to apply those teachings in the context of contemporary struggle, is roundly denounced. The result is that the gospel being offered in many mission settings is inadequate to face the traumas of conflict. I received a letter from one church leader in a country torn by war. He wrote about how the churches had never learned about the Bible's teaching on peace; they never were taught about the ministry of peacemaking. So when the war broke out, most of the churches were at a loss as to how to minister in the rapid changes sweeping through their country.

A solid and cogent grounding in the biblical teachings about justice and peace is necessary to strengthen and build our peacemaking work. As the early church tried to grapple with the implications of Jesus' life and teaching, they focused on two primarily ethical keys. They knew they were on the right track if their faith was working out in the areas of ethnic relations and poverty. The Jew/Gentile struggle in the church definitely had theological dimensions, but it also was clearly expressed in the social patterns among Christians who had supposedly worked the theology out. In Paul's writings the issue gets down to the mundane matter of who you eat with (Galatians 2:11-21) because of the very nature of Christ's death. Christ overcomes the social labels we bear, making us all one (Colossians 3:11, Galatians 3:28). When the Jerusalem Council met on the issue of inclusion of Gentiles into what had until then been viewed as an ethnically homogeneous church, the other defining ethical issue was concern for the poor (Galatians 2:10), not the dietary rules that faded away as the church became more culturally inclusive. Jesus called the rich young ruler to do the one thing he lacked: sell what he owned and give the money to the poor (Mark 10:21). John discerned if love was genuinely of God by how one cared for the poor (1 John 3:17). James declared that faith that does not care for the poor is dead (James 2:15-17), and that care for the poor is the central mark of a religion that is "pure and undefiled" (James 1:27).

The conflicts in the post-Cold War era are primarily rooted in ethnic hatred and economic injustice. The gospel of the early church directly addressed these root issues of conflict, yet how much of Western Christianity presents a gospel that says little if anything on these topics? Far too many Christian communities are wrapped up in homogeneous groups, segregated in the worship services that are the center of our corporate lives. We thank God for our prosperity and perhaps undertake small missions of mercy to the unfortunate, but we dare not challenge economic structures that are increasing the gap between the rich and the poor because our own livelihood and

institutional maintenance are wedded to those structures. The church, particularly in the West but also in the "Two-Thirds World" where our missions have often carried these distortions of the gospel, needs a renewal of teaching and application of the gospel message regarding justice and peace. We need to hear the centrality of ethnic reconciliation through Christ who is our Peace in a land where hate crimes are on the rise and in a world where ethnic cleansing is becoming a policy of choice for some people. We need to hear the vision of justice and peace embracing (Psalm 85:10) in a world where the haves and have-nots move further apart and where wars are waged to maintain the economic interests of those who have control of the resources.

Ephesians 4:11-12 speaks of the gifts given to people in the church, particularly pastors and teachers, "to equip the saints for the work of ministry." If Christians are to engage effectively in nonviolent actions or conflict resolution processes, whether in their communities or in national and international struggles, they should be equipped for those ministries through the work of the church. Training in the principles and practice of nonviolence can be a part of Christian education curriculums. Our church in Boston once hosted a nonviolence training session since many of us were involved in the Pledge of Resistance to try to change U.S. policy in Central America. Some of our Sunday school teachers who were also meeting in the church that day were surprised to witness us dragging each other across the floor as we learned how to be disciplined and nonviolent in the face of potential police violence. During the civil rights movement, training sessions were held in churches to prepare people for the brutalities they would face as they marched for freedom. In the Philippines, nonviolence training in the churches was the foundation for the historic uprising of the People Power movement. No one can tell when a historic challenge will be issued to a neighborhood or a nation. No one can tell when the random violence in society will tear into their personal lives. If people are prepared by their training in nonviolence, they will be ready to rise to the occasion.

Christians need equipping in conflict resolution as well. Since everyone experiences some form of conflict almost on a daily basis, these are practical life skills that can immediately be put to use. Schools are offering conflict resolution training, but churches can also be centers for conflict resolution training out of the value system we have in the gospel of reconciliation. Some churches are developing Christian conflict resolution curriculums for use in their afterschool programs or youth groups. Adult classes can study books that have

been published on the topic. Sermons and Bible studies on the case studies in this book can help people interpret their own conflicts and learn how to be more creatively involved in them.[7]

A church's education program can also include direct experience, breaking people out of the socially isolated setting of many middle- and upper-class American Christians. Contact needs to be made with the poor, the marginal, the despised, and the weak in the world, for they have much to teach those who are in positions of privilege. Listening to those who suffer under policies of exploitation and militarization, whether in the poor countries of the southern hemisphere or in impoverished urban neighborhoods, can open up our eyes to the nature and cost of such policies. Direct encounters of this sort can stimulate us to reexamine our theological assumptions, open our eyes to overlooked portions of Scripture, and change our lifestyles to be more just.

The educational process can be supported and invigorated by a congregation's worship experiences. In worship God's values and vision for humanity can be lifted up, celebrated, and brought into creative tension with our present. Readings and sermons can draw from the wealth in the Bible on God's passion for justice and peace; prayers, songs, and liturgies can give form to the response coming from the wellsprings of our spirituality. In addition to experiencing encouragement for our spiritual journey, we can be convicted about our complicity in the present order and its injustices. A holy dissatisfaction can be fed, prompting us to engage more deeply in projects for renewing the world and alleviating the suffering caused by injustice and war.

I experienced the conjunction of worship, divine values, and the world's conflict at a vigil outside the United Nations. We had gathered in support of the U.N.'s Third Special Session of Disarmament in 1988. As we stood beneath the "Isaiah Wall" that speaks of nations beating their swords into plowshares, we sang an old revivalist hymn:

What have I to dread, what have I to fear,
Leaning on the everlasting arms.
I have blessed peace with my Lord so near,
Leaning on the everlasting arms.
Leaning on Jesus, leaning on Jesus,
Safe and secure from all alarms,
Leaning on Jesus, leaning on Jesus,
Leaning on the everlasting arms.

In that moment of history and at that place, with delegates gathered from the nations of the world to try to slow the arms race, that

old hymn took on a new prophetic power. Our trust was not in nuclear arms, but God's everlasting arms. Our faith was a critique to our world, our nations, and ourselves for the idolatry of military might which had created such obscene levels of armaments. That hymn could no longer be only about personal piety, but was a challenge to the powers that be in the world which seduce us to lean on nuclear arms in order to be safe and secure.

Placing our Christian education, our worship, and our spirituality in the context of the conflicted world can transform and energize congregational life. We are building upon our strengths as churches as we seek to expand our creative impact in the world. If our Christian education is biblically based, tuned to the hurts of the world, connected directly to people's needs and experiences, and woven into the worshiping life of the church, then it will be truly transformative. Our education will not only affect the world around us by what it enables us to do, but also energize our faith as we see how the gospel does have something to give us in the midst of our struggles and pains.

