PACS 100- Peace in Theory and Practice

1/21:

* Peace is complex, multifaceted, and comes in a variety of formats
* Theory: The structured set of ideas that form a coherent whole and seek to explain the characteristics of an entity that is independent of the theory itself. A theory must be testable
* Practice: The non-random occurrence of an event or series of events in a discernible and international pattern. Practice provides the material by which we create and test theories.
* Pax is the Latin word for peace. PACS is a homophone for Pax
* Pax Romana was a series of wars of imperialist expansion
* Pax represents pacification; the peace that occurs after you conquer other people and they stop fighting back
* Romans believed that war was necessary for peace

1/23: Cosmopolitanism

* Two essential elements involved in world peace
* Cosmopolitanism (theory)
* Global governance: practical institutional manifestation
* Origins:
  + Kosmopolites
  + Attributed to Diogenes (4th century BCE). When asked where he was from he answered that it was irrelevant because he was a citizen of the world.
    - He said this because he was associated with a school of thought called “the cynics”
    - We should be indifferent like dogs (don’t be attached to materials, where we’re from, people with a particular skin color, etc.); care equally about everyone everywhere you go
  + “citizen of the world”
* Positive: we owe obligations to all of humanity
* Negative: we do not owe special consideration to our local community
* Religious: community of people and community of God. You are preparing to be a part of a community of God. Which should you care about more?
* Secular: particular community (local) and universal community
* Modern Transformation:
  + Emmanuel Kant. 1724-1804
  + Universal moral principles—irrespective of culture, religion, etc. which were produced by human reason
  + The categorical imperative
    - “In discerning motivation and justification, acts must satisfy the condition that they are universally applicable and binding”
    - If you find yourself in a situation where you are the subject of an act (you are about to do something), but would not want to be the object (recipient) of the act, you must conclude: I Kant do that (LOL-Zook)
    - Reason is universal; transcends all cultural and religious barriers
    - Reason creates ethics
    - Ethics are obligatory
    - Duty (to others) and responsibility (of self)
  + Moral cosmopolitanism=equal moral obligation to all (opposite would be communitarianism)
  + Political cosmopolitanism=supranational political intuitions to facilitate (and enforce)
  + Cultural cosmopolitanism=porous cultural boundaries (be able to move between cultures. Wake up one day and decide to be Latino)
  + Economic cosmopolitanism=ethical trade and equal access to the market
* Critiques
  + Radical individualism—they don’t understand how we become who we are. We need other people (not everyone on earth is an equal friend). It forces us to care too much about only ourselves and have no attachments
  + Radical communalism—it makes the only people we want to circulate with other cosmopolitans, which means we reject people who aren’t
  + Local versus universal—how is this a livable philosophy?
  + Reason versus culture—how much of what we think is a cultural product and how much is actual plain reason?
  + Reason requires freedom
  + Freedom requires responsibility
  + Irresponsible people are unreasonable
  + They can be deprived of freedom
  + Therefore: freedom is good so long as you are using reason the correct way
  + Global civil society (nonformal actors): all ideas have equal moral worth therefore we do everything we do on a global scale
  + All ideas have equal moral worth
  + Cosmopolitanism lets us question everything; therefore, no one can question cosmopolitanism
* Perpetual peace
* All states should be “republican” (democracy)
* International law should be created (by all free states)
* World citizenship and universal respect
* Reason always trumps culture
* We are supposed to care about 6.2 billion people equally while caring about issues on the local, national, regional, and international levels equally. Take into account all levels of action simultaneously
* The Readings:
  + Kant:
    - Argument: Kant’s plan contains a contradiction (focuses on the Second Definitive Article, requiring a league of nations rather than a global state/world republic)
    - Law of contract: interpersonal (civil) and international (legal)
    - Only republics can be a part of the league of nations
    - For the author, the analogy from individual to state is untenable: if individuals use reason to collectively leave the state of nature to form a republic, then states should use reason to leave the state of war to form a world republic
  + “Afro-Colombians and the Cosmopolitan City”:
    - Focus on Bogota: where theory meets practice
    - Multiculturalism versus cosmopolitanism (“universalism plus difference”)
    - “White Colombian elites” and “while elite cosmopolitans”
    - Cosmopolitan as urban: importance of place and space
    - Two critiques:
      * Cosmopolitanism is neoliberal
      * Cosmopolitanism is an elite experience
    - “Ethnic people, refugees, and working-class immigrants are generally excluded…” (107)
    - So, while Colombians are not ethnic people? All people have ethnicity…..
    - Private-public differences. Selective exclusion
    - Space-time-race differences in exclusions
    - “Despite our elite status as university graduates, professionals, and world travelers, we were excluded” (112). You said the elite were included….?
    - “For these women the Zona Rosa was so fixed in its racial character that there was no room for challenging social norms” (114)…same for all communities?
    - Law suit: coercive law versus cosmopolitan law

1/28: Why Every Peace is Not Alike

* Peace comes in a large variety of formats
* Different sorts of conflicts require different sorts of peace
* There are many different theories to explain and describe peace; peace is complicated!
* Absolute Hospitality:
  + Variation of cosmopolitanism
  + Jacques Derrida
  + Postmodernism
  + Deconstruction
  + Strange optimism (unusual in a post-modernist thinker)
  + Kant’s cosmopolitanism is conditional because it requires all political entities to be republics and it requires the use of reason. Non-republics and unreasonable actors are thus rendered outside the bounds of perpetual peace
  + Postmodernism:
    - Foucalt:
      * There’s no such thing as an absolute truth
      * Claiming that you know the “truth” is a power play to get other people to agree with you
      * Knowledge—all forms of knowledge is us trying to convince people of things they would not inherently think
      * Power—power and knowledge are inherently link; knowledge is predicated on ideas of power
      * There is no progress, it’s just different. We think things are different because it is a deeply embedded in society and our thought process (it’s all a construction)
      * Law is the coercive action of the state forcing you to believe a certain kind of truth
      * Violence—the violence we do to each other and ourselves to accept things without thinking
      * Truth—acts of coercive violence that are trying to get you to believe “truths” and knowledge
    - Intolerance of metaphysics—everything is the product of some kind of power struggle. Nothing is inherently something, everything has some material value and/or manifestation
    - Intolerance of metatheory—the bigger the theory, the more violence it requires
    - We neither progress nor have direction—science is different than it was earlier, not more advanced
    - Local knowledge as “resistance”—responses to different knowledges on a micro level
  + Deconstructionism:
    - Focus on the text
    - The text “represents” knowledge and thus constructs it
    - Struggle between author (as author-ity) and reader (as interpreter); reinterpretation of text after reading it is just as valid and powerful as text itself
    - Constructions contain truth claims that work against themselves
    - Readers find the weak spots and provide counter-narratives (text don’t have meaning in and of themselves, we have to give it them)
    - Author and reader collectively constitute knowledge
  + Difference:
    - Boundaries and texts
    - Author and reader
    - Insider and outsider
    - Boundaries are deconstructed
    - Difference is meaningless
  + Hospitality as an absolute ethic
  + No conditionality
  + No exclusion
  + No difference
  + Basically Kant without conditionalities
  + Derrida: absolute hospitality is “only possible on the condition of its impossibility”
  + Welcome to the Aporia—the moment when we notice that something doesn’t make any sense, at which point all positive thought and action happens
  + We must strive to attain the impossible though we know it is impossible
* Democratic Peace:
  + This theory states that democracies are least likely to engage in conflict with one another than any other political or economic system
  + Distinction between democracies being inherently peaceful (monadic) and being inclined towards peace with each other (dyadic)
  + Distinction between peace as the operative element or simply nonaggression or disinclination toward violence
  + Democracies are wealthier: war is an economic loss
  + Democracies are accountable: war is a political loss
  + Democracy is civil: war is a diplomatic loss
  + Democracy is popular: war is a social loss; participatory form of politics
  + The Young and the restless:
    - The theory works better with older and more stable democracies
    - Newer democracies seem more likely to engage in conflict
    - “Democratic maturation”
  + Democratic culture:
    - Participatory: strong inclination to settle disputes through compromise and diplomacy
    - Rule of law and human rights: the violence of war is illegal or unacceptable
    - The market: prosperity through trade cultivates mutual interest

1/30: Why Peace Happens, Why Peace Fails

* Peace studies often focuses on moments of transition; concerned with the moment that things go wrong or become different
* Most of this focuses on making peace
* More of it needs to focus on losing peace
* When Peace Fails:
  + Pace fails when war breaks out or when conflict recurs after peace building measures have been implemented
  + Prescriptive peace theory tries to craft the elusive durable peace (a peace that actually works)
  + Sometimes peace builders and peace theorists fail
  + Economic Peace Theory:
    - All conflict stems from flaws in the economic structure
    - A durable peace must build a just and accessible economy
  + Institutional Theory:
    - Top-down (republican): build the institutions first and then present them to the people; build good solid leadership and people will follow good leaders
    - Bottom-up (liberal): build the people first (strengthen civil society) and have them design the institutions
  + Social Theory:
    - Conflict occurs when society is divided or imperfectly integrated
    - A durable peace should focus on rebuilding trust within society
  + Peace failure occurs by design and not by accident
  + Conflict analysis is necessary to craft a durable peace
* Bruno Charbonneau, “War and Peace in Cote d-Ivoire”
  + Argument: “…violence and its representations affect and constitute agency”
  + Local-Regional-International: cosmopolitanism says we should be all at the same time, yet Charbonneau argues that international cosmopolitanism intentionally divides them to justify itself
  + Peace and place: “spatial imagination”
  + Representations tell you what school of thought and theory framework from informing it
  + International violence is justified to create peace in local violence
  + Cosmopolitan war (France and UN) brings peace to the non-cosmopolitan Ivorian-on-Ivorian violence
  + “Peace is just a rhetorical device”
  + Which side killing people in a good way and which side is killing people in a bad way is all based in rhetoric
  + (Citing Audra Mitchell): “…in the literature on peace and conflict studies the everyday is discussed by ‘attributing the quality dimensions to local actors and the control aspect to internal actors’, thus reifying the power relations between the two” (510)
  + Pace is a rhetorical device: that is, a text we read
  + Good and bad violence are often intertwined within and between levels of agency
  + Thus, international versus local, neo-colonial versus colonized/indigenous, Western versus African, North versus South, etc., are unhelpful and perhaps damaging
  + Ultimately a violent intervention had to be used to implement a peace treaty
  + “this article suggested that behind claims to legitimate violence are ontological commitments about agency” (520)
  + What this means: an ontological commitment means that one thing cannot exist without the other (they mutually constitute one another), so claims to legitimate violence (act) are also claims to whom has a right to ac (agency)
* Omar Shahabudin McDoom, “Who Killed in Rwanda’s Genocide?”
  + Argument: those who killed in the Rwandan genocide most likely did so due to social influence at the neighborhood and household levels
  + “Grassroots genocide”
  + Note how peace/violence have a place (location matters)
  + In Charbonneau’s article, local/international were word games
  + In McDoom’s article, “local” takes on a negative meaning: peer-to-peer violence
  + Theory: young, single men or male youth are (1) less constrained by family responsibility, (2) more susceptible to ideals; (3) experience frustration more directly and acutely
  + McDoom: married men with families did the killing

2/4:

* World peace doesn’t reconcile easily with worlds of peace
* As in, different cultural worlds with different understandings of peace
* How do we fit culture and peace together?
* Culture and Religion:
  + Like theory, they are structured sets of consistent rules
  + Unlike theory, they are created out of practice or faith
  + Culture is created over time
  + Culture: structured set of rules
  + Religion is the same thing but it’s based in faith
  + Examples:
    - Sauna Diplomacy:
      * Finland has more saunas than cars
      * Every Finnish embassy and consulate has a sauna
      * The Finnish parliament has a sauna that is used for meetings and negotiations
    - Sent a Saunagram:
      * Martti Ahtisaari: credits the sauna for his Nobel peace prize
      * Urho Kekkonen: claims the sauna is the most effective diplomatic tool in the world
    - Status Dogs:
      * Status dogs or weapon dogs
      * Not “designer” or “accessory” dogs
      * Goal: to intimidate others through powerful and violent animals to gain respect or enhance one’s personal power
      * Recent developments:
        + Gang dogs
        + Dog fights
        + Dogs as weapons: new urban “arms race”
      * Pit bulls are not inherently aggressive
      * They are trained to be that way
      * They are often left on the streets
      * Highest percentage of euthanized dogs
  + The UN—UNESCO’s “Culture of Peace”:
    - Bureau of Strategic Planning
    - International year for the rapprochement of cultures (2010)
    - Official mandate: to build the defenses of peace in the minds of men”
    - Vision:
      * Tolerance
      * Acceptance
      * Mutual respect
      * Intercultural dialogue
      * Interfaith dialogue
      * Result is going to be World Peace
    - Two approaches to World Peace:
      * To build a universal culture of peace, to be appropriated by all cultures through dialogue and policy
      * To eliminate tension between universality and particularism by building global citizenship
    - In 2011 UNESCO published “A New Cultural Policy Agenda for Development and Mutual Understanding”
    - It was intended to get all the cultures of the world talking to one another
    - It was published English and French ONLY
  + Different Kinds of Culture:
    - Inclusive versus exclusive
    - Separate but equal?
    - Does mixing make us lose culture, or gain a new one?
    - Are there any truly incompatible cultures?
    - How much difference is “acceptable?
    - Tolerance of the intolerant?
    - Nonviolence toward the violent?

