The Coexistence Chronicle

"Creating a world safe for difference"

A PEACE PROPOSAL FOR THE MIDDLE EAST | Johan Galtung and Dietrich Fischer

An Israeli proverb states, "The only way to get rid of your enemies is to make them your friends!" As destruction and violence escalate in the Middle East, it is apparent that this is not happening.

Israel is essentially ruled by the military and offers the electorate a choice of generals with limited agendas. Israeli violence and intransigence may lead to a mobilization of resistance and struggle in the Arab and Muslim worlds.

The Palestinian leadership has also made mistakes. However, the focus should not be on allocating blame, but on offering better alternatives. In an effort to assess the conflict in the Middle East, this article examines two models that were used to end protracted conflicts elsewhere.

Highly motivated volunteers willing to enter this struggle are in unlimited supply. At some point, this may include some Israeli Arabs (18% of the Israeli population) and it may lead to a massive non-violent struggle.

Israel is currently in the most dangerous period of its history: it is increasingly militarist and isolated as it continues to engage in unwinnable wars. Consequently, it is susceptible to more violence, non-violent resistance, and boycotts. In addition, the value of its moral capital is slowly declining in the United States and internationally.

Israel is becoming a liability for the United States economically, militarily, and politically.

At the economic level, access to Arab oil and

trade with oil-rich countries is important for the United States, and the Arab countries may no longer be willing to see the United States as an impartial third party.

Politically, Israel is a liability to the United States in the United Nations and the European Union, and NATO allies may not legitimize Israel's violent intervention in Palestine. At some point, the United States may choose between an agreement and supporting a losing bid as it did with the Shah of Iran and President Marcos of the Philippines.

Sooner or later, there will be a shift in United States support and the United States will make support conditional on concessions, in the same way it joined other countries in imposing economic sanctions on South Africa.

Boycotts of Israel and pressure to disinvest may emerge. An economic boycott of Israel may be initiated by nongovernmental organizations, followed by local authorities and then national governments. As in South Africa, such a boycott may be more important at the moral level rather than the economic level.

The Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation held in 1973-75 may provide a framework for a Conference on Security and Cooperation in the Middle East. This conference would include all parties and issues; allow for sufficient time for discussion; and address the conflict between Israel and the Palestinians and that between the Iraqis and Kurds. This conference could have a regional chair, for example Jordan's King Abdullah.



Johan Galtung (above), Director, TRANSCEND, and Dietrich Fischer, Professor, Pace University

"... the focus should not be on allocating blame, but on offering better alternatives."



The agenda could address the possibility of a nuclear weapons-free zone in the Middle East with permanent and effective verification; strict implementation of the treaties banning biological and chemical weapons; a UN peacekeeping operation organized in cooperation with the Arab League; better ways to monitor and protect human rights in the region; and effective ways to reduce gross economic inequality.

A second option may be an examination of mutual benefits. This approach helped end the century-old hostility between Germany and France after World War II, and thawed the US-China relationship in the early 1970s. Issues of mutual benefit include: the optimal management of scarce water resources, oil policy, and a Middle East common market.

Additional points to be discussed could include the promotion of citizen to citizen contacts, without supervision from governments (per-

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LAND & POLITICS: A RECIPE FOR COMMUNITY DISCORD | Wairagala Wakabi



"Recently...land has been used as a tool to polarize communities, ethnic groups, and races."

> Wairagala Wakabi, Journalist

Over the past several decades, most African leaders have been hostile to alternative views and have favored violence as a means to resolve conflict. As a result, much of the continent has grappled with the adverse effects of civil war and economic stagnation in the post-independence period.

Historically, government harassment has targeted those that espouse political or religious views that differ from those of the government. Recently, however, land has been used as a tool to polarize communities, ethnic groups, and

races. This is different from traditional African society where land was a communal resource and violence was the last resort in resolving disputes.

This article will examine areas in which land has been, and in some cases is still being, used to divide nations.

Malawi. Malawi may be the latest country in which land is being used as a catalyst for confrontation. Four years ago, a law was passed that denied foreigners the right to own land in the country. The Asian community declared that this law was targeted at them. They charged that the government made it difficult for them to acquire Malawian citizenship and constrained their participation in government. Today, due to this new law, some Asians stand to lose ownership of land that they have inherited from over 100 years of occupation.