Relationship-Building

Churches need to strengthen their peacemaking ministry in relationship-building. Because of mission partnerships built over the years and the basic Christian ethic of love, relationships that cross cultural and national lines have been a major component of Christian community. Though there has been much cultural chauvinism on the part of Western Christians, the growing cross-cultural sensitivity in missions has seen more partnership models develop. These ties between Christians from different nations have deeper roots than the political alignments of the current period and will probably outlast them. Thus, the relationships between Christians in different national churches can provide a conciliating link upon which peacemaking efforts can build.

In Nicaragua, the link in partnerships between the Nicaraguan Baptist Convention and the American Baptist Churches had a definite impact upon the quest for peace. The Nicaraguan Baptists sent a series of pastoral letters to the churches in the United States, relating the situation in their country in a way which was very different from that presented by the U.S. administration. Through the testimony of Baptist missionaries to Nicaragua returning on home assignments, an alternative viewpoint critical of U.S. policy was presented in the churches, adding fuel to the resistance through advocacy and demonstrations in the United States. Gustavo Parajón, a native Nicaraguan, is supported by the ABC International Minis-

tries, and his mediation effort was sustained in large part from that mission partnership. These partnerships also inspired American Baptists to participate in Witness for Peace and the Pledge of Resistance. The group in our church made a huge banner with a quotation from one of the Nicaraguan Baptist Convention's pastoral letters; we displayed the banner during protests at the Federal Building in Boston. Some of our members who committed civil disobedience said that they never would have considered such action if it were not for the sense of Christian family linking them to the Nicaraguan Baptists.

The same kind of relational history has been important in Burma. Adoniram and Ann Judson were the first missionaries in Burma, and through their efforts and many other colleagues, Baptists are the largest religious group among some of the hill tribes. One hundred and seventy-five years of mission history have given Baptists credibility there, which becomes an asset in trying to find the way to peace. My own involvement in mediation efforts was based mostly on my identity as a Baptist from the United States, which led to a partnership with a Kachin Baptist leader who was working as the mediator from within the conflict. The insurgent leader, Brang Seng, was a Baptist, and our religious ties were important in establishing the trust necessary to take the risks for opening up the peace process. Support for peace, human rights, and democracy in Burma has been generated in the United States in part through Christians who have emotional ties to the mission work there. Burma is insignificant to U.S. policy, but to Americans who are bonded to people in Burma by love through decades of Christian mission, Burma is very important. Besides the Burmese exile community, church-related groups are probably the most motivated to bring international pressure upon the Burmese government to overturn their repressive policies.

Mission partnerships have become the basis for peacemaking ministry in many denominations. The Lutherans have had a special role in Namibia and El Salvador because of the leadership of indigenous Lutherans, including Bishop Medardo Gomez of El Salvador. Presbyterians have extensive ties in the Middle East and so can assist others in understanding and action. Roman Catholics have done cutting-edge mission work for justice and peace, especially through the work of orders such as the Maryknolls and Jesuits. The martyred priests and religious women in El Salvador both testified to their peacework amidst that country's war and inspired the ongoing commitment to advocacy and solidarity actions in the United States and Europe. The web of mission partnerships has been intentionally used to strengthen ministry for justice and peace, including the transna-

tional solidarity linkages. These long-standing relationships can be utilized more intentionally in assisting national church bodies to become more effective agents for building just community and in mobilizing North American churches for partnership in the mission for peace.

Relationships of love provide a motivation for sustained and risky action. They give the inner strength to stand against the social pressures to join the bandwagons of hatred when war policies are being developed. They provide an avenue for truth to be communicated when the media is dominated by the messages shaped by the programmatic goals of "government sources." Direct contacts between people in North America with people in other countries can take place through mission work tours or peacemaking "friendship tours." The Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America, a grassroots organization with members from thirteen Baptist conventions, has sponsored tours to many regions of conflict and to countries labeled as "the enemy." The emotional impact for relationship-building through such encounters can be far more energizing for peacemaking than the most cogent rational discourse. As a long-time peace activist, I have always been against nuclear weapons and the Cold War relationship of the United States and the Soviet Union; but it was only after visiting the Soviet Union and spending hours in conversation with people there that I felt the full horror of the evil in the nuclear threat posed by each side. While worshiping in Baptist churches in various cities in the Soviet Union, I knew that Christ was at ground zero where our missiles were targeted, and that God's image resided in atheists who spoke with me of their own hopes, fears, and frustrations. We have also hosted people from various countries in our home. In many cultures eating together is a sign of acceptance and commitment. I know all our guests continue to be carried in my heart and cannot be enemy to me no matter what our governments say or do to each other. Jesus said, "No one has greater love than this, to lay down one's life for one's friends" (John 15:13). Friends are made through building relationships, and as those friendships are forged, the motivation swells for taking loving risks for peace.

International friendships are not the only relationships that need to be established. Ethnic diversity, which could be a rich resource for us all to draw upon, far too often becomes a basis for polarization in American society. Relationships need to be established close at home. It can seem easy for Americans to love Russians, Nicaraguans, Palestinians, and black South Africans, and yet be alienated from the neighbors in our own communities. The uprising in Los Angeles in

1992 revealed the fractured nature of much of our society. Efforts to build bridges of understanding between blacks and whites and Hispanics and Asians and Native Americans have been going on for years, but often they do not get further than trite sentimentalities that make some people feel they have accomplished something, but which only add to the cynical frustration of others.

One of the best ways to build relationships is not to begin with the relationship itself but with a task. Ending the arms race and halting aid to the Contras gave American and Soviet citizens and American and Nicaraguan citizens a common purpose around which the relationships could grow. To make progress in peacemaking within the United States, common tasks need to be addressed with multicultural alliances. For example, improving housing or the economic development of poor communities or improving public education can become specific tasks in which a wide range of ethnic groups can join for common cause. "If you want peace, work for justice" is a refrain heard from many sectors of our society, especially from the minority communities. The flip side was chanted during the burning of Los Angeles: "No justice, no peace." Justice is built: it is a task, something one does. Adopting common mission tasks in the pursuit of justice will provide a context of commitment for the relationships to be built. Then, with a common ground and common stake in the project, the relationship itself can stand the strain of examination as the more insidious and deeply rooted issues of racism, sexism, and other relational injustices are intentionally examined. This is not to preclude the prophetic exposure and denunciation of such evils or their confrontation through nonviolence. Rather, building the relationship to bridge the divide created by human injustice will happen most effectively when the first step is a concrete task that both addresses a common need and that points toward a just future.

Infrastructure

When President Dwight Eisenhower gave his farewell address, he warned the nation of the rising power of the "military-industrial complex," that network of institutions, corporations, universities, and government entities who have a vested interest in sustaining a level of conflict high enough for profits to be made and careers enhanced. When conflict boils over to the point of war, this broad infrastructure can mobilize people, material, financial resources, and decision-making capabilities for the war. When the United States and its allies went to war against Iraq in the Persian Gulf, despite record budget deficits, tens of billions of dollars were rapidly raised for the use of

all the mechanisms and forces in place for the goal of military victory. No comparable "peace-and-justice complex" exists in our nation or the world. Nations always find money to make war, while peace goes begging.

