[16] See, among others, Elizabeth Cousens, *Peacebuilding as Politics: Cultivating Peace in Fragile Societies* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001); Michael Pugh, *Regeneration of War Torn Societies* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2000).

[17] Alasdair MacIntyre, *After Virtue: A Study in Moral Theory*, 2nd ed. (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 1984).

[18] Gerard Powers, "Religion and Peacebuilding," in Philpott and Powers, *Strategies of Peace*, 324.

# 2

# The Long Journey Back to Humanity

## *Catholic Peacebuilding with Armed Actors*

JOHN PAUL LEDERACH

*I always remind myself that behind that pointed gun is a person, a human being, somebody's son or daughter.*

—PADRE RAFAEL

In a June 2007 meeting with Colombian bishops and participants from the Catholic Peace Network (CPN) workshop in Bogota, I found myself in a small breakout group with about a dozen bishops representing nearly all of the major regions of the country. Our topic focused on how church leadership has responded to and dealt with armed actors. We opened with simple questions: What have your experiences been with armed actors here in Colombia? What works? What should be avoided? Having worked with the Colombian episcopal conference for the past eight years and with some of the bishops in the room at a much greater depth, I knew some had faced this issue extensively in their dioceses over multiple wars raging across five decades in this Andean country. I was not sure how openly or directly they might share about these delicate matters. An hour and a half later every bishop had spoken from the heart. Stories poured out, varied from diocese to diocese, across armed groups, from kidnapping negotiations to community forums, from observation of demobilization to late-night discussions, from innovative use of rituals and Catholic symbols to defuse explosive situations to the delicate confrontation of high-level bush commanders. Lessons learned and pitfalls to avoid were shared. I had two distinct observations as I left the room that afternoon: How extensive and widespread this

particular church leadership's experiences of dealing with armed actors really was, and how little has been documented in any formal way of the bishops' extraordinary activity.

Only a few months later, in an entirely different region of the world, Mindanao, we again found ourselves sitting around a table. It was a supper arranged by the CRS program for an international group to meet local peace advocates. At my table were a general from the Philippine Army and a local Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) leader. Interspersed throughout the room of fifty-some people we could see the web of conflict and reconciliation on the southernmost islands. The general made a short presentation that evening. He and several of his colonels had participated in the Mindanao Peacebuilding Institute, unusual participants of course, but they had become quite convinced of the need to develop new strategies to relate to the insurgents and to address the historic armed conflict. Quietly sitting alongside them were a priest and several Catholic lay leaders who had been their teachers and "accompaniers"—not only in the classroom, but more important, in numerous crisis situations of kidnappings, potential re-escalation of the fighting, and in stopping cycles of revenge killings. As Father Roberto "Bert" Layson, the spiritual guide to the establishment of the declared peace zone in his home area of Pikit, explained in one of our interviews, "I realized that as human beings, they [the military] are not entirely bad just because they carry firearms, but they also possess goodness in their heart. . . . Rebels also possess good intention in their heart too. They are human beings trapped in their own situation. I have realized that they are not the enemies. In war, the real enemy is not the soldier or a rebel. The real enemy is war itself."[1] Following that evening a number of participants commented on how extraordinary it was that local Catholic leaders had not only bridged the divide across religious lines in their respective communities and villages but had helped forge relationships between generals and insurgent commanders.

This chapter begins an inquiry into experiences of Catholic leadership with armed groups and actors. The purpose is twofold. First, an initial empirical exploration will provide an overview of the types of experiences, approaches, and challenges faced by church leaders in contexts of open violence where they face and must deal with armed actors. At best we must emphasize the ideas of *beginning an inquiry* and *exploratory* based on contact and discussion with leaders primarily in Colombia, the Philippines, and Uganda. Second, and far more difficult to address, a theology of peacebuilding will be proposed and explored that suggests an initial framing of how the ortho-*praxis*, the face-to-face interaction of church leadership with the phenomenon of armed actors, is informed by and informs their ortho-*doxa*, the theology and belief system supporting that action. The wider purpose of this volume requires us to ask over and again whether there is something particularly Catholic about both the practice and motivating belief, and if so, what that might be.



## Approach and Context

### Methodology

This topic poses a range of difficult issues, not the least of which is a scarcity of formal theology on how or why Catholic leadership and laity engage in dialogue with armed actors. An initial word about methodology thus seems warranted, with an eye toward the limitations of this exploratory chapter.

First, this chapter is based primarily on discussions, personal interviews, and limited local publications in Colombia, complemented by conversations with colleagues in Northern Uganda and the Philippines, specifically, Mindanao. I have not been able to find any systematic literature on the specific topic of a Catholic theology of peacebuilding for the engagement of armed actors. Parallel literatures in reference to reconciliation, peace, conflict, and just war are cited as useful contributions, as well as personal accounts of individual leaders. However, for the most part this chapter builds from an initial ethnographic-like approach based on observations and direct interviews.

Second, my personal faith and academic background merit transparency, as I believe they affect directly the kind of observations I make in this chapter. As a Mennonite, I have spent a significant amount of time working alongside Catholic colleagues both in the field of real-time peacebuilding and in the academy. Since the early 1990s I have collaborated closely with Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in Latin America, Africa, and Asia, mostly in places where local programming has attempted to link relief aid, development, and peacebuilding in settings of open violence. I have an appointment with the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame, where I have worked closely with the ecumenical and interreligious dialogue efforts and with the development of the CPN. More specific to this chapter, I have worked in both the Philippines and Colombia since 1988. In the past decade I have collaborated extensively with the episcopal conference of the Catholic Church in Colombia from the highest level to grassroots outreach. My first visit to the Philippines came in 1989, and I have accompanied Catholic peace initiatives since that time in both higher-level negotiation and community-based efforts. By academic training I am a sociologist, with a primary focus on social conflict, conflict transformation, and peacebuilding. This chapter draws on that personal exposure, a series of direct but limited interviews, and an inadequate body of existing literature. I suggest in the ensuing ethnographic approach the sociological location of theology as opposed to the theological explanations of the action. This is and will remain an early exploration of the theme.

### Setting Our Context: The Locus of Theology

We must start with a simple affirmation. While we tend to think of theology as the guiding principles and doctrines of a belief system, the merit

and mettle of a belief is found in the dynamic nexus of word, context, and action. Theology never happens outside a specific context and cannot be fully explored without attention to stated belief and motivation, context, and the observation of action and response. This is particularly true of areas of life and action in a context where the details of belief and doctrine are not explicitly developed. In our case in point, a formal doctrinal orientation with specific guidelines or a written theology of how Catholic leadership responds to armed actors does not exist. We find the theology in the context of how the leadership actually responds, behaves, and articulates its reasons and motivations. With this in mind, our exploration requires a sharper specification of context because, for the most part, the context of encountering armed actors is not the norm of life for church leadership, except in those locations where, due to historic and contemporary social and political conditions, the encounter is inevitable and unavoidable. It is the weight of the *unavoidable* that sets the context, which for analytical purposes we can divide into two broad categories: (1) the nature and context of contemporary armed conflict; and (2) the unique location of the Catholic Church within that context.

