The German Bishops

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A Just Peace

27 September 2000

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0 Introduction

Euphoria and Disillusionment – Experiences since 1989

(NEW CHALLENGES)

(1) Almost two decades have passed since we published the Pastoral "Out of Justice, Peace"[1]. The time has come to address this topic anew. Developments and recent events suggest the necessity of considering those tasks likely to face us in the foreseeable future. Since "Out of Justice, Peace", the political situation in Europe and worldwide has changed dramatically. We believe that these changes demand a re-orientation of peace policies based on ethical considerations. The main focus and perspective of our work is summed up by the programmatic title of this publication: Just peace. It follows a train of thought developed in Church teachings on peace by recent Popes and by the Second Vatican Council. The Ecumenical Council of the GDR (1989) formulated it in the following terms: "Having through necessity overcome the institution of war, the doctrine of a just war intended by the Churches to humanize war is likewise becoming invalid. That is why we need to develop a doctrine of just peace now, grounded in theology and oriented by virtue of its openness towards universal human values"[2].

(NUCLEAR DETERRENCE)

(2) Whilst we were in the process of drawing up "Out of Justice, Peace", the social debate was focused primarily on the issue of nuclear deterrence. The East-West conflict had led to an amassing of weapons of mass destruction. In view of the permanent threat of military confrontation and all the attendant and unforeseeable consequences for Germany, Europe and the world, the primary aim of any morally acceptable peace policy had to be the prevention of war. The discussions on security policy were characterized by passionate concern, sometimes by polemical sharpness. They centered on the problem of whether the threat of using nuclear weapons and the corresponding military plans were ethically justifiable as elements of a policy intended to prevent war or not. Doctrinal answers from within the Catholic Church, which dealt with this difficult and often burdensome issue, displayed a wide variety of nuances. They did, however, agree in their conviction that the strategy of nuclear deterrence was ethically tolerable only as a temporary response bound to the obligation "to strive with their whole strength towards finding alternatives to the threat of mass destruction" (JP 4.3.2). This assessment has lost none of its validity since the major powers still have comprehensive arsenals of nuclear weapons at their disposal. It has also become more difficult in some areas to effectively secure control of these stocks; the proliferation of military nuclear technology also continues. Nevertheless, despite the urgency of the issue, it has been superceded in public awareness by other issues. Indeed, the entire question has been placed in a new light by the progress of history.

(THE ROAD TO EUROPE)

(3) Ever since 13th August 1961, the Berlin Wall had been a unique symbol of the division between East and West – indeed, of all the lines of separation throughout the world; enemies armed to the teeth faced each other across divisions from Cyprus to Korea. In the late autumn of

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[1] See also the Pastoral published by the Catholic Bishops of the GDR in the same year on World Day of Peace.
[2] Theologische Grundlegung, No. 36

1989, television relayed pictures of thousands of people dancing with joy on a Berlin Wall which had, even minutes before, been crowned with barbed wire. Even die-hard skeptics believed that a new era had dawned, an era of peace. Following Poland's emancipation from communist party dictatorship, the whole communist system broke down with breathtaking speed and almost without bloodshed. The bi-polar world order followed suit. Although it had stood on the brink of nuclear war several times during the Cold War, the world had lived to tell the tale. It seemed to exhale with relief. Within one year, Germany witnessed the hitherto unlikely dissolution of the German Democratic Republic based on a decision of the People's Chamber and its subsequent Union with the Federal Republic of Germany. European Union seemed to have come closer as well. In November 1990, the heads of state and government gathered in Paris for the summit meeting of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE, now OSCE) in the presence of delegates from America and Canada and expressed their hopes for a new peace order in an undivided Europe.

(CENTRAL AND EASTERN EUROPE)

(4) At the end of the 1980s, we ultimately reaped a harvest that had been sown by many, including those in positions of responsibility in politics and the military. Nonetheless, the policies of détente as such had not been able to bring about a system-change in the formerly socialist states of central and eastern Europe. This required additional framework conditions such as the economic plight of the communist block states or the new policies espoused by the Russian leadership. Above all else, it required people prepared to lead the way in peaceful revolution. These experiences need to become part of our collective memory as an encouraging example of the far-reaching effect which moral steadfastness, the courage to stand up for one's beliefs and political inventiveness can have. It was nothing short of a miracle. How easily events could have turned the other way. We know that "candle revolution" in Leipzig came close to ending in a bloodbath. We believe that God remains the Lord of history in times such as these through the agent of human action and this belief inspires us to look out for signs of hope for a just peace.

(SCOURGE OF WAR)

(5) 1991 was the year of the second Gulf War. A wide coalition of nations led by the United States fought Iraq in order to reverse that country's illegal annexation of Kuwait in August 1990. Our country's high hopes for peace faded dramatically to be replaced by a tough exchange of opinion. Some feared that this military action would lead to a rehabilitation of war as a political means. Others hoped that it represented a new way of using military power: sanctioned by the UN Security Council, directed against a severe breach of international law and implemented by a community of allied states. The American President George W. Bush spoke of a "new world order". Before this discussion could lead to results, Europe found itself surprised by the outbreak of war on its own soil, a civil war as it seemed initially but which soon took on international dimensions: Slovenia declared its secession from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and became the site of military conflict between sections of the Yugoslav Federal Army and Slovenian units. The war quickly spread to Croatia and ultimately raged with unbelievable brutality in Bosnia. The shock caused by this unexpected outbreak of destructive violence in Europe distracted attention away from events no less frightening outside Europe: a whole series of bloody conflicts in Somalia, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Zaire and the Sudan and, worst of all, the genocide in Rwanda. Since this time, the chain of violent conflict throughout the world has continued unabated: it stretches from Kosovo over Chechnya and numerous states in the former Soviet Union to the

Middle East, Afghanistan, India and Pakistan and to Africa, of which large parts find themselves involved in a seemingly insurmountable system of wars.

(6) Is mankind returning to that state of ubiquitous violence[3] which has characterized its history, seeming to spare only our part of the world for a short period of time? Many observers believe this to be the case, but such a sweeping observation does little to help us understand history and draw practical conclusions from it. We need a more accurate analysis. In fact, we are not dealing with a return to a former state of affairs. One of the most important reasons for this is as follows: the so-called classic form of war, in which regular armies from hostile states are engaged in combat, decreased considerably in importance during the 1990s. Its place has been taken by violent conflict of increasing number, duration and intensity within individual states. We are faced with a new image of war most apparent in Africa but also in evidence during the Balkan Wars. Regular troops participate in these conflicts alongside partisan and guerilla units, even armed bands led by so-called warlords. This phenomenon does not only make it more difficult to distinguish between soldiers and civilians. It is also often a sign that the state monopoly on the use of force is no longer in tact. In fact, it often signals a total breakdown of state authority. Such developments must call into question the future usefulness of concepts on security and peace policies based on traditional forms of interstate conflict.

(CRITICISM OF THE PROSPERITY MODEL)

(7) There is a further element to take into consideration: the absence of conflict does not mean that just and viable peace has been established. Deep-seated nascent conflict is brewing between the comparatively wealthy industrialized northern states and the majority of developing countries. Despite the undeniable economic upturn in a number of so-called threshold countries, the margin of difference in economic prosperity in the northern and southern hemispheres increased. Most developing countries have hitherto been unable to take full advantage of the opportunities offered by globalization. This continued state of injustice is a permanent source of danger for peace. The overexploitation of creation poses an equally severe threat. Poor countries often find themselves forced to exploit their natural resources recklessly despite the permanent harm done to the natural basis of their existence. This creates new and severe problems that exacerbate the existing economic and social plight. Poor countries regard the reproaches of richer nations as unjust and hypocritical in light of their own consumption of natural resources. Not only because poverty is ignored as the real source of this development, but also because the industrialized nations belong to the worst environmental offenders despite all their talk of environmental protection. The German Bishops' Conference's "Commission for Social Affairs" had the following to say on this matter: "The process of modernizing the 'developing' and less affluent states of Eastern Europe recommended by the West and supported by the economic and political elite of those states is oriented towards a model heavily dependent upon the use of natural resources and will lead us all to a point of no-return. The industrialized world is home to 20% of the world population but currently uses about 80% of global resources. Extending our style of life and economic habits to include the other 80% of the world population would overextend the earth's capacities. One part of the world currently lays claim to, practices and offensively propagates a model of prosperity,

[3] The German word "*Gewalt*" is used in this text to refer primarily to violence or force and to describe mainly forms of physical or psychological force. It refers to actions causing severe damage and considered condemnable. The fundamental critique of omnipresent violence developed in the following is aimed at this negative interpretation of the word, linked in all cases to injury or destruction. However, the German language also uses the term "*Gewalt*" in a non-negative sense to refer to power or authority. The term is found in words such as "Gewaltenteilung", "Befehlsgewalt" (separation of power, command) in which cases no negative critique applies.

which is not suitable for the whole world. We are already witnessing conflict arising from the fight for limited ecological resources (water, minerals, agricultural land etc.) such as that in Sudan."[4] We can only conclude that future-oriented security policies must take account of far more than just security policy.

(THE MAIN OBJECTIVE)

(8) It is not enough then, to take stock of the state of the world at the beginning of the 21st century and bemoan its incapacity for peace. What we need is a comprehensive and object-oriented perspective able not only to point policies in a convincing direction but also above all to inspire and rouse people and nations. Antoine de Saint-Exupéry was right when he once wrote: "If you want to build a boat, don't drum people together to get the wood, prepare the tools, assign the tasks. Arouse in them a yearning for the wide, endless sea." We will start by looking carefully at the Bible, the basis of our faith. (Part 1). It will help us to see human reality in the light of divine prophecy, with hearts that are aflame yet sober. We once wrote: "The true answer to anxiety and impatience is the spirit of strength which clearly discerns, accepts and survives the impact of reality. The true answer to escapism or a blind aggressiveness is the spirit of circumspection which does not fear the toil of taking one small step at a time. The true answer to egoism and fanaticism is the spirit of love, which esteems the dignity and the liberty and the rights of each individual and which protects our neighbors against degradation, bondage and injustice. Unless everyone declares his willingness to conduct a dialogue, the work of peace and the policy of peace cannot be carried out." (JP No. 1.1). We know that these concerns are shared by many people and communities inside and outside the Christian Church, passionately seeking for ways of achieving peace and renouncing violence. The terrible experiences of both World Wars led to the development of an acute moral consciousness and a special awareness of the ethics of peace in our society, which we want to preserve as a valuable heritage.

(PEACE ORDER – PEACE POLICY)

(9) In the second part, we will be delineating the fundamental elements of a future peace order and the main points of emphasis in a peace policy based upon socio-ethical principles. We will be concentrating, amongst other things, on the following:

- The consequences of conflict prevention which eschews the use of force;

- The promotion of development in countries south of the equator that is both just and sustainable;

- The importance of confidence-building and dealing with a past characterized by suffering and guilt in the prevention of and follow-up to conflicts;

- Opportunities to extend current forms of international cooperation;

- The challenges likely to arise in the areas of disarmament and arms control, the re-definition of the role of the armed forces and the issue of "humanitarian intervention".

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[4] Handeln für die Zukunft der Schöpfung, No. 19.

(10) The third part of our paper on peace will consider the Church and its obligations. The most important contribution which the Church can make towards world peace is for the Church itself to function as a "sacrament of peace", as a guiding light to help Creation – currently dominated by violence – orient itself towards peace. Self-awareness demands that we ask ourselves whether this guiding light is visible today. The Church is also obliged to extend its efforts for peace into areas outside its own domain. We see ourselves as fellow travelers in the search for the right questions and convincing answers. We intend and hope to let the boldness of Christ's message become apparent. For "he is our peace " (Eph 2, 14). Such is the message of the letter to the Ephesians and we share that belief.

I Non-violence in a Violent World. The Biblical Message of Peace

(SEARCHING FOR PEACE)

(11) In the Old Testament, the Psalms exhort those who pray to "seek peace and pursue it" (Ps 34, 14). In the New Testament, Peter's First Letter re-iterates this demand verbatim (1 Peter 3, 11)[5]. The search for peace is a red thread throughout the entire Bible in anticipation of God's promise of peace for all his people (Ps 85, 9). We also find this promise in the messianic texts. When God transfers the preservation of right to the Messiah he does it so that "the mountains may yield their bounty for the people" (Ps 72, 3). First, however, all weapons in the land shall be destroyed and the Messiah "shall proclaim peace to the nations" (Zech 9, 10). When Jesus crossed the Jordan and preached to Israel that "the Kingdom of God is at hand", the expression "Kingdom of God" – the embodiment of all Israel's hopes – encompassed the notion of promised peace. According to the old prophecies, this peace would be invincible and last "forever" (Is 9, 6 et al.). With Jesus, this peace came. Jesus is "our peace" (Eph 2, 14).

(EVERLASTING PEACE)

(12) Augustine later reserved the term "everlasting peace" in his "City of God" for everlasting life after death[6]. However, when the Bible speaks of "everlasting peace" it means peace on earth. Based on the Bible's message, the peace brought by the Messiah for our time will be "everlasting" – invincible and boundless. Jesus "leaves", indeed he gives this peace to his disciples. (Jn 14, 27). We are not agents of its creation. Precisely what is meant by this peace and its relationship to the peace we long for in our times and between nations remains unclear. Often "the peace of Christ" (Col 3, 15) succumbs to the trend towards private interpretation and is reduced to "peace of the soul". As Bishops we are obliged to elucidate what is meant by biblical references to peace and how we can unite it with the world's search for justice and peace between nations. The first part of our text will be devoted to a re-appraisal of this task[7]. We too need to have a better idea of what exactly we mean when we say "peace be with you" during services.

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[5] See also Rom 14, 19; 2 Tim 2, 22; Hebr 12, 14.
[6] De Civitate Dei, cf. Above all Book XIX
[7] Cf. Also our Peace Pastoral of 1983, "Out of Justice, Peace"

I.1 Ancient Biblical History and Mankind's Propensity for Violence

(PROPENSITY FOR VIOLENCE)

(13) The bible sets peace against a terrible background. All curtains intended to conceal this terrible sight are ripped asunder to reveal a scene filled with violence. Violence characterizes human history. Violence has corroded and changed the structure of our world. The topic of 'violence' dominates ancient biblical history from the very beginning. The images we encounter there reoccur throughout all times and in all places.

(ORIGINAL SIN)

(14) Genesis recounts the fall into original sin. It has two aspects. One is a distrust of God represented by Adam and Eve's disobedience in Paradise. The other, recounted as a second-generation tale after the expulsion from Paradise, shows us the destruction of harmony between man. Cain murders his brother Abel because he perceives him as a rival (Gn 4). The original image of human sin is one of self-obsessed violence. What are the consequences? The first humans were forced to leave the Garden of Eden. Cain is not even allowed to stay in the fields. He leaves God's presence and settles in the Land of Nod (Gn 4, 16). This is the opposite of 'Eden'. Nod is the 'inconstant', Eden is 'delight'. The names are symbolic. They signify how violence has changed the world.

(SAFETY THROUGH LAW)

(15) Yet even in the land of 'inconstancy', the murderer enjoys the security provided by lawfulness. God puts a mark on Cain. The mark protects Cain by threatening retaliation against anyone who harms him. Retaliation, of course, also implies the use of violence. But here it has a positive connotation commensurate with its traditional sociological significance before murder became punishable by a court of law. Blood feuds were a legal institution before states came into being. The rules for their execution were precisely regulated in early societies. They functioned on a preventive level by presenting a threat to those who used force and preventing the chaotic eruption of unauthorized violence. In this manner, a legal space was created in which the use of force was latently possible but subject to primitive control by the first forms of law. The Bible sets the development of human culture in this context. Cain and his descendents build the first city, organize the breeding of livestock, invent music and begin working with metals. This means that all cultural life is developed in conjunction with the ancient idea of law embodied in the threat of sanctions applied for murder. All this contributes to the control of violence, which has entered the world. No aspect of human development can be seen in a context of innocence. Whether it is the differentiation of human society in the functional variety of urban life, rearing livestock, whether we speak of art or industry: everything is linked to the aim of controlling the urge to use force. Yet, all this can also increase the possibility for an outbreak of violence. This in turn also brings with it an increase in opportunities for applying the control mechanism and exercising the right to avenge violence. In the sixth generation to follow Cain, Lamech can boast that he will be avenged seventy-seven times if he is killed (Gn 4, 24). In this manner, the most ancient of legal institutions designed to prevent violence can degenerate into a surfeit of potential violence.

(PARADISICAL PEACE)

(16) The Bible does not pursue Cain's story any further after this point. We do not come across the word "peace" in this text. But peace is its secret center. It is present in the image of the Garden of "Eden" with which the story begins and which the prophet Isaiah discovers in the Garden he describes when the Messiah has brought peace as one in which

> " … the wolf shall be a guest of the lamb,
> and the leopard shall lie down with the kid;
> The calf and the young lion shall browse together,
> with a little child to guide them.
> The cow and the bear shall be neighbors,
> together their young shall rest;
> the lion shall eat hay like the ox.
> The baby shall play by the cobra's den,
> and the child lay his head on the adder's lair.
> There shall be no harm or ruin on all my holy mountain;
> for the earth shall be filled with knowledge of the LORD,
> as water covers the sea. (Is 11, 6-9).

(THE FLOOD)

(17) The last sentence of Isaiah's vision refers to another image of primeval history and inverses it. The flood covers the earth with a different kind of water from that filled with the knowledge of the Lord: it covers it with chaotic waters destroying all life. This biblical story also deals with violence:

> "In the eyes of God the earth was corrupt and full of lawlessness. When God saw how corrupt the earth had become, since all mortals led depraved lives on earth, he said to Noah: 'I have decided to put an end to all mortals on earth; the earth is full of lawlessness because of them. So I will destroy them and all life on earth.'" (Gn 6, 11-13).

(PRIMEVAL FEAR)

(18) Other nations from the area around Israel handed down stories of floods – reflecting our primeval fear of the ultimate threat to our world. All these stories deal with the question of why this catastrophe occurred. But only the Bible sees creation's regression into chaos as resulting from the violence in creation. Only the Bible sees this connection. The propensity for violence not only calls into question human co-existence but endangers creation as a whole.

(WORLD CONFLAGRATION)

(19) The idea of a connection between human destructiveness and a threat to creation is not only expressed in the story of the flood. Similar images can be found in the Book of Hosea, although the threat is posed not by water but fire in this case. A catalogue of Israel's sins culminates in the confirmation of "one deed of blood after another" followed by the sentence:

> "Therefore the land mourns, and everything that dwells in it languishes:
> The beasts of the field, the birds of the air, and even the fish of the sea perish." (Hos 4, 3).

The apocalyptic visions of the Old and New Testament are also filled with the realization that human destructiveness is so powerful as to threaten the very existence of the earth.

(20) But there is more to the story of the flood and the other prophetic and apocalyptic texts than this. For God allows man to build an ark. Noah is the only blameless man (Gn. 6, 9). God wants to save him and the animals from destruction by the flood in order for human history to take a different course. So God does not simply resign himself to the upsurge in chaotic violence throughout creation. World order after the flood is not what it was before. Violence is still present on a reduced scale but God gives those who leave the ark new guidelines for their lives (Gn 9, 2-6). Whereas there was no need for force in the first world in which green plants were the only food (Gn 1, 29), God now allows humans to consume animals as nourishment. But human life is holy. Whoever sheds human blood will have his own blood shed by man because man is made in the image of God (Gn 9, 6). The inviolability of human life is laid down.

(LIMITATION)

(21) At this point, the story of the flood touches upon Cain's story. God threatens the exercise of sanctions using legally justified force in order to prevent man from using force against his fellow man. Even if a certain amount of violence occurs in creation, it will no longer be necessary for God to let it sink back into chaos. There will never have to be a flood again. This development is characterized by the image of an "everlasting covenant" whose sign is the rainbow – symbol of peace in our culture. God gives all living things a pledge that he will never again destroy the cosmos (Gn 8, 8-17). Our creation as it is – not as God wished it to be – knows force, but God demands of man that he prevent its use wherever possible through the exercise of legal sanctions. The Jewish tradition sees this as a call to fulfil the most important of commandments: the obligation to establish law and order.

(LAWS LIMIT VIOLENCE)

(22) The covenant with Noah is a universal statement. Noah is the progenitor of all new people. The requirement to restrict violence through law is universally valid. In positing the covenant with Noah, Genesis was referring to the most advanced form of contemporary international law, contractual law between several states. It developed as a result of oaths pledged by rulers. Then as now, such law supercedes by far the notion of states enjoying unqualified freedom to act.

I.2 God's Chosen People as the Site of True Peace

(CHOOSING)

(23) There is a further element in the story of the flood typical of Biblical teaching on peace. God acts in a particular manner. When a severe crisis arises, he calls together certain people like Noah and his family to plan a new start for the sake of mankind. In the midst of mankind's violent history he "chooses" individuals and groups to pave the way for a new beginning.

(ABRAHAM)

(24) We learn that Noah is a "blameless man … for he walked with God" (Gn 6, 9). So too, is Abraham. He is called upon to live in God's presence and be honest (Gn 17, 1). The two figures are parallels. God calls upon Abraham to:

"Go forth from the land of your kinsfolk and from your father's house to a land that I will show you. I will make of you a great nation, and I will bless you; I will make your name great, so that you will be a blessing. I will bless those who bless you and curse those who curse you. All the communities of the earth shall find blessing in you." (Gn 12, 1-3)

This is where the story of God's people and ultimately that of all Christians begins. This passage follows closely upon the story of the Tower of Babel. The city and the tower reaching up into the heavens represent the idea of a social edifice created by mankind and encompassing all mankind. Only one single language is spoken, symbolizing the desired peace order. However, the enterprise is doomed to fail because it was conceived without and against the creator. Confusion of speech results. Humans no longer understand each other. They disperse over all the earth. The project conceived in a spirit of anti-godliness generates an environment ripe with opportunities for new rivalries and disputes. This is not what the creator wants. He forges a new path with a special group of people. He chooses Abraham. The blessing promised to Abraham is meant to counteract the strife fermenting amongst mankind under the patched-up surface of peace. In this context, blessing stands for peace.