2/11:

* Pakistan:
  + November 2012: parents in Pakistani-administered Kashmir kill their 15-year-old daughter by pouring acid on her
  + They claimed she looked at a boy who had ridden a bicycle by the house
  + Zaheen, the mother: “She said ‘I didn’t do it on purpose, I won’t do it again.’ By then I had already poured the acid on her. It was her destiny to die that way”.
  + Pakistan passed a law in March 2012 that made honor killings a crime
  + There is intense pressure not to enforce the law, as it is seen a “Western” imposition against local culture
* Do not go on a personal rant in the essay. It should be personal but not THAT personal. You should not know your conclusion when you start. No agenda, analysis. First person ok
* Honor killings challenge our cross-cultural interactions, understandings, opinions, and perceptions
* United States:
  + Father from Egypt killed both his daughters because he found out that they were talking to non-Muslim boys at their public school
  + Cultural practice? Religious practice? What’s “wrong” and who can say that?
* Why do people invoke religion?
* If the excuse is that it’s a religious practice then we expect to see it uniformly across all practitioners
* Religion in war and peace:
  + - Religion and culture are both structured patterns of thought and behavior
    - Religion adds an element of faith that requires special consideration
    - Intercultural and interfaith are two different things
    - Defining religion:
      * Religion
        + Divine essence or being as a focus
        + Structured practice
        + Structured belief (scripture)
        + Inclusive boundaries; we can convert into a religion (you can’t convert into a culture)
      * Sect
        + Subgroup (different path)
        + Sect perspective: purification, return
        + Religion perspective: unorthodox, heterodox, heretical
      * Cult:
        + Pejorative term (different versus deviant)
        + (Sometimes) not derived from an established religion
        + Reinterpretation or syncretism not accepted by outside groups
    - Many of the wars and conflicts involving religion have been generated by the attempt to renegotiate or redefine the boundaries and/or practices of the community
    - How do we tell a religion from a sect or from a cult?
      * EX: Falun Gong, Scientology
  + Religion and Culture:
    - Religious culture: born into faith
    - Faith and practice: ritual versus belief
    - EX: Hinduism in India, Judaism (culturally Jewish but not religiously Jewish)
  + Faith:
    - By definition: the opposite of reason
    - Belief in a structure that cannot be tested by empirical proof
  + Religious relativism?
    - May not exist (faith supersedes ethics)
    - Not to be confused with religious pluralism (simultaneous coexistence)
    - Religious boundaries are open, but religious communities are discrete
  + Religion and Conflict:
    - Just war
    - Jihad
    - Milchemet mitzvah (or reshut)
    - Dharmayuddha
    - Conundrum:
      * If faith mandates war…
      * For both sides…
      * Victory “proves” faith
      * How to make peace?
      * Who makes peace?
  + States of Religion:
    - Conscientious objection to military service:
      * US:
        + Must be part of religious code
        + Practice of the individual must be consistent
        + Practice and/or conversation must a reasonable time before the war
        + During the draft only religion would get you out of it
      * Singapore:
        + The state determines the legitimacy of the faith itself (state determines whether or not it’s a real religion)
      * South Korea:
        + Faith does not override national security
  + States and Faiths:
    - Malaysia: all ethnic Malays must be Muslims
    - Indonesia: a "Muslim" state but actually a secular democracy
    - Phillipines: a "Catholic" state but actually a secular democracy
    - Thailand: a "Buddhist" state but actually a secular democracy

2/13: Having Faith in Reality, Principles Versus Practice

* Liberation Theology—Catholic social teaching:
  + Church stance against structural violence and state violence (1960s)
  + Preferential option for the poor; we care equally but the poor suffer more so they become our first priority
* Pakistan:
  + An Islamic state…but which type of Islam?
  + Sunni and Shia and Sufi
  + Ahmadiyyas (fd. 1889): legally declared non-Muslims in 1974
  + Sectarian violence is primarily between Suni and Shia trying to decide what kind of Muslim state Pakistan should be
* Iran:
  + Islamic republic of Iran
  + Shia political theory and the caretaker state
  + Religious goals versus political goals
  + Green Movement: Islam and democracy (can’t be good Muslims without democracy)
* Northern Ireland:
  + Not a religious conflict
  + Catholics and Protestants
  + Political conflict over civil rights (not religious rights)
* Israel:
  + Founded as a Jewish state
  + Different varieties of Judaism
  + Preferences versus freedoms
* Peace talks tend to fail because they don’t understand the conflict
* Most religions are considered or are inherently peaceful
* Religions can be peaceful in different ways
* These different ways sometimes create conflict
* Religion and Peace:
  + Individual Peace:
    - Inner-directed or interior peace
    - Religion as security (security in faith)
    - Religious practice for peace (meditation, ablutions, pilgrimage, etc.)
  + Community Peace:
    - Outer-directed or exterior peace
    - Peace the prevails within a religious community (shared belief systems)
    - Peace can be broken by developments within or outside the community
    - Sects are breakaway factions that sometimes appear out of a desire to create peace or remove one’s self (as a group/sect) from the inner conflict
  + Interfaith Peace
    - Tolerance of different practices (passive)
    - Interfaith dialogue and outreach (active)
    - Place and proximity
* Readings:
  + Zakyi Ibrahim, “A Sociopolitical Analysis of the Versus of Peace”:
    - Scholarship: purely studying as a detached scholarship
    - Commentary: authoritative explanations of religious scripture
    - Exegesis: interpret specific verses or understand specific words and verses and then translate those into real life
    - Theory: why we have religions, what rituals do for us, etc.
    - Weltanschauung: world perspective
      * Not just about scripture, it’s about everything about the way of being and perspective of a Muslim
    - Religiously mediated understanding of life
    - Argument:
      * “It does argue, however, that Qur’an 8:61-62…elevates the status of peace over that of war with respect to all generations and thus, rejects the theory that the peace verses were abrogated” (91)
      * “It also contends that…Muslims should see peace as the “rule” and the only option if they want to play their role properly as part of God’s viceroys on earth” (91)
      * “Finally, this study concludes that the Qur’anic weltanschauung on humanity and religion proves that the phenomenon of collective, combat jihad…was an interim strategy...” (91)
    - Trust, faith, suspicion: faith is putting your trust in something else, so until someone actually betrays your trust, you should not distrust him. Inclined Towards Peace
    - Interfaith focus
    - Peace treaty (al-Hudayabiyyah) and sunnah: engage a peace even the terms of the treaty are not spectacularly favorable
  + Mohammed Abu-Nimer, “An Islamic Model of Conflict Resolution”:
    - An “alternative” to Western models
    - Alternative to all non-Muslim approaches? (it’s an alternative to everything that’s not Muslim)
    - Equivalents (we call it something different in Islam but it’s basically the same thing) versus alternatives
    - Principles:
      * Western culture norms differ from Islamic norms
      * Individual negotiation with tangible outcomes (Western) vs. collective negotiation with intangible outcomes
      * Neutral third party (Western) vs. engaged third party
      * Legalistic and contractual (Western) vs. sociocultural and religious
      * Professional training (Western) vs. sociocultural and religious standing
      * He creates or embellishes differences to highlight the Islamic forms of conflict resolution
    - “Due to these scholars’ (people who live outside the Islamic world but are Muslim) multicultural and bilingual affiliations and characteristics, they are usually associated with being foreigners or holding US or European agendas. Such an image injures their credibility…” (75-76). This contradicts the concept of having a religious community—your proximity to a Muslim country should be irrelevant because it’s a faith-based community
    - Shura (consultation)
    - Inclusive and participatory
    - Is the shura sort of like a republic?
    - What level of tolerance is needed for peace building? (87)
    - Shura can be used between Muslims and non-Muslims

2/18:

* Much of Peace and Conflict Studies has a strong if not absolute preference for nonviolence as a central theory/philosophy/principle
* There is considerable debate about whether violence is a valid “last option” or an act that morally compromises and undermines peace
* Positive Peace and Negative Peace:
  + Associated with Johan Galtung
  + Idea was to suggest that peace was more than just the absence or war and violence
  + Placed nonviolence at the center of the PACS field
  + Peace is more than just when we’re not fighting
  + Positive Peace:
    - Positive peace was a conscious and principled process
    - Reconstruction and restoration
    - Antidote to violence (so should not also contain elements of violence)
* Nonviolence elements:
  + Person-specific: a personal philosophy, or a person can be nonviolent within a violent environment
  + Act-specific: a person can carry out nonviolent acts
  + Movement-specific: a movement can adopt a stance of nonviolence
* Nonviolence in history:
  + Has a long diverse history
  + Most religions and cultures are peaceful
  + Few are nonviolent
* Nonviolent in contemporary context:
  + Mohandas (Mahatma) Gandhi (1869-1948)
    - From Gujarat
    - High status Hindu family
    - Originally studied to be a lawyer
    - Hunger Strikes Tactic:
      * Fast to the death
      * Never against British rule because he knew it wouldn’t work (they wouldn’t care if he died)
      * Didn’t invent hunger strikes
      * Is a hunger strike really nonviolent? (violence that is self-directed….)
      * Ahimsa (from Jainism religion); nonviolence religious principle
      * Satyagraha (“soul force” but closer to “truth holding”)
      * Working into the community:
        + Idea borrowed from Leo Tolstoy and John Ruskin
        + Shared labor not inherited status; worth in community based on how much you contribute and not status
        + Work, thrift, and responsibility
      * Vegetarianism:
        + Religious and status-based (India)—matter of status and purity
        + Morality, compassion, cosmopolitanism (London)
        + Vegetarianism has a moral element besides status; ultimate act of Ahimsa (nonviolence)
      * Caste System:
        + Caste from casta (Portuguese and Spanish)
        + Varna (Sanskrit, “color”)
        + Jati (group of intermarriage)
        + Brahmin-Kshatriya-Vaishya-Shudra-Dalit/Outcaste/Untouchable
        + Pundit- special category of Brahmin (from Kashmir)
        + Pariah (from Tamil paraiyar)
        + Purity and pollution
        + Structural rigidity and fluidity (within each of the main categories)
        + Occupation and status
      * B.R. Ambedkar:
        + Dalit Family
        + Studied law and education in the United States
        + Advocated separate political status for Untouchables (they get to elect their own representatives to prevent them from being pushed back into their former caste systems)
      * Gandhi and Ambedkar:
        + Gandhi declared a hunger strike against Ambedkar (1932)
        + Gandhi: caste system must be kept intact; harijans as “children” (high status people take care of lower status people)
        + Ambedkar gives in (1932) because he was afraid that if he was the one who let Gandhi died there would be massive violence against untouchables
      * Law as nonviolence:
        + Ambedkar: law and justice will end caste discrimination; made untouchability illegal
        + Gandhi: law is “Western”
        + India’s constitution versus social practice
        + Both are considered nonviolent
      * “so long as you do not achieve social liberty, whatever freedom is provided by the law is of no avail to you” (Ambedkar)
      * Hindu Nationalism:
        + Gandhi is assassinated in 1948 by a Hindu nationalist; though Gandhi had made too many concessions to other cultures, was too tolerant
        + India should be Hindu: religious minorities are entitled to “tolerance” but not rights
        + Nonviolence as “weak”
      * Legacy South Africa:
        + “Gandhian apartheid”
        + Gandhi only fought on behalf of the Indian community and not on behalf of black South Africans
        + Each community should act for itself
        + Separation is acceptable and desirable
      * Legacy: South India
        + North Indian as “Indian”
        + Language in India: unity and diversity
        + Southern resistance
        + Anti-Hindi protests in Southern India because Gandhi gave a talk in Hindi in Southern India because he didn’t speak Tamil, which people did not receive well because he said that he was embarrassed to be called Indian when they didn’t speak Hindi (he refused to learn Tamil)
  + Martin Luther King, Jr. (1929-1968)

