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EDITORIAL

Human Security

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ARTICLE

Legislative Theatre: Art for Community Conflict Resolution. From Desires to Laws

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Abstract

This paper argues that Legislative Theatre, as an artistic methodology for active citizenship, creates a process of collective reflection to produce solutions to community conflicts. Boal used this tool of transitive democracy to conceive legal proposals in favour of marginalised groups. Thirteen of these proposals were approved by the legal system in Brazil. The analysis of a Legislative Theatre workshop in Spain using Boal's methodology allowed the identification of some interesting elements but also the limitations of the tool. Aspects including the ideology of the audience, the scope of the legal proposals and the role of the joker are seen as important. Other conditioning elements and positive aspects are also discussed.

Keywords

theatre of the oppressed, legislative theatre, total language, transitive democracy, conflict resolution

OVERVIEW. WHAT IS LEGISLATIVE THEATRE?

Created by Augusto Boal, Legislative Theatre[1] is a branch of social theatre that brings social responsibility and political commitment to scenic arts.

Legislative Theatre can be defined as a political and artistic process of emancipation. Enriched with resources from the Theatre of the Oppressed and other techniques, it aims to develop a transitive democracy that can contribute to more active and responsible citizenship in communities.

On the basis of a real conflict, the method sheds light on a social problem that affects more than one member of the community to produce solutions, agreed at the community level, that can be presented to a legal system (municipal, regional or state) as new laws or amendments of existing ones.

> "Citizens in a democratic society should not be mere spectators of their parliaments. They should take responsibility for their life through action."

> "Transitive democracy implies dialogue, interaction and change."

> Augusto Boal, 1998, pp. 19 and 22

Boal, aware of the limitations of both direct and representative democracy, designed a democratic methodology which involves collective reflection, dialogue and transformation. He baptised it *transitive democracy*. He then transformed the Forum Theatre into a Legislative Theatre

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1   For more information see Boal et al. (2010).

adding a participatory methodology that closes the cycle from *desires*, or *wills* to *laws*.

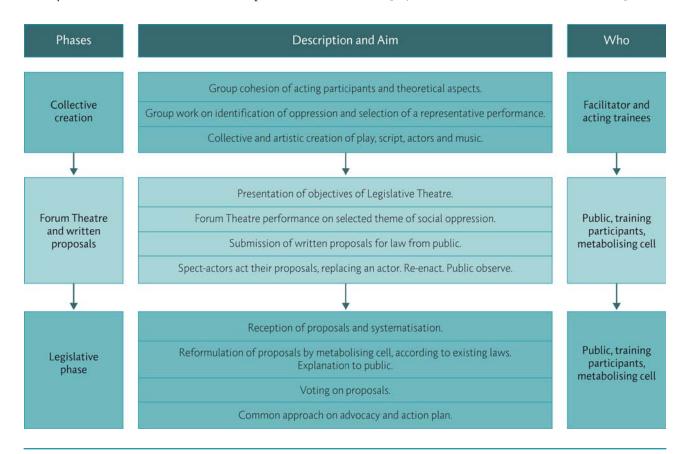## WHAT IS THE RATIONALE OF THE LEGISLATIVE THEATRE?

The Legislative Theatre methodology has three main phases: a) collective creation, b) Forum Theatre and, c) legislative phase and make up a Legislative Theatre workshop. I would call the second and third phases a Legislative Theatre session.

During these phases, certain stakeholders in the Legislative Theatre process become the main protagonists. Among them, the actors, the facilitator, the public and the legal and thematic experts, who are called the "metabolising cell". The different levels or stages of participation also imply different levels of impact.

The first phase of collective creation starts with group building activities for the actors. Confidence raising and group cohesion games are proposed so that participants interact freely and there is open space for individual and collective creation. This warming-up stage is critical for any activity related to dramatic or emotional expression. Once

the adequate mood is reached, the facilitator proposes a theme of exclusion and the actors present examples of violence related to the theme which have been experienced by them directly or indirectly.[2] One of these is then selected in a participative fashion after reviewing each of them.

Before the end of this phase, the group concentrates on the preparation of a play on the selected problem of exclusion, with the special input of the actor who proposed the case. The drama session is normally designed in three acts which describe in detail the key aspects of the problem. Imagination and symbolism are important in the dramatic creation so that the language of the art and theatre is fully used.

The second phase is called the Forum Theatre and written proposals for solutions are submitted just before the start of the performance. At this point, the public enters the theatre space and receives a blank sheet of paper with three cards, green, yellow and red, for the final voting of proposals. The facilitator initiates the session by introducing the methodology of the Forum Theatre and explaining the Legislative phase. The real story of a conflict that does not have an easy solution is then enacted with music and props. This type of theatre should be directly or indirectly linked to a conflict with an institution. At the end of the play the actual Forum Theatre session takes place.

Phases	Description and Aim		Who
Collective creation	Group cohesion of acting participants and theoretical aspects.		Facilitator and acting trainees
	Group work on identification of oppression and selection of a representative performance.		
	Collective and artistic creation of play, script, actors and music.		
Forum Theatre and written proposals	Presentation of objectives of Legislative Theatre.		Public, training participants, metabolising cell
	Forum Theatre performance on selected theme of social oppression.		
	Submission of written proposals for law from public.		
	Spect-actors act their proposals, replacing an actor. Re-enact. Public observe.		
Legislative phase	Reception of proposals and systematisation.		Public, training participants, metabolising cell
	Reformulation of proposals by metabolising cell, according to existing laws. Explanation to public.		
	Voting on proposals.		
	Common approach on advocacy and action plan.		

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2 The origin of the oppressing situation is deemed to be caused by structural violence e.g.: institutional violence, incoherence in laws, etc.

The public is then invited to decide whether it reflects a real social situation, and they can also determine how to resolve the conflict fairly. For this purpose, the spectators are allowed to intervene on stage and become *spect-actors*,[3] and can replace an actor in one of the acts. In the interaction on stage with the other actors, the public, also the spect-actor, can verify whether the new strategy makes sense or not. This process of discussion stimulates critical analysis of the conflict by the public. Immediately after the Forum, the public start elaborating their written proposals.

The third or Legislative phase commences when the aforementioned proposals are gathered by the metabolising cell. These legal specialists take time to check whether the proposals are within the current legal system. They will also summarise them into a few concrete measures which will later be explained and voted on by the public. According to Boal, as proposals have been agreed some actions should be planned to lobby politicians.

THE TOTAL LANGUAGE OF THE THEATRE

"There are so many dimensions to what happens that words are hardly able to catch it all."

Galtung, 1998, p. 81

After seeing the power and impact of the theatre and drama exercises, Motos, (2003, p. 914), introduced and developed the word *total* to define the language of theatre. Theatre understood in broad terms. On one hand, theatre as a creation and performance that is experienced by the public who can also be actors. On the other hand, theatre as drama games which are part of collective creation that participants of a workshop experience. Depending on the exposure to this total language, the impact can vary.

With regard to the components of total language, Motos describes different dimensions such as the *affective*, *cognitive*, *cultural* but also *bodily* aspects.

Firstly, nonverbal communication aspects such as proxemics, kinesics, and tones of voice or facial expressions are essential to visually recreate the affective and emotional aspects of a conflict. The affective element helps theatre to easily reach the audience which, in certain conditions, can generate cathartic, resonant or identification processes.[4]

However, the idea is not to create emotional identification with emotions purified by a healing catharsis. Boal's theatre aims to provoke a certain energy of dissatisfaction in the public. Some action of solidarity with those marginalised then becomes a need.

We should also note current discoveries in neuroscience on the role that the amygdala and the emotions play in the development of knowledge.[5] Drama given its fully fledged emotional experience emerges as a privileged tool. Firstly, as a training performance that puts into practice the *total* language of the theatre. Secondly, spect-actors transforming a reality, and, by doing so, transforming themselves.[6] Thirdly, as a form of vicarious empathetic learning that the audience experiences through different emotional channels of representation: identification of the self and the protagonist that is more powerful when they have shared values. Moreover, adding to the dramatic experience, other relation-oriented methodologies such as the psychodrama or Gestalt's hot seat, where switching roles can further enhance an empathetic emotional exchange with the antagonists and one's self. In cases of trauma, it can also help relive the experience under the right conditions so that healing starts to take place. Galtung states that "Re-living is relieving".

Secondly, bodily dimensions and movement can help generate confidence and cohesion in group work. Communication with gesture and movement can help express views and emotions without the use of words. The symbolic dimension of a conflict may create mental images which remain in the emotional memory for a long time. Again, body work and movement can allow encrypted memories a safe release, be expressed and possible wounds healed more easily.

Thirdly, a cognitive dimension may come with the public's interpretation of the events presented in the play and the subsequent search for solutions to the conflict. A strategy for change means, in fact, a scenario projection of a desired situation seeking a new equilibrium or resolution to the conflict. Equally, the dialogue at the Forum Theatre stage requires the capacity to verbalise and formulate adequate proposals.

Finally, the cultural aspects are embodied in all the previously mentioned concepts. However, it can be said that dramaturgy, props or music can be the more visual aspects of culture. Other less visible aspects can be attitudes, conflict resolution traditions, male dominance or other intricate cultural elements that increase the complexity of the conflict.

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3 Boals's public is made up of so-called spect-actors understood as an audience that can ask to step on stage and give their opinion during the forum discussion so that it is witnessed and evaluated by the public.
4 The concept of identification and resonance is useful for pedagogical, psychological and even political purposes.
5 See Rogers (1961).
6 Boal (2004, p. 95).

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WHAT ARE THE OTHER MODALITIES OF BOAL'S THEATRE?

"As in Forum Theatre the spectators become actors, in Legislative Theatre the citizens become legislators."

Boal, 1998, p. 19

As previously mentioned, Legislative Theatre has been enriched with resources of the Theatre of the Oppressed. It was in fact the last methodology developed by Boal with the all the accumulated experience of the Forum Theatre, the Rainbow of Desire, the Image Theatre and the Invisible Theatre.

The Forum Theatre was the source and the basis of the other forms or modalities of the Theatre of the Oppressed, including Legislative Theatre. It entails the dramatised performance of a situation of social oppression followed by public discussion, also allowing the spect-actor to replace an actor and show proposals of change, repeating the play. The idea is to visually check on the proposals and see whether they make sense and produce a better outcome in a real situation.

The *Rainbow of Desire* (Boal, 1998, pp. 42) is another type of Theatre of the Oppressed aimed at dealing with oppression through psycho-dramatic performance of human emotions and their images. Collective and individual construction of images help release emotions in a secure environment and establish communication without words. In a group protected from judgements, the main idea is to identify significant emotions that arise in a given inter-personal or intra-personal conflict, perform them and seek a new situation in which to relocate them and register a positive outcome in the emotional memory.

In addition to all these types of theatre, *Image Theatre* is a resource frequently used during the Theatre of the Oppressed sessions. The images, as mentioned before, have a certain transforming power. Recent studies on cognitive development show how images and emotional memory are located in the mind. Theatre then becomes a symbolic intervention when reliving a former experience that focuses on the origin of the problem. In some cases, it can continue with a search for a desired solution to a conflict.

Finally, *Invisible Theatre*, another type of Theatre of the Oppressed, is performed by actors in a public space[7] without informing the audience[8] in that space. This strategy of street acting allows the public to address and confront their daily attitudes towards issues such as stereotyping and racism.

DRAMATIC CONFLICT AND WILLS

Ancient Greek tragedy can be considered one of the first studies on conflict analysis in the western world. The standard plot structure entails a description of a conflict, showing evident but also subtle forces. The first act normally involves the introduction of the protagonist with their motivations, purposes and background. Soon after, the antagonist appears as a potential barrier that can increasingly prevent the protagonist from achieving their goals. This act normally includes the structural causes of the conflict (McManus, 1999). At the climax, the confrontation between the protagonist and the antagonist creates greater tension (*pathos*)[9] but also enigmas (hope and sadness). The play ends with an outcome that is normally unexpected. The stress among the main characters is reduced. (Aristotle, 1970, pp. 1456) leaving the public with answers but also new questions.

With some conceptual influence of Freud but also Foucault, Boal introduces the concept of will into the theatrical world (Boal, 1998, p. 60). This proves that his idea of conflict goes beyond the polarity of protagonist and antagonist. Instead, it entails a contradiction of incompatible wills. This analysis of wills also demonstrates the network of contradictory forces that a complex conflict can have.

The simplest version of will is what Boal calls the *single will*, the case of a single subject that needs a single object. If the object can be reached by the subject, there is no conflict. *Dialectical will*, however, entails two opposing single wills e.g. two individuals requiring the same object. Boal's theatre often uses this type of Manichean polarities combined with Hegel's dialectics. The search for the object means that one of the two uses violence to keep the object. This clash of wills and opposite emotions provokes pathos. Those who do not have the tools to counteract the pressure are likely to end up accepting the oppression[10] or violence as normal,[11] especially if it has a structural and cultural dimension.

Plural wills reflect the common vision in a group or community. In this case, an example could be the will of

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7 E.g. at a market, on a street, bus or similar.
8 Audience understood in this case as the consumers, pedestrians or travellers.
9 Pathos entails the emotions of fear and pity of compassion (Aristotle).
10 Oppression understood as activity from a particular group, individual or society that consciously or unconsciously tends to restrict the individual or collective freedom of certain social groups to impede the full exercise of their rights. Free translation from Portal (2009, pp. 26-27).
11 "Os oprimidos, que introjetam a 'sombra' dos opressores e seguem suas pautas, temem a libertade a medida em que esta, implicando na expulsão desta sombra, exigiria deles que 'prenchessem' o 'vazio' deixado pela expulsão com otro 'conteudo'. O de sua autonomia. O de sua responsabilidade, sem o que não seriam livres." Freire (1960, p. 18).

one group to exclude an individual from their community; a typical case of racism or xenophobia. In addition, there is the *will as an expression of a necessity and the lunar will*, a will borrowed or imposed by someone else. The lunar will can represent manipulation. In this case, the real intentions and needs are rarely expressed or accepted. By means of intrigue, orchestration or lies, the antagonist manages to manipulate the protagonist into doing something that favours him. Other wills can appear simultaneously in the same individual: the *will* and *the counter will*. We could encounter these types in situations of doubt when we may "hear" the inner voices of a "white angel" and a "dark red devil" at the same time. Finally, *fundamental will*, above all others, would be the true motivation of the individual. According to Boal, oppression, and the wills behind it, should have a hierarchical ethical order. Thus, a woman who is subject to domestic violence could simultaneously behave oppressively by exerting excessive control over her children at home. The fundamental will in this case should be considered a priority vis-à-vis the other wills.

VIOLENCE AND CONFLICT IN DRAMA

According to Galtung's triangle, one type of violence, direct violence, involves physical destructive behaviours leading to the elimination of the other (Galtung, 1998). According to Freud, all wills seek satisfaction (Boal, 2005, p. 29),[12] but not all wills are confrontational, some are collaborative. Direct violence is a confrontational approach whereby one opponent imposes an obstacle to guarantee satisfaction of their will at the expense of the other person's. Emotions such as envy can be another reason for violence hampering the protagonist's satisfaction of needs. Theatre genres such as comedy may base dramatic conflict on emotional reactions to the dissatisfaction of wills. Emotions can, therefore, play a role in increasing, reducing or diverting the tension of a conflict.

Another illustrative example of Legislative Theatre is *Custodia con partida*[13] (shared custody). With a script based on a real experience of direct violence, the play describes the limitations of laws that are supposedly designed to protect the victim of violence. In this case, the proposals that were produced during the session showed an improvement in the victim's personal security. Nevertheless, unless the fundamental wills of the different stakeholders are solved, the solution will only be temporary and the conflict likely to re-appear.

Galtung's second type of violence, structural violence, is understood as a set of structures and laws that prevent a certain group from legitimate satisfaction of their needs (or wills). *The Story of Assane*, performed at the international session on Legislative Theatre, depicts what institutional violence means. The case elaborated in detail in the following sections shows how certain laws stop specific ethnic groups from exercising their basic rights.

Assane's simple will is to attain papers for his son's trip to Senegal. His fundamental will is to present his newborn son to the family. However, the opponent's will, in this case the civil servant, is to maximise the number of obstacles and make it difficult. The civil servant's fundamental will may be to keep his job and his plural or counter will is to stop non-nationals from entering the country. Other unspoken wills may not be present such as that of the boss, or even a more symbolic will such as fear of foreigners or a sense of superiority. So in this case, we can see a combination of cultural and structural violence that makes the case more complicated to resolve.

Quoting Gandhi, Galtung (1998) reminds us that, in a given society, "If social contradictions are not extreme the best outcome will be democracy. However, if the contradictions [...] are very acute the best response would not be through politics but non-violence."

Finally, connected to Galtung's idea of cultural violence, Forum Theatre uncovers how social attitudes and images can legitimise racism or even xenophobia. The Forum Theatre play *Mustafa és al replà* (Mustafa is on the landing)[14] shows a case of a subtle aspect of violence. In Boal's terms it is the attempt of a racist's lunar will to influence the plural will of the community in order to exclude somebody. The violence is also connected to stereotypical imagery that creates symbolic exclusion, verbal violence which can, in some cases, lead to physical violence.

Perhaps inadvertently, Boal applied Galtung's ideas as he also believed that only by overcoming all forms of violence can we attain positive, sustainable peace.

BOAL IN ACTION: ORIGINS OF THE LEGISLATIVE THEATRE IN BRAZIL

The Legislative Theatre initiative was born in 1992, when Augusto Boal from the Theatre of the Oppressed Centre (CTO) in Rio de Janeiro, agreed to run in the municipal elections. A theatrical campaign was launched to gather

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12 Galtung (2008, p. 7) focuses on the fulfilment of needs.
13 Pa'tothom (2010).
14 Id.

social and political support with the help of sixty groups formed by community organisations. These organisations included schools, associations, churches, black college students, domestic workers, landless rural workers, people with physical disabilities, and young marginalised people living on the street. In 1993, Boal was elected alderman on the Municipal Council of Rio de Janeiro and he introduced the Legislative Theatre as his main methodology to conceive and propose laws in the Council.

During Boal's mandate, the action was simple: the groups organised a Forum Theatre and members of the council were invited to participate in a street performance near the Town Hall. This gave politicians the chance to interact directly with their electorate to discuss problems on, often controversial, decisions simultaneously with the Council plenary sessions. Few representatives accepted the offer, but up to five, over 10% of the total, did participate.

From 1993 to 1997, thirteen municipal bylaws were approved in the Council.[15] Other proposals were rejected by other major parties who voted against them. Although Boal left the council in 1997, but the theatre was continued and the council managed to enact the first municipal law on the Protection of Witnesses Crimes through a Legislative Theatre process.

In 1998, the Theatre of the Oppressed Centre obtained support from the Ford Foundation, which allowed them to open seven new groups on specific social issues, from adolescent pregnancy and AIDS prevention to domestic workers' rights. In 2001, there was another success: The community of Rio TF Corpo Incense approved the first national law on the public responsibility to provide volunteer staff to prepare ex-offenders without resources for university access.

According to Boal (1998), this topic only came to the notice of the public because of the symbolic pressure that the Legislative Theatre groups attained. In 2004, another state law was passed in west Rio on the obligation to sell condoms in hotels, motels and similar premises. Another law was passed on aspects of the state creation of new health centres. With expansion in eighteen states and the support of a member of parliament, up to 100 bills were presented. All of these underwent the Legislative Theatre procedure. However, as no concrete results were seen, they searched for alternative solutions in the law using the participative Legislation Committee (PLC). This is another official body that allows legally registered institutions to submit proposals to Parliament without support from deputies. Through this new approach, it was possible to pass three bills.

WORKSHOP IN BARCELONA: THE STORY OF ASSANE[16]

The Brazilian Experience was tested during the sessions of the Sixth International Meeting of Theatre and Education held in Barcelona in November 2010 at the Pa'tothom School of Theatre of the Oppressed.

One of the thematic sessions of the meeting was on racism. As usual, it started with the collective creation of a play with a group of Legislative Theatre trainees. The first activities before the conception process and selection of the play were a full warming-up session, with exercises that were gradually more interactive. Each of the participants presented a case of personal ethnic discrimination and the group selected the most representative for the Legislative Theatre. Finally, it was decided to act out the personal experience presented by Assane, president of the association Llano Acoge in Granada.

