



# PLUMB LINE

THE NEWSLETTER OF  
ELIZABETHTOWN COLLEGE ALUMNI PEACE FELLOWSHIP

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## SOUTH AFRICA TRANSFORMED, YET STRUGGLING

CS Lewis once wrote that “courage is not merely one of the virtues, but the form of every virtue at the sticking point – that is, at the point of highest reality.” Courage is two things: the ability to *know* what is right, and the *doing* of it at the moment it is most needed – and, usually, most challenged.

President de Klerk is one of the world’s leading voices for peace and justice, not just because of a singular act, but because of a lifelong practice of Courage. In particular, the arc of his life has shown three dimensions of courage. The first, and perhaps most forgotten, is the Courage to live through the system of racial segregation known as *apartheid* with an intact – indeed, finely developed – moral sense.

Frederik Willem de Klerk was born into a system of racial categorization not of his making. I do not have the space here to review the history of racial policies in South Africa, and few who have not experienced *apartheid* directly can understand the depths of its injustice – our own American experiences with Jim Crow were in many ways but a shadow of it. And yet, to live in such an environment and emerge with the moral vision to champion individual rights for all on the basis of equality before the law – that, in and of itself, is an act of extraordi-



nary courage. Anybody who has seen the impact of living with injustice on victims and victimizers alike knows that few escape such circumstances with fully-functional moral compasses.

In this act of Courage, President de Klerk has been joined by what, to American eyes, is an astonishing number of his fellow countrymen, particularly Afrikaners. In my travels in South Africa, I have met many whites, Afrikaner and English, who have opened their hearts and their lives to their black neighbors in the years since 1990. I have seen black and white children playing hand in hand, in ways that we still do not mirror in the US today. There is a word in Afrikaans that does not translate well into English: *verby*. It means, as well as my poor translation skills can render it, gone past, forever rendered behind us. If America is stuck in William Faulker’s famous aphorism – “The past isn’t dead. It isn’t even past.” – then Afrikaners have responded with a far more courageous refrain: *Apartheid is verby*.

The survival of this moral compass – the ability to understand and reach out to the other – enabled President de Klerk’s second dimension of Courage: one of the greatest acts of political courage in modern history. Most have a basic sense of the sequence of events, but two aspects of the remarkable South African transformation are often missed: the speed with which transformation was

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## A SUDAN SUMMER

*Editor’s Note: Melanie Blevins, ‘08 was recipient of the ECAPF 2007 Student Peace Award and thanks ECAPF for making possible her flight to the Sudan and this rewarding experience.*

Amazing, beautiful, scary, wonderful, heart-breaking. These are some of the words I would use to describe my 2 ½ month stay in Nimule, Southern Sudan this past summer. Despite being stricken with malaria twice, almost getting arrested, and being offered cows in exchange for marriage about a hundred times, it was one of the most amazing experiences of my life. I lived on the Catholic Diocese of Torit compound with the three other people who went with me, along with four Catholic priests. From our compound it was a 5-minute walk to the Sudanese/Ugandan border.

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### Third Annual Peace Fellow: November 11-13

The Alumni Peace Fellowship Residency Committee is pleased to announce Dr. Caroline Hartzell as the 2008 Peace Fellow. Dr. Hartzell, Associate Professor in Political Science at Gettysburg College, will develop the theme of the visit around her most recent publication, *Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Resolution of Civil Wars*. For more information, please contact Karen Hodges at [hodgesk@etown.edu](mailto:hodgesk@etown.edu).

To read a review of the book, see page 3.

**TRANSFORMED** – *continued from page 1*

initiated, and the immediately foreseeable consequences, both for President de Klerk and for his political party, of starting that process. Mr. de Klerk took office as President of the Republic of South Africa in September 1989. As if to demonstrate the wisdom of Martin Luther King's adage that "The time is always right to do what is right", *less than five months later* – on February 2, 1990, barely a blink of an eye in political time – he stood before the Parliament of South Africa and gave a speech that ended *apartheid*, freed all political prisoners, and established a singular premise – equality of all South Africans before the law, regardless of race – as *the* basis of negotiations on a new Constitution. In so doing, he knew very well that he was throwing himself, and his party, out of political power forever, in the name of doing what was right. If there is a better example of Lewis's "sticking point" at which virtue becomes courage, I don't know what it is.

