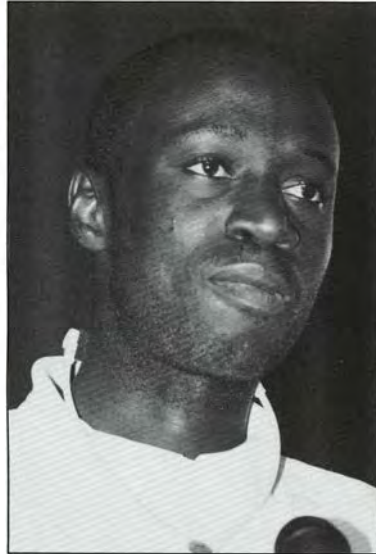


# Shaping the next century

Many students took part in the session. In one meeting they spoke about their concerns:

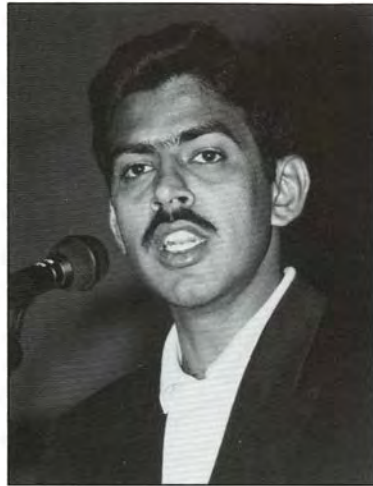


**OUMAR DJIBA, Senegal:**



"Much in my country is not going well, and here I have realised that I must do something about it. This led me to a decision to deal with the wrong in my own life. I do not get on well with some of those in my family. I have taken the initiative to reconcile with them."

**VIRAL MAZUMDAR, India:**



"Many young Indians want to reach across the barriers which divide our society. My wife and I organise conferences which bring together young people from widely differing social backgrounds. Now we hope to reach beyond our borders, and include young people from Pakistan."

**ALLISON KENNY, USA:**



"My concern is gratuitous violence in the media, which promotes aggression in our cities. I am trying as hard as I can to change that. I studied film production, and am now making documentaries about rebuilding society."

**LIZ CARLISLE, United Kingdom:**

"Worthlessness is embedded in our society. Many of us think that nothing lasts - jobs are temporary, marriages fail. The heaviness of hopelessness hangs over us; there is no way for us to be heard."

My commitment is to bring back a sense of value. I want to help young people feel responsible for the world and realise it is in our hands to make the future brighter.

This year I have made discoveries about listening. To listen to someone with an open heart - and mostly to listen to what they don't say - takes time and care. But it gives that person value."

**KUMAR RAVAL, United Kingdom:**



"Two years ago at Caux, I told an industrialist from my city of Sheffield that I wished more people could be exposed to the opportunities offered here. He responded. When we returned home, we talked with others. Now we have created a seven-week programme, 'Students for Sheffield', to introduce 18 to 30 year-olds to the basics of leadership - listening, learning, serving, communicating and ethical conduct. Last year 1,200 people took part in it."

**CLARE TWELVETREES, United Kingdom:**



"At university we discuss the growing inequality between the North and the South. Unless more morality is worked into the global economy and political institutions, information technology is going to leave the South behind. Some of my peers respond by refusing to work with computers. I believe the solution lies in how we manage this technology. That is why I have decided to do a Master's degree in information systems."

# ← Healing the Past Forging the Future →

*Dialogues towards justice and reconciliation*



**HOW CAN THE WOUNDS OF HISTORY BE HEALED?**

*In August 1997, 450 people met at Caux, Switzerland, to search out answers to this question.*

*Ever since 1946, this Moral Re-Armament conference centre has focused on the human qualities needed to resolve conflict and lay the foundations for enduring co-operation. Last year the then Secretary-General of the United Nations, Boutros Boutros-Ghali, wrote: 'Caux shows us that reconciliation is always possible, that divided and warring people can eventually find common ground and a new beginning.'*

*This report tells of the experiences related at the session.*

# Paving the way for national catharsis

## South Africa

*The South African Government has appointed a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. One of the Commissioners, Dr PIET MEIRING, outlined its role. In the course of his talk he said:*

"How to deal with the past? Thousands suffered grievously in the struggle against apartheid. Their pain would have been disregarded had we offered a blanket amnesty to the perpetrators of these atrocities. But a Nuremberg trial, where the victors take the vanquished to court, would not have helped reconcile the country. President Mandela said: 'Looking at the guilt and suffering of the past, one cannot but conclude that in a certain sense all of us are victims of apartheid.' Hence the Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC), which is aimed at 'understanding but not vengeance, reparation but not retaliation.'