The play explores Assane's problems with immigration officials after living in Andalusia for fifteen years. Assane's wife gives birth and the couple wants to introduce the child to relatives in Senegal. That is when the nightmare starts. As they are not Spanish nationals, their child is not entitled to Spanish citizenship and cannot leave the country. Nor, paradoxically, would the baby be given Senegalese nationality as he was born in Spain.

The script was divided into three simple acts, each lasting no more than ten minutes. The first act shows the arrival of the Senegalese couple in Spain and the birth of their first child; a time of hope and love. In the second act, Assane encounters the first administrative obstacles when he requests the travel documents for his child. Helpless, Assane thinks that the officials are not doing their job although they are very courteous. In the third act, he returns home and announces to his wife that he has been unable to register the child and, therefore, they cannot present him to the family.[17] The play ends with the wife in tears holding the child, with sadness and frustration.

After the play, the Forum session took place with some discussion but also with spect-actors going up on stage to act out the role of Assane. The different strategies tested by the spect-actors did not bear much fruit. It only added to Assane's surprise and frustration to observe that Senegalese *teranga*[18] was definitely not a quality of the Spanish Immigration Authorities. At a certain moment, it became apparent that there was a structural deadlock that could not be solved by changing the actor's attitude. It could only be solved by changing the laws.

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15 Schechner et al. (1998, p. 78) and Boal (1998, pp.102-104).

16 For more information see Salvador (2011b).

17 The full story was longer. In fact, Assane did travel to Senegal, but the child was stopped at customs. As an act of protest and also being under pressure, Assane finally ended up leaving the child with Spanish customs officials and went to Senegal. Assane's story was a major news item not only in Spain but also in Senegal.

18 *Teranga* (hospitality) is considered one of the main values of Senegal: "La devise nationale du Sénégal".

The public was then given time to note down law proposals to be collected by the team of immigration experts from the NGO SOS Racisme,[19] the metabolising cell.[20] After revising the proposals, they concluded that, to solve Assane's case, the Spanish Civil Code regulating the rights of citizenship should be improved or modified. Article 17 c[21] was, in fact, not being applied by the civil servants. Assane's son was left stateless for eight years.

Modifications to the Spanish Civil Code would require advocacy at state level: a Parliament decision. The theatre session concluded with a declaration in favour of Assane's case. After the meeting, a question was asked as to whether awareness had been sufficiently raised to promote the development of a new movement.

WERE THE PURPOSES OF THE WORKSHOP REACHED?

The workshop's main goals were the completion of a Training of Trainers (ToT) session, the preparation of play with a Forum and a Legislative session. The assessment of the trainer's performance is normally considered important. Limited resources often do not allow to assess the participants' performance and other less visible aspects.

Boal's concept of spect-actor and transitive democracy implies different and innovative approaches of assessment as the public no longer has a passive role and they cannot be seen solely as an independent variable.

The participatory ToT evaluation of the meeting recorded some open satisfaction among the participants about the whole training process. However, more space for actors' initiative was requested for future sessions. Additionally, during the Forum session, the joker's role, which had encountered various difficulties, was solved by improvising a replacement in the middle of the session.

There were other remarks on the voting methodology applied in a Legislative Theatre session. Hand-raising did not safeguard the secrecy of the vote. This may have dissuaded people from giving more personal opinions against the majority feeling. This can create a dilemma on the extent to which the transitive democratic process should emphasise discussion of opposite views, or whether the main focus should be on the side of the oppressed, as Boal and Freire defend.

The methodology seems best suited to communities that already have some previous common values. When the public have mixed views and ideologies, the tool may be less efficient. In this situation, it could be interesting but it is unclear whether there would be sufficient time for discussion to reach agreements in a Legislative Theatre session.

An analysis of groups may be useful to ascertain the role that each group has played throughout the process. The groups in a Theatre Session can be organisers, jokers, protagonist, antagonist, public, speaking public, acting public, remaining audience, metabolising cell, press and community associations. Each may have had a moment of leadership during the session and a possibly relevant impact.

ELEMENTS OF LEGISLATIVE THEATRE STILL TO BE ASSESSED

The qualitative research undertaken[22] and other analyses have proved that there can still be some unanswered questions which should be assessed in future studies. Issues for particular analysis could include:

a) In the Collective creation and the Forum Session, the nature of the community groups and stakeholders involved in the Legislative Theatre process could be analysed in more detail (public, associations, actors, organising structures, jokers, etc.).
b) Whether the process allows the free expression of thoughts and the degree of impartiality of the organising team (the joker, metabolising cell, organising team, and the actors) during the Forum and Legislative session.
c) Check the public reactions and understanding of the problems portrayed.
d) Evaluate the readiness of people to change habits or mobilise as a result of the presented conflict.

Other questions are:

e) What form of awareness can Legislative Theatre actually raise?
f) To what extent can a play develop social consciousness?
g) What are the conditions that could help trigger "insights"?

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19 Mar Carrera and Angel Panyella from the NGO SOS Racisme made up the metabolising cell that assisted the voting process and the explanation of the existing laws.
20 According to Boal (1998, p. 93) the role of the metabolising cell is to "separate the wheat from the chaff". In other words, to select proposals that could become law within the existing legal framework.
21 Article 17 c of Spanish Civil Code establishes that Spaniards are those born in Spain to foreign parents when neither parent has a nationality or if the legislation of their country (in this case Senegalese) does not grant citizenship to their children born in Spain. Royal Decree, 24 July 1889, modified by single article, Law 18/1990, 17 December (RCL 1990, 2598).
22 Some of the conclusions of this article have been extracted from qualitative research on a Legislative Theatre workshop undertaken by the author in 2010. For more information, see Salvador (2011b).

h) What is the connection between the script and performance in relation to the success of the play?
i) Are there cultural elements that should be modified according to a country or continent?

Political and economic elements to analyse the implications of the laws could be:

j) Who pays for the costs of the new law (state, businesses, people)?
k) Who benefits from the current situation and who would benefit from the changes?
l) Nature of the laws and further parallel changes required.
m) What are the alliances and what is the opposition to the proposals?
n) Type of connection of the Legislative Theatre groups to parliamentarians: whether a minister should be linked or not.
o) To what extent can the proposed law change the conflict situation and which non-legal aspects should be in place?

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Analysis of a social theatre tool can be undertaken from different perspectives. One is a theoretical approach that takes into account the purposes of Boal. Another evaluates the performance and the methodology crosschecking its pros and cons.

Legislative Theatre has evolved from the Forum Theatre, the basic tool of Boal's Theatre. While Forum Theatre's main goal is to help raise consciousness, confronting and testing ideas on stage, Legislative Theatre's target is to draft laws and ensure they are voted on. The Forum phase implies the creation of a play that gives an audio-visual image of a conflict that otherwise might not be visible.

Theatrical and social drama approaches can be useful for different purposes with regard to transforming situations of conflict. Firstly as a relational diagnosis of the conflict, the play and the Forum discussion helps understand the problem showing, visually, the contradictory wills. Secondly, the whole process as a means of raising consciousness, from the first phase of the creation of the play to the final legislative phase, implies an effort of collective empathy. Thirdly, as a means to reduce stereotypes, the aim is to confront socially accepted beliefs that may be false. For this, theatre can include elements of irony or humour that facilitate smooth and spontaneous learning, and even self-criticism. Additionally, with the assistance of the metabolising cell and the public's comments it favours an exercise of collective public intelligence. Finally, drafting laws requires a great effort of synthesis and a great sense of reality. The process is designed to facilitate full understanding so that the decision can be more easily taken.

Coming back to Boal's experience, the success in Brazil has set the standard very high. Boal's charismatic leadership coupled with his elected position in the council has brought formerly unexplored dimensions, obtaining tangible results in terms of laws, to the theatre. Legislative Theatre in Europe may have a long way to go before it reaches the levels of Brazil. The workshop in Barcelona was proof of the limitations of one session when it comes to mobilising groups with different ideologies or levels of conscience.

However, the existence of a critical mass of participating public can definitely help improve the results of this process. A similar unifying conscience, or sharing the ideology of an association that deals with similar problems, are also elements that facilitate the process. In connection to this, the social and political conditions in a country or region, such as an economic or financial crisis, can contribute to the development of these elements.

Other non-tangible outcomes that can be reached in the Forum phase relate to the attitudes of the participants and their perception of reality; what is also referred to as stereotyping.

Finally, it can be concluded that lines of research based on phenomenological or qualitative approaches are critical for improved data collection on the multidimensional impact of the theatre and its "total" language.
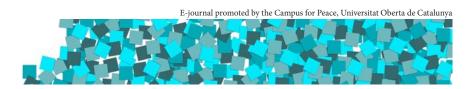
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ARTICLE

A Game-theoretic Hypothesis on the Relations between Victim States and Terrorist Organizations Based on the Eminue-Ufomba Model

Robert O. Dode
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Abstract

This article extends the Eminue-Ufomba model of terrorist target selection in two dimensions. The original model restricts itself to the rationality of a terrorist organization in its target selection in relation to the victim state's national power. This article goes beyond this by incorporating into the model the novel concepts of endurance capacity and power forgone. Using a game-theoretic approach, this article makes an assumptive analysis of the behavior of a victim state following a terrorist demand and the actual use of threat.

Keywords

endurance capacity, power forgone, political capacity, economic capacity, demography, terrorist target selection, national power

INTRODUCTION

Terrorism refers to the recurrent use, or threat to use, politically motivated and clandestinely organized violence, by a group whose aim is to affect one or more psychological targets in order to make them behave in a way which the terrorist desires (Drake, 1998). Generally, the empirical study of terrorism is only a relatively new subject in social science literature. More recently, the aspect of the rationality in terrorist target selection has continued to draw attention among scholars. For example, Drake (1998) posits that ideology plays a crucial role in terrorists' target selection by supplying terrorists with an initial motive for action and provides a prism through which they view events and the actions of other people. Drake argues that ideology is a crucial factor since it provides the initial dynamic by setting out the moral framework within which they op-

erate, hence, justifying their actions. Bueno de Mesquita (2005a, 2005b), Lake (2002) Lapan and Sandler (1988), McCormick (2003) and Overgaard (1994) have examined the dynamics of terrorist decision-making processes as they interact with the state, while De la Calle and Sanchez-Cuenca (2007) uncovered the role of resource limitation and ideology of supporters in the shaping of terrorist activities (including target selection). Other studies explained the relationship between time and terrorist techniques of attack (Berman and Lantin, 2005; Bloom, 2005; Kydd and Walter, 2002; and Pape, 2003, 2005) and the linkages between state defense and pre-emptive policy and terrorist behavior, including target selection (Bandyopadhyay and Sandler, 2011; Bernulandt and Polborn, 2010; Endlers and Sandler, 1993; Brandt and Sandler, 2010; Sandler, 2004; Sandler and Cauley, 1990). According to De Figueiredo and Weingast (2001) terrorist organizations

may select targets that provoke the state in order to create dynamics of action-repression. Such dynamics do not only provide the need to attack, but also the moral justification for such an attack (and of future attacks).

Nemeth (2010) theorized that terrorist organizations lack "bargaining interactions" with targeted governments for public support. A government needs the assent of the public to govern while terrorist organizations need public support for their existence, and this is reflected in their choice of target. Hence, Nemeth concludes that government attributes, public support and presence of competing terrorist organizations are re-occurring factors that influence terrorist organizations' violent interaction with the victim state. Going a little further, Mathews and Loweberg (2012), using a game-theoretic approach, established the linkage between terrorist target selection and the allocation of a victim state's security resources. The logic of this observation is that terrorist organizations are expected to behave rationally, and are more likely to select targets that are less defended by the state's security apparatus. (See also, Berhandt and Polborn, 2010; Power, 2007; Brandt and Sandler, 2010; Sandler and Lapan, 1988).

The literature on terrorist target selection is gradually becoming extensive. Studies on the subject have uncovered the rationality in terrorists' choice of target, and the factor(s) that shape the response of the victim state in the face of such threats or attacks (for example see: Cronin, 2009; Jones and Libicki, 2008; Eminue and Ufomba, 2011). This study will contribute to the literature by situating itself within the following theoretical problem: at what point is a victim state likely to concede to terrorists' demands on an issue it initially resisted after being attacked, and why?

Using a game-theoretic approach this article will analyze the interaction between a terrorist organization and a victim state; from the terrorist organization making its demand to an assumptive expectation of the victim state's behavior after an attack has been carried out. To achieve this, the article builds on the Eminue-Ufomba model, incorporating the novel concepts of *endurance capacity and power forgone*. As such, it is imperative to first explore the Eminue-Ufomba model, including the core assumptions that shape it.

THEORETICAL FOUNDATION AND CORE ASSUMPTION OF THE EMINUE-UFOMBA MODEL

The Eminue-Ufomba model was developed using the framework of the power transition theory (PT). Specifically, the fundamental tenet of PT is that the position of states in the power hierarchy of the international system is a function of their core components of national power:

political capacity, economic capacity and demography. As these components grow or diminish in a state in relation to other states in the power hierarchy of the international system, a state's position in the hierarchy alters. The status of a state improves when its relative national power increases, or worsens when it decreases. This theorization, first proposed by Organski (1958) and extended into a more generalized power parity perspective by Kugler and Lemke (1996) and Tammen et al. (2000), has been extended in different directions to analyze virtually all known re-occurring issues in international and domestic politics. This theory stands out as one of the most robust theoretical and empirical explanations of war and peace (Abdollahian and Kang, 2008; Tammen, 2008). Its tenet has been applied in three fields: 1) understanding intra-state conflict management (Arbetman-Rabinowitz and Johnson, 2008), explaining conflict at different levels of analysis, such as between nation-states, regions and even sub-national units (Lemke, 2002; Abdollahian and Kang, 2008); 2) development of an integrated formal deterrence structure using a game-theoretic approach; 3) to simulate the structural conditions that lead to inter-state conflict and co-operation using a system of non-linear differential equations (Abdollahian, 1996). It has equally been adopted by Alsharabati (1997) and Lemke (2002), respectively, to develop a dynamic game-theoretic representation and a multiple hierarchy model (MHM), which explains regional conflicts, among others.

The success of PT in explaining socio-political and economic phenomena was replicated by Eminue and Ufomba (2011) in a model of terrorist target selection. This model is built on four assumptions. The core theorization is that all other things being equal, for "a terrorist organization to achieve its objective(s) of forcing a nation to make concession(s) (to its demand), it makes target selection that has a direct or, at least an indirect impact on the national power of the attacked nation" (Eminue and Ufomba, 2011, p. 378). It went further to posit that:

"Considering that terrorist organization(s) have fewer legal, material and human resources compared to states, they optimize their resources when selecting critical targets of states - i.e. the PT components of national power […] the resources available to the terrorist organization are limited and in pursuance of its aim to compel government to comply, it will select its target(s) in such ways as to optimize their limited resources, their attacks are likely to be made against critical targets that will compel the victim nation to make concession and act in accordance to their demand(s)" (Eminue and Ufomba, 2011, pp. 378- 379).

This was represented in a mathematical formula as:

$$\int = \mathfrak{z} \le (\gamma\ [\alpha\theta,\ \alpha\beta,\ \alpha\lambda])\ \int\Psi\pi \dots\dots\dots\dots 1$$

Where:

$\int$ = selected target
$\mathfrak{z}$ = resource optimization by the terrorist group
α = the relative impact on components of national power
θ = political capacity
β = economic capacity
λ = demography
$\int \Psi\pi$ = the degree of publicity and public opinion (Ψ) on attack $\int$ as a result of the demand on issue π.

Given that terrorist organizations have limited resources, the model assumes that they are likely to select targets(s) rationally, so that the impact on the victim state's components of national power will be higher than the cost of the resources used in carrying out the attack.

Unfortunately, this model is limited to target selection and does not explain the victim state's rational behavior in the face of such a threat or attack. We shall extend this model by incorporating into it the dual concepts of endurance capacity and power forgone, which we assume are crucial factors that shape the post-attack choice and behavior of victim states.

CLARIFICATION OF CONCEPTS: ENDURANCE CAPACITY AND POWER FORGONE

Power forgone (PF) refers to the amount of national power a state is willing to lose at a particular time as a result of a terrorist threat or attack (TA) in the process of resisting terrorist demands. When a terrorist organization (TO) makes a demand and carries out an attack on the components of national power (NP) of a victim state, it is assumed that the state loses some degree of its national power, which is PF. The point at which a victim state is no longer able or willing to make more sacrifices on a particular demand or set of demands is its endurance capacity (EC). We assume that PF has a direct proportional relationship with EC. When there is an increase in PF there is also an increase in EC, while NP decreases. Since EC is the breaking point of a victim state's resistance to a TO's demand, we incorporate it in our adjustment of the Eminue-Ufomba model to depict its choice and likely behavior in the face of a TO carrying out an attack.

THE INTERACTIONS BETWEEN VICTIM STATES AND TERRORIST ORGANIZATIONS

Here, we build a game on the interaction between a TO making a demand and a victim state. This game is in three inter-related stages. In stage 1, a TO is either satisfied or dissatisfied with the policy of the victim state (i.e. with the status quo).

If the TO is satisfied, the status quo can be maintained. However, if the TO is dissatisfied, it makes demands on the victim state (VS) using threats. In the face of a threat, the victim state has two choices, to concede or to resist. If the state makes concessions (point 1) to the TO, the latter is automatically satisfied having achieved its aim, and the status quo is altered.[1] If the victim state declines (point 2), the game is extended to the second stage, where the TO is faced with the choice of either making good its threat or not considering that the state, if left alone, will not give in to its demand. In stage 2, with the state resisting the demands of the TO, the terrorists are faced with two choices; to make good their threat by attacking or to abstain from such an action. At this stage, considering the limited resources of the TO, it is expected, on the basis of the theorization of the Eminue-Ufomba model, that a TO will optimize its resources ($\mathfrak{z}$) in such a way that it will only attack a target in the scenario in which its relative impact on the component of the national power of the victim state will be higher than the resources used to carry out such an attack. Hence, if the condition is in line with node 1, where $\int = \mathfrak{z} \leq (\gamma\ [\alpha\theta, \alpha\beta, \alpha\lambda])\ \int\Psi\pi$, the TO is more likely to attack. But if the prevailing condition is in line with node 2 where $\int = \mathfrak{z} \geq (\gamma\ [\alpha\theta, \alpha\beta, \alpha\lambda])\ \int\Psi\pi$, the TO is likely not to make good its threat. The logic behind this assumption is that if the impact of an attack on the victim state's NP is lower than the resources used to call out the attack, a TO is likely to become inefficient or dormant in the long run, considering its limited resources. The linkage between cost-and-benefit and a TO choice will be studied extensively in further research.

If a TO attacks, the outcome (whether the victim state will concede or not) is determined by the victim state's EC. Hence, in the second stage of the game we adjusted the Eminue-Ufumba model by incorporating EC into it. If the impact of the targeted attack on the components of the national power of the victim state is lower than the EC, as the condition is in node 3, there is a likelihood that the victim state will maintain its resistance to the TO's demand,

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1 Status quo here refers to the original position of state before its interaction with the TO. This position can be policy or actions.

and the status quo will be maintained. We represent this mathematically as:

$$\Omega = (\gamma\ [\alpha\theta,\ \alpha\beta,\ \alpha\lambda])\ PF < EC \ \dots\dots\dots\dots\ 3$$

Where:

Ω = the tendency of a victim state to not concede to terrorist demands as a result of attack on $\int$
A = the relative impact on components of national power
θ = political capacity
β = economic capacity
λ = demography
PF = power forgone
EC = endurance capacity of the victim

But if the impact is higher than EC as the condition is in node 4 there is tendency that the victim state may concede to a TO's demand. In that case, the TO is satisfied while the status quo is altered. Based on this condition we adjust our model to:

$$\partial = (\gamma\ [\alpha\theta,\ \alpha\beta,\ \alpha\lambda])\ PF > EC \ \dots\dots\dots\dots\ 4$$

∂ = The tendency of a victim state to concede to terrorist demands as a result of attack on $\int$
A = the relative impact on components of national power
θ = political capacity
β = economic capacity
λ = demography
PF = power forgone
EC = endurance capacity of the victim

States are naturally unwilling to make concessions to terrorist demands as a result of threat(s). In fact, previous studies have discovered that victim states usually maintain their non-cooperating stance even after suffering one or a series of attacks from a TO (for example, see: Cronin, 2009; Jones and Libicki, 2008). Accordingly, we can assume that the resistance ability of a victim state depends on three core factors:

1) The degree of impact inflicted by the attack(s) on its core component of national power.
2) The degree of damage on national power a state is willing to endure in its resistance to terrorist threat(s) and actual violence due to a particular issue - power forgone.
3) The limit to which the state is capable of enduring damage(s) to its national power in its effort to resist terrorist demand(s).

