII. Support the establishment of "*peace media*" in post-conflict societies. This is a middle-range initiative, by some argued to be the most important level to support, having significant influence on all levels in society. Media is a powerful tool that, used wisely, can promote positive processes of reconciliation. Examples discussed above are radio and television broadcasting from truth commissions (national as well as local) and programmes for children aiming at changing prejudice and negative stereotypes and increasing tolerance for 'the other' in segregated societies.

VIII. Development cooperation can also play an important role by supporting the *preservation of documents* from the period of internal conflict, in order to assure that documentation exists in case of a truth-seeking process in the future.

IX. *Cooperation and coordination* among the actors involved in reconciliation processes, both internal and external, is crucial.¹⁶⁵ This factor constantly returns throughout the literature as well as in the accumulated 'best-

practice' from the field. Knowing who does what, where, how, and at what level is imperative for a long-term, efficient planning of reconciliation. There should be cooperation among donors to share information and expertise, and learn from progress and mishaps.

X. The last recommendation seeks to emphasize one important factor: *A successful process of reconciliation in one country can never be imported as a magic formula to another.* Every post-conflict country must find its own way to deal with the past, the present, and the future. It is of great importance that representatives from all levels in society, and women as well as men, are consulted. Donors must be sensitive to the necessary interaction between what is general and what is specific in every instance of a reconciliation process.

Appendix

Websites related to reconciliation

South Africa:

Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation, South Africa:

<http://www.wits.ac.za/csvr/>

The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, South Africa:

<http://www.ijr.org.za>

The official website of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission:

<http://www.doj.gov.za/trc/index.html>

USA:

United States Institute of Peace:

<http://www.usip.org/library/truth.html>

The International Centre for Transitional Justice, NYC, USA:

<http://www.ictj.org/>

Australia:

Reconciliation Australia

<http://www.reconciliation.org.au/>

Rwanda:

Rwanda Healing and Reconciliation Project:

<http://www.heal-reconcile-rwanda.org/>

Stitching Radio Benevolencija/Humanitarian Tools Foundation:

Rwandan Reconciliation Radio:

<http://www.jmw.joods.nl>

International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda:

<http://www.ictt.org/>

The official website of the government of Rwanda:

<http://www.rwanda1.com/government/>

The International Response to Conflict and Genocide: Lessons from the Rwanda Experience (Danida, Danish Ministry of Foreign Affairs):

http://www.um.dk/danida/evalueringsrapporter/1997_rwanda/

Cambodia:

Centre for Social Development, Cambodia:

<http://www.bigpond.com.kh/users/csd/>

The Documentation Center of Cambodia:

<http://welcome.to/dccam>

The Balkans:

Association of Citizens: Truth and Reconciliation, Bosnia-Herzegovina:

<http://www.angelfire.com/bc2/kip/engleski.html>

International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia:

<http://www.un.org/icty/>

United Kingdom:

Aegis Trust: Genocide Prevention Initiative:

<http://www.aegistrust.org/>

Centre for Study of Forgiveness and Reconciliation, Coventry University, UK:

<http://www.coventry-isl.org.uk/forgive/>

INCORE, UK:

