

ARTICLE

Boko Haram: A Just Peace Analysis and Paths Forward

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Abstract

This essay offers a just peace analysis and some paths forward to transforming the conflict with Boko Haram in Nigeria. The first part describes the social context of Boko Haram and assesses some of the root causes. The second part identifies some of the existing practices to respond to Boko Haram and how some of these practices illuminate and actualize just peace norms. The third part offers a constructive contribution by exploring how a just peace framework might support existing local mechanisms and offer innovative approaches toward transforming this conflict. Some of these approaches include deeper interreligious relations, needs-based analysis, strategic nonviolent resistance, unarmed civilian protection, restorative justice, a more robust civil society, and economic justice.

Keywords

Boko Haram, just peace norms, needs-based analysis, strategic nonviolent resistance, UCP (unarmed civilian protection), restorative justice, civil society, economic justice, Samuel Dali

Social Context and Root Causes

Boko Haram as an organization began in 2002.¹ It was founded as a response to corruption and injustice in Nigeria—such as the large gap between the small group of rich people and the majority who lived in poverty and the pattern of horrific human rights abuses by the Nigerian military.² In an interview recorded in 2012, Samuel Dali, former President of the Church of the Brethren, confirmed the failure of the government as “lacking care for the local people, which frustrated many.”³ According to him, Boko Haram was one group that “took an extreme approach to try and destroy the government.” Boko Haram, blaming Western influences and education for much of the injustice in Nigeria, thus proposed a turn to their interpretation of Islamic law.⁴ In 2009, a group within Boko Haram, frustrated by a lack of investigation into police violence, decided to attack police posts and killed several officers. Soon their leader and others were arrested, killed in custody, and displayed in public. These extrajudicial killings enraged many in the group and ignited an ongoing cycle of violence

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- 1 Jacob Zenn, “Demystifying al-Qaida in Nigeria: Cases from Boko Haram’s Founding, Launch of Jihad and Suicide Bombings,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 11, no. 6 (2017): 173–89, at 173. See Sani Shehu, “The Impact of Boko Haram on Nigerian National Development,” *International Conference on Empowering Islamic Civilization in 21st Century* (2015): 41–42.
 - 2 Regarding the wealth gap, see Stephen Buchanan-Clarke and Peter Knoope, “The Boko Haram Insurgency: From Short Term Gains to Long Term Solutions,” *The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation* (2017): 7. Regarding human rights abuses, see Isaac Olawale Albert, “Rethinking the Functionality of the Multinational Joint Task Force in Managing the Boko Haram Crisis in the Lake Chad Basin,” *African Development*, 43, no. 3 (2017): 119–35, at 121.
 - 3 “Peace in the Face of Religious Violence—Samuel Dali,” *Young Center Event Recordings* 13 (2012). https://jayscholar.etsu.edu/youngcenter_events/13
 - 4 Adesoji O. Adelaja, Abdullahi Labo, and Eva Penar, “Public Opinion on the Root Cause of Terrorism and Objectives of Terrorists: A Boko Haram Case Study,” *Perspectives on Terrorism* 12, no. 3 (2018): 36.

in Nigeria, as well as in some surrounding countries such as Chad, Niger, and Cameroon.⁵

Currently, about two million people are displaced in Nigeria's northeast and about eight million need emergency humanitarian assistance. Significant impoverishment and lack of education and employment lend some groups to seek out destructive education by certain leaders, such as Boko Haram.⁶ In an interview recorded in 2021, Samuel Dali confirmed that unemployment is a significant root cause of this conflict.⁷ He noted how many spend a lot of money to get educated and then have nowhere to find an adequate job. Hence, they are stuck with their family. That creates conditions for Boko Haram to step in. Dali described how Boko Haram would give out loans to people and simply instruct the recipients to repay them by supporting Boko Haram's agenda when they come back later. Soon after, Boko Haram would require loan recipients to accept guns or else be harmed. This eventually led them to better entice young people to join.⁸

Another root cause is how certain politicians take advantage of ethnic and religious differences.⁹ Eighty-five percent of the Nigerian government comes from the same tribe. This powerful majority has been manipulating other tribes to fight with violence against Boko Haram. Samuel Dali described how interreligious dialogue attempts have too often involved elites (mostly) and left out some key Islamic groups.¹⁰ He also referenced how the Christian Council of Nigeria has been overwhelmed by the government and