(SWORDS INTO PLOWSHARES)

(25) The moral behind the story of a chosen people concerns not only the happiness of this people but of all mankind. Despite choosing a special individual, the concept of history remains universal and corresponds to the famous passage on the last phase of Israel's story that has become the anthem of the peace movement. It is the passage specifying that swords shall be beaten into plowshares and spears into pruning hooks. It occurs twice in the Old Testament in the books of the Prophets Isaiah and Micah. Both texts are preceded by prophecies decrying Israel's failure to live according to God's order. Like the primeval Babel, Jerusalem is doomed to decline. Both prophets oppose this image with a vision of the distant future already apparent to God:

"In days to come the mount of the LORD's house shall be established higher than the mountains; it shall rise high above the hills.
And peoples shall stream to it: Many nations shall come, and say, 'Come, let us climb the mount of the LORD, to the house of the God of Jacob, that he may instruct us in his ways, that we may walk in his paths.'
For from Zion shall go forth instruction, and the word of the LORD from Jerusalem.
He shall judge between many peoples and impose terms on strong and distant nations;
They shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks;
One nation shall not raise the sword against another, nor shall they train for war again.
Every man shall sit under his own vine or under his own fig tree, undisturbed;"(Mi 4, 1-4, also Is 2, 2-4)

Mount Zion towers above all other elevations in the world just as the Tower of Babel was intended to. All nations will be hills by comparison. Not only will Zion be the only place at which instruction is henceforth issued for all mankind. The context of the image and this passage in the surrounding text also signifies that the nation living on the Mount has become a town standing on a hill (compare Mt 5, 14). Its peaceful social structure towers above the quarrelsome nations of the world and exerts a fascination that attracts them to this nation, to the God issuing instruction there and hence to peace. God's universal will to bring about peace amongst all mankind transcends the transformation of his own people.

(PILGRIMAGE OF PEOPLES)

(26) The New Testament sees the Church growing out of Israel and the nations. The birth of Jesus heralds the start of the promised pilgrimage of nations to Zion. In the Gospel according to Luke the angels over Bethlehem sing:

"Glory to God in the highest,
and on earth peace to those on whom his favor rests" (Lk 2, 14).

Who are the people on whom his favor rests? The aged Simeon's song of praise continues the angel's theme of peace telling us that all nations, not only Israel, are the beneficiaries:

"Now, Master, you may let your servant go
in peace, according to your word,
for my eyes have seen your salvation,
which you prepared in sight of all the peoples,
a light for revelation to the Gentiles,
and glory for your people Israel." (Lk 2, 29-32).

(UBIQUITOUS VIOLENCE)

(27) However, in order for God's chosen people to become that fascinating agent of ferment in world history it will first have to undergo an almost endless and agonizing process of metamorphosis. This will lead to a change in its relationship to violence. It starts with the process of perception. God's people must be made aware of the omnipresence of violence in our world. That is why Israel's story is such a blood-filled one in comparison to those describing the stories of other peoples. Our social systems are adept at concealing their inherent violence. The bible tears down this veil. It looks straight at and not away from the violence. There is no need to sublimate and extrapolate because despite his guilt, God does not reject man, but offers him a haven.

(A TIME FOR EVERYTHING)

(28) In so doing, there is no attempt to gloss over the violence that has accompanied Israel's history. Wars come and go like the seasons. Since nothing happens without God's consent, the words of Qoheleth tell us that there is an appointed time for everything, a time of war and a time of peace (Eccl 3, 8). Jewish history before and after Israel became a state is a history filled with wars and acts of violence – no less than that of the Maccabees. Praising God and his deeds represents Israel's beginnings, the exodus from Egypt and the entry into the Promised Land, as great acts of violence on God's part involving the destruction of whole armies and populations – as opposed to the more peaceful historical facts, of which nothing was subsequently known. One simply acted in the same way as the Assyrian sovereigns of the 7th century, who instilled their God Assur and their empire in the consciousness of the peoples they had subjugated through propaganda of sheer terror. Most of the Psalms are cries for help from individuals or whole nations based on bitter experience or enmity. Worshipping God involved the blood of animals, just as it did in other nations. Even the New Testament still recognizes the principle that "without the shedding of blood there is no forgiveness" (Heb 9, 22).

(NO MORAL DOCTRINE ON VIOLENCE)

(29) Yet there is no moral doctrine on violence behind all this. In general, the facts are recounted without comment. Violence is extolled, as it was everywhere in the world in those days. Seen in the context of the whole bible, this frank view of inherently explosive violence is the first sign of

a divine revelation ultimately aimed at the abolition of violence. Israel learns to recognize violence and call it by its name. No other topic, be it labor or love, family or nature or education, appears in the Old Testament with such frequency and drastic representation as that of violence. It is revealed as the real core of human destiny.

(PERCEPTION OF GOD)

(30) This gradual displacement of a perception of reality colored by violence and counter-violence necessarily involves an image of God that does not correspond to a world of true peace. Human reality and ideas on God are closely linked. A nation entrenched in a situation of general violence in the world must necessarily have an image of God partially characterized by violence. The perception of the world and that of God can only change in tandem. The scriptures show not only the end result but the whole process. In doing so, they help us to follow Israel's path out of our own propensity for violence. The way Israel experiences God is less abstract than the experience of later times. Israel experiences God as a God endowed with human passions. He can be disappointed and show anger. He can show remorse for past deeds. Ultimately, however, he is the God who seeks love and promises trust even when humans betray him. We would be well advised to show more of this spontaneity in experiencing God today. It does not help that we sometimes misunderstand the nature of statements made in those days. Where anger was expected of sovereigns and deities in the Orient of old, it referred not as we would see it to an uncontrolled fury but the highest form of passion on behalf of lawfulness and the poor. Anger was a sovereign virtue. Finally, a superficial reading of the bible often leads to a mistaken assessment of images of war at face value rather than a metaphor for something else. When God divides the sea and the entire Egyptian army drowns in the waters, the myth of creation arising from chaos is evoked. The fight with the dragon of the sea could be an image for creation. The message is not that God wants to kill whole armies arbitrarily but that saving Israel from a world of bondage is tantamount to a new creation. When a sword issues from the mouth of the Messiah, this should not be taken to mean that the Messiah uses the sword for destructive purposes. This would require his having the sword in his hand. It means that he will build his realm with the sword of words.

(DENUNCIATION OF FORCE)

(31) Israel's denunciation of force is an important step. The word of the prophets is decisive here even if they seem at first glance to promise only violence as a punishment for Israel's disloyalty. However, the real content of their message is not the threat of punishment. It is a call to Israel to turn around. The book of Amos, for example, starts with a look at Israel's neighboring states and the threat of divine revenge for their violence. If we read on we realize that this is merely the logical and rhetorical preparation for a similar condemnation of Israel itself (Am 1, 3-2, 16). Is Amos predicting Israel's end? Close consideration of the book and its context in the Bible reveals not the powerless cry of a Cassandra-like figure proclaiming irrevocable doom but a desperate prophet trying to bring about a renunciation of violence with any means at his disposal.

(PEACE – A WORK OF JUSTICE)

(32) The prophets disclose the connection between the onset of violence and the lack of lawfulness and justice. Peace demands justice. Consider the way the bible is put together. At the beginning we find the five books of Moses. God's plan as it becomes clear above all on Mount

Sinai on the basis of the Commandments, envisages a just society for his people. Histories and the works of the prophets follow these books. They show the repeated failure of Israel to realize the divine plan for a just society and reveal the situation in which Israel finds itself as result by showing the consequences of this failure. The leitmotiv throughout all these books is this: Israel needs only to exercise justice in order to achieve peace. "Peace will be brought about by justice, right will produce calm and security" (Is 32, 17).

(STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS)

(33) The Deuteronomical code realistically states that there will always be needy people in the land (Dt 15, 11). Biblical justice will only then have been achieved when the strong lift up the weak – without recourse to abstract laws. Society is only a 'just society' when the other aspect of the Deuteronomical code has been realized: "there should be no one of you in need" (Dt 15, 4). In today's terms, one might put it like this: 'solidarity' and willingness for reconciliation must supplement justice.

(RECONCILIATION)

(34) The theme of reconciliation occurs from Genesis onwards in the stories of Israel's forefathers and -mothers. Rivalry is common, sometimes fatally so, yet we learn again and again how reconciliation can ultimately lead to re-formulation of mutual rights and to peace. It starts with the peaceful separation of Abraham and Lot after both had become so rich that the land no longer sufficed to support both their herds (Gn 13, 5-12). It continues to Joseph's reconciliation with his brothers who had intended first to kill him and then sold him to Egypt as a slave (Gn 45 and 50). The commandments issued on Mount Sinai anchor the value of reconciliation in a law demanding that we love our own personal foes.[8] Although the countries around Israel also believe that justice cannot prevail without mercy for the weak and reconciliation with the enemy, this connection is expressed much more clearly in the Bible. It reaches its zenith in the New Testament, above all in the teachings of Jesus. Jesus' exhortation to Peter that he forgive the brother who sinned against him not seven but seventy-seven times (Mt 18, 22) counteracts the song of Lamech. By showing his people the effects of violence, God also shows them what justice is and what it can achieve.

(VICTIM-VICTOR)

(35) The decisive step in transforming Israel's attitude to violence belongs historically to the experience and rewards of Babylonian exile. Exile led to the realization that it is better to be a victim than a violent vanquisher. It also brought the recognition that that peace, which surpasses the kind of frail peace dependent upon force, can only be achieved by victims and never by the victors. It is clear that such a peace is not within our means. It is possible only as a divine miracle.

(INNOCENCE)

(36) Israel's tradition of lament is part of a learning process also reflected in a number of psalms. In crisis situations, it often happens that groups and indeed whole societies project the fault for the chaos caused by violence onto scapegoats. They become the targets for violence so that peace can be dispensed elsewhere. This mechanism is deeply deceitful and unjust but it works for as

[8]Ex 23, 4; Lev 19, 17; Dt 22, 1-4)

long as the deception is accepted. People who become scapegoats in such constellations often accept the guilt projected onto them. This is not the case in biblical laments. Although the lamenter is generally surrounded by enemies who have labeled him a scapegoat and seek to kill him, he insists upon his innocence. He knows that he is surrounded by lies. In his distress, he calls upon God to help him. In some psalms he can already thank him for deliverance by the end of the text. This mechanism – creating peace by focusing violence upon an innocent individual – is overcome by God. A new clarity has come into the world. In such cases we remember the words at the end of one of these psalms – words that are often quoted later in the New Testament in relation to Christ:

> "The stone the builders rejected has become the cornerstone" (Ps 118, 22 and above all the parable of the vineyard in Mt 12, 1-12).

These texts are a distillation of the experience that God is on the side of the victims and not on that of the forceful victor.

(PROPHETS)

(37) The experiences of another category of figures in Israel's history, those of the prophets, resume this tradition. Their proximity to God predestines them to suffer persecution. The violent destiny of the prophets follows a pattern. It is precisely those people accorded a special awareness of the true God and his true, peaceful intentions, which recognize the mechanisms of violence in society and do not hesitate to speak them aloud. As the bearers of unwelcome truths, they attract violence. They are made scapegoats for the use of force ostensibly directed at the achievement of greater peace.

(BABYLONIAN EXILE)

(38) The destruction of Israel and the deportation of the elite of Judaea to Babylon at the beginning of the 6th century before Christ appeared to mark the end of Israel's story. The laws set out in Deuteronomy during those times blame the surfeit of violence for this catastrophe. The state, the arbiter of legitimate force in the service of peace, had become a butcher. Changes in global power structures brought reprisal. The newly powerful empire of Babylon put an end to Jerusalem. God's chosen people were now the victims. Furthermore, they themselves were partially to blame. However, a new beginning followed this breach. The survivors of the catastrophe gave deep and thorough consideration to their actions. The conviction gradually took hold that the time of "service is at an end, guilt is expiated;" For the city of Jerusalem "has received from the hands of the LORD double for all her sins" (Is 40, 2). Although Israel was still in exile and her lands lay devastated, she now found herself in the role of an innocent victim of persecution.

(SERVANT OF THE LORD)

(39) In those days there was as an increasing awareness that God wished to act through Israel in the context of precisely such a situation. The most astonishing text is the so-called fourth song of the servant of the Lord (Is 52, 13-53, 12). The Messiah is prefigured in the "servant of the Lord". The nation of Israel achieves its highest embodiment in him. According to the songs of the Lord's servant, all peoples have conspired against him. They beat him, torture and kill him. But like the lamenters of the laments, he seeks solace in his God. He accepts the violence vented on him, does not retaliate and does not seek to avoid it. And God accepts him. In the fourth song we suddenly

find the recognition of other kings and nations. They see what God has accomplished with this outcast:

> "While we thought of him as stricken,
> as one smitten by God and afflicted.
> But he was pierced for our offenses,
> crushed for our sins" (Is 53, 4-5).

I.3 The Life of Jesus Christ, his Death and Resurrection as the Beginning of True Peace

(JESUS – SERVANT OF THE LORD)

(40) The multitude of voices in the New Testament all base their message on the belief in Easter and the hopes of Jesus' disciples that he is resurrected. The stories of the Old Testament must be re-examined in light of this belief: conversely, the path leading to the imitation of Christ is re-interpreted in the light of the Old Testament's prophecies and hopes. Jesus is the fulfillment of the fourth song of the Lord's servant. In him, Israel can realize the promise of this text. All of Israel can share in the destiny of Jesus. He is the final fulfillment of all that is as yet temporary and in need of universal implementation and completion today. Through him, all people and nations have access to God's covenant with Israel. It is precisely this tension between God's covenant of peace with Israel and its applicability to all people and nations that leads into the story of Christian belief and the history of the church. However, it also brings about new conflicts such as those between the synagogue and the church.

(THE LORD'S DOMINION OVER THE WORLD)

(41) If we wish to understand the New Testament's message of peace, we must start with Christ's work in the service of peace – his glorification of the poor and the downhearted, his communion with outcasts, his healing powers and the forgiveness his healing brings. All of this is an expression of God's dominion of the world. However, we must also speak of the resistance and conflict that Jesus met and entered into. The words that he has come "to bring not peace, but the sword" (Mt 10, 34) remind us of this. The core of his message that God's realm on earth is at hand and the agreement and contradiction that this message meets with determine his work and his acts and ultimately lead to his death on the cross. He who wished only to bring peace becomes a victim of violence exercised by his fellow men.

(JESUS' NEW SYSTEM)

(42) In saving his beloved son from death, Israel's God proves himself faithful and reliable. Profession of this belief is the foundation upon which early Christians and the Church itself base their faith. It changes everything, at least for those who learn to live and die by this faith. Evangelization processes and missionary movements are set in motion but the first divisions also appear. The resurrection of Christ shows that God's desire for boundless peace has reached its final destination, albeit temporarily. The New Testament speaks everywhere in different contexts and multi-colored illuminations of this one decisive secret and its power to bring about change: "Peace I leave with you; my peace I give to you..." "He is our peace". Without this use of the categorical indicative proclaiming God's peace as our peace, we cannot come to a true understanding of the Christian faith and the following explanations would lose their inner

centrality and interpretative force. Some aspects of the New Testament's theology of peace must therefore be singled out for attention.

(GOD IS KING)

(43) There is a verse in Isaiah that speaks in one breath both of "glad tidings" and of God's divine rule. It occurs a few verses earlier than the 4th song of the Lord's servant. The text defines the context for the song:

> "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings glad tidings,
> Announcing peace, bearing good news,
> announcing salvation and saying to Zion,
> 'Your God is King'." (Is 52, 7, prepared by Is 40, 9)

And Jesus says that this will come to pass now. When we read of Jesus teaching during the Galilean spring, all the prophecies of the 4th song of the Lord's servant immediately come to mind – however distant they appear at that time. His condemnation, his passion, his violent death but also his resurrection and his confirmation through God are all part of the original prophecies – if one knows where to look for them. The suffering of this one true just man heralds Israel's opportunity to achieve the peaceful society that will initiate the pilgrimage of nations to Mount Zion. But the true objective is an end to all wars.

(JESUS CREATES PEACE)

(44) Nations all over the world know only one system of maintaining peace: to keep violence in check by threatening the use of violence. The result is a spiral of violence-induced crises. When Jesus is arrested, one of his disciples draws his sword (according to the Gospel of St. John, it was Peter himself). He has not understood what Jesus wants. Jesus has to say to him:

> "Put your sword back into its sheath, for all who take the sword will perish by the sword."
> (Mt 26, 52).

Jesus' answer is not only a momentary directive. The reason he gives provides fundamental insight into the system of thoughts and actions underlying Peter's reaction. It is a system caught in a cycle of violence – even if its ethical code provides for the display of solidarity on behalf of the unjustly accused. However, Jesus makes it clear that the willingness to suffer violence rather than exercise it should not be seen on principle as showing a lack of solidarity with the unjustly accused. Indeed, true solidarity is evident in the willingness to at least share another's destiny in cases where effective help is no longer possible. This ethos contributes to limiting violence and, more importantly, to overcoming it in a decisive situation.

(JESUS IS PEACE)

(45) The letter to the Ephesians says unequivocally of Jesus that he is the peace between us. However, this peace does not come cheaply but at the price of one's own existence. The reference is to the tension rooted in history between the nations of the world and the nation of Israel. Jesus' death made 'peace' between the inimical fronts. In giving up his body in death, he created a unity between Jews and heathens and tore down the wall of enmity (cf. Eph 2, 14). In the Letter to the Colossians, the same statement on the death of Christ takes on cosmic dimensions: Through him God wished to achieve reconciliation between him and all other things in heaven or on earth by bringing about peace through the blood of the cross (cf. Col 1, 20). It becomes clear here that reconciliation between all things is also reconciliation with God himself. The reverse is also true:

when man and the world are reconciled with God they also find peace in themselves. This Christian perspective on faith is of great significance for today's ecological problems: reconciliation not just between men and nations but also between man and the world as well as man and nature, is founded in the peace given by Jesus Christ.

(SERMON ON THE MOUNT)

(46) The lessons taught by Jesus in the Sermon on the Mount are directed not just at individuals or those called to special service within the Church. They are a universal address of fundamental content, genuine instructions in the form of exemplary rules. They apply to those who have been called as disciples into God's people, a people that has definitively become a city set on a mountain in the person of Christ (cf. Mt 5, 14).

(ETHOS OF THE SERMON ON THE MOUNT)

(47) This is no other-worldly city but one which exists in this world as the place where the ethos developed by Christ in the Sermon on the Mount of non-violence, love of one's enemies and a constant striving for reconciliation can finally be realized. The disciples who accept this challenge become the light of the world and the salt of the earth. Their otherness fascinates the peoples of the world groaning under the burden of repeated eruptions of violence who join them on the pilgrimage to Zion. The reference to the community of disciples as salt of the earth (Mt 5, 13) is also found in the Gospel according to St. Mark where it specifies the church as the site of peace: "Keep salt in yourselves and you will have peace with one another" (Mk 9, 50). Two further aspects shall be named here that seem to contradict one another: that the fruits of peace can be sweet and bring joy, or bitter and bring persecution.

(JOY OF PEACE)

(48) Concerning the joys of peace: in the final instance, a world in which mutual trust guarantees peace is happier than one in which peace must be safeguarded by threats. But this is a divine miracle since man, left to his own devices, seeks security in guarantees that he alone thinks to provide. Yet whosoever has dared to partake of this miracle offered by God realizes the truth of what Jesus says in his appeal to the downtrodden in which the Old Testament term "rest" is substituted for "peace":

> "Come to me, all you who labor and are burdened, and I will give you rest. Take my yoke upon you and learn from me, for I am meek and humble of heart; and you will find rest for yourselves. For my yoke is easy, and my burden light" (Mt 11, 28-30).

The joys of peace are also referred to directly in Paul's letter to the Romans. In speaking of the tensions that have arisen over the regulations on food, Paul points out what the "true good" of Christians is. He puts it like this:

> "For the kingdom of God is not a matter of food and drink, but of righteousness, peace, and joy in the holy Spirit" (Rom 14, 17).

The words "righteousness" and "peace" come from the Old Testament. Paul adds the "joy in the Holy Spirit". Ever since the death and resurrection of Christ, Christians can partake of this experience as soon as they participate in the miracle of the new society of peace.

(PEACE AND SWORD)

(49) However, Jesus does not hesitate to turn the coin over and show us the other side of the picture. One example is the frightening image we find in the Gospel according to Saint Matthew saying that Christ comes to bring not peace but the sword (Mt 10, 34). This statement is part of the speech held by Jesus when he sends the twelve disciples out into Israel on mission. The disciples are instructed to wish peace on a house when they enter it (Lk 10, 5 cf. Mt 10, 12). This speech consolidates both the experiences of Jesus himself and that of the early Church. It has become clear that Jesus' messengers will often find themselves the cause of contention. Some amongst their audience will be fascinated by what they have to say, others will be fearful of the trust required of them or may even passionately reject the unknown. In such cases, Jesus' message provokes rejection and such a reaction can easily turn violent. Jesus does not hesitate to speak of the persecution his disciples will be subjected to in the world (cf. Mt 10, 34-36).

(IMITATION OF CHRIST)

(50) The testimony of the gospels prepares us for the catastrophe of Christ's crucifixion from the very beginning. By bringing the peace of God into the world, Jesus arouses such rejection that he is ultimately hounded to death. We cannot ignore the terrible downside to Christ's mission of bringing peace to the world. Jesus and his disciples are not advocating minor changes with no consequences. This is a question of life and death. The Gospel according to Matthew goes on to paint a picture of families divided by Christ's teachings. Such experiences demand hard decisions:

> "Whoever loves father or mother more than me is not worthy of me, and whoever loves son or daughter more than me is not worthy of me" (Mt 10, 37).

This is followed by a statement that we tend to quote without gauging the extent of its implications - that the decision to follow in Christ's path of peace can cost you life itself:

> "and whoever does not take up his cross and follow after me is not worthy of me" (Mt 10, 38).

I.4 The Christian Way between Violence and Non-Violence

(OLD AND NEW PEOPLE OF GOD)

(51) The New Testament leads us into a situation that is fraught with tension. For the peace that reigns does so by suppressing violence with the threat of legally enforceable violence – successfully on occasion but unfortunately not always so. Now the greater peace of God that no longer relies on violence enters onto the scene and begins to establish itself. It is the Messiah's peace, available to all. The pilgrimage of peoples to Zion has begun. The early Christians were sure of this. The old people of God is constantly supplemented by new arrivals, come to join God's church and his peace order. Yet although this process has been going on for over two thousand years, it is far from over. This peace must be accepted in the spirit of freedom.