The story of the South African transformation from 1990 through the multiracial elections in 1994 and the Constitution of 1996 is well known. Having successfully steered his country through one of the most difficult and successful political transformations in modern history, President de Klerk had surely earned the right to a well-deserved and comfortable retirement. But his habit of Courage has remained. He took his Nobel Prize money and established the FW de Klerk Foundation, which continues to champion justice for all in South Africa and to advocate for the recogni-

tion of rights and the peaceful resolution of conflicts in multi-ethnic societies around the world. A quick glance at the list of speeches posted to his Foundation's website demonstrates that, far from resting on his laurels, President de Klerk continues to speak out on the crucial issues of our time, combining the practical wisdom of a seasoned and successful leader with the courage of his convictions for justice and a better way.

These conversations are sorely needed both in South Africa and around the world today. While the South African transformation was astounding in its relatively peaceful handover of power to a multi-racial democracy, the country continues to suffer serious problems. Crime has skyrocketed, with no apparent end in sight. Infrastructure, particularly the electrical power system, is crumbling. Education has not caught up, and many black students today are in schools little better than they were under *apartheid*. Some of these problems are simply ones of scale, but some stem from corruption and the desire of a new cadre of elites to make off with the spoils of "victory" quickly. There are also serious and continuing questions of racism – from both white *and* black points of view. While the Truth and Reconciliation Commission accomplished much, much remains to be done.

- R. William Ayres, Director  
Center for Global Citizenship

### **ECAPF Mission Statement: A Continuing Evolution**

In the early days of the Alumni Peace Fellowship (summer 2005), two of our original members wrote our first mission statement. We thought of it as an early draft that would evolve over time. It wasn't until May 2008 that the ECAPF Steering Committee, at their spring meeting, revisited the original statement and approved an amended version. The Committee would like to share it with readers of *Plumb Line*.

### **Elizabethtown College Alumni Peace Fellowship Mission Statement**

*Founded by members of the Church of the Brethren, Elizabethtown College affirms the values of peace, non-violence, human dignity, and social justice, and seeks to make those values manifest in the global community.*

*--From the Elizabethtown College Mission Statement*

The Elizabethtown College Alumni Peace Fellowship is a community of alumni responsive to the enduring relevance of the College's peace identity. Believing this aspect of our legacy to be of profound significance in the contemporary world, the Fellowship seeks to affirm and promote the values of peace, non-violence, human dignity, and social justice in the global community, as stated in the College Mission Statement.

The peace vision passed on to us was adapted through three centuries to meet the realities of each new era. In these early years of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century, aware of ever more rapid changes and new challenges to peace, the Fellowship commits to explore the relevance of these values today. In the spirit of global citizenship, the Fellowship will join with the College to engage in dialogue with ever wider circles of those who share the passion for peace and justice.

The Alumni Peace Fellowship commits itself to the

disciplined exploration of the great and abiding issues of war and peace. It will explore the relevance of service to the vision of peace and will examine the economic demands that peace-making requires of individuals, nations and international agencies.

We affirm as integral to peace a reverent and committed stewardship of the Earth: the loving, long-term care—as a Fellowship and as a human community—to preserve, protect and heal.

We believe that the preparation of college men and women for global citizenship lies not in polarization, but in respectful listening and dialogue, in serious study, and in a sustained and sustaining relationship to one's chosen religious identity or world view.

We affirm this statement of our mission in a spirit of affection and gratitude for Elizabethtown College and its gift to us. (Revised 5/08)

**BOOK REVIEW:**

A Critical Review of Crafting Peace: Power-Sharing Institutions and the Negotiated Settlement of Civil Wars by Caroline A. Hartzell and Matthew Hoddie (Penn State Press, 2007)

Crafting Peace is an attempt to contribute to the scholarly debate on the challenging issue of negotiated settlements after civil wars. It is a product of the search for factors that secure long-term peace in the aftermath of civil wars.

The need to analyze the factors that make the difference between successful peace implementation and failure is not merely theoretical. In the post-cold war era, in Rwanda, Somalia, Angola, and in many other places, the failure to get warring parties to live up to their peace agreements has caused various human tragedies. As such, bringing an end to intra-state conflicts and building a long-lasting peace have become an important policy agenda of the international community.

