

Arizona State University Criteria Checklist for

GLOBAL AWARENESS [G]

Rationale and Objectives

Human organizations and relationships have evolved from being family and village centered to modern global interdependence. The greatest challenge in the nuclear age is developing and maintaining a global perspective which fosters international cooperation. While the modern world is comprised of politically independent states, people must transcend nationalism and recognize the significant interdependence among peoples of the world. The exposure of students to different cultural systems provides the background of thought necessary to developing a global perspective.

Cultural learning is present in many disciplines. Exposure to perspectives on art, business, engineering, music, and the natural and social sciences that lead to an understanding of the contemporary world supports the view that intercultural interaction has become a daily necessity. The complexity of American society forces people to balance regional and national goals with global concerns. Many of the most serious problems are world issues and require solutions which exhibit mutuality and reciprocity. No longer are hunger, ecology, health care delivery, language planning, information exchanges, economic and social developments, law, technology transfer, philosophy, and the arts solely national concerns; they affect all the people of the world. Survival may be dependent on the ability to generate global solutions to some of the most pressing problems.

The word university, from universitas, implies that knowledge comes from many sources and is not restricted to local, regional, or national perspectives. The Global Awareness Area recognizes the need for an understanding of the values, elements, and social processes of cultures other than the culture of the United States. Learning which recognizes the nature of others cultures and the relationship of America's cultural system to generic human goals and welfare will help create the multicultural and global perspective necessary for effective interaction in the human community.

Courses which meet the requirement in global awareness are of one or more of the following types: (1) in-depth area studies which are concerned with an examination of culture-specific elements of a region of the world, country, or culture group, (2) the study of contemporary non-English language courses that have a significant cultural component, (3) comparative cultural studies with an emphasis on non-U.S. areas, and (4) in-depth studies of non-U.S. centered cultural interrelationships of global scope such as the global interdependence produced by problems of world ecology, multinational corporations, migration, and the threat of nuclear war.

Reviewed 4/2014

Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

ASU--[G] CRITERIA			
GLOBAL AWARENESS [G]			
YES	NO		Identify Documentation Submitted
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	1. Studies must be composed of subject matter that addresses or leads to an understanding of the contemporary world outside the U.S.	See syllabus and sample title pages from articles and chapters, and table of contents from books.
		2. The course must match at least one of the following descriptions: (check all which may apply):	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	a. In-depth area studies which are concerned with an examination of culture-specific elements of a region, country or culture group. The area or culture studied must be non-U.S. and the study must contribute to an understanding of the contemporary world.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	b. The course is a language course for a contemporary non-English language, and has a significant cultural component.	
<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	c. The course is a comparative cultural study in which most, i.e., more than half, of the material is devoted to non-U.S. areas.	
<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	d. The course is a study of the cultural significance of a non-U.S.-centered global issue. The course examines the role of its target issue within each culture and the interrelatedness of various global cultures on that issue. It looks at the cultural significance of its issue in various cultures outside the U.S., both examining the issue's place within each culture and the effects of that issue on world cultures."	See syllabus and sample title pages from articles and chapters, and table of contents from books.

Course Prefix	Number	Title	Designation
HST	302	Introduction to Peace Studies	Global Awareness (G)

Explain in detail which student activities correspond to the specific designation criteria. Please use the following organizer to explain how the criteria are being met.

Criteria (from checksheet)	How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)	Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)
<p>SAMPLE: 2d: study the cultural significance of a non-U.S. centered global issue</p>	<p>SAMPLE: The course examines the cultural significance of financial markets Japan, Korea, and the UK.</p>	<p>SAMPLE: Module 2 shows how Japanese literature has shaped how Japanese people understand world markets. Module 3 shows how Japanese popular culture has been changed by the world financial market system. Modules 4 & 5 do the same for Korea and modules 6 & 7 do the same for the UK.</p>
<p>1: Studies must be composed of subject matter that addresses or leads to an understanding of the contemporary world outside the US.</p>	<p>The course is designed to examine the concept of peace in a global context at both theoretical and methodological levels, and in the case studies.</p>	<p>In the syllabus, the course description and course objectives speak to the overarching framework and focus of the course and the global scope of the content. The assigned readings and films demonstrate the range of the international material covered. See the first page of the syllabus for the course description, see pages 2 and 3 of the syllabus for the films, and see pages 3, 4, and 5 of the syllabus for the readings. Title pages for the readings are included after the syllabus.</p>
<p>2d: The course is a study of the cultural significance of a non-U.S. centered global issue.</p>	<p>Course readings, videos, and assignments explore the history and complexity of understanding the dynamics of peace and peacebuilding across multiple religions and around the world.</p>	<p>The four required films for the course are on Israel/Palestine, Egypt, Chile, and India, and the student chooses a 5th film from a selection that includes films on India, Pakistan, Palestine, Liberia, Indonesia, Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and Chile. See pages 2 and 3 of the syllabus.</p> <p>The readings include theoretical material on defining peace from different global perspectives (weeks 1-6, 8, 14), and there are also case study specific readings on Europe (week 3), India (week 3, 4, 7, 13), Japan (weeks 2, 6), Northern Ireland (week 10), Sierra Leone (week 10), Cyprus (week 10), Bali (week 11), Bosnia and Herzegovina (week 11), Indonesia (week 13), and Iran (week 14).</p>

HST 302 **Studies in History**

3 (HU or SB) & H

Specialized topics in history. Explores countries, cultures, and issues in history, and their interpretation in historical scholarship.

Allow multiple

enrollments: No

Repeatable for credit: Yes

Primary course

component: Lecture

Grading method: Student
Option

Offered by: College of Liberal Arts and Sciences -- Historical, Philosophical & Religious Studies, Sch

Prerequisite(s): ENG 102, 105 or 108 with C or better; minimum 30 hours

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HST302: Introduction to Peace Studies
Yasmin Saikia
Hardt-Nickachos Chair in Peace Studies
ysaikia@asu.edu

Office: 125 West Hall
Office hours: Thursday: 2.00pm -3.00pm

Course Description

① What is peace? How do we get there? What are some of the different historical and epistemological approaches to peace? Are war and peace entangled concepts? How do we understand enforced peace and everyday peace? Is women's peace different from men's peace? These are some questions that this introductory course will seek to explore and engage with through a transdisciplinary examination. ②

The syllabus is divided into two broad sections. The first section will focus on concepts, frameworks and methods in the field of peace studies. Peace ideas/visions and peace movements will be the focus of this investigation. ②

① The second section of the course takes into consideration the issues facing the present generation, who is described as living in the 'global war on terror' and an 'unending war'. Yet, peace is presented to this generation as the desired outcome of these wars. Do we need war for peace? What value systems and concepts are available to generate peace without war? What lies beyond war and violence? These questions will be addressed through an investigation of case studies and non-fictional and fictional literature. ②

The course will imbibe a 'peace pedagogy.' By peace pedagogy I mean a method of dialogue, and deliberation, personal self-reflection, honest and thoughtful communication, team projects and open mindedness that will encourage free flow of ideas and thoughts, allow one to revise assumptions and misconceptions, and engage in new and challenging knowledge.

Course Objectives

- ① 1. To be able to think and discuss about peace historically, culturally and theoretically.
2. To find out "what is peace".
3. To be appreciative that peace requires multi-faceted investigation
- ② 4. To be critically reflective on our personal sensibilities about peace and appreciate the views of others regarding peace.

A Few Key Readings

② David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movement and Ideas* (Cambridge University Press, 2010)

② Yasmin Saikia and Chad Haines, *Women and Peace in the Islamic World: Gender, Influence and Agency* (London: I.B. Tauris, 2014)

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Nagib Mahfouz, *The Journey of Ibn Fattouma* (American University Press, 1997)

Course Requirements

Weekly readings are mandatory. The class will be student-run as much as possible with occasional lecturing by the instructor. Students will be fully responsible for the successful outcome of the course. Attendance is required and compulsory.

Two events are planned for this course in addition to class meetings. 1. **Peace Film Screening** – Sept. 3rd and 4th and Sept. 10th and 11th. Attendance required.

