Course information:
Copy and paste current course information from Class Search/Course Catalog.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Academic Unit</th>
<th>Religious Studies</th>
<th>Department</th>
<th>History</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Subject</td>
<td>HST</td>
<td>Number</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is this a cross-listed course?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>If yes, please identify course(s)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Is this a shared course?</td>
<td>No</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Course description:</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Requested designation: Social and Behavioral Sciences-SB
Note: a separate proposal is required for each designation requested

Eligibility:
Permanent numbered courses must have completed the university’s review and approval process.
For the rules governing approval of omnibus courses, contact Phyllis.Lucie@asu.edu or Lauren.Leo@asu.edu

Submission deadlines dates are as follow:
For Fall 2015 Effective Date: October 9, 2014
For Spring 2016 Effective Date: March 19, 2015

Area(s) proposed course will serve:
A single course may be proposed for more than one core or awareness area. A course may satisfy a core area requirement and more than one awareness area requirements concurrently, but may not satisfy requirements in two core areas simultaneously, even if approved for those areas. With departmental consent, an approved General Studies course may be counted toward both the General Studies requirement and the major program of study.

Checklists for general studies designations:
Complete and attach the appropriate checklist
- Literacy and Critical Inquiry core courses (L)
- Mathematics core courses (MA)
- Computer/statistics/quantitative applications core courses (CS)
- Humanities, Arts and Design core courses (HU)
- Social-Behavioral Sciences core courses (SB)
- Natural Sciences core courses (SO/SG)
- Cultural Diversity in the United States courses (C)
- Global Awareness courses (G)
- Historical Awareness courses (H)

A complete proposal should include:
☒ Signed General Studies Program Course Proposal Cover Form
☒ Criteria Checklist for the area
☒ Course Catalog description
☒ Course Syllabus
☒ Copy of Table of Contents from the textbook and list of required readings/books

Respectfully request that proposals are submitted electronically with all files compiled into one PDF. If necessary, a hard copy of the proposal will be accepted.

Contact information:
Name: Cindy Baade
Phone: 5-7183
Mail code: 4302
E-mail: cynthia.baade@asu.edu

Department Chair/Director approval: *(Required)*
Chair/Director name (Typed): Matthew J. Garcia
Date: 3/3/15
Chair/Director (Signature):

Rev. 1/94, 4/95, 7/98, 4/00, 1/02, 10/08, 11/11/12/11, 7/12, 5/14
Rationale and Objectives

Social-behavioral sciences use distinctive scientific methods of inquiry and generate empirical knowledge about human behavior, within society and across cultural groups. Courses in this area address the challenge of understanding the diverse natures of individuals and cultural groups who live together in a complex and evolving world.

In both private and public sectors, people rely on social scientific findings to consider and assess the social consequences of both large-scale and group economic, technological, scientific, political, ecological and cultural change. Social scientists' observations about human interactions with the broader society and their unique perspectives on human events make an important contribution to civic dialogue.

Courses proposed for a General Studies designation in the Social-Behavioral Sciences area must demonstrate emphases on: (1) social scientific theories, perspectives and principles, (2) the use of social-behavioral methods to acquire knowledge about cultural or social events and processes, and (3) the impact of social scientific understanding on the world.

Revised April 2014
Proposer: Please complete the following section and attach appropriate documentation.

**ASU--[SB] CRITERIA**

A SOCIAL-BEHAVIORAL SCIENCES [SB] course should meet all of the following criteria. If not, a rationale for exclusion should be provided.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YES/D</th>
<th>NO/D</th>
<th>Criteria</th>
<th>Identify Documentation Submitted</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>1. Course is designed to advance basic understanding and knowledge about human interaction.</td>
<td>Syllabus; table of contents from books; title pages of books, chapters, articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2. Course content emphasizes the study of social behavior such as that found in:</td>
<td>Syllabus; table of contents from books; title pages of books, chapters, articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• ANTHROPOLOGY</td>
<td>History</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• ECONOMICS</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>• HISTORY</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>3. Course emphasizes:</td>
<td>Syllabus; table of contents from books; title pages of books, chapters, articles</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>a. the distinct knowledge base of the social and behavioral sciences (e.g., sociological anthropological).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>b. the distinct methods of inquiry of the social and behavioral sciences (e.g., ethnography, historical analysis).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>OR</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>4. Course illustrates use of social and behavioral science perspectives and data.</td>
<td>Syllabus; table of contents from books; title pages of books, chapters, articles</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