## Nature of Contemporary Armed Conflict

At this first level we start with a quick overview of the nature of contemporary armed conflict. In the past twenty years the peace-research field has provided a whole range of data and patterns around this phenomenon.[2] In the period immediately prior to and following the collapse of the Soviet Union, there were rather consistently thirty to forty major armed conflicts around the globe. In the recent decade surveys have shown a slow but sure decline of these conflicts, though currently, as identified by the recent study on human security, our globe still faces a very significant number of armed conflicts.[3] Those conflicts, the toughest and most durable, are referred to as deep-rooted, protracted, or intractable conflicts and typically date back across decades, if not generations. This particular chapter and the focus on the response of the church touch on several conflicts that fit this category, namely, Colombia, Mindanao, and Northern Uganda.

The key patterns of deep-rooted conflict and open violence are important to delineate in broad strokes. These are internal and internationalized conflicts. We are challenged to find a single descriptor. Specifically, *internal* refers to the fact that the majority of the sustained conflicts involve armed groups struggling for allegiance of people and conquering of political power and territory within the boundaries of an existing nation-state. Typically, these involve insurgencies, armed revolutionary movements contesting the legitimacy of the existing state. Though in most protracted conflicts these movements predate by decades the events of 9/11, in the post–9/11 world many, if not most, of the non-state protagonists have been placed on international terrorist lists. *Internationalized* captures the idea that this phenomenon represents internal conflicts that develop within a regional and global



context, and as such, refugees, weapons, support money, and ideas related to the conflict flow across national borders.

The internal nature of the conflict creates a number of important characteristics for our study. First, internal conflicts are based on and create sharp *identity divisions* within a country. These can vary by location from expressions of identity according to ethnic, religious, or linguistic lines to geographic and ideological configurations. The ensuing polarization is deep and *long lasting*. Among the key characteristics we find the challenge that protracted conflicts last decades if not generations, and these divisions continue long after the guns have gone silent. The conflicts are *localized*, meaning that people experience the violence and the division close to home, in their local villages and neighborhoods. These are not conflicts where the enemy is portrayed as a distant threat. The enemy, for all practical purposes, lives next door. Repeated patterns of violence create circumstances where more than one generation has experienced what earlier generations have conveyed as their lived experiences of enmity and animosity. Internal conflicts create huge *displaced* populations. In the past decade in Colombia, for example, estimates suggest an average of about 300,000 internally displaced people, creating a sum across several decades of nearly four million people.[4] In Northern Uganda, during the period of open violence around Gulu, thousands of children (called night commuters) would walk into town to sleep wherever they could find refuge in order to avoid kidnapping. This sustained experience of violence affecting a wide swath, often of the rural and poorest communities, has left for many a legacy of *trauma*, lost childhood, displaced populations, the bitterness of lost life, and often a daily search for survival.

## The Place of the Catholic Church

We add to this context the particular location of the Catholic Church. While I have had peacebuilding experiences with Catholic bishops, priests, and lay leaders in countries where the church finds itself in pluralities or minorities (Burma, West Africa, Northern Ireland, for example), the focus of this chapter is primarily on Colombia, with secondary reference to Northern Uganda and Mindanao. Colombia and the Philippines are examples of contexts where Catholics represent a majority of the population, with estimates around 90 percent and 85 percent, respectively.[5] In Uganda, more than 60 percent of the country is Christian, and Catholics represent about half of that population.[6] In countries such as these the church is challenged by its ubiquitous presence in a context of protracted conflict. Several observations stand out that create the church and religious context in which Catholic theology emerges and is expressed.

First, as has been noted by the church leaders themselves, while the nature of internal conflict creates social and political divides in the wider society, the church stands as one of very few, perhaps the only, existing institution with adherents on all sides of the divides created by the polarizing

armed conflict. As Bishop Jorge Leonardo Gómez Serna of Magangué wrote with reference to Colombia, "We know that the vast majority of men and women who have picked up guns, whether within or outside the law, claim be Catholic from their childhood."[7] Simply put, the very location of the church as representing and being appealed to by a majority of the population places it inescapably in relationship with people, groups, and leadership on all sides of the conflict.

Second, protracted conflicts do not emerge out of the blue. They arise over time due to a long history of perceived and experienced marginalization, poverty, economic struggle, and political exclusion. Church teaching and pastoral practice that trace to the teachings of Jesus and the earlier prophetic tradition concern themselves with the plight of the poor, the widows, the orphans, and the marginalized. A longstanding theological concern, expressed as a preferential option for the poor, is rooted in these teachings. The option for the poor has had special salience in liberation theology. As Phillip Berryman wrote in his general essay of this theological stream, liberation theology is an "interpretation of Christian faith out of the suffering, struggle, and hope of the poor . . . a critique of society and the ideologies sustaining it . . . [and] a critique of the activity of the church and of Christians from the angle of the poor."[8] Within this faith-based movement we find a strong push to transform the deep historic injustices, and we also find a significant division between those who would justify the use of violence to pursue that change and those who adhere to the principles of nonviolence. This becomes particularly salient for our inquiry, inasmuch as significant numbers of key leaders in violent revolutionary movements in Catholic majority countries emerged from and continue to see themselves as within a stream of faithful expression of Catholicism, though they have distanced themselves from or have been removed by the church hierarchy. On the other side of the coin, the vast majority of the national armed forces in these same countries fighting the revolutionary movements, particularly true of Colombia and the Philippines, see themselves as devout Catholics. And in many instances where the phenomenon of paramilitarism rises in reaction against leftist-based guerrilla movements, we again find significant majorities who employ a discourse of "returning to order," "protecting the common good," and "protection of freedom against secular communism" based on theological notions and justified counter-violence as an expressed action of faith.

Inevitably, the Roman Catholic Church leadership in these countries, representing the vast majority of those occupying official positions within the hierarchy, finds itself located amid numerous and competing pressures. On the one side, for example, tens of thousands of their own faithful are affected by the cycles of violence unleashed by the various types of armed groups—revolutionary, official, and paralegal. The primary cry that most Catholic leaders hear and attempt to respond to arises from innocent victims caught in the cycles of the sustained violence. On the other side, addressing the root causes of the open violence traces to the need to create a



more equitable, fair, and just society. The church has had a longstanding, motivating theology that advocates for the downtrodden, oppressed, and suffering of the most vulnerable population, which, at least in rhetoric, is often the same vision expressed by the insurgents who have espoused the need for a violent overthrow of the existing order.