2. **Conference** – Buddhist-Muslim Tensions in the Bay of Bengal region (Oct 8th and 9th – attendance required for at least one panel session)

Grading System

Discussion of Readings (35%):

One of the main activities of each class period will be **student led discussion**. Each student will bring 2 or more questions from each reading to the class. There are three or four readings for each week. Every class period will engage at least two of these readings in the order of their arrangement in the syllabus. For basic questions and engagement with the material, you will receive 20% of your grade. Willingness to team up and develop at least **2 collaborative projects**, such as making a collage, putting together a play or skit, visual projects, mock courts and trials, etc. that would generate further conversation on the readings and shape the theme of the discussion will reward you with 15% extra points. For the second part of this exercise, a greater engagement with the material and the concepts/theme will be required.

Bi-weekly Assignments (30%): Peace Journal

Each student will keep a reflective journal for the course drawing upon readings, visuals, and questions and queries. **Short reflections** on the reading combining it with personal experiences (**200-300 words for each entry**) will be required. In the first half of the course, these journal entries will carry 15% of your grade. I will check them every other week. More advanced work with the journal and reading materials in the second half of the course will be required and will carry an additional 15% of your grade.

Short Paper (15%): Film Screening (Sept 3-11)

Attached to this class is a **Peace Film screening** event. Four films will be shown and attendance is required (marked in *). A select number of additional films are on reserve at the Hayden Library. Students are required to watch at least one additional film for writing a **short paper** (4-5 pages) that will be due on **Oct 10th by 5pm**. Submit paper electronically. The paper should be on a topic related to peace and justice based on the visuals (film screening and reserve films). Use **at least two movies**, one from the screening and one from the library reserve, to write your paper.

1. **Heart of Jenin (Israel/Palestine)*** (screening and discussion, Sept. 3, Noon – 2.30pm) – Amit Ron

2

2. Arna's Children (Palestine): DS113.7 A76 2006 DVD
3. Khamosh Pani (India/Pakistan): PN1997.2 K432 2002 DVD
4. Parzania (India)* (available online) (screening and discussion, Sept. 4, Noon-2.30pm) – Yasmin Saikia
5. Pray the Devil back to Hell (Liberia): DT636.5 P73 2009 DVD
6. The Act of Killing (Indonesia): DS644.32 A382 2014 DVD
7. The Square (Egypt)* (screening and discussion, Sept. 11, Noon – 2.30pm.) – Chad Haines
8. Wajda (Saudi Arabia): PN1997.2 W345 2014b DVD
9. No (Chile)* (screening and discussion, Sept. 10, Noon – 2.30pm) – Daniel Rothenburg
10. Bidder 70 (USA): QH76.5 U8B53 2012 DVD
11. Brick by Brick (USA) (streaming video, check Library home page)
12. A Step too far? A Contemplation on Forgiveness (UK)

2

Final Project (20%):

Your final project will be a research paper on a **case study** of your choice. The paper should be **8-10 pages** or 3000-3500 words of text, 12 points, double spaced, 1' margin. Include a paper title, an abstract of 100 words and a bibliography. The paper is due on **December 5th (5pm)** and should be submitted through safe-assign.

Regarding Plagiarism and Academic Honesty

Academic honesty is expected of all students in all examinations, papers, academic transactions and records. The possible sanctions include, but are not limited to, appropriate grade penalties, course failure (indicated on the transcript as a grade of E), course failure due to academic dishonesty (indicated on the transcript as a grade of XE), loss of registration privileges, disqualification and dismissal. For more information, see <http://provost.asu.edu/academicintegrity>

Class outline

Week 1 (Aug. 21): Introduction

1 → Gordon Anderson, 'The elusive definition of peace,' *International Journal on World Peace*, Vol. 2, No. 3 (1985), pp. 101-104.

Week 2 (Aug. 26 and 28): What is Peace?

→ Takeshi Ishida, 'Beyond the Traditional Concepts of Peace in Different Cultures,' *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 6, No. 2 (1969), pp. 133-145.

→ Johan Galtung, 'Social Cosmology and the Concept of Peace.' *Journal of Peace Research*, Vol. 18 (1981): pp. 183-199.

→ David Cortright, *Peace: A History of Movement and Ideas*, pp. 6-18.

Week 3 (Sept. 2 and 4): Western Philosophical Traditions

→ Thomas Hippler, 'Images of Peace,' *The New Centennial Review*, Vol. 13(1), 2013,

pp. 45-70.

①

Nicati Polat, 'Peace as War,' *Alternatives*, Vol. 35, 2010, pp. 317-345.

②

Annmarie Heerikhuizen, 'How God disappeared from Europe: Visions of a United Europe from Erasmus to Kant,' *The European Legacy*, Vol. 13 (4), 2008, pp. 401-11.

Sept. 3 and 4 Film Screening – 12noon – 2.30pm
Sept. 3 – Heart of Jenin (discussion led by Amit Ron)
Sept. 4 – Parzanian (discussion led by Yasmin Saikia)

Week 4 (Sept. 9): Non-western concepts of peace

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Mohandas Gandhi, 'Ahmisa, or the Way of Nonviolence,' excerpted from *All Men are Brothers*, UNESCO, 1958.

①

Teresa Der-Ira Yeh, 'The way of peace: A Buddhist Perspective,' *International Journal of Peace Studies*, Vol. 11, No. 1 (2006), pp. 91-112.

Sept. 10 and 11 Film Screening – 12noon – 2.30 pm
Sept 10 – No (discussion led by Daniel Rothenberg)
Sept 11 – The Square (discussion led by Chad Haines)

Week 5 (Sept. 16 and 18): Peace Ideas

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Cortright, *Peace*, Chp. 10.

Nils Peter Gleditsch, 'The Liberal Moment Fifteen Years on,' *International Studies Quarterly*, Vol. 52, No. 4 (Dec., 2008), pp. 691-712.

Katarina Tomasevski, 'The Right to Peace,' *Current Research on Peace and Violence*, Vol. 5, No. 1 (1982), pp. 42-69.

Week 6 (Sept. 23 and 25): Peace as Movement/Other

①

Cortright, *Peace*, pp. 25-44, 69-79, 109-154.

Paphael Patai and Andrew Wilson, 'The Quest for Peace: A view from Anthropology [with comment], *International Journal on World Peace*, Vol. 4, No. 4 (1987), pp. 11-29. (will reconsider)

Ikechi Mgbegbe, 'The Civilized Self and the Barbaric Other,' *Third World Quarterly*, Vol. 27 (5), 2006, pp. 855-869.

Week 7 (Sept. 30 and Oct. 2): Depicting/Seeking Peace

Qurratulain Hyder, 'Dervish,' *Journal of South Asian Literature*, Vol. 31/32, No. 1/2 (1996/1997), pp. 143-155.

②

Akbar S. Ahmed, 'Bombay Films: The Cinema as Metaphor for Indian Society and Politics,' *Modern Asian Studies*, Vol. 26 (2), 1992, pp. 289-320.

Naguib Mahfouz, *The Journey of Ibn Fattouma* (Cairo: American University of Cairo Press, 1992).

Week 8 (Oct. 7 and 9): Toward achieving Peace

1

Larry Poston, 'Peace on earth, good will toward men? The rituals of warfare in Judaism, Christianity, and Islam, *Proteus*, Vol. 23 (2), 2006, pp. 55-61.

Muhammad Tahir Mansoori, 'The Questions of War and Peace in Contemporary Islamic Legal Discourse: The Contribution of Wahbah al-Zuhayli,' *Islamic Studies*, Vol. 46, No. 3 (2007), pp. 417-435.

**Attend conference on 'Buddhist-Muslim Tension in the Bay of Bengal' (Oct 9, required)

***Mid-term Paper due on October 10th (5pm by email)

Week 9 (Oct 14 and 16): Fall Break/Away at Madison Conference

Week 10 (Oct. 21 and 23): Case Studies

2

Shea, Margo, 'Whatever you say, say something: Remembering for the future in Northern Ireland, *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, Vol. 16 (4-5), 2010, pp. 289-301.

Friederike, Mieth, 'Bringing Justice and Enforcing Peace? An Ethnographic Perspective on the Impact of the Special Court for Sierra Leone,' *International Journal of Conflict and Violence* 7, no. 1 (2013): 10-22.

Luisa Pe'rcopo, 'Silent lines and the ebb of memory: narratives of Our Wall in the island of Cyprus,' *Social Semiotics*, Vol. 21(1), 2011, pp. 125-141.

Week 11 (Oct. 28 and 30): Case Studies Continued

2

Annette Hornbacher, "Global Conflict in a cosmocentric perspective: A Balinese approach to reconciliation," in *Reconciling Indonesia: Grassroots Agency for Peace* (Routledge, 2009): pp. 34-53

Yasmin Saikia and Chad Haines, *Women and Peace in the Islamic World*, Chps. (Zilka)

Annika Bjorkdahl, 'A gender-just peace? Exploring the post-Dayton peace progress in Bosnia,' *Peace & Change*, Vol. 37 (2), 2012, pp. 286-317.