### "Victims reaching out to embrace their tormentors"

It aims to paint as complete a picture as possible of our anguished history. Archbishop Desmond Tutu, the Commission Chairman, stresses: 'If we don't face the past, it may return.'

The Commission has taken statements from 11,500 victims of gross human rights abuses. It assesses them and their families, and recommends reparation according to their needs - medical, emotional, educational, material; and symbolic acts such as erecting tombstones and ceremonies of reconciliation. It may grant amnesty to a perpetrator, once he has disclosed all the relevant facts; and more than 7,000 people have applied for amnesty. Their harrowing disclosures are daily in the papers, and nightly on television.

Three prerequisites for success exist. The nation should own the process; the government must have the will to take it to its final conclusion; and the process must stop. The poisonous abscess has to be lanced, but the operation should not take too long, or the patient may die. That is why in December, the TRC will close. The time has to come when we put our past behind us.

Before then, attention will be given to the process of reconciliation. For after the walls of history have been brought down, perpetrator and victim need to face one another. It will be costly; microwave reconciliation does not last. Yet sometimes heaven has smiled on us. 'It never ceases to astonish me,' Archbishop Tutu says, 'to see the magnanimity of victims who suffered the most heinous of violations, reaching out to embrace their tormentors with joy, willing to forgive.'

As we step out of the wreckage of the past, South Africa is still a spiritual wasteland, a reality painfully expressed by the appalling crime rate, the breakdown of family structures, a disrespect for the dignity of the human person. If the TRC process is treated with sensitivity, it could pave the way for peace and harmony, for national catharsis."



Dr Meiring (second from right) talks with (l to r) Ramez Salamé, Lebanon; Yusuf Al-Azbari, Somalia; Mxolisi Sam Pono, South Africa

## Croatia

### CROSSING THE DIVIDE

Professor Durdica Fuckan of Zagreb University told of a recent forum in Croatia initiated by the Mufti of Croatia's Muslim Community and the Catholic Vicar-General of Sarajevo, Bosnia. It brought together Croats, Bosnians and Serbs, including academics, diplomats and lawyers. They met first in a Catholic centre, then in a Muslim centre. Jewish, Muslim and Christian representatives spoke about forgiveness in their tradition. People who had suffered immensely listened to each other with increasing depth. Unexpected and courageous words were said, and many want to continue the dialogue. One Croatian magazine devoted 11 pages to news of the forum.

# Agreement on path towards a government

## Somalia

*Dr YUSUF OMAR AL-AZHARI outlined the steps which he and other Somali leaders are taking to re-establish a Government in their country, after six years of 'merciless killing', and the breakdown of all public institutions:*

"At the end of last year, the Ethiopian Government agreed to let us hold a National Reconciliation conference in their country. We immediately issued invitations to all the Somali factions leaders, and 26 of the 28 came.

It was a difficult conference. At times the arguments were so harsh that we feared it would collapse. But we persisted, and persuaded the antagonists that there was no option but to forgive each other. After eight weeks, we reached agreement to establish a National Salvation Council (NSC), an Executive Committee, and a co-chairmanship. Since then, we have met the leaders of the two factions who stayed away, inviting them to join us.

The NSC will work to establish, by the end of 1997, a transitional central authority for Somalia, capable of providing public safety, economic opportunities and social justice. We have no illusion that the task is easy. But we pledge ourselves to it."



Ahmed Hussen Egal, former guerrilla fighter, Somalia:

"When I met people who believed that Somalia could build its future on forgiveness, I thought of my former commander, whom I hated because of his treatment of me. With great difficulty I went and asked his forgiveness. Today he is in the forefront of those working for reconciliation."