2/20: Everything in between; Fear, Aggression, and Anger

* Violence and Nonviolence are often viewed as discrete choices
* It is also possible to see them as two ends of a spectrum of choices (rather than either-or choices)
* Neither war nor peace
* Ivory Coast and Iraqi Kurdistan
* Nonspecific or Abstract Targets:
  + Structural violence
  + Structural nonviolence?
  + Nonviolence needs a target and/or a focus
  + Nonviolence, one can argue, works best when it has a target or focus (specific)
* Organic Versus Inorganic:
  + Property-directed violence as nonviolence?
* Anthropocentrism:
  + Violence against other species (nonviolence only for an between humans)
* The Case of the Smashed Vase:
  + Ai Weiwei: art against the Chinese state
  + Exhibit in Miami
  + Maximo Caminero: smashed one of Ai Weiwei’s cases as a protest
  + Destroyed one of his own studios with the art in it as a protest against communism (pro-democracy dissident)
* No Threshold, No trigger:
  + With either/or approach there is a point of visible transition: nonviolence to violence
  + With a gradual spectrum, strategy becomes more difficult
* Fear:
  + Freedom from fear (UN’s human security paradigm)
  + Fear and biological security
  + Fear and anxiety are not the same thing
* Aggression:
  + Threat or use of force: UN Charter Article 2.4
  + Crime of aggression
  + Threat of aggression is still a crime
  + Nonviolent aggression?
  + Aggressive nonviolence?
* Anger:
  + Anger
  + Resentment
  + Anger as violence
  + Anger generates nonviolence?
  + “Anger is the enemy of nonviolence” “No man could look upon another as his enemy unless he first became his own enemy” –Gandhi
* Northeast Asia:
  + No war but lots of fear, aggression and anger
  + China, Taiwan, Japan, North Korea, South Korea
  + What’s at Stake?
    - Territory (islands); oil in the islands
    - Historical justice
    - Power politics
    - Resources
  + Protests in Seoul, 2010:
    - Slaughter of two birds on Japanese flag (2008)
    - Cutting off two fingers in protest (2005)
    - Protesting Dokdo islands
* The Readings:
  + Maia Carter and Hallward and Patrick Shaver, “War By Other Means or nonviolent resistance”?
    - Boycott
    - Divestment
    - Sanctions
    - No harm done?
    - Passing harm to others?
  + Victor Asal, et al. “Gender Ideologies and Forms of Contentious Mobilization in the Middle East”
    - What is a gender-inclusive strategy?
    - Why and how does including women change the choice of strategy?
    - The more women you include in your movement the more likely you are to choose a nonviolent strategy
    - Doesn’t specify what gender inclusive means
    - Doesn’t explain the why or how
    - If including women makes an organization more nonviolent, is nonviolence “effeminate”? (Hindu nationalism)

2/25: The Preference For Peace; Absolute or Relative?

* One way to try to justify nonviolence is to advocate for its principles
* Many of these approaches assume violence is always and necessarily unjustifiable
* There are many arguments offered for violence as an acceptable act (though unlike nonviolence, only in specific circumstances)
* Advocating nonviolence necessitates disproving that violence is acceptable
* Violence: a matter of quantity or quality?
  + Self-directed (inner) violence: harming oneself
  + Other-directed (outer) interpersonal violence: cyber bullying, someone punching someone else
  + Political violence
  + State violence (vs. civil society): state oppresses people
  + State violence (war)
* Communitarianism: acts are evaluated by value-sets that are socially constructed by communities over time
* Consequentialism: acts are evaluated by their consequences
* Deontology: acts are evaluated by intrinsic and absolute ideas of right or wrong (regardless of consequences)
* Utilitarianism: acts are evaluated by the amount of benefit they bring to particular social group as a whole
* Universalism: acts are evaluated by a universal set of values that transcend any “local” (non-universal) set of values
* Examples:
  + Deontology:
    - All persons have an intrinsic right not to be harmed or killed
    - All human rights are derived from the “inherent dignity of the human person”
    - Right to self-defense only if wrongfully attacked
    - The violence of self-defense cannot exceed the violence of the attack
    - Human rights documents never legally define “human dignity”
    - The UN charter stipulates that a state may only engage in acts of justified violence if it is out of self-defense and only to the extent that it neutralizes the threat
  + Utilitarianism:
    - If violence occurs, it must produce a utility (benefit) better than nonviolence
    - The needs of the many outweigh the needs of one (or the few)
    - Have to prove that the benefits of the violence are shared amongst the largest amount of people
    - Moral calculus
  + Hypothetical Situation:
    - You are the mayor of a small town
    - The police have arrived and arrested ten persons whom they claim are terrorists. They line up the suspected terrorists and are going to execute them
    - You plead with the police and assure them that there are only innocent and loyal people in the town
    - The police offer to let you kill any one of these suspected terrorists. If you do, they will let the other nine go free. If you don’t they will kill all of the suspected terrorists. You know for certain that none of the arrested persons are terrorists.
      * Deontology:
        + killing an innocent person is intrinsically wrong
        + no self-defense is involved
        + inaction is not the same as action (no collective guilt)
      * Utilitarianism:
        + Killing one innocent person to save nine others is a justifiable trade-off
        + The benefit of the action of the killer (mayor) outweighs the guilt of killing
* Consequentialism:
  + Each act is justified on its consequences
  + Long-term versus short-term (not always the same)
  + Consequences are not always clear or controllable
  + Consequentialism Rules for Violence:
    - It must be able to rectify a tangible wrong
    - It must produce a better outcome than the existing situation
    - There are no other methods (nonviolent) that would bring about the same result
* Does context alter ethics?
  + In war, the killing of certain persons (combatants) becomes permissible
  + Does rebellion or resistance against an unjust order do the same? And if so, for whom?
* Communitarians: moral relativism and “honor killings” (same critiques apply from our earlier discussions)
* Universalists: Kant=it is wrong to tell a lie even to save someone’s life (the prohibition to lie is absolute and universal and thus no exceptions are permissible)…plus, violence is irrational
* Gandhi: if the system is violent, anything other than nonviolence replicates the injustice
* Ambedkar: if the system is violent, attack the institutions (law) not the people
* Frantz Fanon: if the system is violent, the architects of the system (oppressors) bear full moral weight for the violence, and using violence against a violent system is not a contradiction but a necessity
* The Self Centered Revolution:
  + Note that in nearly all situations, advocates of violence propose actions that will harm other groups or individuals, and never themselves. In other words, when we claim to support violence, it is usually a violence from which we will directly benefit and from which we will not suffer. Otherwise, we tend to oppose it.
* Religion:
  + Religious principles are different from ethical principles (though they can overlap)
  + Bhagavad Gita (Hinduism): right action (proper action) is separate from consequences, but right action is determined by religious principles

2/27: Trust but Verify; Suspicion, Hate, Tolerance

* Peace is often viewed as a separate and discrete event from conflict
* The same is true of nonviolence/violence
* There are many grey areas in between peace and conflict
* Suspicion, hate, tolerance: three thorny problems
* Trust but Verify:
  + Cold War policy regarding nuclear proliferation
  + Social trust as a form of peace (social trust is what keeps us all together and functioning)
  + Trust but verify=trust without trust?
* Whom do we trust?:
  + Preference for sameness
  + Family, friends, foreigners: we discriminate people based on whether or not we feel we can trust them without knowing them first
  + Machines—robot or computer
  + Animals, wild and domestic
  + We tend to trust people with whom we share commonalities
  + Trust is based on future expectation
* Demands of Trust:
  + Cosmopolitanism: expanding our community of trust
  + Derrida: absolute hospitality requires absolute trust in strangers
* Creating trust:
  + Trust-building measures (peacebuilding)
  + Earning and gaining trust
  + Keeping trust
  + Trust and faith
* Suspicion:
  + The opposite of trust
  + Being-phobic
  + Irrational fear versus lack of knowledge; suspicion is often generate by a lack of knowledge
* Hate:
  + Language, agency, and dialogue
    - Agency—the methods with which they approach a situation and communicate. We often decide legitimacy based on their agency irrespective of their actual language. Agency is their mode for dialogue
  + To question is not to hate
  + Being hateful versus acting hateful; acting hateful is violent (includes hate-speech)
* Tolerance:
  + Perpetual peace or perpetual tension?
  + Tolerance does not alleviate suspicion
  + Tolerance does not build trust
  + Coexistence versus understanding
  + The threshold problem: tolerance has limits
  + Respect versus tolerance
  + Tolerance and understanding are not the same thing
  + Intolerance and hate are two different things
  + Intolerance and trust are not necessarily mutually exclusive
* The Problem:
  + Suspicion and hate need not be overtly violent, but they undermine peace
  + Tolerance builds an incomplete peace at best
  + An apparent peace is not a substantive peace
* The readings:
  + Rachel Waltner Goossen, “Disarming the Toy Store”
    - Strategies of social change
    - Consumer culture
    - Effects of violence on children
    - Are violent toys okay for adults?
    - Note how campaigns based on morality, peace, and antiviolence were not enough. Ultimately, “public health” arguments were the most effective strategy
  + Priya Kumar, “Beyond Tolerance and Hospitality”
    - Hindu nationalism and tolerance
    - Host/guest or host/strangers: can the outsider ever be an insider?
    - The entire book is about communities of absolute hospitality
    - Talking about the Muslim minority in India in the context of Hindu nationalism
    - Merely tolerating minorities doesn’t work
* Jim Carrey denounces his own role in Kick-ass 2: “too violent”
* Gender-neutral parenting is a growing movement
* Assignment 1:
  + Coherent paper using the personal experience to tie everything together. Explain the personal experience (make an argument) using class materials
  + Using personal experience to answer one of the essay questions, therefore the thesis should involve both an argument (answer) to one of the questions and your personal experience

Who Makes Peace? Understanding Diplomacy and Peacecraft:

