local communities. Many municipalities and institutions declared themselves Nuclear Free Zones as an exercise of local sovereignty regarding issues of their own survival. Blockades by canoes and other small craft were organized to prevent Trident submarines from sailing into their bases. A network sprang up along the rail lines to protest the shipment of nuclear warheads from the Pantex factory in Texas to various sites around the country. Thousands of individuals withheld their taxes to protest military spending, some losing cars and even homes when the Internal Revenue Service cracked down on these protesters. Others formed communities, living at low income levels to reduce their tax assessments. Regular vigils and acts of civil disobedience were held at the Nevada nuclear test site and at weapons-producing corporations and research centers. Wherever the nuclear arms system was locally present, activists would bring their presence into the open and make it the focus of persistent campaigns of resistance. The slogan "Think globally, act locally" expressed the strategy to make the global issue of nuclear war a tangible one in local communities.

One of the most controversial forms of protest was the destruction of nuclear weaponry in what were called "plowshares" actions, taking the name from the biblical passage "they shall beat their swords into plowshares" (Isaiah 2:4). The first such action took place at the General Electric Aerospace plant in King of Prussia, Pennsylvania, on September 9, 1980, when eight religious peace activists damaged two Mark 12A nuclear warhead casings with hammers. Other actions were taken against nuclear submarines, missile silos, and other weapons-production facilities. Though some people questioned whether their action was nonviolent, the protesters were usually deeply religious and intentional about avoiding harm to human beings. Their actions were taken in part to apply international laws embodied in the Charter of the United Nations, the Geneva and Hague Conventions and the Nuremberg Principles to governmental activity in the preparation for nuclear holocaust. They compared their action morally to the destruction of the Nazi gas chambers, though most judges refused to allow defenses based on the Nuremberg principles. Cases were tried on narrow grounds of criminal trespass and malicious destruction of property, overlooking the horrifying destructive capability of the weapons systems. Some plowshares activists were sentenced to prison terms as long as ten years.

At the same time as the nuclear arms race was moving into high gear, the U.S. government was also concerned about revolutionary movements in Latin America. In Nicaragua, the Somoza dictatorship

was overthrown, and the leftist Sandinista movement came to power. The Nicaraguan revolution brought new hope to movements for justice throughout the region as well as severe consternation to U.S. policymakers. The Central Intelligence Agency gathered the remnants of Somoza's National Guard and other anti-Sandinista elements and launched a brutal war of attrition and terror upon the Nicaraguan people. Civil war broke out in El Salvador, and the United States pumped millions of dollars into the Salvadoran army, whose sweep-and-destroy campaigns and "off-duty" death squad activities forced thousands of Salvadorans to flee the country. Their story was repeated in Guatemala, where the military waged a genocidal campaign against the indigenous people. The proximity of Central America to the United States, the ease of travel, the flood of refugees, and the support of the U.S. government for groups and governments engaged in systematic and horrifying abuses of human rights all worked together to spark an extensive movement of solidarity and resistance among people in the United States.

Tens of thousands of Americans visited Nicaragua and El Salvador to learn about the conflicts. With the credibility gained by first-hand experience, they became the persistent voice against the views presented by the U.S. government. One of the early tours led to the inauguration of a new form of nonviolent action for peace. A tour group from North Carolina arrived in the farming community of El Porvenir in Nicaragua the day after Contras (as the U.S.-supplied anti-Sandinista insurgents were called) had destroyed it. Survivors heard stories of sadistic killings, rapes, and executions where sons were forced to pull the pins on grenades hung round their father's necks.[40] Though Contras were still roaming the area, no attacks were made where the American group was located. This generated the idea of establishing teams of "witnesses" who would rotate into Nicaragua for two-week periods. They would live in the war zones with people under threat of Contra attack, learn from the people about the war, and work alongside them. When they returned to the U.S., they would speak out against the war and provide the hard data and specific stories of the atrocities committed with the funding of the U.S. government. Four thousand Americans participated in Witness for Peace in Nicaragua.

Out of a retreat of religious peacemakers in 1983 a contingency plan was developed to resist an expected U.S. invasion of Nicaragua. It eventually took shape as "The Pledge of Resistance," expressing the commitment by signers to engage in or support acts of civil disobedience in the event of an invasion. Over seventy thousand

people signed the pledge, and Pledge groups were formed in four hundred cities and towns in all fifty states. If the U.S. was to invade, the government would simultaneously have to imprison tens of thousands of its own citizens. President Reagan signed the "National Security Decision Directive," which envisioned the president declaring a "State of Domestic National Emergency" and instructing the Federal Emergency Management Agency to round up undocumented Central Americans and U.S. citizens on a classified "Administrative Index" and hold them on U.S. military bases. When U.S. policy emerged as a "low-intensity conflict" of a grinding guerrilla war, targeting mainly Nicaraguan civilians and the economic and social infrastructure, the Pledge network focused on the appropriations votes in Congress to provide support to the Contras. In 1985, when Congress voted to send "humanitarian" aid to the Contras, four thousand people were arrested for committing civil disobedience. In Boston, 586 arrests were made when demonstrators nonviolently occupied a federal building to hold a town meeting protesting U.S. policy in Central America. Similar actions were held across the country.

It is hard to tell what role such massive and visible protests played in shaping U.S. policy, but the policy of low-intensity conflict that emerged was intended to minimize awareness among the U.S. population of its government's involvement in the wars in Central America. The Pledge and other solidarity groups had to shift their strategy to keeping the issue before the American people through education campaigns and demonstrations. In one such campaign "Crosses of Sorrow and Hope" were planted in public parks and the lawns of homes and businesses, inscribed with names of the dead from Nicaragua and El Salvador.

When refugees from the wars in El Salvador and Guatemala began to cross into the U.S., the Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) began to deport them since they fled from countries whose governments were supported by the U.S. A movement within the religious community sprang up, beginning along the U.S./Mexico border and stretching across the United States into Canada. Churches and synagogues declared themselves "sanctuaries," providing safe havens for refugees. A network developed to help bring refugees across the border and transport them to sanctuary churches or to Canada. Though the U.S. Refugee Act of 1980 and the United Nations Protocol Accords of 1967 say that no person can be deported who has a grave fear of persecution if returned to their homeland, the INS refused to acknowledge the political violence the refugees were

fleeing. Stories of relatives being killed, of refugees being tortured or threatened with death, and of the killing of many who were returned did not move the INS. However, thousands of people heard these first-hand reports of the horrors perpetrated in El Salvador and Guatemala as the sanctuary churches became places for the stories to be told to a wider public. Eventually some three hundred churches and synagogues, twenty U.S. cities, and the state of New Mexico publicly declared that they would provide sanctuary to Central Americans fleeing persecution.

The U.S. government harassed churches, sanctuary workers, and peace advocates, infiltrating and secretly recording Bible studies and worship services and using paid informers. Eleven sanctuary workers, including two Catholic priests, a Presbyterian minister, and a Catholic nun, were arrested and tried in Tucson, Arizona. While the judge refused to hear evidence about the conditions the refugees were fleeing, international or U.S. refugee laws, or the religious motivations of the defendants, he did allow a government case based on infiltration, threats, deceit, and nondisclosure of evidence. When seven of the Sanctuary workers were found guilty, Sr. Darlene Nicgorski commented, "If I am guilty of anything, I am guilty of the gospel."[41] The Sanctuary movement continued as long as the refugees came, and during the Persian Gulf war the same concept was used to welcome soldiers and members of the National Guard who refused to go to the Gulf.

Actions in solidarity with the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa were seen in a variety of forms in the United States. On college campuses, demonstrations were held to demand that endowment funds be removed from businesses related to South Africa. A major disinvestment campaign was undertaken to counter the reluctance of the U.S. government to enact or enforce comprehensive sanctions against the apartheid regime. Churches and unions submitted shareholder resolutions calling for corporations to withdraw from South Africa, backed by demonstrations at corporate sites. The South African embassy in Washington, D.C., was a focus for many demonstrations and civil disobedience actions.

Nonviolent actions in one form or another were used on behalf of issues of justice and peace or to resist governmental or community oppression, sometimes arising from a philosophy of nonviolence and sometimes merely as a tactic of protest. Movements in support of the environment, gay and lesbian rights, and Native American rights employed nonviolent action in their struggles, as did pro-choice, pro-life, anti-racism, and labor movements, and campaigns to reclaim

vacant housing. Americans have come to use such tactics extensively. A national holiday was declared, though not without controversy, on the birthday of Martin Luther King, Jr., identifying him as a great American who repeatedly committed civil disobedience in response to a vision and moral obligation higher than national law or governing authorities. In spite of the heavy militarization of the U.S. as the world's superpower, nonviolent action has found a strong and extensive place at the grassroots level in the efforts to shape national policy.

Portraits

Martin Luther King, Jr., once said, "In the nonviolent army, there is room for everyone who wants to sign up. There is no color distinction.... Nonviolent soldiers are called upon to examine and burnish their greatest weapons—their heart, their conscience, their courage and their sense of justice."[42] Most of the people who participate in nonviolent movements for peace and social change will never get their names in history books, but they are the ones who through their courage, creativity, and community with others in the struggle turn the flow of history in a more positive direction.

In Latin America there is a custom to remember those who have died by someone calling out the person's name and all responding, *"Presente!"* Through the following portraits of several ordinary peacemakers we can say a *"Presente!"* for the millions who have struggled nonviolently, including those who gave their lives so others could know freedom, peace, or a greater measure of justice. All of the individuals in these portraits are Baptists, for those happen to be the ordinary folks I know, but their courage and creativity is found in many people of many faiths in many lands.

Maria Cristina Gomez lived in San Salvador, El Salvador. At one time she had been a Sunday school teacher, helping to develop a new curriculum called *Nueva Vida en Cristo* for the Baptist churches. She was also a grade school teacher, and on April 5, 1989, armed men burst into her school room and dragged her away into a Jeep Cherokee, the favorite vehicle of the Salvadoran death squads. An hour later her bullet-riddled body was found with acid burns on her face. Maria Cristina Gomez had become one of the seventy-five thousand killed or disappeared in El Salvador's civil war.

Why was Maria Cristina killed? Two weeks before her death she had been a leader in the opening of the first women's clinic in El Salvador for victims of rape and other abused women, acting against the violence perpetrated upon women. She also had marched against the violence of the government and the death squads. Friends recalled

her as the one who was unafraid to speak out, who took the bullhorn so her voice and message could be clearly heard. When a friend warned her to be careful, Maria Cristina replied, "If we don't talk, who is going to do it?" She helped organize women office workers to form their own union. Wherever she could, she was involved in the struggles for justice amidst the slaughter sweeping El Salvador.

Though she had once been a church leader, her activism drove her beyond the churches. Many in the churches did not want to be associated with her out of fear. One friend said she was "living ahead of her time." But her faith was always the driving force in her work for justice. At a memorial service a statement was read by one of those whose life she had shaped: "If someday I die in this war, don't cry; remember that I'm only a seed that someday had to die to grow up and give fruits of love and peace. Now I feel stronger because I have more hands next to mine working for peace."

Maria Cristina Gomez: *Presente!*

When Moscovites woke up on August 19, 1991, to learn that a coup had ousted Mikhail Gorbachev, **Vera Kadaeva**, a Ukrainian woman who works as a volunteer in a Christian charitable ministry, teaches the Bible to children in a Moscow orphanage, and writes letters of encouragement to prisoners, thought that opportunities for free religious expression would be closed. When she saw the tanks and armored personnel carriers on the street, she took some New Testaments and went to Red Square. Vera approached the soldiers and gave them each a Testament. "I have come to you with a word from God," she said. "'Thou shalt not kill.' That is God's commandment. Life is a gift from God, and no one has a right to lift a hand against his neighbor."

Then she approached the tank crews surrounding the Russian Parliament building where Boris Yeltsin was protected by a barricade of buses and people standing arm-in-arm. Vera went directly to the soldiers with the same message, telling the officers, "God says to you, 'Thou shalt not kill.' This commandment is above all your orders." As she saw the young soldiers, she remembered her own nineteen-year-old son who had just been called up to join the army. She prayed, "Lord! Save these children! Save Russia!" Vera's prayers and the prayers of many others were answered in large part through the nonviolent courage of those who put themselves between the tanks and the targets of the coup plotters.[43]

Phineas Mapheto, pastor of the Mpho Baptist Church in South Africa, had a son imprisoned at Robbin Island for his activities in the

black freedom struggle. The ferry to Robbin Island was segregated, with whites sitting on the top deck with the view and blacks seated below. Though there was no law for this segregation, the regulations stated that one had to obey the master of the ship, who consistently carried out the apartheid policies on board. After many visits to the island, the sixty-year-old Mapheto decided that "God does not expect this from me. God does not expect this from any of His children. I will refuse to follow this policy."[44]

Rev. Mapheto seated himself on the ferry's upper deck, which created consternation among the ship's crew. When the shipmaster was informed, he came with an authoritative chill in his voice and warned Mapheto that he must leave or else be removed from the ship. Mapheto politely refused: "The only reason why you are asking me to move is because I am black." He offered to go below if all others on the upper deck would move also. By now the confrontation had attracted the attention of the other passengers, and in frustration the shipmaster finally walked away.

On the return trip, Rev. Mapheto again proceeded to the upper deck to find a seat. A young white official yelled at him, and Mapheto calmly rebuked him, "If you want to speak with me, you must address me as your elder." When ordered to go below, he again bluntly confronted racism as the only reason for the order and refused to obey. After more sputtering and fuming, the ferry officials finally gave up, leaving Rev. Mapheto to enjoy the upper deck for the entire journey.

Ken Medema is a Christian musician from San Francisco. He participated in a demonstration against the nuclear weapons design program at the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory. His involvement in the protests began when his church, the Delores Street Baptist Church, let a group use their facilities to hold nonviolence training. As he and his wife listened to the sessions, they "heard gospel" and decided to form an affinity group in their congregation to join in the movement.

The early morning of the next demonstration found Ken sitting on the road, blockading the laboratory, and he was one of the first arrested. His blindness added extra anxiety to the confusion of arrest and imprisonment. He was separated from his friends and put in a cell with other demonstrators whom he did not know. In the cell, he was engulfed with loneliness and questions about whether he had done the right thing. But in the three days leading up to their arraignment, the prisoners got to know each other, and their time in jail was spent teaching one another and singing. Ken taught them a song he had written, "When All the World Shall Feast Again," to the

tune of "When Johnny Comes Marching Home." The entire group was processed as one case, and they asked Ken to present their statement to the judge. Ken led them in singing their witness about their action:

When all the world shall feast again, hurrah! hurrah!
Injustice and crime are ended then, hurrah! hurrah!
All the valleys with joy shall ring
And all the folk on earth shall sing,
And we will not rest till all the world shall feast!
When weapon is plow and hoe again, hurrah! hurrah!
Shall justice like rivers flow again, hurrah! hurrah!
And darkness shall be done away,
And we shall see salvation's day,
And we will not rest till weapon is plow and hoe!

Far from the deep loneliness and anxiety of three days earlier, in the courtroom Ken and his fellow prisoners experienced a profound sense of solidarity and exultation. After a long silence the judge said, "Well, what do you make of that!" They were sentenced only to the three days they had spent in jail.

Nan Zing La is a pastor who earned his living as a lawyer in Myitkyina, in the Kachin State of Myanmar, formerly known as Burma. He was the first Kachin to graduate with a law degree. He was imprisoned in 1958 for political activities, then released in 1963 when Ne Win granted an amnesty for political prisoners. During the 1988 democracy uprising, Nan Zing La called for democratic reforms at the demonstrations in Myitkyina. When the military crackdown came, he was arrested and not allowed any visitors for over six months. Amnesty International adopted him as a prisoner of conscience along with Bawk La, another Kachin Baptist pastor/lawyer who had given speeches at the demonstrations. Nan Zing La was released along with many other political prisoners in mid-1992 as part of conciliation gestures offered by the military regime, due in part to negotiations under way through Baptist individuals seeking to mediate between the army and ethnic insurgents.[45]

Sixto Ulloa served as a Sandinista representative in the Nicaraguan legislature. This layman played the key organizing role from the Nicaraguan end for Witness for Peace. He was excited at the idea of a prayer vigil for peace in the very middle of the war, and worked tirelessly to arrange logistical matters between the North American delegations and the Nicaraguan government and church leaders. Sixto was also involved in producing the prophetic pastoral letters from the Nicaraguan Baptist Convention to churches in the United

States and to President Reagan, letters which called for an end to the U.S.-sponsored Contra War against Nicaragua.

George Williamson was in Iraq as part of a Fellowship of Reconciliation delegation in the months just prior to the outbreak of the U.S. war against Iraq. This Ohio pastor attended an event to commemorate Iraq's dead from the Iran-Iraq war, and was appalled to see a highly militaristic ceremony involving hundreds of children in military dress chanting slogans of hate: "Yes, Yes, Saddam! No, No, Bush!" George broke out of the bystanders and began walking down the ranks of children like an officer reviewing the troops. One reached out to touch his hand, and George warmly took it. The soldiers orchestrating the demonstration didn't know what to do and helplessly followed him as he shook hands with the children.

The chanting faded away as the children began practicing English phrases, "Good morning!" and exchanging names with George. When he pulled out some Polaroid photos of children in his church to give to these Iraqi children, all semblance of order evaporated as the children eagerly reached for the pictures. Then a child called out, "I love you." George called back, "I love you." Touching and hugging, he made his way down the tangled lines of children to a new chant of love.

When he was finished and the soldiers had restored "order," George went off by himself to weep, knowing that for one brief moment he and the children had risen above the war fever which gripped their two countries and sought to make them enemies. They had built a bridge of love amidst the chants of hatred.

As Ceausescu's army closed in on Rev. László Tökés in Timisoara, Romania, **Daniel Gavra**, a young railway worker, joined the other young people who were making a human chain around Tökés's church to protect the besieged pastor. He showed his own pastor, Rev. Peter Dugulescu, the bundle of candles he had brought for the demonstrators to keep lit throughout the night. When the army fired on the unarmed crowd, Daniel was severely wounded and had to have a leg amputated. He told his pastor from his hospital bed that "he had lost a leg, but he had lit the first candle."[46]

Of such heroes, heroines, and martyrs is the nonviolent army composed. Whatever presidents, prime ministers, and secretary generals may have to say about shaping a new world order, these people are also stating their case, often so strongly and so clearly that the political leaders have no choice but to accede to their call for true peace with justice.

Chapter 5

Conflict Resolution and Mediation

The ring of the telephone jolted me out of my immersion in a theology book. I was in seminary, taking a heavy load to make up for some lost time in my academic plan. Our pastor, Merle Pimentel, was on the other end of the line. My wife, Sharon, had come to his office that night, and Merle told me I had better get down there quickly. Without a clue as to the problem, I headed for the church. Sharon was very upset as I took a chair next to her. Merle related to me that she had come to him to talk. Our young marriage was under severe stress because of our heavy schedules, especially my overload of studies and student pastoring, plus the half-time job I had so I could pay tuition. Our relationship was the easiest part of our life for me to overlook under all the demands of my other commitments. For weeks Sharon had been trying to break through my academic concentration to let me know how absent I was becoming to her, but I wasn't picking up her signals. Even her blunt messages were shrugged aside. Finally, in desperation, she had turned to our pastor.

Having a third person involved in the process was at first an embarrassment to me; I had to admit then that Sharon and I had a serious problem and needed some help. As one who tends to avoid conflict rather than face it with creativity, I needed Sharon's bold action to confront me with the stress I was bringing to our relationship through my choices. I had developed a mental grid to explain away or devalue all Sharon's messages to me about the issue, but a third person—our pastor in this case—was able to get through to me because of his objectivity and my respect for and trust in him. He related to me what Sharon had said to him, and I heard it in a fresh, though painful way. When she then spoke directly to me, my interpretive grid had been disengaged so I could finally hear what she had been trying to say.

Once the communication had been opened up, Sharon and I then had to deal with the situation and the new (at least for me) perception of the state of our relationship. Again the third person helped us.

Merle helped us analyze our situation so we could see the choices we had made and the choices still before us. He suggested actions we could take to change our situation and to work directly at strengthening our relationship. Though we ended up not taking many of the options he suggested, his concrete proposals released our creativity to work on our own mutually satisfactory solutions. I dropped some of my courses and took an extra year to go through seminary, and we made more time to be together as a couple. Not only did our marriage survive graduate school, it was strengthened as a result of our self-discoveries through the conflict and through the assistance we received from our pastoral mediator.

Conflict has been resolved with the help of mediators throughout human history and in a variety of cultures and forms. In China, Confucius developed a system of dispute resolution by means of "moral persuasion and agreement rather than sovereign coercion."[1] Every year hundreds of thousands of disputes are settled using Confucian mediation. Each culture develops its own ways of handling conflict—some more through avoidance, but others through a wide range of methods to bring about resolution. In the past two decades, however, some significant changes have happened on a global scale that are bringing conflict resolution and mediation into the center stage of peacemaking. In this chapter the development of those changes as well as the basic principles of conflict resolution and mediation will be briefly explored, along with some stories of how mediation has helped to end wars in various countries.

The Development of Conflict Resolution as a Discipline

Conflict resolution as a discipline has roots in many fields of study and practice. The development of the social sciences brought the rigor and scope of academic methods to an exploration of human behavior, and conflict as a basic and universal human experience has been examined in the fields of anthropology, psychology, sociology, and political science. Ways that human individuals and social groups deal with conflict, from making war to creating a process for resolution, have become major topics of inquiry. But the academic field is still in its early stages of development. Dean Pruitt, purposefully exaggerating a bit, assessed the state of the discipline in this way:

> *Negotiation and mediation today can be likened, in some respects, to medicine and surgery in the early eighteenth century. Both sets of fields consist almost entirely of practitioners; training is heavily in the direction of the apprenticeship; practitioners operate more or less intuitively, each with a distinct individual style; and the litera-*

ture in both fields, to the extent it exists, derives mainly from the experience of practitioners and consists largely of aphorisms about appropriate action.[2]

Since Pruitt wrote those words in 1986, the field of conflict resolution has continued to grow as a scholarly pursuit, with more work being done on theory and analysis both to reflect on past experiences and to provide more thorough training for practitioners in dispute resolution.

A second major stream in the development of conflict resolution has come from the field of labor/management relations. Following the process of industrialization in the West, workers began to organize to improve their lot. In the early 1900s a number of industries took steps, in response to union concerns, to set up grievance procedures. The coal industry developed an umpire system, and one Chicago factory instituted an impartial chairman system to handle disputes. The labor union struggles of the 1920s and 1930s led to collective bargaining processes that were supported by the National Labor Relations Act and various institutions to undergird negotiations. In World War II, the National War Labor Board was established to maintain stability in industry during the war through mediation and voluntary arbitration in labor disputes. Then in 1947 the federal government became directly involved in mediation through the formation of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service. Many of these practitioners in labor mediation and negotiation have gone on to provide leadership in the broader field of conflict resolution.