These assumptions lay the conceptual foundation for future studies on the subject matter and should facilitate future exploration of the study of terrorism.

CONCLUSION

Using a game-theoretic approach, this article presents the stages of a TO's interaction with the victim state, making assumptions on the factors that shape the choices it makes, why these are made, and their outcome. To achieve this, firstly, we used the Eminue-Ufomba model to show the rational expectation in a TO's choices if its demand is resisted by the victim state. At this point, if the cost of the resources used by the TO to carry out an attack is higher than its relative impact on the core components of the victim state, then our expectation is that the TO is likely not to attack. But, if the cost is lower, it is expected that the TO would make good its threat. If the TO attacks, the victim state has the choice to either resist the TO´s demand or to concede. Here, we built on the Eminue-Ufomba model by incorporating the concept of a state's endurance capacity (EC). We assume that, if the TO chooses to attack and the relative impact on the components of national power of the victim state is higher than the state's EC, then the state is likely to concede to the TO's demand. However, if it is lower, the state will have a tendency to maintain its resistance to the TO´s demand. The assumptions made here lay the foundation for future studies on the subject matter and will provide future exploration of the study of terrorism with a conceptual foundation.
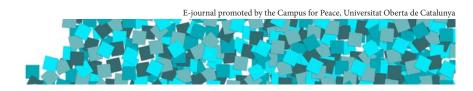
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ARTICLE

Peace versus Justice: A False Dichotomy? Mapping Tensions and Complementarities between Conflict Resolution and Human Rights Advocacy in Afghanistan

Katharina Merkel

Abstract

In the aftermath of a conflict, peace and justice are often seen to be in direct tension. Demands for justice and legal accountability can be an obstacle to peace, since peace accords may involve compromises with war criminals and human rights perpetrators. The peace versus justice debate therefore translates into a conceptual struggle between conflict resolution and human rights advocacy. In Afghanistan, peace and conflict are often seen as inherently conflicting. Justice, it is often argued, must wait until security has been established. Rather than punishing the perpetrators of past war crimes, the Karzai government has accommodated some of the most notorious warlords, by appointing them to some government positions. While it was long thought that this would have a stabilizing effect, this paper argues that the policy of relying on Afghanistan's warlords-cum-politicians has failed to bring lasting security, peace and stability to the country. This paper presents a brief foray into the field of peace and transitional justice in a fragmented 21st century Afghanistan.

PREFACE

History has shown that human beings have a strong desire to categorize everything. People tend to see things in extremes, good or bad, success or failure, or black and white, a cognitive behavior from which the term "black and white thinking" has evolved. When former US President Bush warned that you are "either with us or with the terrorists", he delivered one of the best examples of black and white thinking – or of a false dichotomy. His statement does not withstand scrutiny, it is inherently flawed. As a matter of fact, there are many other choices available; one can be neither with the Bush administration nor with the terrorists, yet the false dichotomy extinguishes all other opportunities. A false dichotomy is a simplifier and those who fall to its claim will fail to consider a wide range of options and will not be able to see the various nuances of the color gray.

THE PEACE VERSUS JUSTICE DEBATE

"Peace versus justice" is an age-old conceptual struggle, based on the proposition of looking at people from the perspective of security, peace and stability, or looking at people from the perspective of human rights, justice and accountability. In the context of post-conflict peacebuilding, the debate mainly refers to the dilemma of transitional justice and has largely translated into a heated discussion about protecting the perpetrators or protecting victims. While in peace times, peace and justice are mutually reinforcing, their relationship is ambiguous and complex in the aftermath of a conflict. Demands for justice and legal accountability can be an obstacle to peace, since peace accords may involve compromises with serious human rights

perpetrators and war criminals. Human rights concerns therefore play a complex role and have a complicated relationship to both peace negotiations and peacebuilding processes (Sriram et al., 2010). This relationship may involve a clash between accountability and impunity, between the re-assertion of extant power relations and the creation of new power configurations, and many similar contradictions (Zartman et al., 2005). The dilemma of peace versus justice is clearly a genuine one, and at the crux of the debate we find the question of how we can obtain both simultaneously and, if not, which goal should be prioritized. In (post-) conflict situations an over-emphasis on human rights concerns is often challenged as partisan or idealistic (Bell, 2003). The realist school argues that pragmatic peace requires compromise, also on human rights, and that the search for "perfect peace" might threaten more viable solutions. While trying to achieve a negotiated peace accord with minimum loss of life, conflict resolvers may therefore fail to give sufficient weight to the human rights component of a peace agreement, whereas human rights advocates might be ill-equipped to understand the pressure to bring about an immediate end to loss of life when negotiating peace (Bell, 2003). Based on different underlying assumptions, human rights advocates and conflict resolvers may prioritize different and at times competing goals. "While human rights advocates prioritize accountability, public reckoning, national human rights institutions, and the needs of victims, and will be wary of any outcome that involves negotiation with or amnesty for human rights abuses, conflict resolvers prioritize reaching the settlement that can bring an end to violent conflict and will be prepared to negotiate with and even consider amnesty for human rights abusers. They may thus be willing to sacrifice some human rights concerns" (Sriram et al., 2010). According to Barbara Frey, former executive director of the Minnesota Advocates for Human Rights, "human rights people and conflict resolution people do not speak the same language. They come from different backgrounds and there is a lot of suspicion between them. Human rights people are judgemental and tend to come from a legal background, whereas conflict resolution people are more interested in stopping hot conflict and are willing to rub hands with bad actors" (Lutz et al, 2003).

However, human rights advocacy and conflict resolution can also be perceived as interdisciplinary perspectives with as many commonalities as controversies. Bell (2003), for instance, points out that the UN charter itself opens with the objective of avoiding war and then immediately references the concept of human rights. This fact underlines the unspoken hypothesis that human rights and peace are inexorably linked. "With peace agreements being aimed at reducing violent conflict in one sense, the entirety of the agreement is concerned with human rights through ending the violence which took life and injured limb, and which went hand in hand with a panoply of human rights abuses" (Bell, 2003). Both conflict resolution and human rights advocacy seek to reduce human suffering. In the short-run, both try to prevent the recurrence of violence (Lutz et al., 2003.). "Conflict resolvers are concerned with creating a sustainable, long-term peace and with reducing the risk of return to conflict. They thus have an interest in the rule of law, democratic governance, and ultimately also human rights protection" (Sriram et al., 2010). Human rights advocacy can also make an important practical contribution to conflict resolution. Some scholars for instance highlight that the punishment of perpetrators serves the "societal goals of re-enforcing acceptable norms, removing potential threats to a new regime and deterring future abuses" (Fletcher et al., 2002). They also suggest that people will only moderate their actions if they believe they are held accountable for their violations. The protection of human rights may thus be an important component of rule of law strategies, which is undoubtedly essential for restoring peace (Bell, 2003).

AFGHANISTAN: NEITHER PEACE NOR JUSTICE

In the eastern outskirts of Kabul, there is evidence of the gruesome fate met by thousands of Afghans during the decades of conflict. In 1992, just after President Najibullah handed over power to the transitional government, mass graves were discovered around the notorious Pul-e-Charkhi prison. In the midst of the civil war however, these graves were simply closed again. Without a state structure in place, no investigation could be undertaken or justice sought. Throughout Afghanistan, discoveries of mass graves have continued ever since. Thousands of civilians became victims of mass executions, disappearances, lootings, torture, mass rape, indiscriminate detentions and other gross human rights violations. While the end of the civil war closed the most tragic chapter of Afghan history, the horrors of the past are still existent and there is a strong desire among the Afghan population to deal not only with future oriented questions but also with the difficult legacy of the past. However, since the Bonn Peace Accord was signed in Petersberg, in 2001, little has been done to address the contentious question of transitional justice. One of the few steps taken was that the Bonn agreement provided for the establishment of an Afghan Independent Human Rights Commission (Nadery, 2007). The Human Rights Commission was established in June 2002 with a mandate to record past human rights abuses and to propose a national strategy for transitional justice (Nadery, 2005). In 2004, the commission engaged in a first effort to systematically record the views of ordinary Afghans on issues related to justice, human rights and security. The report "A Call

for Justice" is the outcome of such consultation and is, so to speak, an interesting piece of evidence in the debate on transitional justice in Afghanistan. What is absolutely clear in the report is how important justice is to the ordinary Afghans. Contrary to the beliefs of many policymakers, an overwhelming 79.1% of the Afghan population felt that by bringing war criminals to justice, security would be substantially improved.

> "It is a fact that by putting the criminals on trial peace and stability will be established." – A woman from Kandahar.

> "Justice is very important, but security and justice are inter-related." – A woman from Laghman.

> "Fundamental and positive change will come to the country when criminals are put on trial." – A man from Bamiyan.

One year after the study was released, the Afghan government drafted "the Action Plan for Peace, Reconciliation and Justice". The draft also committed to removing human rights violators from official positions (AIHCR, 2005). However, little has been done to live up to these commitments. Quite the reverse, the 2007 attempt of some parliamentarians to grant themselves immunity through a controversial amnesty bill once more underlined Kabul's unwillingness to confront impunity and warlord structures (Mojumdar, 2010). The "Charter for Compromise and National Reconciliation" proposed legal immunity from prosecution to all opponents who lay down their arms and join in a process of national reconciliation. The draft law further prescribed that all Human Rights Watch reporting should be rejected. HRW's press release on the launch of the national reconciliation strategy became a controversy as the report, quiet correctly, portrayed the resolution as an attempt by war crime suspects in the parliament to grant themselves immunity. Human Rights Watch further recommended that the Afghan authorities should hold accountable a number of parliamentarians accused of major human rights abuses. However, the legislators behind the amnesty bill simply declared Human Rights Watch's reports to be based on "malicious intentions" (Semple, 2009). Fortunately – a subtle sign of hope for the young democracy – the attempt by many of the country's top warlords-cum-politicians to escape accountability provoked an outcry, not only among civil-society leaders but also among Afghanistan's highest body of Islamic clerics who argued that, "under Shari law, the perpetrators of war crimes can only gain forgiveness from the victims and not from parliament" (Price, 2007). Following the controversy over the bill, several passages were re-drafted. The draft now allows victims to seek justice and to bring cases against those al-

leged to have committed war crimes but it still prevents the state from prosecuting perpetrators of war crimes in the absence of an active "complaint" by a victim (Semple, 2009). However, the lack of security and rule of law make it almost impossible for individuals to pursue criminal cases against powerful warlords (Mojumdar, 2010). As a consequence, most crimes have been left unchecked. Rather than sending a strong signal those human rights abuses would no longer be tolerated, the Karzai government assigned various well-known war criminals to a series of key government positions. Unsurprisingly, Karzai's inauguration ceremony for his second term in office was marred by controversy, in light of the fraud-marred polls which preceded the swearing in and also in light of some of the political deals that were made in order to bolster Karzai's position. In a compelling speech, Karzai expressed his commitment to strengthen the security sector and to ensure lasting stability. His inaugural speech further went on to address the protection of human rights and his commitment to end Afghanistan's "culture of impunity" (Karzai, 2009). After the speech, Karzai went on to swear in his First Vice President, Muhammad Qasim Fahim, formerly known as "Marshall Fahim". The running-mate of Karzai, a controversial former warlord, had previously served as defense minister and vice president during the interim and during the 2004 administration. Brad Adams, director of the Asia Division of Human Rights Watch, considers Fahim to be, "one of the most notorious warlords in the country with blood of many Afghans on his hands from the civil war" (Reuters, 2009). Fahim is only one of the controversial figures representing the Islamic nation, other examples abound. Most prominent in the group of accused warlords-cum-politicians are Mohammad Qasim Fahim, Abdul Rabb al Rasul Sayyaf, Burhanuddin Rabbani, Ismail Khan, Abdul Rashid Dostum, and Karim Khalili (HRW, 2005).

> "Today, the same war criminals are ruling the people and have the affairs of the state in their hands." – A man from Zarbul.

> "The faces of the perpetrators of those crimes are known to everyone. They are still in power." – A man from Kandahar.

Failure to provide justice has not only eroded the legitimacy of the Afghan government but also continues to remain a major obstacle to establishing the rule of law. "Powerful individuals are increasingly able to flout the law because of their weapons, their family connections, or their money. It is safe to say that in all of the most important areas of law enforcement in Afghanistan – from corruption to narcotics trafficking, land grabbing, and a host of violent crimes – almost no powerful leader has

ultimately been brought to justice" (Worden, 2009). Ordinary Afghans are being harassed by local strongmen on a daily basis and it is impossible for them to know who they could turn to for help. In some parts of the country the Taliban is still running court trials today. These trials are often trusted more than the formal justice system, which is mostly viewed as corrupt, expensive and elitist. People may turn to the insurgents due to state failures to protect them from atrocities. While the accommodation of warlords was supposed to have a moderating and stabilizing effect, the developments since the Bonn agreement raise some fundamental questions. Can stability be achieved without achieving the monopoly on violence? What does the future of a nation look like if former war criminals hold key positions in the government? Can a democracy be based on the pillars of warlordism and government corruption?

CONCLUSION

While doing research for this study, it happened that I thought of a different peace versus justice dilemma. A different manifestation of the same conundrum already presented itself right on the aforesaid September 11. After the capricious events of 9/11 which ultimately led to the invasion of Afghanistan, the world powers – with backing from the United Nations – opted for justice and gave up peace by waging the war against terror. The very assumption behind such a decision was not that justice per se was considered a more important goal than peace. The assumption was that justice, in terms of punishing the perpetrators, was inevitable to ensure long-term sustainable peace. Punishing the perpetrators was necessary, so that history would not be repeated. After 9/11, the US urged for a quick intervention, arguing that the longer the terrorists enjoyed their safe haven in Afghanistan, the stronger their power base would grow. This is also true for the notorious warlords inside the Afghan government. The longer they remain in power, the longer they are granted immunity, the stronger they will become. Why has the paradigm that guided our decision prior to the invasion of Afghanistan changed so fundamentally afterwards?

In Afghanistan, peace must not only be made between the government and the Taliban, but most importantly between the Afghan government and her people. Government support will be the ultimate peace agreement for Afghanistan. However, support for the young Afghan government cannot be attained, as long as the government is widely perceived as corrupt, paternalistic, unfair and incapable of meeting the justice and security needs of the population. Kabul and the international community have failed to give sufficient weight to justice and human rights' concerns and this might not least be due to the entrenched views of policymakers failing to go beyond black-and-white term thinking. However, what we are witnessing in Afghanistan today cannot be explained and much less be solved with simplicity. ■

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ARTICLE

The United Nations and its Peace Purpose: An Assessment

Ekpotuatin Charles Ariye

Abstract

The study examined the United Nations through its various efforts and abilities to enthrone peace in the world. It adopted a developmental approach, bringing to light the UN's early attempts at peace, through the Cold War years and up to contemporary times. Taking into cognizance why the UN was established in the first place, and bearing in mind a clear conceptual understanding of peace, the study reveals that the UN's balance sheet with regard to this onerous responsibility is a mixed bag of admirable successes and colossal failures.

Keywords

INTRODUCTION

Presently, the United Nations (UN) comprises 193 States.[1] As an international inter-governmental organization (IGO), it serves as a framework for cooperative problem solving amongst states, and in recent years has taken on additional political, social, economic and technological issues facing humanity in general. Its core concern with promoting peace and security has been supplemented, over time, by an ever-expanding economic and social agenda (Heywood, 2011:432). The UN has a very broad and substantive scope characterized by a decentralized system with several specialized agencies, organized around six principal organs, namely; the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, the Trusteeship Council, the International Court of Justice (ICJ), and the Secretariat (Feld, Jordan and Hurwitz, 1994: 48). The Security Council is responsible for the maintenance of international peace and security, dominated by the P5, the permanent veto power members: the United States of America (USA), Russia, China, the United Kingdom and France (Heywood, 2011: 432). This study examines the extent to which the UN had met its set peace purposes - purposes which are diverse. To this end, the discourse focuses on the aspect considered the prime aim of the apex body: 'peace'. Thus, a research question such as "to what extent has the UN achieved its peace purposes" is apt. The study is therefore structured along this line; Introduction, Evolution of the UN, Mandate/Purpose, Conceptualization of Peace, UN Peace efforts and initiatives, The Balance Sheet and Conclusion.

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1   Infoplease: http://www.infoplease.com. Retrieved 29/06/2013, 11.39pm.

EVOLUTION OF THE UNITED NATIONS

The need for some form of international body to streamline affairs between states is not unconnected with a desire to control or prevent the emergence of a hegemon. Early European attempts at international organization in the form of the principle of Collective Security, where nations must agree that, in matters which affect more than one, all would be bound by the decision arrived at by a common body, in which all states are in some way represented (Appadorai, 1975: 147), sum up the desire to curtail the rule of might. Collective security arrangements that characterized the European scene up to the outbreak of the First World War are direct pointers to attempts to institute a balance–of-power system, curtail a hegemon, and institute a rule of law to guide the conduct of nations. Such calls for a pan-control system had been identified as far back as 1791, when the circular of Count Kaunitz called for European Powers to unite to preserve public peace, the tranquility of state, the inviolability of possessions and the faith of treaties (Nicolson, 1963: 36). Unfortunately, all these efforts could not stop the outbreak and carnage of the First World War. It has been observed that these efforts were inadequate, lacking the permanence of an organization with a political character to unify the nations, settle disputes and avert war (Appadorai, 1975: 150). This was the general picture of events in Europe, leading to the establishment of the League of Nations at the end of the war in 1919.

The League was doomed from its inception, as the US stayed away from it, and its institutional frameworks lacked strength to prevent the outbreak of World War II. The horrors of the Second World War galvanized international statesmen to put in place a better framework than the League to foster peace and security in the world. As Feld, Jordan and Hurwitz (1994: 44) inform "the basic motivation for the establishment of the UN […] was to avoid the devastating loss of life and property caused by the two World Wars". The assumption was that, if the goal of peacefully settling international disputes could be attained, then the security of all states would be enhanced. Again, they inform that the need for such a global peacekeeping IGO was recognized as early as 1941, in the famous Atlantic Charter which was drafted by President Roosevelt of the United States and British Prime Minister Winston Churchill (Feld, Jordan and Hurwitz, 1994). Similarly, Nye and Welch (2013: 200), offer that, "if the League of Nations was designed to prevent another World War I, the United Nations was designed in 1943-1945 to prevent a repeat of World War II". Indeed, the fear of war, or its avoidance, was such a factor in the establishment of the UN that its 'architects' designed it (the UN) to be based on "the concept of the four policemen, the USA, USSR, the UK and China as protectors against a recurrence of Axis aggression' (Thompson and Snidal, 1999: 696). Heywood (2011) also shares this position. He avers that, "it is a known fact that both the League and the UN were set up in the aftermath of World Wars with their key goals being to promote international security and the peaceful settlement of disputes." Fundamental to this point is the basic understanding of the opening sentences of the UN Charter. In its preamble, it clearly states: "we the Peoples of the United Nations determined 'to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind' […]". It is incontrovertible that the fear of war, its consequences, carnage and therefore, a desire to avoid its occurrence and maintenance of peace and security in the World, constituted the main motivating forces for the establishment of the United Nations in 1945.

UNDERSTANDING THE UN MANDATE/PURPOSE

The victorious allies that established the UN drew up an elaborate Charter of 19 chapters. Its terms of reference, according to Nye and Welch (2013), "include innovations to repair the deficiencies of the League" and "reconstitute some of the League's Organs" (Nel and McGowan, 1999: 112). Thus, one of its key features is to make the offensive use of force, by any member state, illegal. We can recall that, under the League system, a Collective Security System was provided, whereby an act of war would bring political, economic, and possibly military sanctions against the aggressor. However, the League's failure culminated in the outbreak of World War II, foreshadowed by its ineffectiveness in Manchuria and Ethiopia (Diehl, 1988). Consequently, the framers of the UN, conscious of the shortcomings of the League, desired that states could use force only for self-defense, collective self-defense, and collective security. The following are the Purposes of the UN, as stated in Article 1, Chapter I of its Charter:

1) To maintain international peace and security, and to that end: to take effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace, and to bring about by peaceful means, and in conformity with the principles of justice and international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace;

2) To develop friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principle of equal rights and self-determination of peoples, and to take other appropriate measures to strengthen universal peace;

3) To achieve international cooperation in solving international problems of an economic, social, cultural, or humanitarian character, and in promoting and encouraging respect for human rights and for

fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion; and

4) To be a center for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of these common ends. (The United Nations Charter).