*Dr AL-AZHARI held senior Government positions in several Somali administrations. In 1978 he was one of thousands imprisoned by the regime of General Siad Barre. He describes his experience:*

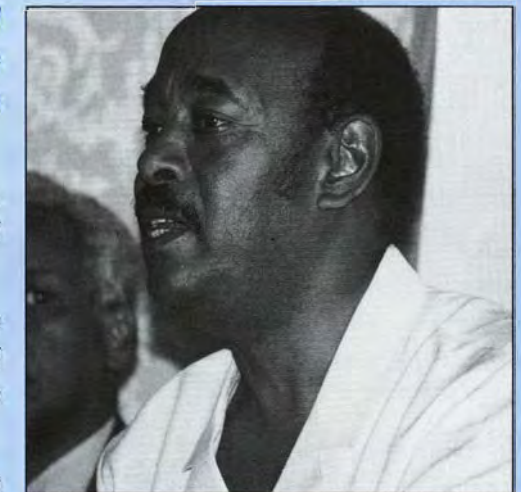
"I was thrown into a small cell, and was tortured daily, mentally and physically. For six months, torment, hate and depression possessed me. I was afraid that I might go insane.

One night I knelt, soaked in tears, and pleaded with the Almighty Creator to give me peace and a vision of the purpose for which he had created me. That night I was exalted spiritually. When I finally stood up, eight hours had passed. It felt like eight minutes.

I realised that I had deluded myself, that I had to take responsibility for my past wrongs. From that day, I was freed from fear and despair. Love had been planted in my heart. I vowed to serve my fellow countrymen, poor and rich.

I remained in prison for six years with nothing to read, no-one to talk to. I was released when Siad Barre's regime collapsed. He went into exile, having lost everything. In my heart, I felt I should visit him. When, eventually, I obeyed that conviction, I told him that I forgave him. Tears of remorse flowed down his cheeks.

Since then, with others, I have been working amongst Somalia's factions, encouraging them to try the path of forgiveness."



Dr Yusuf Al-Azbari

# "A community of people who have made mistakes"

*In one meeting a Japanese leader spoke about his nation's past. His frankness started a chain reaction in the speakers who followed him, as this abridged transcript of the meeting illustrates:*

**TSUTOMU HATA, former Prime Minister of Japan:**



"The 7th July 1937 (when Japan invaded China) was a very sad day. We need to be humble enough to learn from it. Everyone would rather justify their past. But this does not solve anything. If we are to avoid repeating the past, it must be told.

We need to work towards agreement on our common history. The Europeans are doing this. Polish and German scholars are reaching agreement on the history of their relationship. When I raised the idea that we in Asia could do the same, the Japanese Government rejected it. This is wrong. We must face our history if we are to build a peaceful twenty-first century."

**"Everyone would rather justify their past. But this does not solve anything"**

**KAZUO TANIKAWA, Member of Parliament, Hiroshima, former Minister of Justice, Japan:**



"In the post-war years Hiroshima was full of hate and turmoil. Then the Mayor, Shinzo Hamai, came to Caux. Here he decided that blame would only do harm. When he returned home, he proposed that, on the memorial to the victims, should be written: 'Rest in peace, we shall never repeat the mistake.'

Many people opposed this wording, arguing that they were not responsible for the tragedy. But he persuaded them, and his wording was chosen. Today the memorial exhibition portrays the tragic results both of the atomic bombs, and of Japanese aggression."

**DICK RUFFIN, Washington, USA:**

"I am ashamed that the United States has not apologised publicly to the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki for the devastation brought about by the atomic bombs. Last year the Smithsonian Institute in Washington, our national museum, sought to acknowledge this omission by mounting the Enola Gay exhibit, describing that devastation. But political pressures prevented it.

It has not always been so. Ten years ago a commission investigated the internment of Japanese American citizens during World War II. Americans learned about it in detail, were ashamed, and reparations were paid to the survivors and their descendants.

America has done wrong in many parts of the world. Where this has happened, we need to acknowledge publicly what happened and the pain that resulted from it. Only if we do, will we bring the healing which is needed if we are to meet the challenges of the next century."

**WU JIAN MIN, Chinese Ambassador to the United Nations in Geneva:**



"I come from Nanking, where 300,000 people were massacred in 1937. The Yangtze River turned red. Fifteen million died in that war. We remember that. But we don't hate the Japanese people. We look on that war as a major mistake of the militaristic Japanese Government. Both Chinese and Japanese were victims.

For most of the 2,000 years of Sino-Japanese relations, we have enjoyed good relations. In Chinese philosophy, reconciliation is

very important. The British took Hong Kong by war. A month ago they left with dignity. That was an example of reconciliation.

The challenge facing the world is to get rid of the Cold War mentality, which tries to make those who differ from us become like us. If countries were alike, the world would be boring. Diversity breeds creativity. We differ, but we have interests in common. Let us build on these common interests."