A conference at the Carter Center in Atlanta in January 1992 focused on exploring creative efforts to advance peace in eight specific conflicts: Angola, Sudan, Liberia, Cyprus, Korea, Burma, Afghanistan, and Cambodia. As the participants in each group reported on their challenges and opportunities in each conflict, a common theme emerged. In every case there were key elements of an infrastructure missing, and the most frequent missing element was money. In Liberia, elections had been agreed to by all the warring factions and monitors had been trained, but there was no money to hold the elections. In Cambodia, a U.N.-mediated agreement had been reached, but the U.N. was unable to get the thousands of administrative personnel and peacekeeping troops to Cambodia because funds were not available. The U.N. cannot levy taxes, so it is dependent upon the willingness of the member states to pay their assessments voluntarily. NGO mediating groups often have to limit their operations because of small budgets, which can lead to lost opportunities, stretched-out processes, increased losses of human life, and greater economic dislocation. Jimmy Carter is leading the way in developing the International Negotiation Network as one part of the solution to the need to develop an international infrastructure for peace, but the religious community needs to rise to the challenge and refine its peacemaking infrastructure as well.

Jesus told a parable that speaks to meeting changing situations:

> *No one puts new wine into old wineskins; otherwise, the wine will burst the skins, and the wine is lost, and so are the skins; but one puts new wine into fresh wineskins (Mark 2:22).*

The explosion of nonviolence movements and efforts in conflict resolution in the last decade is a new wine that is stretching the structural wineskins of our era, including the religious institutions. Some steps have been taken to provide fresh wineskins for this new wine. The historic peace churches have been in the best position to do this because of their long involvement in peacemaking endeavors. The American Friends Service Committee and the Mennonite Central Committee have engaged in many ventures to support peace, from mediating in conflicts to providing training and education in nonviolence. Some mainline denominations such as the Presbyterian Church (U.S.A.), the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America, the United Church of Christ, and the American Baptist Churches have

established and staffed peace programs. The Anglican Church assigned Terry Waite as a special representative of the archbishop of Canterbury to engage in humanitarian negotiations in Libya, Iran, and Lebanon. Most of the peacemaking efforts, however, remain in the more traditional channels of advocacy and education. Nonviolence training or mediation are done on an *ad hoc* basis, if done at all. A challenge for the peacemaker involved in a mediation effort is to develop the financial basis for the project and to identify or create an administrative center to handle financial and logistical matters. In the terminology of Jesus, new wineskins must be made to properly hold the fermenting new wine.

One possible new wineskin is to develop a financial center, perhaps a foundation, in the wealthier countries that could be linked through the mission partnerships of churches to indigenous leaders involved in mediation or strategic peace initiatives in conflicted countries. The insider-partial mediators who might play a major role in peace processes in poorer countries often lack the resources to provide for their own travel between the warring parties, let alone host high-level talks. If a financial pool and a structure for accountability could be set up, these indigenous mediators could be teamed with mission partners with access to financial and technical assistance. The mediators would be able to focus their attention on the conflict itself rather than constantly worrying about scraping together the funds to take the next step.

Another new wineskin could be a religious version of Carter's International Negotiation Network. Carter has gathered notable persons from around the world to offer their services for mediation. Could not major religious leaders do the same? Many conflicts involve different religious groups, though often ethnicity or economics are the core issues in the conflict, not the religious differences. Yet once the conflict gets started, religion becomes a weapon. Each side claims divine blessing on its war-making. Iraq's Saddam Hussein, though his Baathist political party is secular, called upon Muslims to engage in a *jihad*, a holy war, against the Western coalition led by the United States. On the other side, George Bush defended his policies before the National Association of Religious Broadcasters in terms of the Christian just war position. An organized network of religious leaders from many faiths could withdraw religious blessing upon armed conflict in a particular setting and instead offer their services to work on conciliation. Imagine global figures in the Roman Catholic Church, the Orthodox Church, and Islam condemning the violence and offering to mediate in the conflict in former Yugoslavia. Imagine Christian,

Muslim, and Jewish leaders offering to help mediate in Lebanon, or between the Israelis and the Arab states and Palestinians. Imagine Buddhist and Hindu leaders offering to mediate in Sri Lanka. Imagine the pope, the archbishop of Canterbury, and high-level Protestant clerics offering their services in Northern Ireland. Such a dream would require those religious figures to begin peacemaking among themselves, but they have an ongoing interfaith dialogue to build upon, as well as "peace saints" in every religious tradition. A "heads of communions" group of Protestant leaders met with President Alfredo Christiani of El Salvador to call for an end to human rights abuses and to press for peace. That same group traveled to the Middle East, visiting Iraq, Jordan, and Israel prior to the outbreak of the Persian Gulf war, calling upon the opposing sides to pursue a nonviolent resolution to the crisis. These efforts are steps in the right direction, but the time may be ripe for a bolder, global network to be established.

Grassroots infrastructure is also vital for peacemaking, and this is where much of the driving force for change has been generated. Denominational peace fellowships and interfaith groups like the Fellowship of Reconciliation have mobilized ordinary people to do extraordinary peacemaking. These grassroots networks need to be affirmed as major expressions of the church's mission work for justice and peace. They have been new wineskins developed with the flexibility to respond quickly to the challenges of the day. Denominational bodies can see these grassroots organizations as partners, working together for common goals. Sometimes bureaucracies and grassroots organizations will come into conflict themselves, and here the personal practice of peacemaking is vital if the efficiency of both groups is to be maintained. The body image from the apostle Paul, in which each part has need of the others, can again be applied in the appreciation of the roles and strengths of both denominational religious structures and grassroots activist networks.

Taking the Risks for Peace

To follow the path of peace in the midst of conflict carries inherent risk, for peace has to be created out of contexts where life and death are at stake, along with a host of other interests. Some of the interests are resources, such as land or water, while others are political in nature, such as self-determination. But whatever the root issue of conflict may be, through the course of the strife a thick layer of bitterness, hurt, and anger builds up. Peacemakers insert themselves into that volatile context where there are no promises about the

outcome or guarantees about safety. For the churches to participate fully as peacemakers into the next century, the risks must be acknowledged and accepted.

Like conflict resolution, nonviolence also carries risks. Although those taking nonviolent direct action may have the inner conviction and the discipline to maintain their nonviolence, they are engaged in conflict. The opposing side will choose its strategy for the conflict, which is often repressive and violent if such tactics have been habitual. In fact, if the nonviolence activists seriously challenge a power system, they can count on an initial reaction of repression. Gene Sharp sees repression as the natural step for a ruler to take:

> *When a system largely characterized by political violence is actively, albeit non-violently, challenged, one can expect that the basic nature of that system will be more clearly revealed in the crisis than during less difficult times. The violence upon which the system depends is thus brought to the surface and revealed in unmistakable terms for all to see: it then becomes more possible to remove it.*[8]

If church leaders in any way encourage or train people to participate in nonviolent action, they are risking the exposure of those people to violence. Just as people recruited to fight in the military risk becoming casualties, those who participate in nonviolent actions are putting their lives at risk. If the churches hold a prayer vigil and then march for democracy, as they did in Zaire, they should not be surprised when they are fired upon by the soldiers propping up the dictatorial regime. Those who confront oppressive powers, be they Jeremiah, John the Baptist, or Archbishop Romero, become targets of those powers who cannot stand moral challenges.