Hartzell and Hoddie start their analysis by attracting our attention to the finding that negotiation has become a favored method of conflict resolution since the end of the cold war. The authors agreeably claim that resolving a civil war requires much more than reaching a bargain and then instituting a cease-fire. Their comprehensive review of all civil wars ended via negotiations between 1945 and 1999 suggests that negotiated settlements that address the question of who will hold and exercise state power are likely to produce an enduring peace. They emphasize the role of power-sharing and power-dividing institutions in the conflict resolution process.

Crafting Peace employs both quantitative and qualitative methods to investigate the entire settlement negotiation process – i.e. the decision to initiate negotiations, the institution-building stage, and the implementation of these arrangements. The authors innovatively suggest that civil war peace settlements should incorporate economic, political, territorial, and military power-sharing and power-dividing institutions among former adversaries. They maintain that the nature of the conflict – stakes of the conflict, conflict duration, and conflict intensity; the domestic and international wartime environments; as well as the terms of the settlement affect the combatants' perceptions of negotiated settlements as both desirable and feasible.

Hartzell and Hoddie conduct case studies of Angola and the Philippines to illustrate the validity of their assumptions. They compellingly propose that reconstituting state authority through the creation of government institutions that balance power among contending groups may prevent any one party from accumulating sufficient power to exercise authority on its own.

However, the book does not clearly distinguish power-sharing and power-dividing institutions. There are also a number of possible challenges to power-sharing. As the authors concede, how long-lasting

the peace will be after negotiated settlements remains to be seen, since they are relatively recent.

Institutional arrangements may create some possibilities for post-treaty exploitation. Once groups send their soldiers home, lay down their weapons, and surrender occupied territory, they become extremely vulnerable to a surprise attack. A number of unsuccessful examples of power-sharing agreements, such as the ones in Cyprus (1963) and Lebanon (1975), demonstrate that these settlements may eventually result in political gridlock, democratic breakdown, and renewed conflict.

Additionally, several essential factors influencing the civil war settlements were excluded in Crafting Peace. Their power-sharing institutions theory assumes two former adversarial groups to be unified within themselves. But it is hardly the case in real civil war environments. Also, some peace implementations are inherently easier than others. One needs to know in which part of the world that specific territory is located, who the neighboring states are, and what the political cultures of the combatants are like.

As suggested by some critics of the power-sharing theory, institutional arrangements may be inflexible and are unlikely to promote stability in the long term. Crafting Peace does not address the following question: how to transform the inflexible institutional structures that are necessary to convince each of the parties to sign a settlement in the highly tense postwar environment into more liberal institutions that are necessary to bring peace and stability over time?

Furthermore, the need for third-party involvement in post-conflict resolution is a significant factor that is assigned a minor role in the book. For peace settlements to succeed, a trustworthy, powerful, and deeply committed outside party is necessary to guarantee the peace settlement and the safety and survival of both sides.

Overall, Crafting Peace fills a significant vacuum in the literature on post-conflict reconstruction. Very little scholarly attention has been devoted to the immediate challenges of implementing peace agreements once they are concluded.

Conducting a cross-national analysis, Crafting Peace offers many practical lessons highlighting the significance of institutional designs in resolving civil conflicts. It provides a cautious optimism for the resolution of conflicts and a thorough analysis of a crucial area of international relations affecting ethnic relations and stability in the aftermath of civil wars.

- **Oya Dursun-Ozkanca**  
Assistant Professor of Political Science  
Elizabethtown College

## ECAPF PROFILES

### Jim Hamilton '67

It was a great pleasure to receive literature on the Elizabethtown College Alumni Peace Fellowship inviting me to join. I am happy to be included as a member. I had been in correspondence with Professor Donald Kraybill during the Nickel Mines killings episode. In his reply to my e-mail he mentioned this group and suggested that I might wish to join. At the time I thought the example of the Amish immediately forgiving the perpetrator of the Nickel Mines massacre was worthy of public attention.

I am a native of Elizabethtown. My two aunts, first cousin and brother are also alumni of Elizabethtown College. Many of my high school classmates are E-town graduates as well.

Most of my career has been devoted to improving accountability in government and training government auditors. For ten years I worked for the International Division of the U.S. Government Accountability Office, investigative watchdog of the U.S. Congress. For the remaining 18 years of my career I worked in the Audit Office of the International Monetary Fund [IMF] introducing operational and value-for-money audits there. Since retiring in 2000 I have had the privilege to work on development assistance projects in five countries to train government auditors and improve accountability and systems for reducing waste, fraud and abuse of national resources.