Discuss paper topic for final project

Week 12 (Nov. 4 and 6): Away in PA

****Self-directed study in library for final paper project

Week 13 (Nov. 11 and 13): Gender and Peace Continued

2

Yasmin Saikia and Chad Haines, *Women and Peace in the Islamic World*, Chps. (Cook, Yasmin and Hussin, pp. to be announced).

Discuss paper topic for final project

Week 14 (Nov. 18 and 20): Towards Reconciliation

1

Daniel Philpott, 'The Justice of Forgiveness,' *Journal of Religious Ethics*, Vol. 41 (3), 2013, pp.

Jana Thompson, 'Apology, Historical Obligations and the ethics of memory,' *Memory Studies*, Vol. 2, 2009, pp. 195-210.

Arzoo Asanloo, 'Crime and Reconciliation: Women's Peace Initiative in the Islamic Republic of Iran', in *Women and Peace* (pp. to be announced).

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Week 15 (Nov. 25): Check with students for clarifying readings/topics of interest

Week 15 (Dec. 2 and 4): Discuss what worked and why
Wrap up

page (6)

THE ELUSIVE DEFINITION OF PEACE

Gordon L. Anderson

Associate Editor
International Journal on World Peace

①

It is not surprising that people have different concepts of peace when one recognizes the variety of meanings inherited from the world's cultures. The words for peace in diverse cultures of the world reflect the essence of the foundations of those cultures. If it is believed that the human condition is naturally a state of war, then it is possible to agree with the Greek word *eirene* that the state of peace is order secured by an interlude in war. Like the Greek word *eirene*, the Roman word *pax* refers to a state of affairs. It is secured by an agreement or compact. In fact, "pact" is derived from *pax*. From the Greek and Roman point of view which informs Western civilization, peace can be easily thought of as "the absence of war." Many Western philosophers have viewed a peacemaker as one who makes and honors a treaty. However, many leaders from Alexander the Great to Julius Caesar and Napoleon have believed peace could only be secured by force. In some Western classics it is taught that peace is obtained through strength: "*Qui desiderat pacem, praeparat bellum*" (Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, III, Prologue). This view informs modern political theory through the writings of Thomas Hobbes. It influences the idea of deterrence theory as espoused by Hans Morgenthau in *Politics Among Nations*. While Western concepts of peace have referred to treaties, the peacemaker has been seen both as one who negotiates from strength and one who makes a unilateral conciliatory gesture.

Many people relate true peace to God or the gods. It is only when the gods are satisfied that human beings will be at peace. While the Bible refers to "the peace of God," the concept is especially prevalent in the Middle East nations. One meaning of *shalom* in the Old Testament implied living in a covenantal relationship with Yahweh. The name of Islam, *al-Islam*, has been given a similar meaning. It can either mean "to be at peace" or "to give absolute devotion"; the two are integrally connected. The effort to live by the "will of God" has often meant going to war for God, whether it be a Christian Crusade, settlement and defense of Israel, or the Islamic *jihad* which can be translated as "a fight for the code of Allah." Islam was considered by its founder to be a religion of peace. Human sacrifice has been employed as a device to gain peace with the gods. In these religious definitions of peace, the absence of war is not necessarily implied.

There is a more hopeful dimension to religious concepts of peace as well. The Jewish *shalom* is often equated with wholeness, justice, and well-being. It can be taken not only to mean absence of war but fulfillment

BEYOND THE TRADITIONAL CONCEPTS OF PEACE IN DIFFERENT CULTURES

By

TAKESHI ISHIDA

University of Tokyo

1. *Introduction*

Countries at war always say that they are fighting 'for peace'. If the true meaning of the word 'peace' were clear, a great number of past wars might have been avoided. While some may argue that this lack of clarity is even advantageous since it makes possible the inclusion of important human desires such as justice and prosperity, the other side of the coin is the danger of the concept being used to justify any kind of war. In this age of nuclear weapons we cannot use the terms 'a war for peace' or 'a just war' as excuses for starting a war. Nuclear war is incapable of bringing about 'peace', because it can only end in the destruction of mankind. How is it possible to prevent war - both nuclear war and the technically developed non-nuclear war of today? How can we achieve social justice without war?

In the following I wish to examine a concept of 'peace' which may go some way towards solving these problems. We may be able to eliminate ambiguity in the concept of 'peace' and prevent abuse of the word by giving it a scientific definition. This may be an effective way to avoid confusion in discussion of peace. Here, however, I would rather emphasize the importance of the study of the semantics of peace (i.e., how the word 'peace' has been understood), and consider why 'wars for peace' have been so successfully justified in the past.

One difficulty is that the meaning of 'peace' varies in different cultures. It is essential to clarify the different concepts of peace, as the following examples show.

The first is Japan during World War II. The government leaders stated that they were fighting for 'peace in the East'. They called the pacifists and the dissenters from the Emperor-system, as well as the communists, 'aka' (red) and suppressed them rigorously. Why did this clash occur between the government leaders' concept of 'peace in the East' and the pacifists' ideal of peace? This cannot be fully explained unless we understand the traditional Japanese concept of 'peace'. 'The peace of the village', which is still a strong social force, may indicate the characteristics of the traditional concept. During the national election of 1952 irregularities occurred in a certain village, and a girl who lived in the village wrote to a newspaper exposing them. When the police began to investigate the village bosses, the girl and her family were ostracized and life was made so unpleasant for them that they were finally forced to leave the village, because the villagers thought that the family had disturbed 'the peace of the village'.¹ There were many occurrences of this kind before the war when the whole country was thought to be like a village (the present situation is a little different). The concept of 'the peace of the village' illus-

Social Cosmology and the Concept of Peace*

JOHAN GALTUNG

Goals, Process, and Indicators of Development Project, UNU
International Peace Research Institute, Oslo

An important task in peace research has always been and will always be the exploration of the concept of peace. The approach taken to this in the present article is to see the concept of peace in the light of the social cosmology of various civilizations, roughly spanning the classical Occident-Orient spectrum. Methodologically, the terms explored are those that usually are translated, however superficially, into 'peace' in English — and that leads to the Hebrew *shalom*, the Arabic *sala'am*, the Roman *pax*, the Greek *eirene*, the Indian *shanti* and *ahimsa*, the Chinese *ho p'ing* and *p'ing ho*, the Japanese *heiwa* and *chowa*. Some of the basic differences between these concepts are explored and efforts are made to relate these differences to less ideational, more structural aspects of the peace policies of these civilizations. The general hypothesis is that as one moves eastward from the Occident the peace concepts — and with them, the peace policies — become more and more introvert, inner-directed, away from global architectonics and towards concepts of inner harmony. In conclusion it is pointed out how humankind has been shortshifted by these concepts, having too external concepts in the Occident and too internal concepts in the Orient — leading to the obvious need for a dialogue among civilizations as to concepts of peace with the goal of arriving at richer peace concepts. In this dialogue, needless to say, the civilizations not located on the Occident-Orient spectrum would also participate even if they are not included in this particular article.

1. Introduction

Whereas in earlier ages the greatest spirits of humankind were working on problems of peace, in our age there is certainly a dearth of comprehensive and penetrating analyses from the leaders of our times. It may be objected that this is because they have learnt from past mistakes, abstain from grandiose peace architectonics, and dedicate themselves to the less glamorous, more laborious work of elaborating the details of a viable peace. In that case they are less rather than more successful than their predecessors as judged by the evidence¹ — or they are simply equally irrelevant. But if the latter is correct there is not even the attenuating circumstance that some good passage of peace rhetoric is left behind for later generations to enjoy and dissect. For what will be left behind of speeches etc. from statesmen of today in the rich countries will be amateur

economics rather than amateur peace research.

But earlier ages present us with gold mines of peace thinking, particularly when the horizon is extended outside the Occidental spectrum to include, at least, major parts of the Orient. One thesis that can be put forward immediately is the following: whereas in our age people seem by and large content to conceive of peace=absence of war, particularly of major wars, more particularly the absence of nuclear war between superpowers, the peace concepts of other periods and places were much richer in content. Together they constitute a range of visions, of goals for humankind out of which absence of violence is *one*; it is not always given priority, or even included. We may not agree particularly with such historical sentiments, given the increasing destructiveness of warfare. But the task is to learn from past thinking — they will not respond to our teaching anyhow — and in so doing a remarkable book, *Studies in the Problems of Peace* by Bouquet and Murty² as well as an article by Takeshi Ishida³ will serve as very useful guides.