(NEW REALITY)

(52) For as long as this is not the case, the old *(noahtic)* system of maintaining peace with violence will continue to assert itself. This state of affairs influences the situation in which Christians find themselves today. Even if the New Testament centers on the new reality that Jesus brought, it does not mean that the greater context of human reality no longer plays a role. We have seen that the Old Testament dealt with the relationship to this reality. The pilgrimage of

peoples to Zion provides a new dynamic impetus that now needs to be taken into account as it slowly displaces old frontiers.

(DANGER)

(53) Such situations could give rise to difficulties – and not just difficulties from outside. Such dangers as these correspond to dangers from within. Christ's own followers are constantly tempted to forget precisely what it was that led them out of Egypt and their old bad life. They want to return to their old fleshpots, where everything was more reliable and calculable and there was no need for a daily rekindling of trust in the continuation of this miracle. Those who have beaten their swords into pruning hooks tend to remember them as highly reliable instruments. Now they find themselves facing the beast defenseless.

(AUGUSTINE)

(54) Augustine was right to refer to Jeremiah's letter to the exiles in Babylon in his "City of God". Jeremiah writes that the exiled should "promote" the welfare of Babylon and pray for the city "for upon its welfare depends your own" (Jer 29, 7).[9] Augustine almost makes it sound as though peace in Babylon were the only peace available to the citizens of the city of God and that they could only ever hope for the other, everlasting peace. Such resignation may have been common up to late antiquity. It is not a characteristic of the Bible. Nonetheless, from Noah's time onwards this method of establishing peace by suppressing violence with the threat of legally enforceable violence has remained the norm although the vision enacted by God in Israel and Jesus of Nazareth is greater and more likely to stand the test of time.

(THE PEACE OF GOD'S PEOPLE)

(55) Christians also live in a world interwoven with violence that does not yet know and has not yet accepted the *Messianic* peace of God. That is why their prayers and actions must be directed towards establishing general peace for all. Even if the guardians of the old order that protects peace by threatening violence refuse to understand Christian motivation, even if they see it as a threat to their own domain – Christians cannot repay like with like. This is especially true in light of the fact that the Universal Church does not have a real home but is always, like Israel in Babylon, part of a more comprehensive global society. Christians have to abide by the generally accepted mechanisms and institutions for keeping violence in check. This much is clear from the manner in which prehistory antecedes the history of Israel and the Church. It is part and parcel of their service in the name of peace for all to promote the vision they are privileged to share by abjuring violence and furthering justice and reconciliation wherever and whenever they can.

(VIOLENCE – PEACE)

(56) It would be a misunderstanding to view the world in which we live as inherently violent – in which peace is protected rationally with violence – as opposed to an irrational and unreasonable Messianic order of the people of God. Ultimately, we are dealing with different approaches to securing peace based on different preconditions. The world order that we share with humanity today soberly assumes a human propensity for violence. It premises that violence can fly in the face of good sense and break out between individuals and whole nations. That is why

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[9] De Civitate Dei, XIX, 26.

mechanisms were developed to prevent violence and check its spread in order to maintain peace. Such mechanisms are reasonable and appropriate. By contrast, the peace of the Messianic people of God presupposes the miracle that man has implicit trust in God and his fellow man and is in a position to renounce the use of violence. Only faith can perceive a miracle such as this that transcends reason. However, reason can admit that the attitude born of this miracle can help overcome the limitations of an order protected by the threat of violence. Thus faith can help reason to surpass itself without abdicating reasonableness. Faith encourages and propels reason to take the initial steps towards a messianic peace within the existing system in order to create a more reasonable and humane world. Christians can partake of this experiment, secure in and strengthened by the experience that faith, the unconditional trust in the power of God's love, has made possible. Such experiences sharpen our awareness of the negative aspects of a peace protected by the threat of violence. Such an awareness can lead to dissatisfaction with the status quo and keep alive the desire for messianic peace.

II Elements of a Domestic and International Capability for Peace

II.1 Just Peace as a Socio-Ethical Objective

II.1.1 The Main Focus: Human Dignity

(GOSPEL OF PEACE)

(57) The Church is not in a position to present detailed political programs and strategies for peace. On the contrary, she must resist the temptation and any attempt to let the Gospel be politically instrumentalized. In the past, presumptuous attempts to realize the Kingdom of God have always spawned totalitarian systems that promised paradise and created hell on earth. Nonetheless, the Gospel and politics bear some relationship to one another. Political programs never just describe individual measures and decisions but a social ideal designed to provide a standard for concrete decisions and actions. In a democracy, this basic political orientation is the result of a process in which opinions are formed – a process that includes the Church and her view of humanity and society. We want to introduce the ideal of just peace into this process as a point of encounter between the Bible's message on the Kingdom of God and political reason. The Church must promulgate the gospel of peace and project signs of this peace into our world. Politics must create conditions that ensure human dignity. Both these tasks are directed at the same people and the one world in which they live. If the Church expresses opinions on political issues, she does so on the basis of a faith that is obviously not shared by everyone. Her arguments, however, are founded in common reason.

(HUMAN DIGNITY)

(58) The point at which the Church and politics interface is respect for human dignity. Christians believe that man is created in the image of God and endowed as God's counterpart with a unique and inalienable dignity. As a creature endowed with reason and responsibility, man is called upon to live with God, his fellow humans and all creation. Personal life and the role we play in the

world demands responsibility as individuals – but also as individuals in the context of a community. Faith recognizes how far man has strayed from his true destiny and forsaken his original vocation – it sees the extent of our sin. However, "despite the brokenness of human existence the person called by God is – through creation and redemption – enabled to responsibly organize the affairs of the world. This ability precedes any duty. The ethical demand stems from the God-given ability to act reasonably and responsibly. Such a gift and such encouragement is particularly important in the present situation of radical change."[10]

(THE GUIDELINE OF JUST PEACE)

(59) Those who believe that faith is a purely private matter are therefore wrong. Those who believe that the Church is best advised to stick to matters as far away from politics as possible, are also wrong. As John Paul II has said, the Church "believes that it is part of its mission to promulgate the dignity of man as he was created by God in his own image and so loved by God that he redeemed him through Christ." Christians are highly inclined to think man capable of great things. Such an attitude has consequences. Since man "stands above all things, and his rights and duties are universal and inviolable" … there must be made available to all men everything "necessary for living a genuinely human life: for example, food, clothing, housing, the right freely to choose his state of life and set up a family, the right to education, work, to his good name, to respect, to proper knowledge, the right to act according to the dictates of conscience and to safeguard his privacy, and rightful freedom even in matters of religion." (GS No. 26) In the last analysis, the ideal of a just peace is based on a very simple understanding: a world that does not provide the majority of people with the basic needs of a humane life is not viable. Even when there are no wars, such a world is still full of violence. A situation dominated by long-term and severe injustice is inherently violent. It follows that justice creates peace. The unconditional connection between justice and peace that we set out in an earlier pastoral letter bears the seeds of a policy of preventing violence as well as the obligation to enact it.

(ORIGINS OF DISCORD)

(60) "It is not God's will that there be war". This was how the first Assembly General of the Ecumenical Council of Churches put it in the aftermath of the Second World War. This later led to demands for a complete abolition of war, before it abolished mankind. But war will not let itself be banished by decree. Not long ago, the United Nations condemned all wars of aggression but this did not lead to their disappearance. The urge to destroy is too firmly rooted in the abyss of the human soul. Examining the causes behind the dynamics of murderous violence that divides nations, wrecks societies and destroys states, reveals sin and man's self-satisfied estrangement from God. "Insofar as men are sinners, the threat of war hangs over them, and will continue until the coming of Christ." (GS No. 78) The privatization of religion in modern society has allowed us to forget that sinfulness is not just an individual issue but has political and social consequences. The lust for power, greed, envy, resentment and vengefulness do not only harden man's heart. They blur his vision when assessing the perspectives for action at a temporal, factual and social level. Sin makes us blind and deaf with regard to the justified concerns, cares and fears, desires and hopes of our fellow men. It blocks efforts on behalf of social reform, peaceful compensation and reconciliation. Furthermore, sinfulness feeds off the concrete situations in which man finds himself. If we want a more peaceful world, we will have to deal with the deeper causes of war. Seen from the perspective of a just peace, this requires cutting violence off from its source by

[10] For a Future founded on Solidarity and Justice, No. 95.

preventing its onset and self-perpetuation. When the Cold War seemed to be driving mankind inexorably into a dead end, the concept of 'détente' provided a new way out of dilemma, despite all its attendant problems. It developed a subversive energy that transcended all 'mutually assured destruction' and contributed to bringing down the Berlin Wall. Today, the key word 'prevention' could fulfil a similar function. It could give wings to political fantasy and lead to the concept of combating war not with its own instruments but by undermining the logic of violence and counter-violence. The objective of just peace is to enable foresighted policies but only if it is backed up by the will to listen to and follow the voice of conscience. What is needed before any individual steps are taken is a fundamental political willingness to reflect continuously on the nature of moral responsibility.

II.1.2 International Public Welfare as a Challenge for Peace Policy

(FUNDAMENTAL ORIENTATION OF VALUES)

(61) Peace policies that pursue their objectives of preventing and avoiding conflict by combating the causes of war and violence and establishing durable peace structures require social consensus on fundamental values. Without these, it would be difficult to take account of the multitude of individual interests and do justice to and if necessary curtail the claims they are based on. In the international arena, individual states tend again and again to plot their courses shortsightedly and more or less exclusively on the basis of their own interests. Unless the common good is taken into account, policies lack the moral criteria against which to measure their actions. It is only the perspective of furthering a supranational common good that allows us "to recognize where the pursuit of the interests of the nation state loses its legitimacy because it violates the basic rights and interests of others and thus easily leads to new injustice or to the continuation of long-standing unjust relations."[11]

(GLOBAL PUBLIC WELFARE)

(62) The ideal of the common good is frequently criticized for its supposed irrelevance with regard to practical politics since nobody can really know what it means and who determines its definition. It is accused of being an empty formula that invites ideological abuse. However, we are convinced that this term is indispensable for achieving an understanding of future-oriented international politics. We do not see it as the greatest of joys for the greatest number of people but as the sum total of those social conditions necessary to guarantee one person a life of dignity. We are talking of a qualitative not a quantitative definition. Taking care of the common good is the responsibility of all actors in society, the forces of a civil society as well as those of the market. It is the state, however, that is called upon first and foremost to create the framework conditions for dignified co-existence and ensure that they are maintained. Globalization is only now showing us what has been evident for some time now in the area of peace preservation: the common good has increasingly become a supranational, global concern. In addition, the long-term effects of certain technologies have extended the time-span of our responsibility for the common good, forcing us to take the welfare of coming generations into account as well.

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[11] Statement on Peace, issued by the Commission of the Bishops' Conferences of the European Union, March 1999, No. 21.

II.1.3 Justice and Solidarity – Guiding Principles in the Search for a Just Peace

(JUSTICE AND PEACE)

(63) The motto of just peace emphasizes the deep and irrevocable connection between justice and peace which biblical tradition bears witness to. During the conflict with communism and socialism, great emphasis was placed on the inalienability of basic civil rights. This continues to be of paramount importance. Yet the end of the East-West conflict has led to a shift in emphasis. Pope John Paul specified the reasons for this in his Encyclical *Centesimus Annus*: "The Marxist solution has failed, but the realities of marginalization and exploitation remain in the world, especially the Third World ... Against these phenomena the church strongly raises her voice. Vast multitudes are still living in conditions of great material and moral poverty. The collapse of the communist system in so many countries certainly removes an obstacle to facing these problems in an appropriate and realistic way, but it is not enough to bring about their solution. Indeed, there is a risk that a radical capitalistic ideology could spread which refuses even to consider these problems in the a priori belief that any attempt to solve them is doomed to failure, and which blindly entrusts their solution to the free development of market forces." (No. 42) After nearly ten years we know that this prognosis has unfortunately proved well-founded. The consequences cannot be overlooked: widespread de-solidarization against a background of growing injustice in a world in the throes of globalization. We therefore believe it is unrealistic to count only on the panacea of deregulation. Neither society nor the state nor international institutions must be allowed to abdicate responsibility for justice.

(COMMUNITY OF LAW)

(64) Yet justice signifies more than merely ensuring an equitable distribution of opportunities. The community of law established early on by man soon transcended the issues of individual communities and states above all through the institution of international treaties. The Bible exemplifies this issue through the covenant that God established with man. God incorporates man in a legal community that he himself founded and that he too is obligated to honor. The idea of a supranational commitment was a formative influence in the political thought of modern times. Taken in conjunction with the idea of the global common good it leads to the demand for an international legal order with structures that enable the enforcement of law. This concept has been anchored for a long time in Catholic social teaching and is part of its ideas on peace. As early as 1917, Pope Benedikt XV demanded that the power of weapons should be replaced by the power of law. On a more recent note, the Dresden Ecumenical Council demanded the "step-by-step introduction and promotion of international institutions in the area of jurisdiction and arbitration of international conflicts". This is a centerpiece of policies aimed at conflict prevention.

(SOLIDARITY)

(65) Like justice, solidarity has its source in an awareness of our fellowship, in sympathy and in respect for our fellow man. It is becoming ever clearer today that we are morally and legally obliged to observe not only the demands of justice but also of solidarity. The extent of practical solidarity shown will therefore act as an indicator of whether and to which extent a group can consider itself a community. Catholic social teaching sees a close connection between the idea of

global solidarity and that of all men as God's children, since God is the creator and therefore also our father. This sense of close family ties implies more than a purely legal community. Although solidarity is based on the idea of a common weal, it seeks, like love, to eliminate potentially noisome influences even if these are not actually illegal. In other words, we extend solidarity above all to those who are suffering. The network of solidarity is like a social heating system, which is why we speak of coldness when solidarity is lacking. This is why it is not enough to merely sharpen awareness of the need for universal solidarity on the basis of our increasing global interdependence – along the lines of 'we are all sitting in the same boat'. A community of survival is far from being a community bound by solidarity. The ethos of survival can just as easily lead to an attitude of 'every man for himself'. Solidarity starts where the force of weapons and the power of law ends, and where individual interest, however justified it may be, is prepared to play second fiddle to the concern for others. That is why the scope of solidarity is broader and wider and imbues a community with dignity. Pope Pius XII chose the words *Opus iustituae pax* as his motto: peace as a work of justice. Pope John Paul II added the concept of solidarity: *Opus solidaritatis pax* – peace as the fruit of solidarity – and combined both concepts in the motto: *Opus iustitiae et solidaritatis* – peace as the product of justice and solidarity. We need both if mankind is to become a global community capable of co-existence: "The goal of peace, so desired by everyone, will certainly be achieved through the putting into effect of social and international justice, but also through the practice of the virtues which favor togetherness, and which teach us to live in unity, so as to build in unity, by giving and receiving, a new society and a better world" (SRS No. 39).

II.2 Priority for Conflict Consultations Aimed at Preventing the Use of Force

(PREVENTING VIOLENCE)

(66) The changing political situation worldwide proves that the search for new ways of preventing and limiting the use of force by instituting the appropriate conflict consultations is an absolute priority. There should not be any irreconcilable differences in this respect between those who reject the use of force on principle and those prepared to accept it in an extreme case. If the use of force is only acceptable when all efforts at peaceful arbitration have failed, this means in a positive sense that efforts to prevent violence are not only recommended but ultimately an obligation. The principle of prevention must always take priority over damage limitation. However, the basic priority of preventing violence must also be made operational at the political, legal and institutional level. There are many avenues of action here ranging from early warning to methods of arbitration to military-supported crisis management. The former Secretary General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali proposed a series of thought-provoking proposals to this end in his "Agenda for Peace" (1992).

(SMALLER EVIL)

(67) The obligation to base political action on the principle of non-violence along the lines of preventing and restricting the use of force is no guarantee for avoiding conflict situations altogether. The principle of non-violence can find itself competing with our duty to protect helpless people from exposure to massive injustice and brutal violence. In cases such as these, we are obliged to support the innocent, the weak and the beleaguered. It will often be the case that the use of force in retaliation proves permissible or desirable as the lesser of two evils. However, it is imperative to weigh the pros and cons of each case with the greatest of care. Human life must

always be the greatest good, outweighing consideration of all other earthly goods. The use of violence in self-defense and in emergencies remains an evil and it will often be difficult to assess the consequences of a decision to exercise it. This only serves to emphasize how important it is "to do everything to prevent such a situation from supervening." (JP 4.1)

(FORGIVENESS)

(68) No policy of peace will ever be able to put an end to war and violence completely. Many countries are faced with the necessity not only of clearing away the rubble of destroyed cities and villages and rebuilding settlements but also of dealing with the spiritual carnage left by dictatorship, war or civil war. The confusion of such emotions provides fertile ground for the seeds of old enmities. Pope John Paul II pointed this out in his message to World Peace Day in 1997: "The difficulty of forgiving does not only arise from the circumstances of the present. History carries with it a heavy burden of violence and conflict which cannot easily be shed. Abuses of power, oppression and wars have brought suffering to countless human beings and, even if the causes of these sad events are lost in the distant past, their destructive effects live on, fuelling fear, suspicion, hatred and division among families, ethnic groups and whole peoples." (No. 3) That is why we must concentrate our efforts on analyzing history, searching for truth and justice and according forgiveness and reconciliation a central position in the policy of prevention.

(NON-VIOLENCE DOES NOT EQUAL PASSIVITY)

(69) The implementation of a policy aimed at the prevention of force requires money, staff, organization and technology. It also calls for energy, courage and imagination, single-mindedness and patience as well as many other virtues. We are convinced that all abilities and capabilities that this truly huge task demands will only then lead to success if they are inspired by the spirit of non-violence. This alone suffices to illustrate that non-violence has nothing to do with passivity or cowardice in the face of injustice, war and violence. On the contrary: the spirit of non-violence stops us from accepting the omnipresence of violence as self-evident or becoming accustomed to the use of force as a means of solving conflicts. It reminds us that in the midst of a world infused with violence, Christ showed us a way of breaking out of the vicious circle of violence and overcoming its fateful logic. In our definition, non-violence is an "active, dynamic and constructive force …, based on the inalienable respect for human life" (Final Document EÖV No. 86). Respect for human dignity should inform all our thoughts, emotions and actions. It is therefore our belief that the spirit of non-violence is the irreplaceable source of inspiration for political, social and economic programs that truly serve the promotion of peace; for the development of concepts, methods and instruments for regulating conflicts aimed at minimizing and overcoming violence; and ultimately as a standard for everyday life in families, at the workplace and in all social relations. It allows us to the see the one world in which we all live and on which the sun shines over good and evil from a new perspective and encourages us to refashion that world in the light of its finest opportunities.

II.3 Human Rights and Sustainable Development

(DOMESTIC CONFLICTS)

(70) The intensity of domestic conflicts increased considerably during the last decade of the twentieth century. They were often carried out with a frightening amount of bloodshed. Many of

these conflicts were viewed by observers and by those concerned as ethnic conflicts, although we believe that such an interpretation should be expressed with great caution. The causes are often economic, social and political adversity – termed 'ethnic' once the conflict has started. The same applies to the increase in fundamentalism and to radical ideological concepts. All these are phenomena of rejection: rejection of a world of which countless people and groups see only the dark side. This is not to say that there are no cultural conflicts in today's societies that are indeed rooted uniquely in social injustice. However, we can only deal with them peacefully if the spirit of tolerance is respected.

(STRUCTURAL REFORM)

(71) In order to overcome the basic causes of 'ethnic', 'religious' or 'ideological' conflict, we need to reform the structures of state, society and economy enabling them to enact greater justice. Those institutions able to exercise a civilizing effect on conflict solution are of special importance. Developing countries generally lack experience of the rule of law and democracy. Their populations have little say in the political process. However, reforms will only lead to viable results if progress is achieved on economic and social issues. Human rights and democracy, economic and social development and the preservation of the resources necessary to sustain life are all closely connected. They are of supreme importance for a peace policy based on the concept of preventing violence and defusing violent situations.

II.3.1 Human Rights: Basic Guarantees of Human Dignity

(HUMAN RIGHTS – HUMAN DIGNITY)

(72) Human rights are an expression of the specific dignity inherent to man that differentiates him from his fellow creatures. Notwithstanding all individual differences and cultural peculiarities and despite differences of race, nation and sex, all humans are defined by their dignity and the treatment they merit on the basis of this dignity. Individuals deserve to enjoy certain rights purely on the basis of being human. These rights specify the conditions that must be fulfilled for human dignity to be realized. Human rights are therefore rights that antecede state laws; it is not the state's job to guarantee them. The state is obliged to respect them.

(UNIVERSAL AND INDIVISIBLE)

(73) Human rights are not only universal but also indivisible. It is not just that they are owed to every individual but that each individual is owed all human rights. This definition cancels out the view of human rights that categorizes certain rights as subsidiary or non-applicable for certain cultural groups. At its 1993 conference on human rights in Vienna, the United Nations did well to insist on the universality and indivisibility of human rights in the face of critical voices from Asia. Since the concept of human rights stems from the traditions of the Christian west however, their universal validity must be convincingly argued vis-à-vis other cultures. Such discussions must focus on aspects of man's centrality in other cultures and his concomitant dignity as established by human rights. They should also concentrate on ways of identifying generally binding values through the use of a faculty all men share – reason. This is one possibility of achieving a mutual conviction that human rights are universally applicable.

(CREATING PRE-CONDITIONS)

(74) The universal nature of human rights also obliges all concerned to create the economic and social preconditions necessary for its realization. Claiming rights for oneself on the basis of one's humanity means that others must also be entitled to these rights. Denial of these rights amounts to a betrayal of the other. All people should be able to claim the rights owed to them. That is why human rights also provide protection for the poor.

(CREATION AND HUMAN RIGHTS)

(75) The concept of human rights has its roots in the story of creation. This is clear from the bible passage that follows the flood in which God sanctions death as a punishment for murder for "in the image of God has man been made" (Gn 9, 6). The right to life is therefore based on man's creation after God's likeness (cf. Gn 1, 26). This applies to other human rights. As individuals we are endowed with a freedom that is not arbitrary but challenges us to realize our responsibility. This includes above all relations with our fellow humans. We cannot reconcile human dignity with the selfish exercise of a freedom that affects the situation of others through actions or decisions.