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- 5 Adetoro Rasheed Adenrele, "Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria as a Symptom of Poverty and Political Alienation," *IOSR Journal of Humanities and Social Science (JHSS)* 3, no. 5 (2012): 21.
 - 6 Kristopher Norris, "Recent Shifts in the Roman Catholic Just War Tradition and Question of "Functional Pacifism," *Journal of Religious Ethics* vol. 42, no. 1 (2014): 108–36, at 116; Edlyne Eze Anugwom, *The Boko Haram Insurgency in Nigeria: Perspective from Within* (Cham: Palgrave Macmillan, 2019), 49–55.
 - 7 "Interview with Samuel Dali," *CNI Round Table Discussion* (2021). See Olumuyiwa Temitope Faluyi, Sultan Khan and Adeoye O. Akinola, *Boko Haram's Terrorism and the Nigerian State: Federalism, Politics and Policies* (Cham: Springer Nature, 2019), 54; Usman Solomon Ayegba, "Unemployment and Poverty as Sources and Consequence of Insecurity in Nigeria: The Boko Haram Insurgency Revisited," *African Journal of Political Science and International Relations* 9, no. 3 (2015): 93.
 - 8 "Interview with Samuel Dali," *CNI Round Table Discussion* (2021).
 - 9 Ahmad Bello Dogarawa, "Role of Muslim Scholars in Achieving Peaceful Coexistence in Multi-Religious Societies through Interfaith Dialogue: A Case for Kaduna State, Nigeria," *Religions*, no. 11 (2018): 59–71, at 60.
 - 10 "Interview with Samuel Dali," *CNI Round Table Discussion* (2021). See Dele Babalola and Hakeem Onapajo, eds., *Nigeria, a Country under Siege: Issues of Conflict and its Management*, 216.

political pressure. More broadly, he thinks that Christians tend to have an inadequate understanding of Islam; and that Muslims have an inadequate understanding of Christianity.

Bishop Matthew Hassan Kukah has described a unique aspect of Nigeria in so far as the population is about fifty percent Christian and fifty percent Muslim. He acknowledges the harm the Boko Haram has had, not only on Christians, but also Muslims.¹¹ Regarding interreligious relationships, he shares how some Muslims have come to the Cathedral to take refuge. He tells the story of how Catholic Bishop Mamza helped to fund the building of a mosque—a concrete gesture toward stronger interreligious relationships.¹²

Notably, Boko Haram has gone through stages in its relationship with the Muslim community. Scholar Abubakar Usman identifies three. The first stage began as competition with Muslim groups. The second stage entailed more covert operations and selective membership. The third stage involved more direct denunciation, enmity and violent actions toward Muslims, particularly as ordinary Muslims joined government forces in the fight against Boko Haram.¹³

Existing Just Peace Activity

A Just Peace Ethic offers norms for three categories: engaging in conflict constructively, breaking cycles of violence, and building a sustainable peace.¹⁴ Search for Common Ground has been contributing to investment in education and employment to diminish the material and human support system of Boko Haram.¹⁵ These practices actualize the just peace norm of economic justice to build a more sustainable peace. Search for Common Ground also works with village leaders—such as elders, teachers, and preachers—to develop an early warning system.¹⁶ This practice actualizes the

11 “Bishop Mathew Kukah on the state of the Nation,” *Arise News*, July 24, 2019.

12 Magdalene Kahie, “‘The suffering Boko Haram has inflicted will scar our society for life’: Nigerian Bishop,” *Association for Catholic Information in Africa*, Apr. 15, 2021.

13 Abubakar Abubakar Usman, “Explaining Boko Haram’s Anti-Muslim Violence,” *Contemporary Islam: Dynamics of Muslim Life*, Oct. 16, 2023.

14 Eli McCarthy, ed., *A Just Peace Ethic Primer: Building Sustainable Peace and Breaking Cycles of Violence*, ed. (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 2020). See also the appendix to the present essay.

15 *Search For Common Ground*, “Nigeria.”

16 *Search For Common Ground*, “Nigeria.”

just peace norm of nonviolent direct action, particularly unarmed civilian protection to break cycles of violence.