* Paper presented at the symposium 'Science and Peace', 16th World Congress of Philosophy, Düsseldorf, August 30, 1978, and the Third Nordic Macro Symposium, Sandbjerg, Denmark, Sept. 1978. The paper is also a contribution to the Goals, Processes, and Indicators of Development Project, and is Paper No. 16 from Trends in Western Civilization Program, University of Oslo.

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(11)

Images of Peace

Thomas Hippler

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CYNICS HAVE ARGUED THAT IF TOLSTOY WERE TO PUBLISH HIS NOVEL *War and Peace* today, he would probably have chosen “Peace-Restoring and Peace-Keeping Missions” as a title. The notion of war is increasingly banned from the official political vocabulary, and we are more and more using expressions such as “restoring peace” when talking about the use of armed force in conflict. To put it even more clearly, we are using the word “peace” when meaning “war” (Hippler and Vec 2014). It would be an error, however, to presume that this inversion of meaning is just a matter of intellectual dishonesty. There is good reason to believe, on the contrary, that this semantic confusion has to be understood as being part of a particular conceptualization of what “peace” actually is. This paper will address some evolutions in the conceptual history of peace, admittedly in a fragmentary form.¹ In a first step, I will point out some features of medieval peace concepts, before turning, in a second step, to early modern developments of “internal” and “external peace.” The last section will address Enlightenment concepts of peace, including

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Peace as War

Necati Polat*

This article seeks to reimagine peace against the backdrop of a Foucauldian understanding of politics. Most conventional accounts are based on a sharp distinction between war and peace and alternate between two broad positions; namely, peace as absence, the absence of war, and peace as presence, as an essential condition. These two visions of peace are often assumed to have found their classical statements in, respectively, Hobbes and Spinoza. The article resists such a binary treatment, bringing Hobbes and Spinoza close together through Spinoza's view of peace as *potentia* and Hobbes's view of war as process. The result is one that seems to vindicate Foucault: peace is war. **KEYWORDS:** peace, war, agonistic politics, Hobbes, Spinoza, Foucault

Politics as warfare, as unending and irreconcilable conflict, has been a theme incorporated in the corpus of critical thinking about the order of states in modern forms of politics through at least two separate strains of work—one that is, roughly speaking, Foucauldian, and the other Schmittian. This article seeks to integrate thinking about peace in the prevailing international imagination into this conflictual notion of the political, with the aim of contributing to an emergent critical understanding of peace. Peace research and conflict studies, with a large scholarly community of sustained interest in peace, seem to have failed to absorb a critical dimension in thinking on peace informed by a postpositivist awareness. For a brief period from the late 1960s, a number of significant calls were extended to the research community by members of that community, urging work toward a much needed demystification of the basic assumptions and practices of research in the area.¹ The pleas, to be repeated in long intervals during the decades that followed,² appear to have fallen on deaf ears in a field seemingly confident in its routine research activities.

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How God Disappeared from Europe: Visions of a United Europe from Erasmus to Kant

2

— ANNEMARIE VAN HEERIKHUIZEN —

ABSTRACT This article traces the development of European ideas of peace and unity from the time of Desiderius Erasmus to Immanuel Kant. The argument will be made that these ideas, which were initially strongly determined by Christian religious thinking, gradually changed, and from the seventeenth century onwards were put forward in more political and legal terms. Erasmus's way of reasoning about peace and war was still strongly influenced by his firm orientation on the New Testament and the teachings of Jesus Christ. Émeric Crucé, a French writer, was of the opinion that all human beings in the end had God in common, and so had to live peacefully together. Duc de Sully was one of the first not to argue as a religious man but as a politician: a system of balance of power could bring international stability. According to the English Quaker William Penn and the French Abbé de Saint-Pierre only the acceptance of international rules of justice could produce everlasting peace. Immanuel Kant finally directed attention to the form of government and to the founding of a federation of free republics. So God seems to have disappeared from Europe... but with what consequences for today?

From the time of Desiderius Erasmus to the time of Immanuel Kant, peace thinking in Europe developed from a mixture of logical-religious pleas for peace into political and legal arguments in favour of a united Europe. Peace planners were first inspired by the lessons of Jesus Christ, his prayers for one Father (and so one European community). Once the problems inside the Christian church became clear, religious arguments were put in more general terms and so it was said that God pointed the way to peace. Political thinking was stimulated in the seventeenth century by the French King Henry IV and his successful handling of religious problems in his own country. Legal thinking, on the other hand, was promoted by men of science, especially by the Dutch lawyer Hugo de Groot (Grotius), who argued that international society was a community, held together by legal principles of natural law. Finally, Kant introduced the idea that peace was totally dependent on the form of government, that is, on a republican constitution.

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ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS

LIFE AND THOUGHTS OF
MAHATMA GANDHI
AS TOLD
IN HIS OWN WORDS

2

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AHIMSĀ OR THE WAY OF NON-VIOLENCE

Non-violence is the greatest force at the disposal of mankind. It is mightier than the mightiest weapon of destruction devised by the ingenuity of man. Destruction is not the law of the humans. Man lives freely by his readiness to die, if need be, at the hands of his brother, never by killing him. Every murder or other injury, no matter for what cause, committed or inflicted on another is a crime against humanity. 1

The first condition of non-violence is justice all round in every department of life. Perhaps, it is too much to expect of human nature. I do not, however, think so. No one should dogmatize about the capacity of human nature for degradation or exaltation. 2

Just as one must learn the art of killing in the training for violence, so one must learn the art of dying in the training for non-violence. Violence does not mean emancipation from fear, but discovering the means of combating the cause of fear. Non-violence, on the other hand, has no cause for fear. The votary of non-violence has to cultivate the capacity for sacrifice of the highest type in order to be free from fear. He reckes not if he should lose his land, his wealth, his life. He who has not overcome all fear cannot practise *ahimsā* to perfection. The votary of *ahimsā* has only one fear, that is of God. He who seeks refuge in God ought to have a glimpse of the *Atma* that transcends the body; and the moment one has a glimpse of the imperishable *Atma* one sheds the love of the perishable body. Training in non-violence is thus diametrically opposed to training in violence.

① *TH*

THE WAY TO PEACE: A BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE

Theresa Der-ian Yeh

Abstract

This article provides a survey of the Buddhist vision of peace in the light of peace studies. According to the Buddha's teaching of Dependent Origination, everything, including the psychophysical compound that we call individual, exists only in relation to other beings and things and undergoes constant changes responding and reacting to them. The next section examines the Buddhist perspective on the causes of violence and ways to prevent violence and realize peace. The last section explores the potentials of Buddhist contributions to the peacemaking efforts and the promotion of a culture of peace in today's world. Believing that the root of violence is located within the mind, Buddhism has placed a greater urgency upon inner reflection. With the awakening to the interdependent reality, selfish compulsive responses will be replaced by loving-kindness, compassion, sympathetic joy, and equanimity. On the behavioral level, one practices peace daily by observing the Five Precepts. To prevent in-group disputes, the Buddha teaches the six principles of cordiality in any community. As for inter-group or international affairs, Buddhist scriptures are rife with stories that teach nonviolent intervention. The article concludes the Buddhist worldview is surprisingly in accordance with the insights of peace studies in its process-oriented paradigm, its insistence on peace by peaceful means, and its holistic framework of peace, which would play a vital role in the efforts of bringing the culture of peace into existence around the world.

Introduction

Buddhism has long been celebrated as a religion of peace and non-violence. With its increasing vitality in regions around the world, many people today turn to Buddhism for relief and guidance at the time when peace seems to be a deferred dream more than ever, with the wars in the Middle East and Africa, and the terrorist activities expanding into areas where people never expected that scope of violence before such as Bali, London, and New York. Yet this is never a better time to re-examine the position of Buddhism, among those of other world religions, on peace and violence in the hope that it can be accorded in the global efforts to create new sets of values regarding the ways people manage conflict and maintain peace via nonviolent means.

This article tends to provide a review of the Buddhist vision of peace in the light of peace studies. It also addresses the Buddhist perspective on the causes of violence and

The Liberal Moment Fifteen Years On¹

Presidential address, 49th Convention of the International Studies Association,
San Francisco, CA, March 27, 2008.