(BASIC RIGHTS)

(76) Although it is not mentioned by name, the Deuteronomical code of Israel reflects essential positions inherent in the modern understanding of human rights. The Decalogue on which Deuteronomical law is based starts with the recognition that God has led Israel out of Egyptian slavery into freedom. God gives his people the basic right to self-determination on which he constructs a dignified social order in the Deuteronomical code. Deuteronomy is always aware of the possibility that human dignity can be injured anew at any time through poverty or enslavement and provides mechanisms to counteract such developments. Although there is no regulatory procedure for the legal implementation of formally specified human rights, Deuteronomy speaks of the possibility of the "poor crying out" to human judges or even to God against the rich. The "*cry of the poor*" was the frightening sign that injustice was rife and could result in the harshest consequences. It was heard sometimes even when the rich were not injuring any rights, were maybe only claiming what they considered their own "rights" – but without considering their partner's dignity. The Bible makes it clear that justice can force us to do more than merely observe binding positive law. The same can be said of the modern understanding of human rights with regard to the basic conditions for a dignified existence that forms the ethical standard for every concrete legal order. The Christian understanding of human rights is based not only on the essence and dignity of man but above all on the call for everyone to partake of the Kingdom of God. Nobody, whom God wishes to lead to the community of his love, even if he is still on the way, may be repressed or restricted in his opportunities.

(HUMAN RIGHTS CATEGORIES)

(77) Recent human rights history has seen the emergence of different categories of human rights. The European enlightenment and the philosophical theory of natural law concentrated initially on the liberal laws of freedom as a possibility of protecting the individual from the caprice of absolutist rulers or all-powerful state authorities. In view of the widespread social distress during the 19th and early 20th century there was a growing awareness that elemental social standards had

to be safeguarded in order to guarantee a life of human dignity – standards that can also be understood as human rights. These considerations were inspired by the Encyclical of Leo XIII, *Rerum Novarum* (1891) and Catholic social teaching.

(UN-CHARTER)

(78) Still reeling from the shock of the Second World War, representatives of 51 States signed the United Nations Charter on 26 June 1945 in San Francisco. They had started the process of creating a peaceful world community. This Charter is the first important document of international law to establish the close connection between the objective of maintaining or reestablishing world peace and the "respect of human rights and basic freedoms for all irrespective of race, gender, language or religion." This led the United Nations and, at a regional level, the Council of Europe, to promulgate numerous declarations and adopt binding treaties on human rights. One of the more recent of these resolutions passed by the UN Security Council in August 1999 has a direct bearing on peace and human rights. It concerns protection of children in armed conflicts and is intended to prevent the continued abuse of minors as child soldiers.

(COLLECTIVE HUMAN RIGHTS)

(79) For some time now there have been demands for the respect and implementation of collective human rights. They are intended to help nations or social groups to improve their social, political and economic living conditions. Developing countries were able to bring about the adoption of a UN-resolution describing the "right to development" as an inalienable human right in 1986. However, such political processes must make sure that individual human rights are not relativized or restricted in terms of their universal applicability in favor of collective rights.

(INFRINGEMENTS)

(80) Recent years have seen a change in the consciousness of the international community: massive infringements of human rights in one country are no longer regarded as a domestic issue but as a threat to international peace. This is one reason why the Security Council decided in April 1991 after the second Gulf War to counteract the specifications of its own Charter and intervene in the domestic affairs of another state by ordering measures to help the discriminated and repressed Kurdish civilian population – in the face of protest from the Iraqi leadership. The establishment of an ad-hoc-tribunal for the criminal persecution of massive human rights infringements and crimes against humanity in former Yugoslavia (1993) and Rwanda (1994) were steps in the same direction. The United Nations is clearly determined not to let violations of human rights go unpunished any longer.

(WOMEN AND HUMAN RIGHTS)

(81) Improving international protection of human rights also serves to improve the situation of women in armed conflicts. International law has started a process of instituting legislation that deals with enforced prostitution and rape as acts of war. This takes far better account of the gender-specific vulnerability of women than has hitherto been the case.

(INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL COURT)

(82) One further important step was taken when the international community of states adopted the statutes of a permanent international criminal court in July 1998 in Rome. This institution is intended for the future persecution of the most serious international crimes (genocide, crimes against humanity, war crimes and aggression). The establishment of such a court of law, which the church has been promoting for some years now, sends a clear signal that such crimes will not go unpunished in future.

II.3.2 Democratization and the Rule of Law

(DEMOCRATIC CULTURE)

(83) Democracy as a model of political order presupposes not only a democratic social culture but also demands a culture of peace. Experience has shown us that states founded on the principles of freedom and the rule of law generally refrain from using violence to settle conflicts. On the contrary, they are able to build relations with each other that are capable of supporting strains whilst their relations with non-democratic states remain vulnerable to the outbreak of violent confrontation. The ability to maintain peace at a domestic and international level is obviously closely linked.

(INNER STABILITY)

(84) The inner stability of democratic systems based on the rule of law is guaranteed essentially by institutional forms of non-violent conflict-settlement and compromise. Democracy can only work, however, when both politics and citizens are bound by the ethos of democracy and the rule of law and imbue those institutions with life. What is required is not only adherence to law and respect for majority decisions but attention to the common good and an honest concern for a peaceful and equitable distribution of interests. If the general population or politics narrow their perspective to nationalistic or ethic-centric objectives, democracy will be sacrificed to particular interests.

(DEMOCRACY IN DEVELOPING COUNTRIES)

(85) Experiences made in the area of development policies over the past decades have refuted the claim that democracy is suitable only for economically and socially progressive countries. On the contrary, the example given by several states has shown that a policy of 'firm hands' has led to a self-service attitude amongst the ruling elite resulting in economic decline. Worse yet: an appreciation of law as a means for solving conflicts will wither under such circumstances, as will a social atmosphere that favors the peaceful solution of conflict. For future cooperation with developing countries it is imperative that the rule of law and democracy are promoted alongside economic and social development. Both dimensions are mutually interdependent and serve to promote the capability for peace of states and societies.

(MINORITIES)

(86) There is a close connection between safeguarding human rights and establishing democratic systems on the one hand and respect for social minorities on the other. Most states have to deal with the problems of minorities that are rooted in the historical, sometimes arbitrary drawing of

boundaries and various forms of migration. Pope John Paul II has emphasized the importance of respecting the rights of these groups.[12] Minorities are not only entitled on principle to have their rights respected. They must also be allowed and empowered to preserve and develop their own culture, practice their religion and participate in political life. Conversely, minorities must be prepared to serve the common weal. Wherever members of different nations co-exist in one state, it is a matter of principle for that state to guarantee the equitable development of all national groups in a context of legitimate plurality. The existence of so many multi-ethnic states clearly relativizes the idea of a standard homogenous national state in which nation and state are identical.

(CREATING A POLITICAL ENVIRONMENT TO COUNTERACT THE DESIRE FOR SECESSION)

(87) Experience has shown that there is a direct connection between the degree in which minorities feel themselves to have been disadvantaged and their propensity to secure the rights they feel they have been denied by founding their own states. Such efforts to achieve independence often set off a chain of terrorist violence countered with more violence by the state. In addition, they are often linked to the call for a revision of existing boundaries which, in turn, pose a potential danger to international peace. Preventive peace policies must therefore aim to provide federal structures, generous settlement of autonomy issues and financial compensation in order to counteract the desire for secession. In order to guarantee a future for our states we should not resort to re-negotiating boundaries but divesting those already in existence of their divisive nature. The model of a national state needs to take a back-seat and allow pluralism and federalism have a greater say in the shaping of states. If and when new states are created, they should only receive international recognition once they provide sufficient guarantees for an effective protection of human rights and minorities.

II.3.3 Social and Economic Development

(PROGRESS IN DEVELOPMENT)

(88) An increasing number of countries have become involved in the international economic exchange, supported by international development policies over the past four decades. This led to an improvement in the material living standards of many people, above all in parts of Asia and Latin America. The death of women in childbirth and infant mortality declined in many poor countries. The incidence of some diseases was reduced, others were eliminated completely. Until the arrival of AIDS, life expectancy rose nearly everywhere.

(NEGATIVE DIAGNOSIS)

(89) Unfortunately, this progress in development is matched by serious negative developments:

- The number of 'absolutely poor' people, lacking in food, clothing, habitation, education and health care may have sunk slightly in relation to their percentage of a growing world population but has increased in absolute terms to well over one billion people,

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[12] Cf. Pope John Paul II: Message on World Peace Day 1989: "To Build Peace, Respect Minorities", No. 5-8.

- The poverty gap is not only increasing globally but also in many societies. The 1998 United Nations Development Report found that the discrepancy between the 1960 poverty gap, when the income of the richest fifth of the world's inhabitants totaled thirty times that of the poorest fifth had grown by 1995 to a differential of 82:1.[13] The fifty to sixty poorest countries of the world (above all in Africa) are more or less completely outside the global circle of economic and commercial trade.

- Many 'third world' countries find themselves in the grip of a vicious circle of underdevelopment which has lasted for years: poverty, political instability, debt, violence and disrespect of human rights, corruption and mismanagement as well as the poverty-linked abuse of natural resources are related in their causality and prevent development.

(GLOBALIZATION)

(90) In assessing the chances and risks involved in globalization, it is as well to take a sober attitude. Rapid developments above all in the area of communications technology and the liberalization of markets are leading to great changes. This concerns investments, the transfer of capital and production and trade. The effects that globalization has hitherto had on distribution give little cause for optimism. Those that have benefited are the industrialized nations of the West and some of the so-called threshold states that were able to take advantage of the international distribution of labor. However, many of the poorest countries have not been able to benefit from the positive effects of globalization and are in danger of finding themselves marginalized by international economic relations. In addition, we need to take account of the effects that globalization can have within individual societies. Even if the economic data of a given state changes for the better as a result of its participation in the international market, this does not mean that the poorer strata of the population will profit. The social cohesion of a society could find itself damaged even further.

(GLOBAL ECONOMIC ORDER)

(91) Economic policy and shaping the world economy with the aim of creating greater equality of opportunity both have a bearing not only on economic prosperity but also on peace. Economic integration has led not only in Europe (European Union) but also worldwide to closer ties between the economy and the opportunities open to individuals. Economic exchange and the increase in prosperity have also increased the costs of war. People are beginning to realize that socio-economic intertwining and mutual dependence are creating a situation in which they need each other in order to develop and are better advised to look to the future in a spirit of openness and exchange rather than conflict and restrictions. This is why it is so imperative to take the dramatic division of the world seriously: some are able to profit from the system of international labor division, others find themselves left behind. However, if the economic and social situation of large sections of the world's population forces them into a position of hopelessness and despair, the concept of justice can quickly turn into a problem for peace. The crises and wars that Africa has witnessed over the past years to such an extent that the structures in some states have broken down completely, are the result of a web of economic and social injustice and a lack of perspective above all for young people. It should not come as a surprise to anybody when the pressure of distress sets off huge migratory movements. The rich nations are most worried about this prospect, although it is the poor countries that bear by far the greater burden. The real reasons

[13] Globale Trends 2000, 80.

behind severe international conflicts in the new millennium will not be found in the fata morgana of a "culture war". They are the consequences of an increasingly political and social de-solidarization.

(IMPORTANT DEMANDS)

(92) In view of these pressing problems, we would like to recall two essential demands that need to be taken into consideration in shaping national and international economic and social relations if the pressure of poverty is to be overcome and a situation capable of sustaining peace is to be created.

- Orientation towards a global common weal precludes structures and institutions that prevent some groups from participating in development. Whether or not the exchange between rich and poor countries is commensurate with the demand for justice will be evident from the results of such economic cooperation and above all from the extent to which those currently at greatest disadvantage are seen to benefit.

- Those in a more advantageous position are obliged to show solidarity vis-à-vis the poor by sharing their prosperity. Unless the economically stronger nations display this solidarity, the poor nations will not be in a position to use their potential for independent development. It is right to point out that lasting economic, social and ecological development is in the interest of those currently enjoying the economic advantage. However, a look at some poorer countries shows that policies determined solely by interests will not lead to a significant improvement. We must be willing to show self-less solidarity at an international level.

(ECONOMIC INTEGRATION)

(93) The international social issue cannot be solved by excluding the poor countries from global economic activity. "Even in recent years it was thought that the poorest countries would develop by isolating themselves from the world market and by depending only on their own resources. Recent experience has shown that countries which did this have suffered stagnation and recession, while the countries which experienced development were those which succeeded in taking part in the general interrelated economic activities at the international level. It seems therefore that the chief problem is that of gaining fair access to the international market, based not on the unilateral principle of the exploitation of the natural resources of these countries but on the proper use of human resources." (CA 33). This is why we support the integration of all countries in the international division of labor as well as treaties that really open up markets to poor countries. "On condition that world trade is not further distorted by protectionist efforts of industrialized countries this market access is even more important than development aid."[14] Such an approach demands significant changes in the policies of the developed countries. Hitherto, they were always intent on supporting liberalization in economically profitable markets whilst complicating access to markets that are important for developing countries (such as agriculture, steel, textiles and clothing).

(DEBT-RELEASE)

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[14] For a Future Founded on Solidarity and Justice, No. 87.

(94) Technological deficits such as those in infrastructure and a lack of expertise with regard to world markets make it particularly difficult for workers from less developed countries to gain access to international markets – even if they accept minimum wages. Whilst the integration of poor countries on the world market must therefore be sought and effected, it cannot be regarded as a panacea for overcoming current development problems and poverty issues. The international community has resolved to halve the number of those living in absolute poverty by the year 2015. This objective will only be realized, if greater efforts are expended on behalf of development policies and an effective international social policy is launched. Writing off the international debt of poor countries needs to be consistently (re-)enforced. Not only is foreign debt one of the main reasons behind state bankruptcy, it also cancels out all efforts at encouraging development. Poor countries need to find ways of dealing above all with the nepotism of the ruling classes and the all-engulfing tide of corruption. It is just as important to guarantee the exercise of law and transparency of government actions as well as admitting comprehensive population participation in political life as it is to re-distribute or tap resources (capital, land, education).

(POLITICAL GLOBALIZATION)

(95) Economic globalization must be accompanied by political globalization at international level. The political power of national states will decrease as a result of globalization and this will require the creation of a worldwide framework for economic and social action in the form of legally binding international agreements. This is by no means a utopian vision. International organizations such as the World Trade Organization, the World Labor Organization and the International Monetary Fund already constitute pillars of an international economic, political and social order. In the past, measures taken by these institutions unfortunately often exacerbated the situation. They were oriented solely towards liberalization, deregulation and adaptation to western economic forms. In future, this network of institutions will need to take adequate account of the interests of poorer countries. These must be able to enlist the assistance of international organizations to create realistic opportunities in a competitive world market. That is why it is important to temper competition, or even restrict it with regulations that take account of social and environmental issues. In implementing measures aimed at structural re-adjustments in developing countries, the effects of such programs on the poor and the weak need to be taken into consideration. Otherwise, the existing distress will worsen and new forms of injustice will arise.

II.3.4 Preserving the Resources Necessary for the Sustenance of Life

(PROTECTING NATURAL RESOURCES)

(96) Far-sighted peace policies will include protection of the world's natural resources in their agenda. The endangering and destruction of these resources obviously has far-reaching consequences for peace. Environmental damage has already resulted in the kind of supply shortages that lead to war. This danger has increased significantly, in particular as a result of the increase in world population, environmentally harmful agricultural methods and the heedless over-exploitation of natural resources. The latter has taken place on an unprecedented scale since the beginning of the industrial revolution, largely as a result of expanding industrialization. Changes in the earth's atmosphere will influence our climate and have unforeseeable consequences. Certain forms of agriculture in the "Third World" are leading to increased desertification, sometimes forcing the local population to abandon their traditional living spaces.

Special attention must be paid to water supply. Experts are worried that water, not oil, could be the cause of future conflicts.

(HALF-HEARTED COMMITMENT)

(97) Ecology is a particularly good example of the mutual contingency of problems. That is why a multi-faceted approach is needed to deal with them. Individual behavior is one of the most influential factors in this context. There are few areas in which people behave in such a contradictory and half-hearted manner. The lack of decisiveness and consequence also characterizes the environmental policies pursued by states and the community of states. The 1992 Earth Summit in Rio seemed to mark a real turning point: the conclusion of the climate convention, agreement on the protection of species and preparations for a convention on forestry and the protection of forests augured well. However, it was above all the catalogue of principles in the so-called Rio declaration and the Agenda 21 program for action that held out the promise of a long-term change of attitude in society and politics. This has turned out to be something of an illusion. The majority of intentions, plans and objectives proclaimed during the Earth Summit have not been put into practice. Short-term economic interests dictate attitudes: "There is a lack of structural pre-conditions and international treaties necessary to establish widespread environmentally friendly economic patterns and solve the clash of interests between economy and ecology in a constructive fashion. Owing to a lack of globally binding social and ecological framework conditions, global competition forces many countries to pursue economic policies at the expense of their natural resources".[15]

(THE ADDICTION TO WANTING MORE)

(98) The discordance in attitudes to the environment and in environmental policies exemplifies a deeper conflict. It is not only economic constraints that make environmental destruction inevitable but a deeply rooted cultural obsession with the search for more, for a quantitative increase in everything – whatever the cost. We can only free ourselves from this pattern if we re-discover our own selves, our real needs and a deeper meaning to life. For us Christians, this means re-discovering ourselves as God's creatures and as part of creation. Man is not Lord of creation but God's trustee in caring for it. This empowers and obliges him to treat nature respectfully as a collective commodity. Nobody has the right to absolute ownership or absolute right of disposal. We are responsible for preserving the natural world for ourselves and for future generations.

(LIFESTYLE)

(99) How will we learn to live with creation and not against it? This will require a reversal of attitude both at a private and a political level. The latter will have to strive to correct the one-sided worldwide trend towards deregulation. Natural resources and social standards require protection that is both regulated and binding. However, we also need to practice our ability to do without and respect limitations. Seen positively we can say that "it is not a question of lowering our expectations of life but of raising them with a view to the variety and richness of our environment."[16] Less can be more. The "Limits of Growth" (D. Meadows) appear at first glance to be merely quantitative: not enough resources, not enough land, too many people. However,

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[15] German Bishops' Conference. Commission VI: Handeln für die Zukunft der Schöpfung. No. 20
[16] German Ecumenical Assembly in Stuttgart, Erklärung von Stuttgart, No. 5

there is a problem of quality behind the issue of quantity: modern society has too little because it uses too much and it uses too much because it does not know what it really needs. It is hope and not fear - fear of not getting enough of the world's goods or fear of the end of the world – which determines a Christian way of life. "Hope and the belief in creation are indivisible, two sides of one coin. That is why our hope is linked to our willingness to recognize this world in all its fatal and inimical discord and without cynicism or false credulity as something worth honoring, as a reason to be thankful and joyful; as God's creation".[17]

II.4 International Cooperation

(INTEGRATION)

(100) The Federal Republic of Germany has experienced the advantages of international cooperation at both a political and economic level to a greater extent than other countries. Although the "Third Reich" started a World War and committed horrific crimes, people from neighboring states that had suffered devastation and repression reached out to the German nation in a spirit of friendship and reconciliation. Those in positions of power in the Federal Republic of Germany considered it a huge challenge to make use of the chance to re-structure foreign relations and fulfil Germany's obligation to pursue peace based on its experience of war. The path they chose was founded on alliances, economic cooperation and cultural and personal exchange. From the very beginning, the western part of Germany participated in the European Community. This would not have been possible had it not been preceded by Franco-German reconciliation. Although the dynamism underlying western European integration is linked to the rivalry between East and West, the process of European integration should not be viewed solely from this perspective. The experiences of two World Wars also played an important role: the fragile political structures in place before and between the wars had to be replaced in order to overcome the fatal recurrence of hostilities between inimical nations.

(EUROPEAN UNION)

(101) So far, the European Union has been a uniquely peaceful structure on a continent dominated for centuries by conflict and war. The European Union's post-World-War-II objective of maintaining peace has been secured step-by-step in a series of stages aimed at political and economic integration. Tariffs Union linked Germany and France and made them mutually dependent. The respective iron and steel industries were integrated and can now no longer be instrumentalized to make weapons for a war between the two countries. Further steps towards a Common Market and a Single Currency have involved a mutual division of labor as well as linking the standard of living and development opportunities in European societies to other aspects of development. Such progress renders the likelihood of war between European States improbable. This economic integration was accompanied by the creation of joint political institutions. "The process of European integration, particularly Economic and Monetary Union (EMU), stands for the insight that economic and social policies aspiring to remain independent of international markets require over-arching decision-making and coordinating bodies. The institutions and instruments that have developed within the European Union – and they need to be developed further – offer possibilities of expanding common European economic and social policies."[18] There is now a definite awareness within the European Union that economic and

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[17] Synod of Wurzburg, Unsere Hoffnung. Part I, No. 7
[18] For a Future Founded on Solidarity and Justice, No. 83.

political integration alone is not enough. Integration requires solidarity between the economically and politically strong participants and those that are weaker. The policy of integration also had a global perspective: it was seen as Europe's contribution towards world peace. Without European integration it would not have been possible either to maintain fifty years of peace and stability in West Europe or guarantee the growth of European countries devastated by the Second World War. This has led to the development of an integrative partially supranational association of states within the European Union that is looking to integrate states from the east and become a pillar in a world peace order. The economically and politically strong states must renounce their own advantages where necessary so as to combat poverty, distress and political destabilization effectively in the countries of the East.

(COOPERATION)

(102) This example shows us what we can harvest by overcoming the fragile policy of merely maintaining a balance of power. It is all the more alarming to see the lack of structures and institutions in today's world necessary to deal with security risks at international level. The supranational interest displayed by the community of states is not organized effectively enough to prevail over the individual interests asserted by national states in cases of conflict. Experience has shown that the strongest countries or unions tend to depend more on their own strength than on the capabilities of international institutions. The opinion is often expressed that continued competition for power and influence between national states cannot be overcome. If we expect confrontation rather than cooperation, our policies are likely to be structured accordingly.