<http://www.incore.ulst.ac.uk/>

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Footnotes

- ¹ Approximately 95% of all wars today are intrastate conflicts (see Nils Petter Gleditsch et al., "Armed Conflict 1946–2001: A New Dataset," *Journal of Peace Research* 39, no. 5 (2002).) After internal conflict, the issue of coexistence is of particular concern, as former enemies must live side by side. Peacebuilding after inter-state war involves other questions and complexities. Due to these factors we will in the present study exclusively focus on reconciliation after internal conflict.
- ² Cf. Walter Wink, *Healing a Nation's Wounds: Reconciliation on the Road to Democracy* (Uppsala: Life and Peace Institute, 1996).; Desmond Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*, 1st ed. (New York: Doubleday, 1999).; Priscilla B. Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity* (New York: Routledge, 2001).
- ³ P. Collier and N. Sambanis, "Understanding Civil War – a New Agenda," *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 46, no. 1 (2002): p 5.
- ⁴ Peter Wallensteen et al., *Conflict Prevention through Development Co-Operation*, Research Report No 59 (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, 2001).
- ⁵ Alfred Allan and Marietjie M. Allan, "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a Therapeutic Tool," *Behavioral Sciences and the Law* 18 (2000).
- ⁶ Helen Fein, "Testing Theories Brutally: Armenia (1915), Bosnia (1992) and Rwanda (1994)," in *Studies in Comparative Genocide*, ed. Levon Chorbajian and George Shirinian (London: Macmillan, 1999).
- ⁷ Priscilla B. Hayner, "Commissioning the Truth: Further Research Questions," *Third World Quarterly* 17, no. 1 (1996).
- ⁸ These are: East Timor, Rwanda, Panama, Peru, Sierra Leone, South Korea, Uruguay, Nigeria, Ghana, and the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.
- ⁹ Kjell-Åke Nordquist, "Försoningens Politik: Om Rättvisa, Etik Och Konflikt Efter Inbördeskrig," Unpublished manuscript (2002).
- ¹⁰ Brandon Hamber, "Remembering to Forget: Issues to Consider When Establishing Structures for Dealing with the Past," in *Past Imperfect: Dealing with the Past in Northern Ireland and Societies in Transition*, ed. Brandon Hamber (Derry/Londonderry: INCORE, 1998), p 70.
- ¹¹ Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, p 79.
- ¹² Ibid.
- ¹³ The report can be read at <www.unicef.org/graca>
- ¹⁴ Marie Smythe, "Remembering in Northern Ireland: Victims, Perpetrators and Hierarchies of Pain and Responsibility," in *Past Imperfect: Dealing with the Past in Northern Ireland and Societies in Transition*, ed. Brandon Hamber (Derry/Londonderry: INCORE, 1998), p 45.
- ¹⁵ Daniel Bar-Tal, "From Intractable Conflict through Conflict Resolution to Reconciliation: Psychological Analysis," *Political Psychology* 21, no. 2 (2000).
- ¹⁶ Smythe, "Remembering in Northern Ireland: Victims, Perpetrators and Hierarchies of Pain and Responsibility," p 32.
- ¹⁷ Roberto Cabrera, "Should We Remember? Recovering Historical Memory in Guatemala," in *Past Imperfect: Dealing with the Past in Northern Ireland and Societies in Transition*, ed. Brandon Hamber (Derry/Londonderry: INCORE, 1998), p 27.
- ¹⁸ For reference, see Nigel Biggar, "Making Peace or Doing Justice: Must We Choose?," in *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice after Civil Conflict*, ed. Nigel Biggar (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001), p 7.
- ¹⁹ Ibid. Another interesting reading on the topic is Rajeev Bhargava, "Restoring Decency to Barbaric Societies," in *Truth V. Justice* ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000).
- ²⁰ R. K. Barnhart, *The Barnhart Dictionary of Etymology* (1988), article "reconciliare." This section is based on an earlier publication by the author: Karen Lundwall, "Psychological Aspects of Collective Violence and Reconciliation: A Survey of Current Research," in *The Current Issues-Series #2* (Uppsala: The Centre of Multiethnic Research, Uppsala University, 2001).