* Rules and regulations associated with the task of making peace
* In situations where peace is desired, or where threats to peace exist, the person or persons who work to resolve these issues will have a special, extraordinary role in the process
* Peace rarely just happens; it is consciously and intentionally made or maintained
* Peacecraft:
  + Every different context has a different sort of peace
  + Poorly designed peace fails often
  + A well-designed peace must fit its context well
  + Peacecraft: the art of creating durable peace
* Diplomats are one group among many that try to make peace
* Keeping peace on track:
  + Trust—the peace process cannot be started until the parties trust you (ie: trust-building measures)
  + Respect
  + Authority—entrusted with the task of making peace; power source. Without the authority you cannot make the peace and maintain it
  + Capacity—capable of making the peace; possessing the necessary skillset
  + Knowledge—knowing the situation
  + these are the characteristics that any peacemaker must have to craft a durable peace, regardless of context
* Formal Diplomacy:
  + Diplomats:
    - Definition: a formal representative of the sovereign power of a state
    - Diplomat is linked with diploma (ancient Greek: “two-folded”)
    - Refers to official papers: current usage is to “present credentials”
    - Personal beliefs are not part of the job, a diplomat merely represents his country’s policy
    - The whole point of diplomacy has been to facilitate communication between formal political units
    - Communication was preferable to conflict
    - Peace is embedded in the concept of diplomacy
    - Diplomacy is based on equal respect (legally enforced through diplomatic law)
    - How’s Who?
      * Ambassador (or High Commissioner): most powerful representative of his or her country with the most authority
      * Consul: deputy ambassador who helps the main embassy’s tasks
      * Envoy: a person who has official diplomatic rank who assists the ambassador but is appointed for a specific task or concern (can be for a certain amount of time or ongoing); representing country for specific reason
      * Charge d’affairs: acting ambassador
      * Attaché (cultural, military, etc.): people who are attached to the embassy in a formal role
    - Specific Appointments:
      * Diplomats can be appointed for short-term, specific needs
      * Peace talks are often one of those needs
      * Crisis situations, etc.
      * Official, legal link to the state is required
      * They are all official in the sense that they have a legal connection to the state they represent which gives them special privileges
  + Vienna Conventions (both sponsored by UN):
    - Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961)
      * Diplomats may not seek citizenship of receiving country
      * Diplomats may not engage in private commercial activity for personal gain
      * Diplomats must “respect” the laws of the receiving country
      * Article 22: Embassies are inviolate and host country must protect property and territory
    - Vienna Convention on Consular Relations (1963): clarifying role of what a consul does
      * States must notify consular officials for citizens arrested of that country in the host country and also permit legal access and assistance to the arrested individual (article 36)
      * In March 2005, the Bush administration denounced (formal way of taking your name off a treaty) the Optional Protocol to this convention, empowering the ICJ to have final review for citizens denied proper access to consular assistance in a host country. The ICJ had demanded review of the convictions of 51 Mexican citizens who had entered the US illegally and who were currently on death row in the United States
        + US was trying to say that anyone who enters the country illegally forfeits their rights to the Optional Protocol
  + Diplomatic immunities:
    - Absolute immunity (covers the person at all places at all times as well as their family and residence) and restrictive immunity (for people who are appointed for specific persons, only for when they are engaged in activities part of their official duties) (article 29 and Article 31 of the Vienna Convention 1961)
    - Waivers of immunity
    - Persona non grata (expulsion) (article 9 of Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations): expel the diplomatic, though doesn’t waive their immunity
    - “Diplomatic pouch”: communication has immunity; package (physical object) that doesn’t go through customs and cannot be opened by anyone and goes straight to the embassy
    - Immunities and diplomatic privileges and protections exist because of diplomat’s special roles to prevent conflict
  + A Recent “Diplomatic Row”:
    - Devyani Khobragade, acting Consul General at the Indian Consulate in New York, is arrested by US Marshals (December 12, 2013)
    - She is accused of visa fraud and paying her domestic made an illegally low wage
    - She was arrested, charged, detained, searched, and released on $250,000 bail
    - India: this is a violation of diplomatic immunity
    - Charged in American domestic courts
    - India begins retaliatory measures: removes security barriers from the US Embassy in Delhi, removes Indian staff, and refuses to allow deliveries of alcoholic beverages to the embassy commissary
    - Retaliatory measures are permitted
    - Problem: Visa fraud is a felony in the US, and is not protected by either Vienna Commission
    - Khobragade’s maid was brought to the SU and promised a salary of $4500 per month; after the visa was approved, she was paid only $3.31/hour as a part of a “secret” contract
    - Khobragade has also been a public advocate of women’s rights and economic independence for women
    - India: threatens to arrest any gay members of US diplomatic service in India (since homosexuality is illegal in Idnai)
    - What is the central issue here: diplomatic law? National pride? Abuse of the system?
* Other Tracks of Diplomacy:
  + Track 1: Official diplomacy
  + Track 2: Unofficial dialogue in the direction of official interests (ie: Bill Gates goes to a country and says he wants to expand use of technology in that country)
  + Track 3: “behind the scenes” or “under the radar” private meetings to initiate dialogue
  + Examples:
    - “Ping Pong Diplomacy” (1971) (track 2) paves way for visit by Richard Nixon to China (1972) (track 1)
    - North Korea: Bill Clinton visit (2009) to secure release of two US journalists (track 2); (2) Dennis Rodman and basketball (track 3)
* National Diplomacy:
  + No formal service at the national level
  + Police as “peace officers”
  + Ombudsman: someone who is appointed to resolve disputes and conflicts
  + Civil Society: Non-Governmental Approaches:
  + Civil society: informal, self-regulating; all of the people who participate in public life who are not a part of formal government structure
  + NGOs: fewer constraints but no enforcement powers
  + Grassroots: a different peace but not necessarily a better one
    - Ex:
      * Center for Conflict Resolution in South Africa
        + South Africa (affiliated with the University of Cape Town)
        + From inter-racial peace to human security
      * Center for Humanitarian Dialogue
        + Geneva Switzerland (Singapore, Kenya)
        + Private diplomacy to open dialogue (Peacemaking) for the resolution of armed conflict
        + Tries to help conflict resolution process along as an outside actor in areas where governments and rebels can’t necessarily communicate and interact
      * International Alert
        + United Kingdom (London)
        + “When the fighting ends, the real work begins”
        + Peacebuilding post conflict
      * Search for Common Ground (NGO)
        + United States (DC)
        + Conflict resolution aimed at ending violent conflict both abroad and within the US (including Oakland)
* How to Bring Groups Outside the Framework to Peace:
  + Organized crime
  + Gangs
  + Syndicates and cartels
  + Methods:
    - Formal to informal: police or formal actors will reach out to leaders of gangs, cartels, etc.
    - Informal to formal: informal actors approach formal actors
    - Informal to informal
    - Ex:
      * Hoe Avenue Peace Meeting:
        + Bronx (NY): December 7, 1971
        + Brought together a bunch of notorious gangs of different ethnic and racial backgrounds to try to broker a general truce
      * Watts Trust (1992): Los Angeles
      * The “Boston Miracle” (Operation Ceasefire): 1990s
        + Dealing with spiraling gang violence
        + Attempt by the government to approach gang leaders to sit down and discuss with promise to not arrest them
        + Brought death rates down 65%
      * San Salvador Gang Truce (2012):
        + Started in March 2012 in San Salvador (El Salvador)
        + Barrio 18 and Mara Salvatrucha (MS-13)
        + Public hatred of gangs versus government need to end violence
        + Public denials, private action
        + Backed by Catholic Church and the OAS (Organization of American States)
      * It Takes a Village:
        + Typically, community elders are chosen: age and experience bring trust and respect
        + Not necessarily nonviolent
        + Local justice is enforced but is not always just
        + Example: in July 2013, village elders in Uttar Pradesh (India) sentence a woman to be gang-raped and then forcibly married to a man whose wife had eloped with the woman’s brother
* Peacemakers play specific roles: formal and informal
* Law/a set of formal rules is directly or indirectly a part of the process

Treaty Law:

* If peacemakers are the actors, then law is the play they perform
* Some law is formal and codified
* If no law appears to be present, a set of guidelines or rules will still be in place
* Peace has structure and order
* Treaty Law:
  + Treaties are textual, codified documents between entities that have the legal authority to sign the treaty
  + Once a treaty enters into effect it is legally enforceable in international and local courts
  + Peace treaties are a specific type of treaty
  + Different Types:
    - Covenant or Convention: treaty that is approved by a larger party and then open for signature by anyone
    - Multilateral or bilateral: all states involved in initiating treaty are expected to sign it
    - Agreements
    - Pacts
    - Regardless of name or type, what distinguishes a treaty is its enforceability under law
  + Capacity:
    - Treaties can only be made between entities that have the legal recognition to be a party to a treaty
    - Only nation states or people who are entrusted with the power to represent their nation state can sign a treaty
    - Treaties can only be negotiated and signed by individuals who have the legal capacity to represent those legal entities
  + Process:
    - Proposal
    - Negotiation of the text of the treaty
    - Approval of text
    - Signature
    - Affirmation into law (ratification, etc.)
    - Entry into force only for those who signed the treaty (often threshold for number of countries that need to sign it for it be able to enter into force)
  + Pacta sunt servanda: agreements must be kept (don’t take signing treaties lightly) including all consequences and accountabilities associated with it
  + A state cannot be bound against its will; those who didn’t sign the treaty can’t be held accountable to it
  + Ending a treaty:
    - Denunciation: a party formally leaves the treaty (formal process)
    - Invalidity: fraud or coercion (duress) invalidates the treaty
    - Change of circumstances: must be unforeseen, involuntary, and fundamental to the purpose of the treaty
    - Illegality: treaties cannot create conditions that authorize other violations of international law
  + When a state dissolves or separates, international law must negotiate which element inherits the pre-existing treaty obligations
  + Decolonization: a rare exception when newly emergent state were given a clean slate (though they had to accept colonial boundaries as legal)
  + Peace treaties are an important exception: all parties inherit the obligations of peace
  + EX:
    - Legal Limbo:
      * Sal II Treaty (Strategic Arms Limitation Talks): neither the US nor the USSR ever ratified, yet both took steps to comply with the terms
      * Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT): signed by the US but never ratified (which must be done by the Senate); Obama has said he would resubmit to the Senate, so is this an expression of commitment to the terms of the agreement?
  + Peace, Law and Justice:
    - Power-sharing peace agreements: Accra Accord (Liberia) or Lome Accord (Sierra Leone)
    - Does the threat of continued illegal and criminal behavior by warlords constitute duress?
    - Do amnesties violate the treaty by authorizing illegal behavior?
    - Do warlords and other non-state entities have the legal status to sign an agreement?
  + Can bad law ever create a good peace?
  + Dispute Settlement:
    - Dispute settlement mechanisms and processes are ubiquitous in international law
    - Its importance is such that it is considered a separate branch of international law (diplomatic law, treaty law, and dispute settlement law)
    - Based on the belief that diplomacy can avert war, and that disputes can be resolved through diplomacy (preference for peaceful measures)
    - One of the optional protocols to the Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations (1961) makes dispute settlement compulsory
  + Evidence:
    - Article 2/3 of the UN Charter obligates nations to settle disputes “by peaceful means:
    - Chapter VI of the UN Charter: peaceful resolution of international conflict
    - Most treaties will specify the process of resolving a dispute that arises out of the terms of the treaty
    - Many institutions have dispute settlement intuitions: World Trade Organization has its own court, and the UN Convention on the Law of the SEA (UNCLOS) has its own tribunal
  + Five options:
    - Negotiation
      * Formal process entered into voluntarily
      * Exploratory and non-adjudicatory (not legally binding)
      * Goal is to reach compromise or set the state for formal legal agreement
      * Power remains in the hands of all parties involved
    - Mediation
      * Process can be formal or informal
      * Usually not legally binding (but can be if all parties agree)
      * Key difference from negotiation: parties give up some degree of power and hand this over to the mediator (mediator is mutually agreed upon)
      * “Good offices”: when a state or non-state actor offers its services to outside parties to resolve a dispute or conflict
    - Conciliation
      * Conciliation is a more formalized means of negotiation and mediation
      * A body is committee is entrusted with the task of investigating possible pathways of conciliation
      * There is often a legal understanding that at least one of the pathways will be acceptable to all sides
      * UN Model Rules of Conciliation (1995): designed to formalize and standardize the process
      * If dispute settlement is explicit in a treaty, it is usually conciliation
    - Inquiry
      * When a dispute over the facts prevents negotiation or mediation, a neutral and acceptable third party is empowered to conduct an inquiry (investigation) into the events in question
      * The inquiry produces a verifiable and coherent narrative of facts and events
      * The results of the inquiry are used to facilitate the next step of dispute resolution
    - Arbitration
      * Strongest of the five in terms of legal content
      * Usually it is a legally binding process where all sides agree to accept the outcome before adjudication starts
      * Permanent Court of Arbitration: established in 1899 and located in The Hague
      * UN Secretariat is authorized to establish arbitration bodies
  + If none of these works the next step is often a contentious state-to-state case at the ICJ (International Court of Justice)
  + Peace Talks:
    - Peace talks can take on a number of different dispute settlement formats
    - They often contain more than one element simultaneously
    - They are extraordinarily complicated
    - Legal disputes often occur over who has the right to “sit at the table”
    - Peace and war are both legally complicated
  + When Peace Fails:
    - The transition from peace to war and war to peace is also a legal transition
    - Different parts of the law apply
    - Geneva Conventions (1949): multilateral treaties that govern conduct during war and combat
    - Rome Statute (1998; into force 2002): spells out specifically what war crimes are covered in its jurisdiction, and governs the crime of aggression (illegal war)