The racial conflict in the United States in the 1950s and 1960s also provided experience for conflict resolution. In conjunction with the nonviolent campaigns for civil rights, negotiations were conducted in hundreds of communities regarding racial justice and community peace issues. The 1964 Civil Rights Act established the Community Relations Service, which served to mediate racial conflicts without litigation. In many communities multiracial coalitions were established to try to diffuse conflict and address the underlying issues of racism and economic injustice.

Police departments have also worked creatively through negotiation to resolve potentially violent confrontations peacefully. Many departments have developed negotiation teams to handle hostage situations, achieving a high rate of success in terminating such incidents without further violence. Domestic quarrels are one of the most explosive situations a police officer has to face. When the New York City Police Department set up a Family Crisis Intervention Unit trained in third-party intervention, they saw a dramatic reduction in

the number of officers killed while responding to domestic crisis calls.[3] Many police departments have also assigned community relations officers to work with neighborhoods in conflict management and community negotiation in order to diffuse potential crisis situations.

The legal system in the United States has formally incorporated "alternative methods of dispute resolution" as a part of its efforts to reform itself in the face of an explosion of litigation, court costs, and case backlogs. The alternative methods address some of these problems by removing cases from the courts to mediation or arbitration settings. Local bar associations and courts have set up community centers staffed by lawyers and other professionals, many of whom are volunteers, to deal with lower level disputes and face-to-face conflict resolution. Sometimes in nonviolent crimes the victims can receive compensation, and the offenders are forced to see up close the harm they have done as well as pay back the victim and the community, under the supervision of the local court. These resolutions cut the time necessary to handle a case, clear up the court docket for more serious cases, and provide an opportunity for solutions to be found to conflicts that are more likely to solve the problems than straight adjudication on the points of law.

Schools have also been prime sources of conflict resolution development, focusing on training children in effective ways to handle conflict and to mediate conflicts with peers or younger children. The Neighborhood Dispute Resolution Program in San Francisco began working in conflict management training in the early 1980s in a program which eventually spread to over one hundred schools. Children were taught role playing, assertiveness, listening skills and mediation techniques. Then teams would work on the playgrounds to help their classmates in the conflicts that involved pushing, name calling, and other disputes at that level. Principals in the participating schools reported that they spent less time on discipline, the atmosphere of the school was calmer, and teachers could give more time to teaching. The children found their new skills helpful not only at school but also at home. Schools in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland have also adopted conflict resolution curricula, with a view to addressing the larger violent social conflict in which many generations have grown up. The hope is that a new generation with extensive skills in nonviolent means of handling their disputes will be able to address more creatively the issues that have plagued Northern Ireland with political violence for so long.[4]

International diplomacy has also been an area of growing understanding of conflict resolution. With improvements in communica-

tions and travel, efforts to build international community have become both necessary and possible. Following World War I, the League of Nations was established as a forum to address international issues, but with the rise of fascism the League's fatal flaws were revealed. In spite of its inabilities to stop the militarism of the fascist states, the League of Nations was a step in the right direction. Out of the ashes of World War II a stronger international body was formed, the United Nations. It, too, had critical weaknesses, which were revealed in the deadlocks in the Security Council when the vetoes of the antagonistic superpowers blocked effective action in any conflict in which they had a stake. However, major progress was made in developing international structures for handling conflict in ways that are nonviolent. The International Court of Justice in The Hague, the Netherlands, has become an important forum for adjudication of international disputes. Regional and global treaties have been negotiated in a wide range of issues, from disarmament to the access to resources in the sea and Antarctica. In many cases, conflicts have been resolved before they got to the explosive stage. In addition to the United Nations, regional bodies such as the Organization of African Unity, the Organization of American States, and the Association of South East Asian Nations have helped countries find common ground, work on issues of mutual benefit, and resolve many conflicts through negotiation. Though the number of wars has remained horrendously high, the infrastructure to work on international conflict resolution has been under a careful and steady process of development as modern technology has shrunk the size of our world.

A final stream feeding into the new interest in conflict resolution has been the work of religious communities, particularly the historic peace churches. For many years Quakers, Mennonites, and the Church of the Brethren have developed conciliation ministries. They have aided churches in conflict, provided their services to communities, and in some cases played important roles in seeking resolutions to international conflicts or civil wars. Quakers organized communication assistance missions to bridge the gaps between warring parties in the Middle East following the 1967 war, between India and Pakistan in 1965, and during the Nigerian civil war in 1968–1970.[5] The Mennonite Central Committee's Conciliation Service has provided conflict resolution training and mediation assistance as an expression of their peace witness. Conflict resolution has entered many of the mainline denominations and ecumenical structures through the fields of pastoral counseling, peace advocacy, and organizational management. The consistency of the goals and techniques of conflict

resolution with the Christian gospel has provided both a spiritual basis for conciliation practitioners and practical methods for the person of faith seeking to bear witness to God's love in a tangible way.

The development that has so dramatically energized the field of conflict resolution in recent years is the linking of all these different areas of human interaction. Academic institutions have developed courses and even degree programs in conflict resolution. Special institutes have been established at some universities, bridging the diverse disciplines of sociology, psychology, political science, criminal justice, and business administration. The studies being undertaken draw from innovations and experiences in these various areas and then feed back to them, causing a cross-pollination of ideas. After an extensive campaign by a broad coalition of advocacy groups, the federal government established the U.S. Institute for Peace, popularly known as the "Peace Academy," a decentralized network of academic institutions and research centers established to study peacekeeping, peacemaking, and conflict resolution. Professional journals and newsletters devoted to the field have proliferated, disseminating ideas and case studies to the growing circles of interested academics and practitioners. Professional organizations have been established, with rapidly growing memberships among institutions and individuals, and at times hosting large national conferences to address rising issues in conflict resolution.

The opportunities presented in the development of conflict resolution point to a world with a greater measure of peace. Through broad-scale education and participation in conflict resolution processes there is the possibility of a profound change in American society and perhaps in the global community. The adversarial and confrontational mode of operation which has dominated in the West may shift to include more collaboration and partnership in problem-solving. This change in consciousness about how conflict can be approached is more possible now because training in the skills for dealing creatively with conflict is more broadly available. If the majority of American school children could learn specific conflict resolution skills, the social impact as they matured and moved into positions of leadership in society would be profound. Whether they were in the role of a conflicted party or mediator, they would be better able to express themselves, listen to others, develop a range of alternatives, and negotiate, and they would have a sense of empowerment in the face of conflict. Instead of being armed with handguns, people would be armed with the skills to untangle the knots of their conflicts.

On a societal level, education in conflict resolution might help a

culture that currently enshrines as heroes the tough males who solve conflict by defeating—usually killing—their opponents to learn to lift up new paragons of virtue, those who use courage and creativity to help resolve conflicts peacefully. Success might be redefined from beating one's opponent to working out mutually satisfying agreement. On a global level, as we face a shrinking planet with increasing pressures from population and resource limitations, conflict resolution skills and structures will be absolutely necessary for the maintenance of human existence. With the weapons of mass destruction humanity now has available, an inability to resolve conflict can lead to extinction. Conflict resolution provides a ray of hope for finding the way to the next stages of our political and social development as human beings.

But there are risks in the field of conflict resolution, risks which must be addressed if the hope it brings is to be actualized. Conflict resolution which does not address fundamental power imbalances among conflicted people or groups can become an instrument of injustice. It can be a way to negotiate the survival of the status quo and undercut necessary reforms or even revolutions. Traditional power structures are better organized and have more access to resources than those which are poor or have been denied access to power for one reason or another. Negotiation can lead to a resolution which provides a superficial solution that might make survival more viable for the disadvantaged party, but which fails to attend to the deeper issues which caused the conflict in the first place.[6]

Furthermore, in mediation apart from the legal system, the codification of important social norms may be lost because the challenges to current laws or precedents never get recorded and adjudicated. Conflict resolution could then become a ghettoized form of "second-class justice," where those who cannot afford lawyers resort to alternative systems unprotected by the sanctions available from the courts. On the other hand, conflict resolution could be used by those with power and money to set up their own system for handling disputes, leaving the public courts in an increasing state of decay and dysfunction.

Finally, there is the question of moral wrongs becoming negotiable. In the wars following the breakup of Yugoslavia, for example, is it acceptable for a conflict resolution process to confirm the results of ethnic cleansing? If negotiation achieves a substantial ratification of gains made by a policy of genocide against other ethnic groups, then serious questions need to be raised about whether that negotiation was a tool for peace or for injustice. If the latter, then conflict is not

resolved, but is merely suppressed by negotiated means.

These and other risks in the field of conflict resolution will be examined more fully at the close of this book. Though there are concerns to consider, conflict resolution has nonetheless brought about significant achievements for peace and reconciliation and provided deeper understanding of the tools and processes for the peaceful handling of our disputes, and it is to these processes that we now turn.

"Getting to Yes": Processes for Conflict Resolutions

Roger Fisher and William Ury of the Harvard Negotiation Project gave a tremendous boost to the field of conflict resolution with the publication of their book *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In.*[7] Their bestseller was translated into eighteen languages and has become a classic work on negotiation. A brief summary of their methodology will serve to present some of the major themes in conflict resolution in general.

Fisher and Ury contrast *positional* negotiation with *principled* negotiation. Positional negotiation refers to the widely practiced form of bargaining, in which each side makes an offer neither expects to be the final one, and they then trade and compromise until a middle position is found. For example, if I want to buy a house offered for sale at $160,000, I might offer $135,000 and eventually settle on $150,000. Positional bargaining is often inefficient, since it creates an incentive to stall for a better deal rather than come to a solution. It also puts the relationship at risk, since the negotiating parties are in a win/lose situation: for one party to gain, the other has to make a concession. Such a process can also produce unwise agreements, because more attention is paid to each side's position and the investment of ego in defending it, rather than in resolving the underlying needs. The more parties that are involved in a conflict, the more complex and the less resolvable the conflict is through positional negotiation.

Principled negotiation pursues a different course, in which negotiation is based on the merits of the situation. Fisher and Ury identify four basic points in the process of principled negotiation. The first is to separate the people from the problem.[8] In most conflict, people's emotions are tangled with the problem. The first step is to separate the people from the problem, not by ignoring the people inside of the conflict but by dealing with the problem directly and intentionally. Misperceptions can be addressed by having each side "try on" the other side's point of view, working to at least understand if not agree. If both sides can have a stake in the outcome, they are more likely to

be involved constructively in the process. The proposed solutions should also be consistent with the values expressed on each side, so that each can "save face" and feel positive about the outcome. Emotions can be acknowledged explicitly and labeled as legitimate, but with certain rules set about emotional display during the negotiations. Perhaps it can be contracted for one person or side to "let off steam" at a time while the other side makes no comment or response. Communication is vital to the negotiating process, but it should be assumed that the other side will almost always hear something different from what was said. Active listening, rephrasing what was heard, and trying to speak in the terms used by the other side all aid the communication process. The work done on the relationship can shift the parties from an adversarial mode to being partners in problem-solving, working together in a hard process to find a fair agreement advantageous to each side.

The second component of principled negotiation is to focus on interests, not positions.[9] Because "the basic problem in a negotiation lies not in conflicting positions, but in the conflict between each side's needs, desires, concerns and fears," these interests are the moving causes in the conflict, which positions taken in negotiations attempt to protect. But for every interest there is a range of positions which can satisfy it, and some underlying interests on opposing sides are compatible even if their stated negotiating positions are not. To uncover the interests, one can ask why the particular decisions embodied in each side's position have or have not been made. Each side will have multiple interests, and in the process those interests need to be identified and acknowledged specifically as part of the problem. Adequately addressing the other's interests is part of the negotiator's problem, because a solution will not be found if it is not satisfactory in some way to both parties. This will help the conflicted parties move beyond blaming each other for what happened in the past. Instead, the parties can look forward to options that will address the interests each side has.

The third component of principled negotiation identified by Fisher and Ury is to invent options for mutual gain.[10] If a negotiator is thinking in terms of a single answer to the conflict, then a range of alternatives is foreclosed which might have addressed the underlying interests. Fisher and Ury recommend inventing options to widen the range of solutions to select from and also to create partnership in the process of shaping the solution. It begins by separating *inventing* from *deciding*—what is commonly known as "brainstorming." In a setting separate from the decision-making process, every conceivable idea is

elicited without any criticism. After the brainstorming, the most promising ideas are highlighted, with everyone working to improve them, perhaps incorporating elements of some rejected ideas. In the process, options with contrasting strengths and weaknesses can be evaluated, and the options that provide the best mutual gain can surface.

Fisher and Ury's fourth component of principled negotiation is to insist on using objective criteria.[11] Battles of will are costly, so a critical phase of the negotiation is to develop agreed upon standards of fairness to assess the viability of any proposed solution. The principles should be agreed to first, then all issues can be weighed in terms of those principles. Fisher and Ury call for negotiators to use reason and to be open to reason, but not to give in to pressure. Bribes, threats, manipulation of trust, or intransigence should be countered with requests to explain the reasoning behind what is being done, with objective criteria relevant to the issue.

The principled negotiation process that Fisher and Ury present can be practiced by both negotiators and mediators. The goal is to find win/win solutions that will result in a genuine resolution to the conflict. Even if one party is not interested in following this approach, the process can be turned around by consistent and persistent refusal to play the positional game and by pressing to deal with interests and objective criteria.

Another factor to consider in the development of processes for peacemaking is the cultural context. The technical field of conflict resolution has developed in the context of Western culture and sometimes is built on assumptions that may not be valid in other settings. Conflict resolution in North American is based on formal patterns of handling conflict, with designated settings for the process, an objective or even professional mediator, and face-to-face, issue-oriented communication in an effort to achieve agreement on the issues. But other, more traditional cultures, both within the United States and in other countries, are more relationship oriented, and the resolution of conflict requires the presence of interpersonal relationships built upon trust with the mediator. In these cultures the conflict issues need to be discussed in the context of the connections of people and history and hopes to the core situation. Communication may be handled in these cultures more appropriately through indirect means, using a mediator as a surrogate, rather than talking directly to the opposing party. Because of the vast differences in cultural assumptions, it is important for anyone involved in cross-cultural mediation to be sensitive to the frame of reference for the disputants.

John Paul Lederach calls this sensitivity "contextualization," or knowing "how a person interprets the boundaries and context of the conflict":

> *Contextualization helps the mediator decide on an appropriate style and format of intervention. She must be sensitive to the parties' potentially varying preferences for formality, temporal organization, pace and sequencing in the different phases of the interaction, and to the context of their wider social networks.*[12]

With appropriate sensitivity, the mediator can access the strengths and resources for conflict resolution from his or her own culture and elicit the strengths and resources of the disputants and their culture.

In one such contrasting culture, for example, John Paul Lederach identifies some of the basic elements to conflict resolution in Latino culture from his own study and experience in Central America, providing a very different perspective from that presented by Fisher and Ury.[13] Lederach found that *confianza*, *cuello*, and *coyuntura* are fundamental to resolving conflict in Central American settings. *Confianza* means "trust" or "confidence," and refers to having people upon whom one can depend, thus providing the relational security necessary for a mediator to be acceptable. *Cuello* refers to "having connections," networks of people who are important in dealing with the problem. Whereas Anglo models of conflict resolution value a neutral outsider in the mediating role, the valuing of *confianza* and *cuello* indicate the importance of a mediator who is closely related and trusted by the disputants in Latino models. *Coyuntura* refers to the larger context, including the timing of events. It indicates a sensitivity to relationships and fluid situations that must be ripe before resolution can take place. *Coyuntura* requires the mediator to be available and present on a long-term basis, so that at the right time the conciliation work can proceed. Lederach's study in Central America shows that each culture has its own variations in style and structure and relational assumptions in handling disputes, and these dynamics will need to be identified and built upon by anyone seeking to aid in a conflict resolution process.

Mediators

Mediators have functioned in resolving conflicts in a wide variety of ways in the rich range of human culture. David Augsburger holds that conflict is "intentionally and productively—or automatically and dysfunctionally—triangular" in structure, drawing in other people as victims, allies, or mediators.[14] When the third party refuses to form a coalition with the conflicting party, the neutral person or group can

assist those in conflict to find a mutually satisfactory solution. The addition of the third party dramatically increases the power of the opposing parties to change through providing the support and stability necessary to deal constructively with the relational imbalances of the conflict. The third party can help maintain symmetrical relationships of motivation, power, communication, and tension levels, as well as a balanced sequence of movement through the stages of negotiation.[15] Cultures institutionalize mediation in various ways, but recent developments in the study of conflict resolution and the growing interdependency of the global community have brought mediation to new levels of necessity and understanding.

Governments often play mediating roles. Henry Kissinger's shuttle diplomacy in the mid-1970s sought to bring peace between Israel and Egypt, a process which was taken to a partial resolution by President Jimmy Carter at Camp David. Sometimes governments have tried to work in partnership as a mediation team, as the Soviet Union and the United States did in a failed attempt to convene Arab-Israeli talks in Geneva, also in the 1970s. Superpower mediation, however, is seldom neutral, for the government acting as mediator also has its own policies that it is trying to advance. James Laue points out that although many American diplomats would say they are mediators in certain conflicts, structurally they are advocates representing the interests of the U.S. government.[16] If resolving a conflict between two other nations improves the situation for the mediator, then the convergence of interests can be beneficial to peace. Governmental mediators also have access to resources to provide infrastructural support to negotiations and can use promises and threats to add to the stake the parties have in a successful resolution.

Nations which are not superpowers may also provide mediation services because of their regional relationships and respect from both sides. President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica played the role of convener and mediator in a peace process among five Central American nations that were affected by the civil wars in three of those nations. Costa Rica itself had camps of Nicaraguan Contras in their border areas, refugees fleeing war zones, and political pressure from the United States to bring Costa Rican policies in line with U.S. regional objectives. Because of Costa Rica's own relative stability and efforts to remain neutral, Arias was able to work with his counterparts in the other Central American countries to set up a process which ultimately led to peace accords in Nicaragua and, indirectly, in El Salvador. Earlier, Panama, Mexico, Venezuela, and Columbia established themselves as the Contadora Group to pursue Central

American peace. The United States undermined this mediation effort (which had produced a draft treaty) because it was outside the U.S. policy framework. Yet in spite of U.S. diplomatic subversion, Contadora laid a basis of diagnosis and an outline for resolution that were later picked up by the Esquipulas process, which Arias mediated.[17]

In the efforts to resolve the civil war in Sudan in the early 1970s, mediation was undertaken by church groups, while Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia played a critical role at two stages in the peace process in strengthening the mediation and providing a site for the peace talks.[18] Ethiopia again played a mediating role in 1993, hosting peace talks among the various clan factions in Somalia in efforts to end the fighting in their neighboring country. The difficulty of any government involvement in mediation is that political considerations—either internally for the mediating government or in the relationship between the nations—can further complicate the situation by adding other factors into the already complex nature of the conflict. Many countries do not want to even consider the mediation of another government if the conflict is a civil war, on the grounds that the matter is an internal affair and their sovereignty would be compromised.

An alternative to governments serving as mediators has been the use of intergovernmental agencies as conveners of peace processes. The United Nations, most often through the office of the Secretariat, has been called upon to mediate many international conflicts, such as the Iran-Iraq war, the war in Afghanistan, and the decolonialization wars in Africa, as in Namibia. More recently, the U.N. has shifted its stand against involvement in civil wars and has assisted in mediation where its services were requested to end internal conflicts. The U.N. mediated the peace talks between the government and insurgents in El Salvador, which led to the peace accords signed in early 1992. Regional intergovernmental agencies have also played roles as mediators. The Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) mediated a cease-fire between guerrilla factions struggling for power in Liberia after the factions had brought down the government of President Samuel Doe. ECOWAS also sent a multinational peacekeeping force that occupied the capital of Monrovia and opened channels for relief supplies to be brought into the country. However, an interim government set up by ECOWAS then became yet another faction in a dispute that has yet to be resolved.

Non-governmental organizations (NGOs), including religious bodies, have also been utilized extensively for mediation. In a conflict where official communication has become impossible or politically

problematic, and where diplomatic channels are suspect because of concerns for national sovereignty, NGOs can serve as a link between warring groups or governments. These unofficial diplomats have as their major strength their independence from governmental bodies. They are not accountable for national policy and they do not have to report to any government, though they often make reports to relevant parties in order to keep them appraised of their activities. The non-official links between sides through NGOs can provide an opportunity to test new ideas or proposals at minimal risk. If the response is positive, then the peace process can advance. If the response is negative, or if the opposing side seeks to manipulate the proposal for its own advantage, then the process can be disavowed without a loss of face. The NGO mediator must understand this function and remain vulnerable to failure; an NGO third party is more likely to assume that risk of failure in order to bring peace than governments are. NGOs can also bring new perspectives into a conflict since they are not limited by the interpretation of facts or policy objectives in which governments get invested. NGOs can confront negotiating parties with facts they wish to ignore or press for them to face issues they are refusing to address adequately. NGOs can also pursue a variety of channels for informal contact in order to establish an atmosphere supportive of a formal negotiation process.

Recently an NGO and a government combined for one of the most remarkable mediation efforts in history. A peace accord between Israel and the Palestine Liberation Organization was finally achieved by secret talks in Norway that allowed the parties to get around some of the political barriers that had proved insurmountable in the public glare of the Middle East peace talks. A research team from the Norwegian Institute for Applied Science had developed contacts with Israeli officials while working on a report on conditions in the occupied territories. Norway's State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Jan Egeland, followed the work of the research team. When one of their key contacts, Yossi Beilin, was made deputy foreign minister in the new Israeli Labor government, Egeland visited Beilin to suggest that Norway could help create a secret contact between Israel and the PLO leadership.

In January 1993, the first meeting of unofficial representatives of the two sides was set up by the Norwegian research team at a secret location in Norway. The atmosphere was very positive and the talks picked up momentum when Israel repealed the ban on contacts with the PLO. The remote suburban home of Marianne Heiberg, a member of the research team, and Johan Jorgen Holst was the host site for

the small delegations to share. In this intimate setting, with Egeland and Holst (who became Foreign Minister in April 1993) mediating, the agreement was reached that burst into public view that fall. The relaxed atmosphere was even assisted by four-year-old Edward Holst playing at the delegates' feet while the negotiations were taking place.[19] The low-risk contacts of an NGO, the willingness of a neutral government to assist, and the offering of a quiet context in which to grapple with the complex issues were all critical elements of the process to achieve this peace accord.