It is discernible that concern for world peace is a dominant theme in the United Nations system. I will now discuss the concept of *peace* and relate it to the ideas put forward in this article.

PEACE CONCEPTUALIZED

Extant perspectives on peace emphasize positive and negative peace, as well as the explanation of peace as a condition and as a process. According to Udoh and Umoh (2011), because of what peace means to our globalised world, scholars in the field have difficulty finding just a single word to describe it. Similarly, Strazzari (2008) echoes that, almost 50 years after the first steps of peace research, peace remains essentially a contested concept, entailing endless disputes over its meaning. This view is also shared by Galtung (1969), and Richmond (2007). The former offers that, "nobody has the monopoly on defining peace", while the latter explains that the "concept of peace is ontologically unstable and essentially contested". According to Howard (2001), this contested nature of peace may not be unconnected with the fact that the concept is "a relatively recent idea compared to conflict which has received greater attention and knowledge because of its prevalence over time". Be that as it may, there is a plethora of definitions of peace.

In Miller's (2003) view, peace is "a political condition that makes justice possible." The point is that societies where people can get easy access to justice for wrongs done are said to be in a state of peace. David Francis (2006) gives us six explanations for a condition of peace, in the following order: "Peace as the absence of war; peace as justice and as development; peace as respect and tolerance between and amongst people; peace as 'GAIA', a balance in and with the ecosphere; peace as inner peace – spiritual peace; and, peace as wholeness and making whole." For Udoh and Umoh, peace lacks a universal denominator, therefore peace to one society may not be peace to another. They emphasize that, for instance, "a society fragmented and polarized by perpetual war and armed conflicts will interpret peace as the absence of war. Whereas a political community driven by unjust structures and policies will equate peace with justice and freedom, while people suffering material deprivation and poverty will inevitably perceive peace in terms of equity, development and access to existential necessities of life". In Sugata Dasgupta's (1968) exploration of peace, issues of famines, poverty, underdevelopment and human rights abuses are all part of the peace value and sphere.

He opines that peace and war are in a zero-sum relationship, and as such, the absence of war should not be taken as the presence of peace. He adds that "new peace values such as economic prosperity – or lack of it, and physical health are incorporated into the [...] concept of peace as necessary components or conditions of peace" (Dasgupta, 1968: 19-42).

These views indicate that peace is not necessarily the absence of war, but rather addresses the root causes of conflict. This informed the UN's Agenda for Peace Programme in the early 1990s, in which it (UN) identified peacebuilding as a tool for supporting structures which will tend to strengthen and solidify peace in order to avoid a relapse into conflict (Boutros-Ghali, 1992). The presence of economic and social problems in society suggests a lack of peace, as explained by Dasgupta. This general exposition of peace, will subsequently direct our evaluation of the UN and its avowed peace objective.

UN PEACE EFFORTS/INITIATIVES

The UN was plunged almost immediately into uncertain waters as the emergent Cold War rendered it ineffective in dealing with its responsibilities. The Cold War fostered bloc-based military alliances on the global scene, underscored by a nuclear arms race and possible mutually assured destruction. The very fear of war, which had midwifed the UN, once again stared grimly at the world. Irrespective of this backdrop, the UN got involved in numerous peace-related ventures bordering on conflict prevention and resolution. However, Cold War rivalries ensured that it could not stop interstate and intrastate wars; at best, it could only mediate and supervise ceasefires, taking on the culture and responsibility of peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding. It should be noted that, the UN's peace efforts and initiatives over time were guided by provisions in its Charter. Chapters one and seven contain numerous articles on the subject of maintenance of global peace and on appropriate steps to be taken with regard to threats to peace, breaches and acts of aggression. In recent years it has guided its peace endeavour with novel ideas such as its Agenda for Peace initiative and the Doctrine of Responsibility to Protect. I will now turn to UN peace efforts, bearing in mind, our understanding of peace.

As of 31, January 2013, the UN peace initiatives around the world, from 1948, stood at 67. By 2009, 16 of these efforts remained active, involving 80,000 troops, almost 11,000 uniformed policemen and about 2,300 military observers drawn from 117 countries (Heywood, 2011: 444). Additionally, its operations were supported by 6,000 international civilian personnel, 13,000 local civilian personnel and over 2,000 volunteer workers, with the budget for its 2008-09 operations alone amounting to 7.1 billion dollars.

The UN has faced numerous tests over the years. Its litmus test came in the declaration of the State of Israel in 1948. We can recall that in 1947, a special UN Committee suggested the creation of an Arab State, a Jewish State and a UN administered Jerusalem out of partitioned Palestine. Whereas the Jews accepted this offer, the Arabs were totally against it (Armstrong, Lloyd, and Redmond, 2004). In the ensuing first Arab-Israeli War, the bloodletting warranted sending in of an unarmed UN team under the aegis of the United Nations Truce Supervision Organisation (UNTSO).

Similarly, the hasty partition of India and Pakistan heralded conflict between the two new states over Kashmir in 1947, following British withdrawal. The UN was able to broker a cease-fire by January 1949 and subsequently deployed a military observer group (UNMOGIP) to maintain the cease-fire. Again, in a dispute arising out of colonialism in 1949, the UN played a mediatory role between the Dutch and Indonesia, leading to the independence of the latter. It played a similar role that led to independence for the former Italian colonies of Libya, Somaliland and Eritrea. From this time, the UN took on a political role, rather than just its peacekeeping one. This paradigm shift clearly conforms with some conceptualizations of peace examined earlier.

The belief in and value placed on preventive diplomacy by former Secretary General Dag Hammarskjold strongly influenced the UN to vigorously pursue the peacekeeping option as an approach to peace. Thus, the UN adopted a fourfold characteristic of peacekeeping as its yardstick. These became; the understanding that operational personnel are to be drawn from armed forces of UN Member States with no interest in a dispute and such deployed forces are to adopt a non-threatening and impartial approach; use weapons only in self defense and assert freedom of movement; its functions are to defuse tensions, calm and settle or resolve the dispute; and that, deployment of forces must be based on the cooperation of the disputants who must give their consent, and the force can be removed if consent is withdrawn (Goulding, 1991), (Armstrong, Lloyd, and Redmond, 2004). Consequently, between 1949 and the end of the 1980s, the UN directed 16 operations, with differing challenges and responsibilities. Whereas, a few were core peacekeeping operations, others were emergency interventions, observer groups and even transition monitoring and assistance operations. A select few are highlighted below.

Following the Suez crises of 1956, in which Egypt was made to face British, French and Israeli Forces, the UN, through a General Assembly United for Peace procedure, which enabled it to bypass the British and French vetoes in the Security Council, sent in a 6,000 strong (UNEF I) Force to the Sinai, as a buffer between Egyptian and Israeli forces. This Emergency Force also facilitated the withdrawal of British and French forces from the Canal Zone and remained until 1967 (Heywood, 2011).

The Belgian-Congo crisis of 1960-63, provided another avenue for the UN to intervene in an intrastate conflict, to make peace. Belgium had unilaterally intervened to restore order, more as a post-colonial responsibility. However, the escalation of the crisis in the form of Katanga's secessionist bid compelled the Congolese government to call on the UN to assist. The UN, upon getting Security Council authorization, dutifully sent in a 20,000 strong peacekeeping force which was able to supervise the withdrawal of Belgian forces and restore normalcy to the Congo. Again, by 1973, the UN was compelled to send in another Emergency Force, (UNEF II), to stand as a buffer between Israel and the Arab nations. Also, in 1988, the UN brokered a cease-fire and withdrawal of forces between Iran and Iraq following their bitter and long war.

The intrigues of the Cold War limited the UN's ability to act (Armstrong, Lloyd, and Redmond, 2004). During this period, the UN could not intervene in many conflict situations such as Guatemala 1954, Panama 1964, and Dominican Republic 1965 (Feld, Jordan and Hurwitz, 1994). In these cases, the United States of America insisted that they were Organisation of American States (OAS) issues not meant for the Security Council. Similarly, the Soviet Union denied the Security Council's competence to deal with the Hungarian and Czechoslovakia uprisings of 1956 and 1968, contending that these matters were Warsaw Pact issues. The UN was also unable to handle the French policy in Algeria. This inability of the UN to act decisively in the face of Super Power squabbles, informed some observers to conclude that during this period, "it had little relevance and was shunted to the margins" (Armstrong, Lloyd, and Redmond, 2004). In buttressing this point, former Secretary General Boutros Ghali (1992: 2) admitted that "since the creation of the UN in 1945 […] the UN was rendered powerless to deal with many […] crisis because of the vetoes – 279 of them – cast in the Security Council, which were […] vivid expressions of the divisions of that period".

The post-Cold War years provided the UN with an opportunity to reexamine its role in the resolution of conflicts and peacekeeping. In one view, "for the first time, since the establishment of the UN, the basic structure of bipolar confrontations between the two power blocs fast disappeared, and that, somewhat paradoxically, the need for controlling new conflicts emanating from a variety of factors, such as ambition for hegemony, or rivalry on ethnic and religious grounds […], had become all the more greater" (Owada, 1991). The test case came in the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait. In the ensuing Persian Gulf War[2] of 1991, the US and the Soviets cooperated to achieve UN Security

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2   The Persian Gulf War is regarded as a triumph of Collective Security. It was a demonstration of the UN to renew its capacity to fulfill its obligation of deterring aggression and maintaining world peace. However, the second Gulf War of 2003 did not get UN backing.

Council objectives, even though, according to Wong Kan Seng (1991), there were different pulls in the final days of the war. Subsequently the UN maintained an Observer Mission (UNIKOM) between Iraq and Kuwait until 2003.

The UN increasingly involved itself in the non-military aspects of peacekeeping, as the bulk of it's up to 50 missions between the early 1990s and 2012 centered on the provision of emergency relief, political reconstruction and peacebuilding, not only in war ravaged states, but also in those faced with humanitarian disasters occasioned by natural causes, such as Haiti. The UN's referenda and transitional authority responsibilities in Western Sahara, Cambodia, Kosovo, Slovenia and East Timor, are but a few pointers to its ever increasing humanitarian peace projects, with peace building support services retained in most peacekeeping missions to reinforce the peace process and promote human rights, democracy and the rule of law (Armstrong, Lloyd, and Redmond, 2004).

It has been observed (Armstrong, Lloyd and Redmond, 2004; Weiss and Forsythe, 1997) that the end of the Cold War increased the commonality of interests between states, such that most states turned to the UN to tackle the myriad of turbulence, volatility, strife, and ethnic and religious turmoil that characterized the world stage. Furley and May (1998: 4) inform that "as conflicts arise, the international community and regional organizations find themselves drawn into ever more challenging and long drawn out efforts to oversee and assist in the implementation of peace agreements". From this time, three times as many peace agreements have been signed as in the previous three decades (Armstrong, Lloyd, and Redmond, 2004). Ultimately, UN efforts restored peace by way of winding down high profile international conflicts such as Namibia, 1990, Angola, 1991 and Afghanistan, 1989, Central African Republic in 2000 and demobilization of a rebel army in Mozambique and Somalia in 1994, and Sierra Leone in 2000.

Post-Cold War peace initiatives necessitated a synergistic collaboration between the UN and regional organizations. By the 1990s, the UN was working with the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS), and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the European Union (EU) to, intervene and restore peace and provide humanitarian assistance in Liberia and the rump state of the former Yugoslavia. In underscoring the importance of regional arrangements on the peace agenda, in a speech, former Secretary General Boutros-Ghali observed the following: "the UN has never claimed that it alone can carry out peacekeeping operations […] It is more likely […], to be seen as having the impartiality which is an essential condition for successful peacekeeping […]. But the demand has become such that I believe that the UN must share the work with others. A multipolar world should be led by a multiplicity of institutions […]. It is therefore logical that an effort should be made to decentralize the responsibilities for peacekeeping and peacemaking that today are continuously being entrusted to the UN. The regional organizations are the obvious candidates for larger roles […]. Their involvement will in turn serve to promote the democratization of international relations." (Feld, Jordan and Hurwitz, 1994: 209-210).

This position by Boutros-Ghali and the quest for world peace is in tandem with Chapter VIII of the UN Charter, which envisaged a role for regional bodies in dealing with matters relating to the maintenance of international peace. Recent events in Libya which led to the collapse of the Ghadaffi regime, under the auspices of the European Common Foreign and Security Policy (CFSP) led intervention, and the efforts of French and African Troops in Mali, underpin the role of regional bodies and the responsibility to protect doctrine,[3] which has recently been relied upon to address conflict situations and in complementing the UN in the maintenance of international peace. Moreover, the concept of peace has been further expanded in contemporary times, as a means of justifying and tackling terrorism and support for it. Following the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center in New York, "UN resolutions (SCR 1368 and SCR1373), were used against the Taleban regime in Afghanistan, and for banning all forms of support for terrorism" (Armstrong, Lloyd, and Redmond, 2004).

Additionally, global dynamics and dimensions of conflict situations continue to define and expand the peace role of the UN. Its non-military activities have increased over the years, to the extent that its other specialized agencies, especially those under the ECOSOC, are increasingly involved in the area of preventive diplomacy, through humanitarian interventions, poverty alleviation and health matters, designed to stem the occurrence of conflict and lower the level of tensions, especially in weak and failing states. Heywood (2011: 442) sums up this outlook of the UN as follows: "the UN's role used to be to keep the peace in a world dominated by conflict between communism and capitalism. Now, it is forced to find a new role in a world structured by the dynamics of global capitalism, in which conflict increasingly arises from imbalances in the distribution of wealth and resources. This has meant that the UN's role in promoting peace […] has been conflated with the task of ensuring economic and social development, the two being merged in the shift from traditional

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3 Initiated in 2005 by the UN, The Responsibility to Protect is based on the idea that sovereignty is not a right, but a responsibility. This principle was applied in the Libyan crisis through (UNSC) Resolution 1973, which led to the overthrow of the Ghadaffi regime in 2011.

peacekeeping to multidimensional or robust peacekeeping". With this general understanding of the efforts of the UN, I now proceed to do an evaluation to ascertain how much success the UN has achieved.

THE UN BALANCE SHEET/ ASSESSMENT

It is significant to try to know aspects where the UN recorded appreciable successes and glaring and ubiquitous failures in its peace objective. This is to avoid indulging in wholesale condemnation of its efforts, taking into cognizance the prevailing circumstances in which it had been operating since 1945. Therefore for Heywood (2011), the performance of the UN can largely be seen in terms of the extent to which it has saved humanity from deadly conflicts, and the fact that World War III has not occurred should be seen as the supreme achievement of the UN. But, Heywood is quick to add the Realists view that the non-outbreak of a third World War is not a result of any effort by the UN, but rather more a consequence of the balance of terror of nuclear weapons possessed by East and West. Irrespective of this, Heywood offers that, "ultimately how global and regional conflict would have developed and whether Cold Wars would have become hot ones in the absence of the UN is unanswerable".

Feld, Jordan and Hurwitz (1994), consider the achievements of the UN mixed. To them, if confined essentially to providing mechanisms for the peaceful resolution of international conflicts and maintenance of peace, the UN's record is: Undoubted success in negotiating a cease-fire between India and Pakistan in 1959; bringing about peace in the Belgian Congo in 1960; mediating and resolving the dispute between the Dutch and Indonesia over West Irian (New Guinea) in 1962; economic sanctions on the white minority regime in Rhodesia for its unilateral declaration of independence in 1966; imposition of arms embargo on the apartheid regime in South Africa; and non-military efforts in Namibia beginning in1976, involving supervision of free and fair elections that led to the independence of the country. The following are also part of the UN's appreciable efforts: Successful implementation of internationally supervised elections in Nicaragua, successive missions that restored peace in Angola, Cambodia, Mozambique, Haiti, Guatemala, Ethiopia and Eritrea, and Cote d'Ivoire, and the efforts that led to the two new independent states of South Sudan and East Timor. The spectacular successes of regional collaboration with the UN, in the cases of ECOWAS and NATO in Liberia, Sierra Leone and the former Yugoslavia respectively, are pluses in the peace score card of the UN.

On the Humanitarian side, the UN's specialized agencies, WHO, UNICEF, UNHCR, WFP, and the UNDP, have, over the years, all played appreciable roles in complementing the UN's peace efforts. For instance, WHO and UNICEF brokered cease-fires to allow immunization campaigns to be conducted in countries affected by conflicts. Again, WHO's other notable emergency missions related to peacekeeping include its efforts in: Democratic People's Republic of Korea (1996), Liberia (1996), Rwanda (1995), Sri Lanka, Afghanistan, Angola, and the former Yugoslavia. In all these cases, the central idea was to bring together former enemies under the 'bridge for peace' initiative, with a view toward achieving reconciliation and consolidation of peace (Beigbeder 1999).

Despite the above, one must be guided by the words of Fedotov (1991) in making a balanced assessment. According to him, "it is too simplistic to portray UN peacekeeping operations in bright colours alone […]. In some cases, the presence of UN observers for many years has, at best, been limited to monitoring the 'freezing' of conflicts and is not yet fully used to assist active negotiating processes". The cases of Lebanon, Kashmir and Cyprus are cited as examples where peace is still elusive. Indeed, on the Cyprus question, Feldman (1991) observes that "the possibility for a solution to the quarter-century-old problem, is neither enhanced nor retarded by the end of the Cold War". Clearly, arguments about the UN's paralysis for much of the Cold War period cannot be advanced for the continuous abating of the Cyprus question. Similarly, Mehta (2013) avers that, "the history of the UN peacekeeping is a mixed bag with successes in Cambodia, Mozambique, Haiti and Timor-Leste with failures in Rwanda, Kivu in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Darfur in Sudan and Afghanistan".

The UN was a powerless spectator in the 1962 Cuban missile crisis that nearly plunged the world into a nuclear war, just as it could not earlier, in 1956, 1968 and 1979, prevent the then Soviet Union from invading Hungary, Czechoslovakia and Afghanistan respectively. Also, it could not stop the United States from involvement in Vietnam in the 1960s and 1970s, and has equally had little influence on the succession of Arab-Israeli wars (Heywood, 2011). Whereas, in 2011, the UN Security Council authorized military intervention in the Libyan Civil War on the basis of the doctrine of Responsibility to Protect, it failed earlier in 1991 to authorize NATO to intervene in Kosovo under what were very similar circumstances to the Libyan case (Mehta, 2013).

What may be deemed as total failures in UN peace efforts are the triple cases of Somalia, Rwanda and Bosnia. According to Armstrong, Lloyd, and Redmond (2004), there were disillusionments around the world following the failures of the UN in these instances. This view is also held by scholars such as Kobak (1997), Carey (1998), Oliver (1997), Diehl (1994) and Clark (1993), who all share the notion that the UN was bogged down by institutional and bureaucratic bottlenecks which affected early and decisive intervention and mediation in these instances,

thereby leading to the inability to protect civilian populations and to put a halt to the wanton killings. Significantly, the UN was accused of being a bystander to genocide in the shameful cases of Rwanda and Srebrenica in 1993. Indeed, these failures prompted the UN to do a self-assessment and commissioned the Brahimi Panel to examine its peace operations. In its exhaustive report, this panel dealt with all the underlying causes of failed UN missions in the past, and called for greater and earlier use of the powers of the Secretary General of the UN to "deploy fact-finding Missions to potential trouble spots well before the situation reaches a crisis stage" (Brahimi Report, 2000: 4).

Clearly the UN's peace efforts can not be classified as having been a wholesale success story. That is not the case here, but one can draw inferences from the preceding that, while the UN made appreciable success in some spheres of its peace activities, it clearly did not measure up to its purpose in several other instances. However we can take solace in the words of Collier and Hoeffler (2004) that, "UN peacekeeping has been both effective and cost effective when compared with the costs of conflicts and the toll in lives and economic devastation". Indeed the very first peacekeeping operation (UNTSO), in 1948, claimed the life of the UN mediator, Count Bernadette of Sweden.

