

Politics of Past Evil, ed. Daniel Philpott (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2006).

⁵⁶ See the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church*, no. 517; John Paul II, "No Peace without Justice. No Justice without Forgiveness," no. 9; John Paul II, "An Ever Timely Commitment: Teaching Peace." Message for the Celebration of the World Day of Peace (January 1, 2004), no. 10.

⁵⁷ Margaret R. Holmgren, "Forgiveness and the Intrinsic Value of Persons," *American Philosophical Quarterly* 30 (1993): 350–51. For the stages of forgiveness, see Robert D. Enright, "Counseling within the Forgiveness Triad: On Forgiving, Receiving Forgiveness, and Self-Forgiveness," *Counseling and Values* 40, no. 2 (1996); and Robert Schreier, Chapter 13 in this volume.

Catholic Relief Services

Catholic Peacebuilding in Practice

WILLIAM R. HEADLEY, CSSP, AND REINA C. NEUFELDT

Banda Aceh, Indonesia, is a small dot of a city in an immense island country, but few who were attentive to world affairs during December 2004 need a geography lesson as to what or where it is. Nor do they need a description of what happened there. The city, the tsunami, and an unprecedented outpouring of generosity and emergency aid blended into a single image of a cataclysmic event of monumental proportions to which the world extended a warm, helping hand.

Though now shunted aside by other attention-grabbing headlines, post-tsunami reconstruction goes on. As in most widespread natural and human disasters, development continues long after the immediate emergency has subsided. Emergency response and development are, so to speak, joined at the hip, one following, leading to, and intertwining with the other.

Despite the worldwide attention given the tsunami, most people remain ignorant about the low-intensity war that played out in Aceh for twenty-eight years before the tsunami struck.¹ The government had restricted access to the province, and international nongovernmental organizations (INGOs) active in other parts of the country were prohibited from working

The views in this paper are ours and do not represent the opinions of Catholic Relief Services. We would like to thank Thomas Bamat; Michael Perry, OFM; Gerard Powers; Todd Whitmore; Scott Appleby; and Robert Schreier, for their generous feedback, which strengthened the paper. We also want to acknowledge and thank a variety of colleagues, including Myla Leguro, Mary DeLorey, Jaco Cilliers, Mark Rogers, Daisy Francis, Pat Johns, Christine Tucker, Barbara Myers, Hedley Abernathy, and many others with whom we've engaged on these issues over time. We note specific contributions in later footnotes, particularly with respect to the case studies.

in northern Sumatra, where Banda Aceh is located. After the tsunami, humanitarian assistance was provided on top of an active conflict. To bring Banda Aceh and its environs to some stability in terms of essentials such as food, shelter, medical care, and security, aid and peacebuilding had to be implemented in tandem. Catholic Relief Services (CRS) was one of many INGOs that responded to the tsunami and faced the difficulty of bringing into harmony the different challenges of emergency aid, development, and peacebuilding.

Northern Sumatra had a strongly religious and relatively isolated population prior to the tsunami. Given the restricted access, local people had very little acquaintance with INGOs, particularly those with a Christian orientation. Initial peacebuilding actions by the CRS emergency team, therefore, centered on building relationships that would enable CRS to provide relief aid while being attentive to religious sensitivities. For example, when ordinary people in the Banda Aceh area were asked what they most needed, their persistent response was a call for prayer rugs and veils for Muslim women. CRS, as a Catholic agency, risked criticism from some of its own denominational members when it provided these religious items. CRS went on to spend more than \$162 million in tsunami-stricken Indonesia by the end of 2007. These resources provided for family housing and infrastructure projects such as schools, hospitals, bridges, and roads; and emergency assistance such as food, shelter, medical help, clean water, and sanitation.

While it is difficult to validate, this early and symbolically important response of providing religious materials helped build a foundation of trust. In a religiously sensitive culture this gesture helped reassure the local people that CRS could be their partner in a time of real need. CRS's later peacebuilding efforts in Aceh included implementing participatory decision-making processes in the reconstruction and rehabilitation effort in order to ensure that those affected by the tsunami participated in the allocation of public goods. CRS also worked with civil society and educational organizations to strengthen support for a larger Aceh peace process. It held workshops on the peace process and supported the publication of a regular local newsletter on peace themes.

CRS is hardly alone in its efforts to integrate conflict awareness and peacebuilding into short-term emergency and long-term development work. Perhaps the most widely known initiative is the collaborative Local Capacities for Peace or "Do No Harm" project that began in the mid-1990s and examined how aid can reinforce conflict or local capacities for peace.² CRS, however, is among a unique subset of agencies that has deliberately approached peacebuilding from a Catholic perspective, employing concepts from Catholic social teaching such as integral human development, human rights, and reconciliation. Sister Catholic organizations, such as Cordaid (Netherlands) and the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development (United Kingdom), as well as many national and local Caritas and justice and peace organizations, have also incorporated peacebuilding into their activities.

Indeed, CRS works in collaboration with these and other Catholic as well as secular organizations. Yet CRS stands out due to its size, the resources it has put into peacebuilding, and the degree to which it has systematically drawn upon Catholic theological resources in this endeavor.³

This chapter provides an analysis of some of the lessons learned from CRS's peacebuilding efforts in different parts of the world. We structure the chapter around four cases that offer important insights about the relationship between Catholic social teaching and peacebuilding. These cases—Mindanao in the Philippines, Burundi, Colombia, and Chad/Cameroon—represent four well-developed peacebuilding efforts, as well as a wide range of church actors and types of peacebuilding. Together, they illustrate seven general insights that can be drawn from CRS's experience with peacebuilding around the world. Mindanao exemplifies the importance of engaging holistically in ways that address all actors and factors in a conflict and that build on the church's ubiquitous presence. Burundi illustrates the complexity of nurturing peacebuilding partnerships that respect the principle of subsidiarity and find the right balance between religious and secular approaches. Colombia is an example of the power of the church, as a transnational actor, finding concrete ways to cement bonds of solidarity between the church in the United States and a country torn by war. The Chad-Cameroon oil project shows how the church can apply Catholic social teaching in new ways to critical issues that might seem, at first glance, to be beyond the church's competence and that risk embroiling the church inappropriately in politics.

We begin with a brief overview of the evolution of Catholic social teaching and peacebuilding in CRS's programming. We next explore the four cases and the issues they exemplify. We conclude with reflections on the implications of CRS's experience for Catholic social teaching.

Peacebuilding and CRS's Wider Mission

CRS's peacebuilding initiatives must be understood in their wider institutional context. Founded in 1943 to assist war-ravaged Europe, today CRS is one of the three largest aid agencies in the United States, with operations in one hundred countries and territories on five continents and a 2009 operating budget of \$806 million.⁴ Peacebuilding is just one of a vast array of programs that includes emergency relief, agriculture development, education, HIV/AIDS, microfinance, and advocacy on public-policy issues. For peacebuilding alone, CRS had at least 111 projects in over fifty countries in 2009.

Since 2002, CRS has worked with dioceses, parishes, schools, and organizations throughout the United States with a new intensity. This new emphasis reflects two fundamental changes in purpose that have altered how CRS operates. First, traditional relief and development programs, while essential, must be combined with efforts to change social structures and

policies that oppress and impoverish people. Second, CRS programs should help strengthen bonds of global solidarity. Consequently, CRS now recognizes that it serves a "dual constituency": the poor and marginalized overseas *and* Catholics in the United States. To better serve Catholics in the United States, CRS created U.S. Operations, a new division with six regional offices and some twenty programs. Some programs, such as Operation Rice Bowl, a Lenten education, prayer and almsgiving program, and the Legislative Network, an advocacy program, were well established. Others were new, including efforts to promote Fair Trade coffee, to connect U.S. classrooms with those in poor countries, and to engage parishes, dioceses, and universities more directly in the work of CRS overseas through twinning with counterparts around the world, exchanges, and speakers' programs. Some of these programs, especially education and advocacy around such conflicts as Sudan, Colombia and Northern Uganda, directly support peacebuilding efforts abroad.

The Tipping Point: The Rwanda Genocide

These changes in CRS's understanding of its mission can be traced to its experience of war. Armed conflicts of various sorts, from Biafra to Vietnam, Afghanistan to Sri Lanka, have taught CRS hard lessons. No single war experience after World War II, however, so affected the direction of the agency as the genocide in Rwanda. Prior to the genocide in 1994, CRS had served the people of Rwanda through its relief and development programs for more than thirty years. Staff saw the ethnic tensions and knew their origins but simply learned to work around them. CRS followed "best practices" in development, establishing excellent programs in agriculture, health, education, and a number of other areas. The genocide destroyed these carefully cultivated programs.⁵ While CRS had done its development work well, it was not prepared to help Rwandans name the animosities and roots of conflict or to spur efforts for peace. Many thousands of those served by CRS were killed in the genocide; others were widowed, injured, orphaned, or forced to flee.