**HELMUT WEGNER, former Ambassador, Germany:**

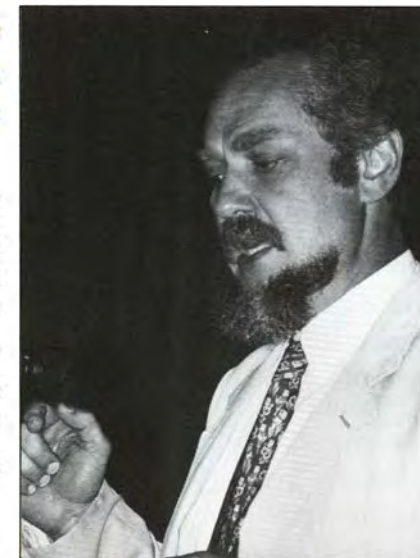


"Both Germany and Japan have had to come to terms with the war. And now the end of the Cold War marks a turning point in our relationship with Russia. We have expressed our deepest sympathy for the suffering of the Russian people, inflicted by German hands. We cannot regret this enough. I am happy that we have now found a way to talk to each other, and to do together what needs to be done.

We need to remind our politicians of their promise that the money saved through reduced arms expenditure would be used to forge peace. It could support initiatives like the one that has brought us here today. Whereas one no longer hears of Camp David or Reykjavik, the spirit of Caux is alive, and I believe important initiatives will spring from here."

**"The only medicine which can calm hatred is the inner change which asks us to see our own guilt"**

**PROFESSOR ANDREI ZUBOV, Russian State University of the Humanities, Moscow:**



"We Russians blame Germany for starting the war. But we bear guilt too. If we hadn't negotiated with Hitler and split up Eastern Europe between us, that awful war might never have started.

After the war, for 50

years, we called ourselves the 'liberator of Europe'. In fact, we simply replaced Nazi tyranny with communist tyranny. That is the tragedy for which we are now paying a high price. After the horrors that we brought, it is understandable that Eastern Europeans are joining NATO.

Many Russians ignore this. They say Gorbachev was a fool, who just gave Eastern Europe to the West. Repentance has not reached our hearts. So we can expect more of the horrors that my father and grandfather saw.

The only medicine which can calm hatred between peoples is the inner change which asks us to see our own guilt."

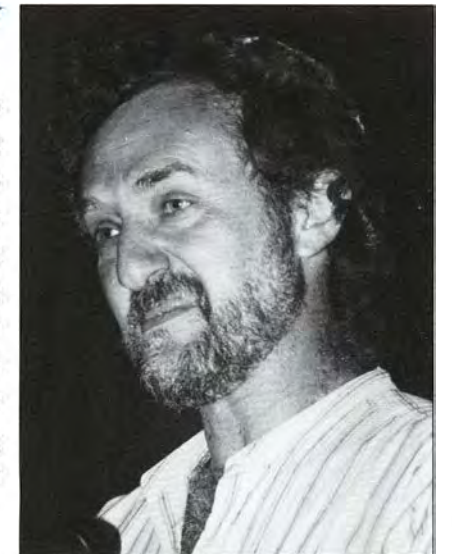
**PIERRE SPOERRI, Switzerland:**

"In recent months, we Swiss have been accused of being pro-Nazi during the war. I was tempted to look at the criticizer rather than at the criticism, and to compare our sins with those of other countries.

Then I realised that I had avoided looking at certain facts about Switzerland's role at that time. Some of us started a dialogue with representatives of the victims of our blindness and arrogance. An Orthodox Rabbi came and took part in a ceremony of remembrance here at Caux.

This is only a mini-step on a long journey, but a number of us Swiss are setting out along this path determinedly and even joyfully."

**RABBI JEREMY MILGROM, Israel:**



"My grandmother's brother perished in the Holocaust. My parents sheltered me from that memory. Maybe that kept me from becoming bitter. I find myself now discovering difficult things about a country that I love. I am coming closer to people I never understood.

Every time there is an act of barbarity, some of us, Jewish and Palestinian, phone - and, if we can, visit - to ask forgiveness on behalf of our people. We cannot absolve the hurt of these awful acts of terror. But the gift of acceptance I have received from my Palestinian friends enables me to continue working for peace. On a certain level I've stopped working for a resolution of the conflict. I'm trying to maintain my relationship with my Palestinian friends, with all who receive me.

Here we are forging a community, the community of people who've made mistakes. The mistakes are made partly because people imagine that no-one is looking, that no-one really cares. Well, we'll look, and we'll care. That's the least we can do."