CONCLUSION

I have examined the rationale behind the establishment of the United Nations in 1945 and an x-ray of its successes and failures with regard to its peace purpose. The study has cursorily conceptualized peace and applied it as a framework in understanding the UN's peace efforts and initiatives since 1948. The emergent picture is that first the UN came into being because of the fear of war and its consequences. Second, the UN, despite the constraints imposed on it by Cold War rivalries, has been able to make appreciable efforts in enthroning peace in the world through its various peacekeeping, peacemaking and peacebuilding programs, which by 2013 stood at 67, with 15 still ongoing, and some having been started several decades ago.

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ARTICLE

In Search of the Causes of Insecurity in Nigeria: A Note on Administrations and their Agendas

Adoyi Felix Onoja

Abstract

Security and insecurity are two sides of the same coin which has been misrepresented in Nigeria. Thus, a representation to reflect the reality of Nigeria is needed. Security is human and structural. For the most part in Nigeria, it is about the structure, and here the influence of the military in governance and in shaping the theory and practice of security cannot be ignored. This influence was in part the function of the international enabling environments and the interpretation and domestication in countries such as Nigeria. In defining security prior to the UNDP paradigm shift in 1994, structure rather than human beings was the focus. To that extent, insecurity has prevailed in Nigeria. Insecurity affects human beings and is powered by corruption and poverty of the leadership and the followers. One such area of insecurity is setting the agenda for development. Looking at the historical trend and focusing on policies since 1999, the paper examines this type of insecurity. The inability of administrations to fulfil their set agendas for improving the quality of lives of Nigerians meant there was nothing to distinguish them from a military regime. This situation not only extends distrust, it enhances insecurity.

Keywords

insecurity, agenda, distrust, governance, Nigeria

INTRODUCTION

This paper takes a governance (Leftwich, 1993, pp. 605-624) perspective in examining agenda setting in administrations in Nigeria since the return of civilian rule in 1999. Governance as a concept is uniquely applied to developing countries, apparently buoyed by the concern of donors to the marked disparity between economic development and social policy. Leftwich argues that governance, as a concept, is not new. Western governments, and donor agencies in particular, influenced four factors in the present obsession with governance and good governance. They are the structural adjustment programme, resurgence of neo liberalism in the west, collapse of official commu-

nist regimes and the rise of pro-democracy movements in the developing countries and elsewhere (Leftwich, 1993). This fitted into the preoccupation of the west with dreaming up schemes meant to salvage the increasingly hopeless and desperate condition of the developing world. This is in sync with the definition of good governance given by one of its leading intervention agencies, the World Bank.

Underscoring this concern for Africa, where the bulk of the crisis prevailed, the Bank argued that "underlying the litany of Africa's development problems is a crisis of governance" (World Bank, 1989). It defines governance as the exercise of political power to manage a nation's affairs. Good governance which the Bank argues is synonymous with sound development management (World Bank, 1992, p. 1)

includes some or all of the following features: an efficient public service; an independent judicial system and legal framework to enforce contracts; the accountable administration of public funds; an independent public auditor, responsible to a representative legislature; respect for the law and human rights at all levels of government; a pluralistic institutional structure, and a free press (World Bank, 1992, pp. 15, 60-61, 192). The approach, according to Leftwich, has been on management.

Nigeria has been lacking in most of the indexes of governance, let alone good governance, since independence. Indeed the connection that can be drawn between pursuing constitutional government and observing this governance yardstick, when measured in the last ten years of civil rule, falls short of ideal. Not only is the public service inefficient, it has been tampered with and politicised in the last ten years making it inefficient and bureaucratic; the judiciary is all but independent and in the first eight years of civil rule, it reached its lowest ebb in terms of enforcement of decisions, while the framework for enforcing contracts has been politicised; the country ranks high in corruption in the administration of public funds as demonstrated by the power, pension and oil subsidy probes and the consistent poor rating in the Transparency International Corruption Perception Index (CPI, 2012); where the absence of an independent auditor and a more corrupt legislature since 1999 facilitated the perpetration of acts of corruption that has impoverished the citizens, while the press has remained relatively free even as it pursues its own agenda.

Nigeria has consistently been in the Failed States Index (FSI) since 2005 (FSI, 2013); in the Multidimensional Poverty Index (MPI) where the sub-national calculation of prevalence of poverty coincides with the endemically unstable North East, North West and North Central (MPI, 2013); the MPI validates the Nigerian Poverty Profiles on the prevalence of poverty in these areas (Nigerian Bureau of Statistics, 2012); in the "Save the Children" survey which included Nigeria in the over 500 million children whose growth will be physically and mentally stunted in the next fifty years due to lack of sufficient food (BBC, 2012).

The indexes show that governance is worsening rather than improving in Nigeria. The tendencies of regimes to set agendas and goals for meeting the expectations of citizens for development is itself part of the corruption of the system. This enhances insecurity as it destroys the tenuous faith in the people in governance. This paper examines this type of insecurity. It conceptualises prevailing understanding of security and insecurity in the context of the military governance type. It argues from this premise that the inability of civil administrations, since 1999, to fulfil their set agendas of improving the quality of lives of Nigerians meant there was nothing to distinguish them from the defunct military regimes. The non-fulfilment of agendas such as President Obasanjo's National Economic Empowerment and Development Strategy (NEEDS), President Yar'adua's Seven Point Agenda and the unfolding President Jonathan's Transformation Agenda is enhancing insecurity and distrust in the government.

PERSPECTIVE ON SECURITY AND INSECURITY

Security in Nigeria gained popular currency in Nigeria for three reasons. The first is the consequence of military intervention in politics. The second, and closely related to the first, is the international enabling environment including the origin of security studies, the cold war and the post-cold war worlds. The third is the prevailing insecurity that has worsened from the 1980s to the present day. Insecurity is the opposite of security and it describes the lack or absence of security. When situated in the military dominated environment of Nigeria, insecurity is seen from the context of how the soldiers, who governed Nigeria almost throughout its independence, thought of it. In this case, it raises the fundamental question of what constitutes the referent. Should it be state/regime survival? Or should it be people and their welfare?

Apart from the issue of broadening and deepening which has preoccupied scholars in security discourse (Ullman, 1983, pp. 129-53; Walt, 1991, pp. 211-39; Rothschild, 1995, pp. 53-98; Baldwin, 1997, pp. 5-29; Krause and Williams, 1997), the question of referent is also contentious. There are two main approaches in the discourse. There are the traditional and critical security approaches. The former regards the state as referent (Buzan, 1991) and the latter, human beings (UNDP, 1994; Booth, 2007; Kerr, 2010, p. 122; ANACDP, 2005). The former's focus on state and the external military dimension of security was born of the realities of European politics and the engagement of the cold war. This position continued even after the cold war ended.

The events of September 11, 2001, suggested the need for a review of the traditionalist position. This is because one of the key actors, Al-Qaida, was not a state and, more importantly, was not organised in the traditional way that states are organised. According to Booth (2005, pp. 31-32), it was not hierarchical but was organised in a cell-like fashion, and its chains of command were very different to those of the modern state. A number of points should be noted. One, there was a noticeable rise of non-state actors as a major security threat against state actors (Krahmann, 2003, pp. 5-26; Krahmann, 2005, pp. 19-34). Two, the non-state actors are mostly concentrated in the developing countries. Three, the grievances of the non-state actors are largely economic and directly related to the growing incapacitation of the state, which is the result of poor governance and increasing scrutiny of the new economic order. Four, their method of articulation essentially challenged the legitimacy and capacity of the state as most of them took up arms.

The entry of non-state actors into the fray demonstrates the restraints that the cold war imposed on the avenue of expression among aggrieved individuals, groups and communities. This is explained by the post-cold war, post 9-11 increase in the level of conflicts all over the world, but in particular developing countries. It is the growing dissatisfaction with falling standards of living and the inability of the state to provide for the growing population. Other residual areas of conflict have been issues of political, social, cultural and psychological marginalisation. Hence the focus of security should be people and internal. This is the case with Nigeria, where economic dissatisfaction is rife.

Consequently, the difference of culture, values and levels of development between the developed and developing world would naturally affect the referent of security. While the cold war was fought essentially on the economic plain, with repercussions in the military, technological, social and other realms, nationals of the leading states were catered for materially. Thus, even after the cold war ended and the concern of the developed world shifted to other platforms of security, the same cannot be said of the developing world. Here, material poverty was common while the cold war persisted and became glaring after the cold war. It is this poverty that constitutes a major source of internal disharmony for these countries. Therefore, human beings should constitute the referent in the definition of security in the Nigerian context. It is Nigerians that are imperilled and not the state, because there is no country threatening the existence of Nigeria. In other words, the definition of security is local, contextual, and historically specific.

Security is peoples' relative feeling of being secure from economic, political, social, cultural and psychological fear. Insecurity is peoples' relative feeling of the presence of economic, political, social, cultural and psychological fear. Of these forms of insecurity, the one that is most common and triggers consciousness of other forms of insecurity, is economic insecurity. Economic insecurity spawned other forms of insecurity into existence. In simple terms, economic insecurity is the absence of jobs, basic health care, accessible drinking water, education, life enhancing opportunities and creative policies that cater for short, medium and long term needs of the different cadre of the population. It is the absence of basic economic and social infrastructure that would avail citizens the opportunity to cater for their own welfare. The non-provision of these has created conditions of political, cultural and psychological exclusion detrimental to security (Booth, 2007).

This is what constitutes the governance crisis bedevilling Nigeria. The situation has come to constitute another dimension of insecurity as governments set agendas, raising people's expectations, only for them to fail to deliver. This has been common since the return to civil rule in 1999. While part of the problem was created by military rule, the hasty return to civilian rule was in part informed by the fact that the military discredited themselves, as well as the removal of the enabling international environment supportive of their intervention. Their exit was heralded by an immense campaign that equated return to civil rule with abundance for the citizens in terms of work, housing, education, infrastructure and the creation of a climate for continuous growth. Coming from an environment of deprivation, Nigerians were in a hurry for the attainment of these promises. As it turned out, successive regimes set agendas that were not attained. This increased the people's distrust and insecurity.

PUTTING AGENDA/TARGET SETTING IN PERSPECTIVE

Governments and institutions set targets and agendas as programmes they intend to carry out within the duration of their tenure. As a policy, it is aimed at guiding their conduct as well as improving the lots of the government or institution in question. It is also an attempt to leave lasting legacies. Thus it is not uncommon to read or hear mission statements at the beginning of a term of office. Indeed, annual budget statements are an example of this course of action. However, while budgets state what organisations and governments will accomplish in any financial year, setting agendas or targets adheres to a long-term plan of action that could span four or five years. Thus the long-term objectives guide the phased execution of the agenda or targets set. In recent times, setting agenda or targets has become a common phenomenon. There are two types of agenda or targets and they include those set by international organisations and intergovernmental organisations, especially the UN system, which individual countries key into, and those set by national governments usually at the commencement of new administrations.

In settings where politics is a vocation rather than expediency, it is important to set an agenda that could be accomplished in short, medium and long-term periods. Indeed, while it is not always the case that the targets will be met, it keeps the administration focused on the overall mission statement. As we noted above, the issue of governance is an important preoccupation in the relations between the developed and the developing world. This has been the case since the end of the cold war. It is commonly used in the relations between developed and developing countries as it determines the kind of assistance to be rendered to the latter. The assumption is that the developed world has a governance system that is responsive to the needs of the people while the latter is lacking. The nature of this relation also informed the decision by international organizations, beginning with the United Nations system, to set agendas and targets to be met at certain periods in the evolution of humanity.

It is from this consideration that the year 2000 was set aside to meeting different ambitious targets. Thus, we have had "health for all by the year 2000", "housing for all by the year 2000", "education for all by the year 2000", "literacy for all by the year 2000" and "water for all by the year 2000." The idea is not to say that these goals must be met by the year 2000 but it would ginger respective governments into making proactive attempts at reaching these goals. Among these are the Millennium Development Goals, which seeks to halve poverty by the year 2015, and Universal Basic Education to take basic literacy skills to all. The magic year 2000 passed without the fanfare that heralded its coming. In other words, it did not achieve results worth celebrating. Will the Millennium Development Goals (MDG) differ?

Different regimes in Nigeria have had cause to appropriate international targets and agendas to suit their needs, but also to perpetuate themselves in power and corruptly appropriate resources. Thus, we have had different regimes setting goals for the country by certain years while building their tenure and performance into those years. One prominent goal is the Nigeria Vision 20: 2020 which seeks to make Nigeria one of the top twenty economies in the world by the year 2020 (National Planning Commission, 2009). This apparent localization of universal ideas and ideals chimed with the globalization process. For the delinquent leadership in Nigeria, it has provided an escape route for poor performance and corruption. The magic year 2000, Universal Basic Education, the Millennium Development Goals and the anti corruption campaigns are instances of international agendas with local components.
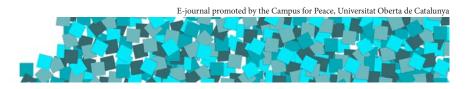
THE MAGIC YEAR 2000

The year 2000 came and went and the only magic about it is that it did not accomplish anything. Influenced as it now appears by the world's rich states and the United Nations, many of the ills that are peculiarly third world were slated for elimination "by the year 2000". Even before the year 2000 came, the different powers connected with the project had started beating a hasty retreat, as little emphasis was placed on attaining these objectives. Sloganeering about the year started receding in the late 1980s, and by the beginning of the 1990s, it was replaced by new emergencies such as making the world safe for democracy, redrawing the map of the world following the fall of the Berlin Wall, pursuing human rights, environment and trade, and above all checking the threats from Islamic fundamentalism. It would appear the goals of year 2000 were a sop sold to the world's poor to check tendencies towards embracing communism.

As a sop, the implication became glaring following the collapse of the Asian Tiger economies which, thinking along this line, were sustained by a heavy dose of subsidies and privileged trading concessions. It was meant to keep them from going 'red' and to demonstrate to the rest of the world the viability of free enterprise. When eventually the threat from communism was removed, the various concessions were lifted and the full impact of the system was unleashed, resulting in the Asian flu.

There were an awful lot of goals to be attained by the magic year. They included health, water, sanitation, food, housing and education for all areas. These are areas in which the developing world is deficient and which the developed world can take for granted. Take the case of health for all as an example. With the gory statistics about the scourge of HIV/AIDS and the poor performance at curtailing malaria, how realisable would the call have been if it had not been hurriedly de-emphasized, considering the conspiracy of multinational drug corporations with huge investment in malaria. The developing world was taken for a ride and the promoters got away with it. The reasoning indicated by developments was that, if we cannot attain all these objectives by the "year 2000", we can at least speak for ourselves "in the next millennium." That is what transpired in the trade talks in Seattle in 1999.

When the Uruguay Round trade talk concluded in 1994 and over one hundred and twenty six countries initialled their signatures to the document in Marrakesh to create the World Trade Organisation (WTO), it was described by a watcher as a victory for the developed world. Most governments from developing countries, especially Africa, appended their signatures and later ratified it without understanding the implication. Apart from India, where there were isolated protests from farmers, nothing of the kind happened in sub-Saharan Africa. The most potent weapon used in checking the radicalism of the developing world and whipping them into shape was the threat of withholding development aid.

The 'Seattle intransigence' showed the way to what the developing world, with their numerical strength, can accomplish when united in a cause. The test of strength came over who should be the director of the new organisation. The developed world preferred Mike Moore while the developing world opted for Supachai Panitch Pakdi. The deadlock was broken when a compromise was reached with the two sharing the terms. Apparently buoyed by this development, the third world was firm in the Seattle trade talk. The group deplored, in strong terms, the politicisation of the talks, particularly the linking of social and environmental issues to the trade talks. A proposal from the United States that issues such as child labour be linked to trade irked the world's poor and resulted in the criticism of the proposal as an attempt to give the world's rich an edge over the poorer members. The year 2000 passed without the attainment of any of the objectives, at least not in Nigeria. Perhaps it was this realisation that informed the new Millennium Development Goals, which like the magic year 2000 is intent on halving poverty by the year 2015.

MILLENNIUM DEVELOPMENT GOALS 2015

The failure of the year 2000 (Sachs, 2005, p. 213) launched the MDG, apparently to take over from the failed magic year. The Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) are eight goals, to be achieved by 2015, that respond to the world's main development challenges. The MDGs are drawn from the actions and targets contained in the Millennium Declaration that was adopted by 189 nations and signed by 147 heads of state and governments during the UN Millennium Summit in September 2000 (Sachs, 2005, p. 210). A cursory look at the goals demonstrates that they did not differ from the ones set out to be achieved by the magic year. Nor do they differ from the concerns of the developing world. The attainment of these goals relies overwhelmingly on the contribution of the world's rich nations, who have to contend with their own challenges.

In 2001, in response to the world leaders' request, the UN Secretary General presented the Road Map towards the Implementation of the United Nations Millennium Declaration, an integrated and comprehensive overview of the situation, outlining potential strategies for action designed to meet the goals and commitments of the MDGs. The road map has been followed up since then with annual reports. In 2002, the annual report focused on progress made in the prevention of armed conflict and the treatment and prevention of diseases, including HIV/AIDS and malaria. In 2003, emphasis was placed on strategies for sustainable development. In 2004, it was on bridging the digital divide and curbing transnational crime. In 2005, the Secretary General prepared the first comprehensive five-year report on progress toward achieving the MDGs. The report reviews the implementation of decisions taken at international conferences and special sessions on the least developed countries, progress on HIV/AIDS and financing for development and sustainable development.

The outline reflected the intention of the UN while on the ground in different African states. While countries such as Rwanda are upbeat about meeting the targets of the MDGs, the case does not apply to Nigeria. Indeed, what we find happening here is the ability of the government to appropriate objectives such as the MDGs to fulfil its desire to perpetuate itself in power. The notion of visions that is commonplace among regime types in Nigeria derives from the global agenda-setting in the relation between the north and the south. In the annals of Nigerian politics we have had agendas whose intention was to accord occupants of the 'Villa' the chance to stay in power indefinitely, while insulating their non-performance in the lengthy gestation period of their programme. Among the prominent ones are the Visions 2010 and 2020. The latter reflected the long-term intention of the

progenitor of the programme while domestically it was the Seven-Point Agenda. Some states in the federation keyed into the agenda-setting of the federal government, including those of Kaduna and Nasarawa.

HIGHLIGHTS OF AGENDAS OF PRESIDENTS OBASANJO, YAR'ADUA AND JONATHAN

Most Nigerian leaders since 1999 did not consciously prepare for the challenges of leadership and hence did not conceptualise, let alone articulate, any programme they intend or intended to implement. The programme they became identified with was hurriedly put together and therefore lacked vision and commitment. Olusegun Obasanjo was released from prison to become president while he, in his dying moments, supported Umar Musa Yar'adua and Goodluck Ebele Jonathan as president and vice president respectively. These three characters maybe did not envisage leading the country when circumstances thrust responsibility on them.

Nigerians had high hopes of the presidency of Olusegun Obasanjo, largely because they thought he had seen it all at both ends of life's spectrum, considering the circumstances of his emergence and the enormous goodwill he garnered in the course of his travails. In retrospect, Nigerians were disappointed that Obasanjo was not the man to redeem the country. Drafted into the presidency without an agenda at the initial stage, Chief Obasanjo subsequently set targets for himself, which became documents for his administration's policies. They included the National Economic Empowerment Development Strategy (NEEDS) and, prominently, his plan to increase power generation to 10,000 megawatts by the year 2007. As a national emergency, legislation was drawn up and resources were appropriated to accomplish this objective.

When he relinquished power in 2007, Nigerians were told that over $16 billion had been expended without any electricity generated. This revelation came about with the inauguration of the Sixth Legislature by President Yar'adua and their institution of probes into and hearings on affairs of the previous government. Of importance here was the power sector probe chaired by Honourable Godwin Ndudi Elumelu. Considering the centrality of electricity to development, Nigerians were keen to learn why the Independent Power Project had failed to deliver the 10,000 megawatts of electricity by 2007, after gulping over $16 billion. The amount was allegedly sunk into the power sector between 1999 and 2007. The public hearing captured the attention of Nigerians as sordid revelations emanated of payments to contractors for jobs not done and supplies not delivered, over-invoicing, sites purportedly hosting projects without projects and subversion of due process in the name of fast

tracking completion without any results. The committee identified the perpetrators and recommended their investigation by appropriate agencies for economic sabotage to the country. According to its report, "former President Olusegun Obasanjo should be called to account for the recklessness in the power sector during his tenure. The committee recommends that EFCC and the ICPC should investigate him" (Ajiboye 2012).