Herein we find the boiling cauldron of the core dilemma experienced by Catholic leadership in protracted conflicts where the majority of the population is Catholic faithful: How to address the need for deep social, economic, and political changes that protect and improve the plight of the most vulnerable while being in *inevitable* relationship with leaders and groups, whether inside or outside of law, who justify the use of violence to achieve their competing vision of those same goals? We could refer to this challenge as the dilemma arising from the sociology of *ubiquitous presence*. This may best be seen in a simple image of a pyramid (see Figure 2–1) that I suggested some years ago referring to the multiple levels of approaches to peacebuilding that fit the hierarchy of the Catholic Church particularly well.[9]

Initially proposed as a mechanism to understand the multiple but simultaneous strategies of change and approaches to building peace that connect with different levels of leadership in polarized settings, the pyramid suggests three descriptive and overlapping arenas of leadership initiative. First,

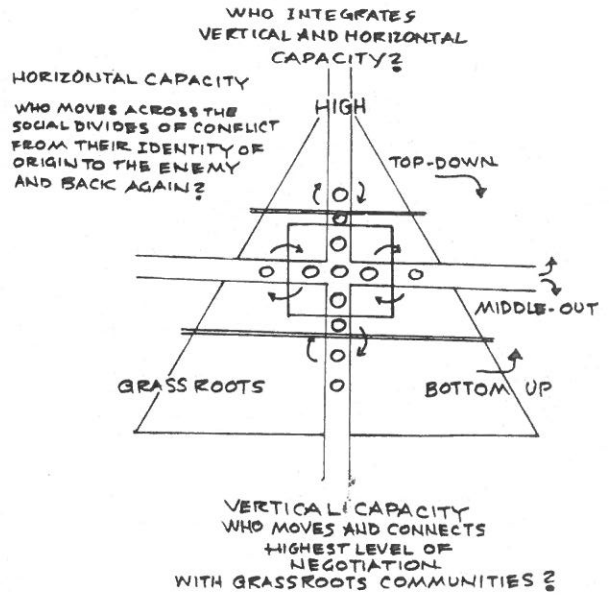


**Figure 2–1.** Pyramid of Approaches to Peacebuilding
Source: Lederach, *The Moral Imagination*, 79

though few in number but remarkably visible, high-level initiatives employ strategies of top-down approaches to change. Second, vast in number and widely spread across the geography of a protracted conflict, grassroots and community-level initiatives envision greater participation of local populations to increase their responsibility and responsiveness to immediate, though very locally expressed, conflicts. And third are the strategies of mid-level infrastructure and leadership with capacity for connections between the higher (or top) leadership and the grassroots. If we apply this to the church, we find the sociological location of Catholic ecclesiology in settings of protracted conflict where the majority of the population are Catholic adherents, a location I refer to as the ubiquitous presence.

The top level, well represented by the national bishops' conference within a given country, are the most visible leaders, though comparatively few in number. They are inevitably drawn into—not always by choice, preference, or motivation—roles related to the conflict and national peacebuilding. They often have natural, sustained, and direct access to the highest levels of leadership on all sides of the conflict. They also have considerable public visibility. Their pastoral letters, for example, are given wide dissemination in faith-based and mass media.

The middle level represents the outreach and infrastructure of the national church. While this can vary from country to country, in a setting like Colombia it is represented by the outreach platforms created by charitable programs and social pastoral (or peace and justice) offices and commissions at the national, diocesan, and parish levels. The Jesuits, Franciscans, and other religious orders also have charitable and social justice programs, and many universities have social justice institutes. The mid-level is also represented in the individual bishop's choice of response and outreach within his diocese. In Catholic ecclesiology the bishop has significant autonomy within his diocese, an autonomy that corresponds to the principle of subsidiarity in Catholic social teaching. Church structures are simultaneously *institutional,* with bureaucracies, budgets, and personnel, and *programmatically generative,* inasmuch as they develop strategies, outreach, and projects. Sociologically, they connect across dioceses and local parishes and reach back up to the national-level leadership that provides them orientation and legitimacy. In the parlance of organizational and peacebuilding literature we refer to this as a vertical capacity.[10] Mauricio Garcia Duran, for example, refers to this location of the church as "national coverage" in Colombia and notes that the Catholic Church throughout the country has been the single largest organizational contributor to peace actions during the period he studied. Further, he writes that the Catholic Church promoted these peace actions in all but one of the thirty-two departments in the state and in more than half of the more than one thousand municipal levels.[11] This broad geographic outreach we can refer to as *horizontal capacity.*

The geographic reach has implications. At local levels the Catholic Church is present in the communities most affected by armed conflict in these countries. In places like Colombia, with its long history of armed conflict and contested local territories between armed groups, many of the remote rural areas have few if any functioning government services. Yet the presence of the church, often in the form of a local priest serving a range of villages within his parish, remains the one constant and stable feature in the landscape of violence and volatility. Local residents often view the church leadership as their first and last point of refuge and help in times of crisis.



This outreach and presence relates to the multiplicity and at times confusing range of peacebuilding roles carried out by the church, in large part because the church's spiritual role of sustained presence with the community is not conceptualized for its potential and real role as peacebuilder. If we take Colombia as an example, we find that the roles and activities include an extraordinary range of varied experiences and activities played out by local and national leaders. These include everything from forms of advocacy, observation, conciliation, facilitation, and mediation between armed groups and the government to local parish initiatives to protect and mediate the release of family members captured in the fray of armed conflict (see Table 2–1). Intermediary roles may include less visible "good offices" for transmitting messages or providing space for a confidential meeting. In some instances the church has engaged in much higher-profile mediation and officially sanctioned roles of observing negotiations or serving as a guarantor of agreements. At times these intermediary roles are played out spontaneously by bishops in their diocese or priests and lay persons in local parishes. More often, however, local actors serve roles of protecting the vulnerable, negotiating release of kidnap victims, and engaging armed actors to reduce the level of violence affecting their community. Rather than neutral intermediaries, in these roles church actors are activists and advocates making requests and demands of armed actors. Of particular interest to the wider purpose of this chapter, when asked explicitly, most Catholic leaders refer to this activity as a form of "accompaniment," whether they are church representatives seated at a negotiation table in Cuba, a local priest advocating a decrease in violence affecting members of his parish, or lay persons helping a displaced community find emergency food and shelter.