Peace Direct offers vocational training with conflict and leadership skills to young people, which actualizes the just peace norm of training in nonviolent skills to engage conflict constructively. They also work to address the divisions among ethnic and religious groups through sports and shared peacemaking projects.¹⁷ These practices actualize the just peace norm of conflict transformation to break cycles of violence.

Some communities have a rich mix of different religions, which has built resilience and prevented significant violence.¹⁸ This actualized the just peace norm of relationality. However, some segregation has crept in at times—for example, as economic structures manifested with “Christian markets.” Samuel Dali described how a Catholic Archbishop launched interreligious dialogue initiatives to help build credible relationality.¹⁹ The Women’s Initiative for Sustainable Community Development has also contributed in this area by bringing together local activists of different religious traditions, creating an early warning, early response mechanism, and deployment of “peace teams” of local youth to monitor conflict.²⁰ They have worked closely with Catholic and Mennonite communities on the latter.²¹ Likewise, the Peace Initiative has worked with Muslim youth by offering vocational training and nonviolent responses to conflict.²²

The Church of the Brethren supports the Women and Youth for Economic Advancement and Health Initiative, which focuses on meeting the needs of displaced women and girls through livelihood projects and trauma healing. This practice actualizes the just peace norms of gender justice and conflict transformation. Dali also mentioned how religious groups too often focus on aid after the violence rather than preventing violence.²³

17 *Peace Direct*, “Nigeria.”

18 Robert A. Dowd, “Religious Diversity and Religious Tolerance: Lessons from Nigeria,” *Journal of Conflict Resolution* 60, no. 4 (2016): 617–644, at 617.

19 “Interview with Samuel Dali,” *CNI Round Table Discussion* (2021). See Richard Ngbokai, “Onaiyekan Foundation Graduates 35 Fellows on Inter-Religious Dialogue, Mediation,” in *Daily Trust*.

20 *Peace Direct*, “Women’s Initiative for Sustainable Community Development WISCOD,”

21 Bottom Up and Top Down approaches

22 *Peace Initiative Network*.

23 “Interview with Samuel Dali,” *CNI Round Table Discussion* (2021).

Just Peace Recommendations

How might a just peace framework support existing local mechanisms and offer innovative approaches toward transforming this conflict? Samuel Dali recommends a focus on Christians learning more about the history of Islam, and Muslims learning more about the history of Christianity. He also thinks having a common project to work on—beyond simply holding dialogues and meetings—is crucial. Dali believes this will create more space for moderate Muslims to cooperate and have more of an impact on Boko Haram as credible messengers. These recommendations are illuminated and supported by the just peace norm of relationality, which includes the practice of interreligious relations.²⁴ It is also supported by the norm of nonviolent direct action, which includes unarmed civilian protection and within that the particular tactic of activating credible messengers.

Lilian Ehidiamhen, who is from Nigeria, is another leader who recommends going beyond better understanding of religious ideological systems to a deeper practice of becoming aware of feelings and needs in both parties. Such needs can include respect, support, participation, clarity, belonging, harmony, and order.

This practice is the skill of nonviolent compassionate communication.²⁵ As we become more aware of the needs we are trying to satisfy through our political positions, strategies, and behavior, then we can better align such activity to actually meeting these needs in all parties.²⁶ This recommendation is illuminated and supported by the just peace norm of education and training in key skills, which includes the skill of nonviolent communication and needs-based analysis, as well as the norm of human dignity.

The existing interreligious communities, dialogue, and project efforts are crucial. However, Lilian Ehidiamhen's insights about needs-based analysis point to an additional insight from Samuel Dali: Christians and Muslims still have significant growth in terms of desiring and becoming creative nonviolent peacemakers. An aspect of becoming such peacemakers is the

24 Pontifical Council for Interreligious Dialogue, "Dialogue and Proclamation: Reflection and Orientations on Interreligious Dialogue and the Proclamation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ," 9. www.vatican.va. See Pope Francis, "Fratelli Tutti," www.vatican.va.

25 Marshall Rosenberg, *Practical Spirituality: Reflections on the Spiritual Basis of Nonviolent Communication* (Encinitas, CA.: PuddleDancer Press, 2004), 18.

26 Marshall Rosenberg, *Nonviolent Communication: A Language of Life* 3rd edition (Encinitas, CA.: PuddleDancer, 2015), 67.