NGOs are often dismissed—sometimes rightfully so—as amateurs. They have limited access to information and may not understand various governmental policies. If NGOs are humble enough to recognize their limitations and shape their roles accordingly, this weakness can be turned to a strength, while arrogant amateurism, particularly in cross-cultural mediation, can complicate the conflict and deepen the distrust. NGOs may also be manipulated and used for purposes of disinformation. Communication can be used to achieve greater understanding between the parties, or it can be a tool of deception. The limited knowledge of many NGOs makes them more liable to manipulation by one side or the other. Jesus' admonition to "be wise as serpents and innocent as doves" (Matthew 10:16) is sound advice to mediators inserting themselves between deadly adversaries. NGOs can also be used by one or both sides as a tactic to delay getting involved in formal talks. If an informal channel can be strung along with risk-free promises, a government or opposition group can give an appearance of wanting peace while stonewalling any genuine process. Any NGO in a mediating role will have to be aware of these risks and assess whether the process it is involved in is a valid one or not. If it is being used to extend the conflict and not resolve it, the NGO should break off or perhaps use the threat of disengagement to force a more serious negotiating posture from the offending side.

Through their work in the process of mediation in the resolving of conflict, John Paul Lederach and Paul Wehr have learned to distinguish between two differing types of mediators.[20] The most commonly recognized is the "outsider-neutral," a third-party who by his or her external position is viewed as more objective and who can impartially moderate the negotiation process. Once the conflict is resolved, the outsider-neutral usually leaves. The "insider-partial" mediator, on the other hand, is much more intimately connected to the conflict. The effectiveness of the insider-partial is based on his or her relationship to the conflicted parties over a long period of time, which has led to trust being established. The insider-partial mediator emerges from

the setting of the conflict, and so brings to the mediation process a knowledge of that setting and the people involved. The insider-partial mediator also is respected not for any technical expertise in conflict resolution, but because of who he or she is in the network of relationships in the context of the conflict. Local religious leaders are often in a strategic position to play this role, for they bring a vital network of relationships and a moral stature to a conciliation process that few other NGOs can claim. In many of the peace processes, a team of insider-partials and outsider-neutrals was developed, bringing the strengths of both identities to the negotiations. This was the case in Nicaragua, Burma, and El Salvador.

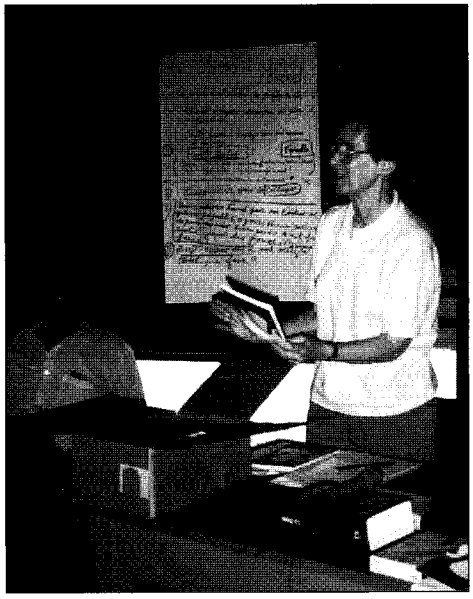
Whatever their identity, mediators can undertake a variety of activities to assist the parties in their conciliation efforts. They can gather information, for example. Many times the facts of a conflict are so clouded by rhetoric and propaganda that it is difficult to know what is really going on. Gathering information and making objective reports can help each side have an opportunity to make its case, correct misrepresentations, and perhaps hear how it sounds to outsiders. Mediators can also assist in communication, especially when the emotions of the conflict have made it very difficult for the parties to communicate directly. Mediators can carry messages, interpret actions or interests, or establish procedures for more formal discussion. In that context mediators can "float" proposals from one side or the other, or put forward their own proposals to overcome gaps between the negotiating parties or to provide a more concrete focus for discussions. Whatever the specific role is which the mediator plays, it should be agreed upon by the parties early in the process.

We will now turn to two cases of mediation involving church leaders as "insider-partial" mediators and one case in which a government served as mediator in a peace process. The events in Sudan illustrate the involvement of an international church body. The events in Nagaland did not get much world attention due to the remoteness of the region and the Indian government's policy to isolate the area, but they show the importance of an insider-partial mediator at critical stages in a peace process. The Arab-Israeli negotiations at Camp David mediated by U.S. President Jimmy Carter and his staff are an example of a government serving as mediator. Carter's work was motivated in large part by his own Christian convictions, and the successes of Camp David became a springboard for his later work as an NGO leader in conflict resolution.

Solitary Chinese democracy demonstrator stops a line of tanks on Changan Avenue, approaching Tiananmen Square on June 4, 1989. (Associated Press/Wide World Photos)

Henry Hodgkin of Great Britain (left) and Friedrich Siegmund-Schultze of Germany, co-founders of the International Fellowship of Reconciliation. (IFOR archives)

Muriel Lester, founder of Kingsley Hall in London and IFOR's traveling secretary. (Courtesy of FOR)

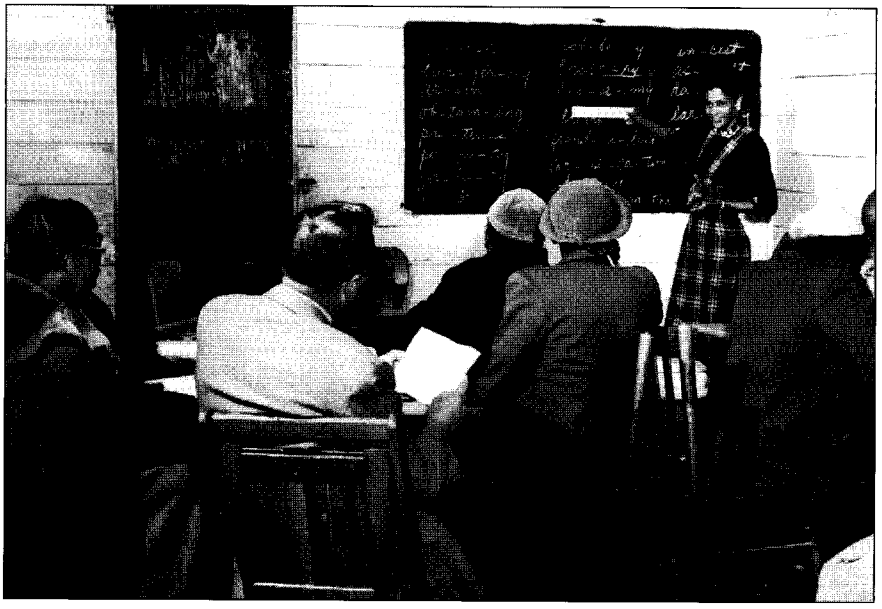


Hildegard Goss-Mayr conducting a nonviolence training session in Ivory Coast. (IFOR archives)

Mahatma Gandhi setting out on his famous Salt March in which he nonviolently defied British colonial control of salt production. (IFOR archives)

Rosa Parks sitting on a Montgomery bus, the action that sparked a yearlong nonviolent campaign to end segregation in that city's transit system. (BPFNA archives)

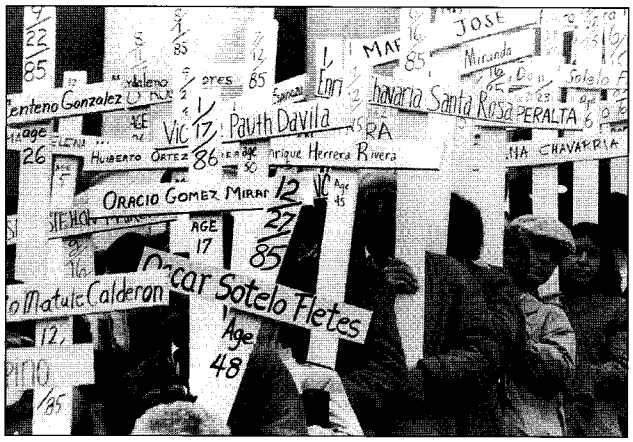
Members of the FOR's "Journey of Reconciliation" prepare to board a bus in violation of Southern Jim Crow laws in 1947. (Courtesy of FOR)



A teacher from the Highlander Folk School in Knoxville, Tennessee, an institution to educate local activists to work for social change. (Highlander Research and Education Center)

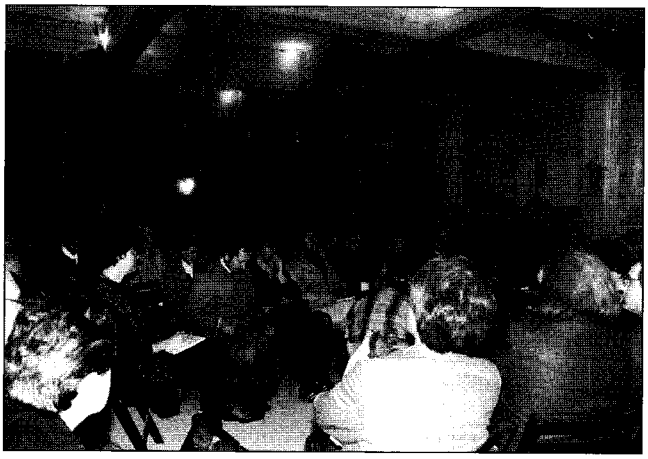
Fred Shuttlesworth, Ralph Abernathy, and Martin Luther King, Jr., marching for civil rights in Birmingham, Alabama, in 1963. (Birmingham Public Library, Dept. of Archives and Manuscripts)

Israeli Women in Black during their weekly vigil calling for an end to the occupation of the West Bank and Gaza. (Buttry)



Members of Witness for Peace carry "crosses of sorrow and hope" with names of civilians killed by Contras in Nicaragua. (Vicki Kemper, courtesy of *Sojourners* magazine)

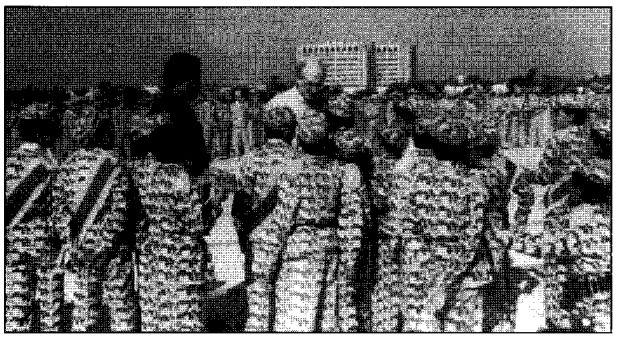
Mothers of the Plaza de Mayo silently march in Argentina to bear witness to their disappeared loved ones. (Eric Wheater, courtesy of *Sojourners* magazine)



Illegal conference of Polish human-rights activists in basement of the Church of God's Mercy in Warsaw in 1987. (Polly Duncan, courtesy of *Sojourners* magazine)

Women from the antinuclear encampment at the Greenham Common Air Base in Great Britain surround the base in an effort to halt deployment of cruise missiles in Europe. (Courtesy of FOR)

A Soviet Baptist hands copies of Scripture to tank crews facing the Russian Parliament building in Moscow during the August 1991 coup attempt, urging them not to kill anyone. (Boris Yablakov/Foreign Mission Board, SBC)



George Williamson, president of Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America, disrupting militaristic demonstration with Iraqi children during peace trip to Iraq. (Courtesy of George Williamson)

(From left) Desmond Tutu, Alan Boesak, and Frank Chikane refuse police orders to disperse following a march and prayer rally against apartheid in South Africa. (Adil Bradlow, courtesy of *Sojourners* magazine)

The Berlin Wall crumbling before the assaults of nonviolent citizens. (Courtesy of Doug Hostetter)

Polish people in silent vigil at the grave of martyred Father Jerzy Popieluszko. (Polly Duncan, courtesy of *Sojourners* magazine)

Ken Sehested of the Baptist Peace Fellowship praying at a vigil at the Nevada nuclear test site. (Paul Obregon, courtesy of BPFNA)

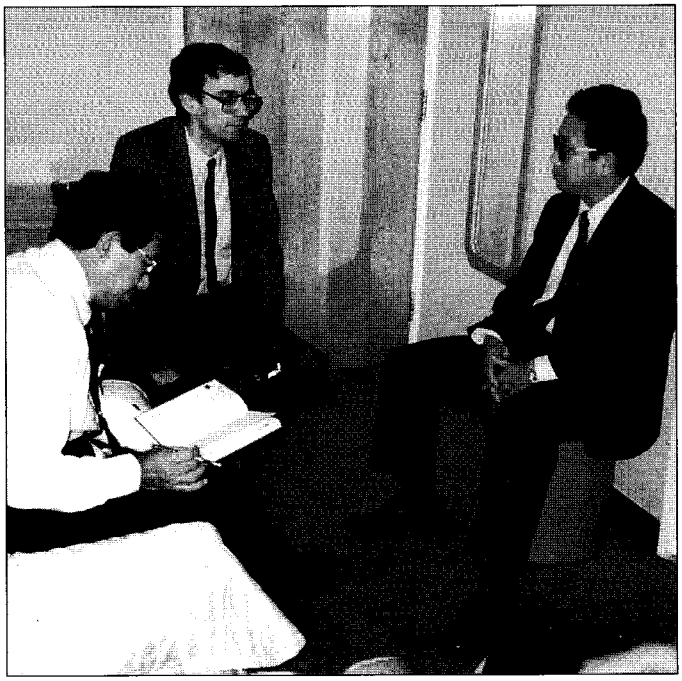
A Burmese student refugee in Bangkok calls for human rights while undertaking a hunger strike, displaying photos of Aung San Suu Kyi. Sign reads: "Give me no food; give me no water; give me human rights." (Source unknown)

(From left) Saboi Jum and former President Jimmy Carter with the author during discussions of the Burma peace initiative. (Buttry)

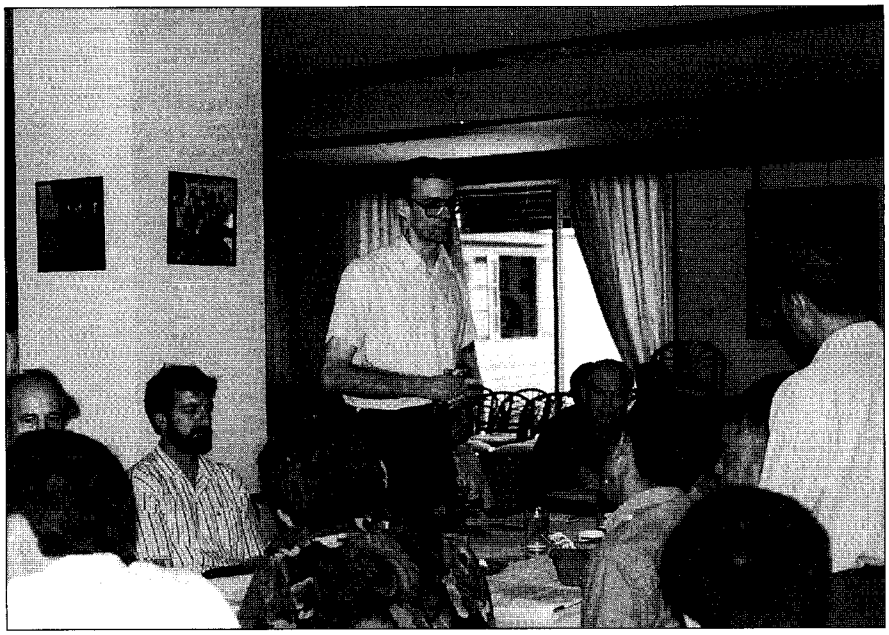
Saboi Jum with a child soldier at the insurgent headquarters inside Burma. (Saboi Jum)

Negotiations in insurgent headquarters during Burma's civil war in 1980.
(Saboi Jum)

Members of the Burma Peace Committee are welcomed by Brang Seng of the Kachin Independence Army at insurgent headquarters in a remote area of Burma.
(Saboi Jum)



(From left) Saboi Jum, author,and Brang Seng meeting in an Asian hotel room in secret negotiations for a peace process in Burma. (Buttry)



Author (standing) speaking at negotiation session with leaders of insurgent groups in Burma's civil war. (Buttry)

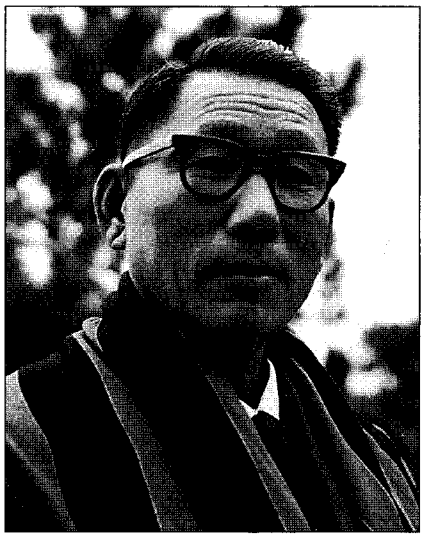
Demonstration in San Salvador sponsored by the National Debate for Peace. Banner reads: "The product of justice will be peace, the fruit of equality perpetual security." (Courtesy of Debate Nacional por la Paz en El Salvador)

Edgar Palacios (front) speaking at a National Debate for Peace rally in El Salvador. (Courtesy of Debate Nacional por la Paz en El Salvador)

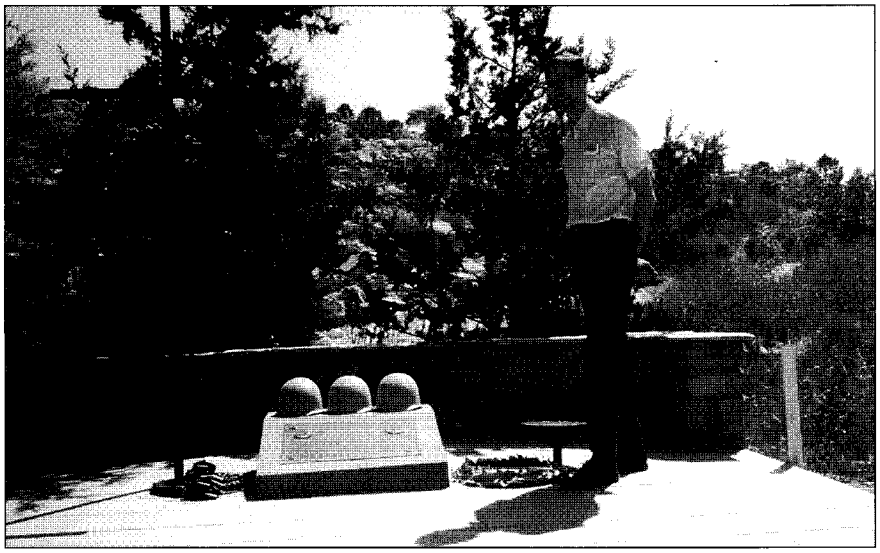
President Carter, President Sadat, and Prime Minister Begin shake hands at the Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty signing ceremony. (Courtesy of the Jimmy Carter Library)

Delegations from opposing sides of the Ethiopian civil war meet with Jimmy and Rosalyn Carter for peace talks at the Carter Center. (Rick Diamond, Atlanta, Ga.)

Nicaraguan President Daniel Ortega (left) and American Baptist missionary Gustavo Parajón discussing peace issues in Nicaragua. (BPFNA archives)

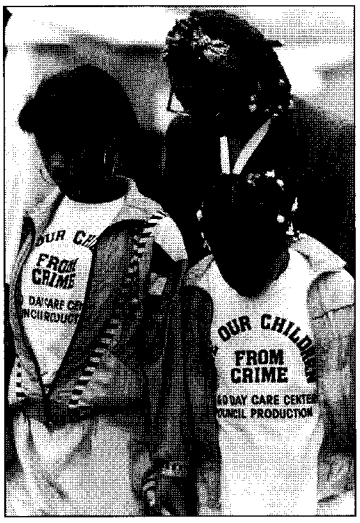


Longri Ao, Baptist leader who mediated peace efforts between Indian government and Naga insurgents. (Board of International Ministries, ABC)



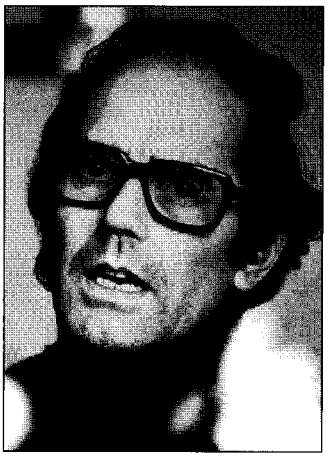
Author at memorial for United Nations peacekeepers from Austria killed during peacekeeping operations in Cyprus. (Buttry)

Participants at the National Urban Peace and Justice Summit flash their new peace sign: "Together, not separate." (Jeffry D. Scott/Impact Visuals)



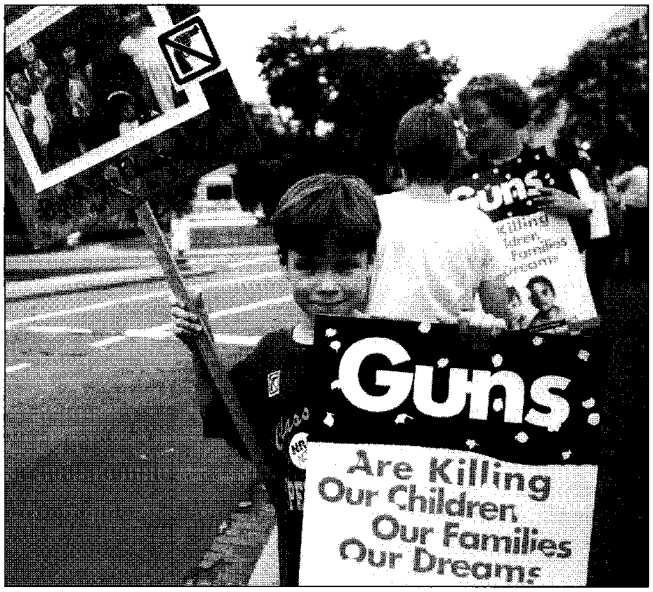
Prayer vigil in Kansas City in support of the "Gang Summit" and an end to neighborhood violence. (Jeffry D. Scott/Impact Visuals)

Union coal miners block coal truck during the Pittston strike. (Brian Jaudon, courtesy of *Sojourners* magazine)



Adolfo Pérez Esquivel of Argentina, the 1980 Nobel Peace Prize recipient for his work linking nonviolent struggles across Latin America. (James Forest, courtesy of IFOR)

Miguel Tomás Castro, pastor of Emmanuel Baptist Church in San Salvador, El Salvador. (BPFNA archives)



Jonathan Buttry (author's son) in front of National Rifle Association headquarters at rally to end handgun violence. (BPFNA archives)

The World Council of Churches and the Civil War in Sudan

In the early 1970s the World Council of Churches (WCC) and its related organization, the All Africa Conference of Churches (AACC), played a mediating role that culminated in an agreement ending a civil war that had raged in Sudan since 1955.[21] Sudan emerged from the colonial era with two distinct regions in the country. Northern Sudan was the larger and more developed region. Ethnically, the people in the north consider themselves Arabs and are predominately Muslims, with strong ties to Egypt and Mecca. Southern Sudan was poorer, with a less educated population ravaged by centuries of slave trading. The people there are non-Arab blacks from a number of different tribes who are primarily Christians and animists.