Peace Treaties:

* Peace through a treaty is a legal process
* Peace treaties are a platform for peace and not the peace itself
* Negotiating and implementing a peace treaty requires tremendous skill and effort
* Texts and inscriptions from the start
* Earliest known peace treaty is the Treat of Kadesh (between Hittite Empire and Egyptian Empire around 1250 BCE)
* A copy of the Treaty of Kadesh is prominently displayed at the UN headquarters
* Treaty of Westphalia (1648): law as central; laid the legal foundations for nation-states
* Note the phrase “sue for peace” (how one party tells the other that they want peace and to stop the conflict)
* Peace Treaty: formally concludes the state of hostilities
* Armistice: mutual cessation of hostilities without a formal end
* Ceasefire: cessation of fighting (can be unilateral or mutual)
* Peace treaties are formal ends to armed hostility. Once upon a time wars began with the same formality: a declaration of war (though a letter or diplomat)
* Though this no longer happens, we still formally conclude hostilities with a treaty
* Time Frame of a Durable Peace:
  + Past: how far back in time does the treaty address?
  + Present: what issues in the present need to be dealt with first and what paries are to be included?
  + Future: how long will it take for the peace to be fully implemented, and what provisions are in place if there is a breach of the terms by one or more parties?
* Elements of a Durable Peace:
  + The transition to peace requires a number of complex elements to be set in motion, all of which must be dealt with in the right order and the right way
  + To consider:
    - Settlement of finances (wars and disputes are costly)
    - Resettlement of people (refugees, etc.)
    - Affirmation of boundaries
    - Provisions for resolving breaches of the terms of the treaty (if this doesn’t work or one party renews hostilities….)
    - The possibility of justice
  + Who sits at the table?
    - Diplomats
    - Peacemakers
    - The touch choices get made: warlords? Rebel leaders? Terrorists? Political leaders? Power brokers?
    - For instance: excluding the Taliban from peace talks in Afghanistan or excluding the Khmer Rouge form peace talks in Cambodia caused those groups to use armed violence to undermine the peace
  + Ideal versus Reality:
    - What you want versus what you can get
    - How much compromise is too much?
    - International law: compromise cannot undermine the fundamental purpose of the treaty
* North Ireland:
  + Republic of Ireland vs. Northern Ireland (part of the UK)
  + “Prepared for peace, ready for war”
  + History:
    - Starting in the 17th century, Scottish and English settlers settled on land in the northeastern part of Ireland
    - Ireland was treated as something of a colony
    - Unionists or Loyalists=Ireland is a part of the UK
    - Republicans or Nationalists=Ireland is independent
    - In the first decades of the 20th century, Irish political activism had produced calls for Home Rule (the Irish should rule Ireland, without calling directly for independence)
    - In 1912, a group of unionists pledged to defeat Home Rule, even if involved the use of force and violence, and formed the Ulster Volunteers
    - Nationalists responded by forming the Irish Volunteers to battle the Ulster Volunteers
    - Easter Uprising (1916) in Dublin by the Irish Republican Brotherhood (nationalist): violent reprisals and execution of leaders
    - Sinn Fein (“Ourselves Alone”) secured a majority in the Irish parliament. Political party, not a paramilitary group
    - Government of Ireland Act (1920): Northern Ireland (six counties) opts out of the Irish Free State (1922), in the midst of rising violence; those counties remained part of the UK
  + Towards “The Troubles”:
    - After decades of simmering discontent and violence in Northern Ireland between Unionists and Republicans, the Republican cause embraced civil rights as a vehicle for justice in the 1960s
    - Tensions escalate with “celebrations” of the Eastern Uprising (50 years previously) in 1966
    - Civil rights marches are attacked and by 1969 violence is back again on the rise
    - Paramilitaries on both sides scramble for weapons
  + Towards Ceasefire:
    - The violence in the 1970s and 1980s: bombings, assassinations, and civilians caught in between
    - “Bloody Sunday”: 30 January 1972 in Derry. Civil rights march is attacked and fired upon
    - First ceasefire declared in 1994
    - In 1995, Bill Clinton appoints George Mitchell as US Special Envoy for Northern Ireland
    - Second ceasefire declared in 1996
    - Negotiations for a peace agreement begin
  + Towards Peace:
    - Talks begin in earnest in 1997, and move closer to formal agreement with Chairman George Mitchell (US envoy) acting as mediator
    - On Friday, 10 April 1998 (Good Friday), both sides reach an official agreement
    - On April 15, a radicalized wing of the former IRA, calling itself the Real IRA, detonates a bomb in Omagh, killing 29 and injuring hundreds more. It is the worst and most violent incident in the entire conflict, but fails to derail the Peace Agreement
  + Different cities were divided into territories that were either loyalist or nationalist and were akin to districts where someone of a different paramilitary affiliation was not guaranteed safety
  + Unionists and Loyalists were considered Protestant
  + The Nationalist and Republicans were Catholics
  + More about politics than religion
  + The Good Friday Agreement (Belfast Agreement):
    - The Peace Agreement has two parts:
      * Multi-party Agreement among the majority of Northern Ireland’s political parties
      * An agreement between the British (UK)government and the Republic of Ireland
    - For Northern Ireland:
      * New Institutions are created to put peace into effect:
        + Power-sharing political institutions in Northern Ireland (institutions that require divided communities to work together)
        + Consultative and cooperative bodies to facilitate work between Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland
        + Consultative and cooperative bodies to facilitate work between Northern Ireland and UK government
      * Open discussion on future status of Northern Ireland
      * Decommissioning of weapons (paramilitaries) and security (police) reform (rendering weapons inoperative)
      * Human rights and civil right (to promote equality between the communities)
    - For the Republic of Ireland:
      * To recognize the existence of Northern Ireland as a separate entity
      * To encourage the peaceful unification of the two entities should a majority of Northern Ireland residents vote for it
      * To accept all different cultural and linguistic traditions in Ireland, should unification occur
      * The constitution was amended (1999) to reflect each of these after the Good Friday Agreement
    - Public Approval:
      * The Good Friday agreements were then subjected to two referendums, one in Northern Ireland and one in the Republic of Ireland
      * Northern Ireland approved with 71% voting yes
      * Republic of Ireland approved with 94% voting yes
  + New legal arrangements had to be explicitly created to allow Northern Ireland to work directly with the Republic of Ireland
  + Political parties were allowed to negotiate the peace but not paramilitaries (so Sinn Fein was at the table and not the IRA)
  + Cross-boundary platforms are essential
  + Open-ended time tables (future referendum, decommissioning of weapons, etc.) allows for flexibility
  + Orange is the color of the unionist forces (Orange Parades celebrating Northern Ireland’s part of the UK)
  + Orange Parades were banned as being too provocative because they would march through republican neighborhoods in Northern Ireland
* Christine Bell, “But what was the question? Evaluating the deal”:
  + This is a chapter from a book on Peace Agreements and Human rights (so ignore the references to other chapters)
  + This chapter evaluates comparatively four different peace agreements:
    - South Africa
    - Northern Ireland
    - Bosnia Herzegovina
    - Israel-Palestine
  + Bell concludes that South Africa and Northern Ireland were constructive agreements while Bosnia-Herzegovina and Israel-Palestine were not (or at least were less constructive)
  + Many peace agreements are generated by claims of self-determination
  + Self-determination is a fundamental human right (it is Article 1 of the International Covenant on Civil and political rights, for instance)
  + It is always poorly defined, making it tricky when it comes to peace agreements
  + Self-determination is a collective right, held by “peoples” and not “individuals”
  + How does one satisfy the requirement of self-determination (which is the legal remedy)? The answer is unclear
  + External self-determination: generally refers to the right of a peoples to a separate existence (decolonization)
  + Internal self-determination: generally refers to the right of a peoples to be adequately and fairly represented in official institutions of the state in which they currently exist (democratization)
  + Bell comes up with three questions to evaluate each of the peace agreements (p. 170)
  + To what extent did the agreements deal effectively with international law that related to the conflict?
  + To what extent did the agreements address and resolve issues where international law did not apply or was silent?
  + Did these agreements take into account new developments in international law?
  + Bell concludes that the South Africa and Northern Ireland agreements worked better because they created integrative institutions that effectively addressed self-determination concerns
  + Conversely, the agreements for Bosnia-Herzegovina and Israel-Palestine did not (they are non-integrative) and will therefore not likely stand the test of time
  + Note importantly in this chapter title: “but what was the question?” A surprising number of peace agreements and peace efforts do not know or lose sight of what they are trying to resolve

Beyond Law: Peace by Any Means Necessary?