Michael Wiest, a CRS executive and long-time employee, gave voice to an organizational crisis that reached a crescendo with the Rwanda genocide: "As a Catholic agency, how did we not see this problem of hatred and distrust as being a part of our mission? For that matter, how could we not have been involved in the struggle against apartheid in South Africa, as well as other struggles to protect life, dignity and human rights?"⁶ In light of such self-criticisms, CRS took a hard look at itself in the mid-1990s.⁷ CRS realized it could no longer address only the symptoms and effects of conflicts: burned out houses, food shortages, and refugee movements. It also had to help attack the oppressive systems and structures that underlay the poverty that fed conflict. In the process of self-reflection CRS retrieved the "hidden gem" of Catholic social teaching.⁸

Rediscovering Catholic Social Teaching

In order to understand CRS's approach to peacebuilding it is important to first review the context in which it developed. Catholic social teaching provided an overarching framework for the development of peacebuilding initiatives as part of two agency-wide strategic planning processes over the course of a decade. The first, begun in 1995 in the wake of Rwanda, launched a new trajectory for CRS in which Catholic social teaching had a central place. New guiding principles, based in Catholic social teaching, articulated the values of the agency and how they should be integrated into programming and management practices (see below).⁹ Using a discussion tool called the Justice Lens, CRS initiated an agency-wide process in which every office around the world considered how Catholic social teaching could be integrated into all aspects of its work.¹⁰ This process sparked new ideas and new mandates that produced programs such as peacebuilding in Mindanao (the Philippines) and advocacy on Colombia, both of which we explore in greater detail below.¹¹

The relationship between principles and programs is always complex, but this new focus on Catholic social teaching clearly had an impact. The *option for the poor*, a principle which gives preferential weight to the needs of the poorest and most vulnerable, led to more intentional efforts to target aid to the poorest and most vulnerable populations. *Integral human development*, with its emphasis on social, cultural, and spiritual, as well as economic and political development, provided a more robust vision and framework for analysis of programs than some secular approaches. The *common good*, which includes Catholic social teaching's specification of human rights and responsibilities, provided a rationale for programs that could address the economic, political, and cultural conditions that affected integral human development. *Justice*, defined as "right relationships," led staff to assess the quality of relationships between women and men, among different castes or ethnic groups, and between "donor" and "implementing" agencies. The new focus on programming that served CRS's "dual constituency" represented an effort to institutionalize the principle of *solidarity*. *Subsidiarity* reinforced and deepened a commitment to partnerships whereby CRS supported local associates or partners around the world rather than developing and running programs itself.

A second strategic planning process culminated in a World Summit in 2000 that brought together staff and partners from across the globe to set new priorities. The summit further solidified Catholic social teaching as the foundation of CRS's work, with solidarity as the mechanism through which CRS was to pursue global change. As the new vision statement said: "Solidarity will transform the world to: cherish and uphold the sacredness and dignity of every person; commit to and practice peace, justice and reconciliation; and celebrate and protect the integrity of all creation."¹²

Since CRS staff and its partners needed additional skills to support their new mandates, they embarked on a major peacebuilding training effort.¹³

CRS staff helped develop and disseminate two Caritas Internationalis (CI) volumes: *Working for Reconciliation: A Caritas Handbook* (1999) and *Peacebuilding: A Caritas Training Manual* (2002). These manuals became bedrock materials for training and capacity building with development workers at the grassroots level within CRS and the larger Caritas network.¹⁴ CRS partnered with faculty at the University of Notre Dame's Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies on an agency-wide training event, called the Summer Institute on Peacebuilding (SIP). Between 2001 and 2006, it provided an introduction to peacebuilding concepts and skills for almost two hundred CRS staff and partners. Country- and region-specific trainings also proliferated. Most prominent was the Mindanao Peacebuilding Institute (MPI). Started in 2000 by CRS/Philippines, working with the Menonite Central Committee (MCC) and the Catholic Agency for Overseas Development, the MPI is widely recognized as a premier peacebuilding education program in Southeast Asia.

The new vision at CRS provided a fertile ground for the rapid growth of peacebuilding initiatives. This growth occurred alongside and fed into changes simultaneously occurring in the larger development community. Given the connections between underdevelopment and conflict, other agencies were integrating "conflict sensitivity" into their programs. In the Reflecting on Peace Practice Project, CRS and other agencies worked on a series of collaborative case studies that identified lessons learned in peacebuilding and served to enhance and reinforce CRS's efforts.

As a professional aid agency, CRS had operating standards in all sectors of programming (such as health, education, agriculture, emergency response) in order to ensure the highest possible quality of work. Peacebuilding was to be no exception. Standards could not be developed, however, without first establishing a common understanding of peacebuilding. CRS staff produced a definition of peacebuilding during the first SIP in 2001.¹⁵ The definition conceptually connected elements of Catholic social teaching to peacebuilding by stressing the link between the *processes* of building right relationships and transforming unjust structures. CRS defined peacebuilding as "a process that aims to change unjust structures through right-relationships; transform the way people, communities and societies live; heal and structure their relationships to promote justice and peace; [and] create a space in which mutual trust, respect and interdependence is fostered."¹⁶

CRS developed two kinds of peacebuilding initiatives: separate, stand-alone programs, and those integrated into other types of programs.¹⁷ Stand-alone programs pursued objectives specific to peacebuilding, such as reducing the incidence of violence in a community or finding constructive ways to resolve local conflicts. Integrated programs included peacebuilding objectives alongside other humanitarian or development objectives. For example, in some humanitarian emergencies, initiatives to address inter-ethnic conflicts facilitated the return of displaced persons to their homes. And the success of some long-term agriculture development programs depended on

a process of community boundary mapping that helped resolve violent land disputes.

As peacebuilding was a young and emergent field, CRS could not readily develop specific guidelines or benchmarks for programming. Instead, in 2001, at the first SIP at Notre Dame, CRS developed ten peacebuilding principles (see Text Box 5-1). The principles were heavily influenced by the work of John Paul Lederach and other peacebuilding and conflict-resolution specialists, and reflected the learnings from CRS's peacebuilding experience. They also reflected key themes in Catholic social teaching.

Text Box 5-1. CRS Peacebuilding Principles

Peacebuilding for CRS:

1. Responds to the root causes of violent conflict, including unjust relationships and structures, in addition to addressing its effects and symptoms.
2. Is based on long-term commitment.
3. Uses a comprehensive approach that focuses on grassroots while strategically engaging actors at middle-range and top levels of leadership.
4. Requires an in-depth and participatory analysis.
5. Provides a methodology to achieve right relationships that should be integrated into all programming.
6. Strategically includes advocacy at local, national and global levels to transform unjust structures and systems.
7. Builds upon indigenous non-violent approaches to conflict transformation and reconciliation.
8. Is driven by community-defined needs and involves as many stakeholders as possible.
9. Is done through partners who represent the diversity of where we work and share common values.
10. Strengthens and contributes to a vibrant civil society that promotes peace.

The principle of subsidiarity, for example, is given practical meaning when peacebuilding initiatives are driven by community-defined needs, involve as many stakeholders as possible who represent the diversity of their context, and strengthen a vibrant civil society that can promote peace (see peacebuilding principles 4, 8, 9, and 10 in Text Box 5-1). Local partners should represent the diversity of their context and share common values with CRS. In short, subsidiarity in peacebuilding emphasizes community-led processes that reflect local needs and contexts. Another theme, solidarity, calls for a long-term commitment to deepen relationships among different

sectors of society in order to pursue coordinated advocacy at the local, national and global levels aimed at transforming unjust structures and systems.

Other peacebuilding principles focus on specific skill areas and competencies. For example, peacebuilding interventions should be preceded by solid conflict analysis and based on a participatory process of engaging the multiple, conflicted parties in a dialogue that models the desired outcomes. Modeling constructive processes of engagement through facilitation, dialogue, or mediation enhances the communication, collaboration, and joint problem solving necessary to build "right relationships." Finally, peacebuilding initiatives are sustainable only if they build upon already-existing indigenous approaches to resolving conflicts peacefully. Overall, these peacebuilding principles helped solidify CRS's early peacebuilding programs by providing general criteria for designing and evaluating the kinds of peacebuilding programs that we assess in this chapter.

Insights from Praxis

As noted earlier, CRS supported the peacebuilding programs of church and civil society partner organizations in more than fifty countries in 2009. We chose four well-developed peacebuilding efforts to examine from the Philippines, Burundi, Colombia, and Chad/Cameroon. These examples capture a wide range of actions and audiences. Actions include advocacy, mediation, and facilitation, and involve grassroots, international, Catholic, interreligious, and secular groups. They serve to illustrate seven general insights that can be drawn from CRS's experience with peacebuilding around the world.

For our first two insights we draw upon peacebuilding in Mindanao, in the southern Philippines. The first relates to the need for a holistic approach to peacebuilding. The second centers on the ways in which CRS works with the institutional church and contributes to its capacity to engage in peacebuilding.

Engaging Holistically¹⁸

Large-scale social conflicts are extremely complex, and Mindanao is no exception. The most significant conflict in Mindanao involves the pursuit of autonomy by the Muslim population, usually called the Moro or Bangsamoro conflict. The history of the conflict is multifaceted and contested. It involves economic and political issues as well as social and religious concerns. It has historical roots in Spanish and American colonialism, state policies of settlement, migration, land ownership, and governance. Between 1970 and 2005, an estimated 120,000 lives were lost and more than two million people were displaced in fighting between the government

and rebel groups. Peace negotiations began in earnest following the overthrow of the Marcos dictatorship, and in 1996 an agreement was signed between the Moro National Liberation Front (MNLF), one of the rebel groups, and the government.