UNIVERSAL HUMAN NEEDS

physical clean air & water sustenance nutrition movement rest, sleep sexual expression shelter touch health	fairness awareness equality justice mutuality integrity authenticity dignity honesty honor trust	clarity communication comprehension discernment information shared reality to make sense of one's world support nurturing encouragement reassurance understanding help	intimacy affection love closeness warmth presence bonding tenderness celebration mourning self-love self-confidence self-connection self-expression self-forgiveness self-nurturing self-worth order peace beauty comfort grounding structure	leisure relaxation growth learning discovery new experiences challenges stimulation expression creativity individuality differentiation play fun spontaneity joy humor laughter aliveness inspiration heroes ideals hope transcendence communion faith flow goodness unity
safety boundaries emotional safety privacy security	belonging acceptance participation inclusion	being seen appreciation being known recognition to be seen for one's intentions to be seen for one's striving innocence to have one's story told	compassion empathy kindness grace forgiveness	
autonomy choice freedom independence power with one's world	harmony ease cooperation contribution to help others to enrich life to serve life to use one's gifts to matter purpose meaning	community friendship companionship to share life's joys and sorrows interdependence		
consideration acknowledgement honoring respect	competence accomplishment efficacy			
consistency dependability predictability stability reliability				

FAUX NEEDS (STRATEGIES IN DISGUISE)

- control...** a strategy trying to meet needs for safety, security, predictability, power in one's world
- space...** a strategy trying to meet needs for self-connection, autonomy, individuality, choices
- approval...** a strategy for appreciation, recognition, belonging, to matter, to be valued
- venting...** a (costly) strategy for empathy, connection, to be heard, understanding
- money...** a strategy for sustenance, security, freedom, choices, efficiency

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willingness to acknowledge responsibility for harm.²⁷ Dali recalls some former Boko Haram members offering this in Borno State, but overall this seems to be lacking (from his perspective).²⁸ Such willingness and practices

27 Mark S. Umbreit, Robert B. Croates, and Betty Vos, "Restorative Justice Dialogue: A Multi-Dimensional, Evidence-Based Practice Theory," *Contemporary Justice Review* vol. 10, no. 1 (2007): 23–41, at 23.

28 Samuel Dali, "Interview with Samuel Dali," *CNI Round Table Discussion* (2021).

of acknowledgement create a cultural landscape that is more fertile for a shift from a retributive model of justice toward a restorative model.²⁹ Closely related to restorative justice is the practice of trauma-healing and trauma-informed approaches.³⁰ In a community immersed in long-standing violence, generational trauma often develops. Such trauma can often enable cycles of violence, and thus, the deeper transformation of the conflict entails robust trauma-informed approaches.³¹ The Church of the Brethren offers one example of existing trauma-healing programs, and such programs need to be scaled up. These recommendations are illuminated and supported by the just peace norm of forming nonviolent peacemaking communities, cultures, and institutions—as well as the norms of acknowledging responsibility for harm and conflict transformation, which are key to breaking cycles of violence.³²

Another significant aspect of becoming nonviolent peacemakers is developing the skills and organizational apparatus to activate effective, strategic nonviolent resistance campaigns and movements to address the legitimate grievances and needs of key stakeholders, including those in Boko Haram.³³ Samuel Dali gave an example of how such training and programming was refused in a local Christian college.³⁴ Yet, research has demonstrated that such campaigns are actually more than twice as effective in obtaining short-term political objectives than violent campaigns. Nonviolent campaigns also have a significant participation advantage in terms of getting more people involved. They build the conflict skills that become pivotal for longer-term, sustainable peace.³⁵ In contrast, violent campaigns, even when they appear “successful” in the short-term, consistently struggle with cycles of destructive conflict and violence, such

29 Umbreit, et al., “Restorative Justice Dialogue,” 23.

30 Jeremy A. Rinker, “Collective Historical Trauma and Retelling the Past: Toward Trauma-Informed Transitional Justice Praxis,” in *Denial: The Final Stage of Genocide*, ed. John Cox, Amal Houry, Sarah Minslow (London, Routledge, 2021), 196–214, at 196.