In conclusion, we can affirm that in Catholic-majority countries and even those where the church enjoys a significant portion of a plurality, the ecclesiology and structure of the hierarchy places the Catholic leadership in a unique position for peacebuilding. Higher-level leaders are often drawn into formal and official roles as part of the national peace process; local lay leaders, priests, and various religious orders find themselves directly affected by the conflicts and develop programs and initiatives. While there is no consistency to the roles or their definition, protracted conflict in these Catholic settings creates a response of necessity and a multiplicity of potential activities. We turn our attention more directly to the theology that accompanies this position as peacebuilding activities generated from and by church leadership emerge and evolve.

and directly with Muslim insurgents, in this case the local-level and higher-level leaders of the MILF. As a Catholic priest he reached across the explicit lines of polarization and enmity. This was also a process of learning and relationship building:

> My relationship with the MILF started after the 1997 war in Pikit. I was selected by the local government unit to head the monitoring task force tasked to monitor rehabilitation projects in conflict affected communities. Since these projects would be implemented in rebel controlled areas, I demanded that I meet the MILF leadership in this particular rebel camp. And so I met them with armed rebels all over the place, and it was not the last. After that I made it a point to visit them in their camp once in a while precisely to establish good relationships. This time, no more armed men and always with a cup of coffee. During conversations, they would tell me why they are fighting, that they are just protecting the remaining territories, that they are not out to throw away the government, that they are not the ones starting the war but the government, that they pity the evacuees most of whom are their own people, that they also want peace so that they could work on the farm and send their children to school.
>
> And so, what happened was, I was relating with the military and the rebels knew it. And I was also relating with the rebels and the military knew it. This continues until now but somehow both parties know that I don't take sides, that what I'm doing is not only for the benefit of the civilians but also of the combatants like them.[39]

When asked more specifically about how he moved from a younger man who saw armed, uniformed military men as an enemy to envisioning something different, his explanation consistently points toward a journey of seeing people, the human being first, and the difficulty of their formal roles and chosen activities second:

> In the years I have been engaging and interacting with both of them [armed actors on both sides], I realized that they are just like any other human beings that need compassion. You need to engage them to know who they really are. It is only by direct contact with them that you begin to know what is in their heart. . . .
>
> I have realized that they are not the enemies. That in war, the real enemy is not the soldier or a rebel. The real enemy is war itself. This is what I saw during the four wars in Pikit. The combatants were also victims.[40]

When asked about how his Catholic and theological understandings contribute to this perspective, Father Bert notes again the notion of seeing the "humanity" and "situation" that armed soldiers and insurgents find themselves in, often beyond their immediate control. He notes various theological affirmations to explain his view.



> Man is made in the image and likeness of God. By nature man is good. It's the situation that makes him bad sometimes. But even that, he has been redeemed by Jesus Christ and God's grace is enough if the person wants to change.
>
> For me, life is precious and sacred be it the life of the non-combatant or the combatant. Jesus reached out to those who were marginalized by society. He showed them his compassion. He helped them recover their humanity. Even to the thieves he offered heaven. This should be the role of the Church, to accompany people back to the fold and not to marginalize them. That is why the Church teaches reconciliation.[41]

While perhaps read on paper as well-intentioned words, Father Bert has put these into action. He initiated local peace zones, moved between armed actors developing relationships on both sides that at times helped clarify situations and reduce violence, and accompanied victims and perpetrators of violence to engage in new ways in Mindanao.

### Sister Mary Tarcisia Lokot

At the time of this writing, Sister Mary Tarcisia Lokot is in the middle of converting one of her convents into a training school for more than two hundred "child mothers," as she calls them. As very young girls these young women were abducted by the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA); held as "wives," often giving birth to multiple children by more than one rebel; forced to live the hard, mobile life of the war-zone bush between Southern Sudan and Northern Uganda. "We are trying," Sister Mary says, "to give them a possibility, to have them feel as though they are persons again."[42]

A native of Kitgum, in Northern Uganda, Sister Mary is no stranger to war zones, hardship, or the bush. Beginning with a commitment at age fifteen to the Little Sisters of Immaculate Mary, she has lived her life mostly in the north of Uganda, experiencing firsthand the overwhelming challenges experienced by her people. In the early years of her novitiate, Idi Amin's soldiers overran her convent and parish; she fled, led by the bishop, into the bush and Southern Sudan. In the rise of violence in the thirty-year war with the LRA, her communities were hit time and again. Dozens within her own extended family have died or been abducted. The LRA killed her father, her brothers, and numerous cousins. Her brother-in-law lost his life at the hands of government soldiers. Nephews disappeared through abductions. Numerous sisters from her order have been lost. Her younger sister now watches over the widows and orphaned children from her family. "This is our community," she says. "We must go on."[43]

Given all this, with the bitterness and difficulty it represents, Sister Mary was the first and, for a long time, the only woman member of the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (ARLPI). In that capacity she has gone on more than one occasion to meetings and ventured into the bush to find, meet, and negotiate with commanders and young child soldiers. She laments—at times tears streamed down her face during our conversation—that so much has been lost, most important, a sense of moral value that was at the core of her African people. "The humiliation has been so great," she says. "Families watching their parents killed or raped, children abducted and living in horrible situations. We lost everything—culture, morality. That is not the life of a human being." Most important, she notes, people lost respect. "Even a cow, you know the cow gives milk, the cow had more respect than was given to our people."[44]

When asked how she can meet people who did all this and tolerate having them back in their home communities, particularly given the abuses of the LRA in the past two decades, she shakes her head as if there is really no good answer. "Because we must," she starts. "When they came back, almost everyone wanted them to be put in prison, but at the same time people were tired with these deaths, with killing, and so forth." When she meets them her heart is torn she says. "I cannot go out of this because both rebels and victims are part and parcel of my own people." When she is with those who have committed great crimes and who are asking for pardon, nothing is easy, but you "have to remember," she says, "remember your own life and how hard it was."[45]

> I look at those people as my brothers and sisters who have been misled. Especially the LRA soldiers, the Jinjas, the children abducted and forced to do such things. My presence might draw some of them to come back. "I know you have not chosen this. Make a choice to come back." I must love and forgive them and help them.
>
> The child soldiers say, "Sister, take me home with you, please take me there." Leaving them there you feel heartbroken and you cannot even sleep at night. Barefeet, their feet are like stones. They don't feel anymore. I know what this was like because when I was a young novice, the bishop did not want to leave us in front of the soldiers so they took us up into the bush into Sudan during Amin's period. The soldiers came and we ran. Easter Sunday. We ran to the bush, and we were hidden for days. Oh, it is so hard in the bush. And these young guys move hundreds of kilometers in a day. I feel very strongly the love for my people.[46]

Hers is a form of advocacy for the victims to make sure this suffering ends, and it leads to engaging those who have perpetrated the violence while still envisioning them as part of the community. "They, the victims, cannot always speak for themselves so I need to have advocacy with them, to meet and console and to say one day: 'The Lord will spare us.' To give them hope. My own convent and superiors have said, 'Sister Mary, please continue. You have courage.' So I have to."[47]



Over the past few years I worked with Sister Mary in a process sponsored by the United Religions Initiative. We had interreligious teams from five countries. Sister Mary, Patrick Lumumba, an Anglican priest, and Sheik Khalil represented the ARLPI. During our second meeting, held in Manila, I listened, as I sometimes do in seminars and peacebuilding meetings, for poetry in conversation.[48] At the end of their team presentation on the situation in Northern Uganda, Sister Mary answered a question put to her: "How can you go on?" Her reply in a few short words serendipitously created a perfectly formulated haiku:

> For all the children
> We smile amidst suffering
> To give them courage

## The Basic Elements: A Theology of Encounter with Armed Groups

Theological roots emerge through the interviews and conversations. They address the question of how and why these particular Catholic leaders entered into and engaged armed actors, particularly in settings where the church has wide membership in the general population. The theological roots form around the image of a complex and difficult journey in search of restoration.