Of course, if one does not take the risk, evil is allowed to continue on its own course. Those gunned down as they prayed in Zaire could have quietly continued in their suffering, letting their children die of malnutrition while Mobutu grew rich off their poverty. A Christian gospel that speaks of life after death and of a Christ who modeled sacrificial love even to the point of death can inspire the courage to lay down one's life or to face the other terrors of repression. Adolfo Pérez Esquivel wrote his friends a letter on a piece of tissue paper smuggled out of an Argentine prison:

> *Yet there's always a light shining, to clarify and explain all these trials—God's presence every moment in every move—the God of love who forgives from the cross, down across the ages: Father, forgive them; they do not know what they are doing. Here in prison I've lived Holy Week in the grace of a greater understanding of the commitment, sacrifice, and love of Christ who shed his blood for every-*

one, for all humanity. What Easter gladness—the gladness of Christ as he triumphs by love, Christ risen and right here! Alleluia![9]

The risk to act nonviolently in resistance of oppression and for justice and peace is a risk not taken alone. The testimony of Christians through the ages and even in so many of the recent struggles is that Christ was present with them.

The risk of brutality is not as great in the United States, but anyone who has been involved in an act of civil disobedience can bear witness to the volatility of such events even when the demonstrators are thoroughly committed to nonviolence in action and word. Police officers can be unnecessarily and intentionally rough, sometimes causing injury. The civil rights movement often saw police brutality at its worst with fire hoses, attack dogs, and clubs used with abandon against nonviolent marchers. In jail cells many people were severely beaten when out of view of the cameras. When Vietnam veteran and peace activist Brian Willson was run over by an arms train, he and other demonstrators sitting on the tracks were scrambling to get off, yet the train never applied the brakes. While recuperating in the hospital from the loss of his legs, Willson said that he was joining the thousands of Central Americans who had lost their legs in the war he was protesting, many of whom he had met in his travels in the region.[10] This bonding through relationships with those who suffer in a conflict also gives one strength to face the risks of waging peace.

A number of peacemakers from around the world are experimenting with nonviolent forms of intervention in conflicts, drawing upon the experiences of Witness for Peace and other actions in conflict zones. The Mennonites and Brethren churches have established Christian Peacemaker Teams, volunteers trained extensively in nonviolence to engage in nonviolent actions, mediation, observation, conflict transformation, and documentation of human rights abuses. The Christian Peacemaker Teams are being deployed in areas of conflict such as Haiti and the Gaza Strip. Peace Brigades International has been involved in similar activities, often accompanying people who are at risk of assassination. Thousands of European and North American Christians have been involved in nonviolent interventions in Bosnia and Croatia in 1993 and 1994. *Sjeme Mira* (Serbo-Croatian for "Seeds of Peace") is working to establish a long-term nonviolent witness in the midst of that war, promoting grassroots reconciliation and working with the war victims. In 1993, many activists from nongovernmental organizations and U.N. officials met in New York to explore the possibilities of establishing a Global Peace Service to deploy volunteers with peacemaking skills at crisis points,

providing a nonviolent and nongovernmental presence as a complementary alternative to the U.N. peacekeepers. All these efforts will put the volunteers at risk. Deaths are sure to come, for mortar shells in Sarajevo do not discriminate, to say nothing about actions of assassins, death squads, or military units who might view any outsiders as enemies. But even as military personnel recognize the risks of death or injury in war, peacemakers, too, recognize that such risks must be taken if they are to have any impact at the heart of the violence.

Whereas the nonviolence activist is engaging directly in the conflict, the mediator is seeking to assist everyone in solving it. The mediating position is hardly a safe one, however. Mediators are stepping between forces of often uncontrolled violence, and in such a setting they are often accused of being on the other side and sometimes treated accordingly. Proverbs from around the world attest the dangerous position of the mediators: "The hardest blow of the fight falls on the one who steps between." "The peacemaker gets two-thirds of the blows." "The mediator is struck from both sides."[11] A mediator will also have to be willing to face the risks.

The Chinese tell the story of Wu Fong, a mandarin assigned to pacify aboriginal tribes in Taiwan who had practiced headhunting. Wu Fong slowly won their trust and persuaded them to give up headhunting. The tribal people grew to love Wu Fong as they enjoyed the peace of their new lives. Then the land was struck by a severe drought, and religious leaders said their god was angry that heads were no longer being offered in sacrifice. Wu Fong tried to turn them aside from a return to their warring ways, and after failing to dissuade them offered an alternative. At a certain time and place a Chinese man dressed in red would ride by on horseback. He could be seized and sacrificed. As Wu Fong had prophesied, it happened. The people attacked the rider and beheaded him. When the head was erected on a stake at the village, they stared in shock; it was their friend Wu Fong. From then on headhunting was never practiced again.[12] Wu Fong's willingness to sacrifice himself for the sake of peace reflects the same mediator's love seen in Christ.

There can be a tremendous cost to forging peace as well as to providing encouragement for those who must face danger as they take on the role of mediator. Saboi Jum has received death threats and had property confiscated in the pursuit of peace in Burma. Terry Waite was held captive for five years in Lebanon after U.S. political intrigue over the Iran/Contra affair put him at risk while negotiating the release of other Western hostages in Lebanon. Leaders of the

National Debate for Peace in El Salvador were put on military death lists by people who wanted to prolong the war. A mediator is extremely vulnerable, yet that vulnerability is also an asset in trying to build the trust that may lead to negotiation. Carl Upchurch sees a significant part of his trustworthiness for urban gangs in that he has no "soldiers," no armed gang members to carry out his bidding. Vulnerability creates the safe place for peace to be nurtured.

John Paul Lederach endured threats to kidnap his daughter, threats of his own assassination, detainment, interrogation, and mob violence in the process of mediating in Nicaragua. In his reflections on his experiences in Nicaragua and the choices which he as a North American had to continue in the mediation effort, he wrote:

> *The very essence of the gospel is most needed and vicariously experienced in those places where our safety, security and life may be most at risk. It is an intentional theology of choosing to take the risk of working on the ministry of reconciliation. It is choosing to make present the reconciling love of Christ in concrete ways in places where the most suspicion, animosity, and hatred exist.*[13]

The mediator is following in the footsteps of Jesus, who went to the places of human pain and hatred to incarnate God's love. The same commitment that has propelled all Christian mission drives the work of these ministers of reconciliation.

There is an additional risk when Christian individuals or mission agencies enter as outsiders into a conflict. The kind of chauvinism that assumes that we know what is best for others can cloak itself in the most noble ideals, and what can be more noble than peace? Intrusion into the conflicts of others has been carried on through recent decades by intelligence agencies which act to advance the policy objectives of their own country. Though thinking themselves above such deception and manipulation, Christians may unconsciously impose cultural or religious norms upon others which are neither helpful nor valid. As outsiders, the mediators or nonviolence practitioners seeking to express solidarity may be manipulated themselves by participants in the conflict from one side or the other.