* Not all varieties of peace require a formal peace treaty or the application of law
* All forms of durable peace have structure: if law isn’t present, a consistent set of rules or gridlines will be
* Understanding peace requires us to learn to discern the structure behind the peace
* Principles in Practice:
  + Law, formal or informal, is simply a mapping of parameters of what is considered good/bad, acceptable/unacceptable, permissible/impermissible, etc.
  + Peace and conflict can generally be mapped to some element of the law: breakdown of the law, lack of enforcement, too much enforcement, unequal enforcement, unjust laws, bad laws, and so forth
  + Anarchy:
    - Contrary to popular belief, anarchy is not the absence of law or the absence of structure and order
    - Anarchy believes that institutions distort and manipulate the justice and laws that society naturally creates
    - Anarchy is thus an ideology that promotes self-regulation and self-governance by society
    - Anarchy thus promotes peace, not disorder
    - It still strongly believes in rules of right and wrong, we just come up with them together and enforce them together
  + Informal Peace:
    - Peace treaties are usually conducted by official actors and interact directly with formal law
    - Informal actors may not be attached to any structure of formal political power or formal law
    - The process of creating informal peace, however, follows a remarkably similar pattern to what is formal, and faces similar challenges and problems
* Hoe Avenue Peace Talks, The Bronx, New York (1971):
  + Pretext and Context:
    - Expansion of gang warfare had led to intensified rivalries and violent reprisals
    - The killing of peacemaker Cornell “Black Benjy” Benjamin (of the Ghetto Brothers), who was trying to stop a fight between two rival gangs, led to the proposal for peace talks
    - Black Benjy was the peacemaker of the Ghetto Brothers
    - Normally such a killing would lead to revenge and reprisal
    - Ghetto Brothers leader Benjamin Melendez decided to organize peace talks
    - Ghetto Brothers:
      * Based primarily in the Puerto Rican community in the Bronx
      * Ghetto Brothers were a gang but also a band: made music and released one collection entitled “Power-Fuerza”
      * Ghetto Brothers were unusual in their efforts at gender respect: the Ghetto Sisters represented the all-female counterpart
    - The Meeting:
      * The Bronx (NY): December 7, 1971
      * Held at the Boys Club on Hoe Avenue
      * Several gangs attended, including all of the largest and most powerful
      * City officials and police were invited and were present as observers
    - Power Dynamics:
      * Concentric circles of power: innermost circle was “the table” where only the presidents of the gangs could sit
      * Vice-presidents and master-of-arms sat behind them
      * Four concentric rows of chairs (from most powerful to least powerful)
      * Regular gang members sat outside and circles in the bleachers and could only observe and not participate
    - Gender Dynamics:
      * Only two women were allowed in, the presidents of the two all-female gangs
      * While the presidents of these two gangs were the leaders of the gangs, they were not allowed to sit “at the table” but instead were seated in the fourth row (the row that represented the least power)
      * The Ghetto Sisters were spoken for by the Ghetto Brothers and hence were not in attendance at all
    - Nonviolence:
      * There was serious fear the meeting could erupts in a violent fight, so no weapons were allowed inside
      * The meeting was declared to be nonviolent
      * “nonviolence” was enforced through threatened violence (gang members with weapons were permitted on rooftops outside the venue)
    - The Immediate Result:
      * The peace was the goal, but the actual outcomes created formal procedures to diffuse tensions and rivalries to prevent gang warfare
      * More of a truce with formalized conflict resolution procedures put into place
      * The longer term goal was to incorporate all of the active gangs in the Bronx into a Brotherhood Family: this would be a giant “supergang” to which all local gangs would belong
      * Idea was to be part of a larger whole rather than part of separate, non-integrated localities
  + Long-term:
    - At one point nearly 70 gangs had been signed on to the Brotherhood Family project
    - The Hoe Street meeting produced a notable de-escalation of violence
    - Over time, changes in the Bronx made the Hoe Street peace less effective
  + Music:
    - Hip hop emerged out of the Bronx and there are many who believe that the Hoe Street peace made this possible due to the unprecedented cross-territory interaction it created
  + Flyin’ Cut Sleeves:
    - A retrospective film made about the events and the contexts that led up to the Hoe Street peace talks
    - A related film is 80 blocks from Tiffany’s
* Readings:
  + Funkeson “Witnesses to Genocide”:
    - Peace talks and peace treaties often include a component of justice
    - This was clearly evident in the Rwandan genocide
    - Gacaca courts are considered “traditional” forms of justice
    - This article points out that traditional justice is not necessarily better justice, and getting people to bear witness can actually generate hostility and trauma rather than peace
    - Gacaca courts are traditional and informal
    - They are something like locally-based truth commissions
    - Yet truths can be traumatic, and truths can be self-serving untruths (for perpetrators)
    - Gacaca creates mixed results: this does not make it a failure, but it makes it incomplete and imperfect
    - Justice therefore requires multiple frameworks and levels to create a durable peace
  + Colin Knox: “From the Margin To The Mainstream”:
    - During The Troubles in Northern Ireland =, neighborhood and community policing was handled by paramilitary groups
    - The paramilitary groups were illegal groups that enforced their own laws
    - Through the end of the Troubles and into the peace process, these violent and illegal paramilitary legal procedures transformed to restorative justice, and then to a formal part of the criminal justice system
    - The transition from Peace Agreement to peace has been slow and is still incomplete
    - Note how it would be a mistake to look only at a decline in killings as a proof of peace: killings have gone down, but other violent but non-lethal incidents by paramilitaries have increased
    - Their increase often coincides with other problems such as a suspension of the Northern Ireland Assembly, showing the importance of keeping all parts of the peace process in motion

Giving Peace a Presence; from Metaphysical to Physical:

* We can always talk about what peace is but perhaps now we should focus on where peace is
* Even if we had world peace, that peace would not be uniform—some parts of the world would have better peace than others. Peace is rarely the same thing
* With this module, we will try to develop a sense of the relationship between peace and place
* The Location of Peace:
  + To be “at peace”
  + To be at a place that is peaceful
  + To be at a place that puts you “at peace”
* Pacific things:
  + Pacifier
  + Pacifica
  + Pacifica Beauty Products
  + Pacific Ocean
* Motion Across Space:
  + How do we become aware that we have moved from a peaceful place to a less peaceful or violent one?
  + Are there places where you don’t go because you think they are not peaceful, that violence may occur?
  + Does that feeling change when we introduce time as a variable? Places where you will go in the day but not at night?
* Peace Gets Physical:
  + From idea to location
  + Peace treaties establish a peace not just over time but in physical space
  + Topography is rarely uniform: peace is distributed unevenly
* Land:
  + Boundary disputes
  + Minerals and resources
  + Ethnic cleansing—attaching identity to land
* Water:
  + Drinking water
  + Islands
  + Organic resources
  + Rivers
* Space:
  + Moon
  + Satellite orbits
  + Space exploration
* The Environment:
  + Climate change
  + Sustainability
  + Anthroponormative preferences
* Korean DMZ:
  + North and South Korea
  + Armistice since 1953 (technically still at war, conflict not formally concluded)
  + The DMZ (Demilitarized Zone) as an unintended zone of environmental refuge
  + Filled with land mines
  + In May 2010 , the United Nations hosted an exhibit called “In Search for Peace and Life”
  + The exhibit was established in recognition of the 60th anniversary of the start of the Korean War
  + The exhibit showcased the accidental creation of an ecological corridor between North and South Korea
  + Both North and South Korea have agreed to preserve the DMZ as a world conservation site
  + According the UN exhibit, the DMZ could be the site where peace starts to grow
* European Green Belt (Started 2003):
  + From “Iron Curtain” to Ecological Preserve
* Peace Parks:
  + Two kinds:
    - Transboundary or transfronteir protected areas
    - Parks that commemorate or preserve peace
  + One located in SF
  + Note how an entity that straddles an international boundary is assumed to represent peace
  + Peace Parks require a special legal arrangement: technically, this would be a peace treaty
  + The United States has five parks with Canada
  + It has none with Mexico
* Certain kinds of landscapes and geographic locations automatically generate peace and peaceful feelings
* The Treaty of Ghent (December 1814) formally ended the War of 1812 between the US and the UK
* In an era before smart phones and email, news of peace traveled slowly
* The Battle of New Orleans, commemorated in an American folk song of the same name, was fought in January 1815. American forces defeated an invading British Army, one month after the war was legally over
* In 1952, African-American singer Paul Robeson, who had been banned from traveling internationally by the US Government as a suspected communist, performed a free concert at the Peace Arch. He sang from the back of a truck parked on the American side, to a mostly Canadian audience on the other

Mapping Peace; Why place matters and why it shouldn’t:

* Peace is unevenly distributed throughout the world
* Peaceful areas can have violence, and violent areas can have peace
* It is important to create an accurate understanding of the relationship between space, place, and peace
* Global Peace Index 2013:
  + Global shift: more people are killed by violence within countries than between then
  + Drug war related causalities in Mexico amounted to twice as many deaths in Iraq and Afghanistan combined
  + US $9.46 trillion was spent on violence in 2012
  + Methodology:
    - The GPI is created by the Institute for Economics and Peace and collects data from 22 different indicators that are then collated by The Economist Intelligence Unit—
      * Number of conflicts, homicide rate, violent crime rate, size of military, military expenditure, gun laws and gun access, terrorist threats, financial contribution to UN, peacekeeping operations
  + Rankings 2013 (top 11 least violent):
    - Iceland, Denmark, New Zealand, Austria, Switzerland, Japan, Finland, Canada, Sweden, Belgium, Norway
    - 20. Bhutan, 26. Taiwan, 40. Costa Rica, 59. Sierra Leone, 99. United States, 101. China, 155. Russia, 162. Somalia (out of 162)
    - Peace Index and Happiness Index share many of the same countries in the top 10
  + The US is ranked 99th on the Global Peace Index
  + The US is ranked 17th on the Global Happiness Index
  + Are Americans violent but happy…???
  + Country-specific peace index studies review the variance of peace throughout a country
* Local:
  + Oakland’s Infamous “Killing Zone” because the majority of homicides that happen in Oakland happen there. Also heavily associated with gang territories and turf wars
  + Fruitvale “gang injunction” area: safety zone. Area where police can say that as soon as you are in this part, if you are caught carrying a weapon or doing anything that associates you with gang activity, the police can arrest you
  + Proposed North Oakland gang injunction area
  + Some say that gang injunctions allow the police to engage in racial profiling and builds stereotypes
* Violent Cities:
  + Detroit has the reputation for being the most dangerous city (measured by violent crime rate per 100,000 residents). Oakland is number 2
  + Safest cities go by ranking by population size in addition to measuring the violent crime rate. The 6th safest largest city in the world is LA
* Oakland ranked as 43rd most violent city in the world
* Rank is based upon homicides per 100,000 residents
* What if we didn’t have anyone murdered and no violent crimes, but the rate of robbery was astronomical?
* Most violent city in the world is San Pedro Sula, Honduras
* Siobhan McEvony-Levy, “Youth Spaces in Haunted Places”:
  + Continues our discussion of Northern Ireland
  + Note distinction between space and place: space is a geographic location, place is “space plus meaning”
  + Article focuses on how part of post-conflict peace building consists of reinscribing meanings to change a space to a different place
  + In Northern Ireland: from contests spaces to shared places
  + Note how youth are hindered in the process of reclaiming spaces because their lack authority
  + Youth are not considered to be full legal persons, you usually have to have someone of full legal age to do something for you, which is a problem because the next generation has to grow into peace and in order to do that they must be given agency
  + “Peace walls”= barriers between neighborhoods actually increased after the Good Friday Agreement, as authorities thought this would “keep the peace” (p. 19)
  + Author discusses how repainting the barriers and neighborhoods divides changed the meaning of these barriers
* Harris Gazdard and Hussan Bux Mallah, “Informality and Political Violence in Karachi”:
  + Urban planning created divided demographic spaces that entrenched violence
  + Lack of planning allowed for the same result
  + “Statistics do not fully convey many of the nuances of violence in Karachi” (p. 3100)
  + The partition of India into India and Pakistan at independence in 1947 produced the refugee flight of many Indian Muslims into Pakistan (and particularly Karachi)
  + Note once again the “Goldilocks” problem: too much state planning creates problems, not enough state planning creates problems
* Our mental maps of the world in terms of peace and conflict rarely match the reality
* Peace is unevenly distributed throughout the world
* Location shouldn’t matter but unfortunately it does
* In crafting peace, this is one of the most challenging tasks: how to remedy peace inequality?