First, a short word about the choice of the word *journey*. Remarkably consistent across both the interviews and scarce written documents is the use of metaphors for journey: Archbishop Castro Quiroga, in choosing the title for his section on dialogue, describes it respectively as "bridge," "trail to truth," "pathway to justice," and "the arrival point."[49] Monsignor Héctor Fabio Henao Gaviria refers to the "ethical roadmap."[50] Almost to a person, in both oral and written formats, Catholic leadership placed a primary emphasis on their role of "accompaniment," the quality of being present with, being alongside people as they make a journey. These two key images, journey and accompaniment, provide an insight both sociologically and theologically for the Catholic Church. Sociologically, the church is, literally, present in and with the communities most affected by violence. Theologically, Church leaders consider their active presence, their engagement with both victims and perpetrators, as an expression of their pastoral vocation.[51] The goal of this engagement is restoration, or what Archbishop Castro Quiroga called "re-composition" of what has been broken through the cycles of violent conflict.[52] Four types of restoration are apparent: recovering basic humanity, rebuilding family, reestablishing God's order, and reclaiming respect. We might visualize this around interconnecting spaces (see Figure

2–2) in which the journeys toward a fuller sense of humanity and healthy human community in settings of armed conflict overlap and are stitched together through a deep commitment to dialogue. Each of these merits deeper exploration.

Figure 2–2. Theological Impulse toward Dialogue

### Restoration of Humanity: The Journey toward Human Dignity

First, almost everyone I spoke with recognized and repeated over and again that engaging armed actors requires a step toward a relationship fraught with pitfalls, danger, and risk. As Father Dario put it, "Sometimes when I am asked to go meet someone on my own, I ask, I even beg whether it is not possible for a bishop or another priest to go with me. You just never know what will happen. It is a sort of fear that comes more from the unknown."[53] The key to taking such a step arises from two sources: A deep concern to end the devastation, particularly what often appears as senseless suffering in local communities; and a need, as some phrased it, "to re-humanize" the situation. We find in this notion of re-humanization fundamental theological affirmations: All involved have lost part of their humanity. All are human beings. A journey to restore basic humanity is needed and ordained by God.



The primary root for Catholic activists is the principle of human dignity found in the social teachings. A core principle is the basic dignity of all persons because they are created in the image of God. Respect for the transcendent dignity of the human person is the foundation of a just and peaceful society.[54] Human dignity brings both rights and responsibilities.

The aspect that most jumps out from the interviews locates the seeking out of armed actors as an act of appealing to both their humanity and to the humanity of the victims. The purpose of this appeal is to find the divine spark in each human being. While the level of unleashed violence and disrespect for fellow community members comprise systemic patterns and violent structures, the journey into those systems on the front lines of violence requires seeking out and creating relationships with real people. For most, this represents a step into the unknown.

Take the example of Father Rafael Cárdenas Ortiz, who, following several years of increased deaths, massacres, and displacement in his parish, decided to find and engage the local commander of the AUC paramilitaries operating at that time. He is located in the diocese of Santander in a parish called San José de Miranda. At the time of our interviews he was responsible for the social pastoral outreach program that was attending to more than six hundred orphans and widows of the violence in the diocese. In rather simple words he said, "We were seeing the appearances of bodies almost every day and it was getting worse over the three years. . . . So, one day, I just decided to take the risk and go find these people, mostly with AUC, to see what was going on and whether we could just talk."[55] Father Rafael eventually found the local commander, though not easily or without considerable risk. In the course of the conversation he found himself talking with someone who claimed to be a believer and who did not want to kill but had to keep order. "So I told him that our region was covered with too many deaths, and that people were so afraid that nobody even wanted to go out of their houses. This was going to ruin the whole region. And then at a given moment I took the risk to just say that they should stop killing, enough already." By the end of the conversation the commander agreed they would quit using fear and destructive tactics with the local community. "A small conversation," Father Rafael said, "but it slowed the killings considerably from there on out." When asked about how he was able to meet people like the commander who had produced such suffering and who could easily have killed him, Father Rafael's response was this: "I always remind myself that behind that pointed gun is a person, a human being, somebody's son or daughter."[56]

Engaging the armed actors is simultaneously an act of reaching toward the humanity of the person and the process of appealing to the re-humanization of the conflict. Fundamentally, the motive seems to be based on restoring human dignity on all sides of the violence. Father Dario put it aptly when he reiterated on numerous occasions the need to treat people with respect while at the same time appealing to their sense of humanity for

the victims and responsibility toward the community. Dialogue of this nature walks a fine line between empathy and advocacy, a space in which participants seek the opportunity to restore the basic humanity on all sides of the violence.

### Restoration of the Family: The Journey toward Rebuilding the Broken Community

These direct encounters with armed actors are embedded in the concern for the wider community. If this were the common parlance of the United Nations or secular NGOs the concern would likely be framed on the basis of humanitarian or human rights discourse. While these discourses are present in the language and categories of Catholic leaders, and sophisticatedly so, the motivating theology roots itself in the restoration of family and community. Family, as both a literal and metaphoric concept within Catholicism, is seen as paradigmatic. In settings of armed conflict, however, this concept attains greater depth, breadth, and meaning.

Perhaps the clearest articulation of this comes from the writing of Bishop Gómez Serna and Archbishop Castro Quiroga, who interchangeably use the concepts of communion, restoration, and family.[57] Bishop Gómez Serna, in particular, begins his explanation of why dialogue with armed actors is necessary with these affirmations: "God as the good father created us in his image and likeness: that is to say, He created us as a great family, as a mystery of love and peace . . . and He gave us the entire universe . . . to be shared among all. On top of this God gave us the capacity to continue to build this great family."[58] Later in his text he refers to the family unit affected by the violence and the key location where values consistent with love and peace are best imparted, yet it is this seamless movement from image of God, to family, to the Great Family that frames a theology of communion, community, and responsibility.

Essentially, as expressed here, the challenge for church leadership in settings of armed conflict is how to restore the family. This perhaps is best understood under the principle of subsidiarity, wherein the best level of intervention and response should always be the one that is closest to the people and the affected situation. For the Catholic Church this often means a level of autonomous action and initiative from the diocese and the parish. For Bishop Gómez Serna, this led to initiating the pastoral dialogues within his various parishes. The vision, if we take his framing words to heart, is to restore the family, which has been deeply damaged and broken by the level of violence. For him, as he articulates in the opening section of the diocesan booklet on pastoral dialogues, this restoration is about the task of rebuilding the body of the local church inasmuch as armed actors on all sides profess to have Catholic heritage, if not open and active belief. A vision of restoration of the family includes the rebuilding of the wider community affected by the violence, including both the perpetrators and the victims of the brokenness.