The risks of naive intrusion can be lessened if the peacemaker is humble enough to learn and remembers that the choices belong to the people who have to live with the conflict and whatever resolution is achieved. The peacemaker coming from outside can only provide some of the tools for building the house of justice and peace, adding to the toolbox by educating, training, and providing resources, opportunities, and a broader pool of experience upon which to draw. But the choice of which tools to use and when to use them will need to be

made by the conflicted parties and by insiders who have assumed mediating roles. There is a risk here also in that people may choose to reject what we offer. Resistance movements may choose violence; our offers of mediation may not be accepted. Such choices may be painful and tragic to observe, but when they are made, they must be respected. That does not mean, however, the peacemaker gives up. The Latin American concept of *coyuntura* or "timing" needs to be remembered. The task of building peace may require perseverance, coming again and again with the offer of oneself to assist when the participants in a conflict are ready to make new efforts to find a way out of their destructive tangle.

The question of risk must ultimately be faced both by the individual peacemaker and by Christian churches and mission agencies in gospel terms. Jesus said repeatedly, "For those who want to save their life will lose it, and those who lose their life for my sake, and for the sake of the gospel, will save it" (Mark 8:35; Matthew 10:39; 16:25; Luke 9:24; 17:33; John 12:25). Transforming and reconciling power is unleashed amidst the world's conflicts when individuals and groups are willing to give of themselves in creative action rather than living merely to protect their personal or institutional lives. Life is found in laying it down. The world has been dramatically changed in the last decade because of the courage and commitment of people from every continent who have taken that risk. If Christians strengthen their resolve, deepen their spiritual roots, refine their practical understanding, and mobilize their institutional resources, the impact of their peacemaking ministry will bring even more hope into the dawning of the twenty-first century.

Appendix

The following list includes some of the organizations that are involved in peacemaking through nonviolent action or conflict resolution. To obtain further information or to participate in some of their projects, contact them at the addresses noted.

American Baptist
Peace Program
National Ministries
P.O. Box 851
Valley Forge, PA 19482

American Friends
Service Committee
1501 Cherry Street
Philadelphia, PA 19102

Baptist Peace Fellowship
of North America
499 South Patterson
Memphis, TN 38111

The Carter Center
1 Copenhill
Atlanta, GA 30307

Christian Peacemaker Teams
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Notes

Notes to the Introduction

1. The military government changed the name of Burma to Myanmar following the democracy uprising in 1988. Though "Burma" is a name given to the country by the British and "Myanmar" is the name of the nation in the Burmese language, many of the opponents to the military regime retain the use of "Burma." Ethnic minorities view the name "Myanmar" as one more instance of the imposition of the Burmese majority cultural hegemony upon the diverse peoples of the country. Democracy advocates see the military as playing up Burmese nationalism to support the legitimacy of their regime. For these reasons I will retain the use of the name "Burma" in telling the story of peacemaking in that country.

2. See John Paul Lederach, "Understanding Conflict: The Experience, Structure and Dynamics of Conflict," *MCS Conciliation Quarterly* (Summer 1987), p. 2, and Charles R. McCollough, *Resolving Conflict with Justice and Peace* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1991), pp. 32-36.

3. Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Part One, *Power and Struggle* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973), p. 4.

4. Philip McManus, "Introduction: In Search of the Shalom Society," in *Relentless Persistence: Nonviolent Action in Latin America,* edited by Philip McManus and Gerald Schlabach (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1991), p. 6.

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1. Beldon C. Lane, "Spirituality and Political Commitment: Notes on a Liberation Theology of Nonviolence," in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice*, edited by Angie O'Gorman (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1990), p. 223.

2. Vidkun Quisling was the Norwegian fascist who was installed by the Nazis as "Minister-President" during the German occupation in World War II.

3. Glen Stassen, *Just Peacemaking: Transforming Initiatives for Justice on Peace* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 37-38.

4. R. V. G. Tasker, *The Gospel According to St. Matthew* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1961), p. 70.

5. Walter Wink, *Violence and Nonviolence in South Africa* (Philadelphia: New Society Publishers, 1987), pp. 13ff.

6. Clarence Jordan, "The Lesson On the Mount—II" in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice*, p. 141. Italics are mine.

7. Wink, *Violence and Nonviolence in South Africa*, p. 15.

8. Robert Guelich, *The Sermon on the Mount* (Waco, Tex.: Word Books, 1982), p. 251.

9. The question of which garment is asked for and which is to be given up in addition is discussed in full by many commentators, but the answer does not change the impact of what Jesus is saying. In Matthew the plaintiff claims the *chiton*, a long, close-fitting undergarment. The outer garment, *himation*, is a cloak, which was viewed as an inalienable possession. The cloak was the garment referred to in the Old Testament legal codes as a pledge to be returned at night. Perhaps Matthew's Gospel envisions someone making a suit within the legal limits of the law but certainly contrary to the spirit of the law. The action of stripping completely shows the blatant hypocrisy behind such legalisms when the poor are being economically crushed by an oppressive system. Luke has this teaching in the context of a robbery, and the outer garment, the one most physically accessible, is the one demanded. Luke puts the teaching in the context of loving one's enemies rather than the legal context, which would have been alien to his non-Jewish readers. Wink uses the Lukan order with the Matthean context, but this is not necessary to understand the transforming initiative Jesus presents.

10. Wink, *Violence and Nonviolence in South Africa,* p. 19.

11. Ibid., p. 21.

12. Following Esther's successful appeal and the downfall of Haman, the Jews engaged in a slaughter of 75,000 followers of Haman who had been poised to carry out their own pogrom, showing that nonviolence was a mere tactic and not a philosophy in this case.

13. Commentators and translations disagree over whether the whip was used on people or on the livestock. The Greek text of John is ambiguous at this point. Raymond Brown (*The Gospel According to John, I-XII* [Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday and Company, 1966], p. 115) holds that since no sticks or weapons were allowed in the Temple precincts, the whip was probably made from the rushes used as bedding for the animals. Such a whip would not be effective for violent acts but would be a helpful tool in driving animals.

Notes to Chapter 2

1. See my book *Bringing Your Church Back to Life: Beyond Survival Mentality* (Valley Forge, Pa.: Judson Press, 1988) for that story 2. Stassen, *Just Peacemaking,* pp. 77-81.

3. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait* (Harper and Row, 1964), p. 83.

4. See David W. Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures: Pathways and Patterns* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox Press, 1992), pp. 200-205 for a comparison of modern Western and traditional styles of mediation.

5. See the end of Gideon's career in Judges 8:22-28 and the violence precipitated by his son Abimelech's grab for power in Judges 9:1-57.

6. Eating meat with blood still in it, a result of strangulation, was expressly forbidden in Jewish law because "its blood is its life" (Leviticus 17:10-14).

Notes to Chapter 3

1. Margaret Bacon, "Let Me Be the One: Mary Dyer, Witness to Religious Liberty," in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice,* p. 12.