The political agreement opened a window of opportunity that CRS staff seized. Invigorated by its Justice Lens discussions, CRS—previously known in the area for its food aid programs—began cultivating new relationships with peace groups and leaders from Catholic and Muslim communities. Early programming focused on building a culture of peace. Between 1996 and 1999 CRS worked with seven local church, civil society partners, networks of organizations, the Office of the Presidential Adviser of the Peace Process, and UNICEF. A Mindanao "Culture of Peace" education curriculum was launched, the Bishops-Ulama Forum (BUF), an interfaith dialogue between Catholic and Protestant bishops and Muslim ulama, was established, as were small-scale pilot projects, such as a community-based interfaith bakery.

In the face of renewed hostilities and fighting between the military and a second insurgent organization, the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), CRS retooled its programs in 2000. CRS and partners responded to the displacement caused by the fighting. The focus on promoting a culture of peace continued, but additional work was done with partners to increase their capacity to pursue local initiatives more effectively. Capacity building meant not only management and project skills, but also learning concepts and practices of peace through MPI. The institute has provided intensive training for more than one thousand participants from forty countries since 2000. These trainings were originally designed for church and civil society groups in Mindanao, but were expanded to include broader regional participation and in recent years to include the Filipino military.¹⁹

As the conflict ebbed and flowed, the CRS program adapted. A "consolidation phase" began in 2003 when staff and partners scaled up peace education and capacity-building activities: staff designed a peacebuilding curriculum that reached more grassroots-level people; partners expanded to 35 and implemented programs in 390 communities and 77 schools. CRS developed a more sophisticated understanding of the conflict, which considered "five eyes": issues, identities, institutions, interactions, and international factors. The early focus on culture of peace education and interreligious dialogue continued, while a new focus on socioeconomic factors enabled CRS to take a more comprehensive approach to peacebuilding.

The experiences in Mindanao reinforced the insight that peacebuilding interventions have a greater chance of succeeding if programs respond in a comprehensive way to the multiple factors and actors in a conflict situation. CRS's numerous adaptations made its peacebuilding programs increasingly holistic in their approach to the conflict after 1996. As CRS took greater initiative in capacity building and peacebuilding education after 2000, more attention was given to relationship building and accompaniment of

partners as they collectively journeyed toward peace. CRS also developed a “reflective learning” process that enabled its staff and partners to systematically monitor and analyze the conflict, to understand processes for changing conflict dynamics, and to learn from their peacebuilding experience. CRS programs expanded geographically, as peace needed to be broadly based to be sustainable. In the process new partnerships formed, networks expanded, and specific zones and spaces for peace emerged across Mindanao. Zones and spaces for peace were locally negotiated cease-fire areas that permit a community to rebuild—its homes and businesses, and especially the fractured relationships between Christian and Muslim communities—even as the wider conflict continued.

CRS also realized and sought to respond to the unique problems affecting various constituencies in Mindanao that also affected long-term peace. This meant working with not only Muslim and Christian groups, but also indigenous communities. It also meant new programs for women and youth. Community-based economic solidarity programs responded to a critique raised in 2003 that “you can’t talk peace on an empty stomach.” Community livestock projects, for example, were designed to address the social and economic disparities and marginalization that fueled the conflict.

One final element that gained support over time for holistic programming involved the role of spirituality in peacebuilding. CRS staff found that partners from all religious communities, whether Islamic, traditional indigenous, Catholic, or Protestant, desired to engage with one another at their spiritual depths. After years of sponsoring training programs in conflict analysis and practical peacebuilding skills, CRS found that people wanted and needed more. For local peacebuilders, peace was part of their faith vocation, rooted in their hearts, their beliefs, their rituals, and the practice of their faith. For example, CRS worked with its partners to develop educational programs for schools and communities that rooted peacebuilding concepts in Christian, Muslim, and indigenous faith traditions.

In Mindanao the program grew to be multilevel, multifaceted, and multisectoral over a period of ten years—and it continues to evolve. CRS and its partners increasingly sought an integral approach that balanced different levels and types of needs, from the political and economic to the ecological and spiritual.²⁰ Engaging people and communities holistically resonated with Catholic theology and the pursuit of integral human development rooted in the moral obligation of members of society and its institutions “to seek justice, ensure equal opportunities for all and put the dignity of the human person first.”²¹

Internal evaluations of the CRS program highlighted a number of achievements. At the personal level, participants developed communication and other specific skills, improved their ability to solve problems, were more tolerant, and often had a greater sense of security and hope. Partners and community members reported improved relationships across religious and ethnic groups and attributed this to community-based projects and peace-education initiatives that provided them with opportunities for interaction.

Some structural changes corresponded to CRS programming, such as new ordinances to support zones of peace, an increasing institutionalization of peace education in schools, and increased engagement by civil society organizations in the peace process. But making further progress on promoting structural change remained a priority as the program continued to adapt and evolve.

Transforming Ubiquitous Presence

In Chapter 2 in this volume John Paul Lederach discusses the social location of the Catholic Church. Lederach notes that members of the church are often found on opposing sides of conflicts and at varying levels of society, a phenomenon he calls “ubiquitous presence.” The church, Lederach argues, has natural advantages for peacebuilders due to its horizontal and vertical structure and presence.

In Mindanao, the church has a strong presence, although it varies by geographic area. Translating this ubiquitous presence into a unifying voice pursuing a just peace presents challenges, however. The very structure that gives the church its advantage also embodies difference: hierarchical, ethnic, political, economic, geographic, and personal. In many cases the church spans communal divisions by representing people on opposing sides of an issue. For example, there are a range of opinions within the church about whether and how to pursue Moro autonomy as well as other issues involved in the conflict. CRS’s experience in Mindanao suggests that Catholic peacebuilding involves building relationships between divided communities within the church, as well as between members of the Catholic Church and other faith communities.

CRS has worked with lay groups as well as clergy at various levels on interreligious dialogue. CRS supported the formal dialogue process of the BUF. This dialogue process focused on areas of common ground on matters of faith, as well as issues under negotiation in the official peace process. At the request of the BUF, CRS also supported dialogue at other levels in order to foster more widespread interreligious cooperation for peace.²² This included mid-level encounters among pastors, priests, ustadz, and imams, as well as community dialogues among lay members of faith groups. By reaching out to different constituencies for peace within each faith community, these layers of dialogue enabled communities to move beyond theology and address their local needs, such as physical security and employment.

The process of interreligious dialogue generated numerous stories of Christians and Muslims overcoming their prejudices and even hatreds to meet the “other.” The process also highlighted the hurdles they faced within their own communities—whether Catholic or Muslim.²³ People feared losing or diluting their own identity in meeting the other and of forgetting painful losses of family members and friends. For example, Archbishop Antonio Ledesma recalls a peace-orientation workshop in the Prelature of Ipil when a faculty member of a local Catholic college abruptly left the

room.²⁴ Later she apologized and explained that she could not suppress her feelings at the memory of her brother's murder in an ambush at the height of confrontations in Mindanao during the 1970s. Often those who do meet the other in dialogue are viewed with suspicion by members of their own community. This dynamic created further challenges for the church in working for peace.

Bridging differences of opinion, differences within the hierarchy, and differences in ethnicity or gender—particularly within violent environments—is challenging. The ubiquitous presence of the church does not mean its members have the resources to act or, if they do, are disposed to use them constructively. The church in Mindanao has tremendous capacity and spiritual resources for peace. The bishops, for example, are deeply moved and strengthened by their pastoral vocation, which includes efforts to build bridges of friendships upon common values that span the faiths. They see their pastoral role as necessarily including the involvement of clergy and laity in peace and reconciliation efforts. However, the Catholic community often needs financial assistance, new ideas, new relationships, or other resources that can help to catalyze, support, and sustain efforts for peace over time. The Catholic community has drawn upon CRS to help translate the church's ubiquitous presence into a force for peace in Mindanao.

Nurturing Peacebuilding Partnerships²⁵

For our next two themes we turn to Burundi. Burundi, Rwanda's lesser-known neighbor, has experienced similar periods of intensive violence between the two main groups, Hutus and Tutsis. Two major, formative themes emerge from this case: nurturing peacebuilding partnerships consistent with the principle of subsidiarity; and balancing the spiritual and secular dimensions of peacebuilding.

The Burundian crisis is rooted in a history of sporadic conflict and massacres that began before the country's independence (1962). The proximate trigger for the most recent violence was the assassination of the first democratically elected president, Melchior Ndadaye, in October 1993. It is believed that during the violence over 300,000 people, mainly civilians, were killed; over 500,000 people were internally displaced; and over 600,000 people sought refuge in neighboring countries. Two additional factors contributed to the violence: an extremely high population density combined with very limited access to land; and political manipulation of ethnic identities.

Since Burundi became independent, the Catholic Church has played an active role in identifying and addressing sources of conflict through direct dialogue with leaders of rebel groups, heads of political parties and the international community. In 1991 the Catholic Episcopal Conference of Burundi (CECAB), with the support of CRS, created the Center for Research, Education, and Development. The center has conducted social analysis, promoted peace and reconciliation, and conducted training sessions in

active nonviolence. In 2002, CECAB established the Episcopal Commission for Justice and Peace to promote human rights and peacebuilding in the country's seven dioceses (and 132 parishes) across the country. The church also disseminated the main elements of the Arusha peace accord and sponsored a variety of initiatives designed to promote dialogue and reconciliation.