As a response to the Asian's charge, Mr. Thengo Maloya, the Minister of Lands, called the

Asian community arrogant and accused them of having exploited Malawians for a long time.

Zimbabwe. The case of Malawi is similar to that of Zimbabwe, where over the past two years, President Robert Mugabe has grabbed land from whites and redistributed it to landless blacks. As a result of British colonialism, whites constitute 1% of Zimbabwe's population of 12.9 million, but own up to 80% of the best agricultural land.

Mugabe's handling of the redistribution has been denounced by a number of African nations including Botswana, Mozambique, Lesotho, Zambia, and South Africa.

South Africa. South Africa is facing similar problems and, "is very uneasy about the way Mugabe is handling this issue," said Joe Ascroft, Professor Emeritus at the University of Iowa, a Malawian national who owns property in Zimbabwe.

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HUMAN RIGHTS AND HUMILIATION | Evelin Gerda Lindner



"To be humiliated is to be placed, against your will and often in a hurtful way, in a situation that is lower than your expectations."

Dr. Evelin Gerda Lindner, Researcher, University of Oslo

Regional conflicts are often treated as if they exist in a vacuum, independent of their environment. This article attempts to view the increase in regional conflicts through the lens of globalization.

Human Rights and Globalization. Human rights, the ideals that extend dignity to all humankind, place human beings on an equal level. The idea that boundaries between countries are being erased, that we live in a global village, has at its center the concept of human rights.

The visualization of the world as a village, where we are all equal, can change the way in which we talk about our world, it eliminates the distinction between in-groups (us) and outgroups (them). Words that we used to distinguish between groups (such as *enemies, wars*, and

soldiers, as well as they and us) lose their meaning once we see ourselves as being in a single village. There are no imperial enemies threatening from outside because there is no outside; likewise, there is no they because there is only one us. The word enemy, which signifies an outside threat, loses its significance together with the notion of outside, as do words such as wars and soldiers. In the village, we talk about good neighbors and bad neighbors. We no longer need soldiers to defend us from the outside—we need police to safeguard peace.

Peace in the village is actualized when all inhabitants live together without resorting to violence. We move away from the word *enemy* to the word *terrorist*—inner enemies that represent the very bad neighbor.

Globalization and Hierarchies. What is the power structure in the global village? On one hand, some people may be less valuable and others more valuable. Alternately, all people may deserve the same respect and equal chances. This second future is entrenched in the concept of human rights—everybody is entitled to a dignified life.

The notion of human rights can coexist with hierarchies. However, the hierarchies must recognize participants as possessing equal dignity. If it does not, egalitarianism cannot exist.

Currently, although the global village espouses the rhetoric of human rights, the reality is different. There are groups that are made to feel inferior to others. Some people are treated like underlings and they feel humiliated by oppressors and by people who lie to them and raise hopes that are not fulfilled. For example, when the poor from developing countries seek to live without humiliation—to have access to resources and opportunities, to be seen as equal human beings—by moving to the West, they are turned back. When poor nations seek to reach fair global rules and regulations through international treaties, their efforts are blocked.

Humiliation is the forced lowering of a person or group, a process of subjugation that damages or strips away pride, honor, and/or dignity. To be humiliated is to be placed, against your will and often in a hurtful way, in a situation that is lower than your expectations. At its core is the idea of pinning or putting down. One of the defining characteristics of humiliating is that the victim is forced into passivity, acted upon, made helpless.

Humiliation can stem from an action, inaction, (Continued on page 6)

TCI'S WEBSITE HAS A NEW LOOK!

The Coexistence Initiative (TCI) is proud to announce our revised website.

NEW SECTIONS INCLUDE:

PROJECTS

Search projects that are currently being undertaken by Coexistence Network Partners. Or, submit a description of a project that you or your organization is undertaking.

(Click on Coexistence Resource Center and on Projects)

REQUESTS

This section enables Coexistence Network Partners to post requests (for example: requests for partners, assistance, and support). Like the Projects Page, this section is also searchable.