NILS PETTER GLEDITSCH

International Peace Research Institute, Oslo (PRIO)
Norwegian University of Science and Technology (NTNU)

Fifteen years ago, Charles Kegley spoke of a neoidealist moment in international relations. This article examines how the number of armed conflicts has declined in the decade and a half since Kegley's presidential address and shows that the severity of war has been declining over a period of over six decades. The number of countries participating in war has increased, but this is in large measure due to coalition-building in several recent wars. Overall, there is a clear decline of war. It seems plausible to attribute this to an increase in the three factors identified by liberal peace theorists: democracy, trade, and international organization. Four alternative interpretations are examined: the temporary peace, the hegemonic peace, the unsustainable peace, and the capitalist peace. The article concludes that the latter, while running close to the liberal peace interpretation, also presents the greatest challenge to it. Indeed, we seem to be living in a commercial liberal period rather than a world of neoidealism.

Fifteen years ago, exactly to the day, one of my predecessors as President of the ISA, Charles Kegley, alerted us to what he perceived to be a liberal moment in international relations. Or so I thought until I looked up the published version in *ISQ* (Kegley 1993). In fact, Kegley used the term "neoidealist" rather than liberal, and there was a question mark in his title.² I cannot tell this particular audience that this proves the value of not destroying a good story by checking your sources. But I will stick with my own version for the time being, and return to the question of idealism at the end.

Whether under the heading of idealism or liberalism, it was quite visionary 15 years ago to talk about an emerging international order that might give us a more humane and peaceful world. The Cold War had just ended. But rather

¹ I have been privileged to work in an environment full of bright young scholars, many of whom have let me use our joint work or even pilfer their own. Halvard Buhaug, Han Dorussen, Håvard Hegre, Håvard Strand, and Henrik Urdal deserve special mention here. Thanks to the same people plus Kristian Skrede Gleditsch, Ragnhild Nordås, and Gudrun Østby for commenting on an earlier version and, of course, to the members of the Association for electing me. I would also like to record my gratitude to the Research Council of Norway for support for the research reported here, as well as sponsorship of the reception following the Presidential Address. Sage Publications Ltd. and PRIO also contributed to the reception. A PowerPoint presentation accompanied the delivery of this address at the convention. The talents of Siri Camilla Aas Rustad are visible in every slide. The presentation can be found, along with references to the data sources, on <http://www.isanet.org/eunfran2008>. Replication data for the figures presented here can be found at <http://dvn.iq.harvard.edu/dvn/dv/isq>, http://www.isanet.org/data_archive and <http://www.prio.no/cscw/datasets>.

² Although ISI Web of Science has left out the question mark.



THE RIGHT TO PEACE

1. Why Do We Need a Right to Peace?

War is by definition a means of violating human rights. Historically, the most massive violations of human rights have resulted from warfare. Yet, the jeopardy of human rights included in the notion of war is increasing in at least two respects. Firstly, we have become aware of the fact that preparations for waging war (whether offensive or defensive) represent the institutionalized violation of human rights: deprivations resulting from resource-allocation policies favouring military expenditure over welfare or agriculture can be substantiated nowadays by numerous data confirming that armaments and development are competing demands on public expenditures,¹ and that favouring armaments entails not only economic, but social costs as well.² Military preparations are generally founded on a state's right to enlist parts of its popu-

lation into military service, thus depriving certain people of a considerable amount of their freedom while simultaneously teaching them to kill upon governmental orders.³ State security protection, encompassing loosely and widely defined military preparations, justifies the governmental right to withhold information not only from outsiders, but from its own population, thus depriving them from obtaining sufficient background to participate in decision-making. It is even being extended to giving a government the right to question people about their political attitudes and to require their withholding, if not change.

Secondly, warfare is becoming increasingly indiscriminate in:

- scope: it has become impossible today to name a war after a town or a river; when war breaks out, it imminently endangers whole regions or subcontinents;
- actors: states have lost their monopoly on waging war, and a host of

THE QUEST FOR PEACE: A VIEW FROM ANTHROPOLOGY

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Dr. Raphael Patai is a prominent anthropologist, biblical scholar, and student of Jewish and Arab cultures. A graduate of the University of Budapest and Hebrew University of Jerusalem, he founded the Palestine Institute of Folklore and Ethnology. He is the author of more than 30 books, the latest being *The Seed of Abraham: Jews and Arabs in Contact and Conflict*, published in 1987.

This paper is an expanded version of a lecture Dr. Patai gave in 1986 in Japan and Korea. It points out that all religions teach the desirability of peace, but their followers are unable to attain this lofty ideal. In today's world, in which war could mean global annihilation, the quest for peace assumes greater importance and urgency than it ever has. Scrutiny of the 10 universal cultural complexes is necessary. They are: technology, medical and health services, scientific research, international commerce, foreign aid, communications, literacy and education, the world of art, the political system, and the realm of religion. Progress in these realms leads toward global harmony and the promise of the elimination of war.

On a stone wall facing the United Nations complex in New York are engraved in golden letters the words:

They shall beat their swords into ploughshares,
And their spears into pruning hooks,
Nation shall not lift up sword against nation,
Neither shall they learn war any more.

(Isaiah 2:4)

These eternal words, uttered by the great Hebrew prophet Isaiah in the eighth century B.C., embody a dream of world peace which today, almost three millennia later, is still far from being realized. What is worse, not only are warfare and the use of force still part of human existence, but even the ideal of peace has not yet been accepted by all. Government leaders in some parts of the world still seem to agree with the German military strategist Field Marshal Helmuth von Moltke (1800-1891), who said that "perpetual peace is a dream, and not even a beautiful dream," or with the British essayist and failed social prophet John Ruskin (1819-1900), who went on record as stating that "war is the foundation of all high virtues and faculties of men." Similar sentiments about the value of war can, I am sure, be found expressed by leaders of countries other than those belonging to the Western world. No wonder, then, that,

The Civilised Self and the Barbaric Other: imperial delusions of order and the challenges of human security

①
IKECHI MGBEOJI

ABSTRACT *In the aftermath of the military conflicts of 1936–45, there seemed to be a global renunciation of war as an instrument of state policy. Shortly thereafter, however, decades of ideological attrition between the major powers and the inherent perversion of postcolonial states reduced the solemn declarations of 1945 to ineffectual rhetoric. Underpinning the decline and demise of a human-centred approach to global peace and security is the enduring notion of the civilised self and the barbaric other. The polarisation of humanity between camps of the savage and the civilised has continued to animate international policy making despite denials. This paper argues that a rejection of the polarities is imperative for the success of the emergent concept of human security.*

In *Collective Insecurity*,¹ I examined the changing character of collective security in post-cold war Africa. I argued that both international institutions and the hypocrisy of powerful states have combined to encourage and abet the tyrannical capture of many African states and the reduction of several of them to pathetic sites for the egregious abuse of millions of people. Further, I posited that the reduction of several postcolonial states to ‘geographies of injustice’,² especially in the cold war era, was a consequence of the prevailing militarised concept of security. In the past decade, however, a careful observer of contemporary world order would clearly see the re-emergence of a militarised concept of security.

Events in Afghanistan and Iraq evidence a return of a militarised concept of state security. A troubling aspect of this phenomenon is the revitalisation of the imperialistic notion of the barbaric other and the civilised self. By this logic the former is depicted as anarchic, primitive and in need of ‘pacification’ and civilisation. The process of pacification and civilisation often involves military attacks and vilification of those believed to be uncivilised. Embedded in this narrative is the belief that the ‘savage’ peoples of the global South,³ a diverse bloc of peoples, cultures and societies, are a menace and a threat to global peace.

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Dervish



Qurratulain Hyder



n extraordinary man, perhaps a sentimental fool, perhaps even a bit of a play-actor, perhaps a true mystic, a dervish?

Just before Queen Victoria Government High School's football team was to start the match against the rival school's team, there rose some difference of opinion between the respective leaders. In minutes and through the mysterious but usual process, the squabble led to a minor Hindu-Muslim riot. Some spectators, including my twelve-year old brother, were injured.

In Ghazipur, in the backwaters of eastern U.P., there were no ambulances, no telephones, and only a dozen cars, then called motors.