For CRS, the concept of subsidiarity helps define how and with whom to engage and support with personnel and material resources. Partners are social units who assess, design, and implement specific peacebuilding projects; ideally, the relational ties go much deeper. Within CRS all programs are based on relationships that build on the particular capacities of partners to empower the poor and marginalized.²⁶ The Principles of Partnership that guide these relationships are designed to ensure that there is a shared vision for meeting people's needs; that decisions are made and programs are implemented at a level as close as possible to those most directly affected; that the contributions of all partners are valued; that there is an open sharing of perspectives and approaches; that there is mutual transparency; and that the partnership contributes to strengthening civil society.

CRS, as a Catholic agency, recognizes two broad categories of partners: "partners of preference," agencies and organizations that are part of the Catholic Church; and "partners," other faith-based and secular organizations with whom CRS works.²⁷ As noted above, working with Catholic partners presents significant advantages, given the "ubiquitous presence." In remote rural villages as well as teeming urban centers, one finds local priests, religious brothers and sisters, dedicated Catholic teachers and catechists, doctors and nurses ministering full time in settings where few other civil society organizations operate. In Burundi, CRS has working agreements with a wide variety of these church actors, from the bishops' conference and the Center for Research, Education, and Development to youth organizations and trauma-healing centers.

During 2003 a unique alliance formed among CECAB, the USCCB, CRS, and USAID, in an effort to contribute to lasting peace and reconciliation in Burundi. This partnership highlighted the importance of the principle of subsidiarity. The presumption is that the local church and its social institutions are more expert on matters related to their own setting. Moreover, they have to live with the consequences of any action, so they should have *the* say in defining problems as well as shaping and implementing activities in response. Outsiders play a supportive and accompanying role. Both the desire for resources and the eagerness to give them, however, can badly distort the proper functioning of subsidiarity. Joining with local church partners in peace-oriented activities means not only working with them but coming to know internal church dynamics, which includes weighing varying sociopolitical perspectives on different aspects of the conflict.

In Burundi this meant carefully preparing a formula for choosing a twenty-one-member commission that traveled to the United States for a training and planning session in 2004. CRS had to ensure that the needs of the local

church, CRS, and USAID were all met. In the early stage of this relationship CECAB designated a commission of bishops, clergy, women, and youth. Special emphasis was taken to ensure diversity. Between May 15 and June 4 they participated in a combined training and planning session in Hagerstown, Maryland. They identified five strategic objectives to be achieved: educating for peace and reconciliation in schools; promoting reconciliation through cultural and sports activities; creating capacity for trauma healings; strengthening the church's capacity to promote and defend human rights; and achieving reconciliation among clergy and religious. For the USAID-funded project they focused primarily on the first three objectives.

The project achieved some notable results. Between 2004 and 2007 more than 300,000 youth participated in social-change seminars, peace marches, sporting events, work camps, forums, and an international youth conference, which brought youth from the neighboring countries. A peace curriculum was developed by the National Commission for Catholic Education and more than nineteen hundred teachers were introduced to peace-training methods. The Trauma Healing Commission was created; it established "listening centers" within Catholic parishes in three dioceses to provide a space for people to seek help, and more than ten thousand people participated in trauma-healing activities.

The religious and secular nature of the organizations in this joint venture created particular challenges. Bonding church and secular organizations necessarily involves acknowledging the constraints and needs of all parties. CRS funded the initial training session in the United States, but the overall project was to be funded by USAID. Accordingly, the project design and implementation had to meet USAID guidelines, which placed a sometimes extraordinary burden on church partners. Some demands led to good decisions, such as ensuring a balance of members with different identities and roles within the project. Others were less well-suited to the church's needs, such as strictly separating humanitarian services from motivational support programs with a Catholic orientation. CRS had to help manage these competing demands and frames of reference. Despite considerable effort these challenges were not always satisfactorily met.

This experience highlighted the importance and challenges of working with the church as church, rather than the church as NGO. Working with the church as church created a gap between the group's preparation and the requirements for a secularly funded NGO project. While those involved extended considerable effort to pursue simultaneously independent church activities and NGO-type activities, it proved difficult. For example, the church leadership listed reconciliation within the church, among its clergy and religious, as a strategic objective. There was no funding for this objective, and it received little sustained attention as energy and resources went to the funded aspects. The project that emerged was a compromise that ran into significant hurdles; many were overcome, but a number were not. Whether the Catholic retreat master in Hagerstown and a peace curriculum for an essentially Catholic school system could be paid for with project funds were

matters for negotiation. In the end the faith dimensions of the initial proposal were deleted or overshadowed.

Balancing the Spiritual and the Practical in Peacebuilding²⁸

A second major learning gleaned from the Burundi case is the need to balance the spiritual dimensions of peace with the professional skills and practice of peacebuilding. This lesson was particularly evident in the initial phase of the Burundian intervention: the 2004 peacebuilding training and planning event held in Hagerstown, Maryland. The three-week workshop was divided into four interrelated types of activities: (1) training sessions in conflict transformation, healing, and justice; (2) meetings with the Francophone African community in Washington DC, the Holy See's Permanent Observer to the United Nations, the USCCB, and others; (3) elaboration of an action plan for peace and reconciliation for the church in Burundi; and (4) applications of faith and spirituality to post-conflict Burundi. The program was a blend of faith sharing, training, strategizing, and social support.

The Hagerstown workshop began with a two-day spiritual retreat. A French Jesuit retreat master offered commentary on select scripture texts. The intent was to show parallels in the Bible with the participants' lives and the lives of the Burundian people. It was a time of assisted deep reflection that brought participants to focus on the core of their faith.

Using the services of skilled conflict-transformation scholars and practitioners from the United States, the commission had two days of reflection on reconciliation, trauma, and healing of memories. Afterward, participants went into small groups to discuss their own sense of trauma and loss. At the later planning stage the commission returned to these themes. Though participants welcomed the help of experts, they saw the external assistance as relevant to the extent that it built upon their own pastoral abilities and sensitivities, which may have been insufficiently recognized and under utilized.

There is a tendency to undervalue the rich human connectivity of relational ties, such as those honed over a lifetime by the Burundian peacebuilders. This is acutely the case when the contribution is less material and tangible and more spiritual and relational. During those three weeks in a remote Maryland retreat center, spiritual resources were integrated with material ones. They were blended in subtle and rich ways in order to reinforce one another and to give a distinctive Catholic flavor to the peacebuilding which was to follow.

There was discernible carryover of the spiritual dimension into the actual peacebuilding programs in Burundi. The French Jesuit retreat leader was invited to Burundi to provide further spiritual direction for the Burundian bishops. In three dioceses, parish "listening centers" were established to provide space for people to seek psychological, social, and spiritual healing. One of the more innovative aspects of the action plan was the intent to have

diocesan synods on peace and reconciliation. These synods, which reflected the broad diversity within the Catholic community, blended new learnings from a secular discipline (peacebuilding) with the Burundian church's shared and living faith.

The training and planning event brought "partners of preference" into dialogue with a government funding agency. It was crucial to include a spiritual dimension if the peacebuilding was to engage the church as a whole. One of CRS's Principles of Partnership places emphasis on the need to achieve complementarity and mutuality in partnerships by "recognizing and valuing that each brings a set of skills, resources, knowledge, and capacities to the partnership in a spirit of mutual autonomy." Such an even-handed approach is difficult when partners are uneven or imbalanced in terms of material resources and technical "know how." The emphasis on mutuality, however, highlights a hallmark of Catholic peacebuilding: combining a unique Catholic spirituality with secular peacebuilding practice.

Connecting and Amplifying Voices for Just Peace²⁹

The principles of solidarity, the preferential option for the poor, respect for life and other basic human rights, and the common good provide profound conceptual resources for CRS in its work in peacebuilding, relief, and development. The concept that all persons are integrally interrelated, and that there is a moral obligation to act upon these relationships in the quest for justice, order and divine harmony is, in many ways, radical.³⁰ As the *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* articulates:

There persist in every part of the world stark inequalities between developed and developing countries. . . . The acceleration of interdependence between persons and peoples needs to be accompanied by equally intense efforts on the ethical-social plane, in order to avoid the dangerous consequences of perpetrating injustice on a global scale.³¹

CRS's definition of solidarity emphasizes "one human family" and taking action based on loving one's neighbor in a globalized world. The relationships of solidarity provide a foundation for pursuing the option for the poor and the common good. Colombia provides a case in point.³²

The armed conflict there began more than four decades ago, rooted in economic, political, and social inequality; exclusion; and disparity. Since 1985, fighting involving government forces, paramilitaries and insurgents has left tens of thousands dead, thousands disappeared, and several million displaced. Hundreds of thousands have sought refuge outside the country. Violence has increased since the mid-1980s due to drug trafficking and organized crime. Paramilitary organizations have made deep inroads into the national political process. Failed political negotiations were followed by a highly militaristic policy under the Uribe government, with significant U.S.

financial and military support offered as part of Plan Colombia. This cooperation agreement, conceived to prevent and fight against drug trafficking, has also been used to reinforce military operations against illegally armed groups. Despite some progress in Colombia's internal security, human rights violations have remained widespread.