(Click on Coexistence Resource Center and on Requests)

THE COEXISTENCE CENTER - UGANDA

This section contains information on Center projects and will soon provide a web presence for Coexistence Network Partners in the region who do not have Internet access. (Click on Coexistence Center - Uganda)

NEW FEATURES INCLUDE:

ADVANCED SEARCHES

This new feature enables you to search multiple keywords and categories for materials and Coexistence Network Partners.

WONDERING WHAT IS IN THE COEXISTENCE RESOURCE CENTER?

Coexistence Network Partners - TCI's growing international Coexistence Network of individuals and organizations working to promote tolerance and to prevent and/or resolve conflict.

Events - A listing of coexistence-related events taking place internationally.

Awards - A listing of available honors given to individuals and/or organizations that have done outstanding work in the coexistence field.

Fellowships and Jobs - Funding available for the study and/or research of coexistence-related issues as well as online sources providing job postings in organizations working in coexistence. **Materials** - A listing of resources such as manuals, tapes, videos, posters, or guides related to coexistence.

Reading - A listing of reading material, e.g. newsletters and publication lists related to coexistence.

Education and Training - Opportunities for instruction in coexistence-related topics.

Requests - A lists of requests from individuals and organizations.

Projects - A searchable database of Coexistence Network Partner projects.

Campaigns - Efforts advocating or campaigning for various coexistence-related agendas.

DOWNLOADABLE DOCUMENTS

Download the most recent *Coexistence Notice-board* and *The Coexistence Chronicle*, as well as TCI meeting and workshop reports.

DIRECT SUBSCRIPTIONS

You can now join our mailing list directly from our website. In addition, forms to join the Coexistence Network are available on the website.

(Click on Join Our Mailing List and on Coexistence Network)

WANT TO FIND OUT MORE? - Visit www.coexistence.net

CAN'T FIND WHAT YOU ARE LOOK-ING FOR? - Contact us at info@coexistence.net.

The revision of our website was made possible by generous support from the **Threshold Foundation** and the **Alan B. Slifka Foundation**.

NEW COEXISTENCE NETWORK PARTNERS

Pauline Silver Acayo Sr., Assistant Administrator, Catholic Relief Service, Uganda Program, Gulu, Uganda

Bulen Acma, Assistant Professor, Anadolu University, Eskisehir, Turkey

Alex Godfrey Atine, Community Development Facilitator, World Vision International, Gulu Area Development Program, Gulu, Uganda.

Sikander Brohi, Research Coordinator, Shaheed Zulifkar Ali Bhutto Institute of Science and Technology, Karachi, Pakistan

Flor María Díaz Chalarca, Centro de Recursos Integrales para la Familia, Medellín, Colombia

Jane Chesher, Social Analyst, Balmain, East Australia

Jennifer Dodoo, Commission on Human Rights and Administrative Justice, Accra, Ghana

Uche Wisdom Durueke Esq., Executive Director, Centre for Development, Constitutionalism

and Peace Advocacy, Owerri, Imo State, Nigeria Hawaa El-Tayeb, Liaison Officer, Department of Peacekeeping Operations, New York, USA

Sachi Feris, New York, USA

Grover Gauntt, III, New York, USA Garry Gehyigon, Costale, Italy

Sara Green, New York, USA

Sandy Heierbacher, Director, The Dialogue to Action Initiative, Brattleboro, USA

Noe Alberto Jose, Assistant, Angolan Council of Christian Church, Luanda, Angola

Romano Longole, Coordinator, Kotido Peace Initiative, Kampala, Uganda

Isabel Ortiz, Director, Fundacion Muyer y Futuro, Bucaramanga, Colombia

Liliana Pagu, President, Women's Association of Romania (Asociatia Femeilor din Romania), Bucharest, Rumania

Martha Pattillo-Siv, Sector Information Officer,

Education, The World Bank, Washington, USA **Janis Rungulis**, Riga, Latvia

Dodarbek Saidaliev, Director, Sudmand, Kulob, Tajikistan

Eva Sebba, Nabbuto, Facilitator, Akina Mama Wa Africa, Kampala, Uganda

Michael Tewolde, Coordinator, Catholic Relief Services, Gulu, Uganda

Barbara Tint, Assistant Director, Portland State University, Portland, USA

Jack Weleya, Oballim, Education Secretary, Church of Uganda, Gulu, Uganda

Adeela Zubair, President, Peace Revival Association of Youth, Islamabad, Pakistan

For a copy of the Coexistence Network Partner Directory please contact TCI or visit our website at www.coexistence.net and click on Coexistence Network.