(DEFICITS)

(103) Such traditional ideas on foreign policy are not suited to overcoming the problems we currently face in maintaining peace and security:

(LACK OF COOPERATION)

- They lead to poor performances by organizations such as the United Nations and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) which are not able to fully exploit the opportunities at their disposal for preventing and dealing with crises. Every operation depends upon the consent of member states and can be blocked in cases of conflict. The peace and security system lacks reliable cooperation mechanisms.

(HESITATION)

- Time and again, too much competition and the lack of cooperation prevent timely action being taken. The 90s have a sad record in this respect: rivalry between national states and a drawn-out to-and-fro between the community of states prevented early action both in former Yugoslavia as well as in Rwanda.

(LACK OF WORLD DOMESTIC POLICY)

- The much-quoted "vital interests" of a state have undergone significant changes. Globalization has made it easier to define and implement these interests without considering the needs of others. The framework within which national interests are established is

determined by mutual dependencies. Disregarding these interests will result in damage to one's own domestic interests in the long run. We are a long way from overcoming traditional foreign policy notions in favor of the objectives and opportunities provided by world domestic policy.

(CONFIDENCE-BUILDING)

(104) The example of European integration has shown that building up functional cooperation structures is a lengthy process. Political and legal systems of cooperation do not just develop overnight. Old thought processes and mutual distrust can only be overcome step-by-step. In order to achieve calculability on the international front, states must enter into agreements of their own volition. We need political arrangements that allow us to predict at least to some degree the other side's reaction. When such processes are successful, confidence will follow. The advantages of cooperation will become apparent. Given such a foundation, lasting and legally binding forms of cooperation will develop that will function independently not only of the emotions and opinions currently prevailing in individual states, but also of particular interests. Finally, we should not give up on the objective of progressively transferring domestic right of disposal over military means to the world community.

(INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS)

(105) This is the path that must be followed if those organizations originally founded to safeguard and promote peace are to achieve greater stability and develop further. The Second Vatican Council emphasized their importance some years ago: "Already existing international and regional organizations certainly deserve well of the human race. They represent the fist attempts at laying the foundations of an international level for a community of all men to work towards the solutions of the very serious problems of our times, and specifically towards the encouragement of progress everywhere and the prevention of wars of all kinds." (GS 84).

(UNITED NATIONS)

(106) The United Nations were often unable to take action during the period of the Cold War owing to the notorious divisions between the permanent members of the Security Council. Nonetheless, they were able even in this period to maintain peacekeeping operations in some areas of the world, thus contributing to the peaceful solution of conflicts. It would also be a mistake to underestimate the work done by the UN's many subsidiary organizations at many different levels worldwide where their efforts helped improve standards in society and contributed towards keeping the peace. Since the opposition between east and west has been overcome, new opportunities have opened up to shape the United Nations as an effective institution of the international community of states. This pre-supposes a willingness on the part of the stronger states (above all the United States) to develop and use cooperative peace policies rather than developing their own power-base. Reform of the UN, which has been discussed for a long time and is universally recognized as necessary must get underway and progress. Finances and personnel need to be re-stocked so that the United Nations really can get on with the work it was created to do.

(OSCE)

(107) The concepts laid out in the UN-Charter provide for similarly structured regional organizations to support the UN's work. In Europe, the OSCE has proved itself a useful instrument in dealing with conflicts. Examples of its work are the long-time missions in some states in eastern and southeastern Europe. Its mandate in the spirit of conflict prevention was to mediate between individual states and those minorities living on their territories when there was a threat of violent conflict, to control respect of human rights and the rights of minorities and to support the process of democratization. The experiences gathered here must be integrated into comprehensive policies on peace. In this manner, it will be possible for the structures of collective security to improve both their image and their effectiveness and become an integral part of a peace order better able to deal with both the old risks and the new ones which our continent has faced since 1989.

II.5 Conflict After-Care as a Method of Conflict-Prevention

II.5.1 The Future seen from the Perspective of Past Suffering

(PEACE IN MINDS AND HEARTS)

(108) The after-math of war is similar in many respects to the time before war: this pernicious experience has repeated itself again and again and yet it is seldom taken into consideration. War never starts when the shooting begins: it never ends when the shooting stops. Just as wars start in our heads long before the first shots are fired, so also does it take a long time before peace returns to our minds and hearts. Whosoever ignores this is well on the way to preparing another war. It used to be said that those who want peace must prepare for war. Now we must say that those who want peace must be prepared for peace. Peace does not come about by itself, especially if whole nations have to suffer severe injustice and there is widespread abuse of dignity. Totalitarian and dictatorial states, civil wars and similar conflicts bequeath a painful inheritance and the most oppressive of burdens. Victims generally find themselves dealing with their unhappiness alone, caught in their own nightmares. It is often the case that they have to live together with their former oppressors, who deny and sublimate their crimes. Perpetrators are often incapable of expressing sorrow over their own participation and would like simply to start over again, as though nothing had happened or at least to "re-interpret" the past in a manner that would shed a more friendly light on their role. But victims know what power history can wield, they know the burdens of a past that will not go away. Sharing a common future requires understanding the past. This is all the more urgently needed when perpetrators and victims have different memories of the past that determine differing points of view on the present. A Jewish proverb says: "Trying to forget only makes the exile longer and the secret of salvation is remembering".

(DEALING WITH UNRESOLVED MEMORIES)

(109) The history of the last centuries with their unmatched excesses of violence has taught us as nothing else could; how dangerous it can be to underestimate the power of unresolved memories. Spiritual wounds that have not healed properly are always a potential source of infection. The poison of suffering that has never been expressed, of guilt that has never been confessed, of injustice that has never been forgiven nurtures the desire for revenge and retaliation. The deadly virus of latently explosive violence can be passed on through generations without losing any of its virulence. On the contrary; the more personal memories of the atrocities and terrors of war

fade and the lose their deterrent effect, the stronger the temptation to take revenge. Those who refuse to acknowledge the shadows of their history remain chained to them. Lies and sublimation, self-deception and underestimation only corrode the healing powers of a society and lay the foundations for new kinds of dissatisfaction which prosper so well in times of crisis. Violence seldom erupts spontaneously. More often, it is instigated by somebody who stands to profit from it. Past suffering is dredged up to justify new suffering. This cynical game works best with innocent suffering.

(MANIPULATING MEMORY)

(110) Let bygones be bygones – such are the words often used by those who abuse their own bygones for political gain. There is a school of thought in dealing with the past that aims to present the use of force as a justified form of retaliation, to excuse injustice as an understandable response to suffering, to play down hate as an inevitable reaction to hate. The manipulation of memories of past deeds aims to absolve perpetrators in advance for future crimes. It often tries to manipulate those particularly prone to define themselves through their suffering. That is why we need personal integrity and historically accurate analysis but above all the political ambition to promote a culture of remembrance that combats the dangers of selective memory. Such a culture provides everything needed for developing public consciousness: memorials and monuments, literature and film, archives and documentation, youth education centers and schoolbooks – in short: all the media available to educate and train.[19] Their value in securing peace can be gauged by asking one simple question: tell me whom it is you honor and I will tell you how close you are to the next war. If one side honors somebody as a war hero whilst the other brands him as a war criminal, if one side sees somebody as good that the other regards as evil, the conflict has not been resolved. A spark can suffice to start a new fire. Making sure that we admire the same people who personify a joint destiny is one way of preventing conflict. They contribute towards the formation of an identity in which all can share.

II.5.2 Trust as the Elixir of Community

(TRUST-VIOLENCE)

(111) In his essay on peace, Kant wrote that it is necessary to maintain a certain measure of trust in the enemy in order to make peace during war. What better way of saying that people cannot live together without trust? Where there is no trust, people are divided by a chasm wider and deeper than any created by war. But war, and especially the horrors of civil war, destroy trust. Experience has shown that civil wars or similar conflicts are particularly brutal, precisely because the people they involve are closer to one another than those in warring states. The loss of trust that accompanies violence is therefore even more disappointing and hurtful. Once the ability to trust one's enemies has been lost it is but a small step to losing faith in mankind as a whole. Continuous violence will start off a process of brutalization: the sympathy and commiseration that this arouses is regarded as a dangerous weakness, playing into the hands of an enemy perceived as inhuman. Violence hardens and leads to insensitivity with regard to suffering – one's own suffering and that of others. Thousands of young men who grew up during wars subsequently find themselves wandering through life as though blindfolded, unable to find work,

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[19] The Peace Museum planned in Ingolstadt could play a significant role in this context.

unable to find their place in society. Quite a few of them secretly hope for another war to provide them with a living and a sense of orientation.

(ACQUIRING TRUST)

(112) Trust is simply not available as an unlimited, self-renewing commodity. It is easy to lose. Finding it again takes a long time, especially if it was not only thrown to the winds but willfully and systematically destroyed. It does not just grow back by itself. It requires effort and nurture. After a war, once the weapons have fallen silent but peace has not yet been established, a concerted effort is required to build up trust. Without a minimum of mutual trust in the honesty and reliability of the former enemy, all political programs and proclamations for peace are doomed to failure. Following on the heels of the Second World War, the Cold War only drew to a close with the strategy of confidence-building measures that characterized the process of détente and the policies of the CSCE. It took a long time and a lot of patience for them to become effective. Many virtues that are often regarded as purely personal traits must take on a political dimension: courage and truthfulness, patience and perception, tactfulness and sympathy. We might call them 'diplomatic virtues'. It is not enough, however, for them to characterize the actions of professional diplomats. They need to become the principles that shape politics as a whole if we are to achieve permanent and reliable trust.

(TRUST IN POLITICS)

(113) Those in positions of political responsibility generally find it difficult to build up trusting relationships at international level. Frequent changes in leadership make it difficult to establish personal relations. In addition, politicians tend to meet not as private persons but in their official capacity. Their first concern must be the claims made on them by their office and the interests of their country. This limits the freedom with which they can interact and influences the expectations they have of their interlocutors. Lastly, confidence building is often hindered by the nefarious experiences of past dealings with one's neighbors. All these difficulties do not alter the fact that personal trust between those in positions of political responsibility has a significant role to play in international politics.

II.5.3 Admission of Guilt, Forgiveness and Reconciliation: the Labor Pains of Peace

(GUILT AND INNOCENCE)

(114) Any form of violent conflict is bound to leave traumatic scars that constitute a heavy burden on intra-personal relations. In general, the re-construction of a devastated country consumes all the available energy. It takes years if not decades until community can be re-established. The process starts with honest answers to those elementary questions posed by the children and grandchildren of the generations involved in war: How could this happen? Why didn't you prevent it? Whose side were you on and why? The wall of silence that often surrounds the past starts to crumble. Society is faced head-on with the central questions of guilt and innocence, the relationship between the innocent and the perpetrators and the basic question of how to re-establish relations rather than just co-existing side-by-side as strangers, on the basis of

necessity. There is no simple answer, no standard recipe for dealing with each other, no blueprint for forgiveness and reconciliation.

(RECONCILIATION)

(115) It often happens that the boundaries between victims and culprits become indistinct during the course of a long conflict when victims become perpetrators, when the initial crime is followed by criminal retaliation. In addition, nationalistic and totalitarian ideology dazzles not only the individual but whole societies and can lead to habitual disregard for human rights. Dictatorial regimes often develop sophisticated mechanisms for involving people in their machinations and making them a party to their guilt. Nonetheless, it is clear that there can be no peace without reconciliation and no reconciliation without truth and justice.

(DEALING WITH GUILT HONESTLY)

(116) It is often said that truth is the first victim of war. Unfortunately, it often stays that way long after war has ended. The desire to wash one's own hands in innocence would appear to be overwhelming and it is all too easy to take recourse in a plethora of excuses. The direst criminals find good reasons for their misdeeds and manage to convince themselves that they have a clear conscience. However, this century has seen the totalitarian state reach a new level of sublimation: nobody knew anything and anybody that did had his hands tied: those that cooperated were forced to do so. There were only a few "up there" who were really responsible. They are the ones who are subsequently branded as bad guys, who act as scapegoats. This chain of excuse normally works quite well, particularly well when the culprits manage to convince the victims that they are the guilty party. This is a good example of the basic truth that by denying their guilt, the perpetrators are degrading the victims and dishonoring themselves. The admission of guilt is a liberating experience because it constitutes a voluntary acceptance of responsibility. Denying, minimizing or ignoring guilt makes man smaller than he is. Honest acceptance of guilt re-instates the culprit's dignity and liberates him to deal with the claims of freedom – a freedom he can abuse any time with evil deeds and incur even more guilt. That is why there can be no peace between free men unless they are willing to face the shameful truth of their own guilt. That is why the confession of guilt is a liberating experience for all concerned – victims and culprits. The shackles of the past that bind victims and culprits will only disappear when the past is seen not merely as past but accepted in freedom as the result of decisions taken for which responsibility must be assumed. Otherwise, it will appear as a tragic destiny involving and overwhelming both victims and culprits.

(FORGIVENESS)

(117) Those who accept their guilt also know that they need forgiveness. Nobody can forgive himself or herself or forcefully bring about forgiveness, least of all by calculating the guilt incurred. This too, makes it difficult to admit guilt. Every admission demands humility because it implies recognition of an irrevocable dependence upon that person whose forgiveness one is seeking. Even an honest admission of guilt and the heartfelt desire for atonement cannot change this: forgiveness can only be requested. It cannot be achieved through purchase, coercion or moral blackmail. The dependency that we find ourselves in as a result of our guilt is humiliating and this makes it even more difficult to request forgiveness and accept it when it is offered. The courage to confess one's guilt, show contrition and ask for forgiveness as well as bestowing and

accepting forgiveness is the true miracle of reconciliation: it pierces the vicious circle in which evil begets evil and breaks the spell of the past.

(TRUTH COMMISSIONS)

(118) The desire to liberate oneself from guilt without honoring truth, any attempt to draw a line under the past, is an insult to the victims. That is why it is a beneficial to establish so-called truth commissions after the occurrence of large-scale and systematic violence. Such commissions provide victims with a forum for public expression and indictment of their suffering in the hope that they will be heard. We owe it to them to let them have the first word. Only then can the culprits have their say and present their views. This innovative method of dealing with guilt that became known above all through the example set by South Africa presents a further delicate problem. A repentant culprit will generally find himself exonerated. Truth is given preference over justice. This too makes an unreasonable demand of the victim which it is hard to deal with, since it offers the culprits an elegant way of getting off lightly. It is a blow in the face for the victims and would also cause permanent damage to society's sense of justice. A general amnesty is therefore just as unacceptable as a decision not to pursue criminal prosecution of individuals. Each situation demands individual consideration of the need for truth and the need for justice and how the two can be reconciled without creating new injustice and suffering.

(COMPENSATION)

(119) Political considerations generally restrict criminal investigation of systematically organized repression. That is why it is necessary to rehabilitate the victims wherever possible, and to try and provide some degree of compensation for the injustice they suffered. This is one possibility of restoring their dignity. It is, above all, a public acknowledgement of the fact that they suffered injustice. Such an acknowledgement is of great significance for the political culture of a society, especially when the discussion on how best to deal with the past is still in process. Although such forms of compensation generally do little to actually relieve the consequences of crime, they are important for the victims in that they make the perpetrators' desire for atonement more credible. This shows that the reconciliation that must precede any joint future is always linked to penitence.

(GERMANY AND THE GERMANS)

(120) Germany and the Germans face a particular challenge in dealing with the heritage of injustice. The devastation caused by National Socialism is still evident today. In the 1906s, our society began a process of dealing more intensively with the history of injustice perpetrated by the National Socialists, its background and the multifarious involvement of social forces. However, the discussion and allocation of compensation demonstrated how difficult it is to deal with the claims and demands made by the victims. Compensation was often made too late, hesitantly and sometimes even reluctantly. On some occasions, compensation was provided only because political or economic interests made it appear judicious to do so. Politics, economics and society in general must be required to deal more consistently with outstanding compensation issues on the basis of the wishes expressed by the victims. We therefore welcome the establishment of the Foundation "Remembrance, Responsibility and the Future" aimed at regulating compensation for former forced laborers. The Catholic Church is also taking on its

responsibility and has begun dealing with the issue of providing compensation for those laborers forced to work in its institutions.[20]

(GDR)

(121) The victims of injustice in the GDR must also be granted justice as far as possible. Although one should never equate the 'Third Reich's' ambition to conquer and destroy with the reign of communism in East Germany, the political system of the former GDR did destroy the lives of countless individuals. A criminal court instituted by a state under the rule of law, will only ever be able to punish injustice systematically perpetrated by that state to a very limited degree, just as it will also prove difficult to rectify the consequences of persecution by such means. That is why it must be made clear to those who suffered injustice and persecution that society is being made aware of their suffering and taking it seriously. Material compensation is only one possibility in this context. It is just as important that those concerned be provided with help in dealing with the traumatic memories of the past. They must be given 'protected spaces' in which they can reveal their sorrow and bitterness, come to terms with it and experience consolation and new hope. Only then will they be able to find their way gradually into the reality of life in a re-united Germany still looking to create an inner unity.

II.6 Working for Peace in a Civil Society

(CIVIL SOCIETY)

(122) Joint remembrance of past suffering and the effort to create a climate of mutual trust, steps taken in the direction of forgiveness and reconciliation – all of this requires a public arena for a social dialogue. All those concerned must be given the opportunity to have their say and present their views and convictions. Despite all the differences expressed, such a discussion must be determined by mutual respect and recognition amongst all those concerned. The arena provided for such a public dialogue as well as for practical involvement of the part of citizens is often referred to today as the civil society. It incorporates informal and formal groups, associations, organizations and initiatives such as 'non-governmental' and 'non-profit organizations' associated neither with the state nor the economy. They work in various frameworks, from neighborhood action to honorary work and civic action groups. They cover those areas that the state or the economy cannot deal with. Their work is therefore subject to other conditions that those determining political or economic action. However, in a civil society it is not just practical action that counts but above all the participation of the civilian in public debate. Such debate constitutes a critical accompaniment to the actions of politics and economics, often providing a mouthpiece for the interests of those, who would not otherwise be heard. They also allow the expression of a wide variety of ideas and opinions and of cultural and religious affiliation whilst also serving as an opportunity to find a consensus and express joint convictions with regard to values and objectives.

(IMPULSES PROVIDED BY A CIVIL SOCIETY)

(123) During the most recent rounds of political negotiations in the former communist countries and some of the so-called 'Third World' countries, the impetus provided by civil society has

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[20] Cf. Statement by the President of the German Bishops' Conference of 29.08.00 "The Occupation of Forced Labourers in Institutions of the Catholic Church 1939 – 1945".

played a significant role. It is also true that many politically necessary reforms will only become possible once the civil society has developed the ideas and initiatives necessary to give them the requisite political clout. Parliamentary democracies with their formally regulated structures governing the development of political opinions and decision-making processes continue to rely on the civil society. Even more important is the fact that the civil society remains the forum for open discussions and transparent decision-making that reinforces the legitimacy of democratic structures.

(CIVIL SOCIETY AND THE STATE)

(124) The civil society and the state are two parts of one equation that face each other but also complement one another: this is particularly true when it comes to achieving a just peace. States that wish to realize this objective and counteract violence will only be successful if as wide a range as possible of civic initiatives and as many members of society as possible are allowed to participate. Peace can grow from small roots. Initiatives backed by the civil society are indispensable when it comes to preventing violent conflict or overcoming the consequences of violent conflict. On the other hand, many of civil society's concerns and objectives need to find their way into the legal decision-making procedures if they are to be successfully realized. The civil society will never be able to replace parliaments, courts of law and state executive power.

(SUBSIDIARITY)

(125) This division of responsibilities obliges the state to create an environment in which the civil society is never under threat but provided with the necessary 'civil infrastructure'. This has been taking place in Germany on the basis of the subsidiarity principle for decades with regard to measures providing political education at every kind of level from the grassroots upwards. The same is true of efforts in the cultural sphere, social work and development cooperation, where there have been countless examples of successful cooperation between state institutions and civil society organizations. There also appears to be a growing willingness to establish civic peace services and provide limited financial support for non-governmental agencies (cf. III.2.3)

(INTERNATIONAL CIVIL SOCIETY)

(126) One of the most impressive developments of the past years has been the dynamic growth of an international civil society. Local and regional civil society initiatives have profited considerably from the significant growth in telecommunication opportunities. The international web of communications has created the possibility of raising awareness of issues beyond national borders and mobilizing political support. This in turn provides an opportunity to take a stand against more insular tendencies and develop a global consciousness as part of a 'globalization of solidarity' that transcends economic globalization. Such developments obviously have their limitations. Many people in poor countries will not have access to the new media in the foreseeable future – or a very limited access at best. In addition, there is a widespread lack of procedures and institutions at global level needed for the process of making legally binding democratic decisions.

(RESPONSIBLE REPORTING)

(127) It is hardly possible to overestimate the role of communication technologies in the context of war and peace in today's world. It is no coincidence that those seeking to overthrow existing structures through putsches, revolutions, reforms or military takeovers concentrate first and foremost on gaining control of the media. Radio, television and newspapers are particularly important in underdeveloped countries that are so often prone to crises. More often than not, they determine whether hate and violence gain the upper hand or whether people set out in search of new possibilities for achieving understanding. That is why a policy of conflict prevention must include support for professional and ethical training of media experts and journalists as well as keeping a watchful eye on reporting and commentary. The media reporting from abroad have a special responsibility in this context. Sensationalism can prevent readers at home from receiving the enlightenment and orientation necessary to assess a situation abroad. The dissemination of negative impressions is bound to reinforce latent prejudice. On the other hand, thorough research and reliable information can contribute to rousing the sensibilities of the general public on issues concerning peace in other parts of the world. This, in turn, can lead to greater awareness in political circles and society and greater willingness to become involved in the process of crisis management. The media should concentrate above all on early indications of escalating crises and conflicts. Drawing public attention to such developments encourages an early involvement of states and the community of states in the process of crisis management. This increases the chances of preventing violent conflict, or at least of slowing down the escalation.