British colonial policy exploited the differences between north and south while doing little to create a unified sense of national identity. The tensions created by the movement toward independence were dramatically increased by the economic, educational, and racial differences between north and south. A series of incidents, including a mutiny of southern troops in 1955, resulted in an armed insurgency in the south. For a long while the guerrillas were small in number and disorganized, but northern repressions added to the insurgents' numbers. The civil war grew from scattered actions to persistent insurgency and government counter-insurgency campaigns. Over five hundred thousand people lost their lives in the war as its intensity and scope grew.

When Colonel Gaafar al-Numeiri came to power and Joseph Lagu became the head of the Southern Sudan Liberation Movement (SSLM), an opening developed for peace initiatives. Numeiri was interested in peace talks with the southerners, and Lagu had established unified control over the once-fragmented insurgency. The World Council of Churches, in partnership with the All Africa Conference of Churches, approached the government about exploring the possibilities for peace as a step in providing relief for the hundreds of thousands of refugees displaced by the war. Informal contacts were also made with Sudanese exiles who stayed in communication with the insurgents. After initial positive responses from the government, the Presbyterian Church in Sudan sent a formal invitation for a joint AACC/WCC team to visit Sudan to investigate the situation. The delegation met with government officials and offered their services as intermediaries for a process of reconciliation. The government agreed, and plans were made to contact the leadership of the SSLM. General Lagu agreed to talks, and a preliminary meeting between the two sides was set up in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

The mediating team was made up of Burgess Carr, the General Secretary of the AACC; Kodwo Ankrah, Africa Secretary for the WCC's Commission on Interchurch Aid, Refugee and World Service; Leopoldo Niilus, a lawyer who directed the Commission of the Churches on International Affairs of the WCC; and Samuel Bwogo, General Secretary for the Sudan Council of Churches. As a team they had different sympathies toward the parties which helped establish bonds of trust to the two sides. They utilized their diverse skills in a way that divided up the labor, yet maintained a strong cohesiveness among the mediators. Carr also used symbols which strengthened his authority as intermediary. He dressed in traditional African attire, wearing the headdress and carrying the stick of a chieftain. He drove a big car with the AACC flag on it, something which might have been viewed as ostentatious in another setting but in this context gave him added credibility to the two delegations.

When the talks began, the atmosphere was tense and hostile; whenever tempers flared in this first face-to-face encounter, Burgess Carr would remind the participants of the purpose for their meeting and the urgency of working on peace. Later in the day the two sides had dinner together, which generated a more informal atmosphere. The delegates began to build relationships, which enabled them to talk more comfortably with each other. At the preliminary talks enough trust was established between the two sides regarding the seriousness of the other's intentions that they set a date for official negotiations to begin. Agreement was also reached on the principle of one Sudan, placing on the agenda for the official talks the issue of ensuring that southern interests would be sufficiently addressed in the negotiated accord.

During the peace process the AACC/WCC team assisted the SSLM side in their logistics and in providing some direction so they could be more realistic and technically prepared. The insurgents lacked the experience, resources, and diplomatic stature to enter the process on an equal basis with the Sudanese government, so the AACC/WCC team helped the SSLM in preparation of their statements by communicating the range of government options, paid their travel expenses to the negotiations, and helped broker legal assistance for the SSLM delegation. Though their assistance could have been viewed as favoring one side, the government was not offended since the AACC/WCC aid was helping the process as a whole to more effectively address the central issues to the war.

Between the preliminary talks and the official negotiations, a tragedy took place that was turned into a trust-building transforming

initiative. A Sudan Airways plane crashed in SSLM-held territory. The survivors were handed over by the SSLM forces to the Red Cross, including those who were government officers in uniform. Seriously injured survivors were given medical treatment by the rebels until they were sufficiently recovered to be moved. The media in Khartoum, Sudan's capital, discussed the story in a favorable way, helping to alter the public opinion of the SSLM as "terrorists": if the rebels were human after all, perhaps they were capable of making sincere agreements.

In February 1972, the official negotiations were opened in Addis Ababa. When Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia indicated that it was not possible for him to chair the talks, representatives from the two sides selected Burgess Carr to "moderate" the talks, thus putting the church leaders into a role more pivotal than just serving as communication links and facilitating the meeting. Carr began with a sermon from the Old Testament and the Koran, setting a tone for the work and moving the talks to a search for peace based on the moral principle of reconciliation, rather than a compromise based on the perceived weaknesses and strengths of the two sides. Throughout the process Carr gave sermons and led prayer sessions that appealed for both the Christians and the Muslims to transcend the immediate conflict, to forgive, and to work together to rebuild the war-ravaged land. Each time the parties agreed on any of the negotiated points, Carr closed the session with a time of silent prayer. Though the northerners were Muslims, the Christian composition of the mediation team did not alienate them because Carr spoke on the basis of shared Christian and Muslim teachings, and the Muslims respected the spiritual leadership of the church leaders. As a result, what could have been viewed as a divisive issue (and in Sudan's history religion had often been exploited by one side or the other for the sake of economic or political gain) became a moral imperative that helped keep the two parties at the negotiating table.

After the opening round of talks in which each side presented more extremist proposals, an agenda was set up of the issues to be negotiated. The mediating team clustered them into the areas of political and human rights, economic, and military/security issues. The less controversial issues were handled first, a decision which ended up creating a "benevolent cycle"[22] as the negotiators began to build an increasing base of agreement: when the talks became heated, Carr would either call a break or adjourn the meeting and the members of the mediation team would then shuttle back and forth between the two sides to explore possible ways to bridge the gap. Sometimes they

would draft a proposal after listening to the concerns each delegation voiced and then present it to the reconvened group. The compromise drafts would clarify the issues and focus the discussion, and many were adopted with only minor changes. The mediating team also set up small committees to work on more detailed issues, such as selecting the trained economists from each delegation to cover issues of taxation, control of resources, trade, and revenue-sharing. The small groups allowed for more efficient negotiation, especially with the lessened participation of the politicians in the technical problem-solving.

Through the relationships built by working in small groups and by socializing, and through the reconciling spirit promoted by the spirituality of the mediation team, a remarkable dynamic began to be seen. At times in the talks some northerners would side with southerners against their own delegation or would make arguments about what was fair to the other side, sometimes causing confusion as the delegates became more empathetic toward one another. When the agreement was finally achieved, Carr led them in prayer, weeping as he prayed. Various members of the delegations were crying, too, and one general from the north confessed his remorse for the slaughter between brothers all these years. One of the ministers in the government's delegation lifted Carr into the air in jubilation.

But signing the accord did not signal the end of the process. Ratification was difficult as more extremist elements on both sides reacted negatively to the accord. Numeiri ratified the agreement quickly, but General Lagu began to draw back from the agreement his representatives had signed. A final intense meeting between Carr and a representative of Haile Selassie convinced Lagu of Ethiopia's guarantees for the security of the repatriated insurgent forces, and the peace accord was officially ratified. The intermediaries continued to work with the process, monitoring the steps taken in compliance with the peace agreement and assisting in refugee relief and resettlement.

Eleven years after the peace accord was signed, civil war broke out again in Sudan as the political landscape shifted. Allies in the first conflict became enemies in the second, and once again hundreds of thousands of Sudanese people suffered from war, famine, and exile. Mediation efforts have been made to end this second civil war, most notably by Jimmy Carter and the International Negotiation Network, but as of this writing such efforts have not achieved an end to the bloodshed.

Christian Peacemaking in Nagaland, India

Under British colonial rule, many tribal groups were united into one administrative region in North East India. During the independence struggle many of the tribal peoples, including the Nagas, believed they had been promised complete independence by Gandhi and Nehru. The Naga National Council (NNC) had participated in the movement against British colonial rule, but when Naga independence was not granted after the British left India, the NNC began to agitate against the new Indian government. Longri Ao was a Baptist teacher and church leader who had joined the NNC as a student and was known as a "fiery" speaker in the nonviolent struggle led by Gandhi.[23] When the NNC decided to follow the policies of leaders advocating violence, Longri left the NNC and became more involved in church work.

In the mid-1950s, Naga guerrilla activity began to intensify, and Indian troops were sent into the Naga Hills. The "undergrounds" or "Federals," as the insurgents were called, drew many of the Nagas to the hills, including young people from the churches. Since the Nagas were predominately Christians or animists rather than Hindus, the churches were viewed as centers of rebel sympathy and targeted by Indian repressive measures. Many churches were burned and pastors were arrested, and a number of Baptist deacons were tortured and killed.

As the situation deteriorated, a group of Naga church leaders formed the Naga Church Ministers' Mission for Peace. The ministers, led by Longri Ao, preached peace and nonviolence in churches and other public meetings. They traveled to underground camps to talk peace with the armed resistance. Longri wrote of these efforts:

> *We had been this whole year moving about in quest of lasting peace in Nagaland, often in rain and in scorching sun, cutting our way through thick jungles, and having meetings and prayers with our underground fighters inside deep forests and with those in prison.*[24]

Of one church whose congregation had suffered from the war, Longri reported:

> *I spoke of the love of God in Jesus and of forgiveness. But the people could not understand. I knelt with the parents of a young man who was killed by the underground soldiers. They wept bitterly and said they could never forgive. However, when our team returned the second time, the father attended all our meetings and told how God was helping him to forgive.*[25]

The government demanded that the ministers hand over the un-

dergrounds to the army, but they refused, insisting that their mission was to "call them to peace."[26]

Kijungluba Ao was a Baptist pastor who worked as part of the Mission for Peace. He was a quieter man than Longri, but was very influential with the Indian government, meeting with the governor of Assam, military officers, and Prime Minister Nehru in a search for peace. Once, when Kijungluba was away, Indian soldiers burst into a church meeting and lined up and shot all the deacons. Upon his return, Kijungluba went to the commander of the army unit to surrender. "All my colleagues were killed for being elders of the church. You must want to kill me, too," he said. The commander was so moved by Kijungluba's courage and nonviolent witness that an investigation was initiated and changes made in army operation policies.

At the Naga Baptist Convention held in early 1964 a "Peace Mission" was established to press for a cease-fire. Rev. Michael Scottan from Great Britain, an activist in the cause of racially oppressed groups around the world, was invited to participate. He had hosted a Naga insurgent leader in India and was also a friend of Jawaharlal Nehru, India's prime minister. J. P. Narayan of the All India Sarvodaya Movement and B. P. Chaliha, chief minister of Assam, added stature to the Peace Mission from the Indian side. With the logistical groundwork laid by Longri Ao, the negotiations through the Peace Mission went on for five months. In September 1964, the cease-fire agreement was reached between the Indian government and the major groups in the Naga insurgency.

The cease-fire did not bring an end to the conflict, though for the Naga people the relief from the war was welcome. The rebels still wanted independence, and some of them went to China in search of arms and training. The negotiations for a peace accord dragged on and on, and the cease-fire was periodically extended. Then, in 1972, the undergrounds attempted to assassinate the chief minister of Nagaland. In response, the Indian government revoked the cease-fire and declared all underground organizations unlawful. Longri Ao used all his moral force to keep the violence from erupting out of control. He publicly criticized the Indian government for reneging on their moral obligation to persuade the insurgents to give up violent means in their conflict. He called upon the army not to move into the jungles and for the insurgents not to attack. In the absence of a cease-fire, these prophetic and pastoral appeals were the thin thread holding peace together.

In 1974, the churches joined the effort to obtain a state government

whose aims were more conducive to peace, and the United Democratic Front came to power on a peace platform. In this more favorable context, the Nagaland Peace Council was formed by the Baptists, with Longri Ao as president of the Liaison Committee, the main working group. The Liaison Committee began to shuttle between the insurgents and the government, finally bringing them together in August 1975 at the Chedema Peace Camp. At that time the two sides were only able to agree that the solution be acceptable and honorable for both sides. The insurgents agreed not to insist on discussing independence, and the government likewise refrained from insisting on a solution within the framework of the Indian Union.

A further round of talks were later held at Shillong that resulted in a peace agreement after three days of negotiations. The Indian government removed the war measures. The major factions of the Naga insurgency disarmed, a process overseen by the Nagaland Peace Council. Longri Ao participated in many of the arms collection trips to the distant villages. He and his colleagues held prayer services in which he spoke of the love of God and of the peace agreement as God's doing. At the conclusion of the services there were often tearful scenes of veteran guerrillas handing over their arms to the team members.

When Longri Ao died in August 1981, his body was taken to his home village of Changki. All along the way crowds gathered, with thousands spilling into the streets of Kohima, the capital of Nagaland, for a funeral service. The words on his simple grave marker read: "Man of Peace. Here Lies Rev. Longri Ao, God's Humble Servant."[27]

The political tensions in Nagaland have not been fully resolved, and some rebel groups are still in the jungles. But the Nagaland Peace Council continues its work to hammer out a lasting reconciliation in the context of just relations between the Nagas and the Indian government.

Jimmy Carter and the Camp David Agreement

Governmental diplomacy for the sake of peace was taken to a new level with the efforts of U.S. President Jimmy Carter to mediate between Egypt and Israel in the late 1970s. The Arab nations and Israel had fought four wars in twenty-five years, interspersed with acts of terrorism, embargoes, boycotts, incursions, and other forms of conflict. Hundreds of thousands of refugees had been pushed during those years from one Middle Eastern country to another. Numerous efforts were undertaken to open peace talks, but all floundered upon

the entrenched positions and deep hatreds of the two sides, giving rise to a prevalent feeling of hopelessness as the world sat on a powder keg of Middle Eastern politics.

When Carter took office, one of his top priorities was meeting with the leaders of the Middle East.[28] President Anwar Sadat of Egypt was the first, coming to visit Washington in April 1977. Following the formalities of the visit and official discussions, Carter invited Sadat to a private conversation upstairs in the White House. These private opportunities for frank discussion and the building of relationships in which options and openness could be explored without the political vulnerability of premature publicity or posturing became a key part of Carter's approach. A bond of trust was established between the two leaders that became a major ingredient in the peace process. Later, Carter met privately with Prime Minister Menachem Begin of Israel, and after their meeting Carter believed compromise positions were possible, if a format for talks could be worked out.

As efforts to get peace talks going in Geneva kept stumbling over one political obstacle after another, a psychological breakthrough occurred when Sadat stunned the Egyptian parliament with an announcement of his willingness to go to Jerusalem. Begin responded days later with an invitation sent via Carter for Sadat to address the Knesset, Israel's parliament. Sadat came to Jerusalem on November 19–21, 1977, and his visit was viewed by many as one of the most momentous and symbolically significant events since the founding of the state of Israel. Thus speaking directly to "the enemy," Sadat presented Israeli leaders with their own enemy in a bold yet hopeful encounter. He stated bluntly what Arab requirements were for peace, exhibiting by his presence his own willingness to take steps to achieve that elusive dream.

Sadat's transforming initiative breathed new life into the peace process, but soon old patterns of conflict reasserted themselves. As the weeks dragged on without progress, the volatile situation seemed to be heading toward yet another war. With normal diplomatic efforts proving fruitless, Carter decided to make what he thought of as "one last major effort":

> *There was no prospect for success if Begin and Sadat stayed apart, and their infrequent meetings had now become fruitless because the two men were too personally incompatible to compromise on the many difficult issues facing them. I finally decided it would be best, win or lose, to go all out. There was only one thing to do, as dismal and unpleasant as the prospect seemed—I would try to bring Sadat and Begin together for an extensive negotiating session with me.*[29]

Invitations were extended for the two leaders to come to Camp David, the presidential hideaway in Maryland, and they enthusiastically accepted.

Alone in the Maryland hills, the three leaders and their staffs began a negotiation process with no time limit and no press contact except a minimal report through one spokesperson. The intimacy and the relaxed atmosphere of Camp David provided a setting in which the seemingly intractable issues of the Israeli/Arab conflict could begin to be untangled. Carter knew that in addition to discussions of the political, economic, and military/security issues, the meetings would be intensely personal, so he studied extensive biographies of Sadat and Begin, seeking answers to questions about what made them who they were. This personal approach was to pay high dividends at critical junctures in the process.

After initial meetings separately with Carter, the three leaders gathered to begin the work of negotiation. Extreme positions were presented, which led to a dramatic increase in tension. By the third day all restraints were gone, and though they had identified a long list of issues both major and minor, they were so polarized that the prospects for success seemed extremely dim. At one point when Sadat presented his counter-proposal to Begin, Carter said to Begin that if he would sign it as written, it would save them a lot of time. They all broke out in laughter at the ludicrousness of the idea. But by the end of their joint meetings anger and resistance to compromise predominated. Carter was desperate, as the two men seemed ready to walk away from the table. "They were moving toward the door," Carter recalled, "but I got in front of them to partially block the way. I urged them not to break off their talks, to give me another chance to use my influence and analysis, to have confidence in me. Begin agreed readily. I looked straight at Sadat; finally, he nodded his head. They left without speaking to each other."[30]

The next ten days were spent in an intense series of meetings between Carter and his advisors, alternating between the Israeli and Egyptian delegations. Between these sessions the Americans worked on trying to narrow the gaps between the two sides, providing draft compromises on the various points to be negotiated. Twenty-three versions of the "Framework for Peace" were made in those ten days, demanding a staggering amount of energy, creativity, and clerical speed from the mediation staff.

Carter played an activist role in the process. When Begin and Sadat had been face-to-face, Carter tried to minimize his involvement and let the Egyptian and Israeli leaders interact directly. With them

separated, he had to become an interpreter of each party's interests and needs to the other, which often included affirming the integrity, good faith, and honorableness of the other. When the two sides seemed deadlocked, Carter reviewed the consequences of failure and, as agreements were reached on some of the lesser points, was able to plead with them not to throw away the successes they had achieved because of unresolved issues. Though the hard work of negotiation involved many details and arguments over fine semantic distinctions, Carter also repeatedly stirred the dreams for peace among the participants. Sadat expressed his own dream eloquently: "With success at Camp David, I still dream of a meeting on Mount Sinai of us three leaders, representing three nations and three religious beliefs. This is still my prayer to God!"[31] Carter's combination of passion for the over-arching vision for peace and persistence to work on the details that kept the parties ensnared in the conflict were essential to the success of the peace process.

Yet success seemed an impossibility for most of those thirteen days at Camp David. Carter's advisors often set low expectations and tried to prepare for failure. On day eleven, with discussions about the Israeli settlements in the Sinai at a deadlock, Sadat was about to leave. Carter, a deeply committed Christian, excused his staff and alone prayed fervently "that somehow we could find peace."[32] He then met with Sadat and, building on the trust they had established as friends, was able to keep Sadat involved in the process, and the next day it seemed the final compromise had been reached. Then, on the final day, Begin announced he would not sign the document because he repudiated a letter of understanding from the United States to Egypt about Jerusalem which had been agreed to the night before. The situation once again seemed hopeless.

Photographs had earlier been prepared of the three leaders, which Sadat had already autographed. Begin had requested them for his grandchildren. Carter's secretary, Susan Clough, suggested that the President obtain the names of Begin's grandchildren and personalize each one, which Carter did. He then walked to the porch of Begin's cabin to talk with the distraught and nervous Prime Minister. Carter gave him the photos, with his granddaughter's name on the top one. Carter later recalled:

> *He spoke it aloud, and then looked at each photograph individually, repeating the name of the grandchild I had written on it. His lips trembled, and tears welled up in his eyes. He told me a little about each child, and especially about the one who seemed to be his favorite. We were both very emotional as we talked quietly for a few minutes about grandchildren and about war.*[33]

They then pressed on to the details of the latest disagreement. Carter left Begin with a new version of the disputed letter, then waited with his staff and the dejected Egyptian delegation. Minutes later Begin called, accepting the letter. Exhausted but ecstatic, Carter's staff raced to complete the documents. They all flew back to the White House, and late that evening the "Framework for Peace" was signed.

Following Camp David, the effort to turn the "Framework for Peace" into formal treaties bogged down as confusion reigned in Israeli politics. Begin almost immediately began making provocative statements, and the Israeli cabinet demanded a redrafting of the agreements. Many Arab states and the Soviet Union were highly critical of what had taken place. Carter made a trip to the Middle East to meet directly with Begin, the Israeli cabinet, and later with Sadat. Once again new issues were raised which had to be resolved, and the treaty seemed to be dying a death by degrees. But persistence and the relationships established by Carter with both Begin and Sadat finally bore fruit when agreement on the last points was reached between Carter and Begin on the way to the airport in Tel Aviv. In fact, reporters had believed the talks had collapsed because at the press briefing a few hours earlier Jody Powell, the President's press secretary, had been so pessimistic when everything seemed to be unraveling.

Sadat and Begin came to Washington to sign the peace treaty on March 26, 1979. The treaty was only a partial solution to the conflicts in the Middle East, failing to address adequately the issue of the Palestinian people. But it did resolve the military conflict between the two largest military powers in the area and pointed the way for future negotiations. In spite of the assassination of Anwar Sadat, changes in the Israeli government, two major wars in the region, and the continued building of settlements by Israelis in the occupied territories, Egypt and Israel have not gone to war again.

Chapter 6

The Hard Work of Negotiating the Peace

As I stooped over the humming fax machine, it seemed an electrical current was surging through my own body as well. For over a year I had been working with Saboi Jum from Burma, struggling to develop a peace process to end the civil war in his country. We sent initial proposals for peace talks to the military government and some of the ethnic insurgent groups, but it felt like talking to blank walls. Then Saboi called me with good news. He had just received a response from the government via a member of our Burma Peace Committee in Rangoon. He would fax it to me immediately.

The pages groaned their way out of the machine, and I read each line as it emerged. The government was interested in pursuing the talks from a position that included a cease-fire, insurgents retaining their arms and territory, and insurgent participation in whatever political process would be established to deal with formation of a constitutional government. I knew there would be a lot of concerns connected to all these points, but they were certainly within the framework of a legitimate negotiation process. We had our first positive response! Now the challenge was how to build the peace initiative step by step so the various sides could hammer out a mutually satisfactory agreement. At least the journey had now begun.

The efforts in which Saboi Jum and I have been engaged in Burma are just one of many mediation initiatives undertaken in the past decade throughout the world. Diplomatic initiatives by the United Nations, superpower nations, or regional international organizations make the news with increasing regularity. The United Nations has been called upon to help bring an end to conflicts, establish peacekeeping missions, and monitor elections in more countries in the period from 1989 to 1992 than from its inception through 1988. Less visible but no less critical has been the role of non-governmental organizations, including churches, in negotiating peace. Religious leaders have often been the mediators or the moral voice calling political factions or warring parties to the negotiating table. Some of

these stories of the hard work of negotiating the peace in today's world are told in this chapter.