NEWS FROM THE COEXISTENCE INITIATIVE

DIALOGUE IN UGANDA



Daisy Muculezi presenting at the *Prospects for Partnership* networking dialogue.

On July 12, 2002, the Coexistence Center - Uganda (CC - U) held its first networking dialogue, *Coexistence Center - Uganda: Prospects for Partnership.* This forum, aimed at stakeholders and practitioners in the coexistence field, discussed ways in which they can work together to foster coexistence in Uganda. Participants included representatives from NGOs, security organizations, the donor community, the government, and the media. Mr. James Odong (*Coexistence Network Partner*), a Program Officer at World Vision International-Uganda, chaired the meeting.

NETWORKING FOR COEXISTENCE



On September 12, 2002, The Coexistence Initiative (TCI) and the Center for War, Peace and the News Media co-sponsored the fourth session of the discussion series, Knowledge and Need: Addressing the Information Divide. This session, Networking for Coexistence: Using Linkages to Build Peace, featured Paul van Tongeren (Executive Director of the European Centre for Conflict Prevention and TCI Board member) and Jeffery Huffines (Representative to the United Nations, National Spiritual Assembly of the Bahá'ís of the US).

COEXISTENCE WITH THE POLICE

On September 27, 2002, CC - U hosted a dialogue entitled, Coexistence with the Police: Partner-

ship with the Community in Fighting Violence Against Women and Children. This dialogue was geared towards community leaders, the youth, and women interested in forging partnerships between the community and the police. Hellen K. Alyek (Coexistence Network Partner), the Officer in Charge of the Child and Family Protection Unit, in Kampala facilitated the discussion.

TCI PARTNERSHIP

TCI joined numerous groups in partnering with the National Conference on Dialogue & Deliberation. This grassroots initiative emerged out of a need for dialogue and deliberation practitioners to share strategies, to experience one another's models, and to help mold the future of the dialogue process. The conference (which was held October 4-6, 2002) brought together dialogue leaders in a welcoming, respectful, and informal atmosphere in order to work towards the following goals: defining and clarifying their work and their field; knowledge-building and sharing information; building skills; networking; and initiating collaborative projects. It provided dialogue and deliberation practitioners with the opportunity to learn about and experience a variety of dialogue models. At the same time, it helped ensure, develop, and strengthen the future of the dialogue process and the dialogue community.

NEW PROGRAM OFFICER

Sarah Peterson joined TCI as the **Program Officer for Dialogue and Mainstreaming Coexistence.** She replaced Pia Chaudhari who left TCI to continue her studies.

In this position, Sarah will focus on the following projects: Military and Coexistence, the

lowing projects: Military and Coexistence, the Coexistence Index, and Coexistence Education (for further details please visit our website and click on TCI Programs).

Sarah has worked extensively in the fields of coexistence and development. Prior to TCI, she worked as a Program Associate at Search for Common Ground, promoting cooperative problem solving in and among organizations, communities, and individuals around the world. In addition, Sarah also worked for the Organization for the Security and Cooperation in Europe in the Balkans and the World Bank in Latin America, where she helped local communities build a framework for peace and reconciliation as well as lay the groundwork for regional stabilization and democratic reform. Sarah holds a Masters of International Affairs

from the School of International and Public Affairs (SIPA) at Columbia University and a BA from Oberlin College.

MEETING REPORTS AVAILABLE FROM TCI

Fostering Dialogue After 9/11: Changes, Opportunities, and Lessons Learned - April 2002

Military Peace Operations and the Conflict Resolution/Peacebuilding Field - July 2002



Participants at the event, Military Peace Operations and the Conflict Resolution/Peacebuilding
Field (July 25, 2002)

These reports can be downloaded from our website (click on TCI Publications and on Reports). To receive a hardcopy, contact us.

BUILDING COEXISTENCE

TCI recently received funding from the Threshold Foundation to carry out the project Building Coexistence After September 11th: Resources for Dialogue, Peacebuilding, and Tolerance. The project will have two distinct components: an information clearinghouse and reflective meetings.