Monsignor Henao Gaviria reiterates this community level in noting the importance of "accompaniment" and "pastoral listening" in and with the communities. He refers to the displacement of entire communities, the rupture of family life, that creates a "profound wound that will require generational response. Pastoral accompaniment takes on and creates the necessary spaces for prevention and in other cases restitution of their rights. Accompaniment is the exercise of the re-encounter with human security so beaten down by the many threats, and this requires that places be built to make explicit trust and feelings of solidarity."[59] Here again we find an orienting theology of being present, creating spaces of encounter, accompaniment, and the rebuilding of community as a key unit of action. This focuses mostly on the level of the communities directly affected by the violence.

In *Deja de Correr* (Stop Running), Archbishop Castro Quiroga repeatedly notes the primary task of reconciliation as being rooted in three words: *communion, rupture,* and *recomposition.*[60] This approach reiterates the ideas of restoration of the community with a particular focus on the local community, or diocesan family, which carries in part the subtitle of the book: *Reconciliation from Victims.* The key in this orientation is the primary emphasis given those who suffer the violence, but also the particular level, or unit of engagement as the "community" that over and again places the church leadership in direct, concrete situations rather than fostering abstract notions of victims, perpetrators, and inclusive church family. This again is captured in Sister Mary's simple phrase, "I feel very strongly the love for my people," invoked in a context of talking about child soldiers and the dilemmas of rebuilding a sense of humanity, community, and peoplehood.[61]

### Restoration of God's Order: Peace with Justice, Justice the Harvest of Peace

Augustine described peace around the concept of order, of having things in a right order and in right relationships. Perhaps the largest circle encompassing the risky journey Catholic leaders take to engage armed actors is found in this notion of God's intended order.

We find this theme invoked by most of those interviewed. As Bishop Gómez Serna suggests, the big picture of peacebuilding resides "in the Word of God where our church has always understood that peace is the fruit of justice (Isaiah 32:7), and for this reason we have endeavored to work for social justice, promoting a holistic view of people, convinced that this work leads toward true peace."[62] In line with this thinking, church documents, encyclicals, and papal pronouncements are cited: Paul VI's notion that the new name of peace is development; John Paul II's suggestion that true peace is not the "fruit of military victory but is found in the search of the causes that produce it" and his reiterated emphasis on dialogue and reconciliation between estranged people.

The church documents in Colombia provide specificity to this understanding of God's order and restructuring of relationships. Dating back to

the mid-1980s the episcopal conference began a tradition of pastoral letters that addressed the situation of conflict, exaggerated violence, and the need for justice and peaceful resolution of the conflict. These argued, among other things, for the rejection of violence against innocent communities, calls to all sides to pursue negotiated settlements, the challenge and imperative of reconciliation, the establishment of a permanent peace initiative, and repeated calls to address economic and structural injustices in the country. In his book Archbishop Castro Quiroga concludes with a focus on the various dimensions of reconciliation. Reconciliation, he maintains, requires structural, political, social, international, cultural, ethical, and spiritual changes as part of the transformation needed in a context like Colombia.

The CCN in its 1998 document arguing for a national and permanent peace politics, suggests that the process

> must be the fruit of wide national consensus, transcending particular elected governments, one that does not depend on the interests of one group, that has continuity over time and over content, that assures a durable peace, contributes to a negotiated political solution to the armed conflict and takes into account the demands of sustainable human development with its cultural, economic, political, legal and ecological dimensions, that permits the building of a nation that establishes justice.[63]

This represents a wider vision of order, one in which, as Bishop Gómez Serna puts it, "the peace that we live is the one that we build from within this grand mission given to us since creation," and creates the overarching umbrella for the specific actions.[64] The overarching theological vision, taken on as a practical mission by church leaders working in the context of decades-long armed conflict, is nothing less than to restore order and find a way home to the way relationships were originally intended by God in a healthy, flourishing human community.

### The Restoration of Dialogue: The Imperative of Rebuilding Trust and Respect

The three types of restoration articulated thus far—reclaiming human dignity, rebuilding the broken community, and restoring order based in right relationships—require a practical though artful methodology in settings overrun by violence, and one that goes deeper and rises beyond the secular skill parameters of interest-based negotiation. Most of the church leaders I have met in these contexts do not envision themselves as professional negotiators or mediators. In fact, they express a certain discomfort with the terms, seeing them as lodged in the discourse of the political world. They prefer descriptions of their work in softer, more fluid, and more ambiguous terms, perhaps what Joseph Nye, in the secular world, might call "soft power."[65] In this particular niche of Catholic peacebuilding, leaders tend to employ



terms like *facilitation, observer, good offices,* and, most particular to these contexts, the preference for the idea of *accompaniment.* All these, however, are based on a single affirmation: the moral and theological need incessantly to pursue dialogue as both an end and means for engaging armed actors in their midst. In all three settings, from the highest level of the church to parish and diocesan pastoral dialogues in Colombia, the efforts of the ARLPI in Northern Uganda, or the establishment of peace zones in Mindanao, the consistent position has been that negotiations rather than continued armed conflict are essential. As one of the community leaders in La India, Colombia, recently stated: "We are a dialogical community more than a community focused on blame or rejection."[66]

In Colombia, at both the national and diocesan levels, those involved in dialogues with armed actors have established a series of principles and guideposts. They include the need to break out of the law of silence and isolation, to work in teams to overcome fear, to listen carefully, to be clear about goals and agenda, and to seek transparency and honesty. Most consistently mentioned, however, in both the written and oral interviews, were the principles of respect and trust. Father Dario referred to this as the need to "establish trust and respect" in order to enhance the potential for increased accountability and responsibility.[67] Father Bert spoke specifically of his own journey of getting beyond his sense of superiority over the other and to remember that "no one, not even the church, has a monopoly on goodness."[68] Perhaps the most striking words were those from Sister Mary, who saw the demise of the community in Northern Uganda most clearly in the complete collapse of respect, and the rebuilding of community as a process of engagement, dialogue, and helping people reclaim respect for themselves and for others.

The theological view of dialogue emerges from an understanding that God's creative spirit and interaction with the human community happen through dialogue, and not just with the faithful. God consistently engaged even with those who were estranged and have turned away. Bishop Gómez Serna speaks of this as the form God chose through the Word incarnate, the "most critical moment in the human family."[69] In many regards dialogue, as end and means, suggests the rebuilding of relationships and community on the basis of mutual trust and respect, what the diocesan leaders of Magangué referred to as analogous to God's intention that life must include conversation and engagement. It is from this God-ordained and lived illustration of dialogue that the wider theology moves from the umbrella-like platform of restoring God's order of justice and peace to the far more particular engagement of the armed actor as a person. In the latter the motivation to reclaim human dignity for both the victim and the armed actor requires a journey toward those who are least understood, most feared, and carrying the guns. It is here that we can perhaps best understand the dynamic nature of this theological praxis visually depicted in Figure 2–2. The theological impulse and ethical courage to engage the armed actor *in situ* and unprotected flows in and from an understanding of God's wider order

and what is needed to restore the broken community. The engagement requires the development of real relationship, based on transparency, mutual respect, and trust, which in turn provides opportunity for addressing issues of responsibility, appeals to respect, humanization of the conflict, and reparations. In other words, the engagement creates a flow back toward the restoration of human dignity, community, and wider order. In the words of Father Dario, this is the primary mission of the church in settings like these: "Seeking peace is an imperative in Colombia. We have to do it, churchmen and common citizen alike. We may come at it from different sides of the river, but from our side, the side of the church, we have to take this on as a ministry."[70]

## Uniqueness of Catholic Peacebuilding

This volume of essays provides an inquiry into the question of what is unique to Catholic peacebuilding. While this particular chapter has only scratched the surface based on a limited set of interviews, documents, and experiences, several initial observations stand out as potentially unique to Catholic peacebuilding in Catholic-majority countries caught in protracted violent conflict.