Mediation in Nicaragua

The war in Nicaragua was a conflict on which the world focused its attention in the 1980s. The triumph of the Sandinista revolution in July 1979 inspired hope among many other poor countries who were seeking to assert their nationalist identity in the face of neo-colonialist economic powers and to provide justice for their impoverished people. At the same time, U.S. President Ronald Reagan viewed the success of the Nicaraguan revolution as a threat to American values and to the United States' economic and political control of the Western Hemisphere, and he used Cold War rhetoric to describe to American citizens the threat Nicaragua posed to them. The polarization of the United States and Nicaragua was intensified by the Marxist rhetoric of some Sandinistas and the development of relations with Cuba and the Soviet Union. Under CIA direction, the U.S. began training and providing supplies for the insurgent forces against the Sandinista government. These forces, known as the "Contras," often targeted civilians and the social infrastructure in what became a brutal war of attrition.

A parallel conflict developed between the Sandinistas and the Indians of the eastern coast of Nicaragua. Whereas the Contra war was centered on social ideology and political power, the war with the Indians was over ethnic autonomy. The Sandinistas were predominately from the Spanish-speaking west coast, and they sought to unify the country and impose their social programs on the English-speaking Indians (Miskitos, Ramas, and Sumos) and Creoles. The Indians resisted, misunderstandings escalated, and armed conflict finally broke out. The Indian insurgents usually kept a distant relationship with the Contras, but added to the strain on the Sandinista government and army.

In 1987, Costa Rican President Oscar Arias led a peace process with the presidents of Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, and Honduras to develop a regional solution to the conflicts tearing Central America apart. Their Esquipulas agreement (named for the Guatemalan town where the negotiations were held) began a process that eventually led to the ending of the Contra war in Nicaragua and provided some pressure to end the war in El Salvador. The central structure of the Esquipulas process involved the formation of national reconciliation commissions within each country. In Nicaragua four people were chosen: heading the commission was Cardinal Obando y

Bravo, who, though hostile toward the Sandinistas, was selected for his spiritual authority. Obando's mediation proved critical as the process unfolded, especially at key points in the negotiations that resulted in breakthrough agreements.[1] Also appointed to the National Reconciliation Commission to fill the category of "outstanding citizen," was Dr. Gustavo Parajón, pastor of the First Baptist Church in Managua and president of CEPAD (Evangelical Committee for Aid and Development), a Protestant ecumenical council originally set up as a relief agency. Under the commission's facilitation, talks were held between the government and the Contras which led to an accord to demobilize the insurgents and hold new elections.

Prior to the success of that peace process, however, a separate mediation effort involving the Sandinista government and the Atlantic Coast insurgents resulted in the first cease-fire along the way to ending the war. The Moravian Church was the major religious body among the Atlantic Coast Indians, and the earliest pro-Indian organization was made up mainly of Moravian pastors, which led to the church suffering in the Sandinista-Indian war.[2] The Moravian Provision Board worked with the Sandinista government to improve communications and facilitate consultations, which placed them in a prime position to mediate when the context became more favorable.

In September 1987, the various factions of the Indian resistance formed an umbrella organization, YATAMA, and contacted Moravian church leaders, led by Andy Shogreen and Norman Bent, about possible steps toward reconciliation. They invited John Paul Lederach, a missionary with the Mennonite Central Committee who had earlier done conflict resolution workshops among the Moravians, to join them, and sent a request for assistance in opening dialogue to Dr. Parajón on the National Reconciliation Commission. In the ensuing discussions between the church leaders and the Indian leaders on the one hand and Interior Minister Tomas Borge of the government on the other hand, a Conciliation Commission was set up to facilitate the negotiation process, consisting of Andy Shogreen, three other Moravian pastors, Parajón, and Lederach. The Moravians were close to the Indian leaders; Brooklyn Rivera of YATAMA had once lived with Shogreen during their student days. Parajón was trusted and respected by Borge and President Daniel Ortega, as well as by the Moravians, with whom he had worked in CEPAD. Lederach provided consulting assistance on conflict resolution and handled many details of logistics and communication.

As the Conciliation Commission began to make progress, it became evident that some parties did not want to see a peace process succeed.

Lederach was warned by a Miskito Indian who had joined the Contras of a plot by a CIA operative to kidnap his three-year-old daughter.[3] It was decided that his pregnant wife and daughter should return to the United States, but when rumors of his own assassination were heard, Lederach returned to the U.S. as well, where he continued as a central link in the communication process even while moving his family from Colorado to Pennsylvania:

> *During the same days we were moving our belongings east some of the most important and difficult aspects of the entry negotiations were worked out....Since Norman [Bent] often had difficulty getting phone lines out of Nicaragua, our line of communication was for me to call Norman [in Managua], then call Brooklyn Rivera [head negotiator for YATAMA, in San Jose], then call Norman back. The phone bill documents the process: from Boulder, Burlington, Colby, Kansas City, St. Louis....On several occasions I called from phone booths outside, in freezing temperatures, to transmit the latest message or proposal to one side or the other.*[4]

In January 1988, Lederach returned to Nicaragua for the first round of talks held following the rounds of communications to establish the conditions for the talks and for the entry of the Indian delegation into the country.

When the Indian delegation flew into Managua, the process almost broke down while they were still in the airport terminal. The Sandinistas informed them that the meetings would be held at Borge's office at the Ministry of the Interior, which was viewed as hostile territory by YATAMA. For an hour and a half the delegation stayed on the tarmac, demanding a neutral site. The parties finally agreed to met at the Office of Protocol, and Borge then took Rivera and his delegation out to dinner at his restaurant in Managua. In the meetings the relationship between Borge and Rivera grew, and with that small trust generated, significant progress was made on the substantive issues. Parajón and Shogreen mediated the sessions, with four members of the negotiating team from each side around a table. The parties had agreed that no foreigners could be present at the table, so Lederach sat outside the curtains that defined the space, keeping track of the proceedings with his computer and creating the documents needed as the meeting progressed.

A second round of talks was held the next month followed by an agreed-upon tour of the Atlantic Coast communities by Rivera and the Conciliation Commission. At Puerto Cabezas a rally was scheduled at the local baseball stadium where Rivera was to speak. About two thousand Miskitos had gathered, but the participants were

attacked by seventy or eighty Sandinista supporters wielding clubs and chains. Rivera was escorted back to his hotel by a crowd of his supporters, but the commission members were assaulted in their truck. The windows were smashed, two members required stitches for their cuts, and one suffered a broken wrist before they could escape the mob.

The commission members saw their role as not to work on matters of substance—that was for the parties in the conflict to resolve—but to facilitate the procedure of the peace process. This included being a go-between for communications, arranging for travel visas and tickets for undocumented exiles, arranging accommodations, and advocating strongly for face-to-face encounters. They also helped the various factions within YATAMA to come to a more unified position by traveling to the various locations within and outside Nicaragua where leaders of the factions were based.

By late 1988, agreement was reached on over half of the issues, and a cease-fire was established between YATAMA and the Sandinista government. Though the CIA and Contras tried to undermine the agreement with further threats of kidnapping or assassination, the commission members continued their work. When an impasse developed in 1989, former President Jimmy Carter offered to mediate in discussions over the remaining differences, including the issue of Indian resistance leaders returning to participate in the electoral campaigns. In September 1989, full agreement was publicly acknowledged between the government and YATAMA, bringing a formal end to the war with the Atlantic Coast people. Carter also played an important role in certifying the integrity of the 1990 election and monitoring the transitions in government from the Sandinistas to the National Opposition Union (UNO) following Violeta Chomorro's victory in the polls.

Following the conclusion of the peace agreements, the church leaders continued to play mediating roles in the process of implementing the accords. In addition to the ongoing work of the Conciliation Commission and National Reconciliation Commission, many Protestant and Roman Catholic leaders also participated in local "peace commissions" that sought to end fighting between independent units of former Contras and former Sandinista soldiers who continued to clash and attack civilians in the rural areas. They also assisted in the reconciliation work of resettling former insurgents in war-devastated communities. Though the difficult work of hammering out peace agreements has been finished, the healing of the country and its people will take a long time.

The National Debate for Peace in El Salvador

On January 16, 1992, a peace accord was signed by the government of El Salvador and the insurgent Farabundo Marti Liberation Front (FMLN), formally ending the civil war which over a decade had brought some seventy-five thousand deaths as well as untold horror and suffering to the people of El Salvador. Celebrations broke out across the country, tempered with a sober realism about how difficult the process of fulfilling the peace accords would be. The peace was not the result of one side or the other establishing a military advantage. It had not come about primarily from a concerned international community demanding an end to the violence. Rather, the major force for peace had been generated from Salvadorans at the grassroots level who said *"No mas"*—"No more"—to the war plaguing their land.

In August 1987, peace talks began between President Napoleon Duarte and the FMLN as a result of the Esquipulas II agreements among the Central American presidents, mediated by President Oscar Arias of Costa Rica. The process did not last long in El Salvador, and the talks were indefinitely suspended. Archbishop Rivera y Damas, successor to the assassinated Oscar Romero, called for an assembly of organizations from a broad span of the social sectors to examine the fundamental problems in the country and to seek a means of bringing the government and the FMLN back to the negotiating table. Out of that assembly, held in September 1988, the National Debate for Peace was born. Initially it included sixty organizations representing labor unions, peasants, marginal communities, small- and medium-sized businesses, universities, women, professionals, indigenous peoples, humanitarian groups, and churches—what the Salvadorans called the "social forces." The religious community played a leading role with people from the Baptist, Lutheran, Episcopal, and Roman Catholic churches and base communities. Eventually the National Debate grew to over eighty organizations representing over one million members, the broadest and most democratic group in all of El Salvador.

Rev. Edgar Palacios, pastor of the Shalom Baptist Church in San Salvador, was chosen as the general coordinator for the Debate. In addition to his theological training, Rev. Palacios had studied political and social sciences extensively, so he was able to relate to the variety of organizations forming the National Debate and articulate their consensus to Salvadoran society, the government, and the FMLN. As the Debate grew, it had to expand its organizational complexity, and Ramon Diaz Bach, a businessman, joined Rev. Palacios as co-coordinator. Lutheran bishop Merdardo Gomez played a leading role in the

Debate as well, having risen as a major prophetic voice in the country following the assassination of Archbishop Romero.

The immediate goal of the Debate was to bring about peace through negotiations between the government and the FMLN. But participants in the Debate had an even larger vision for their work. They hoped to stimulate and contribute to the formation of a new social pact by means of consensus-building among the social forces of El Salvador. A cease-fire would not be enough. The solution to the war lay in establishing social justice, genuine democracy, and a demilitarization of the country. Under this agenda, the Debate not only undertook the task of urging the government and the insurgents to come to the negotiating table, they also worked at educating and providing a forum for people at the grassroots level to participate in the shaping of a postwar El Salvador.

When the National Debate for Peace was organized, the military considered it a crime even to speak of negotiations with the FMLN, in spite of what had happened at Esquipulas II. The leaders of the Debate and all the member organizations were taking a huge risk as they began to make their case both to the warring parties and to the general society. They held their first march on November 15, 1988, though they remembered how the marches in the late seventies and early eighties were met by National Guard violence that left hundreds dead. The church people led the way, carrying banners with Bible verses such as "Justice and peace will kiss" (Psalm 85:10). The Debate sponsored assemblies, forums, press conferences, and international conferences to move the society toward a consensus for a negotiated solution to the war. Whenever an action was taken by one side or the other, such as the FMLN proposal that its supporters be allowed to participate in the 1989 elections, the Debate would publicly comment and support any moves toward a genuine peace process and social justice.

After the election in July 1989, in which the FMLN was not allowed to participate and which was won by the ARENA party, the Debate issued its "Political Platform for Peace," calling for "the de-escalation of the war, the humanization of the conflict, an indefinite cease-fire. . . the respect of fundamental human rights and an end to the repression." The government and FMLN began the negotiations in September, but they collapsed when the National Police bombed the office of FENASTRAS (The National Labor Federation of Salvadoran Workers, a member of the National Debate), killing ten people.[5] The Debate issued another call for national reconciliation, including social justice, respect of human rights, demilitarization, and an end to

political repression. When the FMLN launched an offensive days later, the military accused the Debate of being a front organization for the FMLN. Six Jesuit priests, including Ignacio Ellacuría, who had spoken at Debate marches, and Segundo Montes, who worked closely with the Debate leadership, were murdered by the military, along with their housekeeper and her daughter. Rev. Palacios and Bishop Gomez fled the country when their names were also broadcast with death threats, and many offices of Debate member organizations were closed.

Nevertheless, the work of the Debate continued with visits to the United Nations, the embassies of countries represented on the Security Council, and the U.S. Congress calling for international pressure to end the war via negotiations. Rev. Palacios and Bishop Gomez traveled openly to Panama to meet with the FMLN leaders to urge the resumption of peace talks. They returned to El Salvador, and in March 1990 the Debate held a national forum with over eighty constituent member organizations. It was nearly unanimously agreed that "the Armed Forces, together with the United States, has been one of the greatest obstacles confronting the dialogue process," while "the FMLN overall has demonstrated the greatest will to negotiate."[6] The following day, members of the Debate marched in San Salvador to commemorate the tenth anniversary of Archbishop Oscar Romero's assassination and to call for peace talks. Two weeks later, with the assistance of the United Nations, the government and FMLN both agreed to begin the negotiations once again.

This time the negotiations stayed on track, culminating with the signing of the peace accords almost two years later in Mexico City in January 1992. During the negotiations, the Debate sponsored many forums to continue educating the social forces and the Salvadoran people about the peace process and the root issues of the war. They marched a dozen times to express the national will for peace. They called for parallel negotiating sessions with the social forces and political parties, which resulted in a series of consultations with these groups, the government, and the FMLN. As a result, the Debate had direct input regarding the issues to be discussed and the solutions to be proposed. Some of the final agreements were taken directly from Debate proposals. The Debate also aggressively pursued lobbying efforts to get the U.S. Congress to halt its military aid to the Salvadoran government, calling consistently for the total demilitarization of the society. They also urged Salvadorans to participate in elections in March 1991 not by voting for parties, but voting for persons who support "the popular project"—the agenda of peace,

social and economic justice, human rights, and demilitarization. When the peace accords were close to completion and right-wing elements were increasing their opposition to the process, the Debate mobilized tens of thousands to march in the streets of San Salvador demanding a cease-fire.

When the peace accords were finally signed, the people of El Salvador could genuinely claim the credit. They had demanded the cease-fire; they had persistently pursued their goal in spite of threats and even killings; they had persevered in the face of a superpower that was still supporting a military solution. Rev. Edgar Palacios was fond of saying, "Peace is not a gift from the stars. Peace must be conquered every minute of the day!" That persistence finally saw the peace process through to a successful conclusion in the signing of the accords. That persistence is also still at work as the National Debate monitors the steps taken to comply with the peace process and maintains popular pressure for implementing the agreements to move toward social, political, and economic change, the restructuring of the military, and the preservation of human rights.

Mediation in Burma

In 1980 a Baptist pastor, a Catholic priest, and a few other concerned individuals began to contact government and insurgent leaders in Burma about talks to end the civil war in their country. Burma had achieved independence from British colonial rule in 1948, but some of the minority ethnic groups incorporated by the British into Burma almost immediately began to fight for complete independence. Later, religious and cultural oppressions by the dominant Burmese incited still more minority ethnic groups, including the Kachins, to join the insurgency. By the early 1960s, civil war raged in all the ethnic minority areas. A coup led by Ne Win brought the military to power in 1962, deposing an inept parliamentary government. The military strengthened itself to fight the civil war and to gain dominance over every aspect of Burmese society.

The Kachin insurgents in the northern hills of Burma had been fighting the government since 1962. The Kachins are mainly Christian, with Baptists being the largest denomination. The religious persecution they faced at the hands of the Buddhist majority was a major factor in provoking their uprising. All missionaries had been expelled in 1966 as part of a broad effort by Ne Win to remove all foreign influences from Burma, and the churches had been forced to stand on their own in a harsh environment since that time. Some Christians chose to join the guerrillas in the jungles; others sought

to merely endure, praying to be allowed to live and worship in peace. Few had any vision of a more activist approach in bringing an end to the conflict.

Rev. Saboi Jum, a Kachin Baptist leader, did have such a vision and a strong sense of determination. He wrote to both Ne Win and the head of the Kachin Independence Army (KIA), calling them to meet for peace talks. He traveled back and forth between the capital of Rangoon and the jungle headquarters of the KIA. After months of talking with officials and guerrillas, direct talks were finally initiated. A cease-fire between the military and the KIA was instituted while the talks were held for a more permanent accord. After nine months the agreements were generally in place except for some minor details, when fighting broke out again, reportedly provoked by Communist guerrillas who still hoped for a complete revolution in Burma. Rev. Jum and the others who had worked on the peace process had to keep a low profile amidst the political rubble resulting from the breakdown of the peace process.

In 1987, Rev. Jum first made contact with me at my office in the headquarters of the American Baptist Churches in Valley Forge, Pennsylvania. When we arranged for him to speak at the International Baptist Peace Conference held in Sweden the next year, he electrified the conference with his story of the travails of his country and pleaded for help from the international Baptist community to assist in bringing peace. "I believe, and I have a conviction, that it is the responsibility of the church to make peace in our country," he said.[7] In response to his appeal, he and I spent four days in January 1989 drawing up a strategy for getting the peace process going again.

We contacted John Paul Lederach of the Mennonite Central Committee for advice and counsel, and he gave us a realistic perspective on the basis of his work in the peace process in Nicaragua. Then we traveled to Atlanta, Georgia, to meet with the staff at the Carter Center and later with Jimmy Carter himself. Carter agreed to participate in the mediation process if we could get both sides to invite him. This promise gave us greater credibility as Saboi Jum began forming a Burma Peace Committee, initially made up of all Baptist Kachins. After months of putting out feelers to the two sides, we finally received positive responses about opening communication to explore the conditions for holding peace talks. Direct conversations were held between the Burma Peace Committee and the government on the one hand, and with some of the insurgent leaders on the other. This process culminated in the first face-to-face meeting between the two sides in almost a decade. Only the Kachins were present from the

insurgent side, but the talks achieved an agreement to expand the discussions to include all the armed insurgents.

During the time this peace process was germinating, a democracy movement erupted in Burma and was met with the harsh repression I have described earlier, in Chapter 4. The peace process was already complicated by the cultural and political diversity of the ethnic insurgents, and the agenda of the democracy movement, both the political opposition and the students' demands, added to its complexity. Some groups were interested in peace; some thought any talks with the army regime were a sell-out; others were open to negotiation but were unwilling to risk direct involvement themselves.

An international group was formed to advise the Burma Peace Committee and explore diplomatic means of supporting a peace process. People from nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in the United States, Canada, Thailand, Germany, and Great Britain participated in various aspects of the process. When conflicting opinions among the opposition groups caused a postponement of scheduled talks with the government, the international group met with all the key leaders of the ethnic insurgency and the democracy movement who had fled to the insurgent areas. A fragile consensus was achieved to continue pursuing the peace process, though with some groups still keeping a wary distance until substantial actions were taken by the government to show their good faith, such as the release of political prisoners.

Then the process was put on hold. Externally, the military launched major offensives against the insurgents, including a drive toward their central headquarters in Manerplaw. Internally, the Burma Peace Committee was struggling to add more representatives from other ethnic groups, which required building new relationships of trust. The institutional support of the process was also under strain. Religious groups, denominations, and ecumenical mission agencies had provided most of the funding and staffing to support the process. Because of concerns over appropriate action for such religious bodies and general funding decreases, some of the key institutional support was cut, which led to the termination of my own direct involvement. The grassroots networks, led by the Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America, picked up the administrative support, and Rev. Jum continued to press ahead in spite of drastically reduced finances. But the Burma Peace Committee, which had always operated on a shoestring budget and prayer, was in an even more precarious state.

In the spring of 1992, major changes took place. There was a

shake-up in the ruling junta, followed by some gestures of conciliation by the military. Some political prisoners were released, though Nobel Prize winner Aung San Suu Kyi remained under house arrest and thousands of other political prisoners continued to languish in jail. Through the mediation of the Burma Peace Committee, the army called a cease-fire in July. Many suspected this was a ploy to achieve some relief from the international pressure against the regime, but when the dry season began, no major offensives were undertaken in spite of sporadic fighting in some areas. The cease-fire had not been formally negotiated, so there were a number of structural problems. In the fall, direct talks were again held between the army and the Kachins, who viewed themselves as speaking on behalf of the entire insurgency. The communications channels were strengthened and momentum built up for the next round of talks to deepen the process and solidify the cease-fire.

By 1993, the Burma peace process had been completely separated from its international support. The process moved forward between SLORC and the KIA, but a deep rift began to develop between the Kachins and other groups in the insurgency. Rather than achieving a comprehensive peace agreement, as of this writing it appears that the opposition is in danger of fracturing. If the military is sincere in its proclamations for peace, the cease-fire with the Kachins will be extended across the entire country. But if the military uses its respite from fighting the Kachins to make major assaults on other ethnic groups and the student democracy leaders, then the military will have used peace talks as a diversion to enable its strength to be concentrated against the remaining ethnic and student insurgencies. That would be a tragedy for all the people of Burma.

A number of lessons have emerged out of the process. Peace in such a complex conflict will not be quickly or easily achieved. Neither side can militarily defeat the other, so one course is to let the war simmer interminably. This has been the story for over forty years. Many people inside and outside of Burma profit from the war, though the vast majority of people and certainly the nation as a whole suffer from it. A great infusion of energy is necessary to overcome the inertia of the conflict and move it toward a constructive and conciliatory resolution. This energy must come from citizens of Burma as well as the international community, but so far the investment in peace has been minimal.

What has been achieved is due in large measure to the persistence of Rev. Saboi Jum, who has pursued the dream of peace even when the funds were drying up, death threats were being made, and

suspicions were rampant. He is driven by both a pastoral concern to ease the suffering of his people and a theological understanding of the centrality of the work of reconciliation in the Christian ministry. He has been supported in both financial and advisory capacities by the international NGOs, but at critical points the funding and personnel commitments have been too limited to provide the intensive backing necessary to strengthen the peace process and undertake the organizing efforts to diversify and broaden the forces for mediation. In spite of all the weaknesses of the peace initiative in Burma, a cease-fire has been achieved, fragile and poorly structured as it may be. It will take a great deal of courage, wisdom, and political will to keep the peace process on a constructive track. The prospering of a peaceful Burma will require a deeper investment by all parties and by the international community in moving toward a just settlement of that country's political and cultural turmoil.