It was a drab Sunday afternoon, winds languorously rustled in the gardens. The mango was in flower. The days were lengthening and becoming drowsy. Under a massive, colonial-Georgian pillar of the back verandah I sat quietly playing with my dolls. It was then that a rickety *ekka* [horse-drawn cart] pulled up right under the pillar. A young man of about eighteen jumped down and helped my brother alight from the *ekka's* tiny seat. "*Munni* [little one]" the stranger said sternly, "go and fetch a glass of water. And call someone. Don't be upset."

Bombay Films: The Cinema as Metaphor for Indian Society and Politics

AKBAR S. AHMED

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I. Introduction

It is difficult to distinguish between art and life in South Asian society; they no longer imitate each other but appear to have merged. Political philosophies, social values, group behaviour, speech and dress in society are reflected in the cinema and, like a true mirror, reflect back in society. Furthermore, film stars cross over from their fantasy world into politics to emerge as powerful figures guiding the destiny of millions. It is thus possible to view the cinema as a legitimate metaphor for society; this perception helps us to understand society better.

The understanding will help us to observe (a) how Indians perceive themselves (in terms of 'role models', values, behaviour, dress and speech etc.) and how they perceive the significant features of their society (religious revivalism; law and order; the emergence of the 'south' and its stars; the fortunes of the Indian minorities, in particular the Muslims) and (b) how current Indian films mirror India's role and perception of itself as a 'big brother' or regional power in South Asia and what impact this has on neighbouring countries like Pakistan, in particular their cinema and society.

In spite of the vulgarity and extravagance of the popular Indian film we will be allowed important insights into the social milieu within which people live, what their popular beliefs and practices are and the cultural nuances differentiating groups. While articulating for us the ethos, dreams and dilemmas of society the popular cinema will also point to their changing nature.

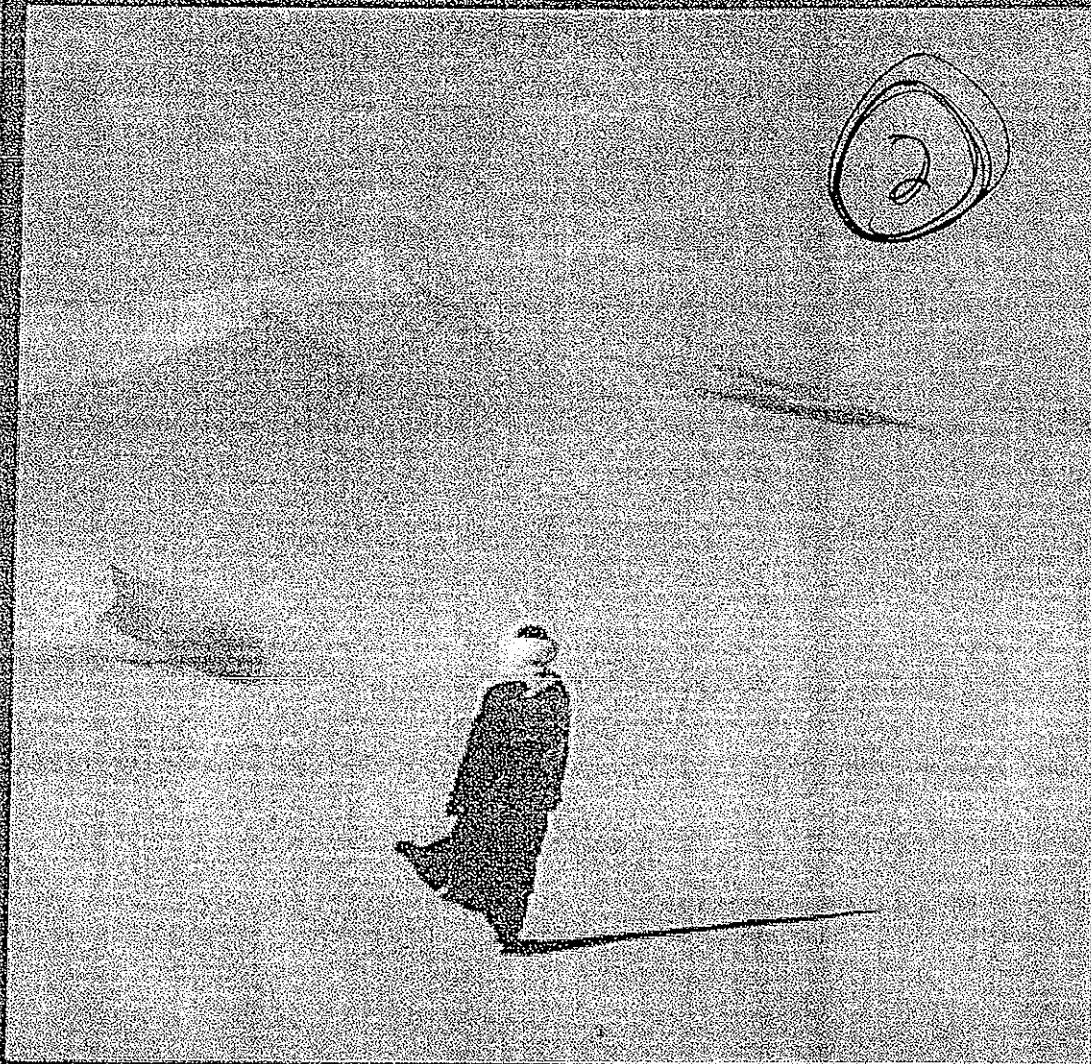
For their comments on this paper I acknowledge gratefully K. Gopal, T. N. Madan, F. Robinson and R. Vasudevan. This paper is my personal tribute to Indian films; a small token of gratitude for the hours spent escaping into their make-believe world.

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NAGUIB MAHFOUZ



THE JOURNEY OF
IBN FATTOUMA

"THE SHEEN OF THE ARABIAN NIGHTS LENDS
A MAGICAL GLOW TO [THIS] RESONANT FABLE" —BOSTON GLOBE



The Questions of War and Peace in Contemporary Islamic Legal Discourse: The Contribution of Wahbah al-Zuhayli

MUHAMMAD TAHIR MANSOORI

Abstract

Wahbah al-Zuhayli has come up a legal theory that is, on the whole, consistent with the norms of modern international law and accommodates the realities of the present-day relations obtaining among nations without compromising the objectives of Islamic law as laid down in the Qur'an and the Sunnah. Al-Zuhayli has provided very strong conceptual foundations for a peace-building approach. Anchored in the Qur'an and the Sunnah, this approach minimizes the use of force, confining it to only extraordinary circumstances. It seeks to promote the values of tolerance, compassion, forgiveness, justice, equity, mutual support and cooperation in intra-human relations. The present article attempts to present Wahbah al-Zuhayli's views on the position of war and peace in Islamic jurisprudence, examines his opinions about issues such as peaceful co-existence, justification of war, norms in the conduct of hostilities, conclusion of treaties between Muslim and non-Muslim states, and other issues relevant to these matters. This article also aims to delineate and highlight the positions taken by Wahbah al-Zuhayli which have had an impact on contemporary Islamic thought on these matters.



The concept of *jihād* in Islamic jurisprudence has been a subject of debate among Muslim scholars during the last few decades. A diversity of views has been expressed on the question as to what *jihād* is and what constitutes its warrant or justification.

Derived from the root *j-h-d*, the meaning of which is to exert oneself to the utmost, to strive hard, the word *jihād* carries a wide variety of meanings ranging from struggle against one's own sinful inclinations and expending effort to propagate the true religious faith to engagement in armed conflict

Keywords

- memory,
- heritage,
- Northern Ireland,
- conflict,
- storytelling

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Whatever you say, say something: remembering for the future in Northern Ireland

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The question of how to 'deal' with the past in post-conflict Northern Ireland preoccupies public conversation precisely because it separates a violent history from a fragile peace and an uncertain future. After a brief examination of contemporary Northern Ireland's culture of remembrance, this article provides some analysis of the potentials and dangers of efforts to confront the legacies of the Troubles. I argue here that the challenge for post-conflict heritage work in Northern Ireland lies in forging practices that permit and facilitate different ways of encountering complex and contradictory histories. These new efforts to remember encourage citizens to incorporate disparate, often conflicting memories into a patchwork of collected memory. Through a presentation of two case studies, this article offers an analysis of this memory work in an effort to show that it is as difficult as it is necessary. By forging a new tradition in memory work that transcends the long history of dual narratives and begins to make space for broader, more complicated engagements with the past, citizens are building their capacity to acknowledge, understand and respect difference. This opens up new conceptions of heritage that accommodate the incalculable complexity that accompanies reckoning with social and cultural inheritances. In settings in which the past is negotiated by ordinary citizens, heritage simultaneously demands and creates new spaces for public discourse.