(REPORTING FROM COMBAT ZONES)

(128) Journalists need to extend special responsibility to reports directly submitted from theatres of war. Images of death and mutilation, of devastation and destruction may stir or blunt the conscience but they should never merely fascinate. Modern warfare conducted at the highest technical levels, is another matter: the second Gulf War in the early 1990s and NATO's operation in Kosovo in the spring of 1999 appeared on our screens as technically perfect arrangements governed by the aesthetics of video games. The observer finds himself fascinated by military equipment instead of being repulsed by its effects and the human suffering it causes. Depending on the pictures provided by the military for public consumption, reporters may find themselves acting as reluctant propaganda agents. Even responsible representatives of the media find it difficult to avoid becoming involved in such forms of manipulation, be it deliberate or involuntary. It requires courage and energy to resist the temptation of pandering to widespread public taste and provide serious reports on the real issues. In a free society, consumer demand for media products determines the form and content of reporting and commentary. The state is obliged to ensure that the legal framework conditions are observed, that freedom of opinion and choice of media are guaranteed and that monopolies are not allowed to establish themselves. It would appear that the main source of danger presented by the modern media to the general public in a civil society lies neither in state censure nor the powers of monopolized media enterprises. More dangerous by far are the tendencies towards privatization and the segmentation of public communications as well as the constraints of catering exclusively to the criterion of economic success. If the public's interest in political issues sinks whilst the media themselves are interested purely in sales data, it becomes increasingly difficult to create a space for the public and qualified debate of political matters.

II.7 The Significance and Limitation of Military Means

II.7.1 Disarmament and Arms Control

(DISARMAMENT)

(129) A number of disarmament and arms control treaties have been signed since the early 1990s. The START-Treaty on reducing nuclear arsenals in the United States and the Soviet Union (Russia), the CSE-Treaty on limiting conventional arms in Europe, the Convention on the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons, the agreement on unlimited extension of the Non-Proliferation Treaty, the comprehensive Nuclear Test-Ban Treaty and the Landmine Convention: these were all hopeful signs of a new willingness on the part of states to limit the destructive potential of their weapons and reject the militarization of international relations. For the first time since the end of the East-West conflict, military spending worldwide decreased significantly in 1992.

(SETBACKS)

(130) In the meantime, however, it looks as though these positive trends have been stopped – even reversed in some areas. The dynamics of the arms industry aimed at developing increasingly 'perfect' weapons' systems continues unabated. International trade in weapons is flourishing, in particular with regard to the generally underestimated 'small arms'. Weapons of mass destruction still constitute a major problem as a potential source of inestimable damage in the hands of unscrupulous dictators or terrorists. They continue to proliferate. The arms trade has received a new boost from some of the formerly socialist states; the need for hard currency has led to large-scale sales of weapons and contributed to an increase in the dangerous potential for conflict. Weapons sales from western states could have uncontrollable effects in particular when the transactions take place between private business enterprises and the so-called black and gray procurement markets.

(CONSEQUENCES OF STOCKPILING)

(131) It remains a priority of the highest order to continue efforts aimed at arms control and disarmament and restricting trade in weapons. Stockpiling weapons and the inability to control their influx endangers the establishment of lasting peace orders and creates a significant obstacle when it comes to introducing peace processes. Accumulating large weapons' stocks can also increase the temptation to deal with existing conflicts through the use of military means. In addition, the production and operation of military installations and the purchase of weapons' systems are very expensive and constitute a burden on national economies. They absorb financial means that are then no longer available for urgent social and political tasks: "As long as extravagant sums of money are poured into the development of new weapons, it is impossible to devote adequate aid in tackling the misery which prevails at the present day in the world." (GS 81). The effects are particularly evident with regard to the situation in developing countries. It is particularly disheartening to see how weapons purchased from abroad are often used by authoritarian regimes to enforce repression in their own countries.

(POLITICAL AIMS)

(132) That is why we would like to draw particular attention to the following:

- The extent, organization and equipment of the armed forces must be based upon the tasks they are required to perform in the interests of national and alliance defense but also with regard to an appropriate commitment within the framework of international crisis management. Anything more is iniquitous – including traditional insistence upon maintaining powerful military apparatuses as an attribute of national sovereignty.

- International arms control and verification mechanisms as well as all organizations instituted to effect arms control and confidence-building deserve support.

- The obligations undertaken by all signatory states of the Non-Proliferation Treaty must be carried out to the letter. It is particularly important that materials and technologies with nuclear potential are subjected to strict international controls. It is worth remembering in this context that the five "recognized" nuclear states only recently agreed to undertake reductions in their own nuclear arsenals.

- Arms exports controls must be exercised at more restrictive level worldwide. The Federal Republic of Germany has an important role to play here. Germany must insist upon its comparatively strict policy on export controls with regard to armaments and weapons and increase its efforts in those areas that are still inadequately covered. The fact that unscrupulous businessmen can disregard and circumvent existing control legislation was evidenced by the export of goods and components with which recipients were able to secretly construct installations for the production of ABC weapons. The Federal Republic should proceed restrictively with regard to both domestic export policies and on a wider scale.[21] Efforts to implement effective exports' controls of weapons (including small arms) at international level and above all within the framework of the European Union must be stepped up. The European Union's Guidelines on Weapons' Exports of May 1988 can only constitute a first, albeit significant step. The so-called dual-use goods deserve special attention in the future.[22]

II.7.2 The Changing Role of the Armed Forces

(SOLDIERS)

(133) The Second Vatican Council wrote that "all those who enter the military service in loyalty to their country should look upon themselves as the custodians of the security and freedom of their fellow-countrymen; and when they carry out their duty properly, they are contributing to the maintenance of peace." (GS 79). The Joint Synod of Dioceses in the Federal Republic of Germany established similar guidelines: "Those who take a responsible decision to join the services and wish to fulfill their task of securing peace above all by preventing war, deserve respect and solidarity."[23]

(APPRECIATION AND CAUTION)

[21] The Federal Government's Political Principles on the Export of Weapons and other Armament Goods of 19.01.2000 constitutes a step in the direction of a more restrictive policy oriented more towards human rights.
[22] The Joint Conference Church and Development (Gemeinsame Konferenz Kirche und Entwicklung – GKKE) publishes an annual "Arms Export Report". It deals mainly with developments in German and European policies.
[23] Report by the Catholic Church in the Federal Republic of Germany for Development and Peace, No. 2.2.4.4.

(134) Appreciation and caution are two sides of the same coin here – for understandable reasons rooted in history and, in particular, German history. Where else did it become so frighteningly obvious that the institution of the Armed Forces and the soldier's willingness to sacrifice himself can be abused by criminals? The respect accorded the soldier must therefore be linked to his task of supporting peace. Strictly speaking, he is working in the service of peace.

(THANKS)

(135) Against this background we would like to thank the soldiers of the Bundeswehr for their commitment not only during the time of Europe's division but also in view of the huge challenges they have faced in the past ten years. Their participation in operations abroad that demanded particular sacrifices of them and their families – requiring both flexibility and a willingness to engage.

(OBJECTIVE OF JUST PEACE)

(136) Soldiers also have a right to be assured that the process of change in the Bundeswehr and NATO brought about by the new security policy situation is carried out according to the objective of achieving a just peace. This concerns the role of the armed forces, their inner structure as well as the issue of the form of military service.

1. The Role of the Armed Forces

(NEW CHALLENGES)

(137) Shortly after the end of the East-West opposition, a process of re-appraising the role and the tasks of the Bundeswehr began. The original raison d'être of the western alliance into which the Bundeswehr is integrated was twofold: to prevent war in Europe and obstruct the forceful expansion of the communist system. Once the Warsaw Pact had been dissolved, the danger of war decreased considerably. NATO has increasingly become an instrument of cooperative security in Europe. The most dramatic evidence of this change was the accession to NATO of three former members of the Warsaw Pact (Poland, the Czech Republic and Hungary). NATO's conceptual principles were re-adjusted accordingly during this period. Priority is still given to defense of the Alliance and the prevention of armed conflict. However, the strategic concept valid since 1999 incorporates these obligations into the context of a comprehensive risk analysis. Such analysis is intended to accord equal significance to ethnic conflicts, economic crises and the breakdown of political orders on the one hand and the spread of weapons of mass destruction, terrorism and organized crime as well as uncontrolled migration on the other. The Alliance needs to be in a position to react jointly to such threats – both inside and out Alliance territory and also, if necessary, with military means. This serves the objective of establishing crisis reaction forces.

(INTERNATIONAL ORGANISATIONS)

(138) It is not up to the Church's to pass judgement on the finer points of military policy. On the other hand, we must warn against an improper expansion of the military's area of responsibility. It must be remembered that the security policy risks mentioned above cannot be dealt with at a primary level by a military alliance. Their causes often stem from serious deficits in political and

social justice. In addition, they often form part of areas of responsibility that are dealt with by non-military international organizations. These are the organizations that should be counteracting such dangers with policies aimed at preventing violence and combating the causes of conflicts. We expressly warn against undermining the United Nations' responsibility for world peace.

(NATO-CONCEPT)

(139) One further issue deserves consideration when it comes to discussing the Western Alliance's mandate and strategy. In a peace statement issued jointly with Bishops of the EU States in 1999, we emphasized that every NATO concept must concur with the security interests of those European states that do not belong to the Alliance or EU structures. The same applies to those states outside the European or transatlantic sphere: it would be fatal if the countries of the northern hemisphere were to give priority to protecting themselves from the poor, the neediest victims of poverty, violence and bondage, rather than providing assistance.

2. Civic Education and Leadership

(CIVIC EDUCATION AND LEADERSHIP)

(140) Multinational units are becoming increasingly important within the framework of military operations. As a result, differences in the way national armed forces view their roles as well as in their internal organization have begun to show up more clearly. The Bundeswehr is organized on the principles of '*Innere Führung*', the concept of leadership and civic education intended to safeguard the primacy of politics and the integration of the armed forces into a system of democratic separation of power and control. Pressure on these principles and the soldiers' rights associated with them is likely to grow because they do not concur with the practice and traditions of other armies. We need to resist this danger. Indeed, efforts should be made to extend the opportunities for taking morally responsible decisions in all Alliance armies enabling greater cohesion between them on the basis of these legal provisions.

(SOLDIERS' CONSCIENCE)

(141) We recall in particular the teachings of the Second Vatican Council that called for military command and its implementation to be properly justified (cf. GS 79). Neither command nor the soldier's duty to obey commands are absolute imperatives. In order for these principles to be effective at a practicable level, both superiors and subordinates need to be well informed on the norms governing both international humanitarian law and military service law. In addition, they need to keep an overview of the effects of their own actions and be able to assess them on the basis of ethical standards provided by their own consciences. The legal standard achieved thus far is not enough to provide sufficient protection for the victims of armed conflicts. It is further necessary to provide subordinates with the legal possibility of refusing to comply with orders that transgress upon legal or ethical boundaries. Positive right must also guarantee a soldier's freedom of conscience.

(ETHICALLY RESPONSIBLE CONDUCT)

(142) The inner structure of the Bundeswehr has succeeded in making considerable progress in this area over the past few years. That is why we need to preserve and develop these concepts and

further adapt them to the growing complexity of the situations in which military decisions are made. At the same time, consideration must be given to changes in a soldier's professional ethos linked to the move away from national defense towards participation in operations undertaken within the framework of the United Nations. These changes will make the soldier answerable above all to the security and freedom of nations as well as the respect of human rights and international law. In this case, professional ethos includes the ability to assess a situation and act accordingly. That is why a decision-making procedure that encourages soldiers to make decisions on the basis of ethical responsibility is so eminently valuable. Such a procedural approach should be the bedrock upon which both the entire training process as well as the practical execution of the principles of command and obedience are based. In this context, we support the commitment shown by the Association of Catholic Soldiers (Gemeinschaft Katholischer Soldaten: GKS) to the promotion of Christian values in every day army life.

(MILITARY CHAPLAINCY)

(143) Questions of conscience are behind many of the problems dealt with by those responsible for the pastoral care of the armed forces. This applies both to the instruction of soldiers as well as the spiritual care provided by military chaplains. Those that work in this area deserve our gratitude – especially when they spend months accompanying soldiers during operations in areas of crisis.

(NEW TASKS FOR SOLDIERS)

(144) It is a fundamentally new experience for many soldiers to have to separate parties in combat with one another and keep them apart from each other. In such situations, soldiers must treat the warring factions in a manner that leaves open a door of opportunity for a peaceful solution to the conflict, which they can actively help those involved achieve once the armed combat is over. Because soldiers may find themselves dispatched to operation areas governed by different cultural rules and norms, they need to acquire the appropriate intercultural competence during their training. They also deserve not to be sent on missions that expose them to the risk of being taken hostage or other predictably hopeless dangers.

3. The Form of Military Service

(GENERAL CONSCRIPTION – FOR AND AGAINST)

(145) In view of the changes in security policy framework conditions, the question has now arisen as to whether the time has come to abolish general conscription – either temporarily or completely. This has already taken place in some of our neighbor states. Discussion of this issue is useful and reasonable. However, we note with concern that such debate is often carried out purely on the basis of financial, organizational or political criteria. These are certainly important but they should not overshadow the necessary ethical considerations.

(146) General conscription is an infringement of the constitutionally guaranteed basic rights and right to freedom of young men. It is permissible only in a restricted context on the basis of well-reasoned and concrete requirements. General conscription should therefore only be maintained for as long as it is necessary in order for Germany to fulfil its national defense obligations and

those of the Alliance as well as helping to safeguard peace as part of the international community of states.

(147) On the other hand, we need to take account of the fact that a professional army is likely to establish a greater distance to society in general than one consisting largely of conscripts. However, should we decide to abolish general conscription, efforts to integrate the armed forces into society must be stepped up. Not only do we owe this to the soldiers. In the long run, such efforts will also contribute towards strengthening the primacy of political institutions.

(148) We also need to ask whether abolishing conscription could weaken society's awareness of the fact that military operations must be ethically justified. It is possible that a degree of indifference might establish itself with regard to military actions if soldiers were not longer conscripted from the entire breadth of society.

(149) If conscription is maintained and the army is reduced (as intended), closer attention will have to be paid to the issue of equity of conscription. So far, this issue has not become a major problem only because large numbers of young men choose to do community service as an alternative to military service. We welcome the widespread acceptance of this option amongst the general populace; we accept without reservation the decision of conscientious objectors to reject military service. "Insofar as service performed by individuals serves the common aim of safeguarding freedom and promoting peace worldwide, it can be said that the different types of service supplement and necessitate each other"[24]. Young men performing community service contribute towards 'social peace'. However, it would be unacceptable to maintain conscription only because community service is imperative to keep social services operative. Such reasoning does not do justice to the ethical grounds required to justify military service. Rather than providing an argument against abolishing military service, it indicates that our social system needs reforming. It would be just as reprehensible to maintain conscription solely or mainly to facilitate the recruitment of volunteers.

II.7.3 Dealing with Armed Intervention

(THE ISSUE OF COUNTER-VIOLENCE)

(150) The goal of abolishing the use of force from international politics may continue to prove irreconcilable with the duty to effectively protect people from foreign despotism and violence. This applies not only to traditional forms of conflict between states but also to the systematic use of force against persecuted minorities within existing states or cases of hostage taking by terrorists as well as blackmail. Are there any situations in which the use of counter-violence is justified? Not only individual states but also the community of nations as a whole have yet to develop such a set of guidelines that would make the use of weapons superfluous.

(DANGERS INHERENT IN ANY USE OF FORCE)

(151) The use of weapons can only ever be a last resort. All other possibilities of restoring the rights of a state that has been attacked or human rights to those divested of them must be

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[24] Decision of the Synod: Report by the Catholic Church in the Federal Republic of Germany for Development and Peace. No. 2.2.4.5.

exhausted before force is used. Even if the use of force serves the defense of fundamental legal rights, it also involves the possibility of suffering on a scale that cannot be assessed at the outset. Even if it is the lesser of two evils, it remains an evil. One core issue at the center of each armed conflict is the fact that it can always develop a dynamism of its own and quickly result in a superfluity of force. Even in those cases that seem to favor a limited use of force, it tends to become increasingly difficult to observe the rules of law in war (*ius in bello*) with the passage of time. It is above all the civilian population that suffers when these rules are violated. In addition, war is often used as an opportunity to let the 'pleasure derived from evil' run amok without fear of punishment. Nobody is immune to this dangerous temptation. The Second Vatican Council described the potential for such developments with considerable foresight: "The hazards peculiar to modern warfare consist in the fact that they expose those possessing recently developed weapons to the risk of perpetrating crimes like these and, by an inexorable chain of events, of urging men to even worse acts of atrocity." (GS 80) Finally, in view of the overriding significance accorded human life in particular in the church teaching promulgated under Pope John Paul II, it is questionable whether there is any kind of violence aside from self-defense that justifies the use of military force. If the Church wants to remain credible with regard to other aspects of the inviolable right to life, it must demonstrate consistency here.

(EMERGENCY AID –INTERVENTION)

(152) International law condemns every war of aggression and rejects the use of violence. The traditional interpretation of international law allows one exception: self-defense against a military attack from outside and repulsion of the aggressor with the assistance of third parties ("assistance in an emergency"). This exception is based on the conviction that a violent breach of international law should not be accepted either by the state in question or the international community. Anyone contemplating aggression must know that it is not worthwhile. Such cases must be differentiated from those in which the international community resolves to intervene forcefully on behalf of victims in a given state that are subjected to severe and systematic violations of human rights. The issue of whether or not international law sanctions such intervention for humane reasons must be re-considered in light of the UN-operations in northern Iraq in 1991, in Somalia in 1992 and in Kosovo in 1999.

(CRITERIA FOR HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION)

(153) In view of the risks involved, the use of force and the operative procedures it involves demands careful consideration of any possible consequences. The legitimacy of international law and ethical standards is at stake here as well as the establishment of nothing less than a set of basic rules governing co-existence in one world. These are literally issues of life and death. Decision-making must therefore be guided by strict ethical criteria:

(PEACE-KEEPING)

(154) Any form of military action must fall within existing laws on safeguarding peace and the procedures set out in them. NATO's operation in Kosovo brought up the very serious question of whether or not there was an adequate United Nations mandate to justify action. Lack of clarity in this area could contribute towards undermining the ban on the use of force set out in the United Nations Charter. That is why it is imperative to clear up existing problems of interpretation and close any legal loopholes. In addition, we need a procedure that makes it impossible for

individual states to veto actions undertaken by the community of states for reasons linked to their own particular interests. It must also be made impossible for individual states to effect a UN-mandate ostensibly for humanitarian reasons, when the real reason lies in the pursuit of individual political objectives.

(MINIMUM OF FORCE)

(155) The use of force must be strictly limited to what is necessary to meet the obligation of solidarity. It is always preferable to use the means and measures that involve less force and consequently less suffering and destruction. The possible alternative of imposing a comprehensive embargo should be considered in this context. An embargo is also a form of violence in that it aims to damage a state and force the leadership to adopt a different policy. Weighing the options of military action and an embargo is not simply a choice between a forceful and a non-violent option. The question should be: which of these options involves less violence. The fundamental ethical drawback of an embargo is that it causes a great deal of suffering for people not directly involved in the conflict. One of the most important principles underlying the ethics of war is that the civilian population must be protected as far as is possible from the effects of conflict: above all, it should never be a direct target of force. In general, however, the civilian population suffers far more from the effects of an embargo than do those in positions of military and political power. It might be better to limit embargo measures to certain goods, such as luxury goods, so that the richer strata of society are affected. Experience has shown that the implementation and control of an embargo poses enormous problems for the international community – problems that tend to increase the longer such measures have to be maintained.

(GOAL-ORIENTED AND PROPORTIONATE)

(156) The likelihood of achieving success through the use of force must be such that its use is justified. Exactly how much force is justified must be calculated in relation to the damage it is seeking to remedy on the basis of proportionality. In view of the destructive powers of modern weapons, this demand is particularly difficult to fulfil. The length, course and consequences of a military operation are not determined by one side alone and can only be very roughly estimated. Armed operations must not destroy the foundations of that which they aim to preserve and defend.

(IUS IN BELLO)

(157) During military operations it is imperative to observe the distinction between those involved in combat and those outside it. Any kind of force that is not ostensibly directed at civilians but still harms them or threatens the basis of their existence is also condemnable. Politicians, the general public and soldiers are all, in their various situations, responsible for making sure that force is not used in disproportion. Protection of the civilian population must be safeguarded as well as is possible during operations that aim to destroy militarily relevant targets but necessarily find it difficult to distinguish between those in combat and non-participating civilians. It is often just as difficult to make this distinction in situations resembling civil war as it is to identify a sharpshooter in an unarmed crowd. Here too, it must be borne in mind that any kind of direct violence against the civilian population is prohibited and actions likely to entail such consequences must be aborted. In addition, the lives and freedom from bodily harm of

enemy soldiers must be protected as far as possible. Direct attacks on persons should be limited to situations involving self-defense. Inimical acts should be directed against objects, not persons.

(ASSISTANCE IN EMERGENCY SITUATIONS)

(158) Humanitarian emergencies demand comprehensive solutions. Even armed inventions that aim to overcome situations of distress often fail to prevent humanitarian damage – sometimes even worsening the situation temporarily. Refugee emergencies generally pose the greatest practical challenge to humanitarian solidarity – in particular for the immediate neighbors of the conflict zone. None of the parties involved, however, can ignore its obligation to provide assistance and ensure a just division of the burdens involved. In this context, we would like to express our gratitude to the German population for its willingness to provide help during the wars in Bosnia and later in Kosovo.

(MORE THAN MERELY THE STATUS QUO ANTE)

(159) Every military intervention must be linked to a political perspective that aims for more than merely a restitution of the former status quo. It is not enough to surmount existing injustice. The aim must be to prevent it re-occurring in the long-term. This is generally only possible when the political framework conditions are altered. It is no coincidence that the military were amongst those to demand a political concept for "the time after". A former status quo based on severe injustice does not deserve any form of defense – political or military. There must be no alliances with regimes that abuse human rights or with dictators.

(CONFLICT AFTER-CARE)

(160) [*]Success in dealing with post-conflict situations also contributes towards the prevention of new tensions and their potential for escalation into new outbreaks of violence. The tasks that the international community of states has to deal with in this phase of developments are wide-ranging: they show how important the establishment of political and legal structures are for a just and lasting peace. Military precautions can support such activities at civilian level but cannot serve as a substitute for them. Disarming the parties involved in the conflict is one of the most urgent tasks. Others include clean-up operations and help with re-construction work, the setting up of institutions to guarantee effective protection of human and minority rights, the organization of elections no less than the repatriation and re-integration of refugees. In this context, we also need to remember the commitment demonstrated by German police officers participating in peace operations since 1993 within the framework of the EU, the OSCE and the UN. They made and continue to make valuable contributions to domestic safety in Cambodia, Spanish Sahara, Slovenia, Bosnia, Albania and in the Kosovo. Finally, it is necessary to re-build a political culture with independent media, improve the transparency of public administration and many other institutions. The existing international and regional institutions and organizations are already making a considerable contribution in providing follow-up care in areas affected by conflicts, as well as establishing structures aimed at the preservation of peace. They would be able to carry their tasks more effectively, however, if the community of states were to delegate coordination and leadership competence to them in these areas.