Any actions we may take as a concerned group to persuade our fellow citizens to settle conflicts other than by war may be the greatest contribution we can make as alumni of Elizabethtown College.



### Doris R. Large, '62

I am a graduate of Elizabethtown College, a retired Business Education teacher and an involved member of the Waynesboro (PA) Church of the Brethren. My strong interests are with people and helping the less fortunate, as well as in the subjects of peace, nature, travel and music. I serve on the board of The Lunch Place where people who are needy are served noontime meals, and the Red Hats Society is a social group I also enjoy.



Peace to me means being raised in a peaceful home by older parents who wanted an old-fashioned family and with strong ties to a church with a peace background. In 1969 I became a Peace Corps teacher serving for a year in a Catholic school on the island of St. Vincent. Now I live in the house my grandfather helped to build in 1896-97.

My interest is not just in nonviolence but all types of peace and trying to live peacefully with most people. We must have peace within and constantly try to extend it to others and the world by treating others as we wish to be treated. I also think both to simplify and to be quiet strengthen inner peace.

### Doug Wisner, '04

I am a member of the Class of 2004 and joined ECAPF just after graduation. I am also a member of the Church of the Brethren, the denomination upon whose principles the peace emphasis of the college was founded. Because peace and non-violence have been a part of my life philosophy for many years, I decided to contribute my time and effort as an alumnus to ECAPF.



Recently married, I attained my MD this year from Penn State. I am beginning an internship at Albert Einstein Medical Center in Philadelphia and will pursue sub-specialization in ophthalmology at Wills Eye Institute the following year. As a physician with an interest in outreach and peace efforts, I am a member of Physicians for Social Responsibility and have been on surgical mission trips. I look forward to involvement with other alumni in fulfilling ECAPF's mission.

## A COLLEGE COMMITTED TO ENVIRONMENTAL SUSTAINABILITY

A concern for the environment is nothing new for Elizabethtown College, but it certainly has taken center stage in recent years. From student groups to academic departments to administrative branches, groups all over campus recognize the centrality of protecting Mother Earth within the College's commitment to be "a community of learners dedicated to educating students intellectually, socially, and ethically for lives of service and leadership as citizens of the world." In the future ECAPF will be partnering with one of these groups, the Elizabethtown College Environmental Group (ECEG), to look at ways we can continue to promote an even greater respect for the environment within the Elizabethtown College community.

Since its inception in 2005, this grassroots organization has helped reduce the amount of plastic used in our dining facilities, built up our campus-wide recycling program, and led a public awareness

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## SUDAN – continued from page 1

A typical day consisted of being awakened by a turkey named Tom at about 6:30 am; taking tea; walking or taking a bora-bora to school; teaching music or giving a women's rights and puberty workshop; walking home for lunch; going back to school for football and netball practice; helping to make dinner at the compound with Mama, Mama Jaquie, and Lee-Lee; eating dinner with the priests; and finally finishing off the evening by watching WWE smackdown wrestling with the priests. (It was their favorite show once they were able to buy the satellite...next to world news.)

At school and on the compound I met some of the most amazing people who lived through more than I could ever imagine. Father Andrew lived through being arrested and taken to the bush by SPLA soldiers and an LRA attack on his Ugandan parish, and went on to save the lives of over 90 women during the Sudanese civil war by sneaking them over the Ugandan border. He survived beatings, questionings, and countless allegations of treason from the SPLA in order to bring the Word of God to the great many people who would attend the two masses held by the local church. He preached in a church without a cross on it so as not to attract the attention of bombing planes, and the masses had only a homily so as to not risk the lives of the attendees any more than necessary.

Mama Jaquie used her incredible amount of courage to stand up for herself and do something that women in Africa could be killed for in many tribes. She lived in Uganda, and when she had her daughter, Jaquie, there were complications so she had to stay in the hospital. When she arrived home, she found that her husband had taken a second wife. Mama Jaquie muscled up all her courage, told her husband she did not believe in taking second wives, and left him, which is never done. In order to make sure she and her daughter were safe she had to flee over the border to Sudan. Today she is a strong woman who is teaching her young daughter the same values she has and is making sure her daughter gets an education and grows into a beautiful, strong woman.

My students were incredible. Many of them had been child soldiers or lost their parents during the war. Despite spending the majority of their childhood being trained to kill, carrying an AK-47 on their back, or caring for their siblings, they strove for a peaceful Sudan and an education. After the war they simply returned to where they left off in school. While I was in Sudan I met a 17-year-old first grader, determined to make it to secondary school, and maybe even university someday.