2. Paul Deker's *For the Healing of the Nations: Baptist Peacemakers* (Macon, Ga.: Smyth & Helwys, 1993) is one inspiring collection of peace and justice "saint stories" from the Baptist traditions.

3. John Woolman, "Considerations on the Payment of a Tax Laid for

Carrying on the War Against the Indians," in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice*, p. 28.

4. Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action,* Part Three, *The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action* (Boston: Porter Sargent Publishers, 1973), pp. 613-614.

5. Ibid., p. 794. Charles K. Whipple argued in the early 1800s that the violent phase of the American revolution both delayed independence and resulted in a staggering cost in lives, property, and morality, a case supported by some contemporary historians. See Charles K. Whipple, "Evils of the Revolutionary War," in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice,* p. 65. See also Walter H. Conser, Jr., et. al., ed., *Resistance, Politics and the American Struggle for Independence* (Boulder, Colo.: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 1987).

6. Maggie Fisher, "Harriet Tubman: Liberator," in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice,* p. 81.

7. Margaret Hope Bacon, "I Ask No Favor For My Sex: Lucretia Mott and Non-Resistance," in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice,* p. 85.

8. Jill Wallis, "The British FOR and the International Movement," *Fellowship* (October 1989), p. 5.

9. Dallas Lee, "Clarence Jordan: A Biographical Sketch," in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice,* p. 135.

10. Howard Zinn, *A People's History of the United States* (New York: HarperCollins, 1980), pp. 322ff.

11. Roger Velásquez, "Yes, It Can Be Done: In Remembrance of Cesar Chavez," *The Baptist Peacemaker* (Summer 1993), p. 11.

12. Quoted in Louis Fischer, ed., *The Essential Gandhi* (New York: Random House, 1962), p. 110.

13. See Eknath Easwaran, *A Man to Match His Mountains: Badshah Khan, Nonviolent Soldier of Islam* (Petaluma, Calif.: Nilgiri Press, 1984).

14. Ibid., p. 111.

15. Ibid., p. 122.

16. Ibid., p. 123, and Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action*, Part Three, p. 675.

17. Easwaran, *A Man to Match His Mountains,* p. 125.

18. Quoted in Fischer, ed., *The Essential Gandhi,* p. 169.

19. Ibid., p. 201.

20. Ibid., p. 199.

21. Ibid., p. 342.

22. Ibid., p. 176.

23. Ibid., p. 205.

24. Ibid., p. 286.

25. Ibid., p. 154.

26. Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action,* Part One, p. 28.

27. Quoted in Peter R. Breggin, *Beyond Conflict: From Self-Help and Psychotherapy to Peacemaking* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992), p. 175.

28. Quoted in Fischer, ed., *The Essential Gandhi,* p. 190.

29. Ibid., pp. 155-156.

30. Ibid., p. 298.

31. Aldon Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change* (New York: The Free Press, 1984), pp. 141-157.

32. John Swomley, "F.O.R.'s Early Efforts for Racial Equality," *Fellowship* (July/August 1990), pp. 7-9.

33. Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement,* p. 146.
34. Ibid., p. 51.
35. Martin Luther King, Jr., *Strength to Love* (Philadelphia: Fortress Press, 1963), pp. 54-55.
36. See Morris, *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement,* p. 77.
37. Susan Kling, "Baptism by Fire: The Story of Fannie Lou Hamer," in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice,* p. 153.
38. Martin Luther King, Jr., "I Have a Dream," in *A Testament of Hope: The Essential Writings and Speeches of Martin Luther King, Jr.,* ed. James M. Washington (New York: HarperCollins Publishers, 1986), p. 219.
39. Martin Luther, King, Jr., *Why We Can't Wait,* pp. 79-80.
40. King, *Strength to Love,* p. 54.
41. Martin Luther King, Jr., *The Trumpet of Conscience* (New York: Harper and Row, 1968), pp. 24, 32.
42. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Beyond Vietnam," reprinted in *Sojourners* (January 1983), p. 15.
43. Ibid., p. 12.
44. King, *Why We Can't Wait,* p. 79.
45. Ibid., p. 39.
46. Zinn, *A People's History of the United States,* pp. 475-477.
47. Ibid., p. 477.
48. Ibid., p. 486.
49. Martin Luther King, Jr., "Declaration of Independence From the War in Vietnam," A. J. Muste Memorial Institute Essay Series, No. 1 (New York: A. J. Muste Memorial Institute), p. 44.
50. Initially CALC stood for "Clergy and Laymen Concerned," but the name was changed due to a growing awareness of sexist language.

Notes to Chapter 4

1. *Perestroika* means "restructuring" in Russian and was the term used to signify the political, economic, and social changes brought about in the Soviet Union under the leadership of Mikhail Gorbachev.
2. "Catholic Bishops: Medellin Declaration (1968)," in *The Central American Crisis Reader,* edited by Robert S. Leiken and Barry Rubin (New York: Summit Books, 1987), p. 126.
3. Quoted in Penny Lernoux, *Cry of the People* (New York: Penguin Books, 1980), p. 438.
4. Ibid., p. 74.
5. See "The Greatest Love: An Interview with Jon Sobrino," *Sojourners* (April 1990), p. 19.
6. Lernoux, *Cry of the People,* p. 76.
7. Joyce Hollyday, "A Martyr's Abiding Hope," *Sojourners* (May 1980), p. 3.
8. Archbishop Oscar Romero, "A Pastor's Last Homily," *Sojourners* (May 1980), p. 16.
9. Scott Wright, Minor Sinclair, Margaret Lyle, and David Scott, eds., *El Salvador: A Spring Whose Waters Never Run Dry* (Washington, D.C.: Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean [EPICA], 1990), p. 73.
10. McManus, "Introduction: In Search of the Shalom Society," in *Relentless Persistence,* p. 82.
11. Blanca Yáñez Berríos and Omor Williams Lopez, "Cultural Action for

Liberation in Chile," in *Relentless Persistence,* pp. 122-124.

12. The full story is told by Wilson T. Boots in "Miracle in Bolivia: Four Women Confront a Nation," in *Relentless Persistence,* pp. 48-61.

13. Edmond Mulet, "The Palace Coup that Failed," *Campesino* (Summer 1993), p. 3.

14. "Ecuadorean Indians Protest Rights Abuse," *Fellowship* (October/November 1992), p. 11.

15. Michael T. Kaufman, *Mad Dreams and Saving Graces* (New York: Random House, 1989), pp. 140-141, quoted in Niels Nielsen, *Revolutions in Eastern Europe* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991), p. 76.

16. Stassen, *Just Peacemaking*, p. 23.

17. Ibid., p. 25.

18. See Robert Goeckel, "The Evangelical-Lutheran Church and the East German Revolution," in *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe* (November 1990).