31 Rinker, “Collective Historical Trauma and Retelling the Past,” 201–205.

32 Rose Marie Berger et al., ed., *Advancing Nonviolence and Just Peace in the Church and in the World* (Brussels: Pax Christi International, 2020).

33 Maria J. Stephan and Erica Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works: The Strategic Logic of Nonviolent Conflict,” *International Security* 33, no. 1 (2008): 7–44, at 7–8.

34 “Interview with Samuel Dali,” *CNI Round Table Discussion* (2021).

35 Stephan and Chenoweth, “Why Civil Resistance Works,” 9–14.

as generational trauma, corruption, military coups, and civil war.³⁶ In fact, research has shown that successful nonviolent campaigns are at least ten times more likely to develop a durable democracy compared to such apparent “successful” violent campaigns.

Strategic nonviolent resistance is also complementary and often critical to peacebuilding programs. Samuel Dali noted how there appear to be many peacebuilding programs in Nigeria and yet their impact is too often spotty.³⁷ Research has demonstrated that nonviolent resistance can help generate more fertile conditions for peacebuilding, particularly negotiations that better enable a sustainable just peace.³⁸ Such nonviolent resistance can also mitigate the activity and resources for violent resistance, which is critical to peacebuilding programs more generally. Developing nonviolent resistance campaigns is illuminated and supported by the just peace norm of nonviolent direct action.

This particular norm also includes unarmed civilian protection (UCP), which can be critical support not only for protecting individuals (among them, women, children, civil society leaders, and human rights activists), but also for creating civic space for nonviolent resistance campaigns.³⁹ The Jos and Wase regions already have experience with such UCP “peace teams” composed of local youth who reported to the Women’s Initiative for Sustainable Community Development, along with support from the Catholic and Mennonite communities. One of the most important aspects determining the success of such UCP programs is their ability to harness credible messengers with Boko Haram actors, with the government, with particular tribes, with particular faiths, with youth, with women, and so on. The Nonviolent Peaceforce’s deployments in the midst of civil war in South Sudan is a proven example.⁴⁰ It has also mitigated violence in Sri Lanka, the Philippines, Iraq, and Myanmar, and has succeeded in the rescue of children

36 Heinz-Gerhard Justenhoven and Mary Ellen O’Connell, eds., *Peace Through Law: Reflections on Pacem in Terris from Philosophy, Law, Theology, and Political Science*, 50 (Stuttgart: Verlag W. Kohlhammer, 2016), 7.

37 “Interview with Samuel Dali,” *CNI Round Table Discussion* (2021).

38 Veronique Dudouet, “Powering to Peace: Integrated Civil Resistance and Peacebuilding Strategies,” in International Center on Nonviolent Conflict’s Special Report Series, 1 (April 2017). www.nonviolent-conflict.org.

39 Eli McCarthy and Jonathan Pinckney, “Unarmed Civilian Protection in the Israeli/Palestinian Conflict,” in *Wielding Nonviolence in the Midst of Violence*, ed. E. Furnari (Hamburg: Institute of Peace Work and Nonviolent Conflict Transformation, 2016). See Rachel Julian, “The Transformative Impact of Unarmed Civilian Peacekeeping,” *Global Society* 34, no. 1 (2020): 99–111.

40 Nonviolent Peaceforce, South Sudan program. <https://nonviolentpeaceforce.org>.

abducted by armed actors and “terrorist” groups.⁴¹ If local community leaders consider such experience and resources, these UCP units could be deployed broadly in Nigeria as a way to mitigate the violence and construct a new reality.

As these critical nonviolent practices and structures expand, there may still be very difficult moments of violent attack. In such moments, imagining a nonviolent way out may seem extremely difficult. Yet it is important to note that a just peace approach is not oriented to condemning or morally shaming those individuals, groups, or organizations who turn to violent protection (dehumanizing, destructive or lethal force) in such situations. Instead, the orientation is to urge others to accompany them, to nonviolently take on some of the risk with them, and to urgently explore creative nonviolent strategies to break the cycles of violence and build a more sustainable peace. In turn, while not condemning or morally critiquing, this approach is also not about being a voice for justification, legitimation, or endorsement of violence. Rather, the moral positionality is that “we are with you, we understand the extreme difficulty, and we will find a way out together to break this cycle of violence.” As Catholics, this is a call to focus our formation, discernment, resources, advocacy, intervention, and for some, our bodies with this orientation.