(NO HABITUAL USE OF FORCE)

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[*] 1st edition paragraph slightly amended

(161) All these measures must be part of an overall political concept supported by a broad coalition of those involved. If the order established after a conflict provides greater justice than that existing prior to conflict, the potential for renewed conflict will have been reduced and there is a greater likelihood that future conflicts will be carried out without the use of force. This is the central challenge: establishing political instruments that facilitate dealing with conflicts and make armed intervention a last resort that is more or less redundant. The motto of just peace precludes the habitual use of force to solve conflicts.

III Church Tasks

III.1 Just Peace as a Guideline for the Church

III.1.1 The Church as a Source of Just Peace

(THE CHURCH – A SACRAMENT OF PEACE)

(162) The Church defines itself as a contribution towards peace, since it, "in Christ, is in the nature of sacrament – a sign and instrument, that is, of communion with God and of unity among all men..." (LG No. 1). The Lord has given his Church the task of transcending that worldly peace guaranteed under duress by the use of force and exemplifying a greater "messianic" peace that is based not on force but on trust and will fascinate all that seek true peace. It is more important for the Church to *be* a sacrament of peace than to *act* on behalf of peace: "All those who in faith look towards Jesus, the author of salvation and the principle of unity and peace, God has gathered together and established as the Church, that it may be for each and everyone the visible sacrament of this saving unity." (LG No. 9) As a sacrament, the Church defines itself through the sacraments. Its identity is embodied in the sacraments that point the way to God. Baptism by water and the Holy Spirit enable us to be born again in God. That is why faith can and must be the only pre-requisite for baptism. "All men are called to belong to the new People of God. This People therefore, whilst remaining one and only one, is to be spread throughout the whole world and to all ages in order that the design of God's will may be fulfilled: he made human nature one in the beginning and has decreed that all his children who were scattered should be finally gathered together as one (cf. John 11, 52)." (LG No. 13) The Church works as a sacrament of peace by overcoming all barriers of race, nationality, ethnicity and society that separate people from one another and turn them all too often into enemies. As part of the Church we find ourselves in a place in which the peace made possible by Christ can develop and grow to encompass all dimensions of reality.

(THE PEACE OF CHRIST)

(163) The words Shalom and Eirene are often used in the Bible to invoke a far greater breadth of association than our word 'peace'. They express the idea of life given by God, a life lived without war and violence, in freedom. God's people shall embody this peace of God. During the Eucharist, the priest and the congregation wish each other peace and the peace is exchanged

between all present. The faithful are sent out into the world with the words "go forth in peace!" This is an unequivocal expression of the Church's self-transcendence as a sacrament of peace that begins with baptism. But can the Church be recognized today as a sacrament of peace? It is undeniable that the Church continues to astonish by providing a locus in which peace is sought and violence rejected. We recognize with gratitude that it has been blessed again and again and continues to be favored with the presence of individuals whose extraordinary charisma serves the causes of reconciliation and peace. Having said all this, however, it must also be said that it is hardly an object of great fascination – at least, not in our latitudes. Its manner of dealing with and solving conflicts is so common to our societies that it can hardly be differentiated from them. It would appear that we have conformed too much to the world and protected Christ's spirit like glowing embers – so that our own spirit does not run too great a risk of catching fire.

(FOR AND AGAINST)

(164) In the midst of a world dominated by war and violence, the Church will not be able to function as a sacrament of peace if it conforms to the world. This world does not need to have its strife mirrored by a religion that agrees slavishly to anything and everything. What we need is pro and contra, agreement and dissent. Christians make a choice when they accept baptism, their pledge sets them aside and is re-enforced by the three-fold renunciation of "Satan and all his works" which is preceded by the three-fold profession of belief in the Father, the Son and the Holy Ghost. Consequently, opposition to strife and the forces of death in this world is no mere supplement to Church life but should inspire it from the ground upwards. If this were not the case, the Church would merely be adapting itself to the world instead of proclaiming Jesus Christ and the good news that he brings of God's kingdom. The model of just peace does not come from the world. The Church has inherited it from the history of God's people and found it perpetuated in the archetypal Christ. For "he is our peace" (Eph 2, 14). So we do not regard the ideal of a just peace primarily as a political program for society as a whole but as a gift from heaven that works through the Church as a sacrament of peace and brings about change in the world. The Church's identification with Christ prevents it from seeking conformity with the world. Time and again, it has been blessed with individuals whose charismatic mediation of reconciliation and peace contrasts with the degree to which the Church has compromised itself in conforming to the world. That is why these 'saints' appear as troublemakers. They demonstrate how the world and the Church could appear, if just peace were embraced as a formative principle.

III.1.2 The Church as a Force for Reconciliation

(MESSAGE OF RECONCILIATION)

(165) If the Church wants to effectively promote reconciliation, it must start in its own backyard. Pope John Paul II has emphasized on various occasions that "*in order to assert that the Church, if she is to be reconciling, must begin by being a reconciled Church.*"[25] The credibility of its message of reconciliation depends above all on its ability to achieve reconciliation within itself through Jesus Christ. The Church is therefore called upon constantly to examine its conscience. We must consider carefully whether we are doing justice to the gift of sanctity. Those who do not properly grasp this secret of divine love will always tend to impose moral limitations on sanctity. However, Christian faith establishes a different, more unusual connection in this context: it is this

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[25] Reconciliatio et Paenitentia, No. 9

very sanctity that the Church has always enjoyed as a 'communion of saints' which nourishes God's expectation that we can achieve a correspondence to it by living lives that are virtuous. This applies both to the Church and its individual members – both the Church and Christians can find themselves in error on this score. In seeking to identify the reasons for the crisis in Church life, admitting our fallibility can liberate us "from resorting to a redundant cult of self-accusation and from a small-minded and self-righteous apportioning of blame for indifference and rejection upon others, upon the 'bad world'. Such procedures only prevent us from turning inward and facing the pain of change … If we face ourselves critically we do so not because it is fashionable to be critical but because we wish to do justice to the greatness and invincibility of our hope. As Christians, we do not place our hope in ourselves. It is therefore not necessary to cast a positive light on our present and our past, to show ourselves from our best side, as do those ideologues who believe only in themselves. In this sense, our willingness to exercise self-criticism is evidence of our specifically Christian hope that encourages the Church to persevere in a process of continuous examination of its conscience."[26] There is no more convincing testimony to the power of the Christian message of reconciliation than admitting guilt, showing contrition and asking for forgiveness – secure all the while in the knowledge of God's mercy.

(THE PRACTISE OF PENANCE)

(166) We will only ever be able to deliver "proof of concrete testimony to life" (Pope John Paul II) if we succeed in renewing the Church's practice of penance and illuminating and restoring the largely obscured connection between the sacrament of penance, reconciliation within the community and the Eucharist. We recall the Lord's words: "If your brother sins (against you), go and tell him his fault between you and him alone. If he listens to you, you have won over your brother. If he does not listen, take one or two others along with you, so that 'every fact may be established on the testimony of two or three witnesses.' If he refuses to listen to them, tell the church. If he refuses to listen even to the church, then treat him as you would a Gentile or a tax collector" (Mt 18, 15-17). Similar concerns move Paul when he criticizes the fact that Christians are applying to public courts (cf. 1Cor 6, 1-11). Obviously, the situation has changed fundamentally both in parishes and in society. Neither Matthew's demands nor Paul's complaint can be applied literally to the present day. Nonetheless, they rightly make it clear that the gift of reconciliation and the fact of its success must be linked to a process of living communication. Otherwise this process will take place privately and the community of the Eucharist will not become tangible as such – a community that not only suffers conflicts but also grows as a result of them. This is not a side issue. Paul teaches us that this concern is at the very heart of the Church as a sacrament of peace and reconciliation: "And let the peace of Christ control your hearts, the peace into which you were also called in one body. And be thankful. Let the word of Christ dwell in you richly, as in all wisdom you teach" (Col 3, 15-16).

(LACK OF CONFLICT CULTURE)

(167) Given this background, it must worry us to find out that conflicts are dealt with in the Church, in orders and parishes, in groups, families and associations in much the same way as they are in society. Often, they are simply dragged along or dealt with at an administrative level, without a real discussion between the parties involved ever having taken place. Polarization takes place, parties develop that either face each other silently or combat one another in language that sounds anything but conciliatory. Such a lack of mechanisms to deal with conflict can and

[26] Decision of the Synod "Unsere Hoffnung", Part II, No. 3.

unfortunately often has lead, in particularly unhappy circumstances, to outbreaks of open violence amongst Christians and against non-Christians. The path taken by God's people through history is lined with memorials reminding us of our failure to meet the demands of our duty to spread the message of reconciliation through the manner in which we spread the gospel, deal with our counterparts and treat all mankind.

(THE LOGIC OF VIOLENCE)

(168) "Yet Christians have often denied the Gospel; yielding to a mentality of power ...", wrote the Pope in the confession of guilt published at the beginning of the Holy Year 2000[27]. Incurring guilt darkens the symbolic power of the Church and weakens its ability to reconcile. It makes it all the more difficult for everybody to see in the Church that mountain whose peaceful inhabitants fascinate and attract estranged nations and peoples. It pains us to remember the schism between the Churches of East and West and the horrors committed by conquerors in the name of Christianity, the separation of the Reformation as well as more recent splits and sectarianism. All these events and the violence they often involve testify to our joint failure. They bear adverse witness to the goal of our calling.

(OUR PAST)

(169) How bitter and yet necessary it is to account for one's own failures in a spirit of humility and admit one's guilt with regard to disastrous historical developments is something that we have experienced first hand in the recent past. Questions were asked on the role played by the members of the Church in the national socialist war that aimed to conquer, enslave and destroy Germany's neighbors. The nature of this pre-meditated war was not recognized for what it was by many Christians for a long time – its dimensions were underestimated. Even those who had no sympathy for the national socialists or absolutely rejected them were often caught up in nationalist ideas that prevented them from recognizing the afflictions suffered by the nations attacked by Germany. Very few found themselves able to assist the victims, to risk life and limb for them or oppose the propaganda of hate either publicly or privately. We know only too well what kind of pressure Christians and non-Christians alike were under. We know the lengths to which the state went to keep its citizens dis-informed and how effective the methods of intimidation and terror were. This cautions us against judging a whole generation and consequently ignoring those sacrifices made by some Christians at least. Our intention must be to find a way of dealing with our past and the guilt attached to it. The path is narrow and thorny, requiring us to ask forgiveness again and again. Yet we have also been blessed with the experience of finding opportunities for reconciliation open up along the way, of re-establishing community where it once seemed impossible. We are particularly thankful for the close relations that we have been able to establish with the Catholic Church of Poland in past decades.

(OUR WEAKNESSES)

(170) Recent developments have demonstrated anew that the Church, whose ordained place is at the side of the weak, is itself weak and derives strength only from its union with Christ and remains dependent upon him. As soon as the Church denies its weakness and becomes self-righteous, it damages both itself and its mission. Once it recognizes its error, its weakness is transformed into strength. The Church, "at once holy and always in need of purification, follows

[27] 12 March 2000.

constantly the path of penance and renewal" (Lumen Gentium 8). Yet we find it difficult to accept this truth and trust solely in God's gift of reconciliation that can transform us into a force for reconciliation.

III.1.3 The Church as an Advocate of Justice

(ADVOCATE OF JUSTICE)

(171) In its Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World, the Second Vatican Council wrote of the Church's social and political role: "But this religious mission can be the source of commitment, direction, and vigor to establish and consolidate the community of men according to the law of God. In fact, the Church is able, indeed it is obliged, if times and circumstances require it, to initiate action for the benefit of all men, especially of those in need, like works of mercy and similar undertakings." (GS No. 42) In view of a world society whose God-given appearance as one family of humanity is constantly being disfigured by the wounds of injustice, it is the duty of the Church "based on the law of God" to act as an advocate of justice. She has much less to fear from postmodern skepticism with regard to all binding and universal values and standards than she has from the disappointed expectations of those whose human rights must be defended. The Synod decision was right to state in "*Unsere Hoffnung*" that "we are more likely to survive intellectual doubters than the silent doubts of the poor, of the man in the street, and of their memories of the Churches' failure." (No. III.2) The Pope made a point of asking for forgiveness in his admission of guilt for "all those who did wrong by putting their trust in wealth and power and punished the 'little man' with contempt."

(MAINTAINING CREDIBILITY)

(172) In its role as an advocate of justice, the Church can obviously only maintain credibility if she commits herself, in her role as a sacrament of peace in the world, to the most intimate union with God and to the unity of all mankind (LG 1). This is why the Church itself must make sure that it remains credible when it comes to making political demands with regard to existing injustices – especially in one of the wealthiest and most economically powerful countries of the world. "As servants of the one Church, we cannot ignore the growing discrepancy between Church life in the west, where it is associated with prosperity and satiation, and the role it plays in other parts of the world as a religion of the poor. Poverty literally excludes people in the poor world from breaking the bread with us in the communion of Eucharist. To ignore this would be to encourage an image of the Church that manages to unite the unhappy and those who look upon unhappiness, many sufferers and many Pilates and calls this a community of the faithful, the one new people of God."[28]

(CHRISTIAN SOLIDARITY)

(173) Against this background, we welcome all efforts at solidarity in the Church and amongst Christians. As important as they are, however, these efforts must not be limited to the Church and Christians. The poor are poor irrespective of race, gender, religion and nationality. Our care must be for those shut out from the economic and social cycle, those who appear simply "superfluous". It is not calculated self-interest that prompts us to help them, for there is nothing to be gained

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[28] Decision of the Synod "Unsere Hoffnung", Part IV, No. 3.

here – not even for superficial Church interests. These people and nothing else, are the center of concern. There is hardly anything more Christian than caring for these people. *Gloria dei pauper vivens* – the Glory of God is the living, personified pauper – a quote from early Christianity that Archbishop Romero once used with regard to his own situation.

(DEVELOPMENT AND PEACE)

(174) Solidarity with the poor is a part of our Christian commitment to peace. Supporting integral development contributes towards creating those conditions necessary to preserve and promote peace. As mentioned above, Pope Paul VI recognized this connection in his well-known phrase: "Development – the new name for peace". However, we should not overlook the fact that economic, social and political support for the poor often leads to new social conflicts. When existing power structures are called into question, those enjoying the privileges of wealth and power regularly oppose changes to the status quo. The Church's work on behalf of solidarity must therefore be carried out in a manner that recognizes social conflict as an unavoidable element in the development process whilst aiming generally to create a situation in which conflicts are carried out without violence.

(ADVOCACY)

(175) The success of such a developmental approach "from below" is linked to framework conditions that the poor themselves have no – or very little – influence on. Solidarity with the poor therefore requires the Church to speak publicly and in the political arena on their behalf for as long as they cannot speak for themselves. The Church is bound to this advocacy both in developing countries and the industrialized nations. She has a particularly important role to play within those nations able to influence the global economic situation and international politics by encouraging an economic and social order in which greater justice prevails. One important political means to this end are alliances of solidarity with the poor. One of our most important partners in this area are the organizations of the Protestant Church in Germany and furthermore, all those that support global development on the basis of human dignity. They really can bring about long-term change in our country's social awareness. The *Jubilee 2000 Campaign* that was initiated in part and supported by many Christian organizations on behalf of debt-release for poorer countries shows that social mobilization can play a role in achieving concrete progress. The "*Decade to Overcome Violence*", launched by the Ecumenical Council of Churches for the period 2001 – 2010, aims to contribute to an ecumenical process of debate and action within Churches and parishes on the many aspects of violence and ways of dealing with them. Such initiatives are just as necessary as the insistent dialogue with those in positions of responsibility in the political and economic arenas. The greater the grass-roots support received by the Church is, the more effective she will be as an advocate of the poor.

(TESTIMONY)

(176) The unfailing commitment demonstrated by Pope John Paul II is a strong motivational force behind the efforts of the German Church in this area. Time and again, he has drawn attention to the need to protect and implement human rights and given decisive support to the establishment of international economic structures aimed at a more equitable distribution of wealth. The testimony of those brothers and sisters who risk life and limb in the name of justice and a life of human dignity is an even more powerful reminder of our own obligations. The latest

victim of treacherous violence includes Suffragan Bishop Gerardi from Guatemala, murdered because of his commitment to the disenfranchised and repressed.

III.2 Unity of Mission and the Different Services

III.2.1 Church Service in the Context of Globalization

(ONE MISSION – MANY SERVICES)

(177) Christians are called upon in a special way as members of a global community to create a space for reconciliation and development, so that people in different conflict situations can direct their own lives. The process of globalization has been dominated hitherto by economic and technical factors and is way ahead of efforts on behalf of global governance. This discrepancy threatens to further divide a global society already torn apart by poverty and war. In this situation, we are called upon to testify to the hopes with which we are filled (1Peter 3, 15) which also implies re-examining the service of the Church in the light of these hopes. All of God's people are bound to give testimony to the hope for just peace in imitation of Christ's own life. The Church has only one mission but many ways of fulfilling it. Our one, common testimony takes the form of many witnesses: the one imitation of Christ is personified in many imitators. We are concentrating in this context upon those Church services that aim to contribute towards reconciliation, solidarity and development. We do not aim at a comprehensive or in any way definitive approach – that would be to deny belief in the Spirit of God, which can constantly awaken new forms of vocation within the framework of mission. "Without the work of orders, agencies and initiatives, without number in dioceses and parishes which are able to overcome all frontiers, the world would be poorer for that love which unceasingly transforms it like yeast, and we Christians as a whole would be less plausible in fulfilling our mandate to proclaim the joyous, liberating, reconciling and hope-giving message to all people through word and deed."[29]

III.2.2 In the Service of Reconciliation

(RECONCILIATION WORK)

(178) Work on behalf of reconciliation perhaps has a longer tradition in Germany than elsewhere. We refer in particular to the Maximilian-Kolbe-Association (*Maximilian-Kolbe-Werk*) that cares for former concentration camp internees. We also recall the conciliatory steps undertaken by *Pax Christi* shortly after the war to achieve reconciliation with France and Poland. Mention must be made of the *Ackermann-Society* (*Ackermann-Gemeinde*) as well as the ecumenical *Action for Signs of Reconciliation/Services for Peace (Aktion Sühnezeichen /Friedensdienste)*. The Roman *Society of Sant'Egidio* provides an encouraging example of mediation services in Africa and Kosovo. Hopefully, such initiatives will encourage others. The experiences of the Historic Peace Churches should also be included, working unobtrusively as they do in many places towards non-violent conflict solution. It is clear that Christians often enjoy a remarkable degree of trust in situations otherwise characterized by distrust and enmity. Whether in hostage-situations, civil wars or military confrontations, it is often the case that members of the clergy or devout Christians are asked to mediate – an expression of the hope that they will serve peace and

[29] One Mission but Many Services, No. 19.

reconciliation unselfishly and reliably in a spirit informed by faith. This should encourage us in our efforts to justify such trust and hope.

(INTERNATIONAL)

(179) The experiences of the past years have shown that the goal of reconciliation pursued by the Churches in Germany against the background of a troubled history has gained increasing international significance. That is why we need to talk to those local churches attempting to deal with a culpable past and bring together inimical parties for a new beginning in the wake of dictatorships, wars or civil wars. The Catholic Church in Guatemala whose Commission on Truth (REMHI) made a significant contribution towards dealing with the heritage of decades of civil war, is one of the partners in a position to provide such inspiration worldwide on the basis of its own experiences.

III.2.3 Services for Peace

(SERVICES FOR PEACE)

(180) Over the years, the idea of services for peace has taken the form of a number of institutions. They offer young people the opportunity to work abroad in the service of international understanding. The *Association for Development Aid* (*Arbeitsgemeinschaft für Entwicklungshilfe – AGEH*) re-enforces local initiatives in crisis areas and helps establish civil structures in society. The Catholic peace movement, *Pax Christi*, aims to create a greater level of awareness amongst Christians of the work done for peace and against violence and open up new areas of action. One recent foundation is the *Shalom-Deaconry/Ecumenical Council Service (Shalom-Diakonat/Ökumenischer Dienst im Konziliaren Prozeß*) which offers Christians of all confessions service in a community of non-violence and encourages them to accept this influence in their lives.

(PASTORAL CARE FOR PEACE)

(181) Like the armed services and the soldiers who serve in them, these services are directed in different ways towards safeguarding and promoting peace and supplement each other in the work they do. The interconnection of peace problems requires the cooperation of a variety of different vocations and professions. That is why the Church must continue to cultivate a culture of dialogue between Catholic soldiers and catholic members of the peace movement. There is nothing wrong in heated debate. However, it must be conducted in a spirit of mutual respect and understanding for the conscientious decision taken by the other side. Pastoral care has an important role to play here – in the persons of military chaplains, pastoral chaplains for conscientious objectors and the clerical members of Pax Christi.

(CIVIC PEACE SERVICE)

(182) Community service as an alternative to military service has been gaining importance in Germany over the past years. Non-governmental agencies have begun to receive some support. We welcome this development but would like to point out that the specific identity of services provided by the Church and Christians must be respected. They must not be misappropriated as

agents for government policies. Insofar as these institutions support development processes within civil society, the state's role should be subsidiary. We also firmly reject the opinion that civilian peace work must stand in opposition to state actions. Experiences such as those made in Bosnia-Herzogovina show that such an opposition is artificial and not conducive to the provision of effective help. A complementary approach that demands a certain measure of professional competence from those involved in non-governmental initiatives and organizations is all to the good.