Bringing Justice and Enforcing Peace? An Ethnographic Perspective on the Impact of the Special Court for Sierra Leone

Friederike Mieth, Center for Conflict Studies, Philipps University Marburg, Germany

The Special Court for Sierra Leone was set up in 2002 to try those who bear the greatest responsibility for atrocities perpetrated during a decade-long civil war in the country. This would, according to Court officials and observers, bring justice to the victims of the war and contribute to peace. Based on eight months of ethnographic fieldwork in Sierra Leone between 2010 and 2012, this article challenges those assumptions by exploring the viewpoint of ordinary Sierra Leoneans. The impact of the Special Court on the lives of ordinary people is rather small, first and foremost because they have a different understanding of what justice constitutes and who is able to provide it. This resulted in low expectations of the Court from the beginning. Moreover, the relevance of transitional justice fades in the context of daily challenges and remaining injustices. While the Special Court is viewed more positively as contributing to the peace, transitional justice institutions should engage more critically with the local context they operate in.

This article explores the impact of the Special Court for Sierra Leone (hereafter “Special Court” or “Court”) on the lives of ordinary Sierra Leoneans. Two common assumptions are scrutinized: that by holding perpetrators accountable the Special Court brings justice to the victims of the war, and that the Court contributes to lasting peace. Using data gathered during eight months of ethnographic fieldwork conducted from October 2010 to April 2012, I describe Sierra Leoneans’ perceptions of the Special Court and their ideas about justice, accountability, and peace.

The article fills a gap in the existing literature about the Special Court for Sierra Leone. Firstly, the majority of the literature available on the Special Court is of a legal nature and thus concentrates on the legal impact of the institution. In this context, some of the Court’s “firsts” are discussed: The Court was the first hybrid war crimes tribunal that sought to combine international and national law. It

was also the first time the recruitment of child soldiers and gender based crimes such as sexual slavery were considered as crimes against humanity. Discussion of these legal features often characterizes analysis of the impact of the Special Court on international law (Lamin 2003; Smith 2004; Tejan-Cole 2009).

Secondly, while a number of academic publications and practical reports address the impact of the Special Court, the majority of these analyze the impact of the Court from an external, top down, or again overly legalistic angle, hence using the same (Western) parameters from which the Court originated. Many scholars scrutinize the proceedings, as well as the selections of cases, fairness of trials, witness protection and security issues, transparency of the process, and outreach activities of the Court (Arzt 2006; Perriello and Wierda 2006; Staggs 2006; Jalloh 2011; Lincoln 2011). For example, Donna E. Arzt examines the local perception of

The author would like to express her gratitude to Susanne Buckley-Zistel, Jonah Lipton, and two anonymous reviewers for their comments and helpful critique. I am deeply indebted to Ishiatu A. Koroma, Doris B. Lebbie, and many others in Sierra Leone who helped conduct this research. This article is a product of the collaborative research project “The Politics of Building Peace: Transitional Justice, Reconciliation Initiatives, and Unification Policies in War-torn Societies” funded by the German Research Foundation (DFG). The DFG generously provided funding for fieldwork.

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RESEARCH ARTICLE

Silent lines and the ebb of memory: narratives of *Our Wall* in the island of Cyprus

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This paper moves away from “orientalist” visions of the island of Cyprus as the island of Aphrodite, the goddess of love and beauty, and looks at the wounds contemporary Cyprus still bears 36 years after its partition. The UN-controlled “Green Line” divides the island into a northern and southern side and its barbed-wire and decaying infrastructure renders the violence of the partition and its traumatic consequences impossible to forget. This paper is about dividing lines and impenetrable walls separating territories and nations; it is about ways of remembering and forgetting and about possible routes of overcoming physical and psychological rifts through hopeful representations of friendly cohabitation. In particular it looks at the potential transformations of the Green Line through a reclamation project into a healing inter-communal memory space (Gritching 2010); and provides a close reading of the 1993 film-documentary *Our Wall* by Panicos Chrysanthou and Niyazi Kizilyürek underlining its significance and influence as counter-discourse to the silence and the re-memorialisation of the years before partition. Both the “Green Line project” and *Our Wall* underline the importance of memory-embedded representations in the emerging genre of “post-colonial utopianism” (Ashcroft 2009), as positive active tools to energise the hope for peace and reconciliation.

Keywords: Partition of Cyprus; Mediterranean islands; Panicos Chrysanthou; cinema; re-memorialisation; post-colonial utopianism

Cypriot is a state of mind. (Chaglar 2008)

Changing what it means to remember changes what it means to be. (Slavin 2009)

But I ask you again [...] what is your identity? To whom does an island belong that has seen so many peoples, ideas, religions and cultures pass through? (Koumi 2006, 118)

Introduction

In the western imaginary, the island of Cyprus is traditionally evoked in mythological and legendary terms. In the past two decades, media and tourist representations have added exotic and idyllic images associating the island with notions of budget holidays, well-being and house-retail paradise.¹ Before actually visiting its shores, Cyprus dwelled in my cultural imagination² solely as the birth place of Aphrodite, the Cyprian Centaurs,³ and of Pygmalion,⁴ the setting of Shakespeare’s *Othello*, and the island of the “bitter lemons” described by and on which lived the “islomaniac” *par excellence*, Lawrence Durrell. Behind this “orientalist” concealment, which has been conveniently supported by both local governments and international powers,

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2 Global conflict in cosmocentric perspective



A Balinese approach to reconciliation

Annette Hornbacher

Global conflict and the demand for a universal ethics: basic remarks

The economic entanglement between different parts of the world not only creates a new situation of inter-cultural contact but of conflict as well. As a consequence of this process many Western politicians as well as philosophers such as Habermas (2005) have contended that only a common *ethos*, or universally accepted ethical norms, can adequately respond to the present challenges of globalization and guarantee peace and reconciliation in a multicultural world.¹ The appeal to preserve 'Western values' founded on the basic principles of humanistic enlightenment ethics and its corresponding worldview has been intensified in the wake of Islamist terror and its threat to the modern ideal of a global civil society. In what follows, I would like to examine this claim from an anthropological point of view, that is to say, from a Balinese perspective. I will focus particularly on the Balinese interpretation (and practical management) of the global conflict between Western liberalism and Islamist terror which were retraced to local concepts of reality and responsibility.

It is not my intention here to defend an abstract cultural relativism. What I am suggesting is that in some cases not the claims of universal ethical values but rather the re-interpretation of global conflict with regard to local traditions can offer possibilities for peacefully resolving, or reconciling, or even – as in Bali – preventing a violent clash between opposing religions, worldviews, and ideas of human co-existence. Moreover, the Balinese contextualization of inter-religious conflict within local cosmology offers a new perspective on the issue of reconciliation in general because it does not restrict the discourse on terrorism to a question of victims and perpetrators (the victim-perpetrator binary being a prevailing assumption in international reconciliation debates), but rather transforms this moral opposition into the Balinese framework of cosmological balance. It thus empowers the victims by ascribing them responsibility and agency. Recognizing that local traditions of de-escalation can be effective not only in local but also in global conflict would seem all the more important because – after decades of cultural relativism and after radical, postmodern critique in the field of theory – today even anthropologists like Rabinow (1986: 258) have stressed the idea of a 'cosmopolitan' 'ethos of macro-interdependencies', claiming that only a commonly shared liberal *ethos*

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CHAPTER 12

MERHAMETLI PEACE IS WOMAN'S PEACE: RELIGIOUS AND CULTURAL PRACTICES OF COMPASSION AND NEIGHBOURLINESS IN BOSNIA AND HERZEGOVINA

Zilka Spahić-Šiljak

For the last 19 years, I have worked with women's organizations¹ engaged in peace-building in Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH) and the Balkans. I explored their agency and their dedication to rebuilding and healing broken inter-ethnic relationships. Their work focusses on providing the secure legacy of a peaceful society for future generations. Despite deep ethno-national and ethno-religious divisions within BiH after 1990, women were determined to rebuild peace by working towards inter-faith and inter-ethnic cooperation.² Their major message is that the three BiH constituencies -- Bosniaks-Muslims, Serbs-Orthodox Christians and Croats-Catholics -- must learn to live together; their cultural and ethnic hybridities and the shared past experience of peaceful coexistence can serve as a guide for their future and for the future of conflict resolution in other multi-ethnic societies.