The call to investigate and prosecute the dramatis personae including President Obasanjo was clear. According to an analyst, former President Obasanjo felt like a wounded lion, he bided his time but first, the Elumelu report had to be killed (Elombah, 2009). The initiative first came from the House of Representatives. What transpired there began with spirited attacks on the report by members and escalated to the creation of the Tambuwal seven-man committee indicative of the arsenal deployed to destroy the report. Secondly, Nigerians watched as the committee chairman and some of its members became the subject of investigation allegedly for corruptly enriching themselves by the sum of over five billio Nigerian Naira from the Rural Electrification Agency contracts. In the end, Chairman Elumelu was literally begging for his life while Nigerian attention was diverted from the report.

Former President Obasanjo used his vast resources to ensure nothing came out of the report under President Yar'adua or his successor, President Jonathan. Since it was the former president who handpicked his successors, the late President Yar'adua also inaugurated his administration with the Seven-Point Agenda, namely Critical Infrastructure, Niger Delta, Food Security, Human Capital, Land Tenure Changes and Home Ownership, National Security & Intelligence and Wealth Creation (Yakubu, 2007, pp. iii-xiv). Accordingly, the Seven-Point Agenda was described as "the driving force of this administration's policies and programme" and was "perhaps the most important framework for policy implementation" (Yakubu, 2007).

Of this policy framework, the late President's administration was only able to record success in the Niger Delta, where his predecessor's disposition to using force to resolve the faceoff with militants was changed to dialogue in the amnesty programme. The question of the provision of critical infrastructure, considered by most Nigerians as the most fundamental challenge in growth of the economy was not realised. This was the case with other objectives such as food security, human capital, home ownership, national security, intelligence and wealth creation. In fact, the President's health challenge became a national security priority issue that other aspects of his administration suffered.

President Jonathan is implementing the Transformation Agenda policy framework of his administration, which runs from 2011 to 2015. That there was a planned agenda became evident in the course of his campaign and was articulated after his election to office. According to an analyst, the President refrained from making specific pledges and only spoke about his intention to change the ways things were done and give the country a new sense of direction. Thus the lack of specifics left the transformation agenda abstract in the minds of many Nigerians (Usigbe, 2012). It was indicative of the argument that Nigerian leaders were never prepared for the task of giving the country a sense of direction.

In blaming the development and growth of Nigerian economy and the non-commensurate improvement in the welfare of citizens on the absence of "long term perspective, and lack of continuity, consistency and commitment to agreed policies", the administration was not only contradictory but it shot itself in the foot because it jettisoned the previous administration's policy document, which by all reckoning did not differ from its own. This stance questions its "avowed intention to correct these flaws". This is because an examination of the contents and inspiration for the Transformation Agenda showed that most was contained in the Seven-Point Agenda and drew its inspiration from the Vision 20: 2020. The Agenda has the following areas of priority: macroeconomic framework and economic direction, job creation, public expenditure management, governance, justice and judiciary, foreign policy and economic diplomacy, legislature, education, health sector, labour and productivity, infrastructure policies, programmes and projects, power, information and communication technology, Niger Delta and transportation (Usigbe, 2012, pp. 2-8).

While it is too early to comment on the success of the policy framework, its implementation by the different institutions of government leaves much to be desired. For instance, the area of governance, and in particular addressing corruption by existing institutions, leaves a sour taste in the mouth of many Nigerians and consistently questions the commitment of the administration to break with the past. The oil subsidy and pension fund probe, and before it the power sector probe, are all examples of unresolved areas. The inability to tackle corruption as a development challenge has continuously enmeshed Nigerians in poverty, insecurity and attendant social vices. Neither are Nigerians noticing any marked improvement in infrastructure such as transportation and power generation. Projects like the Abuja-Lokoja road, a vital road artery connecting north and south which began in the Obasanjo administration, has remained uncompleted with its attendant insecurity. The inability to complete this road demonstrates the lack of political will in tackling corruption. Significantly, it is a pointer to what lies in store for Nigerians in terms of implementing the full complement of the Transformation Agenda. The travails of power generation are no different.

The development challenge confronting Nigeria is not a national responsibility alone. It cuts across states and local governments. Resolving this challenge calls for a coordinated approach from all levels of governments.

This is lacking. While setting agendas and goals defined administrations at the national level, states and local governments key into these goals as policy statements without necessarily believing in them. For instance, it is not uncommon to hear governments at the lower levels committing themselves to the Transformation Agenda of the present national government. Beyond this commitment, there is nothing happening to demonstrate this. When the late President was at the helm, there were many versions of his Seven-Point Agenda, such as Governor Sambo's 11-Point Agenda in Kaduna State and Governor Doma's 13-Point Agenda for Nasarawa State. In the case of Nasarawa State, there was nothing to show for the ill-fated four years of Governor Aliyu Akwe Doma, except stealing public funds. Embedded in these agendas are insecurity and the dwindling faith of Nigerians.

IMPLICATIONS FOR SECURITY

One of the major problems confronting Nigeria since independence is the lack of leadership and strong institutions. Over fifty years after attaining independence, the country, in spite of its human and material endowment, is lacking in all critical infrastructures and has been governed on an ad-hoc basis without the benefit of planning. The lack of infrastructure has resulted in the collapse of initiatives in both the formal and informal sectors of the economy. The lion's share of responsibility for this state of affairs lies with past military dictatorships. In the last ten years of civil rule, nearly one thousand companies have closed their doors (Agboola, 2009, p. 42) and education, which should be the bedrock of whatever vision the leadership has for its people, has collapsed with teachers incessantly taking strike action over poor funding and welfare. The reason behind the closure of the companies was "unstable power supply". This is in spite of the over $16 billion sunk into the sector by the Obasanjo administration alone, and the equally huge resources committed to it by the late President Yar'adua and the present administration. Nigerians are not only insecure, they are distrustful of promises, as the dividends of democracy such as jobs, avenues for self-empowerment and improved living standards are not manifest.

Secondly, Nigerians are losing faith in the leadership, which in most cases they did not elect. The ruling Peoples' Democratic Party lacks internal democracy, resulting in the imposition of unpopular candidates on the people. While the scale of malpractice in the 2011 election was unlike the 2007 election, it was a process fraught with many irregularities. After ten years of democracy, the purported promise imbued in this governance type has visited hardship on the people. Policies such as reforming the electoral system and declaring an emergency on the power sector petered out, and can conveniently be blamed on the former
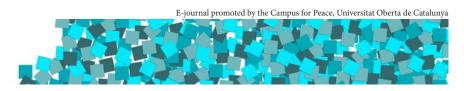
President's health problem. So did his determination to implement the Seven-Point Agenda and building the foundation for making Nigeria one of the twenty top economies in the year 2020. All these left Nigerian people disenchanted.

Thirdly, the continuing insecurity in the country is indicative of the dissatisfaction with development following the return to civil rule. The difference between military rule and democracy is the freedom of expression in the latter. In the former, there was little room for expression. Setting agendas is now a convenient way to postpone the salvation of Nigerians to distant dates. These agendas become, for those who have the means and can access them, an opportunity to build fences against growing poverty. These are just a few people while the majority have learned to survive outside the state and have no loyalty whatsoever to it (FSI, 2013). The spate of violence in the country reflects not only the catharsis the leadership inertia and ineptitude provided the people, but also an expression of a failing state The country is not only manifest in the twelve indices on the Failed State Index, it has maintained consistency in the total scores since 2005 (FSI 2013). The increasing reliance on coercive resources of the state in order to legitimise its rule chimed with the narrow definition of security as regime safety. This is because, in failing to enhance economic security which would guarantee legitimacy for the regime in the eyes of the people, the government is compelled to rely on state security to protect itself from its people.

Fourthly, a large swathe of the country's institutions has been turned into private fiefs for individuals and groups affiliated to them. The situation leaves many who cannot access them excluded and alienated. Institutions such as the Federal Character Commission (FCC) cannot ensure compliance with federal character in other institutions, while the Independent Corrupt Practices Commission (ICPC) and Economic and Financial Crime Commission (EFCC) have demonstrated their inability to tackle corruption. All administrations since 1999 have committed themselves, in their agendas, to tackling corruption and the poverty it spawned. It is reasonable to admit that they have demonstrated a great lack of political will to tackle corruption and poverty. This scenario permeates other sectors of government and society. In the process, they have destroyed the faith of Nigerians in their administration.

CONCLUSION

When governments repeatedly fail to deliver on their promises to the people, it leaves a wide communication gap between the government and the people. This creates insecurity. Persistence in the non-fulfilment and implementation of policies contravene the social contract between the government and the people. The last ten years of civil rule are replete with failed promises and agendas that have not been delivered. This affects governance.

In view of the often unprepared leadership Nigeria has been experiencing, it is advisable to reduce the expectation of the people by not devising grand schemes that will not see the light of the day. Considering that the leaders have been produced by one political party since 1999 at the national level, insisting on the continuity of policies may d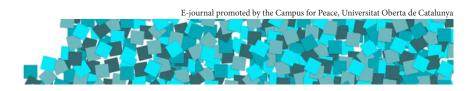issuade the need for 'fresh' policy thrust at the commencement of a new administration. However, until there is the political will to tackle corruption and other development challenges confronting Nigeria, administrations will keep churning out unrealizable agendas as a way of keeping citizens at bay, while insecurity and dwindling faith in government will be on the increase. ◼

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ARTICLE

British Prime Minister Tony Blair's Irish Potato Famine Apology

Jason A. Edwards
Amber Luckie

Abstract

In June 1997, Prime Minister Tony Blair issued a statement expressing remorse for the British government's inaction to assist the Irish during the potato famine of the late 1840s. Blair's contrition was met with praise and criticism, but it proved to be part of the larger narrative in the peace negotiations within Northern Ireland. Although Blair's apology is often cited as an exemplar of political leaders apologizing for historical injustices, little actual scholarly work on this subject has been conducted. To that end, this paper examines Blair's potato famine apology through the theory of collective apology. We argue that collective apologies serve to build, repair, renew, and strengthen bonds between communities harmed by historical wrongdoing. Moreover, collective apologies are meditations in collective memory about the past, present, and future relationship between communities. We assess Blair's apology through this theoretical lens, discussing the potential impact that it had on the Northern Ireland peace process.

Keywords

INTRODUCTION

On June 1, 1997, Irish actor Gabriel Byrne read a statement from newly elected British Prime Minister Tony Blair. The statement was presented at a festival in Millstreet, County Cork, Ireland, commemorating the 150th anniversary of the Irish Potato Famine (*The Irish Times*, 2 June 1997, p. 1). In that declaration, Prime Minister Blair expressed remorse for Britain's failure to offer greater assistance during the famine where over one million died and hundreds of thousands more were displaced. The Potato Famine is a major event in Anglo-Irish history and a defining episode in constructing Irish identity and Anglo-Irish relations.

Blair's statement was met with wide acclaim. Nicholas Watt called his contrition greatly "significant", which was meant "to heal one of the greatest wounds in Anglo-Irish history" (Watt, 1997, p. 21). Additionally, it was read "as a signal of the government's genuine desire not only to inject fresh momentum into the peace process but also to ensure complete unity with whoever is in office in Dublin" (Wallen, 1997, p. A7). However, Blair was criticized for apologizing for events 150 years in the past where there was historical disagreement regarding British responsibility for the famine (Wallen, 1997, p. A7). According to Blair's critics, the apology created an expectation that more mea culpas may be presented from 10 Downing Street for past British injustices. Ultimately, Blair's apology can be read as a bold political move bringing opportunities and

challenges for British politics, questions regarding citizenship, and the Northern Ireland peace process.

We focused on Tony Blair's apology for three reasons. First, Blair's rhetoric was one of the first examples of a collective apology issued by a post-Cold War era political. It is continually referenced in newspaper accounts of other apologies, but little scholarly work on this statement had been done (for exceptions, see Cunningham, 2004). Thus, we wanted to investigate this oft referenced apology further. Also, it was one of the first times a British Prime Minister had apologized for historical events, setting a precedent that Prime Ministers Brown and Cameron have followed and might be followed by future prime ministers. Understanding this rhetorical precedent can give us insight into how future British leaders might approach public apology. Finally, Blair's apology serves as an entry point to symbolically examine how Anglo-Irish relations improved and helped to jumpstart the Northern Ireland peace process. In this essay, our purpose is to explain the symbolic workings of Blair's apology and how it laid some important groundwork for future reconciliation efforts.

To that end, we begin with a theoretical discussion of what constitutes a political apology (Edwards, 2010). Then, we examine Tony Blair's apology by first laying out the historical and immediate context for such a statement to be presented and then analyzing the prime minister's statement. Next, we briefly assess the reception of Blair's address and expectations that were generated from it. Finally, we discuss the connections and/or questions that this essay conjures up regarding the literature on political apologies and reconciliation.

COLLECTIVE APOLOGIES

Since the end of the Cold War a number of different political leaders have apologized for past transgressions. Scholars in various disciplines have spoken to their symbolic power. For example, in their edited collection on apologies and reconciliation, Elazar Barkan and Alexander Karn (2006) asserted apologies can help reconstitute relationships harmed by historical wrongdoing. Apologies can create conditions for forgiveness, while also allowing for governments struggling with the past to put painful legacies behind them. Melissa Nobles (2008) described how the power of an apology lay in its ability to not only "ratify certain public interpretations of history, but also to morally judge, assign responsibility, and introduce expectations about what acknowledgment of that history requires" (p. 2). Danielle Celermajer (2009) maintained apologies work to "re-covenant" a nation so it can (re)build its national polity. Similarly, Lisa Villadsen (2012) argued apologies can be an important step in "civic reconstruction" as different groups try to mend relationships and create a common feeling of identity (p. 231).

Surprisingly, rhetorical studies scholars have not inquired deeply to ascertain the generic functions and strategies of this phenomenon. To that end, we synthesized observations from other research on apology, examined various apologies by political leaders, and built on previous published work (see Edwards, 2005, 2008a, 2008b, 2009) to create a theory that accounts for the broad functions and rhetorical strategies of this rhetorical genre, collective apologies. These speech acts they function in three broad ways. First, collective apologies seek to reconstitute, rebuild, and strengthen relationships amongst communities harmed by historical wrongdoing perpetuated by one community against another (Edwards, 2010, p. 62). A collective apology serves as a rhetorical first step in redressing old wounds so collectives may begin building a bridge to reconciliation. It is not a panacea and will not heal all wounds caused by past transgressions, but it can lay the groundwork to shift the relational dynamic between victimizer and victim from animosity to one of conciliation and mutual understanding.

Second, collective apologies, as a form of collective memory, function as a revision and reconsideration of past events between communities. Collective memory is a body of beliefs about the past that helps a public or society understand its history, present, and (by implication) its future (Bodnar, 1994, p. 76). It involves an interpretation of history that can be widely ratified by the general public (Browne, 1999; Edy, 1999). By its nature, collective memory is selective, partial, and often carefully managed in certain ways for strategic purposes (Bostdorff & Goldzwig, 2005; Parry-Giles & Parry-Giles, 2000). Accordingly, a collective apology serves as a reflection on past, present, and future relationships with the victimized collective. These apologies become lessons about what communities should and should not do in their interactions with each other. As such, they serve as revisions to the dominant perceptions of history, signal a new direction in their interaction with an offended group, and seek to reshape the relationship between victimizer and victim. Speakers who issue collective apologies are attempting to face and understand a nation-state's dark past, while immunizing and inoculating that collective from making the same mistakes (Yamazaki, 2005, p. 128).

Third, collective apologies provide a rhetorical position to reconstruct communal and civic identity. A group's communal and civic identity is, in part, discursively constructed through a variety of means such as national anthems sung, history that is revered, historical heroes celebrated, and many other symbolic activities. Historical transgressions can break these symbolic bonds. They put one group above another. They serve as impediments to all groups believing they are equal in a society. Collective apologies can begin a rebalancing of the obligations different groups have for each other. In one sense, they can bring a collective, who may have been ostracized because of historical transgressions, back into the fold of a

community (Edwards & Luckie, 2011). At the same time, collective apologies may deleverage power the victimized community may have in receiving concessions and reparations from the victimizers. If an apology is presented and accepted by a victimized community and that community later asks for greater corrective action for historical transgressions committed against them, then it is very possible the apologizer will be reluctant to provide further expression of regret, apology, or reparation of some kind because a collective apology has already provided. Consequently, collective apologies can begin to re-establish a civic balance amongst groups or at the very least give victimized communities an opportunity for greater success within larger societies. At the same time, the power that may come with being a victim of historical injustice may be lost because the society as a whole expects them to participate equally and without preference for one group over another.

The content of a collective apology is composed of three primary strategies. First, speakers acknowledge a wrong has been committed. Aaron Lazare asserted acknowledging wrongdoing was *the* most important aspect of an apology because failure to be forthcoming can render the apology's sentiment suspect (2004, p. 76). In acknowledging wrongdoing, speakers delineate injustices committed against their victims. Girma Negash referred to this accounting of injustices as "reckoning" (2006, p. 8). Reckoning is defined as putting the victimizer's crimes on the historical record in an open and public fashion. By confessing and discussing the atrocities committed, both the injurer and injured can take stock of the event in question. Additionally, rhetors specify the victims of these injustices. Victims of historical wrongdoing are "the ghosts of the past that will not remain in their graves until their stories are told" (Nytagodien & Neal, 2004, p. 468). Recognizing and naming the injured parties gives voice to the "ghosts" of the past and their descendants. These victims' stories are finally being discussed. Their history, in some small part, is being recovered. Instead of being treated as inferior members of the body politic, speakers recognize and give voice to their humanity. In acknowledging another person's humanity, Shriver noted that a speaker "lays the groundwork for both the construction and repair of any human community" (Shriver, 1995, p. 8).

Mortification is the second element rhetors use in a collective apology. According to language theorist Kenneth Burke, all human beings, subsequently all communities, strive to achieve perfection through the social orders they build (Burke, 1961, p.3). These orders offer stability. However, when that order is disturbed or imperfect it becomes a source of pollution or, to use the favored Burkean term, guilt. For Burke, guilt serves as the basis of drama in social relationships and motivates human behavior. Guilt is an undesirable state of affairs that can have a debilitating impact upon an individual or a society (Brummett, 1980, p. 68). Consequently, guilt must be expunged. One of the ways individuals or communities can expunge guilt is through mortification. Mortification involves a form of self-sacrifice. The individual or community (often through an official representative) makes a symbolic offering to appease society and repair social order. In a collective apology, this symbolic offering is accepting responsibility for society's actions and expressing remorse for the wrongdoing. Through this act, the rhetor purifies the social order, allowing redemption to be attained and stability restored.

Finally, collective apologies contain some form of corrective action. William Benoit (1995) described corrective action as the steps a rhetor will take to make sure problems do not reoccur (p. 78). These actions seek to start the process of repairing relationships between communities. They send a signal that the victimizers will be assisting the victimized. Additionally, these actions position the two communities to forge relationships based on mutual interest and respect.

PRIME MINISTER BLAIR'S APOLOGY FOR THE IRISH POTATO FAMINE

Situational Context

The Irish Potato Famine was one of the watershed events in Irish history and Anglo-Irish relations. It changed Ireland in every possible demographic. Originally, the potato was grown in Ireland as a crop for its gentry class. In the middle of the 18th century, however, the crop became a staple for many poor tenant farmers. By the early part of the 19th century, potatoes became a staple food for practically everyone living in Ireland, particularly the poor. To accommodate this new staple crop more and more acreage was dedicated to its farming; thereby, increasing Ireland's reliance on a large potato crop to be harvested. It was not only a major food source, but was a basis of currency farmers could use to pay debts, sell to internal markets, and/or export to various parts of the British Empire or other parts of the world (Dolan 2002).

From 1801, because of the Act of Union, Ireland was directly governed as part of the United Kingdom. Over the next 40 years, British leaders struggled with how to govern Ireland. Irish politicians and its population constantly complained of being treated as second-class citizens within the Empire (Kinealy, 1995). The government was accused of not providing the Irish with enough resources in terms of housing, food, employment, revamping property laws (many Irish farmers did not own their own land), and staples to maintain more than subsistence living (Gray 1995). Accordingly, prior to the famine many Irish people lived in poor conditions, some constantly on the verge of starvation. The famine only exacerbated this dire situation.