III.2.4 In the Service of Solidarity and Development

(WORLDWIDE SOLIDARITY)

(183) Through its various institutions, associations and orders, the Catholic Church in Germany is able to work together with other local churches and with organizations supporting the poor – a cooperation that has proved its worth over decades. Some of them – to name but a few – are *Adveniat*, *Misereor, Missio* or the *Childrens' Mission Association* (*Kindermissionswerk*) known as *Sternsinger (Epiphany singers)*, *Renovabis*, as well as *Caritas International* and *Kirche in Not.* For many years now, the German Commission for Justice and Peace has devoted itself to development and peace issues and to protection of human rights worldwide. Catholic generosity when it comes to donations has made this wide range of activities possible. However, it is also the large number of Christian action groups and parish partnerships with parishes in southern, central and eastern Europe that demonstrate the growing awareness of the Church's role in the world as well as a continued sense of solidarity with those less fortunate.

III.3 Test Areas for Church Actions for Peace

III.3.1 Relations with Judaism

(RELATIONS WITH JUDAISM)

(184) As Christians, our capability for peace must be measured above all by our relationship with the Jews. Our connection is uniquely derived from God. The first part of our Holy Scriptures is also the Jewish Bible. We hear the same words from God and share the same origins. Speaking on relations with Judaism in Mainz, Germany in 1982, Pope John Paul II said: "The first dimension of this dialogue – namely the encounter between the Old Testament people of God with whom God never severed his covenant – and that of the New Testament, is at once a dialogue within our Church – between the first and second part of the Bible." In 1986, he spoke at a synagogue in Rome saying: "You are our favored brothers – one might say our older brothers." This is still the case, despite the separation of Church and Synagogue at the beginning of our Christian history. This breach is our first, our greatest wound, more so than all the other divisions that came upon Christianity later. It still has not been healed. Our bond with Judaism is indissoluble until the end of time. As Paul said in his letter to the Romans, Christ's apostles are wild branches grafted onto the old olive tree that is Israel. They can live only on this tree. It is not the branch that bears the root, but the root that carries the branch (Rom 11, 18). We need, therefore, to understand the history of the Jews as part of our own history with God. We should

consider this common past in our parishes and ask ourselves how it can provide us with orientation aids.

(THE PROBLEMS POSED BY HISTORY)

(185) [*]The early Church was made up of Jews and heathens. The increasing distance between Christianity and the large majority of the Jewish Nation that was unable to recognize Jesus as Christ led to the marginalization and, in time, to the demise of Jewish Christianity. In the end, there was only Judaism and Christianity. In the West, at least, Christians were soon more powerful. Consequently, the Jews were inclined to see the cross of Christ not as a symbol of reconciliation but as a threat. Theological anti-Judaism combined with social envy and fear of otherness. Jews were seldom allowed to feel that they were respected by Christians as brothers in faith. The modern racist anti-Semitism that drew on scientific hypotheses often blended with existing aspects of anti-Semitism. Christians fell prey to these prejudices and became part of the political environment that led to the persecution and murder of millions of Jews (Shoa). Far too few – such as Bernhard Lichtenberg and Gertrud Luckner and or Saint Edith Stein – resisted. Once the reign of terror was over, too few were strong enough to admit their involvement and to recognize their guilt and seek a new relationship with the Jews.

(NEW TRUST)

(186) We are thankful that Jews and Christians can meet in the framework of associations for Judeo-Christian cooperation. Individual Christians and Church institutions use such forums to seek dialogue with their Jewish partners. It is with great pleasure that we see Jewish communities being founded after the Shoa in the "land of the perpetrators". After 1989, many Jews from eastern Europe sought a home in Germany. The number of Jewish communities and their membership has increased considerably as a result and they now face great challenges. Churches and Christians are called upon to do everything in their power in the spirit of brotherly love to make Germany a country in which Jews are welcomed. Germany must be a place where Jews can assert their identity without fear and experience respect for their inner connection to the land of Israel without having their German citizenship called into question. Every expression of anti-Semitic sentiment, any anti-Semitic act must be met with protest and objections. We need to constantly re-examine the extent to which we could be trapped in centuries-old anti-Semitic attitudes. Efforts on behalf of human rights need to take account of the history of anti-Judaism and anti-Semitism. This is why we must reject "every form of persecution against whomsoever" and "all outbreaks of hate" (Nostra Aetate, No. 4) and strive instead for a just peace with those that are different yet share our society. We consider it a matter of some urgency to give greater emphasis to the history of Judaism, in particular the suffering of the Jewish people, in the context of theological training, religious instruction and Church-run adult education programs. The history of Judaism – in particular during its dark phases – forms part of our own Church history. Christian awareness of Jewish history can make an essential contribution towards achieving progress in the dialogue between Jews and Christians along the path of reconciliation. We recommend that all those involved in pastoral care, education and training, make full use of the materials available on the history and contemporary situation of the Jews as well as on relations between Christians and Jews.

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[*] 1st edition paragraph slightly amended

III.3.2 Ecumenism

The Church's testimony as a sacrament of peace is overshadowed by the divisions in Christianity. It runs counter to Christ's will. As necessary as practical cooperation with other Christian Churches and communities is, the primary goal of ecumenism is that expressed in the prayer Christ offered on the evening before his death: "that they may all be one" (John 17, 20-23). Re-establishing Eucharistic community is the expression of this unity that Christ gave us on that night. Along with Pope John Paul II, we emphasize that the measure of ecumenical commitment at parish level is a gauge of its Christian maturity. Priority must continue to be given to ecumenical dialogue, including dogmatically controversial issues as well as the history of our separation that is often burdened by experiences of coercion and violence. Efforts to grasp the history of other Churches do not only belong to the dialogue itself – they should also form part of the educational work done by the Church itself. We will never be able to achieve true reconciliation unless we are aware of the past from which we come.

(ECUMENICAL MOVEMENT)

(188) Since divisions within Christianity were often occasioned by political reasons, they often had political results. The confessional wars that marked the beginning of the modern age are a case in point since they brought about serious and lasting changes in Europe. Consequently, the ecumenical movement has seen itself since its inception as a Christian contributor to international peace and international understanding. We gratefully remember those Christian men and women who sought and maintained community with their brothers and sisters during and after the world wars. Historic Peace Churches such as the Quakers often played the role of pioneers in this context – and this applies in particular to their relations with Germany and the Germans. In the context of globalization, international and global ecumenical contacts are of increased importance. The areas of development work and aid to refugees can already look back on long years of valuable experience that need to be instrumentalized and extended in the future to help deal with the prevention of and follow-up to conflicts.

III.3.3 Inter-religious Dialogue

(INTER-RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE)

(189) The Church understands the right to freedom of religion ultimately as a God-given right – as are all other human rights. Indeed, it is a special expression of man's personal dignity. There can therefore never be any question of coercion when it comes to religion. As is the case in inner-Christian ecumenism, dialogue presents the best opportunity for achieving inter-religious understanding in the future. Life in a world that is growing closer by the day demands dialogue and encounter between religions. In this context, we recall the many initiatives undertaken by the Pope, such as that of the prayer of world religions in Assisi. The German Bishops' Conference has convoked a special sub-commission for inter-religious dialogue in order to provide an adequate forum for the growing significance of this issue both here and worldwide. *The Christian-Islamic Encounter – Documentation Center (Christlich-Islamische Begegnung –*

Dokumentationsstelle –CIBEDO) was established to deal with the exchange between Christians and Moslems that is so important in our country. The Association of Christian Churches in Germany and its numerous regional or local working groups have published information material and work aids on this subject that are of particular interest for those working in the areas of pastoral care as well as teachers of religion. We take this opportunity of specifically encouraging the Catholic Academies to support inter-religious dialogue with the means at their disposal. Wherever possible, cooperation that goes beyond dialogue should be attempted, without fear of contact or differences. It is just as irresponsible to defer Christian standards in order to avoid conflict as it is to withhold assistance from our fellow men.

(HUMAN RIGHTS)

(190) The greatest challenge faced by world religions today is participation in an inter-religious and inter-cultural exchange on the fundamental elements of an ethical code that will be accepted worldwide. What would these elements have to incorporate, in order to reduce the omnipresent violence in our world? Within the framework of this dialogue, human rights deserve particular attention (cf. II.3.1). The process of codifying them in international law is no guarantee that all those involved have the same understanding of the terms used. There are also significant differences in the way different religions view their identity and their foundations. These differences are one of the reasons why there are such discrepancies in the way states interpret international law. It is therefore imperative that there be some form of common understanding on the role of the state in relation to religions communities and vice-versa as well as on the fundamental issue of the relationship between religion and culture. The Churches will have to insist here on discussing the situation of Christian minorities in certain Islamic countries, or those with a predominantly Islamic culture.

(FUNDAMENTALISM)

(191) In many countries, churches and religious communities exercise considerable influence on daily life, even on the political orientation of the population. In some places, this influence is growing. We are quick to interpret this as a sign that fundamentalist movements are gaining strength and link it to increased danger from groups willing to engage in violence – possibly even terrorist activities. It is, in fact, the case that such developments may be observed in all the major religious communities as a threat to peaceful co-existence. It would therefore be a major step forward if the religions were to take a joint position on the growth of ideologically-biased movements and distance themselves from them in order to undermine the equation of religiosity with fundamentalism. On the other hand, it is necessary to recognize that public perception of such processes tends not only to encourage the widespread tendency to nurture old prejudices against religious communities. It also serves to distract from severe political, economic and social problems that lie behind fundamentalist movements and the violence that they are willing to engage in.

(RELIGIONS AND VIOLENCE)

(192) On the other hand, we should not overlook or underestimate the role played by religious factors in the development and conduct of violent conflicts. It happens to be the case that religions have always been deeply associated with the phenomenon of human violence: religion was interpreted as the origin of war, was used to legitimize war, was even instrumentalized to

bring about wars and violence. Yet it is just as true that fundamental criticism of violence and complaint over the nefarious consequences for the victims has always found its most significant expression in religious-ethical consequences. The Old Testament provides vivid testimony to the many and varied interconnections between religion and violence. Even today, many people firmly believe or at least suspect that above all the monotheistic religions – and in particular Christianity and Islam – are essentially intolerant and incapable of peace. Debate on such beliefs must be treated seriously at a theological level and find practical answers. Honest self-criticism within religious communities is one consequence. Ultimately, however, whether they appear credible and convincing will depend to a large degree on their support for the rights and legitimate interests of other groups within the framework of their active commitment to peace – irrespective of their own rights and interests. This applies particularly in those countries in which religions play a large role in public life.

III.3.4 Dealing with Foreigners

(FOREIGNERS IN THIS COUNTRY)

(193) It is with great concern that we note the increase in and the excesses committed in the name of xenophobia. We emphasize that any form of sympathy for such attitudes, and obviously any form of participation in xenophobic rabble-rousing, contradicts the teachings of the Christian faith. Racist contempt for fellow humans is irreconcilably inconsistent with human dignity and the brotherhood of all people created in the image of God. No Christian should countenance disparagement of foreign co-citizens or stand by idly whilst they are subjected to violent attack. On the contrary, Christians need to show the courage of their beliefs and get involved actively in defending the victims of xenophobia. They should take seriously Paul's words that "God … is not far from any one of us" (Acts 17, 27); Christian communities should always keep their doors open for people forced to live far away from their homes. Many of these people have strong ties to religious groups and appear slightly out of place in our pluralistic, individualized and secularized society. As Christians, it is our duty to demonstrate understanding and solidarity. Their identification with our country and our state corresponds directly to their experience of the guarantees provided by our constitution and the rule of law that they be allowed to live according to their faith.

(XENOPHOBIA)

(194) We expect those in positions of responsibility to decisively counter all form of xenophobia with all the legal means at their disposal. However, we believe that it would be a mistake to rely only on police and legal measures in the long-term. It is true of our country just as it is of many others that the economic and social circumstances above all of young people as well as the situation within the family plays a considerable role in influencing the attraction exercised by fundamentalist and extreme right-wing groups and their ideologies. In addition, the general political and social climate is of considerable relevance. Politics can only appear credible in its criticism of xenophobia if it maintains an absolutely rigorous attitude on this area. That is why, in the joint statement issued by the Churches on the challenges presented by migration and flight we insisted that it was necessary for Germany to draw up an overall concept on immigration.[30] We must, however, guard against a development that provides for greater numbers of specialists

[30] Cf. " … und der Fremdling, der in deinen Toren ist", No. 168-181.

being granted permission to stay whilst the numbers of those granted asylum is limited. No immigration policy should be carried out at the expense of an already restricted asylum policy. In addition, we also need a special policy of integration that involves more than calls for adaptation or merely waiting for the problems to solve themselves. It is not enough to emphasize the economic or demographic advantages of immigration. Policies must attend to the fundamental political and cultural issues that arise as a consequence of immigration. This will be of decisive importance for the quality of life in our country and its ability to deal with the future.

III.3.5 Justice for Women

(VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN)

(195) Despite all efforts in this area, women continue to find themselves victims of a variety of different forms of violence all over the world – from a systematic disadvantaging in professional life to violence afflicted upon them including rape. Woman and children suffer the most from the consequences of poverty and war. At the same time, they are often the main stay for the survival of their families. For a long time now, there has been widespread awareness of the extraordinary contribution made by women in development work. Yet in the transformation states of central and eastern Europe, women are the main victims of economic and social change. The dramatic increase in the trading of women is one of the more offensive examples of this development.

(DIGNITY OF WOMEN)

(196) We must admit that the scandalous repression and disrespect of women has yet to arouse the attention it deserves in the Church – despite repeated appeals by the Pope and the intensive activity of Catholic Women's Associations. They must continue their efforts to achieve justice for their sisters. Christians in particular should pay careful attention to respect for the dignity of women in everyday life as well as in politics and society**.**

III.4 Cultural and Spiritual Dimensions in the Service of Just Peace

III.4.1 Teaching and Education

(PEACEABLENESS)

(197) Peace must be the concern of as many people as possible and supported by their motivation and their firm intention of dealing with conflicts in a non-violent manner. This applies at a personal level as well as the political one. Attention to comprehensive structures should not prevent us from remembering that it is always people that decide and act. Teaching and education have important roles to play in forming a personal identity able to resist the human propensity for violence. This requires constant practice of those virtues that make up the charisma of peaceableness and influence society's capability for peace. Peace is won or lost in the minds and hearts of people. All educational work done by the Church or on its behalf must be infused with the spirit of Jesus.

(THE FAMILY)

(198) Basic attitudes and behavioral patterns for dealing with conflict are learnt above within the family and will last a lifetime. A policy of preventing violence must therefore also be rooted in the family. It will serve as a support – not as a disadvantage. Christian parents should be aware of the importance of their role as models for their children and for young people. Abuse of children, especially sexual abuse, is a grave contravention of the educational responsibility invested in parents, pedagogues and pastors. The Church's determined rejection of killing unborn lives must be carried over into commitment to the basic rights of children and young people. We attach great importance to church initiatives against child prostitution, trade in children and child labor.

(KINDERGARTEN AND SCHOOL)

(199) In addition to the family, Catholic Kindergartens and schools in particular are called upon to communicate important attitudes and abilities for peaceful co-existence in their work. The extent of violence in schools must serve as an impulse for teachers and educators to critically examine their own behavior, the situation in the institutions and in families as well as teaching methods. Many conflicts arise from prejudices and a lack of knowledge and practical experience in dealing with members of other religions, nations or cultures. That is why Catholic education must aim to counter these sources of violence. It is not enough to transmit only theoretical knowledge. Really getting to know others requires personal encounter. The joint celebration of festivals and participation in all events that permit a better look at the lives of people from other religions and nations provide good opportunities for this.

(PARISHES AND ASSOCIATIONS)

(200) Activities for children and young people organized by parishes and associations provide young people with alternatives to the educational processes in families and schools. There is far greater scope here for independent decision-making and action. In consequence, they are more likely to experience the different interests and needs that can lead to conflicts. Team leaders can use the trust placed in them to encourage children to solve conflicts peacefully by combining assertiveness with an ability to take consideration of others and show a willingness to compromise.

(MEDIA PEDAGOGY)

(201) Schools and the forums provided for children and young people outside schools have become centers of an educational policy on the media that concentrates above all else on the topic of violence. Young people today are growing up in an environment that is saturated with violence. Images of violence, the incessant roundabout of murder, desecration and humiliation serve no other purpose than the production of cheap thrills that encourage and satisfy pleasure in violence. Children and young people who have not yet fully developed their personalities receive non-stop instruction from television, cinema and videos on how to deal with conflicts. Not only do the 'bad guys' continuously commit acts of violence, they force the 'good guys' to resort to the same means as their opponents in their struggle to overcome them, if not to actually destroy and obliterate them. The message is that violence is the only suitable method for solving conflicts and helping the 'good' to triumph. Educational policy on the media is faced with the difficult task of unmasking the mechanisms of the constant exposure to violence on our screens linked to the dictates of profit and helping young people to develop a critical attitude to images of violence and

the ideology behind them. In addition, we need to find alternatives to the habitual violence on television and change the viewing habits of younger viewers. Programs or films that do not deal with violence should be disregarded in favor of those that address this issue critically.

(CATHOLIC ACADEMIES)

(202) Catholic Academies aim to influence the shaping of public awareness through information and discussion. Their very structure, based on the concept of dialogue, corresponds to the nature of an open society and helps expose ideologies. More important yet with regard to dismantling prejudices and preconceptions is the choice of content and topics. Attention both to history and contemporary problems is equally important. Events linked more or less directly to the goal of peace-oriented education are particularly important.

(THE SPIRIT OF PEACE)

(203) The spiritual nature of peace work must also determine the spirit of Catholic educational and teaching institutions. Both the role played by those working there as personal role models and the instruction on saints, martyrs and other exemplary figures through literature, film, mediation and games as well as in services should be self-evident.[31] They can and should demonstrate vividly that in its identity with the spirit of Christ, the spirit of non-violence does not signify weakness but strength, not a policy of closed but of open eyes, not standing back but getting involved. We pray and hope that the Holy Spirit will awaken enthusiasm in the Church for the cause of just peace – and consequently also for the reign and the kingdom of God.

III.4.2 The Spirit of Non-Violence as a Liberating Force

(ETHOS OF NON-VIOLENCE)

(204) "How beautiful upon the mountains are the feet of him who brings glad tidings, announcing peace, bearing good news, announcing salvation, and saying to Zion, 'Your God is King!'" (Is 52, 7) When Jesus appeared in Galilee and proclaimed the Kingdom of God, he saw himself as a messenger of peace. His glad tidings bring us an ethos of non-violence, of love for one's enemies and willingness for reconciliation. We see the Church as the place of God's sovereignty and ourselves, as members of the Church and descendants of Christ, as citizens of God's Kingdom. The power of baptism inspires us with the spirit of Christ. The Holy Spirit allows us to see the world with different eyes. He comforts us when our efforts seem to promise little chance of success or appear doomed to failure. He strengthens us when our strength fails. Without him, our efforts on behalf of peace are no more than fulfillment of a moral obligation. We also recall the Letter to the Ephesians that encourages the confirmation of young people and can attune them to services for peace in Church and society. We need to put on "God's armor". We are indeed not dealing just with flesh and blood, not only with evil people and bad structures, but with the somewhat intangible force of evil. If we had only ourselves to depend upon, we would be lost. To withstand this force, we need "God's Armor", we need to "wear it as we do the spirit of Christ". He equips us with his "arms" which are, simply, disarming: "So stand fast with your loins girded in truth, clothed with righteousness as a breastplate, and your feet shod in readiness for the gospel

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[31] One important source is: Zeugen für Christus. Das deutsche Martyrologium des 20. Jahrhunderts. Published by H. Moll. Commissioned by the German Bishops' Conference. Paderborn 2000.

of peace. In all circumstances, hold faith as a shield, to quench all arrows of the evil one. And take the helmet of salvation and the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God." (Eph 6, 14-17). In this manner, weapons are re-cast.

(COMBAT AND CONTEMPLATION)

(205) Service for peace is no leisurely, unhurried experience but "combat and contemplation". There have been many occasions on which it meant imitating Christ to the extent of suffering martyrdom in order to stand firm against the forces of evil and pierce the vicious circle of hate. It is precisely in those situations in which violence is imminent or has broken out that we need the spirit of truth that gives us courage and steadfastness and the support that protects us from fear and despair.

(PRAYERS FOR PEACE)

(206) The first and most important fruit of the Spirit is prayer. It is a good sign that so many parishes now regularly hold prayers for peace that creatively combine traditional and new elements (such as chain prayers). We would like to suggest here that greater attention be given to the World Peace Day celebrated every year on January 1st both at a personal level and in parish life. Catholic associations such as the BDKJ[32], kfd[33], DJK[34], KDFB[35], GKMD[36] and Pax Christi organize prayer sessions on World Peace Day and could play an exemplary role here. By honoring this day, military chaplains and the Association of Catholic Soldiers (*Gemeinschaft Katholischer Soldaten*) emphasize the goal they seek to serve. We also recommend participation in various pilgrimages for peace, and would like to draw particular attention to the peace pilgrimage by Catholic soldiers to Lourdes.

(PEACE AND LITURGY)

(207) Those in the Church who are committed to the service of peace should be more demonstrably involved in parish life. We would welcome liturgical forms that provide some form of public acknowledgement for such persons at the outset and the end of their particular venture. A special moment during Church services devoted to the sending forth of such persons would demonstrate that their commitment is more than a private matter and receives its impulse from confirmation.

(PEACE ONLY WITH GOD)

(208) Ultimately, peace will only succeed with God. There is scarcely a better witness to this than Saint Francis of Assisi. In his spirit we pray:

LORD, make us instruments of Your peace.
- *Where there is hatred, let us sow love;*
- *Where there is injury, pardon;*
- *Where there is discord, union;*

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[32] *Bund der Deutschen Katholischen Jugend (Association of German Catholic Youth)*
[33] *Katholische Frauengemeinschaft Deutschlands (German Catholic Women's Association)*
[34] *Sportverband Deutsche Jugendkraft (Sporting Association German Youth Force)*
[35] *Katholischer Deutscher Frauenbund (Catholic German Association of Women)*
[36] *Gemeinschaft der Katholischen Männer Deutschland (Association of Catholic Men, Germany)*

- *Where there is doubt, faith;*
- *Where there is despair, hope;*
- *Where there is darkness, light;*
- *Where there is sadness, joy.*

O Divine Master, grant that we may not seek too much
- *to be consoled as to console;*
- *to be understood as to understand;*
- *to be loved as to love.*

For it is in giving that we receive;
- *it is in pardoning that we are pardoned;*
- *and it is in dying that we are born to eternal life.*

Amen