4/3:

* [cj.pna@yahoo.com](mailto:cj.pna@yahoo.com)
* Peacecraft: the art of creating durable peace
* Track:
  + Trust, Respect, Authority, Capacity, Knowledge
* Formal Diplomacy:
  + The Role of Diplomats, Ambassadors, Envoy, etc.
    - Respect, Equality, and Communication
  + Diplomatic Row: Diplomats behaving badly
* Midterm 2:
  + Provide enough background (including historical perspective)
  + Incorporate/weave the outside thingy throughout essay
  + Careful not to combine the two prompts
  + Prompt 2:
    - Do law and diplomacy work at the same level? Or is L&D context specific that requires a different set of skills?
    - Consider the formal/informal setting
    - Consider local/international setting
    - Connect to organization/event
    - Who gets to sit at the table? Who are the players?
    - Provide examples showcasing difference or similarity
      * What are the skills?
      * What is the process
  + Thesis:
    - Clear statement of the position/argument you’re taking; be specific
    - Careful not to use run-on sentences
    - Set up argument and lay out direction of essay
    - A better version of the thesis may exist in the conclusion than in the intro, so check back

4/8: The Architecture of Peace; Monuments and other sites of reckoning

* Previously we discussed how physical space relates to peace and security, through mapping and natural landscapes
* Architecture adds intent to the design: the international landscaping of space or the international construction of monuments
* Building peace
* Landscape of Peace:
  + Gardens and pace
  + Gardens: artificial orchestration of space with natural objects
  + Zen Gardens:
    - Zen from dhyana—consciousness (Sanskrit)
    - Sand ripples to mimic water
    - Disciplined control of what is uncontrollable
    - Contemplation and landscape
    - Gives us something to think about by providing contradictions, riddles, and paradoxes
  + Peace Gardens:
    - Gardens dedicated to peace
    - Gardens meant to evoke peace
    - Is there a violent garden? Uhm, don’t think so….
  + Refuge:
    - Shelter from danger or persecution
    - A refugee seeks refuge
    - Refugee camps
    - The “fuge” in refugee is linked to fugitive
    - Refugee camp is intentionally designed to allow you to feel secure but not comfortable; designed to make sure you want to leave because countries do not want refugees to stay permanently
    - Refugees are expected to go home at some point
  + Sanctuary:
    - Sanctuary as place
    - Sanctuary as process
    - Sanctuary as law
    - People in America can go into a church and declare sanctuary law enforcement will negotiate even though it’s not the law; that powerful and well-respected
  + Shark Sanctuary:
    - Protecting what does not protect us
    - Shark sanctuaries
    - Shark politics
  + Religion and Architecture:
    - Temples
    - Tradition and modernity
    - Spiritual and physical architecture
    - All architectures and designs are intentional
* Monuments, Signs, and Symbols:
  + Swastika:
    - Auspiciousness
    - Evil
  + Sights of Memory:
    - Landscaping and constructing a view of the past
    - Forgetting as injustice
    - Art and politics
  + Order and Peace:
    - Order and disorder
    - Order and anarchy
    - Order and human security
    - Law and order
    - Disorder and danger and lack of security
    - Brazilian Flag: order and progress
  + Peace Memorials:
    - Commemorating the end of war
    - Commemorating the suffering during war
    - Commemorating the start of peace
  + War Memorials:
    - What do we commemorate?
    - Thought and structure
    - Emotion and structure
  + Memorials as truth telling
  + Categories of spaces:
    - Visible spaces that are invisible
    - Invisible spaces that are visible
    - Visible spaces that are visible

4/10: Putting Peace Into Practice; Peace Activism and Peace Education

* Many people are involved in “working for peace”
* This involves much more than just opposing war
* Working for peace is an imperfect and sometimes controversial process
* Peace Activism:
  + Promote
  + Prevent
  + Pressure
  + Perform—all activism is meant to be viewed, it is an act of performance (performing politics)
  + Activism is generally assumed to be peaceful. It can also be confrontational. If violence is involved it is referred to as militancy.
  + Pontificate—holier than thou
  + Proselytize—makes people feel uncomfortable
  + Activism is often performed for people who already agree with you
  + Tactics and strategies:
    - Sustained campaigns, sometimes not the most effective because you lose people quickly (people tune you out, short attention spans, etc.)
    - Specific events (protests, screenings, etc.)
    - Mass action
    - Individual action (ie: shirt, attitude, button, etc.)
  + Political left: change is good, mass action, state intervention, redistribution of wealth, equal status, internationalism
  + Political right: tradition is good, individual action, minimal state, protection of wealth, equal (moral) worth, nationalism
  + Leftists are more likely to protest because they are proponents of change
  + Actors and activists:
    - Public: legislators, judges, officials, civil servants
    - Private: NGOs, nonprofits, religious orgs, civil society
  + Context:
    - Frames of reference
    - Spheres of action
    - Chronologies of expectation –when do you want that change to happen?
  + Peace Activism:
    - Social peace
    - Social justice
    - Peace in war
    - Anti-war
  + Peace Education:
    - Form of activism
    - Context:
      * Post-conflict
      * Mid-conflict
      * Non-conflict
    - Different levels:
      * K-12
      * University
      * Open education (ie: adult schools)
    - Different types:
      * Formal
      * Informal
      * Peer-to-peer
      * Vocational
* Readings:
  + “’If They Can’t Do Any Good, They Shouldn’t Come’: Northern Evaluators in Southern Realities”
    - Research ethics: field work includes activism
    - North and South: a good way of looking at things?
    - Do we know if the author’s research is “ethical”?
    - Is criticism always a form of cultural insensitivity?
    - Sri Lanka: Tamil and Sinhalese
  + “Humanitarian Action Under Fire: Reflections on the Role of NGOs in Conflict and Post-Conflict Situations”
    - Humanitarian activism has drawn too close to political and military agendas: NGOs collude with an complement the work of militaries and government
    - They are therefore targeted by hostile groups
    - Whose fault is this really?
    - Neutrality as a problem: ICRC versus MSF
    - New humanitarianism as new colonialism?
  + Technical and vocational education and training in peace education: Solomon Islands”
    - Peace education often focuses on concepts and academic inquiry
    - TVET is also an important part of peace education
    - Guadalcanal Revolutionary Army (GRA) and Malaita Eagle Force (MEF): economic inequality
    - TVET: to redistribute economic opportunity

4/15: Peace in the News: Journalism and Social Media

* Events related to issues of peace and conflict have at least two levels of substance: the events themselves and the narrative of those events
* Dispassionate research and passionate writing need to be read in context and interpreted properly
* Peace Journalism:
  + Journalism is the narration of contemporary event
  + Though journalism appears to be just the facts”, a close look shows otherwise
* When you see a bias that you agree with you don’t see the biased structure, you just see it as truth
* Peace journalism is unapologetically biased
* Sources of bias:
  + Choice of topics
  + Presentation of events
  + Choice of wording
  + Nationalism and culture
  + Censorship
  + Editorial bias
  + News agency bias
  + Examples:
    - Liberal: NPR, Yahoo News, Huffington Post, Los Angeles Times, San Francisco Chronicle, New York Times, Buzzfeed
    - Conservative: Fox News, Wall Street Journal, Washington Times, National Review, Rush Limbaugh, Free Republish, New York Post
* Many news agency leave information out if they are not convenient or agreeing with the bias
* Liberal news bias?
  + 60-70% of journalists self-identify as “left of center”
  + The problem is not the bias of the journalist
  + The problem is the overall availability of different versions of the same story
  + There are more liberal news sources than conservative
  + Yet Fox News has been the most watched news program for the 24-54 age bracket for 12 straight years
* Who is to blame?
  + Viewers blame corporate control for lack of variety
  + News outlets blame viewers demand for need to simplify and censor news
  + Five corporate conglomerates control 80% of news media in the United States
* Viewers:
  + The “internet effect”
  + Infotainment
  + Substantive analysis loses viewers rapidly
  + Oversimplification is all the rage
* Peace Journalism:
  + Peace advocacy
  + Anti-war coverage
  + Social justice
  + Social peace
* How Peace Studies Sees Itself:
  + Peace Journalism: multiple issues, humanization of all sides, truth-oriented, people oriented, solutions-oriented, peace advocacy
    - Associates peace with truth
  + Mainstream Journalism: single-issue (the war), dehumanization of “the enemy”, propaganda-oriented, elite-oriented, victory-oriented, victory advocacy
    - Anything not peace journalism is propaganda
* Fact-checking as peace activism:
  + FactCheck
  + PolitiFact
  + Accountability as activism
  + Questioning both sides: no one trusts you
  + PolitiFact’s “Lie of the Year” (2013): “if you like your health care plan, you can keep it
* Problems:
  + Peace as “boring” (war as dramatic)
  + New headlines demand space
  + Reader/viewer fatigue
  + The (liberal) image problem of peace
* Social Media:
  + Democratizing media?

4/17: Disciplining Peace: Voices from Other Fields

* Neil Melvin and Tolkun Umaraliev, “New Social media and Conflict in Kyrgyzstan”
  + March-April 2010 unrest: ouster of President Kurmanbek Bakiyev
  + June 2010 violent: clashes between Kyrgyz and Uzbek ethnic groups in the south because the former president was ethnically Kyrgyz
  + Social media can duplicate the image but not the act
  + Social media can communicate information and disseminate information but it can’t start a revolution
  + There is nothing that substitutes for physical presence
  + Media as facilitator of action (not a substitute)
  + Tulip Revolution of 2005 (ouster of Askar Akayev)
  + Media access: urban and expensive
  + Coordinate social action (media itself is not social action)
  + Relay information (as opposed to generating information)
  + Media is content neutral: can be civic protest or hate speech
  + Ethnic mobilization (cf. Rwandan radio)—two Rwandans were convicted of Genocide for broadcasting the whereabouts of Tutsi families to be massacred
  + Fact-checking as response; fact-checking is now a form of activism
* Peace studies is interdisciplinary but other fields and professions also look at peace in different ways
* Peace can be and often is a focus of other fields
* Disciplines and knowledge:
  + Disciplines are differentiated by the questions they ask
  + They are also differentiated by the methods they use to find answers to those questions
* War and Peace:
  + We often assume that war is complex and peace is simple
  + Peace and war are of equal complexity
* Law:
  + Laws of war (Humanitarian law)
  + There is no “peace law” but much of peace relates to law and much of law relates to peace
  + Treaty law
  + Trade law (WTO)
  + Diplomatic law
  + Dispute settlement law
  + Crimes against peace (aggression)
  + Dispute settlement mechanisms
* Political Science:
  + Civil society
  + Post-conflict reconstruction (Transitional authority model)
  + War and politics
  + Regime change
* Sociology:
  + Social action and social movements
  + Social dynamics (social peace)
  + Ethnic relations and ethnic conflict
  + Agency issues—whether or not we feel that we are responsible for our actions (empowered or disempowered); whether or not we feel that we are able to initiate actions and that our goals can be achieved
* Psychology:
  + Trauma and recovery
  + Psychology of violence
  + Psychology of (inner) peace
  + Transcultural psychology
* Other ways of including Peace:
  + Some disciplines seem devoid of “peace content”
  + In reality, they just have different ways of including peace in their practices
* Medicine:
  + Epidemics often destroy social ties
  + Lack of health care as human rights issue
  + Doctors without Borders (MSF) and ICRC
  + Medical missions
  + Veterinarians without borders help ensure that there are still resources for people living in those areas
* Engineering:
  + Many conflicts are created due to engineering projects
  + Engineers can incorporate social costs into their projects
  + Engineers can also design things that facilitate peace
* Physics:
  + Many peace activists have been physicists
  + Albert Einstein
  + Linus Pauling
  + Andrei Sakharov
* Military Science:
  + Trend towards non-lethal or less-than-lethal weapons
  + Debate about whether this is a good thing
* Criminal Justice:
  + Punishment
  + Rehabilitation
  + Structural questions
  + Juvenile justice
* The Readings:
  + Robert J Muscat “Peace and Conflict: Engineering Responsibilities and Opportunities”:
    - The social responsibilities of engineers
    - Power, irrigation, mining transportation, etc.
    - Civil, hydraulic, electrical, transport, mining, petroleum, agricultural, etc. (types of engineering)
    - Conversations with “stakeholders” (anybody involved in the project)
  + Christopher B. Roach, “Shallow Affect, No Remorse:; The Shadow of Trauma in the Inner City”:
    - Peace psychology
    - PTSD
    - Post-war recovery: the victim leaves the war zone to recover
    - Inner city: the victim remains in the environment of violence with different outcomes
    - There are different varieties of PTSD
    - Both residents and police offers working in high-violence environments suffer similar effects
    - Inner-city PTSD: Anger/aggression rather than fear, muted rather than exaggerated emotions
    - The work is hard, and the odds of success are small
    - People are both angry and aggressive and are unable to feel empathy