In 1999 the national social ministries secretariat (SNPS)/Caritas Colombia of the Colombian Bishops' Conference and CRS initiated a three-year peacebuilding program (which was renewed in 2002) called In Solidarity with Colombia. This solidarity program engaged the U.S. Catholic community in trying to reorient U.S. policy from one centered on military aid and intervention to one that could help build conditions for a just and lasting peace. In collaboration with the bishops' conferences in Colombia and the United States, CRS supported increasing humanitarian and development aid, conditioning military aid on human rights, and giving greater support for the peace process. An annual Colombia Week for Peace has helped focus this education and advocacy effort in the United States. With the USCCB, CRS also helped give the church in Colombia a voice in Washington and at the United Nations by sponsoring numerous visits by church leaders. These advocacy efforts have helped sustain public awareness about Colombia and have contributed modest shifts away from an excessively military orientation in U.S. policy.

In Solidarity with Colombia was intended to complement the church's humanitarian, development, and peacebuilding projects in Colombia. In 2003, CRS shifted the way it accompanied and supported the peacebuilding work of the Catholic Church; CRS and the SNPS created what is known as the Joint Program (Programa Conjunto). Through this novel arrangement, all CRS activities have been carried out in close cooperation with SNPS. Programa Conjunto has worked closely with partners to promote a culture of peace, build the capacity of local communities, and mitigate the impact of the conflict by resettling displaced people and reintegrating former combatants into their communities. One particularly successful program that CRS supported was the School for Peace and Co-Existence, a mobile school for grassroots peace training founded by Caritas Colombia and the Jesuit Program for Peace in 1997. The school has trained fourteen thousand community leaders in building a culture of peace using a participatory training-of-trainers methodology. It has worked with the Caritas Internationalis campaign "Peace Is Possible" in Colombia, as well as with Catholic religious orders and dioceses along the Pacific coast and the southern border with Ecuador.

Solidarity is about relationships, about connecting people within Colombia and between Colombia and the United States in an effort to unite and amplify church voices for peace. As a Catholic institution, CRS, with the church in Colombia, is part of a major transnational network embedded in a unique institutional structure. This network and structure enable Catholics in the United States to speak out with and on behalf of suffering people

in conflicted areas like Colombia.³³ Together, the voices have constituted a choir that can be heard in homes around the world as well as in the halls of policymakers.

Applying Catholic Social Teaching in New Ways³⁴

In some cases CRS is faced with peacebuilding issues not addressed directly in Catholic social teaching and not normally considered within the competence of the institutional church. With the construction of an oil pipeline through Chad and Cameroon, CRS was faced with a unique case in which it had to work with the local church to apply Catholic social teaching in new ways to a complicated economic, political, and environmental issue: extractive industries and, more specifically, an oil pipeline.

CRS efforts to address the Chad-Cameroon pipeline were part of a wider effort to respond to the seeming paradox of poverty and conflict amid great wealth in natural resources in sub-Saharan Africa. In 2001, CRS began a major effort to consider the impact of extractive industries on the poor and vulnerable. CRS issued several widely cited research papers and monographs on the impact of extractive industries on prospects for development and peace in Africa and other regions. CRS co-sponsored international and regional conferences on extractive industries, and supported training and advocacy programs in many countries. Advocacy focused on increasing transparency to ensure that revenues were used for poverty reduction and not to fuel violent conflict, corruption, and repression.

Many saw the Chad-Cameroon pipeline project as a test case for harnessing oil revenues to alleviate poverty in poor countries.³⁵ Chad, one of the world's poorest and most corrupt countries, with a history of conflict and instability, embarked on a \$4 billion project to develop oil and export it via a new pipeline through Cameroon. The project was financed, in part, by the World Bank. Under pressure from church and civil society groups, World Bank financing was conditioned on implementation of the 1999 National Revenue Management Law, an unprecedented measure that required that 70 percent of certain oil revenues go to priority sectors, including education and health, and set up oversight mechanisms to hold the government accountable for its use of oil revenues. The success of this project was seen as critical to the future of Chad, as well as a critical precedent for other efforts to solve the problem of the "resource curse."³⁶

Oil projects and pipelines were not issues about which the bishops' conferences in Chad and Cameroon initially felt they had the competence to speak. Yet CRS shared the concerns of many in the Catholic Church, Protestant denominations, and civil society groups in both countries about the possible negative impact of the pipeline on their already troubled nations. While CRS does not specialize in social ethics, after an internal process of education it was able to facilitate conversations in which research and policy expertise were brought into dialogue with Catholic social teaching.

A critical outcome of this process of education and dialogue on the moral implications of the pipeline project and similar projects in the region was a series of major church statements. In 2002 the Association of Episcopal Conferences of the Central African Region (ACERAC), which includes Cameroon and Chad, issued a pastoral letter that examined the relationship between oil and politics, oil and economic and social development, and oil and conflict in Central Africa. Drawing on scripture and Catholic social teaching, the bishops emphasized themes of liberty, unity, the preferential option for the poor, solidarity, and the church's responsibility in the world. They summarized their concerns:

It is now clear that our involvement as a church in Central Africa with the issue of oil does not arise from meddling in issues reserved for the authorities of our States. We are witnessing to the suffering of the people to whom we belong. Our prophetic mission impels us to launch a heartfelt appeal to all those who participate in oil exploitation in our region or who wield any political and economic power. Together, let us offer the chance of integral development to the men and women of our region by a more humane exploitation of oil as with all our natural resources.³⁷

In the same year a pastoral letter by the Catholic bishops in Chad brought attention to a range of justice and environmental issues raised by the pipeline. The impetus for the pastoral was the government's repeated violations of the 1999 Revenue Management Law. To complement the bishops' advocacy efforts, CRS supported church justice and peace commissions that worked with civil society organizations to establish a Civil Society Committee to verify that oil revenues from the pipeline were disbursed according to the law and that the pipeline did not harm the environment.

In Cameroon, CRS supported the local Catholic Church and civil society groups in monitoring the construction of the pipeline between 2001 and 2004. As in Chad, the monitoring efforts attempted to lessen the negative impact of the project on the local population and to ensure that promises regarding compensation, the environment, and revenue management were kept. CRS and the USCCB also arranged for visits by church and civil society leaders to Washington to meet with senior policymakers. A critical visit came in 2001 when the World Bank was undertaking a major review of the pipeline project. Fr. Patrick Lafon, secretary general of the episcopal conference of Cameroon, addressed a joint meeting of the U.S. bishops' international and domestic policy committees. After hearing his appeal, Cardinal Bernard Law, chairman of the international committee, arranged for Fr. Lafon to meet with the head of the World Bank and top officials at the State Department and Treasury. It appears that this meeting, and other church and civil society efforts, contributed to the World Bank's decision to tighten the conditions it imposed on the Chad and Cameroon governments.

The church's efforts in Chad and Cameroon were supported by episcopal conferences in countries beyond the United States, such as France and other European countries. The process of dialogue and engagement, which occurred within Chad and Cameroon and between the church in those countries and the church in other countries, had two positive outcomes. First, and most important, it contributed to moral clarity about an issue that seemed, at first blush, to be beyond the church's competence. That moral clarity was essential in enabling the church to play a significant role in the debate on the pipeline. Second, it showed the influence and reach of the Catholic church as a transnational actor. CRS, an international agency based in the United States, supported the efforts of national and regional episcopal conferences to develop their capacity to address moral issues raised by the oil project, while also connecting these episcopal conferences with their counterparts in countries that could help them influence deliberations in international organizations such as the World Bank.

Dealing with the Pitfalls of Politics

CRS's experiences in working with the local church on advocacy and peacebuilding in Colombia, Chad, and Cameroon point to the difficult intersection of faith and politics. The church invariably confronts political issues when it addresses issues of justice and peace. Pope Paul VI's admonition—"development [is] the new name for peace"³⁸—was meant to highlight the intersection between conflict and long-term economic disparity and marginalization.³⁹ Other factors contributing to conflicts include political and social marginalization or inequities, discrimination, weak social cohesion, differences in perception, miscommunication, the interpretation of history, and the mechanisms by which disagreements are handled. Each of these issues can have political dimensions, which are almost always exacerbated and exaggerated amid conflict.

While the church in Latin America underwent a transformation with respect to political activism in relation to liberation theology, many other parts of the church did not. And even within Latin America there was not wholesale agreement on how to deal with the political implications of the church's justice work. In some parts of the world, church leaders fear for their survival and worry that if they make public statements criticizing a government or its policies they may find their institutions and movements restricted. The church itself imposes constraints on the political activities of clergy, especially involvement in partisan politics or assuming government positions. In some cases, such as Cardinal Jaime Sin's role in the demise of the Marcos dictatorship in the Philippines, church leaders play a direct role in politics, but this "substitute political role" is generally considered to be the exceptional case.⁴⁰

Taking positions on issues of social justice and peace is political; it involves engaging with state power to ensure that public policies are compatible with the church's understanding of justice and the good of society. An

incident in Chad over the role of the church in monitoring the use of oil revenues exemplifies how Catholic peacebuilders must find effective ways to navigate the difficult waters of defining an appropriate role for the church in politics without losing their way or getting unduly trapped in turbulent currents.