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- ²¹ Bonniers Svenska Ordbok (1994), article "försoning."
- ²² Nationalencyclopedia (1992), article "försoning." (Author's translation.)
- ²³ The Bible, 2. Cor. 5:19.
- ²⁴ C Tatz, "Genocide and the Politics of Memory," in *Genocide Perspectives I: Essays in Comparative Genocide*, ed. C Tatz (Sydney: Centre for Comparative Genocide Studies, Macquarie University, 1997), p 310.
- ²⁵ Kevin Avruch and Beatriz Vejarano, "Truth and Reconciliation Commissions: A Review Essay and Annotated Bibliography," *The Online Journal of Peace and Conflict Resolution* 4, no. 2 (2002).
- ²⁶ Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, p 155.
- ²⁷ Ibid.
- ²⁸ Brandon Hamber and Hugo van der Merwe, "What Is This Thing Called Reconciliation?" (paper presented at the Goedgeacht Forum Cape Town, 1998). <<http://www.wits.ac.za/csvr/articles/artcrb&h.htm>>.
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- ³⁰ Personal communication with Professor Daniel Bar-Tal, Dec.1, 2000.
- ³¹ Daniel Bar-Tal, speech held at the "Stockholm International Forum: Truth, Justice and Reconciliation", April 23–24, 2002.
- ³² Ibid.
- ³³ Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, p 161.
- ³⁴ John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997), p 30.
- ³⁵ Ibid.
- ³⁶ Hugo van der Merwe, "The Truth and Reconciliation Commission and Community Reconciliation: An Analysis of Competing Strategies and Conceptualizations" (George Mason University, 1999).
- ³⁷ William J. Long and Peter Brecke, "Civil War and Reconciliation: Emotion and Reason in Conflict Resolution," (2002). William J. Long and Peter Brecke, *War and Reconciliation: Reason and Emotion in Conflict Resolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 2003).
- ³⁸ Maria Ericson, *Reconciliation and the Search for a Shared Moral Landscape: An Exploration Based Upon a Study of Northern Ireland and South Africa* (Frankfurt am Main; New York: P. Lang, 2001).
- ³⁹ Ibid., p 85 for references to Galtung.
- ⁴⁰ David Bloomfield, "Reconciliation: An Introduction," in *Reconciliation after Violent Conflict: A Handbook*, ed. David Bloomfield (Stockholm: International IDEA, 2003), p 4.
- ⁴¹ Johan Galtung, "After Violence, Reconstruction, Reconciliation, and Resolution: Coping with Visible and Invisible Effects," in *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*, ed. Mohammed Abu-Nimer (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001).
- ⁴² Louis Kriesberg, "Changing Forms of Coexistence," in *Reconciliation, Justice, and Coexistence: Theory and Practice*, ed. Mohammed Abu-Nimer (Lanham, Maryland: Lexington Books, 2001).
- ⁴³ Hizkias Assefa, "The Meaning of Reconciliation," in *People Building Peace: 35 Inspiring Stories from around the World*, ed. Paul van Tongeren (Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 1999).
- ⁴⁴ For example see Nigel Biggar, *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice after Civil Conflict* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001), Raymond G. Helmick and Rodney Lawrence Petersen, *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy & Conflict Transformation* (Philadelphia: Templeton Foundation Press, 2001), John Paul Lederach, *The Journey toward Reconciliation* (Scottsdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1999), Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*.
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- ⁴⁸ Martha Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1998). Colleen Scott, "Thoughts on Reconciliation and Reality," in *People Building Peace: 35 Inspiring Stories from around the World*, ed. Paul van Tongeren (Utrecht: European Centre for Conflict Prevention, 1999). Ludvig Igra, speech held at the "Stockholm International Forum: Truth, Justice and Reconciliation", April 23–24, 2002.
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- ⁵⁰ Minow, *Between Vengeance and Forgiveness: Facing History after Genocide and Mass Violence*, p 17.
- ⁵¹ Ericson, *Reconciliation and the Search for a Shared Moral Landscape: An Exploration Based Upon a Study of Northern Ireland and South Africa*, p 449.
- ⁵² Tuomas Forsberg, "The Philosophy and Practice of Dealing with the Past: Some Conceptual and Normative Issues," in *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice after Civil Conflict*, ed. Nigel Biggar (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2001), p 60.
- ⁵³ Amy Gutmann and Dennis Thompson, "The Moral Foundations of Truth Commissions," in *Truth V. Justice*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), p 31.
- ⁵⁴ David A. Crocker, "Truth Commissions, Transitional Justice, and Civil Society," in *Truth V. Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson (Princeton and Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2000), p 108.
- ⁵⁵ Gutmann and Thompson, "The Moral Foundations of Truth Commissions," p 31.
- ⁵⁶ Bhargava, "Restoring Decency to Barbaric Societies," p 61.
- ⁵⁷ Stanley S Harakas, "Forgiveness & Reconciliation: An Orthodox Perspective," in *Forgiveness and Reconciliation: Religion, Public Policy & Conflict Transformation*, ed. Raymond G. Helmick and Rodney Lawrence Petersen (Philadelphia: Templeton Foundation Press, 2001).
- ⁵⁸ Biggar, "Making Peace or Doing Justice: Must We Choose?," p 17.
- ⁵⁹ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁰ Since 1997, the UN has worked for the establishment of an ad hoc international criminal tribunal in Cambodia for the Khmer Rouge period (1975–1979). Due to differing views between the UN and the Cambodian Government of how such a tribunal should be composed, none has been established to date. However, there are several nongovernmental organisations working for documentation of the genocide, justice and reconciliation in Cambodia, for example the Yale University based Cambodian Genocide Program, the Documentation Centre of Cambodia, and the Centre for Social Development.
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- ⁶² Starken, *Working for Reconciliation: A Caritas Handbook*, p 78.
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- ⁶⁴ Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*.
- ⁶⁵ Starken, *Working for Reconciliation: A Caritas Handbook*, pp 78–84.
- ⁶⁶ Barbara F. Walter, "Does Conflict Beget Conflict? Explaining Recurring Civil War," (2002).
- ⁶⁷ For reference see Collier and Sambanis, "Understanding Civil War – a New Agenda," p 8.
- ⁶⁸ *Ibid.*
- ⁶⁹ Alex Boraine was deputy chair of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission 1995–1998. The quote is from his introductory speech at the "Stockholm International Forum: Truth, Justice and Reconciliation", April 23–24, 2002.