In 1845 the potato harvest within Ireland dropped significantly because of potato blight, a fungus affecting the potato plant. Basically, this fungus causes the potato to be rotten from the inside out making it impossible to consume. In 1845, by autumn, nearly 1/3 to 1/2 of the potato crop was affected by the fungus (Donnelly, 2005). By 1846 nearly 75% of the entire potato crop had been destroyed. Because it was a staple food source for many in Ireland the potato blight caused immediate and great hardship. The British government attempted to respond to the famine by obtaining other food stuffs for the island. Prime Minister Robert Peel bought maize and cornmeal to be shipped to Ireland. However, the foodstuffs sent had not been properly processed, causing them to be difficult to eat (Kinealy, 1995). There is also evidence that Ireland produced enough food during the famine to feed its people, but much of that food (pork, beef, wheat, and other crops) was exported to other parts of the British Empire and the United States, further exacerbating the lack of affordable food for the poor (Gallagher, 1987).

Contributing to the crisis was the potato blight put many farmers out of work, which hampered their ability to generate enough income to afford expensive foods, like bread or meat. In view of that, the British government attempted to create a variety of public works jobs that put 500,000 Irishmen to work. However, the jobs were not properly run, there was rampant corruption, and the wages paid for those positions was woefully inadequate for the employed to buy food they could afford (Lyons, 1973, pp. 30-34). In early 1847, Lord John Russell, who replaced Peel as Prime Minister, stopped all public works projects and food aid, leaving thousands in peril. Although relief missions were organized from various parts of the world including British charities, the United States, and the Ottoman Empire over 1 million people died because of the famine and another 1-2 million Irish emigrated to the United States, Canada, Australia, or elsewhere. Simply put, the Irish Potato Famine changed the landscape of Ireland forever and caused severe resentment among many Irish toward the British government.

In the 1980s and mid-1990s, Anglo-Irish relations improved. As Ireland approached the 150th anniversary of the potato famine the Irish opposition leader, soon to be prime minister, Bertie Ahearn formally asked the British government for a formal apology for its role in exacerbating the effects of the potato famine (*The Irish Times*, 2 June 1997, p. 1). British Prime Minister John Major refused to provide an apology, but he had begun to make significant overtures to restarting the Northern Ireland peace negotiations, which had been hampered by Irish Republican Army (IRA) violence and the unwillingness of national and unionist parties to negotiate a settlement. In May 1997, Tony Blair became the first Labor Prime Minister in 18 years. In his autobiography, Prime Minister Blair believed his election provided a new opportunity to achieve peace within Northern Ireland. He came to 10 Downing Street with a plan to restart negotiations (Blair, 2010, pp. 153-199). The 150th anniversary of the potato famine gave the new prime minister an opportunity to provide a small gesture that could move the dialogue forward. It was a message to the Irish "that he was leading a very modern British government that was keen to deal with Ireland, north and south, in an even-handed manner free from the shackles of the past" (Wintour & Watt, 2012, para. 14). Subsequently, Blair became the first British Prime Minister to express any public contrition for this event (Marks, 1997, p. 2). Blair apologized for the past to begin a better present and future.

Prime Minister Blair's "Apology"

Through the voice of Irish actor Gabriel Byrne, Blair's statement began with the traditional pleasantries toward his audience. Then in his first substantive sentences he reflected on the impact of the Irish Potato Famine. Blair stated, "the Famine was a defining event in the history of Ireland and of Britain. It has left deep scars. That one million people should have died in what was then part of the richest and most powerful nation in the world is something that still causes pain as we reflect on it today" (Blair, 1997). These initial sentences constituted Blair's acknowledgement. He noted the Potato Famine was a "defining event" in the history of Anglo-Irish relations. He identified that there were over "one million" victims as part of this historical event. Consequently, the Famine within "the richest and most powerful nation in the world" has left "deep scars" that continued to impede Anglo-Irish relations. Implicitly, Blair's acknowledgement of the Potato Famine sent a signal to the Irish government he wanted to overcome and heal those "deep scars" that would engender deeper ties between Ireland and Britain. Moreover, his rhetoric suggested acknowledging the Potato Famine would symbolically remove an impediment to a deeper Anglo-Irish relationship, which could provide the Irish government impetus to put pressure on the IRA in Northern Ireland to re-start peace negotiations with the British government. Additionally, it gave the impression that Mr. Blair's government would be open to consider the grievances of Ireland and the people of Northern Ireland in attempting to move the peace process forward. Prime Minister Blair's acknowledgement signaled a new era in Anglo-Irish relations and in the continually stalled peace talks in Northern Ireland.

In the next sentence of his statement, Blair employed mortification by stating, "those who governed in London at the time failed their people through standing by while a crop failure turned into a massive human tragedy. We must not forget such a dreadful event" (Blair, 1997). Note Prime Minister Blair clearly delineated culpability for the Potato Famine rested with "those who governed in London" at the time. He implicitly took responsibility for the results of Ireland's potato crop failure by noting the British

government "failed their people" by "standing by", doing nothing to assist the Irish, which turned into a "massive human tragedy" for millions of Irishmen. By taking responsibility for London's inaction, Blair symbolically removed the guilt that continued to pollute relations between the Ireland and Britain. In doing so, Blair rebalanced and repositions Anglo-Irish relations on a more positive footing because this historical transgression was fully being dealt with in the present so it does not impede future ties between the two nations. At the same time, Blair's rhetoric suggested he would not be a leader that ignored human tragedies, namely the situation within Northern Ireland. Hence, Prime Minister Blair's tenure marked a new chapter in the history of Ireland and Britain, one built on mutual respect, mutual responsibility, and a future where each nation's fate was intertwined with the other.

The rest of the Blair's statement focused on commemorating the efforts of the Irish people in the wake of the Potato Famine. Blair (1997) emphasized:

"It is also right that we should pay tribute to ways in which the Irish people have triumphed in the face of this catastrophe. Britain in particular has benefited immeasurably from the skills and talents of Irish people, not only in areas such as music, the arts and the caring professions but across the whole spectrum of our political, economic and social life. Let us therefore today not only remember those who died but also celebrate the resilience and courage of those men and women who were able to forge another life outside Ireland, and the rich culture and vitality they brought with them. Britain, the U.S. and many Commonwealth countries are richer for their presence".

Here, Blair was not commemorating the Potato Famine, but the "Irish people" because of their resilience through the "face of this catastrophe." According to Blair, Irish men and women have enhanced the larger British community across all spectrums of life. They have made communities within Britain, the United States, and other British Commonwealth countries (Australia, New Zealand, and others) "richer for their presence". Commemorating and remembering the Irish who not only survived this tragedy, but their descendants, in a sense, tells the stories of Irish past and present. Blair's rhetoric appeared to say to his Irish audience that despite the difficult Anglo-Irish past the Irish deserve equal standing in the history of the British Empire. At the time of the Potato Famine Irish were constructed as second-class citizens. By acknowledging the great work of the Irish in British society Blair suggested he wanted to historically revise Ireland's place within British history. Instead of second-class citizens, the Irish deserve an exalted place in making the United Kingdom one of the "richest and most powerful nations in the world". This rhetoric, we assert, constituted Blair's corrective action. As

noted earlier, corrective action typically entails rhetors outlining specific concrete steps their nation will take to right the past wrongs for survivors of these injustices. However, because the Irish potato famine took place 150 years earlier there were no direct survivors; no specific reparations to be made or laws passed that could correct that wrongdoing. At the same time, the Potato Famine left a legacy of ill will within Anglo-Irish relations. Blair's tribute to the Irish people, as well as his acknowledgement and mortification concerning the Irish Potato Famine, to rebalance, deepen, and strengthen the Anglo-Irish relationship, also positioned him to leverage this enhanced relationship to make greater progress in the Northern Ireland peace negotiations.

Although Tony Blair's apology was quite short, and not actually delivered in person, it received considerable attention from Irish, British, and international newspapers. After looking at over 100 articles on Blair's Potato Famine rhetoric we found specific negative and positive reaction to the prime minister's statement. British historian Lawrence James argued Blair's acceptance of responsibility for the Potato Famine was just another buy-in to the myth that Irish nationalists constructed around this seminal event. Rather, he asserted Britain's inability to assist the Irish was due to its belief at the time in "their passionate belief in free trade and market forces", which led them to be "unwilling to spend government money on food for the Irish" because they "feared the economic consequences of a dependency culture and state aid was discontinued" (James, 1997, p. 8). The British government's response was incompetence, not anti-Irish malice. Incompetence, according to James, did not deserve an apology. If that was the case "then every government in the world would be issuing apologies" (James, 1997, p. 8).

British Unionist leaders in Northern Ireland were tougher in reviewing Blair's discourse. John Taylor and Ian Paisley, Jr., prominent Unionist politicians, forecasted Blair's apology would result in "a rash of British acts of political contrition to Irish nationalism, scraping apologies and sickening concessions" (Pauley, 1997, p. 8). John Taylor went so far as to claim "the Irish mentality is one of victimhood and to ask for one apology one week and another on a different subject the next" (Wallen, 1997, p. A7). Essentially, those that disagreed with Blair's rhetoric observed there was no need to apologize for something that occurred over 150 years ago and any apology would only lead to further concessions, which would undercut the reconciliation process not enhance it.

Despite this negativity, the Irish and British public's reception from 10 Downing Street was generally positive. The Irish government welcomed Blair's remarks stating, "while the statement confronts the past honestly, it does so in a way that heals for the future. The Prime Minister is to be complimented for the thought and care shown in his statement". Moreover, the American Irish Political Education Committee commended the British prime minister for

taking responsibility for the Potato Famine. They stated he "deserves enormous credit for taking this step" (Fincuane, 1997, p. 11). Gerry Adams, leader of the Irish Republican Army's political wing Sinn Fein, begrudgingly accepted Blair's contrition (*The Australian*, 4 June 1997, p. 10). One reader of the *Irish Times* noted "Tony Blair has taken an important step towards a better relationship between Ireland and Great Britain" (Laird, 1997, p. 15). Ultimately, the *Irish Times* observed the prime minister "deserves bouquets for the famine apology", while he "added dignity" to the commemoration of the Potato Famine (Holland, 1997, p. 18). Considering Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahearn called for the British to apologize for the potato famine two years earlier, his government and most Irish press accounts praised Blair's rhetoric we can assume Blair's contrition made a positive impression on the Irish government and Irish public.

In Britain, the press generally characterized Blair's apology rhetoric as "significant" and "historic", which would rebalance Anglo-Irish relations as more equitable and put the Northern Ireland peace process back on track (Watt, 1997, p. 2). Historian Peter Gray asserted Tony Blair's words, while carefully chosen, should be welcomed (Gray, 1997, p. 19). Anthony Cary, a Counselor for the British Embassy in Washington D.C., argued Tony Blair's "apology" "is as step towards reconciliation" between Ireland and Britain, while laying the groundwork for more constructive peace talks in Northern Ireland (Cary, 1997, p. A22). Contrary to the nattering nabobs of negativity, the majority of press accounts maintained Blair's rhetoric would lead to better relations between Great Britain and Ireland, while raising expectations in the Northern Ireland peace process. As such, we can state, as it did in Ireland, it left a positive impression upon the British public and laid important reconciliation groundwork.

Evidence of this last claim can be found in how the press speculated how the apology might influence the Northern Ireland peace talks. Within three months of Blair's apology Sinn Fein and Ulster Unionist leaders met for the first time at the negotiating table (*Deutsche Press Agentur*, 23 September 1997). Within four months of Blair's apology, British newspapers began to speculate Prime Minister Blair was going to apologize for Bloody Sunday. Over the course of four more months, the British press on no fewer than four occasions predicted 10 Downing Street would apologize for that event (see Cairns, 1997, p. 1; Eastham, 1998, p. 1; Macleod & Campbell, 1998, p. 2; Millar, 1997, p. 3).

Within these press accounts, Blair's potato famine apology was cited as the precedent for this apology and marked a turning point in Northern Ireland peace negotiations. As it turned out, Tony Blair appointed a commission, headed by its top judicial official Lord Widgery, to reassess all of the evidence surrounding Bloody Sunday before an official apology would occur. Perhaps, it was this gesture of reconsidering the evidence over Bloody Sunday that eventually led to the Good Friday accords in April 1998, which essentially created a framework for peace within Northern Ireland, led the IRA to issue an apology for its atrocities in 2002, and subsequent apologies by Tony Blair and his successors Gordon Brown and David Cameron over incidents that occurred in Northern Ireland (Cunningham, 2004). It may be difficult to make a specific causal link between Prime Minister Blair's apology and Northern Ireland reconciliation efforts. However, one can certainly assert his rhetoric raised expectations for an apology for Bloody Sunday (which eventually occurred under Prime Minister Cameron). If nothing else it rhetorically set the tone for relational dynamics to significantly change in Anglo-Irish relations and within the Northern Ireland peace process.
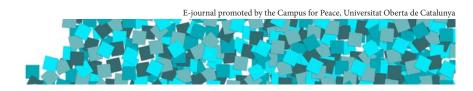
Tony Blair's apology for the Irish potato famine represented an important moment in rebalancing Anglo-Irish relations, while jumpstarting Northern Ireland peace negotiations. Ultimately, apologies, statements of contrition, regret, reconciliation, forgiveness, and the like, are more likely to become commonplace as more societies transition from one set of circumstances to another, as well as established communities confronting the past so they can maintain, deepen, and strengthen the communal bonds amongst its citizens. As Hannah Arendt (1963) put it, "every generation, by virtue of being born into a historical continuum, is burdened by the sins of the father as it is blessed by the deeds of the ancestors" (p. 27). Prime Minister Blair's attempt to deal with one of the sins of its father was not a panacea that wiped away the pain, destruction, and loss caused by the British callous response to the Potato Famine. However, it did function to symbolically realign Anglo-Irish relations, signaled Blair's willingness to proceed with peace negotiations in Northern Ireland, and created an overall political dynamic that broke through years of animosity. Nation-states that are in transition or already established would do well in following Blair's example, not necessarily his apology per se, but dealing with the "sins of the father" so "deeds of the ancestors" can truly be shared by all. ■

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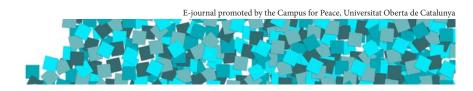
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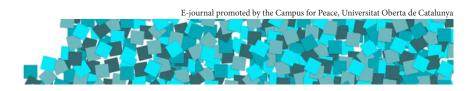
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ARTICLE

Post-apartheid South Africa: A Need for Genuine Conflict Transformation

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Abstract

South Africa emerged from the apartheid system in 1994 with great hopes for the transformation of the country from a crisis-ridden one to a more united and truly 'rainbow' country that would cater for the interests of the different races and groups that make up the nation. Shortly after independence, the country developed various programmes to transform the nation. These ranged from the creation of the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP) to the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), as well as other measures such as Affirmative Action. In spite of these efforts, both internal and external conflicts have become the hallmark of South African society even after apartheid. There has been a growing crisis of confidence between white and black communities, the poor and the rich, and between males and females. This has led to many violent clashes, which at times have threatened the very foundation upon which the post-apartheid South Africa was built. It is against this background that this paper argues for genuine conflict transformation in South Africa, over and above the conflict settlement and conflict resolution processes that have taken place in the country so far. It is a fact that real conflict transformation has not taken place in South Africa since democratization in 1994, and there is a need for it now if South Africa is to achieve genuine, meaningful development.

Keywords

conflict transformation, conflict settlement, conflict resolution, post-apartheid, South Africa

INTRODUCTION

South Africa is a country that has had serious conflicts in the past, especially during the apartheid era. The conflicts were manifested in many areas of life in the country, then with the black majority led by the African National Congress (ANC) on one side and the white minority led by the National Party, at the helm of the country's affairs, on the other side. The conflicts were characterized by uncompromising stands on the part of the two parties, and these led to deaths, incarceration and deprivation for many people. With a process that started in 1989, the conflicts were settled in 1994 with the first non-racial multi-party elections in South Africa and the handing over of political powers to the black people, as represented by the ANC, in the same year. Non-violent settlement of the conflicts between the black majority and the white minority was achieved in 1994 with the consequent establishment of a 'rainbow' nation. This led to the inauguration of a new constitution in 1996, which has provisions such as affirmative action. The successive events created a belief in the people that the post-conflict South Africa was better for them and transformation in the real sense had taken place in the country. Contrary to these expectations, many prominent issues on the negotiation table during the apartheid era are still with the country today without being resolved. This has brought about people asking whether or not real conflict transformation has taken place in South Africa.

The goal of this paper is to critically examine and evaluate the concept of conflict transformation and whether or not real conflict transformation has taken place in post-conflict and post-apartheid South Africa. This paper will be divided into four parts. The first part will attempt to give conceptual clarifications of conflict transformation, conflict settlement and conflict resolution. The second part will examine the conflict situation in South Africa during apartheid and the efforts of South Africa at conflict transformation after apartheid. The third part will bring out how the efforts of South Africa are devoid of real conflict transformation and suggest ways to go about it. The last part will be the conclusion where all the discussions will be wrapped up.

CONCEPTUAL CLARIFICATIONS OF THEORIES OF CONFLICT MANAGEMENT

There is a need for conceptual clarification with regard to conflict transformation because, according to Reimann (2004: 2), "the terms conflict management, conflict resolution and conflict transformation are often used loosely and interchangeably, in many cases referring to the same strategies" whereas they are not the same. In this section, this conceptual clarification is only with regard to the meaning of conflict settlement and conflict resolution because meaning is often confused with conflict transformation. The paper's focus is mainly on real conflict transformation and how post-apartheid South Africa fits into this.

i. Conflict Settlement

Conflict settlement focuses on the logic of management using a realist power politics paradigm as its backing (Riemann, 2004). It emphasizes differences between the conflicting parties rather than paying more attention to things they have in common. Conflict settlement employs force to "halt violence and gain a quick settlement which is often in the interests of the status quo" (Fisher, 2001: 3). Conflict settlement "should not be understood as a necessary precondition for conflict resolution" (Reimann, 2004: 5). Negotiation and mediation are the essential strategies of conflict settlement. In conflict settlement, a cessation of hostilities is of prime importance while the underlying cause of conflict is often neglected. Advocates of conflict settlement ignore the fact that failure to address the causes of conflict at the early stage of negotiation may actually undermine progress in tackling immediate grievances. Indeed, failure to resolve the underlying grievances might lead to renewed fighting and possible escalation of the conflict situation (Lloyd, 2001: 205).

ii. Conflict Resolution

Conflict resolution has to do with "all process orientated activities that aim to address the underlying causes of direct, cultural and structural violence" (Reimann, 2004: 9). When we talk of structural violence, we mean "the social, political and economic structure of a conflict situation when unequal power, domination and dependency are perpetuated" (Reimann, 2004: 9). By cultural violence we mean "the social and cultural legitimization of direct and structural violence" (Reimann, 2004: 9). Louis Kriesberg, Ron Fisher, Herb Kelman and John Burton are strong advocates of the conflict resolution approach in conflict management.

Conflict resolution is different from conflict settlement in the sense that, while the latter does not pay attention to the underlying causes of conflict in the process of negotiating peace, conflict resolution sees "protracted conflict as a natural result of unmet human needs. Consequently, the origin of protracted conflict can be found in the underlying needs of its participants" (Reimann, 2004: 9).

Because conflict resolution "seeks to discover, identify and resolve the underlying root causes of the conflict" (Diamond 1994: 3), consultation and facilitation remain the important strategies of conflict resolution. Conflict resolution lays emphasis on the "intervention by skilled but powerless third parties working unofficially with the parties to foster new thinking and new relationships" (Miall, 2006: 3).

iii. Conflict Transformation

Conflict transformation is the "outcome process and structure oriented long-term peace-building efforts, which aim to truly overcome revealed forms of direct cultural and structural violence" (Reimann, 2004: 10). Conflict transformation emanates from a mechanism built into, not outside, the system. Conflict transformation emphasizes capacity building and empowerment at the local level. That is why it is referred to as a bottom-up approach in conflict management. The main distinguishing feature of conflict transformation is that, while "conflict settlement and conflict resolution approaches tended to view (and render) the civilian population and grassroots levels as passive […] conflict transformation will not be primarily the result of third-party intervention as it was under conflict resolution or conflict settlement" (Reimann, 2004: 11).