The people of Africa have seen every atrocity there is to see in this world, and yet the adults strive to create a better world for their children, and the children strive to get an education and get out of the situation they are in. They take learning very seriously and open their hearts and minds easily and willingly. They are the kindest, most wonderful people, and even though I went there to help and teach them, I gained a lifetime's worth of knowledge from them and had an experience that I would not take back or trade for anything.

- **Melanie Blevins, '08, ECAPF 2007 Student Peace Award Recipient**

## IT TAKES A MENTOR

To raise an Etown College student? Well, maybe that's a stretch, but here's an opportunity to help influence and guide a current student utilizing your experience in peace and justice, service areas or as a conscientious objector. You can create a legacy, such as *Socrates* and *Plato*, then *Plato* and *Aristotle*. You can even mentor more than one person, like *Haydn*, who mentored both *Mozart* and *Beethoven*. Or if you prefer, be like *Batman* and *Robin* or *Yoda* and *Luke Skywalker*. If you are willing to share your knowledge with an interested Elizabethtown student, we are eager to hear from you. We hope to stimulate and encourage students to consider peace work and service as part of their lives and to provide practical grounding and direction gained from the alumni-mentors' own experience.

ECAPF has developed a questionnaire designed to elicit information from alumni in three areas: peace and justice experience, service-oriented experience, and conscientious objector experience. Please note that it is not necessary for you to have experience in all of these areas, just one of them. If you are interested in the Mentoring Initiative, a questionnaire will be sent to assess your interests and availability. If you are interested in mentoring a student through the new Mentoring Initiative, please let us know. You can e-mail the new mentoring coordinator, Jeff Ebersole '77 ([ebesareus@adelphia.net](mailto:ebesareus@adelphia.net)) or give a call (330-666-8810) and we will have a questionnaire e-mailed or snail-mailed to you shortly.

- **Jeff Ebersole, '77**

## SUSTAINABILITY – continued from page 4

campaign complete with free organic cotton t-shirts and a tie-in to Scholarship & Creative Arts Day's keynote address by television personality Bill Nye, "The Science Guy." Their efforts combined with those of countless others on campus serve as a reminder to students and the larger community that conservation is a priority for Elizabethtown College.

More information on ECEG can be found online at [www.etown.edu/environment](http://www.etown.edu/environment).

- **Jeremy T. Ebersole, '05**

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**Elizabethtown College Alumni Peace Fellowship  
Steering Committee Approves Updated Mission Statement**

To see the newly approved Mission Statement, turn to page 2.

Steering Committee Members:

- William Ayres
- Christina Bucher '75
- Eugene Clemens
- Jeremy Ebersole '05
- Mary Herr '57
- Karen Hodges '04
- Jeffery Long
- Michael Long
- Amy Milligan '04
- Amy Jo Mumma-Frank '94
- Nancy Neiman-Hoffman '55

**New Access to Peace Pamphlets:** Elizabethtown College's High Library invites you to explore their newest digital collection of Peace Pamphlets. What was locked away in the archives has made it to the web in a keyword searchable form. The pamphlets may be printed as PDF documents. What might you find there? "A Short and Sincere Declaration" is a document that was drafted by Mennonite and Brethren leaders declaring that members would not take up arms. It was presented to the Pennsylvania Assembly on November 7, 1775. This is one example from more than 30 Church of the Brethren and other pamphlets that focus on peace, historic peace churches, conscientious objectors and alternative service.

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**Editor**

Mary Dilling Herr, '57  
[mherr@udel.edu](mailto:mherr@udel.edu)

**Layout**

Amy Jo Mumma-Frank, '94

**Contributors**

R. William Ayres  
Melanie Blevins, '08  
Jeff Ebersole, '77  
Jeremy T. Ebersole, '05  
Jim Hamilton '67  
Karen Hodges, '04  
Doris R Large, '62  
Oya Dursun-Ozkanca  
Doug Wisner, '04

**Plumb Line** is currently available in both, paper and electronic formats. For members wishing to receive only electronic copies, email a request to Mary Herr at [mherr@udel.edu](mailto:mherr@udel.edu).



**Elizabethtown College  
Alumni Peace Fellowship**

**Editor:** M. D. Herr  
341 Greenbriar Lane  
West Grove PA 19390