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- ⁷⁰ Robert I. Rotberg, "Truth Commissions and the Provision of Truth, Justice, and Reconciliation," in *Truth V Justice: The Morality of Truth Commissions*, ed. Robert I. Rotberg and Dennis Thompson (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 2000), p 12.
- ⁷¹ Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, p 170.
- ⁷² *Ibid.*, pp 170–82.
- ⁷³ Peter Digeser, *Political Forgiveness* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2001), p 14.
- ⁷⁴ Long and Brecke, *War and Reconciliation: Reason and Emotion in Conflict Resolution*.
- ⁷⁵ Bo Andersson, "Försoning För Att Kunna Börja Om: Svenska Kyrkan, Sveriges Samer Och Uppgörelsen Med Det Förgångna [Reconciliation in Order to Begin Again: The Swedish Church, Swedens Saami, and the Settlement of the Past]," in *Samhällets Demokratiska Värdegrund: En Fråga Om Mångfald, Olikhet Men Lika Värde [the Democratic Values of Society: A Question of Multiplicity, Difference but Equal Value]*, ed. Bo Andersson (Göteborg: Värdegrunden, 2000).
- ⁷⁶ Hayner, *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocity*, p 17.
- ⁷⁷ Hamber, "Remembering to Forget: Issues to Consider When Establishing Structures for Dealing with the Past," p 57.
- ⁷⁸ Lone & Montgomery Jakobsen, Edith, "Treatment of Victims of Torture," in *An End to Torture: Strategies for Its Eradication*, ed. Bertil Dunér (New York: Zed Books, 1998).
- ⁷⁹ Daniel J. Christie, Richard V. Wagner, and Deborah Du Nann Winter, *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century* (Upper Saddle River, N.J.: Prentice Hall, 2001), Brandon Hamber, "Conclusion: A Truth Commission for Northern Ireland?," in *Past Imperfect: Dealing with the Past in Northern Ireland and Societies in Transition*, ed. Brandon Hamber (Derry/Londonderry: INCORE, 1998), p 84.
- ⁸⁰ Cheryl de la Rey and Ingrid Owens, "Perceptions of Psychosocial Healing and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa," *Peace and Conflict: Journal of Peace Psychology* 4, no. 3 (1998).
- ⁸¹ Alfred Allan, "Truth and Reconciliation: A Psycholegal Perspective," *Ethnicity and Health* 5, no. 3–4 (2000).
- ⁸² *Ibid.*: p 198.
- ⁸³ Leslie Swartz and Gerard Drennan, "The Cultural Construction of Healing in the Truth and Reconciliation Commission: Implications for Mental Health Practice," *Ethnicity and Health* 5, no. 3–4 (2000).
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- ⁸⁵ Allan and Allan, "The South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission as a Therapeutic Tool."
- ⁸⁶ Dirk Kotzé, "Reviews: Truth Commissions and Formulas," *International Studies Reviews* 4, no. 1 (2002).
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- ⁸⁸ Rama Mani, *Beyond Retribution: Seeking Justice in the Shadows of War* (Cambridge, UK
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- ¹²⁴ Mary B. Anderson, *Do No Harm: How Aid Can Support Peace—or War* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999), p 23.
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- ¹²⁸ The judgements are based on legal provisions similar to the 1996 genocide law, with life imprisonment as the longest sentence. "However, half of the penal terms will be served in community service instead of in prison," said Fergus Kerrigan, Danish Centre for Human Rights, at the Conference on Truth, Justice and Reconciliation in Stockholm, April, 2002.
- ¹²⁹ Personal communication with Thomas Kjellson, Programme Officer, Division for Democratic Governance, Sida, November 22, 2002.
- ¹³⁰ More information can be found on the project's website: <http://www.heal-reconcile-rwanda.org/>
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- ¹⁵⁰ John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty, "Conclusion: The Management of Peace," in *The Management of Peace Processes*, ed. John Darby and Roger Mac Ginty (London: Macmillan Press, 2000), p 260.
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- ¹⁵⁵ Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies*, p 84.
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- ¹⁵⁸ This discussion is based on the following definition of conflict resolution: "a process by which the primary parties to a conflict voluntarily and formally agree to either dissolve the incompatibility or live with it without resorting to armed violence," Thomas Ohlson, "Power Politics and Peace Policies: Intra-State Conflict Resolution in Southern Africa" (Uppsala University, 1998), p 32. According to this definition, conflict resolution is focused on the incompatibility at hand and the time period around a peace agreement. Conflict resolution can be seen as a wider concept but definitions similar to Ohlson's are commonly used, see for example Peter Wallensteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution: War, Peace and the Global System* (London: Sage Publications, 2002), p 50.
- ¹⁵⁹ Thomas Ohlson and Mimmi Söderberg, "From Intra-State War to Democratic Peace in Weak States," (Uppsala: Department of Peace and Conflict Research, 2002), p 15.
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- ¹⁶¹ Personal communication with Peter Wallensteen, January 14, 2003.
- ¹⁶² Personal communication with Mary B. Anderson, September 5, 2002.
- ¹⁶³ This was for example seen in Latin America where reconciliation came to signify that one should forget the past and move on. Personal communication with Priscilla Hayner, September 2, 2002.
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