Information clearinghouse. TCI, together with the organization *Transforming Violence*, is collecting and classifying the many valuable resources developed in response to the events of September 11th, and posting them on the TCI website. In addition, TCI will identify where gaps exist.

Reflective meetings. TCI will provide practitioners in the coexistence field with the opportunity for a meaningful, critical, yet constructive discussion on coexistence post-September 11th. (To submit information please visit our website and click on Building Coexistence.)

COEXISTENCE NETWORK PARTNER NEWS

PUBLICATIONS

The Center for Conflict Resolution (CECORE), the Africa Peace Forum, Saferworld, International Alert, and the Forum for Early Warning Emergency Response (FEWER) have developed a draft resource pack on Peace and Conflict Impact Assessment (PCIA). The resource pack aims to collate and assess existing tools and approaches developed by national governments, donor agencies, local and international NGOs, as well as civil society organizations. The goal of the pack is to mainstream conflict sensitive practices into the design, planning, implementation, monitoring, and evaluation of development and humanitarian assistance. (Stella Sabiiti/Rose Othieno, CECORE, PO Box 5211, Kampala, Uganda. cecore@africaonline.co.ug, www.cecore.org. Elizabeth Mutunga, Africa Peace Forum, kilenem@africaonline.co.ke. Celine Moyroud, Saferworld/International Alert/FEWER, moyroud@africaonline.co.ke)

Moses Musana, Chairperson, Always Be Tolerant (ABETO), and other stakeholders, have developed a peace education syllabus. The syllabus—which targets pupils and students from pre-primary to tertiary educational institutions—was developed in consultation with the Ministry of Education and Sports. It was launched in August at the Bweyogerere Progressive Secondary School in Kampala, Uganda. (ABETO, PO Box 23180, Kampala, Uganda. T: 256-41-7180 3105, musanam@yahoo.com)

The Collaborative for Development Action will post an online draft of the findings from Phase II of the Reflecting Peace Practice Project. Interested individuals are invited to visit the website, read, review, and respond to this draft. Feedback will be incorporated into the final publication which will be available in December. (Kristin Doughty, Project Associate, Collaborative for Development Action, 26 Walker Street, Cambridge, MA 02138, USA. T: 1-617-661 6310, F: 1-617-661 3805, kdoughty@cdainc.com, www.cdainc.com)

Dr. Ruth Firer, Director, Peace Education Projects and Senior Researcher, Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace in the Hebrew University, together with Prof. Adwan (University of Beith Lehem), is completing comparative research on the narrative of the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians in the textbooks of both nations. The conclusions of this research will be implemented in the project *Learning to Live Together*, which is based on bringing teaching units of peace education information and teaching methods into Israeli and Palestinian classes. (The Harry S. Truman Institute for the Advancement of Peace, The Hebrew University, Mount Scopus, Jerusalem, 91905, Israel. T: 972-2-588 2301, F: 972-2-582 8076, msfirer@mscc.huji.ac.il)

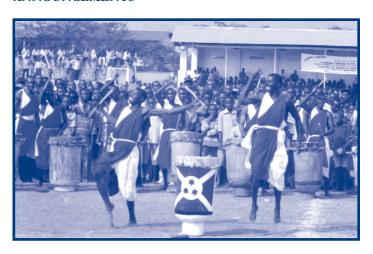
PROJECTS

The Information and Education Center - Manizha's mission is to assist in building democratic, civil society in Tajikistan by implementing education and information programs. In August 2002 they conducted the *Empowering Education Project*, a two-week summer camp for fifty students. The project is supported by the Soros Foundation. (Alisher Rahmonberdiev, Director, IEC, Manizha 34 Huseynzoda Street, 4th Floor, Dushanbe, 734025, Tajikistan. T: 992-372-233 058/213 711, iec_manizha@tojikiston.com)

The Jerusalem Center for Women and Bat Shalom are planning to build an international women's network for peace, the Women's Interna-

tional Peace Activist Network (WIPAN). This initiative is considered a first step towards a comprehensive local and international women's network for peace. (Amneh Badran, Jerusalem Center for Women, PO Box 51630, Jerusalem, Israel. T: 972-2-234 7068, F: 972-2-234 7069, jcw@palnet.com.)