A GENDER-JUST PEACE? EXPLORING THE POST-DAYTON PEACE PROCESS IN BOSNIA

by *Annika Björkdahl*

This article is rooted in the understanding that global ideas of liberal democratic peace and the gendered dynamics of peacebuilding need to be confronted. The aim is to explore the challenges of localizing liberal democratic peace by exploring efforts such as those undertaken by women's organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina to promote a gender-just peace. The Dayton Peace Accord was the new "social contract" that set the standard for postwar societies. The gendered hierarchies built into this peace and the absence of women in the peace process created a "peace gap" that was gendered despite the fact that gender empowerment has become a standard tool in international peacebuilding. The post-Dayton peace process was characterized by a conservative backlash which has become a hallmark of women's postwar experience.

INTRODUCTION

Many contemporary peacebuilding processes are guided by the dominant idea of liberal democratic peace as it promises to deliver reconciliation and reconstruction in war-torn societies. Ideally, it may also bring about political change, be empowering, and emancipate individuals. This notion of peace is underpinned by norms such as peaceful conflict resolution, protection of human rights and minority rights, equality, political representation, good governance and rule of law. It rests on electoral democracy with notions of civil society and it is implemented through various peacebuilding strategies. Peacebuilding is often described as the institutionalization of peace, but the norms and values underpinning the liberal democratic peace often fail to take root in postwar societies despite decisive peacebuilding efforts.¹ One reason is that this liberal notion of peace rarely reflects local understandings of peace and the voices of the citizens are rarely heard in

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CHAPTER 1

UNGENDERING PEACE TALK

miriam cooke

'Bedell, meanwhile, is dressed in her desert camouflage. She has a Beretta M9 strapped to her thigh and an M4 rifle over her shoulder.'¹ Zoe Bedell, a 2007 Princeton graduate, is in charge of the US Marine Corps' Female Engagement Teams in Afghanistan. Trained for 'combat lifesaving techniques', these female marines are part of the US military's counterinsurgency project to reach out to Afghan women. Theirs is a new assignment -- win the hearts and minds of the men through the women. Armed women marines like Bedell are complicating the usual association of women and peacemaking. While women's groups and networks around the world have long worked for peace, other past and present women like the Amazons, Joan of Arc, Golda Meir and, most recently, women suicide bombers have not. Women are not created peace loving *in utero*; they are told they are. Sara Ruddick argues that women are not inherently peaceable.² Rather, they practice a form of maternal thinking that adapts women to violence on behalf of peace. Their special conflict resolution skills, she writes, are learned. The mother cares for her child often devotedly.

Are men -- automatically associated with war -- more engaged in peace-building than women? In its 112-year history, the Nobel Peace Prize has been awarded to 86 men -- 4 of them Muslims -- but only to 15 women -- 2 of them Muslim women -- a ratio of 1 woman to 7 men.



CHAPTER 10

STRANGERS, FRIENDS AND PEACE: THE WOMEN'S WORLD OF ABDULLAH HALL, ALIGARH MUSLIM UNIVERSITY

Yasmin Saikia

The nineteenth century was a period of loss for Muslims in the Indian subcontinent. The end of the Mughal Rule (1526–1857) produced a foreboding sense of uncertainty, and the diverse Muslim communities were unable to conceptualize what lay ahead. 'Twilight', a metaphor used by Ahmed Ali, encapsulates the mood of the time as Muslims fumbled in anxiety within the structure of the Company Bahadur's rule.¹ It was a kind of anxiety that qualifies in the Heideggerian sense as a state of loss calling for change; Muslims had to find new directions to serve their communities. Anxious questions arose: would the Englishmen in India be friendly towards Islam given that they had deposed the Muslim rulers, the Mughals, from political power? Or, more precisely, would the Company Bahadur reduce the multitude Muslims into the reductive category of rebels and refuse to improve the Muslim condition? The Muslim psyche was deeply troubled, but Muslims could not imagine an independent and alternative vision for themselves. Like the other communities in India at that time, the Muslims treated the Company Bahadur as if it

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CHAPTER 5

AGENTS OF PEACE: AN EXPLORATION OF THREE ACEHNESE WOMEN LEADERS

Asna Husin

The issue of women's active participation in social life is sometimes regarded as a secular value infiltrated into Acehese and other Muslim societies through Western influence. Yet, the active role of Acehese women reflects entrenched Acehese cultural norms, as well as deeply embedded teachings of equality in Islam. Culturally Acehese women have always been very assertive. Describing their involvement in the wars against the Dutch occupation, H. C. Zentgraaff commented in his work on Aceh: 'Acehese women are extremely courageous [...]. When they have to fight, this task is carried out with full energy, fearless of death, and [they] are often superior to men.'¹ The Dutch Orientalist and colonial official Snouck Hourgronje in his classic study *De Atjehers (The Acehese)* included an interesting image of women and men vendors in the marketplace – a condition that continues to this day. The image was probably taken prior to, or during his station in Aceh (1891–2). Elsewhere in the two volumes of his work Hourgronje confirms that women were active members of society, especially as *teungkuks* (religious teachers) and as advocates of their own rights in marriage, property and

THE JUSTICE OF FORGIVENESS

Daniel Philpott



ABSTRACT

Over the past generation, forgiveness has entered the political sphere in countries all over the globe that are addressing the past injustices of war, dictatorship, genocide, and the maltreatment of native peoples. Among the international community, however, the practice is controversial, criticized as unjust for burdening victims and foregoing deserved punishment. This essay argues that forgiveness is not contrary to justice but rather reflective of it if justice means restoration of right relationship, a concept embedded in the scriptures and traditions of Judaism, Christianity, and Islam. Conceived of in this way, forgiveness can avoid the potential injustices with which it is charged and contribute positively to the reconstruction of political orders.

KEY WORDS: *forgiveness, justice, reconciliation, transitional justice, Christianity, Judaism, Islam*

Over the past generation, forgiveness has entered the political sphere in countries all over the globe that are addressing the past injustices of war, dictatorship, genocide, and the maltreatment of native peoples. Most memorable is South Africa, where President Nelson Mandela forgave apartheid leaders while Archbishop Desmond Tutu preached “no future without forgiveness” as chair of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Forgiveness has also appeared in the discourse about Uganda, Sierra Leone, Timor-Leste, Germany, Northern Ireland, Chile, El Salvador, Guatemala, Rwanda, and many other locales.

Not only novelty but also controversy has attended the rise of forgiveness in politics. What is often called the “international community”—UN officials, human rights activists, international lawyers, and a more inchoate cadre of like-minded global diplomats—has both ignored and criticized forgiveness. It has devoted itself far more to a set of other practices that have also proliferated in the past generation and often go by the name “transitional justice” (Teitel 2003; Arthur 2009, 321). These include establishing human rights and the rule of law, judicial prosecution, “vetting” corrupted officials, truth commissions, and reparations. Of these,

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Apology, historical obligations and the ethics of memory

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Abstract

This article defends a conception of citizenship and political solidarity that encompasses an ethics of memory and the recognition of obligations that come from history. It claims that citizens ought to remember the deeds of their predecessors and to apologize and make recompense for historical injustices. To establish that such obligations exist it is necessary to contend with a tradition of liberal philosophical thought that regards history as irrelevant to the duties of citizens and their relationship as members of a political society. 'Ahistorical liberalism' not only fails to appreciate the importance to people of historical memories. It also faces serious philosophical and moral difficulties. The obligations and rights of citizens are best understood in the framework of a relationship of intergenerational cooperation that gives citizens duties in respect to the past as well as the future.

Key words

citizenship; historical memory; liberalism; social justice

The ethics of memory is about what individuals or groups ought to remember or forget, what they ought to do to enable this remembering and forgetting, and how they ought to respond to demands arising from memory. The memories I am concerned with in this article are shared memories of the historical past that play a role in forming the identity of individuals as members of a community. Being historical, they are not (at least for most existing people) recollections from experience. They are accounts of past events or people that are passed on from one generation to the next in a family, nation or some other intergenerational community by means of stories told by parents, teachers or community elders. What is important about these memories is their continuing significance for members of a community – a significance that in some cases endures for many generations.

These memories can be crucial to a group's identity. That their forebears achieved something, suffered for the sake of the community, made great sacrifices, or were done

WOMEN AND PEACE IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD

Gender, Agency and Influence

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YASMIN SAIKIA AND CHAD HAINES

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