First and foremost, the ecclesiology of the church hierarchy creates a unique if not unprecedented presence in the landscape of the conflict. I have referred to this as ubiquitous presence. The church and church leaders have, for better or worse, relational spaces or direct personal relationships with every level and nearly every geographic location where conflict is raging. In countries like Colombia and the Philippines, few, if any, other religious or secular institutions have this depth and breadth of access. How and whether this presence translates into a cohesive, coordinated, and strategically robust peacebuilding platform are not always clear. While this chapter did not endeavor to provide a detailed chronology of how peacebuilding developed in each country, several of these contexts, notably Colombia and the Philippines, suggest that Catholic engagement with armed actors began first as a praxis of necessity, given the context of open and sustained violence. That praxis then created opportunity for reflection that began to deepen the theological understanding and underpinnings for peacebuilding at wider levels. In turn, particularly over the past decade, the depth, specificity of language, richness of theological frameworks, and the actual practice of peacebuilding have increased in sophistication and clarity.

Within this first observation ubiquitous presence creates the potential and, in some cases, effective mobilization of the church structure toward a robust vertical and horizontal integration. By this I mean that church leaders find themselves involved in national political negotiations at the highest level between the government and insurgents while at the same time local priests and lay leaders engage armed groups on the ground in their parishes. While religious leaders and teams have provided elements of this in other settings (for example, the work of the Moravians and Baptists in Nicaragua in the 1980s), there are few places where the infrastructure and ecclesiology of church structure so neatly aligns with the multilevel and multifaceted demands of peacebuilding.



Second, the long history of the church and its internal development built on encyclicals, papal speeches, and written theology on issues pertaining to justice, peace, and social order provide a vast and rich array of resources from which a theology of dialogue and engagement of armed actors as an expression of peacebuilding can be justified. This is particularly true of Catholic social teaching, which time and again creates points of reference that emerge as motivation for pursuing a practice of peace on the ground. Other denominations and church traditions certainly have their resources for addressing peace and justice issues. I have been struck, however, by the extent to which Catholic theology writ large provides a guiding body of literature, serves to mobilize, and encourages stepping into the mystery of addressing these violent settings by engaging the actors espousing violence as within the reach and fold of the church.

Third, while beyond the primary focus of this chapter, many accounts were given by bishops and priests of ways in which the symbols, rituals, and even liturgical elements have served as points of connection and protection when dealing with armed actors in majority Catholic settings. This may vary from ways in which the mass, the Eucharist, and symbols of the church, including dress and crucifixes, have served as a symbolic but powerful parastructure of protection and respect in settings where considerable risk is taken to advocate with on-the-ground commanders. Father Dario referred to how some of the commanders he met would reach for his rosary or crucifix, or ask to receive communion, all of which he used to engage them in the wider purpose of pursuing peace as both a personal journey and one of taking responsibility for actions that affect the community. The respect the church has in these settings is further highlighted by how often in contested territories government and civil servants may no longer function but local parish and diocesan services continue.

The sacramental nature of the church and the centrality of the Eucharist in Catholic life cannot be overemphasized. At its core, this sacrament embodies and requires a fundamental understanding of encounter and reconciliation with God and the community, represented in the form of the body, the community gathered. While for the common person it may remain a ritual of habit, in settings of protracted conflict, time and again, the Eucharist creates moments pregnant with potential to mobilize both the sacramental and the moral imagination in reference to reconciliation, restoring the broken community, and taking personal and corporate responsibility for the suffering of others. It provides a basis for reparation robustly understood and an ethic of respect and forgiveness. This stands as an important, perhaps unique, contribution of the Catholic tradition and how the sacramental act, symbolic and real, connects, heals, and challenges people affected by, and who can affect, the wider conflict.

Finally, as a conclusion, the ethical and pastoral nature of church leadership creates a series of unique opportunities. On one side, even when politically restricted, religious leaders encounter the enemy as a pastoral requirement. This was particularly true in Colombia, where priests and bishops alike trumped the political tactic of isolation with the pastoral obligation of encounter and relationship. Much could be said of this strategy in our post–9/11 world of terrorist lists that include many of the armed groups and actors described in this chapter. At the ethical level, church leadership walks an intriguing line between pastor and prophet. The pastor engages, seeks to understand, listens, and provides emotional support and accompaniment. The prophet speaks truth openly, denounces falsehoods and lies, calls for accountability, and appeals to ethical standards of respect, rights, and responsibility. Catholic leadership, in the engagement of armed actors, walks between these two realities. While the formal literature of peacebuilding and the political delineation of conflict-resolution roles describes the actions of church leadership as mediator, facilitator, guarantor, observer, advocate, or human rights activist, the *emic*, and perhaps more accurate, understanding of church leadership finds itself embracing the space that lies between the spiritual and ecclesiological roles of pastor and prophet, with the difficulties, weaknesses, and potential such a space affords.

Herein we find perhaps the single most important ethical dilemma raised in the process of engaging armed actors in protracted violent conflict. These conflicts come with years of human rights abuses on all sides that have rarely been addressed adequately by any national peace process, whether led by religious or political actors. The tensions created in finding a way to end cycles of violence, develop adequate forms of reparation for the victims, and reintegrate those involved in the violence creates a multifaceted and monumental challenge. When these conflicts take place where the Catholic Church is a significant actor, a range of ethical challenges emerges.

Sister Mary expressed this well when she spoke of LRA soldiers coming back into the community, asking forgiveness after years of abuse. When asked about their acceptance, she responded: "Because we must. When they came back, almost everyone wanted them to be put in prison, but at the same time people were tired with these deaths, with killing and so forth."[71] Here is the dilemma for church leadership. The necessary engagement through dialogue, with its pillars of trust and respect, create, as appropriately called, a pastoral side that leans toward accompaniment, forgiveness, and reintegration. The prophetic side, often rising from the engagement, demands truth, responsibility, reparations, accountability, and protection of human rights. The contexts of protracted conflict are, by their very nature, ambiguous and messy. In the current process of demobilization of paramilitarism in Colombia, as in the current process of ending the LRA war in Northern Uganda, church leaders find that it is not easy to hold these two broad, legitimate theological energies together at the same time, especially in contexts where the formal government structures are weak, the level of poverty enormous, and repeated threats of violence occur at every turn.