Jimmy Carter and the International Negotiation Network

The day the peace treaty between Israel and Egypt was finalized, President Jimmy Carter wrote in his diary, "I resolved to do everything possible to get out of the negotiating business!"[8] That was one resolution Carter failed to keep as the dream to make peace in a conflict-torn world grew to a calling following Carter's departure from the presidency.

At the Carter Center, which he established at Emory University in Atlanta, the former president used his international stature, connections, and experience to form the International Negotiation Network (INN). Realizing there was no organization focused on resolving intra-national or civil wars—which constitute the major portion of wars in the modern world and account for the greatest amount of death and suffering—Carter organized the INN to connect global resources for conflict resolution with the disputing parties seeking a way out of their wars. The INN Council was formed, and participants in the council have included such eminent world leaders as Oscar Arias Sanchez (former president of Costa Rica and Nobel Peace Prize recipient), Prime Minister Gro Harlem Brundtland of Norway, General Olusegun Obasanjo (former president of Nigeria), Lisbet Palme of Sweden, Sir Shridath Ramphal (former secretary-general of the Commonwealth of Nations), Marie-Angelique Savane (U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees), Archbishop Desmond Tutu (South African Nobel Prize recipient), and Andrew Young (former U.S. ambassador to the U.N.). The INN Council and staff offer their services to parties in conflict, providing mediation, monitoring existing and

emerging conflicts, and helping the disputants find potential third parties, necessary experts, and funds to assist in peace processes.

Since its inception, the INN has participated in efforts to resolve conflicts in countries throughout the world. Carter himself played a significant role in mediation to help end the war between Ethiopia and the break-away province of Eritrea, and he worked unsuccessfully to assist the parties in the second civil war in Sudan. He helped the Nicaraguan government and the East Coast Indian resistance overcome the last hurdle in their peace process, and monitored the 1990 election and the peaceful transfer of power following the election. Carter and the INN monitored elections in Panama, Haiti, and Paraguay.

A major project of the INN has been an effort to facilitate a peace process in Liberia, a country that has been devastated by a vicious civil war since December 1989. Carter was invited by all parties to observe the elections, and he was able to negotiate the release of prisoners of war and refine the discussions of the peace process. Frequently, the INN was the primary communication channel between the sides. The Economic Community of West African States provided the peacekeeping forces and has convened the peace process, drawing upon the INN for support and assistance.

Through his direct involvement in the mediation of civil wars and by serving as a catalyst for yet other efforts beyond his direct involvement, Jimmy Carter has raised a crucial challenge to the global community to develop an international infrastructure that could assist in establishing peace. The world's resources and human expertise have been poured into efforts to make war, but the global community is still in the early stages of learning skills for resolving conflicts peacefully. The United Nations continues to develop as an international institution for peacemaking and peacekeeping, but it is limited by the political boundaries of sovereignty of its nation-state members. Jimmy Carter is providing one very creative and highly visible way that nongovernmental bodies, often in partnership with international political bodies and governments, can effectively organize to support peace processes and initiatives. The INN program is helping peacemakers move from the mediation of civil wars on an *ad hoc* basis to the creation of an adequate infrastructure that can maintain consistency, offer academic perceptiveness, and provide access to global resources.

The United Nations and Conflict Resolution

Though nongovernmental groups, including religious organizations, have played important roles in mediation, international conflict

resolution in the past decade has seen the emergence of the United Nations as the major player on the world stage. The Charter of the United Nations sets forth as a basic purpose of the U.N.:

> *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 international law, adjustment or settlement of international disputes or situations which might lead to a breach of the peace. (Article 1, paragraph 1)*

For decades, while the conflict between the United States and the Soviet Union blocked most opportunities for conflict resolution in other countries, the U.N. itself became a diplomatic battleground for the superpowers. Since the rapprochement between the United States and the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s, the U.N. has been called upon to mediate in many conflicts that had once been Cold War proxy battlefields. The number of requests for U.N. assistance has dramatically escalated: from 1948–1987 the U.N. undertook thirteen peacekeeping operations, while from 1988–1992 U.N. peacekeepers have been called upon for thirteen new missions while maintaining five of the earlier operations.[9] In many other situations, the U.N. has taken nonmilitary action to initiate, stimulate, support, or monitor peace processes.

The particular roles of the United Nations in conflict resolution can be broken down into three categories: peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. Peacemaking involves all the efforts to bring conflicted parties, either nations at war or government and insurgent groups, to a settlement. In the Security Council, resolutions are passed which reflect the global community's basic assumptions about the conflict. For example, in the conflict between the Israelis and the Palestinians, Resolution 242 laid out the "land for peace" formula that eventually came to be recognized by all parties as the basis for negotiation. Though many resolutions are ignored in the heat of battle, they still have a significant impact in diplomatic circles, especially when the sides finally decide they must find a way out of their conflict.

More pro-active peacemaking occurs through the diplomatic efforts undertaken by the U.N. secretary-general. The phrase "good offices" is used to described the behind-the-scenes relational diplomacy in which the secretary-general uses persuasion to encourage the parties to enter negotiation or carries messages between the parties when they refuse to talk directly with each other. This third-party role often

evolves into a more formal negotiation effort. The U.N. secretary-general may act as a convener of the talks or take on a more mediatorial role. For many years the U.N. served as third-party only to nation-states at war, such as Iran and Iraq, or between colonial powers and indigenous liberation movements, such as in Namibia. More recently, however, the U.N. is being called upon as a mediator in civil wars which have caused regional instability, forced refugees across national borders, or led to such horrific suffering that the world cried out for peacemaking intervention, as in El Salvador and Somalia. Though the United Nations often bears the burden of political biases, its identity as the one international body reflecting almost the entire community of nations gives the U.N. a measure of objectivity and mediatorial clout that can be a strong glue holding the parties together in a negotiation process.

Peacekeeping is a unique role played by the United Nations in which personnel are provided to assist in disengaging combatants and providing a buffer between them. When a cease-fire agreement is reached, the Security Council may authorize a peacekeeping operation to observe the adherence of the sides to the cease-fire arrangements. If disarmament agreements are reached, the peacekeeping soldiers may monitor assembly points for military units to gather, assist in demobilizing those units, or store weapons that are turned over to U.N. control. As people in the middle between two sides that had only recently been trying to kill each other, the U.N. peacekeepers have a very delicate task to perform. Small provocations and even accidents can trigger volatile reactions that can quickly explode into warfare, so peacekeepers must often interpose themselves and engage in grassroots mediation to resolve these dangerous incidents peacefully. Being in the middle is very risky, and over the years several hundred U.N. peacekeepers have been killed in these operations.

When a peacekeeping operation is authorized, nations that would be viewed as neutral by the warring parties are asked to contribute personnel to the U.N. mission. Military units are the most publicized, but police officers and civilian administrators also are frequently brought into peacekeeping operations. The police relate to the civilian population concerning matters of community law and order, usually in those contexts where the national police had been part of the conflict or had become too militarized. The interposition of the peacekeeping forces helps the warring groups to cool down as they work on the remaining issues of a comprehensive peace accord or until all the phases of their disengagement have been accomplished. In recognition of their pivotal role in resolving many conflicts around

the world, the U.N. peacekeepers were awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1988.

The third type of conflict resolution initiatives undertaken by the U.N. are efforts to build the peace. In these activities the U.N. assists in moving toward a post-conflict situation, helping the warring groups to work out new structures and ways of relating that address some of the concerns that fueled their war while providing a foundation upon which to build a peaceful future. Elections have been a frequent component of peace settlements, so the U.N. has provided monitors and sometimes even personnel to run the elections so that all the parties will know they had a chance to present their cases to the people. When a faction does not like the results of the election and returns to fighting, such as UNITA did in Angola, the weight of world recognition can shift to support those chosen through a free and fair process to lead a country. Then the validity of the case of those who resume military action is undercut, leading to a loss of allies and credibility. Establishing an electoral process can strengthen nations in the practice of self-determination and in nonviolent ways to handle political differences.

Peacebuilding involves restoration of war-damaged lives, societies, and environments. Because the U.N. system is so extensive, covering a wide range of global concerns, many different program resources can be brought to bear in the rebuilding process. Refugee programs can assist in resettling displaced persons. Health and development projects can help people return their lives to some semblance of normalcy. Confidence-building measures, such as transparency about military information or establishing impartial judiciary procedures, can be taken to encourage people who had been at war to stick with peaceful means of settling political disputes.

The Persian Gulf war raised a possible fourth area of involvement of the United Nations in the future: peace-enforcement. Peace-enforcement means that the U.N. endorses or participates in military action to overcome a nation that has acted against the international order. When Iraq invaded Kuwait, its action was condemned in a number of Security Council resolutions. When Iraq refused to leave Kuwait, military action was authorized by the U.N., under U.S. leadership. The conflict in Bosnia had led some to call for similar action to be taken to halt Serb aggression and the practice of ethnic cleansing.

Peace-enforcement, however, can be also viewed as a euphemism for engaging in warfare under the same criteria offered in the just war doctrine. The United Nations or U.N.-authorized coalitions be-

come a party to the conflict, and a solution then cannot be mediated by the U.N., since it is no longer a neutral third party. Who will take up the role as mediator once the U.N.'s credibility as an impartial peacemaker is undermined by its active participation in wars? Since the Security Council's terms for a cease-fire are imposed as demands from outside, the defeated side is not likely to view the terms as having lasting validity. Iraq's resistance to complying with the U.N.'s cease-fire terms illustrates the shallow nature of a peace imposed by force rather than negotiated by equals. The U.N. is now viewed in Iraq as an antagonist, not an arbiter. The issue of peace-enforcement will no doubt be debated for the next few years, especially since the ending of the U.S./U.S.S.R. standoff has opened the possibility for major U.N. military action.

A brief examination of the conflict resolution processes in a few specific cases will show how the various facets of U.N. peace efforts can work together. In Central America, pivotal mediation was done first by President Oscar Arias Sanchez of Costa Rica and by the Conciliation Commission in Nicaragua. The U.N. was then brought in to provide observers for the election in Nicaragua and to monitor the cease-fire. In El Salvador, pressure from the National Debate for Peace helped to persuade the insurgents and the government to return to negotiations, and the United Nations then mediated the talks. In both countries, the U.N. has supervised demobilization processes.

Angola's search for peace was a direct beneficiary of the ending of the Cold War. Complex negotiations between the governments of Angola, Cuba, and South Africa, under U.N. and U.S. sponsorship, led both to the independence of Namibia and to an agreement to withdraw Cuba's fifty thousand troops from Angola. The U.N. sent military observers to monitor and verify the Cuban withdrawal. Then Portugal, the former colonial power in Angola, with the support of the Soviet Union and the United States, mediated talks between the Angolan government and the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA). A peace accord was achieved in 1991, and the United Nations was called upon to verify the compliance with the terms of the accord. The U.N. set up observation teams to work with the demobilization of soldiers and the proper custody of weapons. Police observation teams monitored the neutrality of the Angolan police. When elections were held in 1992, the U.N. provided technical assistance to the Angolan government for conducting the elections, then monitored the process to assure fairness. When UNITA placed second to the governing party and decided to take up arms again, the

U.N. certification of the election as free and fair was a major factor in the decision by the United States to abandon its long-standing support of UNITA and recognize the government of Angola as legitimate.

The war in Cambodia (sometimes known as Kampuchea) has been through many stages, from the U.S. bombing during the Vietnam war and American support of the military takeover, to the Khmer Rouge's victory and the horrors of their genocidal policies, to the invasion by the Vietnamese and the installation of a puppet regime, to the grinding insurgency of the Khmer Rouge and other factions against the Vietnamese-supported government. Because the United States, Soviet Union, and China all supported different factions in the war, the Security Council could take no action. However, Secretary-General Javier Pérez de Cuéllar used his "good offices" to open communications between the various sides in the conflict, identifying some points of convergence which might lead to negotiations. By 1988 the global political context had improved, and Pérez de Cuéllar put forward a proposal as a framework for peace talks. The negotiations were held with the assistance of Indonesia and France. The U.N. secretary-general actively mediated, seeking to bridge the differences between the negotiating positions of the factions and dispatching envoys on fact-finding missions. The five permanent members of the Security Council (United States, Soviet Union, China, United Kingdom, and France) were involved in helping to shape the basis for an agreement, which both strengthened the hand of the U.N. and assured that the Cambodian factions would stay in the negotiation process.

In October 1991, an agreement was reached, and the U.N. began to mobilize for its largest peacekeeping operation to date. A total of over twenty thousand people were eventually deployed by the United Nations in Cambodia. Human rights conditions were monitored, a civilian administration was set up for national defense, finance, public security, and information. The U.N. developed the infrastructure and provided training for a national election supervised by U.N. personnel. Close to fifteen thousand military personnel were deployed to verify the withdrawal of foreign forces, supervise demobilization, store arms and equipment, and assist in releasing prisoners-of-war and clearing mines. After delays due to lack of funding and walk-outs by the Khmer Rouge, the elections were finally held in May 1993, and a new and peaceful future is now dawning on that long-suffering land.

Though the United Nations is being called upon to help resolve

conflicts to a greater degree than ever before, there are severe internal constraints that are keeping the U.N. from responding fully to the new peacemaking opportunities. Each peacemaking venture is put together on an *ad hoc* basis; the funding and personnel are organized for each specific mission authorized by the U.N. Security Council. Frequently, insufficient funds are raised to carry out the tasks agreed upon in peace accords. For example, the U.N. was delayed in setting up its administration in Cambodia for months because of lack of funding. The peace agreement ending the civil war in Mozambique was jeopardized when, five months after their scheduled deployment, U.N. peacekeepers still had not arrived. Only the determination of the Mozambicans to leave their war-torn past behind kept the peace process on track. Long-term peacekeeping missions are also at risk because of financial short-falls. Cyprus has had a U.N. force monitoring its conflict since 1964. Though no peace agreement has been reached and tens of thousands of troops are still deployed on each side of the U.N. buffer zone, the U.N. budget for the peacekeeping operation is totally exhausted. Only the voluntary contributions by nations who have committed military or police contingents keep the operation viable, and in 1993 the thinly stretched peacekeeping contingent suffered the pull-out of one of the remaining countries in the operation.

Clearly, the global community is going to have to address these matters in a structural way if U.N. peacekeeping and peacemaking are to face the challenge adequately. Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali has called for the establishment of a stand-by peacekeeping force so that new forces do not need to be organized with each request for their deployment. A stable funding mechanism needs to be established, with adequate funding provided from the U.N. member states. The world's political leaders send a double message when they ask for U.N. help in resolving conflict after conflict but then fail to pay their assessment for the U.N. core budget or peacekeeping operations. In recent years, the United States has become the largest delinquent nation in unpaid assessments.[10] Peace comes at a price, and the global community is going to need to pay the money to support conflict resolution if the U.N. and other international agencies are to be effective in their work of making, keeping, and building the peace.

Chapter 7

Peacemaking at the Local Level

The church next door to our house cut down a huge tree one day during the summer. The wood was left in the churchyard over the weekend, cut into two-foot lengths, some two or three feet in diameter. The neighborhood kids, including my two sons, found the woodpile, and their creative energies were turned loose. They constructed an elaborate clubhouse, with stockade-style walls, a door with an architecturally-sound lintel, a couple of windows, and a roof made of scrap plywood scrounged from who knows where. Some of the smaller pieces of wood became seats inside. They even used some branches to mark out a walkway up to the front door. All in all, it was a striking achievement for the young builders. They got some cups and Gatorade and seemed well on their way to enjoying their new clubhouse.

Then their summer's daydream began to unravel. The big kids decided to make the club an exclusive one and kicked the younger boys out, even though they had all participated in building the clubhouse. Insulting signs were even posted outside the clubhouse to keep the younger ones from returning. The injustice left the younger kids seething, frustrated, and focused on revenge. Late in the evening, they got their chance when the big kids were playing somewhere else. They came back and began to demolish the clubhouse, breaking the Gatorade bottle, pulling apart the logs and branches, hacking the plywood with shovels, and writing their own obscene graffiti as editorial comment on their former buddies. What was still left standing they demolished early the next morning.

As I was puttering around the kitchen later that day, I watched my kids playing in the backyard with some of their friends (others in the younger set). Suddenly the older boys stormed into the yard, obviously fresh from their discovery of the ruined clubhouse. Since the U.N. peacekeepers weren't available, I raced out of the kitchen before violence could erupt. I used my superior force as an adult to require the adversaries to enter mediation on the spot. Though the decibel level was high, each group began to tell their side of the story. I worked

carefully to listen and explain to each side how the other side felt. We analyzed the situation and came to see that injustice lay at the root of the conflict, but that a destructive response had not helped anybody. The "Clubhouse War" had led to the unsalvageable ruin of the one thing that everyone valued. We then talked about the recent Persian Gulf war and how when it comes to conflict adults do not do much better. Were there other solutions we could work out? We ended with apologies and forgiveness all around, and by the end of the day the whole group was playing together again.

Peacemaking is a serious and necessary affair not only at the international level, but also in the backyard and neighborhood. Conflicts have similar patterns of genesis from the local to the global level, and the same type of skills are needed to forge peace, whether a parent or the U.N. takes on the peacemaking mission. Peace education and peacemaking need to begin locally. Children who learn effective conflict resolution skills and nonviolent ways of expressing their concerns or resisting injustice will be better equipped to contribute to the ongoing effort to build peace and justice as they move into adulthood. People in local communities who face the issues of racism, political and class divisions, crime, and poverty are the front line of the struggle for viable social covenants which, if they break down, can lead to large-scale calamities such as in Somalia and the former Yugoslavia. So in this chapter we move from the stories of historical importance to the mundane, from the international scale to the communal. Ultimately, however, both for the reign of God and the forging of deep peace in the world, these stories are as pivotal as the great movements sweeping the nations.

Transforming Initiatives One-on-One

Peacemaking can take place at the level of our individual relationships by taking transforming initiatives. We can break out of the scripts assigned to us, whether as victim, combatant, dominator, or bystander. Changing the script changes the direction of the play, which in a conflict situation can open up new possibilities for the relationship, including reconciliation.

Roger and Claire Dewey are a couple who have given their lives to years of urban ministry in Boston. Many of those years were spent with an organization Roger founded called Christians for Urban Justice. One day when Roger was unloading some cartons of the latest issue of their magazine, a young fellow about sixteen years old offered to help. Roger accepted his help, though he was a bit suspicious when the youth slipped into the bathroom. He came out with his hand held

in his jacket as if he had a gun and said to Roger, "This is a stickup!"

"No, it's not," Roger replied. The teen insisted, "Yeah, yeah, this is a stickup!" Again Roger said, "No, it's not." As the confused would-be mugger tried to press his case, Roger told him he had the wrong guy and would not be there if he knew what they were about at C.U.J. The youth gave up. "Yeah, you're right. Can you help me get a job?"

Roger led the young man to a back office, where they talked for a while about life, about trust, about how to make something of oneself in a hard world. Roger gave him a copy of the C.U.J. magazine before he left. Later, in a subway station Roger was again approached by muggers and thought he would try the same line, "No, it's not." This time the response was more serious. "Listen you (a few choice words deleted), we mean business!" Roger told them, "You're welcome to look, but I have no money." He was left unharmed. The words are not magic, Roger assured me, and the drug plague in the inner cities has added to the unpredictability of such encounters. Another time Roger was in the C.U.J. thrift and craft shop when he was accosted by a knife-wielding robber. When he tried to talk, he got a superficial slash across his chest. "I don't know when to shut-up sometimes!" Roger commented.

Claire often was in the store as the manager and had to deal with occasional robberies. One robber grabbed the money and was stopped when Claire proclaimed, "This is God's money; you don't have any right to it!" She explained how the store marketed crafts for cooperatives in poor countries, returning all the profits to the craftspersons. "They need the money more than you do," she said. When the robber refused to leave the money, Claire halted him again and insisted he take a brochure about the store which explained their Christian ministry and vision of economic development. "Take it, read it, come back and buy something. Do something good with your life," she admonished.

Roger and Claire refused to follow the victim script, and their choice of a different script allowed their own humanity to come creatively into play. They also refused to follow the hatred or vengeance script that dehumanizes the criminals who assault us. They knew the poverty, joblessness, and despair tempting many to a life of crime, and in their faith they knew the transforming power of God. So as Jesus had instructed in the Sermon on the Mount, they took transforming initiatives in the unpredictable context of criminal action. Whether or not their money was taken, a direct human relationship was established with the robber, with the potential for reconciliation.

The nonviolent responses of Roger and Claire Dewey in the face of potential violent crime mirror the actions of Robert Barclay, a seventeenth-century Quaker writer. Barclay was stopped in England by a pistol-wielding highwayman who demanded his money. Barclay's response was firmly yet gently to tell the robber that he was not his enemy but a friend willing to help if needed, but that he was not intimidated by the highwayman's weapon. Barclay said he did not fear death because he believed in immortality. He then asked the man threatening him if he could actually shed the blood of one who had no enmity for him and who was willing to befriend him. Confused by Barclay's response, the highwayman fled.[1]

Rabbi Michael Weisser in Lincoln, Nebraska, was being harassed by Larry Trapp, Grand Dragon of the Ku Klux Klan in the state. Trapp sent packages of hate mail and made threatening calls, leading Weisser to have a phone tap installed. Then Weisser decided he had to confront both the fear and the anger in himself and in the Klansman seeking to instill that fear. So Weisser tried to call Trapp. He got the answering machine, with a ten-minute recorded message of hate against Jews and blacks. When he could finally leave his own message, he asked Trapp to think about the hatred inside him because one day he would have to face God with it. Another time he told Trapp that the Nazis exterminated those with physical disabilities, so why did he love the Nazis so much since Trapp himself was confined to a wheelchair?