19. Vincent and Jane Kavoloski, "Moral Power and the Czech Revolution, *Fellowship* (January/February 1992), p. 10.

20. Nielsen, *Revolutions in Eastern Europe,* p. 87.

21. Jo Becker, "Lithuania's Nonviolent Struggle," *Fellowship* (December 1990), p. 21.

22. Douglas J. Elwood, *Philippine Revolution 1986* (Quezon City, Philippines: New Day Publishers, 1986), p. 16.

23. Ibid., pp. 3-4.

24. Ibid., p. 30.

25. See Bertil Linter's *Outrage: Burma's Struggle for Democracy* (Hong Kong: Review Publishing Company, 1989) for a detailed account of the democracy uprising in Burma.

26. Aung San Suu Kyi, *Freedom From Fear and Other Writings,* edited by Michael Aris (London, England: Viking Press, 1991), p. 184.

27. Ma Than E, "A Flowering of the Spirit: Memories of Suu and Her Family," in *Freedom From Fear and Other Writings,* p. 256.

28. Shen Tong, one of the student leaders of the democracy movement, provides a compelling inside view of the events in Beijing in 1989 in *Almost a Revolution* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1990).

29. See Gordon D. Aeschliman, *Apartheid: Tragedy in Black and White* (Ventura, Calif.: Regal Books, 1986), pp. 80-81 and 93-97, for a discussion of the church roots of apartheid.

30. From an interview with Frank Chikane in *Sojourners* (September 1988), p. 25.

31. Jane Perlez, "Zambia's Democratic Shock to Africa," *New York Times* (November 5, 1991), p. A14.

32. Jean Zaru, "The Intifada, Nonviolence, and the Bible," in *Faith and the Intifada: Palestinian Christian Voices,* edited by Naim S. Ateek, Marc Ellis, and Rosemary Radford Ruether (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1992), p. 127.

33. The Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence has documented that 95 percent of the actions urged in leaflets from the United Command for the Intifada/PLO are nonviolent. Rock throwing and use of knives and molotov cocktails are urged in 5 percent of the leaflets.

34. Quoted in Terry Rogers, "Beit Sahour: A Model of Resistance," *Fellowship* (June 1990), p. 10.

35. Munir Fasheh, "Reclaiming Our Identity and Redefining Ourselves,"

in *Faith and the Intifada*, p. 65.

36. Zoughbi Elias Zoughbi, "Faith, Nonviolence and the Palestinian Struggle," in *Faith and the Intifada,* p. 102.

37. Ibid., p. 106.

38. Melanie Morrison, "Hollanditis Up Close," *Sojourners* (February 1982), p. 24.

39. See Chapter 5 in Glen Stassen's *Just Peacemaking* for a behind-the-scenes report on the development of the INF Treaty.

40. Ed Griffin-Nolan, *Witness for Peace* (Louisville: Westminster/John Knox, 1991), p. 25.

41. Vicki Kemper, "Guilty of the Gospel," *Sojourners* (June 1986), p. 8.

42. King, *Why We Can't Wait,* p. 39.

43. The story is told in more detail in Vera Kadaeva's article, "At the Barricades with the Gospel," in *The Baptist Peacemaker* (Winter 1991/Spring 1992), p. 25.

44. "There Comes a Time...," *Koinonia South Africa Newsletter* (April-June 1989), p. 4.

45. *Myanmar* (Amnesty International Publications, 1990), p. 24, and *Myanmar, Amnesty International Briefing* (Amnesty International Publications, 1990), pp. 5, 13.

46. Mark Elliott, "László Tökés, Timisoara and the Romanian Revolution," *Occasional Papers on Religion in Eastern Europe* (October 1990), p. 26.

Notes to Chapter 5

1. Barry Hart, "Conflict/Division/Reconciliation," in *Blueprint for Social Justice,* Volume XLI, No. 5 (New Orleans: Institute of Human Relations, Loyola University, January 1988), p. 3.

2. Dean G. Pruitt, "Trends in the Scientific Study of Negotiation and Mediation," *Negotiation Journal,* Vol. 2, No. 3 (July 1986), p. 237.

3. James Laue, "The Emergence and Institutionalization of Third Party Roles in Conflict," *Conflict Resolution: Track Two Diplomacy,* edited by John W. McDonald, Jr., and Diane B. Bondahmane (Washington, D.C.: Foreign Services Institute, U.S. Department of State, 1987), p. 23.

4. Hart, "Conflict/Division/Reconciliation," pp. 4-5.

5. See Landrum R. Bolling, "Quaker Work in the Middle East after the June 1967 War," and C. H. "Mike" Yarrow, "Quaker Efforts Toward Conciliation in the India-Pakistan War of 1965," in *Unofficial Diplomats,* edited by Maureen R. Berman and Joseph E. Johnson (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977).

6. See Peter S. Adler, "Is ADR a Social Movement?," *Negotiation Journal,* Vol. 3, No. 1 (January 1987), pp. 66-67 for a fuller discussion of these criticisms.

7. Roger Fisher and William Ury, *Getting to Yes: Negotiating Agreement Without Giving In* (New York: Penguin Books, 1981).

8. Ibid., pp. 17-39.

9. Ibid., pp. 40-55.

10. Ibid., pp. 58-80.

11. Ibid., 81-94.

12. John Paul Lederach, "The Mediator's Cultural Assumption," *MCS Conciliation Quarterly* (Summer 1986), p. 4.

13. See John Paul Lederach, "Transformation from Within: Peacemaking in the East Coast of Nicaragua: Or, The Conflict in Nicaragua's Atlantic

Coast: An Inside View of War and Peacemaking," draft text for inclusion in a book, *Approaches to Peacemaking in Chronic Conflicts*, for the U.S. Institute for Peace/George Fox College Center for Peace, pp. 35-57. Used by permission from author.

14. Augsburger, *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures*, p. 153.
15. Ibid., pp. 157-159.
16. Laue, "The Emergence and Institutionalization of Third Party Roles in Conflict," p. 26.
17. Paul Wehr and John Paul Lederach, "Mediating Conflict in Central America," *Journal of Peace Research,* Vol. 28, No. 1 (February 1991), pp. 88-90.
18. Hizkias Assefa, *Mediation of Civil Wars: Approaches and Strategies—The Sudan Conflict* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1987), pp. 139-140, 146, 178.
19. See "Mideast Miracle Makes Headlines for a Diplomat from the North," *U.N. Observer and International Report* (September 1993), p. 15, and "Old Foes Met on a Secret Path," *The Philadelphia Inquirer* (September 5, 1993), pp. 1-2.
20. Wehr and Lederach, "Mediating Conflict in Central America," pp. 94, 97, and Lederach, "Transformation from Within," pp. 35-57.
21. See Hizkias Assefa's *Mediation of Civil Wars: Approaches and Strategies—The Sudan Conflict* for a detailed account and analysis of the mediation process that ended the civil war in Sudan.
22. Ibid., p. 175.
23. For a more complete version of the peace process and the role of Longri Ao, see *Longri Ao: A Biography* by O. M. Rao (Guwahati, Assam (India): Christian Literature Centre, 1986).
24. Ibid., p. 79.
25. Ibid., p. 80.
26. Ibid., p. 81.
27. Ibid., p. 151.
28. See Jimmy Carter's *Keeping Faith: Memoirs of a President* (New York: Bantam Books, 1982), pp. 269-429, for a detailed description of the Camp David negotiations and related developments.
29. Ibid., pp. 315-316.
30. Ibid., p. 359.
31. Ibid., p. 358.
32. Ibid., p. 392.
33. Ibid., p. 399.