While these efforts above are vital contributions, Lilian Ehidiāmhēn reminds us that broad structural changes are critical to build a more sustainable just peace. These include the educational system, access to quality jobs, economic equity, a robust civil society, and just governance.⁴² These must be part of the vision and constitutive to the types of approaches described above. One key aspect is deepening not only the sense of human dignity but also accountability. Accountability is not about increasing harm, suffering, or death for others. That is retribution. Accountability is about enabling a process that makes it more likely the perpetrators increase understanding of the harm caused, grow in empathy for those harmed, acknowledge responsibility for the harm, and work with the stakeholders to repair the harm as much as possible. A restorative justice approach can construct this accountability, and thus, the potential for a more just governance. The structural changes identified above are illuminated and

41 Nonviolent Peaceforce, “Unarmed Civilian Protection Across Generations,” <https://nonviolentpeaceforce.org>. See Christine Schweitzer, Mareike Junge, Carl Stieren, *Nonviolent Peaceforce Feasibility Study* (Hamburg: St. Paul, 2001), 290–352.

42 Mary Lilian Akhere Ehidiāmhēn, “Contribution,” *CNI Round Table Discussion* (2021).

actualized by the just peace norms of economic justice, human rights, robust civil society and just governance.

Conclusion

As this brief case study shows, a Just Peace Ethical Framework offers attention to root causes of conflict as well as broad assessment of existing activity consistent with just peace norms. With this contextual analysis, we can identify paths forward to engage conflict constructively, break cycles of violence, and build a more sustainable just peace. Some of these paths included deeper interreligious relations, needs-based analysis, strategic nonviolent resistance, unarmed civilian protection, restorative justice, robust civil society, and economic justice. There are certainly challenges ahead and positive outcomes are not guaranteed. Yet, a Just Peace Ethic offers us more creative and proven paths forward compared to the status quo approaches of violence and retribution. Let us imagine, hope, and be persistent together.

Appendix:

Just Peace Ethic

We envision a just peace as a way of political cooperation for the common good, respect for the dignity of all persons and the natural world, preventing violence, and the transformation of conflict by nonviolent strategies.

Just peace norms operate in three distinct spheres or categories that may overlap in time and space. Strategies and actions chosen must enhance or at least not obstruct these norms, as well as keep means and ends consistent. Enacting just peace is always contextual with attention to those most impacted by a situation.

- 1) Develop virtues and skills for constructively engaging conflict (*ius in conflictione*)
 - sustaining spiritual disciplines
 - virtuous habits
 - education and training in key skills
 - participatory processes
 - form nonviolent peacemaking communities

- 2) Break cycles of destructive conflict and violence (*jus ex bello*)
 - reflexivity
 - re-humanization
 - conflict transformation
 - acknowledge responsibility for harm
 - nonviolent direct action
 - integral disarmament

- 3) Build sustainable peace (*jus ad pacem*)
 - relationality and reconciliation
 - robust civil society and just governance
 - ecological justice and sustainability
 - human dignity and human rights of all
 - economic, gender, and racial justice

Guiding questions: What ongoing actions and policies could help build sustainable peace? What are the root causes of the conflict? What virtuous or vicious habits are at stake and skill sets needed to transform the conflict? What just peace practices and transforming initiatives could be scaled up to break cycles of violence?

Advantages of a Just Peace Ethic

Compared to traditional ethical approaches, a just peace ethic would better form us as peacemakers by enabling us to imagine, develop, and stay committed to nonviolent practices. It also better enables us to transform conflict, get to the root causes, and build sustainable peace by addressing the personal, relational, structural, and cultural dimensions. This approach is less likely to lead to the structural and cultural violence of being prepared for war(s) as well as a corresponding arms race, whereas both divert needed resources and often exacerbate mistrust. It also helps us better stay out of and break cycles of violence. The just peace ethic will also better enable us to move closer toward outlawing war, a goal for which Vatican II called us to “strain every muscle.” In turn, the just peace ethic is more likely to actually prevent, limit, and defuse an ongoing war. Further, and perhaps most importantly, however, the just peace ethic will better enable the illumination of Christ in our world and draw people to a loving relationship with Christ and the Church.

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