After Weisser had left many messages, one day Trapp picked up the phone demanding, "What do you want?" Weisser rewrote the script by calmly saying he knew Trapp had a hard time getting around and thought he might need a ride to the grocery store. Trapp got very quiet, the anger draining from his voice. He said, "I've got that taken care of, but thanks for asking," and hung up. Weisser's transforming initiative worked its way deep inside Trapp, and he called back later asking for help to get out of the Klan and away from all the hate eating him inside. Weisser and his wife, Julie, took dinner over to Trapp's house. Julie Weisser thought of Trapp's own apprehensions about this meeting and decided to take a silver ring as a peace offering. When Michael Weisser walked in and touched Trapp, the Klansman burst into tears. When Julie gave him the silver ring, Trapp removed the two swastika-emblazoned rings from his hand and gave them to her. "I want you to take these rings; they just symbolize hatred and evil, and I want them out of my life," he said. From this encounter the Weissers and Trapp began to work educating Nebraskans about hate groups. Trapp's liberation from racial hatred through the Weissers'

peacemaking changed them all personally and gave a new sense of direction in life to the former Klansman.[2]

Individuals can take transforming initiatives, not only as people engaged in the conflict in some way, but also as third parties. Kenneth Morgan, a professor from Colgate University, witnessed a striking example of mediation in Damascus, Syria. He was strolling along the marketplace when a man came through the crowd on a bicycle with a basket of oranges balanced precariously on the handlebars. Another man, bent over with a heavy load, bumped into the bicycle, knocking it over and spilling the oranges into the street and nearby stalls. Yells and curses led to a confrontation, with excited onlookers gathering. As the bicyclist moved toward the porter, a tattered little man came out of the crowd, took the raised fist in his hands, and kissed it. The watchers murmured their approval, and the antagonists relaxed. The little man disappeared, and everyone began to help pick up the oranges.[3]

Roger Dewey once intervened in a confrontation between gangs of white youths and black youths in Wainwright Park in the Dorchester area of Boston. The park was white turf, but black families had moved into many of the streets coming into the park from the west. Roger's home overlooked the park, and he saw the white kids threatening the black kids with rocks. He raced outside and placed himself between the two groups. He said to the white kids, many of whom he knew, "You are my friends, but these are my friends, too," gesturing toward the black youths. "If you want to get to them, you will have to go past me." One of the teens taunted him, "You can get awfully bloody that way!" Roger replied, "Of course, but Jesus is standing right here with me. He's disgusted with what you're doing. Put down the rocks and get out of here!" Being good Catholic kids from St. Mark's parish, Roger later recalled, they could not attack Jesus, so they left.

Stories such as these could fill many volumes, each one challenging us to develop the kind of thinking patterns that will be creatively open to the unexpected. Telling such stories can free us to throw away worn-out conflict scripts that lead to domination and victimization. The community of a local congregation can be a place where such stories are shared if the congregational life encourages participation rather than audience passivity. The stories of Roger and Claire Dewey were shared in the context of our church in Boston, which helped us all think more creatively about the violence in our neighborhood, which most of us had experienced.

Conflict Resolution in the Neighborhood

Wainwright Park was the focus for much of our neighborhood conflict in Dorchester, and it became the scene of a fairly successful process of conflict resolution. The racial turf war exploded when the city's housing authority moved three black families into a triple-decker on a predominately white street on the east side of the park. The public housing apartments of the black families were being remodeled, and the situation was supposed to be temporary, but quickly the tension began to build. The black families were harassed by whites throwing snowballs and yelling racial epithets. Then a molotov cocktail that mercifully failed to ignite was thrown at the house, and the next night the triple-decker was firebombed, causing only minor damage but awakening the community to the seriousness of the situation. That weekend the larger neighborhood, working through block organizations and churches, mobilized people to undertake an around-the-clock vigil over the weekend at the targeted triple-decker. Many of us spent our hour shifts in the middle of the night sitting on the front porch as a sign of community commitment to resist racist violence.

A meeting was then held at the Lutheran church near the park. Black and white adult neighbors, the white teens who hung out in the park, and the community relations officer of the police department attended. Rather than beginning with laying down the law, the meeting started with people expressing their concerns. Many spoke of the need for a safe neighborhood. Others spoke of how the city had allowed the park to deteriorate. The white teens spoke of how blacks moving in would mean they would lose their homes. They had historical experience to back them up: many of them had lived in an area not so far away which had been white until black families started moving in and the white families moved a few blocks further east.

The problem was that these white teens had no conception of the political and economic dynamics that had had such a dramatic impact on their lives. Their previous neighborhood had been targeted by the government and business interests for an antipoverty housing program. The banks offered federally-guaranteed, low-interest mortgages to low-income black home-buyers. Then when a few black families moved in, the real estate people came door-to-door encouraging whites to sell quickly before the blacks moved in and sent the value of their homes plummeting. Whites sold at a loss and their racist fears deepened. Poor black families moved into the old houses, but when the houses needed repairs, they discovered their area had been redlined, so no loans were available. Homes were foreclosed and

abandoned, then often torched. The new black community was left devastated and disorganized. The real estate interests and banks made a financial killing, and the taxpayers paid the bill. Now the white teens feared the cycle was beginning yet again, without understanding the deeper causes of their earlier displacement.

Through the long process of that meeting and subsequent gatherings, the concerns and fears of the teens and their families were heard. A clear statement was made by other community members that no violence would be tolerated, but that they would all work together to strengthen and improve the neighborhood so all could live in peace. When unemployment was identified by the teens as a major problem, a community group hired three of them to work in renovating abandoned houses. Some other adults assisted some drop-outs in getting their Graduate Equivalency Diplomas. Other adults became sympathetic listeners for teens who had become alienated from their parents, to help them work through the traumas of adolescence. The community relations police officer showed a deep commitment to work with the relational issues and keep police action in line with the cooperative direction of the community's peace effort. Neighborhood patrols were set up, not only to put a damper on criminal activity, but to bring adults and youth into more regular contact. Police officers on patrol often chatted with the kids in the park and got to know them by name. They also walked beats around the park, which strengthened their relationship to the community while increasing security. The city resumed a park restoration project that had been halted after many of the play areas had been torn up. With neighborhood input a hockey area (which white kids wanted) and a basketball court (which black kids wanted) were constructed. When the park renovation was completed, an inaugural basketball game was held. The mayor (who was once an All-American basketball player), Dave Cowens of the Celtics, and police officers played against an integrated neighborhood all-star team.

In a two-year period of such community building efforts with intentional communication, Wainwright Park changed from being the main racial turf battleground in the area to a center for community life. Black and white children, teens, parents, and older people could be seen in the park. Racial tensions continued throughout Dorchester and erupted again near Wainwright Park when Vietnamese families moved into the same house that had been firebombed before. But the community had developed a network to handle its crises constructively, bringing a measure of hope for those who lived there. The process involved a local church acting as community mediator, people

willing to listen to each other, a systemic analysis of the dynamics that had impacted the community, nonviolent protective action, cooperative relationships with governmental agencies such as the police and the city's parks department, and a determination to find a win/win solution rather than let the conflict spiral into destructive patterns of revenge.

In many urban communities gangs and gang violence have become dominant and dangerous elements of neighborhood life. Hundreds of youths and innocent bystanders have been killed each year in Los Angeles alone through gang warfare. In early 1992, a truce was developed between many of the factions of the two largest Los Angeles gangs, the Bloods and the Crips, and similar truces had been developed among gangs in Chicago and Minneapolis. Though the truces are not universally observed among the loose network of gangs, a significant core of gang leaders are trying to find ways to break out of the cycles of violence through which the gang members have helped to destroy their own communities and limit their own futures.

In June 1992, leaders in the truce between the Bloods and Crips invited Carl Upchurch to visit them and assist in making contact with community organizations that could support their efforts for neighborhood peace. Upchurch had been raised amidst urban violence in Philadelphia and had spent ten years in prison. After his conversion to Christianity, he had become an active proponent of nonviolence and had founded the Progressive Prisoners Movement. After Upchurch made numerous contacts with gang leaders, the idea of a national gang summit for peace and justice began to germinate. Additional contacts were made with gangs and community organizations engaged in gang programs in cities across the United States. With the organizational and financial support of the religious community, the idea of the summit gathered momentum.

From April 29 to May 2, 1993, over one hundred sixty gang members from twenty-six cities met in churches in Kansas City. They told their stories, analyzed the dynamics and roots of urban violence, and worked on ways to establish and extend truces. They talked with leaders from the churches and peace groups about how they could work together to address the issues of despair, racism, joblessness, and poverty underlying the violence. The gang leaders and participants from the religious community returned to their cities with new vision, inspiration, and partnerships to build justice and peace at the neighborhood level. Local summits were then held in Cleveland, San Francisco, St. Paul, and Chicago. Churches became the safe places, or "sanctuaries," for all the gangs to meet to discuss ending the

violence on the streets.[4]

A key part of conflict resolution at the community level is relationship building, especially in a society where diversity is so extensive. The war in the Persian Gulf was reflected in tensions in U.S. communities where hate crimes against Arab-Americans and Muslims dramatically escalated. Many churches took advantage of that crisis to develop and deepen ties with their Jewish and Muslim neighbors. Forums were held for people to listen to one another and gain a better understanding of other cultures and perspectives. Outbreaks of ethnic conflict can prompt people who have been isolated in their own enclaves to reach beyond their group to build common cause and community with another. As conflict escalated between many black and Korean communities, for example, one African-American church in New York City hosted the ordination service of a Korean pastor as a relationship-building event and witness to the larger community.

Relationship-building can be fostered in all kinds of settings. Workplaces can be used as a place for developing respect for others as people engage in a shared task. Arty de Silva, a Baptist pastor in Sri Lanka, uses employment as a means of forging reconciliation. Sri Lanka has been torn by civil war between the majority Sinhalese and the Tamils. De Silva has developed a program to aid refugees from both groups and to rebuild communities where Sinhalese and Tamils work side by side. A printing business was set up at which Christian workers from both groups train displaced persons from both groups in the occupation. An intentional effort is made to break down stereotypes and replace the "enemy" with a "colleague" or even "friend." This same philosophy undergirds other ministries de Silva organizes to aid victims of the violence: "What we do is to use Tamil relief workers in Sinhalese areas, and we see Sinhalese and Tamil people together, building their own homes." With the youth, programs are held with all the ethnic groups mixed together: "They are open to each other, to each other's culture, to each other's language, to each other's hopes and aspirations. Here we find, although we are different in many ways, still underneath we are the same, we are one."[5] Eroding the ethnic hostility at the base of many conflicts through relationship-building can be a ministry embraced by local churches and by Christians in their communities and workplaces.

Christians are also participating in conflict resolution through community organizations. Many are involved as mediators in court-sponsored alternative dispute resolution programs. Others work in neighborhood schools to train children in conflict resolution. St. Louis Park Junior High School in St. Louis Park, Minnesota, is one of many

schools across the United States with conflict resolution programs. Teams of students are selected by their peers to be conflict managers. At the beginning of the school year the conflict managers are given two days of training in communication skills, attentive listening, and role-playing. Once a week the team goes to a room where students with disputes can come for a hearing and assistance in working out a solution. Students must come to the conflict managers in pairs since the goal is mutually designed conflict resolution. The conflict managers explain the rules (no name-calling or interrupting, be as honest as you can, speak directly to the conflict managers when telling your story), define the facts, reflect the feelings, search for solutions, and create a peace plan, which is put in writing. The conflict managers then monitor the situation to see how the solution is working. Conflicts that cannot be resolved with the student conflict manager are referred to the guidance counselor.[6]

If Christian churches recognize that ministry includes activities of their members on the job, in the community, and at school, as well as within the organized structures of the church, then these involvements can be affirmed and supported as part of the Christian peacemaking mission.

Bringing Nonviolence Home

American society is one of the most violent in the world. The prevalence of handguns and their frequent use has given this country one of the highest murder rates in the world. Every year approximately thirty thousand people in the United States are killed by firearms, either through homicide, suicide, or accident, half the total number of U.S. soldiers killed during the decade-long involvement in the war in Vietnam. When violence erupts in a community, the automatic response is more violence. Following the Los Angeles riots, there was a 50 percent increase in handgun sales in the state of California.[7] When any legislative attempts are made to restrict or control firearms, even semi-automatic weapons, the lobbying efforts of the National Rifle Association and the arms manufacturers usually intimidate enough legislators to ensure that the control bills go nowhere. The front lines of the issue of gun control are the neighborhood streets and private homes, where in some communities gunfire is a daily occurrence and children speak in a matter-of-fact voice about violence. Gunfire is the eleventh most frequent cause of death in the United States, the sixth leading cause for people under sixty-five. For young black men in the inner city, homicide—usually by bullets from a handgun—is the number one cause of death.

Many communities have responded with candlelight vigils and marches. Some neighborhoods have developed neighborhood patrols. During the recent uprising in Los Angeles some local churches organized members to patrol their neighborhood, sometimes putting themselves between police and youths as a nonviolent buffer. The Guardian Angels is a group which stirred controversy in the cities where they were organized. Though they have a paramilitary style, complete with identifiable uniforms and organizational structure, they have used nonviolent tactics to deter and oppose crime. Some of the same sociological dynamics operate in urban gangs and the Guardian Angels, but in the latter group these dynamics have been channeled into a productive purpose.

Addressing such pervasive violence will require a broad, multifaceted strategy ranging from neighborhood organizing to national legislative coalitions, and from education in the local schools to reshaping the cultural heroes glorified in the entertainment industry. Our culture of violence needs to be overturned by a counterculture, a new culture of nonviolence. A partnership must develop between grassroots organizations, community groups, churches, and responsive national political, media, and religious leaders. The plethora of individuals and organizations seeking to live in a nonviolent way are a sign of hope, but they have not been welded together or given the focus sufficient to become a movement able to reshape the culture.

Violence has often clustered around the drug trade. A nonviolent response to drug trafficking was a group called "Yes, We Can," which was organized in Boston by religious and community leaders. The group would identify a particular neighborhood where drug dealing was occurring. They would then move into a house near the dealing site or crack house. Sometimes the building would be abandoned, and the group members would occupy the unheated structure with no plumbing or electricity. They would camp there and observe all that was going on. Conversations would be initiated with the dealers, seeking not to attack them as persons but firmly to oppose their activities. "Yes, We Can" members would organize the people on the street so that the local residents could advocate for better police protection and break out of their own prisons of fear to help bring their neighborhood under control. By the end of the campaign, the dealers were forced out, probably moving to another site to continue business as usual. But the neighborhood had gained pride and strength in the knowledge that they could stand up to the gun-wielding drug dealers.

Most of the violence, however, is not on the streets but in the homes.

Domestic violence is a national plague. The National Woman Abuse Prevention Project estimates three to four million women are battered each year by their husbands and partners. Abused women comprise approximately 20 percent of women presenting with injury to hospital emergency services.[8] Many of these women feel powerless, with few options for freeing themselves from the abuse. Often their victimization is reinforced by religious teaching about the wife being submissive to the husband. Child abuse, physical and sexual, is a parallel horror which has also been covered up in many churches and families by blithely quoting Bible verses such as "Do not withhold discipline from your children; if you beat them with a rod, they will not die" (Proverbs 23:13). When victims of abuse feel God is on the abuser's side, their sense of helplessness can be overwhelming.

A nonviolent response is not passively to accept abuse through a distorted use of "turning the other cheek" (Matthew 5:39). As our earlier study on transforming initiatives in the Bible showed, Jesus called for action that affirmed the humanity of the oppressed one and exposed the evil of the oppressive situation, though not at the cost of denying the humanity of the oppressor. In cases of domestic violence, the humanity of the abused woman or child must be affirmed. A key step in dealing with the conflict of abuse is providing education about the abuse through confidential conversations with a friend, a hotline or guidance counselor, or a pastor so abused persons can come to see the dynamics that have ensnared them. Then they can take the next step of empowerment, in which options can be developed, such as escape to a shelter, getting a restraining order, accompaniment for a person in danger, or divorce. Empowerment can also be aided through support groups, where people can share their struggles and help each other take the courageous steps needed to reclaim their freedom and dignity. Within churches reconciliation is such a high priority that in cases of domestic violence reconciliation can be promoted prematurely, but this would merely play into the cycles of abuse rather than changing the reality of the abusive relationship. The conflict must be brought into the open and dealt with at the basic level of either respecting or denying the humanity of the people involved. Reconciliation may be possible down the road, but to be genuine that would require transformation of the abuser and free choice of the one who had been abused. Appropriate resolution to the conflict is more likely to be providing the person who is being abused a way out of the situation, while restraining the abuser.

Besides the neighborhood and the home, the workplace is often a place of conflict. Nonviolence and conflict resolution have been highly

developed in the area of labor/management relations. Contract negotiations, arbitration, and grievance procedures have become an accepted part of much of the business world. Strikes and picketing have been frequently employed in labor disputes. Usually churches do not get involved in labor disputes, though when a business is central to the life of a community the churches may enter a conflict.

The strike against the Pittston Coal Company in southwest Virginia by the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) was an inspiring departure from the often violent strikes common in the coal fields.[9] Miners have one of the most dangerous jobs in the country, tend to be poorly paid, and frequently succumb to "black lung," a deadly respiratory disease brought on by breathing coal dust. In 1988, the UMWA contract with the Pittston Company expired, and the company decided to try to break the union. Fifteen hundred widows, pensioners, and disabled miners had their health benefits terminated. After over a year of negotiation and no contract, the miners went on strike. From a blending of UMWA history, the civil rights movement, and deeply held Christian faith, the strikers developed a powerful and inspiring nonviolence strategy. Clad in combat fatigues and singing hymns and civil rights and labor struggle songs, the miners set up Camp Solidarity in Lebanon, Virginia. The camp became the gathering point for the struggle, with weekly rallies drawing people in expressions of solidarity from around the country, as well as miners from Poland, Sweden, and the Soviet Union.

The miners engaged in massive sit-ins to block mine entrances. Virginia troopers were sent in to escort the coal trucks. Thousands were arrested, filling the county jails. Some miners and family members were hospitalized because of injuries from police violence. But the resistance spread among the community. Students who went on strike in three counties were "punished" by principals, who made them write papers on the history of the UMWA. Tow truck operators refused to remove strikers' vehicles blocking roads, and some gas stations refused to sell to state troopers. When a strikebreaker deliberately ran his truck into a crowd of strikers, injuring four, two critically, the immediate response was to assault the driver. But even as the anger spread, strike leaders were able to maintain nonviolent discipline, one urging, "We don't have to fight violence with violence.... We can win it without violence.... We can win our way. We're gonna win it right."[10] In one action thirty-nine women calling themselves "the daughters of Mother Jones," clad in camouflage scarves and carrying carnations and flags, occupied the Pittston offices in Lebanon.

After almost two years, the strike was settled through Department of Labor mediation, and the health and pension benefits that had been cut were restored and guaranteed. Local pastors, many of them miners themselves or retired miners, had played a significant role in providing leadership and preaching nonviolence. National religious groups helped mobilize support and put pressure on Pittston. With the help of clergy in Greenwich, Connecticut, where Pittston's headquarters are located, the strikers took their protests to the heart of the corporation. Though formal links between religious groups and labor were not developed, the Pittston strike opened up new lines of communication and shared concern between churches and unions.

The involvement of people in conflict resolution and nonviolence can begin in any area of life, and the changed perspectives and the skills which have been developed can then be applied to other areas. What begins at home with the training of our children continues through our close neighborhood relationships, our relationships in the schools and on the job, and international relationships. Peace comes not just through the negotiations of diplomats, but through the work to deal justly and nonviolently with those with whom we live and share this planet most intimately.

Chapter 8

Peacemaking into the Next Century

I first heard of Miguel Tomás Castro when I received a telephone call from our denominational offices. I was a pastor in Boston, connected to a Central American emergency network. Miguel Tomás Castro, pastor of the Emmanuel Baptist Church in San Salvador, El Salvador, had become one of the "disappeared." I joined scores of others in contacting the U.S. Embassy in San Salvador and various Salvadoran officials, requesting information about his whereabouts and pressing for his safety and release. Three days later he was "found" in police custody. He was promptly released and thrown out of the country. Miguel later told me about being in prison. He had been tortured as a matter of course. When he was being interrogated, he could see just a bit under the corner of his blindfold. The police interrogators had sheaves of paper in their hands and kept demanding, "Who knows you? How do they know you're here?" That gave him hope, for he knew people on the outside were raising a fuss.

Years later Miguel and I were together at an International Baptist Peace Conference in Nicaragua where he was a speaker. Six months earlier the Salvadoran peace accords had been signed, bringing an end to the civil war in El Salvador which had lasted over a decade and claimed more than seventy-five thousand lives. His eyes shone with joy and hope, though sorrow and suffering were still intimately woven into his heart. He had seen friends and church members killed, tortured, exiled, and torn by grief. He had ministered to the victims directly, especially the orphans whom his church raised. He had been in the marches, spoken out while in exile, been a part of the National Debate for Peace, and paid a personal toll for his witness for justice and peace. But now peace was dawning. The guns were silent.

Miguel knew well how far his country had to go for peace to truly blossom. He knew the resistance of the army officers to the accords; he knew the grinding poverty of the vast majority of Salvadorans; he knew the inequities that lay at the root of the civil war still cried out for justice. But he also knew the people of El Salvador had achieved

peace through their own strength developed in the fierce smelter of suffering. Perhaps now the suffering could be eased and the reconstruction of the people and the land could begin. The flower of hope had sprung up, and its promise shone in Miguel's eyes.

Christian peacemaking is about making that hope blossom and that promise come alive. Christians have played important roles in seeking justice and peace in many conflicts throughout history and in the explosion of events in the 1980s and the early 1990s. But will Christian people and churches continue to play a leading role for peace in the twenty-first century, or will we become reactionary or focused merely on our own institutional survival? God will continue to raise up people like Gustavo Parajón, Saboi Jum, Longri Ao, Sojourner Truth, Martin Luther King, Hildegard and Jean Goss-Mayr, Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, Desmond Tutu, and the many others, great and small, who have worked through nonviolent action or mediation to forge peace and establish justice. The question is whether the Christian community as a whole and its institutional expressions will join in these struggles as creative and supportive participants, or whether the peacemaking saints will merely be acknowledged at a distance—or, worse yet, resisted because of the challenges they bring to the status quo.

The record is a mixed one for the church. Sometimes Christians and church leaders have been in the forefront of struggle, waging nonviolent campaigns against injustice or taking the risks to mediate between warring factions. At other times the church has been timid and stayed on the sidelines even while its daughters and sons laid down their lives. At still other times the church has blessed war and served as chaplain to oppressive powers. For those who believe Christians should press on in the quest for justice and peace in the name of God, this chapter offers some reflections on the issues to be faced as we build upon the accomplishments of recent years.

Limits of Nonviolence and Conflict Resolution

Nonviolence and conflict resolution are not panaceas for dealing with all the ills of a conflicted world. Many of the heroic stories told in these pages have endings far from living "happily ever after." In the Philippines, for example, the People Power movement brought Corey Aquino to the presidency following the downfall of Ferdinand Marcos, but within a year it was evident that Aquino would not address fundamental inequities in the society and economy. Furthermore, the government responded to the guerrilla war of the New People's Army with a total war policy and the continued militarization

of the Philippines. People Power could bring down a dictatorship and install a democratic system, but the hidden powers of economic and military elites remained firmly in control.

However, the struggle for justice in the Philippines continues, often through the very church groups that provided the core of the People Power movement. Grassroots organizations and networks continued to function. Bishop Francisco Claver, a leader of the nonviolence movement, speaks of the ongoing nature of the effort to bring a total peace:

> *Active nonviolence is not just a tactic to be used to achieve an end, to be discarded if it does not achieve that end effectively. It is a way of life, an ethic, a spirituality, something that goes beyond the mere utilitarian and practical.*[1]

In that spirit, and with the memory of the events on the Avenue of the Epiphany of the Saints, Christians press on in the long quest to overhaul the social structures and create a new value system for Filipino society, though this peacemaking work is hidden from the view of most of the world.