ANNOUNCEMENTS



Search for Common Ground (SFCG) was awarded the Cultures of Peace Award by Psychologists for Social Responsibility in August. It cited SFCG's "creativity and effectiveness in transforming conflict from adversarial approaches to cooperative solutions in individuals, organizations and governments."

Burundi. In July, SFCG organized the *Sangwe Festival*, a historic four-day cultural event for peace and reconciliation. It brought together over 500 Burundian artists and 10,000 spectators. Embodying the important role of performing artists in the country's efforts to achieve peaceful coexistence, the Festival brought together Hutu and Tutsi artists from Burundi and its diaspora in Africa, Europe, and the US.

<u>Ukraine</u>. On July 21, the Ukrainians, Russians, and Crimean Tatars, took part in a discussion in Crimea facilitated by the Ukrainian Centre for Common Ground, regarding the peninsula's ethnic conflict. The meeting started with statements of positions and demands, and ended with discussions on cooperative efforts on tangible problems, such as water supply and land.

<u>United States</u>. The US Senate Appropriations Committee has approved funding of \$1,000,000 for fiscal year 2003 for the United States Consensus Council (USCC), a proposed private entity to assist Congress in finding consensus-based solutions to important national policy issues. Since early 2001, SFCG-USA has coordinated efforts, with state-level consensus-building organizations, to create the USCC. (SFCG, 1601 Connecticut Ave, NW, #200, Washington, DC 20009, USA. T: 1-202-265 4300, F: 1-202-232 6718, sfcg@sfcg.org, www.sfcg.org)

The City Monstessori in Lucknow India was awarded the 2002 UNESCO Prize for Peace Education. The honor was given to City Montessori School "in recognition of its efforts to promote the universal values of education for peace and tolerance...at a time when these values and principles are increasingly being challenged." (Bharti Gandhi, 12, Station Road, Lucknow 226001, India. T: 91-522-638 606, F: 91-522-638 008, bgandhi@cmseducation.org, www.cmseducation.org)

(Continued on page 7)

LAND AND COEXISTENCE IN AFRICA (Cont'd from page 2)

As in Zimbabwe, white settlers from Europe appropriated large tracts of land from black South Africans in the 18th and 19th centuries, and kept blacks largely landless under apartheid. Despite the end of apartheid and the election of a black-led government the land issue remains unresolved.

Ascroft says South Africa is worried that its landless black population may copy the trend in Zimbabwe, a move that would seriously strain industrial and agricultural production, as well as the country's stability. In mid-September, the South African newspaper *Business Report* stated that President Thabo Mbeki's government was planning to transfer 26 million hectares—a third of all agricultural land now held by white farmers—to landless black communities by 2015.

The causes of land redistribution are complex. In the case of Zimbabwe, although both whites and blacks agree that land reform is overdue, there are worries that the government has put political interests before land reform and security.

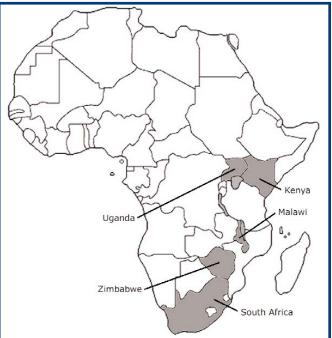
Critics charge that Mugabe started the farm invasion when his countrymen rejected a proposal to give him wide-ranging political powers in a February 2002 referendum. He also faced serious opposition in parliamentary and presidential elections. To many, Mugabe wanted to divert attention from the political challenges he—and his party—faced by fomenting clashes in areas where he had limited support.

Many observers agree that Mugabe has botched his country's land reform program, and the economic and political consequences have been severe.

In Malawi, President Bakili Muluzi is contemplating awarding himself an unconstitutional third term; while in Kenya, land-based conflicts materialized in the run-up to the 1992 and 1997 elections and hundreds of people were killed. In addition, the ethnic clashes that erupted in Isiolo this past September leaving 14 people dead and over 3,000 displaced, should be viewed in light of the upcoming elections.

The consequences of land redistribution can

be violent. In Zimbabwe, whites have been beaten and forced off their farms, even when they have court injunctions blocking confiscation of their farms.