Conflict transformation sees building domestic peace as a necessary condition for both national and international peace building processes. Consequently, conflict transformation advocates integrating all the strategies of peace building within conflict settlement, conflict resolution and conflict transformation. They should not be seen as distinct but as playing complementary roles in the overall process of peace building in conflict management.

Conflict transformation understands conflict to be an element of political control as well as a propeller for social change. It also sees conflict as a natural expression of non-violent struggle for social justice (Reimann, 2004: 13).

Furthermore, conflict transformation lays much emphasis on the question of social justice, and this makes it reject the traditional aim of conflict management to restore the status quo ante. On the contrary conflict transformation views conflict as a positive agent for social change (Reimann, 2004: 13). This is comparable to the view of Karl Marx that conflict is inevitable if society wants to achieve real progress and development. The major difference between conflict resolution and conflict transformation is that the former focuses more on the conflict itself, and how to resolve the underlying causes of the conflict, while the latter lays emphasis on how the system that brought about conflict could be changed. While the underlying causes of conflict can be resolved through conflict resolution, structural systems – including economic, cultural, military and political ones – cannot be resolved but only transformed. Hence conflict transformation is different and complementary to conflict resolution.

So when we talk of conflict transformation, the real transformation takes place within the systems that give rise to the conflict. It is when the whole system is transformed, especially through non-violent means, that genuine conflict transformation, as distinct from both conflict settlement and conflict resolution, could be said to have taken place. It is against this background that Vayrynen (1991) talks about micro and macro transformations. He also comes up with four distinct but intertwined ways in which real transformation could take place. These are:

- Actor Transformation, which has to do with the internal changes that occur in the main parties to the conflict;
- Issue Transformation, which deals with the change in the political agenda of the conflict (i.e. altering what the conflict is about);
- Rule Transformation, which readjusts and redefines the values and norms that the actors in a conflict adhere to in their interactions with each other, and delineates the boundaries of their relationship;
- Structural Transformation, which refers to changes that may occur in the system or structure within which the conflict happens, more than just the limited changes among actors, issues and roles. (Vayrynen, 1991: 4)

According to Augsburger (1992), conflict transformation is more permeating and goes deeper than conflict resolution in the sense that it transforms not only the attitudes and behaviour of the actors in conflict from negative to positive, but also the conflict itself, through the process of emphasizing factors that make parties in a conflict compatible. It must be mentioned that conflict transformation

requires a long gestation period because its ultimate aim is to transform the structural imbalance and incompatibilities that give rise to conflict in society.

Real conflict transformation encompasses Track 1, Track 2 and Track 3 actors. Track 1 actors are political and military leaders who serve as mediators and representatives of conflict parties. Track 2 actors are private individuals, academics, professionals, and international and local NGOs involved in the conflict resolution. Track 3 actors are grassroots organizations, local and international development agencies, human rights organizations and humanitarian aid groups who engage in capacity-building and grassroots training to transform a conflict (Riemann, 2004: 4). All of them must be involved in the process of peace building. Conflict transformation goes beyond mere peace brokerage, to long-term sustainability of peace in a society. Lederach (2006) emphasizes the fact that conflict transformation goes beyond resolution of issues in conflict, to the restoration of relationships between parties in the conflict. In line with five different levels at which conflict occurs in the contemporary era, Miall (2006: 9-10) has come up with what he calls "transformers of conflict". He talks about five types of transformation that are embedded in conflict transformation. The first is context transformation, which has to do with "changes in the context of conflict that may radically alter each party's perception of the conflict situation, as well as their motives". The second is structural transformation, which consists of "changes in the basic structure of the conflict, that is to the set of actors, their issues, incompatible goals and relationships, or to the society, economy or state within which the conflict is embedded". The third is actor transformation, which encompasses "decisions on the part of actors to change their goals or alter their general approach to conflict". The fourth is issue transformation, which dwells on the reformulations of positions that parties take on key issues at the heart of the conflict as well as the way in which parties redefine or reframe those positions in order to reach compromises or resolution". The fifth transformation has to do with "personal changes of heart or mind within individual leaders or small groups with decision-making power at critical moments".

Conflict transformation shares with conflict resolution the concept of positive peace which "involves the building of structures and processes which emphasize economic, social and political justice for all" (Harris, 2008: 80). The process of achieving this is called peace building. This requires the antagonists to "agree upon and create the political, economic and social structures that will engender positive peace with social justice over the longer term" (Fisher, 2001: 3). Conflict goes beyond a return to the pre-conflict era as this era itself may not be desirable, because if it had been, the conflict would not have ensued. So conflict transformation transforms the past, the present and the future.

Conflict transformation is "a process of engaging with and transforming the relationships, interests, discourse

and, if necessary, the very constitution of society that supports the continuation of violent conflict" (Miall, 2006: 4.). Here, "people within the conflict parties, within the society or region affected, and outsiders with relevant human and material resources all have complementary roles to play in the long-term process of peace building" (Miall, 2006: 4). It is in line with this that Lederach (1995) sees conflict transformation as having a long-term objective of validating and building on people and resources within a society. The people and structures of society are not viewed mainly as problems but as important tools in achieving peace through transformative process.

Rupesinghe (1998) advocates the synthesis of Track l, 2 and 3 interventions in order to achieve a permeating, comprehensive and long-lasting peace in the society. The synthesis includes building peace constituencies at the grassroots level, creating peace alliances with any groups able to bring about changes, such as business groups, the media and the military, as well as engaging in diplomatic intervention. (Miall, 2006: 5). Lederach (2006) talks about four dimensions to a conflict, namely, personal, structural, relational and cultural. He says the four dimensions must be overcome in the process of conflict transformation. The four dimensions cut across all strata of the society, hence they require a short-, mid- and long-term approach.

Conflict is said to be transformed if "parties (in a conflict) shift positions and adopt new goals, new actors emerge and new situations develop allowing for new relationships and changed structures" (Miall, 2006: 7). Conflict transformation encompasses both prevention and post-conflict peace building in the art of peace making. Conflict transformation emphasizes constructive and non-violent, as opposed to destructive, ways of handling conflict. Handling conflict in a constructive way "reinforces the society's confidence in its civic institutions, culture and capacity to manage conflict peacefully. Further, it not only transforms relationships in conflict but it also strengthens the society's system of governance and capacity for conflict handling and peaceful change." (Miall, 2006: 11-12). On the other hand, a destructive way of handling conflict "results in an intensification of damage to the participants in conflict and the bystanders. It further destroys their cooperative capacities, including the system of governance, the economic order and the social relationships of the society, in some cases even the state." (Miall, 2006: 12)

There are four main groups of actors in conflict transformation, namely:

- states and inter-governmental organizations;
- development and humanitarian organizations;
- international NGOs concerned with conflict prevention and transformation;
- parties to the conflict and other relevant groups within the affected societies. (Miall, 2006:12)

Giving the overall features, intention and proposes of conflict transformation, Miall, (2006:17) submits that:

"Conflict transformation is a comprehensive approach, addressing a range of dimensions (micro-to macro-issues, local to global levels, grassroots to elite actors, short-term to long-term timescales). It aims to develop capacity and to support structural change, rather than to facilitate outcomes or deliver settlements. It seeks to engage with conflict at the pre-violence and post-violence phases, and with the causes and consequences of violent conflict, which usually extend beyond the site of fighting."

Ramsbotham (2005: 82) talks about descriptive and prescriptive understanding of conflict transformation. Descriptive understanding of conflict transformation "describes the general changes social conflict creates and the patterns it typically follows". On the other hand, prescriptive understanding of conflict transformation means "deliberate intervention to effect change". Conflict transformation "represents a comprehensive set of lenses for describing how conflict emerges from, evolves within, and brings about changes in the personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions, and for developing creative responses that promote peaceful change within those dimensions through non-violent mechanisms" (Ramsbotham, 2005: 83).

Conflict transformation has "the capacity to envision conflict as having the potential for constructive change" (Lederach and Maiese, 2003: 3). Conflict transformation "sees conflict as a valuable opportunity to grow and increases our understanding of ourselves and others" (Lederach and Maiese, 2003: 3). The main objective of conflict transformation is not "to find quick solutions to immediate problems, but rather to generate creative platforms that can simultaneously address surface issues and change underlying social structures and relationship patterns" (Lederach and Maiese, 2003: 3).

Conflict transformation conceives of peace as "a continuously evolving and developing quality of relationship. It is defined by intentional efforts to address the natural rise of human conflict through non-violent approaches that address issues and increase understanding, equality, and respect in relationships." (Lederach and Maiese, 2003: 3).

Conflict transformation intends to bring about changes in the personal, relational, structural and cultural dimensions in the following ways:

- Personal – Minimize destructive effects of social conflict and maximize the potential for personal growth at physical, emotional and spiritual levels;
- Relational – Minimize poorly functioning communication and maximize understanding;

- Structural – Understand and address root causes of violent conflict; promote non-violent mechanisms; minimize violence; foster structures that meet basic human needs and maximize public participation;
- Cultural – Identify and understand the cultural patterns that contribute to the rise of violent expressions of conflict; identify cultural resources for constructively handling conflict. (Lederach and Maiese, 2003: 4-5)

SOUTH AFRICAN EFFORTS AT REAL CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION

The ANC-led government under the leadership of Nelson Mandela embarked on three major policies as a way of addressing the root causes of conflict in South Africa while at the same time achieving conflict transformation in post-apartheid South Africa.

First was the Reconstruction and Development Program (RDP), which had the primary objective of reducing poverty and at the same time boosting employment opportunities. (Lloyd, 2001: 313). The program was a policy framework meant to "go beyond the (Freedom) charter to an actual program of government" (Mandela, 1994: 1).

The second policy was the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). This was "a mechanism intended to uncover activities of all parties in the past as a way to understand the hidden truths of the apartheid era, and to set the stage for forgiveness and healing" (Lloyd, 2003: 313). Nelson Mandela himself remarked that "true reconciliation […] has to be based on the creation of a truly democratic, non-racial, and non-sexist society so that everything that leads to racial and ethnic tension in our society is done away with" (ANC, 1996).

The third policy is affirmative action. This policy was designed to redress grievance related to employment. It aimed at expanding opportunities for the black community and addressing decades of injustice in employment practices (Lloyd, 2001: 314).

The three policies did not cover all the root causes of conflict in apartheid South Africa. The focus of the RDP was housing and employment, while the TRC focus was healing and reconciliation in the form of conflict settlement, and affirmative action was intended to go deeper into the problem of employment. From this, we can see clearly that the three policies fell short of expectations as the ingredients of conflict transformation. The underlying causes of conflict in apartheid South Africa went beyond housing, employment and fractured relationships. There were lots of structural, relational, personal and cultural dislocations in the apartheid South African society. What is needed are long-lasting, dynamically evolving and long-term peace-building processes that fit into the conflict transformation model. The fact that RDP was quietly shelved after two years, that TRC did not make the required headway and that affirmative action did not solve the problem expected of it, testify to the fact that the three policies were not in the realm of conflict transformation but in that of conflict settlement, and to some extent conflict resolution (Lloyd, 2001). The only element of conflict transformation in the South African case is that the South Africans negotiated their settlement with support from independent mediators who only facilitated the process.

The top-level approach to peace building believes in the cessation of hostilities and relies on political leadership with a high public profile. With this approach, "the greatest potential and the primary responsibility for achieving peace resides with the representative leaders of the parties to the conflict" (Lederach, 2006: 45). The National Peace Accord represents the middle-level approach to peace building in South Africa after apartheid. The National Peace Accord "was a move toward identifying key people in critical locations who, working through a network, would begin to build an infrastructure capable of sustaining the general progression toward peace" (Lederach, 2006: 51). The overall objective of the middle level approach to peace building is "the development of institutional capacities through the training of a broad array of individuals to respond to the volatile period of transition" (Lederach, 2006: 51). It is important to note that, while the top level approach achieves conflict settlement, the middle level approach achieves conflict resolution. South Africa engaged in these two levels while the third level was completely neglected, hence the lack of genuine and real conflict transformation in South Africa even 20 years after the end of apartheid.

In other words, since the end of apartheid, conflict transformation has not taken place in South Africa as "divergent interests, differing perception and definition of justice, and unhealed wounds remain" (Lloyd, 2001: 322).

CONFLICT SETTLEMENT AND NOT CONFLICT TRANSFORMATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

What has happened in South Africa after apartheid is conflict settlement and not conflict transformation. Why? According to Reimann (2004: 8), conflict settlement has to do with "all outcome oriented strategies for achieving sustainable win-win solutions and/or putting an end to direct violence, without necessarily addressing the underlying conflict causes". Here, peace is achieved through compromise while the underlying issues responsible for conflict are left unaddressed. The idea is that parties in conflict have their positions maintained while agreement is reached

for a ceasefire. In other words, the status quo remains unchanged. It is a system of ending a conflict "in which a gain for one party need not necessarily be at the expense of the other" (Reimann, 2004: 8).

In most cases, conflict settlement usually involves Track 1 actors such as political and military leaders. In the case of South Africa, all the processes leading to the dismantling of the apartheid regime were not negotiated by ordinary white and black South Africans but by their political leaders. While Nelson Mandela was released, in 1990, to facilitate the process of negotiation with the white dominated apartheid regime, many members of the black community were in still in various prisons in South Africa as political prisoners. The real causes of conflict between the black majority and white minority were not adequately discussed and addressed. What happened in 1994 was a mere transfer of political power. The conflict of apartheid in South Africa went beyond that. The conflict transcends political power, to land matters, economic empowerment and equal opportunities for all. Even though many public institutions subscribe to the principle of equity and equal opportunity, this is more on paper than in action. The majority of black people have not really accepted white and coloured Africans as their brothers and sisters. Racism is still pronounced in many public institutions and communities. Land matters have remained a contentious issue, while the lack of economic empowerment for black South Africans remains unaddressed. The crux of the matter here is that, even though the transfer of political power was done in South Africa 20 years ago, the real causes of conflict in the country during the apartheid era have not been addressed, hence their resurgence in almost all areas of life in South Africa.

When Auvinen and Kivimaki (2001: 67) submit that "in South Africa the dispute was about the constitution and, more generally, about the distribution of political and, less directly, economic power", this does not represent the actual situation of things at that time. The struggle against apartheid transcends the change of constitution and sharing of political power. The end of apartheid brought about a change in the constitution as well as sharing of political power, with the ANC dominating the political scene. Yet, structural conflict still persists in South Africa. What has been achieved so far has been conflict resolution and not conflict transformation.

Contrary to the claim of Auvinen and Kivimaki (2006: 69) that "in many respects, the South African case seems to be an example of successful conflict transformation" the best that has happened in South Africa is conflict settlement, and to a certain extent conflict resolution. What we had at the end of apartheid in South Africa was political settlements which put an end to armed hostilities and simultaneously opened the door to normal politics (Lloyd, 2001: 307).

Among other factors, the root causes of conflict in apartheid South Africa were the following:

- Economic inequality between the white and black communities, and a perceived blocking of opportunity to achieve such equality;
- A fundamental lack of respect for South Africans who differed racially and culturally from the Afrikaner;
- The refusal of the National party to expand the political and economic system sufficiently to allow other groups enough influence to overcome Afrikaner rule. (Lloyd, 2001: 310).

What pervaded South Africa during the apartheid era was what Galtung (1985) called "structural violence", which he defines as a "quiet process, working slowly in the way misery in general, and hunger in particular, erode and finally kill human beings" (Galtung, 1996: 145). So what is needed in South Africa are genuine efforts at conflict transformation. Also, the situation in South Africa during apartheid could be likened to what Azar called "protracted social conflict".

Azar (1991: 93) defines protracted social conflict as "the prolonged and often violent struggle by communal groups for such basic needs as security, recognition and acceptance, fair access to political institutions and economic participation". South Africa is not exempt from this situation, hence the need for genuine conflict transformation and not conflict settlement.

Conflict transformation works within two objective frameworks, namely:

1) To change mutually negative conflict attitudes and values among parties in order to increase cooperation and communication between them.
2) To create a new infrastructure for empowerment and recognition of underprivileged groups, thus fostering and enabling social justice. (Reimann, 2004:13)

These two objectives are missing in post-apartheid South Africa. While some efforts were made with regard to the first objective, nothing tangible could be pointed to with regard to the second objective. Even the first objective was not properly addressed, hence real conflict transformation has not taken place in South Africa. What we have is conflict settlement with many structural imbalances in the society. Conflict transformation focuses on "the analysis of underlying causes of the conflict in order to address the legitimate underlying interest of all parties" (Fisher 2001: 3). In conflict management, conflict transformation is deeper in meaning because it has to do with "transformation of individuals, transformation of relationships and transformation of social systems large and small" (Dukes, 1999: 48). Conflict transformation "seeks to change the conditions that gave rise to the underlying root causes of the conflict" (Diamond 1994: 3). It is in this light that Boates (2003: 5) sees conflict transformation as a form of process of "nation building,

national reconciliation and healing, change agency, and social transformation".

Also, Lederach (2006: 242-243) has come up with four distinct but interrelated issues that must be addressed in a post-conflict peace building exercise if real conflict transformation is to be said to have taken place. These are:

1) Social-psychological issues. These are the issues that have to do with identity, self-esteem, emotion, trauma and grief.
2) Socio-economic issues. These are the issues that relate to providing financial aid, retraining, creating jobs and meaning full development of the society.
3) Social-political issues. This has to do with demobilization of guerrilla soldiers and freedom fighters, their integration into the main national army, disarmament and professionalization of the military.
4) Spiritual issues. These issues pertain to healing, forgiveness, and mutual acknowledgement among contending parties.

The first two were not addressed in post-apartheid South Africa. The third issue was addressed, although with limited success. It was an attempt to address the fourth issue that led to the establishment of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), headed by Archbishop Desmond Tutu.

What South Africa needs is real conflict transformation and not conflict resolution because, according to Van der Merwe (1989: 116), "the term conflict resolution does not apply to fundamental social problem in South Africa". Hendrik Van der Merwe should be taken seriously with this statement, because he was a pioneering mediator between the African National Congress (ANC) and the apartheid government in South Africa. He was also quite familiar with how the social and political institutions of South Africa had been infested with an avalanche of injustices and inequalities, hence his conclusion that "fundamental structural change was essential for constructive-accommodation of conflict" (Van der Merwe, 1989: 116).

One of the most valuable elements of conflict transformation is empowerment, and this is lacking in post-apartheid South Africa. Mayer (2000: 110), attesting to this fact, states that conflict transformation occurs "primar-ily through the process of empowerment". Agreeing with Mayer, Schwerin (1995: 6) regards empowerment as the "core concept or value of transformational politics". In his own submission, Lederach (1995: 212) sees empowerment as "the procedural element of validating and providing space for proactive involvement in conflict transformation". Conflict transformation dwells more on "the inherent dialectical process, the ability to transform the dynamic of the conflict and the relationship between the parties indeed to transform the very creators of the conflict" (Boates, 2003: 6). Clements (1997: 8) says real conflict transformation could be said to have taken place only when "violent conflict ceases and/or is expressed in non-violent ways and when the original structural sources (economic, social, political, military, and cultural) of the conflict have been changed". Going by Clements' understanding of conflict transformation, South Africa has not experienced real and genuine conflict transformation because the original structural sources of conflict in South Africa have not been changed. The conflict in apartheid South Africa was "structurally caused by economic, political, indentitive, discursive and other structures" (Auvinen and Kivimaki, 1997: 3), hence the need for real conflict transformation and not conflict settlement or conflict resolution. South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation commission, headed by Desmond Tutu, dwells more on relational reconciliation and what needs to be done goes beyond that.

CONCLUSION

This paper has tried to present a better understanding of the concepts of conflict transformation, conflict settlement and conflict resolution. It has also examined the conflict situation in South Africa during apartheid and the efforts of South Africa at conflict transformation after the end of apartheid. Furthermore, the paper has discussed how the efforts of South Africa are devoid of real conflict transformation. There is a notion that conflict transformation is an ideal, or utopia, which cannot be achieved or practiced in the contemporary world, let alone in Africa, as we expect it to be in South Africa. With the right attitude and the necessary will to succeed, real conflict transformation is achievable in South Africa.

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