THE FOLLOWING TYPES OF COURSES ARE EXCLUDED FROM THE [SB] AREA EVEN THOUGH THEY MIGHT GIVE SOME CONSIDERATION TO SOCIAL AND BEHAVIORAL SCIENCE CONCERNS:

- Courses with primarily arts, humanities, literary or philosophical content.
- Courses with primarily natural or physical science content.
- Courses with predominantly applied orientation for professional skills or training purposes.
- Courses emphasizing primarily oral, quantitative, or written skills.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Course Prefix</th>
<th>Number</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>General Studies Designation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>HST</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>Introduction to Peace Studies</td>
<td>SB</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Criteria (from checksheet)</th>
<th>How course meets spirit (contextualize specific examples in next column)</th>
<th>Please provide detailed evidence of how course meets criteria (i.e., where in syllabus)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1</td>
<td>The course is designed to examine the concept of peace in a global context at both theoretical and methodological levels, and in case studies that demonstrate a range of human conflicts and resolution strategies.</td>
<td>The entire course is about advancing understanding of human interaction through the pursuit of peace, see the course description in the syllabus and readings from week 2, week 4, week 5, and week 6 for material that focuses on and compares broad trends involving cultural interaction.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2 - History</td>
<td>The course uses historical analysis to introduce students to the history of peace as a concept in various societies, and the history of peace movements across a wide range of cultures and perspectives.</td>
<td>See the course description on page 1 of the syllabus, and readings from week 1, week 2, week 3, week 5, week 6, and week 10.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3b</td>
<td>Lectures, course readings, and required videos explore the complexity of understanding the dynamics of peace and peacebuilding using ethnographic research and methods that demonstrate how to be both respectful and critical of our own viewpoints and those of others.</td>
<td>See course description on page 1 of the syllabus, required films on pages 2 and 3 of the syllabus, and the readings from week 10, week 11, and week 13.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4</td>
<td>In addition to the historical analysis and ethnographic research and methods that comprise much of the course content, the course also engages readings from anthropology and political science that illustrate the use of social and behavioral science perspectives and data. The course as a whole thus demonstrates how understanding peace requires a multi-faceted and multi-disciplinary approach using the methods of the social-behavioral sciences.</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---</td>
<td>---</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>In addition to the historical analysis content from section two above, and the ethnographic content in section three above, see the course description in the syllabus and the readings from anthropological perspectives (weeks 6, 14) and political science perspectives (weeks 3, 5, 11, 14).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
HST 302  **Studies in History**
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  
**Grading method:** Student Option

**Primary course component:** Lecture

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

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

Course Description
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.

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.

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.

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. 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
4. To be critically reflective on our personal sensibilities about peace and appreciate the views of others regarding peace.

A Few Key Readings

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

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. Arna’s Children (Palestine): DS113.7 A76 2006 DVD
4. Parzania (India)* (available online) (screening and discussion, Sept. 4, Noon-2.30pm) – Yasin Safa
5. Pray the Devil back to Hell (Liberia): DT636.5 P73 2009 DVD
7. The Square (Egypt)* (screening and discussion, Sept. 11, Noon – 2.30pm.) – Chad Haines
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)

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


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


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

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


*Sept. 10 and 11* Film Screening – 12noon – 2.30pm
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

Cortright, Peace, Chp. 10.


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


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


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

**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**


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


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


**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**


**Discuss paper topic for final project**

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

Arzoo Aslanloo, ‘Crime and Reconciliation: Women’s Peace Initiative in the Islamic Republic of Iran,’ in *Women and Peace* (pp. to be announced).
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
THE ELUSIVE DEFINITION OF PEACE

Gordon L. Anderson

Associate Editor

International Journal on World Peace

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 εἰρήνη that the state of peace is order secured by an interlude in war. Like the Greek word εἰρήνη, 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 Rei 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 שלום 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 שלום 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'. 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 oikeia, 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 idealistic, 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 architeconics 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 architectures, 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 evidence — 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 between major powers, and most 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 cut 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 Murty as well as an article by Takeshi Ishida 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.
Contents

Acknowledgments
List of abbreviations

1 What is peace?
   Idealism and realism
   New wars
   Defining terms
   What's in a word?
   "Pacifist" Japan?
   Latin American and African traditions
   Pacifism and "just war"
   An outline of peace history
   An overview of peacemaking ideas

PART I MOVEMENTS

2 The first peace societies
   Stirrings
   Social origins and political agendas
   Elihu Burritt: the learned blacksmith
   The first peace congresses
   The right of self-determination
   Universalizing peace
   The Hague Peace Conference
   Not enough