In addition, Mugabe has lashed out at the media. The editors and journalists of *The Daily News*—the country's only independent English daily—have been imprisoned and its printing press bombed. Foreign journalists have been accused of biased reporting and are now required to apply to the country's Ministry of

Information for permission to work.

Uganda has seen a rise in intolerance for different ethnicities which has surfaced in com-

munities forcefully resisting attempts by those from other ethnicities to buy land and settle among them. In this case, the government had to provide armed security to guard settler communities in the eastern Teso region. In the western district of Kibaale the government convinced an elected district chairman and a member of a settler ethnic group to stand down from office when the native community threatened trouble.

There is no winner in these situations. Any intolerance based on differences in race, religion, or ethnicity is short-sighted and costly. All sections of society need to be educated on the roots of conflicts and the importance of coexistence even if they feel that their own interests may be compromised.

Wairagala Wakabi is a Staff Writer with The EastAfrican, a weekly newspaper published in Kenya. He is also the General Secretary of the Great Lakes Peace Network, a network of development workers, journalists, and lawyers from Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. (T: 256-77-406 241, wakabi@avu.org, n@tbwt.com.)

HUMILIATION (Cont'd from page 2)

or misunderstandings based on personal and/or cultural misperceptions. It can also be caused by actions intended as good. Humiliation can lead to depression, anger, and a need for revenge.

Indeed, the concept of human rights intensifies feelings of humiliation, because any deprivation or inequality that was legitimate before—as God's will or the order of nature—is now deemed illegitimate.

As ironical as it may sound, the increased feelings of humiliation can be interpreted as a success of human rights teachings.

Dr. Evelin Gerda Lindner is a cross-cultural social psychologist with broad international experience. Since 1997 she has been a researcher in conflict theory at the Institute of Psychology at the University of Oslo. She is affiliated with the Maison des Sciences in Paris and the the International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution (ICCCR) at Teachers College, Columbia University, New York.

For more information on this article contact Dr. Lindner at: The University of Oslo, Institute of Psychology, PO Box 1094, Blindern, N-0317, Oslo, Norway. T: 47-91-789 296, e.g.lindner@psykologi.uio.no, http://folk.uio.no/evelinl

A PEACE PROPOSAL FOR THE MIDDLE EAST (Cont'd from cover page)

sonal contacts played an important role in bringing about an end to the Cold War as they made Gorbachev's reforms possible and led to the downfall of the Berlin Wall).

The following 10-point peace package may provide a path for a peace plan in the Middle East:

- 1. Palestine is recognized as a state following UN Security Council Resolutions 242 and 338, with a return to the borders of June 4, 1967 with some land exchanges;
- 2. East Jerusalem becomes the capital of Palestine, and the two neighboring capitals in Jerusalem—a holy site for Judaism, Christianity, and Islam—become a city confederation and host to major regional, UN, and ecumenical institutions;
- 3. A Middle East Community is created, with Israel, Palestine, Egypt, Jordan, Lebanon, and Syria as full members with water, arms, trade regimes based on multilateral consensus—and an Organization for Security and Cooperation in the Middle East with a broad base, analogous to the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe;
- 4. Financial and technical expertise for this community is provided by the European

Union, the Nordic Community, and the Association of South East Asian Nations;

- 5. Egypt and Jordan lease additional land to Palestine;
- 6. Israel and Palestine become federations with two Israeli cantons in Palestine and two Palestinian cantons in Israel, similar to Switzerland's cantons, which enjoy a high degree of self-rule and have enabled people to coexist peacefully; 7. The right of return to Israel is accepted in principle, with numbers to be negotiated within the canton formula;
- 8. Israel and Palestine undertake joint, equitable, and mutually beneficial economic ventures, peace education projects, and border patrols;
- 9. Massive stationing of UN monitoring forces; and
- 10. A truth and reconciliation process.

The peace package should be mediated by a respected person or group of people and not a country or group of countries, as larger entities have their own national interests and agendas.

History suggests that such a peace plan is possible. In 1944, few people could have forseen

the close cooperation between Germany and France today, and after the Soviet Union shot down a Korean airliner over Sakhalin in 1983, few could imagine Gorbachev's *perestroika* only two years later, which soon led to an end of the Cold War.