In accord with the 1999 Revenue Management Law, a nine-member board, the *Collège de Contrôle et de Surveillance des Ressources Pétrolières* (the *Collège*), was established in 1991 to approve and verify the expenditures of oil money. When the seat reserved for a religious representative became vacant at the end of 2003, the government failed to authorize the Catholic Church's nominee for the position, Marc Beremadjji, a lay Catholic and Chad's former finance minister. The government insisted the seat had to be filled by a cleric, not a lay person, because, as the prime minister explained, the government sought the "moral authority" that a member of the clergy would bestow upon the *Collège*. The Catholic bishops insisted on their right to appoint a lay expert, rejecting the government's attempt to gain a religious seal of approval for the *Collège's* operations. After a long impasse the church decided it would not "play the politics of the empty chair" and nominated Father Antoine Bérlengar, who was knowledgeable about the oil sector.⁴¹

The Chad/Cameroon case is typical in that the bishops did not seek to assume an overtly political role, but their moral analysis of the pipeline had clear political implications. The bishops' position represented an application of Catholic principles—the option for the poor, respect for human rights, care for creation, promotion of the common good. It was political insofar as it called on governments and international financial institutions to exercise their authority in ways that would reflect these principles, principles that implied the need for changes in policy. The bishops took seriously the church's responsibility to address contemporary problems, not from a partisan political perspective, but in keeping with an ecclesiological and social understanding of the role of the church in the modern world. Assessing the oil pipeline through biblical and theological lenses allowed the church to speak out on an issue with political dimensions without taking policy positions that aligned it with particular political parties or mandates.

The history of the church in a particular country can also have important political implications. Present in Chad and Cameroon for slightly over one hundred years, the church was part of the evolution of the modern state. While the church's history is sometimes associated with colonialism, the integrated nature of the contemporary church allows it to speak with the legitimacy of an "insider." The church's ability to draw upon both insider presence and outside resources and Catholic networks is a tremendous asset in working for peace. But the church's insider/outsider status can also be a cause for concern. The church and its leadership are sometimes criticized for being privileged insiders due to their educational levels, status, and ties with elites; indeed, they can be compromised by inappropriate ties to powerful elites. These same leaders, however, can be criticized by political

commentators as being more outsiders than insiders when local issues become "political."

In the Chad and Cameroon case, the socially integrated nature of the church—meaning that the contemporary church is deeply rooted in Chadian and Cameroonian communities—enabled it to speak out credibly within Cameroon and Chad, as well as in the United States. Some, however, tried to discredit the church as an outsider. The bishops in Congo-Brazzaville were also criticized in the media for speaking out on extractive industries.⁴² Rather than focus on their substantive position, the critics, alluding to their "foreign" status, dismissed the bishops for harboring "natural" anti-government agendas. Grounding advocacy on extractives in scripture, theology, and Catholic social teaching helped the church withstand and overcome many of these political pitfalls.

Conclusion: Implications for Theology and Spirituality

Catholic social teaching inspires and guides CRS's peacebuilding efforts. It provides CRS with a language to engage the moral, spiritual, and social justice concerns within relief and development work. Human dignity, the common good, and the principles that flow from these twin pillars of Catholic social teaching, such as the option for the poor, subsidiarity, and solidarity, provided an ethical framework for rethinking CRS's approach to relief and development in the 1990s. This rethinking, in turn, laid the foundation for CRS peacebuilding, which has grown significantly in the past decade.

While firmly rooted in Catholic social teaching, CRS's peacebuilding expands into new areas and thus helps to challenge the teaching to develop in similar directions. Peacebuilding requires a thorough analysis of conflicts, which entails analyzing their roots in inequitable systems and structures, the parties involved, and the processes by which people resolve their conflicts. The option for the poor guides how CRS provides aid; it also moves CRS to analyze broader social and conflict conditions in which economic disadvantages are nested. Peacebuilding requires thinking strategically about how to engage people and problems and about how to enhance local peace processes in ways that support subsidiarity and integral development. It focuses on the process of building right relationships and integral development. It appropriate mediation and facilitation.

CRS also uses resources for conflict analysis, mediation, and facilitation developed outside of Catholic social teaching, including secular and faith-based resources. Many of the faith-based resources were developed by Quakers and Mennonites who, working from a position of nonviolence, had developed methodologies of engagement, or peace praxis. CRS, Caritas, and other church partners employ these methodologies to catalyze the development of Catholic resources and efforts to build peace.

From the experiences in Mindanao we drew two lessons: engaging *holistically* and transforming *ubiquitous presence* into effective peacebuilding

practice. The stress of the former is on a comprehensive humanitarian response to people and their problems. Holistic programs can include "livelihoods" projects to enable "talking peace" on a full stomach, accompanying partners in their collective journey toward peace, or creating space for the spiritual dimension of transformation. With ubiquitous presence, the church's great capacity to bridge differences and support peace efforts is clear. In Mindanao, Burundi, and Colombia the church is present throughout the country and at the local, regional, and national levels. The church reflects a wide range of positions on the conflict and peace processes. Catalyzing the church's ubiquitous presence to build peace requires bridging differences horizontally and vertically across social, political, and economic divisions within and outside the church.

The extensive experience in interreligious and intra-religious peacebuilding in Mindanao confirms the need for what Peter Phan in Chapter 12 (relying on the work of Jay McDaniel) calls "deep listening." If practiced effectively, this form of listening honors and affirms the other. It "hears" more deeply the needs of the other. In an interreligious context this becomes interreligious dialogue as well as service to the other. In the end, it demands a real humility about what one sees and hears as truth in a troubled situation. It offers the soul-searing notion that "there is more wisdom in all the religions taken together than in any of them considered alone."⁴³ If followed with a certain cautious resoluteness, such a notion will challenge weaknesses and stimulate growth in both the teaching and practice of Catholic peacebuilding.

The peacebuilding experiences in Burundi bring to the fore the importance of nurturing *peacebuilding alliances and partnerships* and balancing the *spiritual and the practical*. Partnerships are founded upon the concepts of subsidiarity and solidarity. Church-based partnerships in peacebuilding follow the general pattern of secular partnership but require a greater emphasis on the value-based nature of the relationship.⁴⁴ In Catholic peacebuilding the common values are rooted in biblical wisdom and papal or episcopal teachings on peace and justice. Partnership requires an active solidarity that involves mutual support, a valuing of relationships, and collaborative processes wherein partners work through problems. The strength of value-based partnerships and the richness of their collaborative efforts are evident in all four cases.

A careful combination of the spiritual and the practical in peacebuilding partnerships and initiatives are strengths for Catholic peacebuilding. In his reflections on the church's internal resources to aid the ministry of reconciliation Robert Schreier calls special attention to the power of ritual—in such church functions as funerals and proper burials, the Eucharist, images and other selections from the Christian scriptures and the cross of Jesus.⁴⁵ While other religious traditions express in their own ethos such thoroughly human events as death, suffering, nourishment, and imagery, Catholicism has particularly well-developed resources in this regard. These include the lives of saints and martyrs, the sacrament of reconciliation, and greetings of peace at liturgy. In those three weeks that the Burundian delegation spent in

Maryland, spiritual resources were integrated with secular ones. Catholic expressions served as a motivational foundation for what was shared in solidarity by professional peacebuilders and fellow Catholics. They were blended in rich and subtle ways in order to reinforce one another and to give a distinctive Catholic flavor to the peacebuilding that followed.

The cases of Colombia and Chad/Cameroon center on *connecting and amplifying voices for just peace, confronting problems theologically and practically, and dealing with the challenges and pitfalls of politics*. Together these themes point to the immense capacity of the institutional church that enables it to connect intimately those in relatively peaceful and prosperous areas of the globe to those in more violence-ridden or impoverished areas. The relationships of solidarity that span economic, geographic, national, ethnic, gender, and other types of differences are founded upon mutuality and respect. When these relationships are based upon common values and spirituality, Catholic peacebuilding gains depth and strength. It provides a collective orientation that is grounded in a global community but rests upon the actions of engaged believers within their villages, towns, and cities who are called to solidarity in their own context.

The church's pastoral mandate means it needs to engage on issues of concern to its flock and face the pitfalls of politics. The inculcated and integrated nature of the church allows it to speak to and engage in peacebuilding with credibility in many locations, although, as noted, this same history can also bring challenges. The rich tradition of Catholic social teaching provides resources for grappling with contemporary issues. Faith-based actors and groups, such as CRS, work with the Catholic Church in catalyzing its inherent resources.

CRS's use of experiences point to some of the difficulties of sustaining faith-based reflection in the context of being a professional relief and development organization that pursues technical excellence and efficiency. Staff reflections on the Justice Lens, integral human development, and solidarity have provided a common basis for action across the agency, but more can be done. There is a need for greater awareness and integration of Catholic social teaching, its language and ideas, within CRS as well as the church—more than just a nod in its direction. This includes concepts of peace. Integrating these concepts into INGO-type projects is a challenge, as ethical reflection, theology, and spirituality are not project activities, skills, or management tools. We are not likely to measure the impact of the depth of spirituality of participants on long-term, social change processes. The Burundi case highlights these challenges.

It is clear that there is a need to develop a spirituality and theology of peace that can be appropriately contextualized within a wide variety of cultures. Catholic peacebuilders will benefit from exploring and developing rituals and other faith-based resources that can help them to meet the challenges of conflict and peacebuilding at various stages. There is also a need for greater attention to be paid to the practice of justice, peace, and reconciliation within the church—thus, to speak of a process of transformation,

not only of the greater society, but of the church itself. The practice of peace must be incorporated into pastoral actions; justice and peacebuilding must be integrated into the full life, ministry, structures, and messages of the church at the local, national, and universal levels.