Even the great movements that shaped our understanding of nonviolence had critical failures. The civil rights movement succeeding in bringing about major changes in the legal system in the United States and in eradicating many of the visible expressions of racism. But the lines of class became the new Jim Crow which left the majority of blacks in a plight as bad if not worse than the early days of the movement. Thirty years after Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech, black rates of unemployment, infant mortality, imprisonment, life span, earnings and other indices of economic and quality of life standing are dramatically worse than for white America. Whereas progress was achieved by black Americans in the 1960s and 1970s in economic, political and social sectors, the momentum for social change stalled in the late 1970s. The Reagan-Bush era saw a reversal in which the absolute and relative position of African-Americans worsened in relation to whites in many significant areas. Equality receives lip service, and King's birthday is now a national holiday; but racism is as deeply as entrenched as ever in the United States.[2]

In India, Mahatma Gandhi's nonviolence movement drove the British colonizers out, but it could not hold Indian society together. While on the verge of independence, Hindus and Muslims slaughtered each other as India was partitioned into two nations by religious warfare. Further wars followed, and religious intolerance continues to threaten the fabric of Indian society today. The legacy of the

apostles of nonviolence, the Hindu Mahatma Gandhi and the Muslim Badshah Khan, dramatic and powerful as it was, could not halt the national schism.

Clearly, nonviolent campaigns have their limits, for nonviolent action is more a form of struggle than a program for social development. Adherents to a thoroughgoing philosophy of nonviolence often have broader components of their vision than just direct action against oppressive structures; they also speak of the ways human beings should relate to one another, and even develop institutions to incorporate the values of nonviolence in their operating procedures. But building justice takes more than resistance against oppression or respect for the integrity of life of other human beings. Justice requires economic, political, administrative, and ecological skills. It requires a range of disciplines and enterprises to provide for human need and for the efficient coordination of society. Nonviolence can provide critical skills to handle the inevitable conflicts with as little destruction as possible, but both the potential and limitations of nonviolence must be understood if peacemakers are to make effective use of it.

The new structures that develop after a successful nonviolent campaign are critical to the long-term success of the campaign. If an oppressive system is overturned, what will take its place? Sometimes enough organizational strength has developed through the course of the struggle that a new ruling party is ready to step up or the peace agreements spell out the process of transition adequately. The Congress Party in India, which Gandhi and Nehru led, became the ruling party following independence, with Nehru as Prime Minister. In Poland, Solidarity grew from a union to an opposition party and then to the ruling party as the power of the Communists and the army eroded away. But sometimes nonviolent struggles can succeed before dissident organizations have had time to develop. In Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, the revolutions that toppled communism caught most countries by surprise, with the exception of the Poles, who had been struggling for a decade and had a well-developed organization in Solidarity. In the political and philosophical vacuum left by the collapse of communism, nationalist and ethnocentric ideologies are flourishing. The horror of ethnic cleansing in Yugoslavia is also emerging in ethnic battles in former Soviet republics, in the rise of fascist nationalism in Russia, and in the rise of neo-Nazis in Germany.

Jesus told a parable which speaks to this danger:

> *When the unclean spirit has gone out of a person, it wanders through waterless regions looking for a resting place, but it finds none. Then it says, "I will return to my house from which I came." When it comes, it finds it empty, swept, and put in order. Then it goes and brings along seven other spirits more evil than itself, and they enter and live there; and the last state of that person is worse than the first. So will it be also with this evil generation (Matthew 12:43-45).*

Demons of communism and Stalinism have been swept out, but old demons of nationalism, racism, and fascism are coming back, bringing suffering and horror in their wake. In nonviolent struggle it is vital to develop a clear sense of what the movement is for, not just what it is against. History is full of surprises, many of them unpleasant, so it is of critical importance that constructive social visions be put forward in the heart of struggle. The churches can play a vital role in that endeavor, as they have in El Salvador, South Africa, Germany, and the Philippines. They must nurture and proclaim a dream which reaches farther than the immediacy of the particular struggle for freedom and justice; in fact, that vision needs to be a driving hope to energize the struggle with positive passion instead of letting it be fueled by hatred and rage.

Like nonviolence, conflict resolution also has its limits and potential problems. Sometimes negotiations can bring a halt to a war of which both sides have grown weary, providing a temporary solution but not addressing the deeper issues. As a result, these issues may resurface again. Like a fire only partially smothered, the ashes may hide coals that can be blown back to flame with sufficient fuel. Cycles of wars in the Middle East, on the India/Pakistan border, and in the Sudan show peace agreements that brought temporary halts to conflicts but no long-lasting solutions. The partial solution negotiated between Israel and Egypt at Camp David brought peace between those two countries but failed to produce an adequate solution to the issue of the self-determination and national identity of the Palestinian people. That deliberate oversight severely limited the accords and left untouched the most volatile issue in the region. In Nicaragua and El Salvador savage wars were halted, but the gulf between the rich and the poor that led to revolution and rebellion remains as vast as ever. Still, the wars have been stopped, which is a step in the right direction since the destruction of war does nothing to aid the poor, who are always victimized.

Out of a desire to end the tensions and, in some cases, the violence of a conflict, a resolution can be achieved prematurely. Morton

Deutsch sees premature conflict resolution as a pathology of conflict, along with avoidance, excessive involvement in conflict, and position rigidification. Deutsch holds that in a premature resolution "the conflicting parties come to an agreement before they have adequately explored the issues involved in their conflict. The typical result is that the agreement will not last long. It will break down as soon as the realities reveal its superficial nature."[3] Premature efforts to resolve the revolution that brought the downfall of the Duvalier regime in Haiti short-circuited a desperately needed restructuring of Haitian society. Though some progress was made toward a new Haiti through the elections that brought Jean Baptiste Aristide to the presidency, the elites had by then utilized the time to consolidate their post-Duvalier positions. When Aristide threatened to press ahead with the agenda to remake Haiti, he was ousted in a coup supported by those elites. At the family level, efforts to mediate domestic conflict where there is spouse abuse would be premature and merely guarantee a return to the abusive situation if nothing is done to address the structure of domination in the home. Conflict resolution is premature if there is a gross imbalance between the two parties; it then becomes a tool for merely restoring order for the dominant one.

Conflict resolution may also involve moral compromise. In the wars following the dissolution of Yugoslavia, what kind of negotiated settlement is acceptable? Is it appropriate to create ethnic conclaves to end the fighting, which just formalizes the ethnic cleansing pursued in Serbian policies? The moral evil and crimes against humanity are then brushed aside in a pragmatic effort to end the killing and draw at least some boundary to separate the sides. Can that model be followed, given all the ethnic mixing that has taken place in so many countries? National lines and ethnic lines do not coincide, and in many cases could never be drawn even if one wanted to. A negotiated settlement that ratifies at least in part the fruits of ethnic cleansing provides a subtle but very real endorsement of that reprehensible policy. Conflict resolution then must be more than just a cease-fire, but must address fundamental issues of human rights. The processes must involve not only professional diplomats, but also other institutions, including religious institutions, that shape the culture and corporate mindset of groups in conflict. In Yugoslavia, religious leaders in the Catholic, Orthodox, and Muslim faiths have as much responsibility to develop a framework for peace as do diplomats from the European Community and the United Nations.

I have personally agonized over the question of the appropriateness of mediation in a morally difficult conflict. In Burma, the

military government has been exposed by the United Nations and Amnesty International as one of the worst violators of human rights in the world. A strong case can be made that conflict resolution is premature at this point. Any effort to negotiate with the Burmese government would convey some sense of legitimacy to them and thus undercut movements for genuine freedom and justice. Many people in the opposition have been critical of peace initiatives on these grounds as well as the assumption that any concessions by the government are cynical ploys to split the opposition. In such situations are negotiations and mediation ill-advised? Would it be better to intensify struggle, hopefully through nonviolent means, and just use negotiations to develop terms for military surrender when victory is near? Can one morally make a deal with the enemy? On the other hand, many groups have suffered for over forty years from the war. Dreams of victory border on fantasy for some people, so how does one realistically seek a course which will ease the suffering of the people of Burma yet open up more political participation and uphold the respect for human rights? If those issues can be brought into the negotiation process, then a significant portion of the political goals of the opposition might be achieved peacefully.

The answers to such questions are never easy or clean. When a war drags on and on, leaving a society in ruin with tens of thousands dead and still more maimed physically or emotionally, at what point does one try to find the path of peace? People we do not like often have to be faced, and conflict resolution can be used to try to humanize the relationship. The brutalizing mindset of the group in power may be changed to some degree through the process of relationship-building that takes place in negotiation. The tears of the Sudanese general over the slaughter between "brothers" gave witness to the potential for hardened warriors to find the humanity of the enemy. Sometimes people on both sides can become ensnared in their own histories, hatreds, and policies; an effective conciliation process can help both sides find the way to their positive values and enable them to build from that basis an agreement that leads them out of the morass of bloodshed.

Sometimes even the worst possible enemy might be the one who negotiates peace. It was a president of the ARENA party in El Salvador and a prime minister of the Likud party in Israel who participated in the processes to negotiate the end to the Salvadoran civil war and the Israeli/Egyptian peace treaty. ARENA and Likud were the most reactionary governments their respective countries had elected, yet they were able to participate effectively in processes

of conflict resolution. Those fighting for social change, for justice and freedom, must beware of so demonizing those in power that they cut off any avenue for change through negotiated means. Progressive forces can be willing to sacrifice their own followers for the cause of their political agendas through the continued use of violence when there is little chance for success, even though negotiations could change the political context to allow for the nonviolent pursuit of social and political change. In that case the resistance may have become as corrupted as the oppressive regime against which they struggle.

Building the Just Community

Nonviolent action and conflict resolution can be brought together under the comprehensive task of building the just community among human beings. Martin Luther King, Jr., spoke of building the "beloved community." Out of the profound diversity of people and cultures we must find common bonds in our shared humanness and on the one earth in which we must live and for which we must care. If we do not, we have the capability of destroying ourselves and the ecosystems that sustain our lives. However, if we are to find a measure of peace, we will also have to build justice. Injustice is an infection in the body politic that will fester and threaten the life of the whole unless it is truly healed. Ignoring it or simply covering it up will not bring healing. So if the human family is to achieve community, it will have to be found along the road of justice.

In the tool box for building justice and peace, then, two of the most important tools are nonviolent action and conflict resolution. They have different roles to play, even as a saw and a hammer serve different functions for the carpenter. Nonviolent action is the tool for tearing away what is rotten, for confronting evil, for restoring pride to the oppressed, for shifting power imbalances, and for creating and extending values that affirm life and human dignity. Conflict resolution is the tool for opening communication, for understanding the other side, for meeting as many interests of the conflicted parties as possible, for finding common purpose, for forgiveness and reconciliation.

Even as a carpenter cannot build a house with only one tool, the house of justice and peace will not be built by nonviolent action or conflict resolution alone. Historical tasks arise when each is needed, and the challenge of the peacemaker is to discern which tool is right at what time. Often both are necessary. Nonviolent actions by Salvadorans calling for peace talks and by Americans calling for a halt

to funds for the Salvadoran military were essential to create the climate for a peace process. But they were not sufficient. The United Nations mediated the peace process with the National Debate for Peace, providing political pressure and concrete proposals to keep the negotiations on track. Nonviolent action was one of the strategies of the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa, as well as armed resistance, finally forcing the government to release Nelson Mandela and legalize the African National Congress. Nonviolent action in the United States and other countries through demonstrations for divestment and the shareholder resolutions in companies doing business in South Africa brought about international pressure and a consensus for change. But the transition to majority rule, bloody and convulsive as it has been, would have been far more difficult if negotiations had not been undertaken.

Within the community of Christians engaged in peacemaking, we can learn from the use the apostle Paul made of the human body as an illustration of the church:

> *For as in one body we have many members, and not all the members have the same function, so we, who are many, are one body in Christ, and individually we are members one of another. We have gifts that differ according to the grace given to us (Romans 12:4-6).*

Each person has different skills and abilities, different networks of relationships, different experiences upon which to draw, and different opportunities in which to act. We each must do what we can do where we can do it, and our work for justice and peace will be different from the work of others. Some will organize nonviolent direct actions; others will mediate in negotiations. Some will speak and write, commit civil disobedience, or lobby in government circles. Others will accompany those in danger, witnessing and reporting on the situation. A few will make friends with people on the other side. Some will enter the corporate world to seek economic justice, while others will cry from the slums to demand economic justice. Some will travel far; some will stay at home. Some will concentrate on "peace issues" and others will concentrate on "justice issues." It is easy to see one's particular peacemaking task as the most important and to downplay or even denigrate what another might do. Yet Paul warned, "The eye cannot say to the hand, 'I have no need of you,' nor again the head to the feet, 'I have no need of you'" (1 Corinthians 12:21). Those engaged in bringing justice and peace need to recognize one another as allies and affirm the various works in which we are all engaged. When possible, we need to stand in solidarity with one another. If we can see the big picture, the overarching vision of the just community for

which we strive, then perhaps we can coordinate our functioning better.

A part of that efficient functioning is to heed the advice of the preacher in Ecclesiastes, "For everything there is a season, and a time for every matter under heaven" (Ecclesiastes 3:1). The timing of conflict resolution is critical to its success. The danger of premature conflict resolution can be lessened with an appropriate understanding of the need for adequate awareness of the root issues of the conflict and a balance, though not usually symmetrical, of power between the conflicted parties if mediation is to be effective. Maire A. Dugan holds that efforts to bring the conflict to the surface, to make all parties aware of the conflict, and to create a degree of empowerment for the weaker party are essential in the earlier stages of a conflict as preparation for successful mediation. She believes that "the more appropriate roles for a conflict intervener to play at these early stages are those of activist and advocate rather than mediator or conciliator."[4] To help raise awareness, education is required. Then, as people recognize the conflict, confrontation is necessary in order to achieve a more balanced situation. At this stage the use of nonviolence is especially potent as it brings the conflict to a head, strengthens the nonviolent actionists in ways that are harder for a dominating power to counter than violent attempts to shift the balance, and does the least amount of damage to the relationship in the confrontation so that the conflict can move toward mediation and resolution. As there are times when the work of the eye is most vital and other times when the ear provides the critical data, so, too, nonviolence and conflict resolution each have their best moments in the unfolding of a conflict to be creative elements in the struggle for a just peace. At other times, or even simultaneously, other forms of peacemaking action may be most appropriate, such as grassroots organizing, government intervention, electoral campaigns, litigation, or education. A wise peacemaker is able to welcome and participate in a variety of these activities.

Building the just community requires working on concrete solutions to often very mundane problems. Sometimes the solutions grow out of demands in a nonviolence movement or an agreement negotiated through a conflict resolution process. At other times the justice building is preemptive, striving to find a solution to a problem before it explodes into a destructive conflict. For example, working out distribution of water in the Middle East is a critical piece to the peace puzzle. Any lasting peace settlement will have to address successfully the issues of control, use, and access to water, for water is absolutely

essential in determining where people live and the economic enterprises which can take place. Water is an interest that all parties bring to the table, whenever they get that far. It is not as dynamic a news story as terrorist attacks or military incursions, but it is one major component of the problem underlying those violent forms of conflict. Every conflict has its specific issues or cluster of concerns that require practical solutions if resolution is to be achieved over the long haul. Technical issues about environmental control, environmental cleanup, immigration, prison reform, police training, community relations, administrative efficiency, public input, cross-cultural understanding, arms agreement verification, air traffic control, and a host of others may arise in the effort to find or sustain peace from a local or international level. Christians, indeed any and all people of good will, acting competently in these areas need to be recognized and affirmed in their role in establishing justice and creating peace.

Community means relationship, and building relationships across the fault lines of conflict is a vital piece of peacemaking work. Nonviolence assumes a human connection between the resister and the one in power. Nonviolent protesters in the Philippines, in the Soviet Union during the August 1991 coup attempt, and in China sought to establish common bonds with the soldiers sent to repress them, sometime providing them food or giving them flowers. When the relationships were strong enough, the soldiers sometimes refused to follow orders or even joined in the opposition. In conflict resolution, relationship-building is essential in establishing enough trust to enter into negotiations. That relationship may be too strained to stand on its own; a mediator may be required as the bonding agent. In the peace talks in Nicaragua between the Sandinistas and the Indian resistance, in the Sudan, and at Camp David, relationships played an important role in helping the parties find the way to agreement.

Relationship-building can be encouraged at many levels. Creating a climate for peace requires efforts to overcome enemy stereotypes and build enough conflict-transcending linkages that a joint stake is developed in the conciliation process. Prior to the ending of the Cold War, thousands of American and Soviet citizens had traveled to the other's country, meeting "the enemy" face-to-face and hearing the desire for peace. Many peace organizations and professional groups have sponsored friendship tours or exchanges with countries on the "other side." Cities and towns have developed partnerships with cities and towns in other nations. All these ties help to humanize the other in our minds. In the mental formation of "the enemy," truth is the first

casualty. We dehumanize and even demonize the other. One prominent magazine during the build-up to the Gulf War put a touched-up photo of Saddam Hussein on their cover; his mustache was drawn to look exactly like Adolf Hitler's. Enemies can become nonpersons in our eyes. I heard a U.S. diplomat at the U.N. publicly refer to how few lives were lost in the Gulf War, effectively discounting the one hundred thousand Iraqis who were killed in those few short months. Intentional distortion of the other is a part of our way of waging conflict, so any way the true face of the enemy can be encountered helps to erode the barriers of lies and stereotypes built up between the sides.[5]

Today, relationship-building is going on throughout the world. In Israel and the occupied territories, Elias Chacour, a Palestinian Melkite priest, has established a peace center in Galilee where Israeli Jews and Palestinians listen to each other's stories of persecution, displacement, death, and sorrow. Palestinian students live on *kibbutzim,* and Jewish students live in Palestinian villages for short periods of time.[6] Relationships are made that may help provide a common bond to support a joint search for peace. Relationship-building is also going on in South Africa. Koinonia Southern Africa is an ecumenical organization that brings blacks and white together. The main program is a four-family grouping, two black and two white, who meet at each family's home for meals and discussion about their nation's future. At the end of the rotation, the group makes some sort of public witness, such as going together to a park to play and eat.

In American cities with school systems reflecting the diversity of the United Nations, relationship-building is occurring through community organizations and churches. Public education in appreciating various cultures in our society is attempting to shape a new generation of citizens who can deal more constructively with the pluralism of modern America. In Northern Ireland, the YMCA provides cross-community seminars and trains volunteers to facilitate group discussions between Catholics and Protestants. They have an official position of Reconciliation Coordinator to carry on peacemaking efforts through relationship-building at the local level.

The task of building the just community on a global scale has seen major strides taken in the past decades. For all its limitations and failings, the United Nations has continued to develop as a system for the nations of the world to work on common problems, to resolve conflicts, and to hammer out shared values. Though compliance is far from universal, statements such as the Universal Declaration on the Rights of the Child and the Universal Declaration on Human Rights

and other conventions have given expression to a growing consensus about basic values that transcend cultures and political systems. Agencies such as the World Health Organization have been the means for international cooperation to tackle challenges facing many parts of the human community.

The International Court of Justice at The Hague has provided a place for conflicts to be peacefully adjudicated. The Conference on Disarmament, an ongoing negotiating body, has established numerous arms treaties, including the recent global ban on chemical weapons. Though many conflicts and areas of disarmament have not been adequately addressed through the United Nations system due to political differences among the nation-states or because of funding shortages, the attempt to build a system for international global coordination is moving the world to a political stage of development as profound as that of the development of the nation-state.

But governments who are the members of the United Nations are not the exclusive participants in the process of building the global community. Even the U.N. recognizes the importance of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) in this endeavor. NGOs often connect people across national divides far more intimately and positively than governments and inter-governmental agencies can. Organizations along professional lines, such as parliamentarians or educators, bring people together to exchange ideas and solve problems on issues that affect many countries. Human rights organizations promote international values and standards of conduct, as well as monitor adherence or lack of adherence to those basic standards. Relief agencies mobilize resources from around the world to assist in areas of greatest need. Religious organizations link people of common faith together across national, linguistic, and cultural boundaries and bring people of different faiths together in a quest for common foundations and values. The growing web of relationships is vital for developing an understanding of each other, our cultures, and our needs, so we can work together to resolve crises and solve problems which threaten us all. These ties also help us to have a common stake in peace, so that our energies will be directed to protecting that global fabric rather than tearing it apart out of the myopic focus on my own or my group's own little thread. Every step in building that community is a step toward peace.

Education

In light of the expansion and increased sophistication of both nonviolence and conflict resolution in the last decade, what can

churches do to participate more effectively in the ministry of peacemaking? What adjustments need to be made to become leaders in the quest for justice and peace rather than remaining ponderous institutions reacting to challenges from other sectors of society?

I see three central areas where the work of churches could be instrumental in advancing the cause of peace, if the commitment exists to follow through on this historic opportunity: education, relationship-building, and infrastructure. Education has always been a major sphere of ministry for churches. Education needs to be more thoroughly developed in both the biblical basis for peacemaking and practical application in contemporary contexts. Some sectors of the global Christian community have done extensive teaching on peace and justice. Liberation theology, for example, has developed in many cultural settings to provide critical reflection on the intersecting of the gospel and human struggles for justice and freedom. The World Council of Churches has lifted up the theme of "Justice, Peace and the Integrity of Creation" to give direction and focus to their corporate mission. There are some serious theological problems with liberation theologies, but matters of justice, poverty, and peace are explicitly brought to the forefront of teaching and ethics. Other segments of the Christian community, however, are functionally illiterate when it comes to understanding or even recognizing the biblical teachings on justice and peace. There is more in the Bible on the poor than on the Holy Spirit, yet many Christians who know almost every verse related to the Holy Spirit know little, if anything, about the biblical perspective on poverty. There are more verses on peace than about the Second Coming of Christ, yet Christian bookstores have many shelves with titles ranging from the responsible to the ridiculous about eschatology, and most of the books related to war and peace spout militaristic ideology. There are significant parts of the Christian community where creative working out of evangelism and social ethics is taking place, but there is still much to be done to bring such holistic teaching across the Christian theological spectrum.

The lack of biblical knowledge on justice and peace might not seem a serious issue, but because the more conservative wings of Christianity are active in evangelistic outreach, they are expanding in membership, while more socially involved mainline denominations in the United States and Europe are in severe decline. The media has become a vehicle for the expansion of a chauvinistic and right-wing version of the gospel that is often intimately linked with capitalist expansion and American national interests. Biblical teaching on peace and justice is spiritualized, and liberation theology, which seeks