In the present climate of violence and hatred, such peaceful cooperation may seem impossible. Yet, as the costs of violence mount on both sides, there will come a time when a fair and reasonable outcome, recognizing the human rights of all, will be perceived as preferable by enough people that a true peace may happen.

Johan Galtung, a Professor of Peace Studies, is the Director of TRANSCEND. Dietrich Fischer, a Professor at Pace University in New York City, is Codirector of TRANSCEND.

TRANSCEND is a peace and development network of invited scholars-practitioners doing action, training, research, and dissemination within 20 programs, based on 40 years experience. (114 Conover Road, Princeton Junction, NJ 08550, USA. T: 1-609-799 8319, F: 1-609-799 2581 fischer@transcend.org, nww.transcend.org)

COEXISTENCE NETWORK PARTNER NEWS (Cont'd from page 5)

On October 21, 2002 the Interreligious Coordinating Council in Israel (ICCI) together with the Hebrew Union College will commence a teacher-training course entitled: *Common Values—Different Sources*. During the year of study, Jewish, Muslim, and Christian teachers will study parallel religious sources from the three faith traditions. This in-service training course is an outgrowth of the ICCI's 1999 publication of a Hebrew volume by the same name which was the product of a series of interreligious scholar seminars on various topics. (ICCI, PO Box 8771, Jerusalem 91086, Israel. T: 972-2-561 1899, F: 972-2-563 4148, iccijeru@icci.co.il)

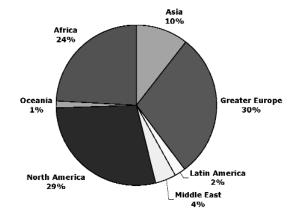
Ramesh Thakur, Vice-Rector of the UN University in Tokyo spoke at the UN Working Group for Global Action to Prevent War on July 23, 2002. (United Nations University, 53-70, Jingumae 5-chome, Shibuya-ku, Tokyo 150-8925, Japan. T: 81-3-5467 1295, F: 81-3-3406 7347, thakur@hq.unu.edu)

REQUESTS

Aaangserian's newly-formed media branch requires a digital video camera to be used in documenting meetings, preserving the traditional knowledge of different ethnic groups, and teaching other groups to make their own videos. Aangserian works to create a culture of peace through identity and confidence building. It believes diversity in culture is a foundation for a sustainable and peaceful environment for communities. They run seminars where different indigenous youth can speak and share a wide range of issues. (Aangserian Peace Village, PO Box 2113, Arusha, Tanzania. Mollel Maasai Building, 3rd Floor, Room 102,

Arusha, Tanzania. T: 225-27-318 548, aang_serian@hotmail.com, www.aangserian.org.uk)

THE COEXISTENCE NETWORK is constantly expanding (see the list of newest members on page 3). We urge Network Partners to assist us in expanding the scope and scale of the Network. If you know of an individual and/or organization that would be interested in joining the Coexistence Network, please direct them to us. In an effort to be a truly representative organization, we are placing particular emphasis on increasing the number of Network Partners from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Latin America, and Oceania.



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The Coexistence Initiative 477 Madison Avenue Fourth Floor New York, NY 10022, USA T: 1-212-303 9445, F: 1-212-980 4027 Email: info@coexistence.net Website: www.coexistence.net

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The Coexistence Initiative is a non-profit organization that seeks to develop and promote programs for positive coexistence among people who are different. We aim to: 1. Mainstream awareness of coexistence;

- 2. Facilitate the exchange of information and best practice;
- 3. Enhance communication and cooperation between and among those within the field as well as those outside of it; and
- 4. Enshrine principles of coexistence in policy, curricula, and institutions.

The Initiative serves as a *clearinghouse*, *convener*, and *interlocutor* for an international constituency of individuals working towards coexistence. It also acts as a *strate-gic partner* with other NGOs engaged in promoting coexistence at all levels globally and as a *developer of resources* for the field, piloting demonstration projects and encouraging replication as a means of maximizing the limited resources available to the peacebuilding community.

"Creating a world safe for difference"

The Coexistence Initiative 477 Madison Avenue Fourth Floor Mew York, NY 10022 USA