3 Toward internationalism
   Concepts and trends
   The arbitration revolution
   A League of Nations
   Wilson's vision
   The challenge of supporting the League
   Outlawing war
Contents

4 Facing fascism
   Peace movement reborn
   Pledging war resistance
   Revolutionary antimilitarism
   The Peace Ballot
   Against appeasement
   Imperial failure
   The neutrality debate
   The emergency peace campaign
   Losing Spain
   The end of "pacifism"

5 Debating disarmament
   Early reluctance
   Disarmament on the fore
   Challenging the "merchants of death"
   The naval disarmament treaties
   World disarmament conference
   The collapse of disarmament
   Disarmament at fault?

6 Confronting the cold war
   Creating the United Nations
   The rise of world federalism
   Cold war collapse
   Militarization and resistance in Japan
   The levizian
   Speaking truth to power

7 Banning the bomb
   The shock of discovery
   Scientists organize
   The Baruch plan
   For nuclear sanity
   The beginning of arms control
   Nuclear pacifism in Japan
   The rise of the nuclear freeze
   God against the bomb
   A prairie fire
   Ferment in Europe
   Who won?
   Lessons from the end of the cold war

8 Refusing war
   Vietnam: a triangular movement
   Challenging presidents, constraining escalation
## Contents

Social disruption and political costs 162  
Resistance in the military 164  
The rise of conscientious objection 167  
The movement against war in Iraq 170  
Winning while losing 174  
Countering the "war on terror" 176

### PART II THEMES

9 Religion 181  
Eastern traditions 183  
Study war no more 185  
Salvation and jihad 188  
Christianity 190  
Anabaptists and Quakers 193  
Tolstoy's anarchist pacifism 195  
Social Christianity 197  
Catholic peacemaking 199  
Niebuhr's challenge 200  
Beyond perfectionism 203  
The nonviolent alternative 206

10 A force more powerful 208  
Religious roots 211  
Action for change 213  
Coercion and nonviolence 216  
The power of love 218  
Spirit and method 220  
Two hands 222  
A tool against tyranny 224  
Courage and strength 227

11 Democracy 230  
Early voices 233  
Democracy against militarism 234  
Colbem: peace through free trade 236  
Kant: the philosopher of peace 237  
Human nature 240  
For democratic control 243  
The Kantian triad 246  
The insights of feminism 249  
Empowering women 252

12 Social justice 256  
Socialism and pacifism: early differences 260
## Contents

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chapter</th>
<th>Title</th>
<th>Pages</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>viii</td>
<td>Convergence</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Leninist critique</td>
<td>266</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Scientific pacifism</td>
<td>269</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peace through economic justice</td>
<td>270</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The development–peace nexus</td>
<td>273</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Development for whom?</td>
<td>275</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>13</td>
<td>Responsibility to protect</td>
<td>279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bridging the cold war divide</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>War for democracy?</td>
<td>283</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opposing war, advancing freedom</td>
<td>286</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human rights and security</td>
<td>287</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Debating Kosovo</td>
<td>289</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The responsibility to protect</td>
<td>292</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peace operations</td>
<td>296</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The challenge in Darfur</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>14</td>
<td>A moral equivalent</td>
<td>302</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The belligerence of the masses</td>
<td>304</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Peace and its discontents: the Einstein–Freud dialogue</td>
<td>306</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nonmilitary service</td>
<td>307</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nonviolent warriors</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Transforming conflict</td>
<td>313</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Human security service</td>
<td>315</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Patriotic pacifism</td>
<td>317</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>15</td>
<td>Realizing disarmament</td>
<td>321</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>From nonproliferation to disarmament</td>
<td>323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Canberra Commission</td>
<td>325</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sparking the debate</td>
<td>328</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>“Weapons of terror”</td>
<td>329</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>What is zero?</td>
<td>331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>16</td>
<td>Realistic pacifism</td>
<td>334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Theory</td>
<td>335</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Practice</td>
<td>336</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Action</td>
<td>337</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

### Bibliography

Index 340

353
Images of Peace

Thomas Hippler
Institute of Political Studies (Sciences Po), University of Lyon, France, UMR 5206 Triangle

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. 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
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 potestia 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 conflicntual 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. The pleas, to be repeated in long intervals during the decades that followed, appear to have fallen on deaf ears in a field seemingly confident in its routine research activities.

*Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University, Ankara, Turkey. E-mail: polatn@metu.edu.tr

317
How God Disappeared from Europe: Visions of a United Europe from Erasmus to Kant

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. Emerie Crucc, 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. Du 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.

University of Amsterdam, Department of History, Archaeology and Area Studies, The Netherlands.
Email: A.vanHeerikhuizen@uva.nl
ALL MEN ARE BROTHERS

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

COMPILED AND EDITED BY
KRISHNA KRIPALANI

INTRODUCTION BY
SARVEPALLI RADHAKRISHNAN

CENTENNIAL REPRINT
1869–1969

UNESCO
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>CONTENTS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Introduction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter I</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter II</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter III</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter IV</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter V</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter VI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter VII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter VIII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter IX</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter X</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter XI</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter XII</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Glossary</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sources</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A Selected Bibliography</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
CHAPTER IV

AHIMŚĀ 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.

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.

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 recks not if he should lose his land, his wealth, his life. He who has not overcome all fear cannot practise ahīmsā to perfection. The votary of ahīmsā has only one fear, that is of God. He who seeks refuge in God ought to have a glimpse of the Ātma that transcends the body; and the moment one has a glimpse of the imperishable Ātma one sheds the love of the perishable body. Training in non-violence is thus diametrically opposed to training in violence.
THE WAY TO PEACE: A BUDDHIST PERSPECTIVE

Theresa Der-lan 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 On


NILS PETTER GLEDITSCH

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

Fifteen years ago, Charles Kegley spoke of a neorealism 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 theories: 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 neorealism.

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 "neoliberal" rather than liberal, and there was a question mark in his title.3 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. Harald Baban, Hans Domme, Øystein Holm, and Henrik Urdal deserve special mention here. Thanks to the same group plus Kristina Skrede Gleditsch, Ragnhild Nordhaug, and Gudrun Osby 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 Cataila As Rostad are visible in every slide. The presentation can be found, along with references to the data sources, on http://www.isanet.org/isamrin2008. Replication data for the figures presented here can be found at http://data.harvard.edu/dru/3x/issq, http://www.isanet.org/dataarchive and http://www.primo.see/cesy/datasets.

2 Although ISI Web of Science has left out the question mark.
Katarina Tomasevski
Stockholm International Peace Research Institute
Sweden

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, and that favouring armaments entails not only economic, but social costs as well. Military preparations are generally founded on a state's right to enlist parts of its population into military service, thus depriving certain people of a considerable amount of their freedom while simultaneously teaching them to kill upon governmental orders. 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 sub-continents;
- **actors**: states have lost their monopoly on waging war, and a host of
THE QUEST FOR PEACE:
A VIEW FROM ANTHROPOLOGY

RAPHAEL PATAI

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

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, 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,' 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, a diverse bloc of peoples, cultures and societies, are a menace and a threat to global peace.

IKECHI MGBEOJI is at the Osgoode Hall Law School, 4700 Keele Street, Toronto M3J 1P3, Canada. Email: mgbeoji@osgoode.yorku.ca.
A

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."

-143-
Bombay Films: The Cinema as Metaphor for Indian Society and Politics

AKBAR S. AHMED
University of Cambridge

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.

© 1992 Cambridge University Press
289
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-Zu'ayli

MUHAMMAD TAHIR MANSOORI

Abstract

Wahbah al-Zu'ayli 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-Zu'ayli 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-Zu'ayli'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-Zu'ayli which have had an impact on contemporary Islamic thought on these matters.

The concept of jihaad 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 jihaad 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 jihaad 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
Whatever you say, say something: remembering for the future in Northern Ireland

Margo Shea

Department of History, University of Massachusetts Amherst, Amherst, MA, USA

(Received 19 October 2008; final version received 31 January 2010)

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 inescapable 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 article challenges the assumption that the Special Court brings justice to the victims of the war and contributes to peace. Based on eight months of ethnographic fieldwork in Sierra Leone between 2010 and 2012, this article explores the impact of the Special Court on the lives of ordinary people. 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 constitutes justice 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 (Laming 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 selection of cases, fairness of trials, witness protection and security issues, transparency of the process, and outreach activities of the Court (Arzt 2006; Perriello and Wiera 2006; Staggs 2006; Jalloh 2011; Lincoln 2011). For example, Donna E. Arzt examines the local perception of...
RESEARCH ARTICLE

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

Luisa Percopo*

Dipartimento di Filologie e Letterature Moderne, Università di Cagliari, Cagliari, Italy