What we find, I think most accurately stated, is that the church itself is divided, though rarely willing to admit this division publicly. The divisions are multiple. Some advocate that the end of violence is more important than reparations, which if they do happen will likely be inadequate and symbolic at best. Some advocate strongly that at a minimum a full accounting, some form of truth, publicly sought and admitted, must emerge. Since the political process is not likely to provide this, the church should shoulder the responsibility of seeking and speaking truth of past abuses and crimes. This was certainly the effort of the Catholic Church in Guatemala, and it came with great tribulation and personal consequences. Some argue for demanding reparations to victims and accountability in the form of prison for the key leaders on any side where abuses were committed, and that without such clarity of position the church will only serve to whitewash the past, create a culture of impunity, and serve the interests of the most powerful and abusive, rendering meaningless the preferential option for the marginalized and victimized. Some, perhaps a majority of church leadership, would pull back from the difficult engagement of such complex issues, touting them as political and beyond the primary responsibility of the church. All this you find in a church embroiled in a context of protracted conflict.

## Notes

[1] Roberto Layson, interview with the author, Philippines; see also Roberto Layson, *In War, the Real Enemy Is War Itself* (Davao City, Philippines: Initiatives for International Dialogue, 2005).

[2] See Peter Wallensteen, *Understanding Conflict Resolution* (London: Sage Publications, 2007); John Darby and Roger MacGinty, eds., *Contemporary Peacemaking* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003); Andrew Mack, *Human Security Report* (Vancouver, Canada: Human Security Centre, 2005).

[3] Mack, *Human Security Report*, 9.

[4] UNDP, "Evolution of Statistics on the Armed Conflict," *Hechos del Callejón* Special Edition (Bogota: UNDP Publications, September 2007): 4.

[5] Matthew Bunson, ed., *Our Sunday Visitor's Catholic Almanac* (Huntington, IN: Our Sunday Visitor, 2009), 304, 323.

[6] Ibid., 332.

[7] Jorge Leonardo Gómez Serna, *Diálogos Pastorales y Comunitarios* (Magangué, Colombia: Comisión Vida, Justicia y Paz, Diócesis de Magangué, 2005), 1.

[8] Phillip Berryman, *Liberation Theology* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1987), 6.

[9] See John Paul Lederach, *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 1997), 39; idem, *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005), 79.

[10] Lederach, *The Moral Imagination*, 79–85.

[11] Mauricio Garcia Duran, SJ, "Peace Mobilization in Colombia and the Role of the Roman Catholic Church," paper presented at the Fourth Annual International

Conference of the Catholic Peacebuilding Network, Bogota, Colombia, July 24–29, 2007, p. 7.

[12] Dario Echeverri, "La iglesia católica en Colombia en los procesos de paz," paper presented at the Fourth Annual International Conference of the Catholic Peacebuilding Network, Bogota, Colombia, July 24–29, 2007, p. 21.

[13] Dario Echeverri, interview with the author, Bogota, Colombia, 2007.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Ibid.

[16] Ibid.

[17] Ibid.

[18] Ibid.

[19] Jorge Leonardo Gómez Serna, "El desafio de afrontar grupos armados en un contexto dinámico y cambiante, con poca protección del estado," draft paper for the Fourth Annual International Conference of the Catholic Peacebuilding Network, Bogota, Colombia, July 24–29, 2007.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Ibid.

[22] Gómez Serna, *Diálogos Pastorales y Comunitarios*, 1.

[23] Ibid., 3.

[24] Ibid., 4.

[25] Ibid.

[26] Gómez Serna, "El desafio de afrontar grupos armados en un contexto dinámico y cambiante, con poca protección del estado."

[27] Ibid.

[28] Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio* (1967), nos. 76 and 78.

[29] John Paul II, *Centesimus Annus* (1991), no. 18.

[30] Gómez Serna, "El desafio de afrontar grupos armados en un contexto dinámico y cambiante, con poca protección del estado."

[31] Gómez Serna, *Diálogos Pastorales y Comunitarios*, 1.

[32] Gómez Serna, "El desafio de afrontar grupos armados en un contexto dinámico y cambiante, con poca protección del estado."

[33] Ibid.

[34] Ibid.

[35] Luis Augusto Castro Quiroga, *Deja de Correr: La Reconciliación desde las víctimas* (Bogota, Colombia: Comisión de Conciliación Nacional, 2005), 47–50.

[36] Layson, *In War, the Real Enemy Is War Itself*, 9.

[37] Layson, interview.

[38] Layson, personal correspondence with the author, 2007.

[39] Layson, correspondence.

[40] Ibid.

[41] Ibid.

[42] Mary Tarcisia Lokot, interview with the author, San Francisco, California, 2006.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] See Lederach, *The Moral Imagination*, 71.

[49] Castro Quiroga, *Deja de Correr*.



[50] Héctor Fabio Henao Gaviria, "Lecciones aprendidas en la construcción de la paz en Colombia in creando un clima de reconciliacion: scenarios para la verdad, la justicia, y la paz," Fourth Annual International Conference of the Catholic Peacebuilding Network, Bogota, Colombia, July 24–29, 2007, p. 40.

[51] Ibid.

[52] Castro Quiroga, *Deja de Correr*, 35.

[53] Echeverri, interview.

[54] Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, English trans. (Washington DC: United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, 2004), nos. 108, 132–34.

[55] Rafael Cárdenas Ortiz, taped interview by Liliana Maldonado, San José de Miranda, Colombia, July 11, 2006.

[56] Ibid.

[57] Gómez Serna, "El desafio de afrontar grupos armados en un contexto dinámico y cambiante, con poca protección del estado"; and Castro Quiroga, *Deja de Correr*.

[58] Gómez Serna, "El desafio de afrontar grupos armados en un contexto dinámico y cambiante, con poca protección del estado," 1.

[59] Henao Gaviria, "Lecciones aprendidas," 48 and 49.

[60] Castro Quiroga, *Deja de Correr*, 35.

[61] Tarcisia Lokot, interview.

[62] Gómez Serna, "El desafio de afrontar grupos armados en un contexto dinámico y cambiante, con poca protección del estado," 2.

[63] CCN, *National Conciliation Report of the Episcopal Conference* (Bogota, Colombia: CCN, 1998), 1–2.

[64] Gómez Serna, "El desafio de afrontar grupos armados en un contexto dinámico y cambiante, con poca protección del estado," 1.

[65] See Joseph Nye, *Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power* (New York: Basic Books, 1990); idem, *Soft Power: The Means to Success in World Politics* (New York: Public Affairs, 2004).

[66] Llanero Pinero, interview with the author, La India, Colombia, 2007.

[67] Echeverri, interview.

[68] Layson, correspondence.

[69] Gómez Serna, "El desafio de afrontar grupos armados en un contexto dinámico y cambiante, con poca protección del estado," 1.

[70] Echeverri, interview.

[71] Tarcisia Lokot, interview.