Notes to Chapter 6

1. Wehr and Lederach, "Mediating Conflict in Central America," pp. 90-91.
2. Lederach, "Transformation from Within," p. 7.
3. John Paul Lederach, "Missionaries Facing Conflict and Violence: Problems and Prospects," *Missiology: An International Review,* Vol. XX, No. 1 (January 1992), pp. 11-12; and Andy Stone, "Our Man in Managua," *The Sunday Camera Magazine* (May 29, 1988), p. 10. During the Iran/Contra hearings other CIA efforts to undermine peace efforts were revealed in the testimony of Robert Owen of the National Security Council that MISURASATA, an Atlantic Coast resistance organization, had been bribed with $100,000 to break off negotiations in 1985 (Lederach, "Transformation from Within," p. 20).

4. Dave Brubaker, "International Mediation: An Unexpected Role," *MCS Conciliation Quarterly* (Spring 1988), p. 5.

5. *Condoning the Killing: Ten Years of Massacres in El Salvador,* edited by the Ecumenical Program on Central America and the Caribbean (Washington, D.C.: EPICA, 1990), p. 67.

6. Quoted in the unpublished paper "National Debate for Peace in El Salvador," from the National Debate for Peace in El Salvador.

7. H. Wayne Pipkin, ed., *Seek Peace and Pursue It* (Memphis: Baptist Peace Fellowship of North America, 1989), pp. 179-180.

8. Carter, *Keeping Faith,* p. 426.

9. "United Nations Peace-Keeping Operations: Information Notes," Department of Public Information, United Nations (September 1992), p. 2.

10. The United Nations Association, 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, New York 10017 can provide up-to-date information on the status of U.S. financial support of the U.N. as well as other information on the status of U.S. policies in relation to the U.N.

Notes to Chapter 7

1. This story is told in *The Universe Bends Toward Justice,* p. 15.

2. Interview with Larry Trapp and Michael Weisser by Daniel S. Levy, "The Cantor and the Klansman," *Time* (February 17, 1992), p. 14.

3. Kenneth W. Morgan, "A Fist and a Kiss in Old Damascus," Letters to the Editor, *New York Times* (January 30, 1991).

4. See the August 1993 issue of *Sojourners* for an extensive report on the gang summit.

5. Arty de Silva, "A 'Sign of the Kingdom' in Sri Lanka," *Seek Peace and Pursue It,* p. 195.

6. Jean Martensen, "Mediation in the Junior High School," *Peace Petitions: News for ELCA Peacemakers* (Spring 1993).

7. *New York Times* (May 14, 1992), p. 1.

8. "General Facts About Domestic Violence," National Woman Abuse Prevention Project. This resource is available in the *Family Violence Packet* from National Ministries, American Baptist Churches, U.S.A., P.O. Box 851, Valley Forge, PA 19482-0851.

9. See Joyce Hollyday, "Amazing Grace," *Sojourners* (July 1989), pp. 12-22; Kim Christman and Stan Dotson, "Beyond Jackrocks and Prayer," *The Baptist Peacemaker* (Spring 1990), pp. 6-7; and Denise Giardina, "No End in Sight," *Sojourners* (November 1989), pp. 8-10.

10. Hollyday, "Amazing Grace," p. 17.

Notes to Chapter 8

1. Francisco F. Claver, "What Happened to the Philippines?" *Fellowship* (July/August 1989), p. 6.

2. James Cone's masterful book, *Martin and Malcolm and America* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1991), provides an insightful analysis of Martin Luther King's strengths and weaknesses, growth and accomplishments. The comparison with Malcolm X is not only historically valuable but helps to reveal the weakness in the civil rights movement and some of the challenges ahead in confronting racial injustice. See Billy J. Tidwell, ed., *The State of Black America 1993* (New York: The National Urban League, 1993) for a detailed analysis of the economic, political, and social status of African Americans today.

3. Morton Deutsch, "A Theoretical Perspective on Conflict and Conflict Resolution," *Conflict Management and Problem Solving: Interpersonal to International Applications,* edited by Dennis J. D. Sandole and Ingrid Sandole-Staroste (Washington Square, N.Y.: New York University Press, 1987), p. 39.

4. Maire A. Dugan, "Intervener Roles and Conflict Pathologies," *Conflict Management and Problem Solving,* p. 58.

5. Sam Keene has effectively documented and analyzed the way we distort the enemy so we can engage in war and organized slaughter in his book *Faces of the Enemy: Reflections of the Hostile Imagination* (New York: Harper and Row, 1986).

6. Elias Chacour, *Blood Brothers* (Old Tappan, N.J.: Chosen Books, 1984), p. 222.

7. Charles R. McCollough's *Resolving Conflict with Justice and Peace* (New York: The Pilgrim Press, 1991) would make an excellent text for group study. It contains fourteen sessions to provide a solid basis in the practice of conflict resolution. *A Bible Study Guide on Conflict Resolution* by Daniel Buttry is a six-session workbook for church groups to use; it is available through National Ministries Literature Resources, P. O. Box 851, Valley Forge, Pennsylvania 19482.

8. Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action,* Part Three p. 543.

9. Adolfo Pérez Esquivel, *Christ in a Poncho* (Maryknoll, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 1983), pp. 20-21.

10. John Dear, "The Road to Transformation: A Conversation with Brian Willson," *Fellowship* (March 1990), p. 4.

11. Scottish, Montenegrin, and Kurdish proverbs quoted in Augsburger's *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures,* p. 191.

12. Told in Augsburger's *Conflict Mediation Across Cultures,* pp. 188-189.

13. Lederach, "Missionaries Facing Conflict and Violence," p. 15.

Index

Christian Peacemaking

From Heritage to Hope

In this thorough and definitive work on the peace movement, author Daniel Buttry offers historical and biblical background as well as a report of recent and continuing community, national, and international happenings. From his firsthand experience he brings insight into the efforts for peace and justice in such areas as Nicaragua, El Salvador, Myanmar (Burma), and India. Citing powerful stories of individual peacemakers throughout the world, Buttry includes in this study particular consideration of:

- nonviolence
- conflict resolution
- mediation

He brings the topic to a personal level, providing both inspiration and concrete possibilities for action. In this unique undertaking, Buttry encourages individuals to get involved and illuminates the role of churches to help carry peacemaking into the twenty-first century.

Daniel L. Buttry is Director of the Peace Program, National Ministries, American Baptist Churches in the U. S. A. and is their Non-Governmental Organizations Representative to the United Nations. He holds a B.A. degree from Wheaton College and an M.Div. degree from Gordon-Conwell Theological Seminary. Along with his active involvement in several peace organizations he has written widely on peacemaking. He is also author of the Judson Press bestseller *Bringing Your Church Back to Life: Beyond Survival Mentality.*

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