

ceasefire in El Salvador, UN Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar wrote: "The coverage achieved, as well as the climate of tranquillity and peace during the immunization process, represents an example for the world of what really can be obtained when the will and the wish to do it exists."⁵⁸

Those values instilled or reinforced by a humanitarian action can also contribute to creating a climate in war that is conducive to negotiation.⁵⁹ Overtly, this is manifested by the increased strength lent to the voices of moderation who participate in helping to organize the humanitarian action. In El Salvador one of the great voices of moderation was the Catholic church. Pelle says that the immunization campaign provided the church with a concrete, acceptable justification for increasing its mediating role and its credibility. It provided them with an additional means to openly strive for peace and reconciliation in El Salvador.⁶⁰

There is evidence as well that the spirit of conciliation fostered by humanitarian actions can permeate the final settlement of a conflict, whether that settlement is negotiated or otherwise resolved. Yarrow writes that Quaker relief action during the Nigerian civil war was both a form of conciliation itself and an opening to direct conciliation between the parties. Though this conciliatory effort did not result in a negotiated resolution of the conflict -- the rebels were defeated by the government forces -- the resulting military solution was imbued with the essence of that effort.⁶¹ Indicative of this, argues Yarrow, was the attitude of General Gowon, the leader of the Nigerian government. He points out that when Gowon accepted the rebel surrender, he ordered that all measures be taken

⁵⁸ Letter from UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar to Jose Napoleon Duarte, President of El Salvador, 28 February 1985.

⁵⁹ Jean-Luc Blondell, "Getting Access to the Victims: Role and Activities of the ICRC," *Journal of Peace Research*, 24:3, 1987, p. 313.

⁶⁰ Pelle, *supra* note 35, pp. 16-17.

⁶¹ Yarrow, *supra* note 16, p. 259-260.