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 Kizilyurek 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? (Kouni 2005, 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. Before actually visiting its shores, Cyprus dwelled in my cultural imagination solely as the birth place of Aphrodite, the Cyprian Centaurs, and of Pygmalion, the setting of Shakespeare's Othello, and the island of the "bitter lemons" described by and on which lived the "islomania" par excellence, Lawrence Durrell. Behind this "orientalist" concealment, which has been conveniently supported by both local governments and international powers,

*Email: lpercopo@hotmail.com
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. The appeal to preserve 'Western values' formed on the basis 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 retracted 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...
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 organizations 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. 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. 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

PEACE & CHANGE, Vol. 37, No. 2, April 2012
© 2012 Peace History Society and Wiley Periodicals, Inc.
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.' 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. 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. 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
CHAPTER 5

AGENTS OF PEACE: AN EXPLORATION OF THREE ACEHNENSE WOMEN LEADERS

Asna Husin

The issue of women's active participation in social life is sometimes regarded as a secular value infiltrated into Acehnese and other Muslim societies through Western influence. Yet, the active role of Acehnese women reflects entrenched Acehnese cultural norms, as well as deeply embedded teachings of equality in Islam. Culturally Acehnese 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: 'Acehnese 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.' The Dutch Orientalist and colonial official Snouck Hurgronje in his classic study De Atjehers (The Acehnese) 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 Hurgronje confirms that women were active members of society, especially as teungkus (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,

Daniel Philpott is Professor of Political Science and Peace Studies at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of Just and Unjust Peace: An Ethic of Political Reconciliation (Oxford 2012) and coauthor, with Monica Duffy Toft and Timothy Samuel Shah, of God’s Century: Resurgent Religion and Global Politics (W. W. Norton & Company 2011). Daniel Philpott, University of Notre Dame, Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, 100 Hesburgh Center, Notre Dame, IN 46556, James.D.Philpott.1@nd.edu.

Apology, historical obligations and the ethics of memory

JANNA THOMPSON, La Trobe University, Australia

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. ‘Historical 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...


People Involved:
Arzoo Osanloo

Status of Research or Work:
Completed/published

Research Type:
Publications, Essays, Articles, and Book Chapters

Related Fields:
Crime and Criminality, Gender, Women, and Sexuality Studies, Islamic Studies
WOMEN AND PEACE IN THE ISLAMIC WORLD

Gender, Agency and Influence

Edited by
Yasmin Saikia and Chad Haines

I.B. Tauris
London • New York
CONTENTS

Preface and Acknowledgements x

Introduction: Situating Peace, Islam and Women in the Everyday
Yasmin Saikia and Chad Haines 1

Part 1: Deliberations: Questioning the Normative
1. Ungendering Peace Talk
   miriam cooke 25
2. Dialogical Din and Everyday Acts of Peace: An Islamic Perspective
   Chad Haines 43
3. Negotiating Islamic Feminism: Echoes of Medieval Theological Disputes in Modern Islam
   Richard C. Martin 69

Part 2: Interventions: Claiming Public Space
4. Women, Islam, Transnationalism: 'Politics of Location' and other Contentions in Women's Organizing in Bangladesh
   Elora Halim Chowdhury 99
5. Agents of Peace: An Exploration of Three Acehnese Women Leaders
   Asma Hasin
   136

6. The Role of Muslim Women in Engendering Peace: Bilād al-Sudan (Sudan and Nigeria)
   Sonaad T. Ali
   169

Part 3: Formations: Engendering Peace Dialogues
7. In Pursuit of Peace: Muslim Women's Involvement in Peace-Building
   S. Ayse Kadayifei-Orellana
   191

8. Crime and Reconciliation: Women's Peace Initiatives in the Islamic Republic of Iran
   Arzoo Osanloo
   224

9. Religion, Women and Peaceful Revolutions: Perspectives from the Arab Middle East
   Azza Karam
   246

Part 4: Relationships: Building Communities
10. Strangers, Friends and Peace: The Women's World of Abdullah Hall, Aligarh Muslim University
    Yasmin Saikia
    275

11. The Living Monuments of Mourning: Struggles for Memory and Peace in Post-Revolutionary Iran
    Shabla Talabi
    309

12. Merhameti Peace is Woman's Peace: Religious and Cultural Practices of Compassion and Neighbourliness in Bosnia and Herzegovina
    Zilka Spahić-Šišjak
    345

Conclusion: Gender, Peace and War
    Sally L. Kitch
    365