Finally, there is a particular ecclesiology or understanding of the church that is implied in the approach and analysis presented here. Throughout the cases it is clear that CRS's peacebuilding is often done through interaction and partnership with different faith groups as well as secular organizations. Examples come easily to mind: the ubiquitous presence discussion in the Mindanao case; the transnational network example in Colombia; and the work with USAID in Burundi. These and other examples suggest that a wide ecumenism is common and helpful, if not required, for the kind of peacebuilding that CRS does. Todd Whitmore informally refers to this as "dual ecumenism," because it is both faith-based and secular. According to Scott Appleby, CRS has chosen what he calls a "progressive" approach in which "ecumenical, interreligious and cross-cultural dialogue" have a certain priority.⁴⁶

In Chapter 12 of this volume Phan treats extensively what it means to work outside the gamut of the church. He speaks of four forms of interfaith dialogue widely accepted in the church in Asia and articulated by the Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue. He notes that church officials and theologians "tend to give pride of place to the dialogue of theological exchange." This understandably inclines them toward a range of important issues, many of which, though extremely important in a faith context, often do not speak to the person caught in conflict. Phan argues that the three other equally valid contributions to dialogue—sharing life, collaboration for justice and peace, and sharing religious experiences—are the dialogical forms most commonly used for peacebuilding. It can be argued that CRS and its sister agencies, working under the auspices of the church, are making their most distinctive contribution in these areas.

Given the wider ecumenical approach so evident in CRS's peacebuilding work, what kind of understanding of the church does it intimate? It is a church that engages the modern world wherever and however it finds it, even, and perhaps especially, when it is enveloped by poverty and violent conflict. It is that very church that "*Gaudium et Spes* launched on a new path of involvement in social and political affairs."⁴⁷ This new understanding emerged from Vatican II's reading of the signs of the times and its formulation of a direction for the church's response in light of the gospel.

In his treatment of *Gaudium et Spes* David Hollenbach acknowledges that the mode of the church's engagement in social and political life has entered a new phase and that its "contours" are still in the process of taking shape.⁴⁸ CRS's experience suggests that a wider ecumenical engagement with others is common if not critical to the very act of making peace. In the process the church is not coopted nor does it become less distinct. Rather, the church gains its distinctiveness through this very engagement. In some small way CRS's lessons from peacebuilding may assist this very self-understanding.

Notes

¹ The contemporary Aceh conflict began roughly in 1976 with the founding of the Free Aceh Movement (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka or GAM), although there is a longer history of war. For an overview, see Tim Kell, *The Roots of the Acehese Rebellion, 1989–1992*, Cornell Modern Indonesia Project, vol. 74 (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University, Southeast Asia Program, 1995).

² In 1997 CRS was involved in the Local Capacities for Peace project, which produced a framework to analyze the intersection of aid with conflict or peace and to identify programming options to increase positive and reduce negative impacts. For more information on the framework and tools, see Mary B. Anderson, *Do No Harm: Supporting Capacities for Peace through Aid* (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1999) and Mary B. Anderson et al., *Do No Harm Handbook* (Cambridge, MA: Collaborative for Development Action, Inc., 2004). Six fundamental findings of the Do No Harm Project are available on the www.cdainc.com website.

³ For example, CRS brought in Catholic ethicist Bryan Hehir to work on a portfolio of justice-related issues, invested extensive resources in developing Caritas reconciliation and peacebuilding resources, and worked closely with numerous Catholic theologians and scholars in developing the Catholic Peacebuilding Network (CPN).

⁴ Data from Catholic Relief Services—United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, “Financial Statement Report,” September 30, 2009; available online at www.crs.org. In 2006 the two largest international relief and development not-for-profit aid agencies in the United States were World Vision—United States and Care USA (see annual reports at www.worldvision.org and www.care.org).

⁵ For a criticism of overall development efforts in Rwanda prior to the genocide, see Peter Uvin, *Aiding Violence: The Development Enterprise in Rwanda* (West Hartford, CT: Kumarian Press, 1998).

⁶ Michael Wiest, “Catholic Relief Services: Healing and Transforming,” *The Catholic Philanthropist* 2, no. 2 (2002): 3, 6.

⁷ This “hard look” took external as well as intra-agency expression. CRS, for example, was a major co-sponsor, with the U.S. bishops’ Office of International Justice and Peace and Duquesne University, of the African Church as Peacemaker Colloquium. This colloquium, held at Duquesne within months of the Rwanda genocide (October 2–6, 1994), gathered nine African bishops from “hot” zones across the continent to tell their peacebuilding stories. The event was an early effort by CRS and others to look systematically and collaboratively at the church’s contribution to making peace on the continent. U.S. Catholic Conference, *African Church as Peacemaker Colloquium* (Washington DC: U.S. Catholic Conference, 1995).

⁸ “Hidden gem” was a term employed by CRS President Kenneth Hackett, “Building Solidarity: From Rwanda to the Asian Tsunami,” paper presented at the joint meeting of the Seattle Friends of CRS and the Seattle World Affairs Council, Seattle, May 2005. Peter Steinfels casts a wide net over a range of U.S.-based institutions when speaking of a U.S. Catholic identity crisis. Steinfels strikingly ignores the international outreach of the church through institutions such as CRS. Though it is not recorded, CRS had an identity crisis and turned to Catholic social teaching. Peter Steinfels, *A People Adrift: The Crisis of the Roman Catholic Church in America* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2003).

⁹ CRS, “Guiding Principles”; available on the www.crs.org website.

¹⁰ CRS, “Appendix B,” “CRS Justice Strategy: An Excerpt from the CRS Strategic Plan, 1996–2001” (Baltimore, MD: CRS, 1997); CRS, “Appendix A,” “Brief History of CRS and Future Directions,” in *CRS’s Justice ‘Lenses’* (Manila: CRS, 1997); CRS, “CRS’s Justice ‘Lenses,’” working paper (Baltimore, MD: CRS, 1997).

¹¹ For additional information and materials on the Justice Lens and its implementation, see Larissa Fast, Janis Lindsteadt, and Andrea Scharf, “Applying the Justice Lens to Programming: Ideas, Examples, and Initial Lessons,” occasional paper, Program Quality and Support Department (Baltimore, MD: CRS, 1998) and Robin Gulick and Jaco Cilliers, “The CRS Justice Lens Case Studies: Reflections on Justice, Solidarity and Peacebuilding in CRS Programming” (Baltimore, MD: CRS, 2004).

¹² CRS, “Strategic Framework FY2002–2006” (Baltimore, MD: CRS, 2001), and CRS, *Building Bridges of Solidarity: An Introduction to the Dual Consistency* (Baltimore, MD: CRS, undated). Strategic objectives included “Disparate communities engage about peace”; “Create opportunities for participation in local, national and global actions for the common good”; “Overseas governance engages citizens justly”; and “Change American policies and practices that contribute to injustice overseas” (CRS, “The CRS Strategy Map” [Baltimore, MD: CRS, 2001]).

¹³ In 1996 CRS staff and partners began attending courses on peacebuilding offered by Eastern Mennonite University, particularly courses by scholar-practitioner John Paul Lederach.

¹⁴ Caritas Internationalis (CI) is an international confederation of 162 Catholic relief, development, and social services agencies working in 198 countries and territories—one of the largest humanitarian networks in the world. CRS put its efforts into developing Caritas-wide resources because many Caritas organizations were partners and doing so meant an expanded audience for the materials.

¹⁵ For an “appreciative inquiry” analysis, see Jaco Cilliers, Robin Gulick, and Meg Kinghorn, “Words Create Worlds: Articulating a Vision for Peacebuilding in Catholic Relief Services,” in *Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding: A Resource for Innovators*, ed. Cynthia Sampson et al. (Washington DC: PACT Publications, 2003).

¹⁶ CRS, “Peacebuilding Principles” (Baltimore, MD: CRS, 2001).

¹⁷ For a list of programs from 2002 to 2004, see the CRS Peacebuilding Activity list in Reina Neufeldt, “Catholic Relief Services Peacebuilding Activities” (Baltimore, MD: CRS, undated). For a general overview, see the summary of remarks by William Headley, “Catholic Relief Services,” in *Special Report* 69, ed. David R. Smock (Washington DC: United States Institute of Peace, 2001).

¹⁸ For greater detail, see CRS, Philippines, “Peace and Reconciliation Unit Monograph” (Davao: CRS, 2005); Myla J. Leguro, “Reflections on the History of the Mindanao Peace and Reconciliation Program” (Mindanao: CRS, 2006); Reina Neufeldt, Sarah McCann, and Jaco Cilliers, “Explicit and Implicit Peacebuilding: Catholic Relief Services in Mindanao, Philippines and Bosnia-Herzegovina,” in *Reflecting on Peace Practice Project* (Baltimore: CRS, 2000); Jaco Cilliers et al., “Mindanao Peace and Reconciliation Program: Evaluation Report” (Davao: CRS, 2002); Salvatore Schiavo-Campo and Mary Judd, “The Mindanao Conflict in the Philippines: Roots, Costs, and Potential Peace Dividend” (Washington DC: The World Bank, 2005).