# Politicians' round table

A "round table" brought together 24 people from 14 countries in informal discussion on issues such as ethical standards in politics and international affairs, and the challenge of balancing political and family responsibilities.



**The round table was conceived by Yukio Hatoyama, co-leader of the Democratic Party of Japan. He told the session:**

"I founded the Democratic Party of Japan last year in an attempt to end the collusion between bureaucrats, businessmen and politicians, and launch a politics based on the spirit of *yuai* or fraternity. The Party's spiritual backbone is the idea of reconciliation which I learned here.

The preciousness of life is the foundation of reconciliation. During our rapid economic expansion, Japan has caused much environmental destruction. If predictions prove correct that the 21st Century is the Asian century, Asia could devastate the global environment. Japan must promote conservation. The environment may become the basis for a closer Asia-Pacific union.

These issues are integral to our restitution towards our neighbors. If Japan is to help build a sense of community in the region, we must face our past. Japan has not been able to apologise frankly to Korea and China. Recently I went to both countries to make a personal apology.

I want to continue to learn from the spirit of Caux."



# Moving into development mode

Aotearoa/New Zealand

The Maori Queen, Dame TE ATAIRANGI-KAAHU, told the session how her people's grievances at being dispossessed of their land are being resolved. A Tribunal has been set up to adjudicate on Maori claims for breaches of the 1840 Treaty of Waitangi, when the Maori chiefs ceded sovereignty of New Zealand to the British Crown in exchange for a guarantee of protection of their people, land and resources.



Dame Te Atairangikaahu

The first major claim was settled in 1995 on Turangawaewae Marae, home of the people of Tainui. 'Some restitution has been made and our people are moving forward again,' the Queen said. 'This has created new faith and hope for the unity in peace of Maori, Pakeha and all people of our beloved country, Aotearoa. We must put the sadness of the past behind us. We must move from grievance mode into development mode, so that we no longer pass the grievance on to the next generation.'

JOAN BOLGER, wife of the New Zealand Prime Minister, described the intense emotion surrounding the signing of the 1995 settlement. 'To sign such an agreement, not only for now but for coming generations, called for enormous courage,' she said, 'and the people of Tainui exhibited courage.' Not everyone supports the settlement process, she said, but Doug Graham, the Minister in charge of the negotiations, had expressed the reason the Government is committed to it: 'It's not a matter of flagellating ourselves with guilt. It is a matter of putting right a wrong.'

# Echoing the Jubilee

Britain

Jubilee 2000 is a campaign for the remission of the unpayable debt of the 32 poorest countries by the year 2000. One of its initiators, British university lecturer MARTIN DENT, outlined the campaign, which has attracted wide support, from churches, unions, the United Nations Secretary-General, and many others. In September the British Chancellor of the Exchequer launched the Mauritius Manifesto, an international initiative aimed at debt remission. 'In an echo of the Jubilee 2000 campaign,' writes *The Independent*, (London), 'the working title for the Government's initiative is *Debt 2000*.'



The Emir of Kano, Nigeria:

Alhaji Dr Ado Bayero, Emir of Kano, Nigeria, initiated a conference in Kano in March 1997, aimed at building trust between Muslims and Christians, and between Anglophone and Francophone Africa. "In the Holy Koran, God said, 'I created mankind differently so that they can understand one another,'" he told the session. "We need this understanding between cultures and religions."

# Pledging for clean elections

Kenya

From Kenya came a lawyer and an ex-politician who are at the heart of a 'Clean Election Campaign' in their country. 'Kenya is being torn apart by corruption at all levels,' they said. 'Yet most Kenyans long for a clean nation.' The Clean Election Campaign challenges candidates and voters to pledge that they will neither give nor accept bribes in the forthcoming General Election. The country's 22 Catholic Bishops sent a pastoral letter to their congregations urging them to join the campaign, and other churches are giving strong support, as is the Muslim community. As a result, all over the country, people are signing the pledge in their thousands;

Clockwise from top right:

**Suzanne Sandoz**, Member of the Swiss Parliament

**Sir Colville Young**, Governor-General, Belize

**Joan Bolger**, wife of the New Zealand Prime Minister

**Erich Achmuller**, South Tyrol Provincial Parliament, Italy

**Yukio Hatoyama and Yukibisa Fujita**, Members of Parliament, Japan

**Prithviraj Chavan**, Member of Parliament (Lok Sabha), India