¹⁹ Originally skeptical, the military officers who underwent MPI training found that peacebuilding skills deepened their understanding of the conflict, improved the military’s relationships with local communities, and proved the value of mediation

and dialogue in providing security. Working with MPI and other civil society groups, a number of military units now run their own peacebuilding trainings. In January 2007, when Maj. Gen. Raymundo Ferrer, one of the first officers to participate in MPI, assumed command of the Eastern Mindanao Command, he singled out MPI and CRS for helping him discover the value of peacebuilding. See Gerard Powers, "Signs of Peace," *U.S. Catholic*, June 10, 2009, citing Bobby Timonera, *MindaNews*, November 7, 2007.

²⁰ CRS Philippines, "Peace and Reconciliation Unit Monograph," 44.

²¹ CRS, "Strategic Program Plan (S.P.P.) Guidance for CRS Country Programs: Revised" (Baltimore: CRS, 2006), 12.

²² Bishop Ulama Conference, "Primer" (Iligan City, Philippines: Bishop Ulama Conference, undated), 30–31.

²³ See, for example, the story of Fr. Roberto Layson, "Christian-Muslim Dialogue in Mindanao amidst Uncertainties" (Mindanao, undated), available on the cpn.nd.edu website; and the stories of leaders in the first edition of CRS Mindanao's "Peace Lens" (2006).

²⁴ Bishop Antonio J. Ledesma, *Healing the Past, Building the Future: Soundings from Mindanao* (Manila, PH: Jesuit Communications Foundation and the Episcopal Commission for Interreligious Dialogue, 2005), 42.

²⁵ We acknowledge with gratitude our heavy reliance on the following CRS documents for this case study: CRS, "Project Profile: Creating a Culture of Peace through the Catholic Church in Burundi" (Baltimore, 2004); CRS, "Summary: Burundi Catholic Church Peace and Reconciliation Commission Retreat" (Baltimore, June 2004); CRS, "Promoting a Culture of Peace and Reconciliation in Burundi through the Catholic Church" (Baltimore, June 2004); and CRS, "End of Project Evaluation" (September 2007).

²⁶ CRS Principles of Partnership (Baltimore, MD, undated).

²⁷ There are many reasons for forming non-church partnerships. Church agencies, in a given location, may not have the interest or capacity to support projects needed by the local people. On the other hand, they could find CRS's accounting restrictions too stringent. Being "too close" to a U.S.-sponsored agency such as CRS can sometimes be problematic in itself. Scott Appleby writes that CRS has chosen a "progressive Catholic approach to mission in which ecumenical, interreligious and cross-cultural dialogue can take priority over the building up of a particular religious (Catholic) community." See *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation* (Lanham, MD: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2000), 273. This comment makes two points: (1) direct promotion of the Catholic faith, as one might see it among Catholic missionaries, is not CRS's objective; and (2) CRS is open to working with partners associated with other religious and cultural traditions as the context demands or permits.

²⁸ We acknowledge with gratitude our heavy reliance on the following CRS documents for this background section: "Project Profile: Creating a Culture of Peace through the Catholic Church in Burundi," "Summary: Burundi Catholic Church Peace and Reconciliation Commission Retreat," and "Creating a Culture of Peace and Reconciliation through the Catholic Church in Burundi."

²⁹ This section draws on Jean Baptiste Talla, "CRS Central Africa Region Peacebuilding Projects Update for the CRS Peacebuilding Technical Commission Meeting" (Johannesburg: CRS, 2007); CRS, "CRS Extractive Industries Workshop, Kribi, Cameroon" (2003); CRS, "Fuel for Change: The Newsletter of Catholic Relief Services Extractive Industries in Africa Initiative," no. 2 (2001); Ian

Gary and Terry L. Karl, "Bottom of the Barrel: Africa's Oil Boom and the Poor" (Baltimore, MD: CRS, 2003). For a review of National Revenue Management see Samuel G. Asfaha, "National Revenue Funds: Their Efficacy for Fiscal Stability and Intergenerational Equity" (Winnipeg: International Institute for Sustainable Development, 2007).

³⁰ Todd Whitmore offers a more thorough analysis in "Catholic Social Teaching: A Synthesis" (unpublished).

³¹ Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace, *Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church* (Dublin: Veritas, 2005), 85.

³² This section draws heavily on Mary DeLorey, "The Role of the Catholic Church in Colombia in Peace Initiatives: A Summary," prepared for USIP discussion, Washington DC, April 2006.

³³ For additional examples, see Mark M. Rogers, Thomas Bamat, and Julie Ideh, eds., *Pursuing Just Peace: An Overview and Case Studies for Faith-Based Peacebuilders* (Baltimore, MD: CRS, 2008).

³⁴ This section draws on Talla, "CRS Central Africa Region Peacebuilding Projects Update for the CRS Peacebuilding Technical Commission Meeting"; CRS, "CRS Extractive Industries Workshop, Kribi, Cameroon"; CRS, "Fuel for Change"; Gary and Karl, "Bottom of the Barrel." For a review of National Revenue Management, see Asfaha, "National Revenue Funds."

³⁵ For greater detail, see Ian Gary and Nikki Reisch, *Chad's Oil: Miracle or Mirage: Following the Money in Africa's Newest Petro-State* (Baltimore, MD: CRS and Bank Information Center, 2005).

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 4.

³⁷ Association of Episcopal Conferences of the Central African Region (ACERAC), "The Church and Poverty in Central Africa: The Case of Oil" (Malabo, Equatorial Guinea: ACERAC, 2002).

³⁸ Paul VI, *Populorum Progressio* (1967). For a more contemporary take, see International Jesuit Network for Development, ed., *The Development of Peoples: Challenges for Today and Tomorrow* (Dublin, Ireland: The Columba Press, 2007), which highlights two critical gaps: gender and ecological issues. It also stresses that charity is no substitute for justice and that there is great need to communicate Catholic social teaching.

³⁹ Already in 1969 Patricia Blair noted: "Indeed, on a very long-term view development may promote peaceful relations between states insofar as it includes more equitable distribution of economic benefits. But to assume that the relationship is direct is to overlook the well-known unsettling effects of modernization itself; the serious problems of maldistribution of income within most developing countries, the political effects of which may easily spill over internationally." Patricia W. Blair, "The Dimension of Poverty," *International Organization* 23, no. 3 (1969): 700.

⁴⁰ That is why in June 2007, when the Philippine government asked Fr. Elisio "Jun" Mercado to lead its negotiating team in the peace talks with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), he declined. While Fr. Mercado could have been quite effective as a negotiator, given his credibility with both the government and the MILF, he ultimately decided that accepting the government appointment would be incompatible with his role as a priest.

⁴¹ Gary and Reisch, *Chad's Oil*, 62–63.

⁴² CRS Internal Report, 2003. See also the example of the case of Togo in Rogers, Bamat, and Ideh, *Pursuing Just Peace*.

⁴³ Jay B. McDaniel, *Gandhi's Hope: Learning from World Religions as a Path to Peace* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 2005), 9.

⁴⁴ Philip Visser, Antero Silva, and Danny Perrera, "Evaluation: CRS East Timor Peacebuilding and Reconciliation Unit-Draft Report" (Dili: CRS, 2002).

⁴⁵ Robert J. Schreier, *Reconciliation: Mission and Ministry in a Changing Social Order* (Maryknoll, NY: Orbis Books, 1992), 74–79.

⁴⁶ Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*, 273.

⁴⁷ David Hollenbach, "Gaudium et Spes—Commentary and Interpretation," in *Modern Catholic Social Teaching: Commentaries and Interpretations*, ed. Kenneth Himes (Washington DC: Georgetown University Press, 2005), 271–72.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

Peacebuilding and Its Challenging Partners

Justice, Human Rights, Development, and Solidarity

TODD D. WHITMORE

Angela sits on a dust-colored mat with her left leg extended, the right bent and tucked underneath the left. Her arms, forward a bit with hands planted on the ground, together with her torso form a tripod that keeps her from tipping over. She is emaciated. Lord's Resistance Army rebels have chased her and other Lotuku out of the mountains east of Magwi, South Sudan. This should not even be her war. The LRA soldiers are mostly Acholi from Uganda ostensibly fighting the government of Uganda. But here they are.

What remains of Angela's village has situated itself next to the diocesan compound in Magwi as a makeshift settlement of perhaps fifty, perhaps seventy-five tents of silver reflective tarp draped over gathered-wood posts driven into the ground. I do not know where they got the tarps; perhaps they were leftovers from the compound of the United Nations mine-sweeping operation. When the operation departs the area, the soldiers leave extra bags of cement and pangas—hundreds of them—for the diocese. Maybe they gave the tarps, which all have the same specs, to the Lotuku. I have been here three weeks and have yet to see an NGO, so I am guessing that it must be the soldiers.

All of the roads into Magwi are horrendous. It is 2007, and South Sudan has been at war with the Khartoum government most of the last fifty years. Infrastructure is a chimera. I explain the roads to my students at the University of Notre Dame by asking them to bring to mind those thirty-second commercials that have SUVs rollicking over suspension-killing mountains and potholes and telling them to extend that to four hours. That is my trip from Nimule on the Ugandan border to Magwi, not counting the two times we got stuck and all twenty-seven people had to get out of the back of the truck and push. NGO food delivery of any magnitude would be difficult at best. The minesweeping crew came here in armored vehicles, tanks without the turrets.

I do not know where the Lotuku are getting what food they have. They have not been here long enough to garden. Some look rail-thin, but not unhealthily.