4/22: A Picture is worth a thousand words? War photography as peace photography

* Final paper on national anthems?? Compare and contrast Hatikvah and the American National Anthem. Include historical background of each anthem (that’s the research component)
* Peace comes in a wide variety of formats, acts, and practices
* Art comes in a wide variety of formats, acts, and practices
* All art has intent and meaning: sometimes that intent and meaning are designed for the purpose of peace
* Something about art:
  + The impulse of art:
    - (some say) humans are the only species that has created art
    - Why did humans do this?
  + The intent of art:
    - To represent
    - To portray
    - To advocate
    - To protest
    - To honor
    - To please (the senses)
    - To remember
  + Nothing about art is accidental, everything is potential and attempting to convey something
  + Art and economics:
    - Artists need an income to do art
    - State patronage
    - Private patronage
    - Private collections (taken out of societal circulation) vs. museums
  + Art and Politics:
    - Promotion of art for the state
    - Criminal art
    - Censorship
    - Politics versus aesthetics
  + Art and law:
    - Art has legal limits (artists are not above the law)
    - Art as free speech
    - Intellectual and cultural property rights
    - Rights of ownership
    - Return of treasures movement
    - Some artists are imprisoned or even assassinated (including comedians)
  + Art and society:
    - Art as elitist
    - Art as populist
    - Art as commentary on society
    - Art as avant-garde
* Photography:
  + Technology and art
  + The “start” of photography in 1839
  + Photography as art (photography wasn’t seen as art for a long time)
  + Within a decade of the invention of the camera people began photographing war
  + Debates over photography:
    - Photography and realism: is it art?
    - Manipulation of subjects and light
    - Color vs. black and white
    - Instant art
    - The need for permission
    - To what degree to we consider photography to be a manipulation of photographs or deception?
  + War Photography:
    - War photography starts within a decade of photography
    - First war photographer was John McCosh (in British India), 1848
    - Roger Fenton (1854-55): officially commissioned to use photography to counter the unpopularity of the Crimean war in Britain
      * He was specifically commissioned by the government to make war look exoctic and fun so that people would want to enlist to combat rumors of destruction. He was forbidden from photographing dead bodies
    - Also in the Crimean war, James Robertson and Felice Beato photograph the destructive aspects of the war, including the first photographs of corpses (1855)
    - Robertson and Beato then went to India to photograph the Indian Rebellion of 1857
    - They staged many of the photographs (including adding corpses) to heighten the emotional impact of the images
  + Early war photography:
    - Portraits of officers (but not the enlisted because they were not important enough)
    - Daily life of enlisted
    - Aftermath and destruction
  + Capa photography:
    - The photo was later revealed to have been taken at Espejo and not Cerro Muriano
    - According to Capa, the soldier in the picture was Federico Borrell Carcia
    - But Garcia was killed at Cerro Muriano while hiding behind a tree, and those who knew him said he was not the person in the photograph
    - The photograph was later revealed to be staged
  + We have an accuracy standard where photography is concerned and start questioning whether or not it truly depicts reality
  + James Nachtwey
    - “For me, the strength of photography lies in its ability to evoke humanity. If war is an attempt to negate humanity, then photography can be perceived as the opposite of war”
    - His images are all in black and white
    - “I used to call myself a war photographer. Now I consider myself as an antiwar photographer”
* Pablo Picasso, “Guernica” (1937)
* Heinz Kiwitz “Geurnica” (1937—woodcut)

4/24: Television Wars and Video Games: The CGI-zation of violence

* When peace studies refers to structural violence, it refers to embedded structures of violence without specific agency: inequality, racism, etc.
* But what is structural violence is embedded in structures we voluntarily consume and participate in?
* Who are the media?
  + “I blame the media”
  + The media can do nothing if it is not consumed
  + We freely participate in the consumption of media
* The anti-photoshop campaign:
  + Photoshop has become the industry standard to create flawless images of models and celebrities
  + There has been a growing backlash against this due to the structural violence it creates (self-loathing and sexism)
* Zombies:
  + Is killing the already dead nonviolence?
  + Why the attraction to zombie films?
* CGI:
  + Computer Generated Imagery
  + Computer graphics
  + Gaming and animation
  + Enhanced visuals in “real” media (the economics of CGI)
* Depicting violence far beyond what people are actually capable of
* CGI issues:
  + Extreme violence can be depicted in CGI-worlds
  + Will consumers transfer real emotions back into their real lives?
  + Enhanced and exaggerated violence in “real” films through CGI
  + Will viewers see it?
  + Will viewers be more inclined to use real violence because of “comic book” appearance?
* Many recent acts of mass violence can be traced to media
* Columbine High School
* Aurora Colorado
* Newtown
* Do more realistic and violent games and media create more violent individuals?
* Or do individuals seek out games with attitudes that they already have?
* Crimes of passion:
  + Humans often have their judgment impaired by emotions
  + The law will even take this into account
  + The effect is usually “in the moment” but can be long term
* Studying the link:
  + The methodology is difficult
  + Short-term effect is easier to grasp than long-term
  + If a definitive link is found, what would we do?
* The link is difficult to make because it is one variable among many
* Being socialized to accept violence differs by individual
* The Asian Horror effect:
  + Asian horror films are considered “extreme”
  + Many believe this to be a safety valve correlate
  + Many believe violent video games play the same role in other societies
* The Writing on the wall; graffiti as art and crime:
  + Graffiti has a very long history
  + Its purpose and validity have been the subject of political contestation
  + It is the only type of art that is simultaneously art and crime…sometimes
  + Graffiti (plural) is the Italian derivation from graphein
  + To write or draw (by scratching or etching)
  + Anonymous artists (mostly)
  + Public space as “canvas”
  + Portable or improvised materials
  + Purposes:
    - Identification
    - Communication
    - Protest
    - Commentary
    - Humor
  + Recent history:
    - Rise of hip-hop culture
    - Rise of pop art
    - Resistance (and boredom)
    - Ease of obtaining materials
  + Graffiti as crime:
    - “Public space” excludes private property
    - Vandalism
    - Gang activity
    - Hate speech or incitement
  + Responses:
    - Graffiti hotlines
    - Crackdowns
    - Restriction of materials
    - Approved graffiti zones/walls

4/29: Putting Peace to Music; Harmony and Discord

* The visual arts play an important role in the way we image and imagine peace and conflict
* Music is an auditory experience
* Music also plays an important role in the way we image and imagine peace and conflict
* Music:
  + Intentionally arranged patterns of different sound frequencies expressed through different instruments
* The soundscape of peace:
  + Silence
  + Ambient noise
  + Peaceful music
  + Noise
* The soundscape of war:
  + Military bands—plays the beat you march to or plays music to help inspire you to be brave and heroic
  + Music to inspire and incite
  + Music to commemorate and celebrate
* 1812:
  + Pyotr Ilyich Tchaikovsky
  + 1812 Overture
  + Written (in 1880) to celebrate Russian victory over Napoleonic forces
  + First piece of symphonic music with one of the instruments being a cannon
  + First piece to use percussive cannon blasts as part of the score
  + Also used church chimes
  + Tchaikovsky himself conducted the performance of the 1812 Overture at the opening of Carnegie Hall in 1891
  + Meant to be solemn; war is never something to celebrate, even though we won
  + Russian and French anthems are woven into the music
  + The piece was commissioned by the Russian Orthodox Church for Tsar Alexander II
  + Tsar Alexander was subsequently assassinated
* Benjamin Britten, “War Requiem”
  + Written in 1961-62 for the consecration of Coventry Cathedral (which had stood for approx. 400 years)
  + Britten was a pacifist
  + Instrumental music is interspersed with voice (spoken and sung)
  + Latin “Mass for the Dead”
  + Poems about war from Wilfred Owen (WWI)
* Daniel Berenboim
  + Western Eastern Divan Orchestra Music for Peace
  + 50 players are Israeli, and 50 are Palestinian
* Music and Culture:
  + All cultures have music
  + Even animal cultures
  + Many cultures have struggled to deal with the emotional power of music
  + Different religions have different takes on music
* Anthems:
  + Religious origins: short choral composition expressing religious devotion
  + Secularized into emotional devotion
  + A national anthem is a short music piece with lyrics expressing devotion to the nation
* Connections:
  + Rejoice of the Lamb (1943)—Anthem written by Benjamin Britten
  + Anthem written by Benjamin Britten for the 50th anniversary of St. Matthew’s Church in Northampton
  + Based on poem from Christopher Smart
  + All living creatures express religious devotion in their own way
* National Anthems:
  + All countries have a national anthem
  + Some have no words (Spain, Kosovo)
  + Some have multiple languages (New Zealand, South Africa, Switzerland)
  + The Taliban banned music but they have an anthem
* Different sorts of anthems:
  + We Shall Overcome (1950s)
  + Give Peace a Chance (1969)
  + We Are the World (1985)
* The Cranberries:
  + “Zombie” (1994)
  + Protest against IRA bombing in 1993
  + Anti-war yet not a peaceful song either
  + You’d have to be brain dead to think war is a good thing
* Hip-hop:
  + As with CGI and video games, controversy over the relationship between violence and hip-hop
  + Not all hip-hop is violent
  + The curse of becoming mainstream
* Music has complex links with peace, conflict, war, and violence everywhere in the world

5/1: Peace is a good story; the role and influence of literature

* There are different formats of artistic imagining for peace and conflict (visual, graphic, auditory)
* Literature is a verbal medium (obviously)
* Like all art forms, literature struggles to find the best way to represent the complexities of peace and conflict
* War and Peace:
  + War literature (lots of it)
  + Peace literature (almost non-existent)
  + Is war literature really peace literature?
* Derrida returns:
  + Both author and reader have agency
  + Reading as a form of activism
  + Authority and subjectivity
* Peace literature:
  + Literature that advocates peace?
  + Literature that acts like a fictional version of peace journalism?
* War and Peace (1969):
  + Leo Tolstoy (1828-1910)
  + The war part: the French invasion of Russia
  + The peace part: the non-war part
  + In the end: not “great men” but ordinary people bear the burdens of history
  + War destroys peoples’ lives, nostalgia for peace
* War Horse (1982):
  + Michael Morpurgo
  + Originally a children’s novel
  + Humans and nonhumans in war
  + The controversy over animal suffering
* Novel Without a Name (1995)
  + Duong Thu Huong
  + The Vietnam War and the American War
  + War dehumanizes everyone involved with it
  + Nothing is redeemed by or in war
  + Everything about the war was awful for everyone and everyone suffered; there’s nothing heroic about it
* Catch 22 (1961)
  + Joseph Heller
  + War and insanity; the whole premise of war is complete insanity
  + The dehumanization of bureaucracy (the army is also a bureaucracy)
  + In times of war there is no chronology, only suffering (the novel is not written in chronological order)
  + Any pilot asking for a psychiatric evaluation, hoping to be declared insane (and hence unfit for combat), demonstrates his or her sanity by making the request itself
  + In other words, anyone who wants to get out of the war is sane, and so only a truly insane person would stay in the war, which would make them unfit for combat
  + “There was only catch and that was Catch-22. Orr would be crazy to fly more missions and sane if he didn’t, but if he was sane he had to fly them. If he flew them, he was crazy and didn’t have to; but if he didn’t want to, he was sane and had to”
* Wole Soyinka:
  + Nigerian playwright and novelist
  + Chronic violence
  + Narration as violence: against simplification (post-colonialism, nationalism, etc.)
  + Violence is everywhere and I want to try to end it
  + “I don’t care about the color of the foot stepping on my neck, I just want it to stop”
* The role of literature:
  + The instantaneous image
  + The visual certainty of film and graphic arts
  + The short length of film
  + The long-term investment in reading: is the emotional tool more powerful?
  + “You don’t have to burn books to destroy a culture. Just get people to stop reading them”—Ray Bradbury
* The reading:
  + Thomas Burkhalter, “Between Art for Art’s Sake and Musical Protest: How Musicians from Beirut React to War and Violence”
    - Like Northern Ireland, Lebanon has had its own experience with “troubles” (war and violence
    - Burkhalter argues that there are two general reactions by musicians to the war and violence: (1) to concentrate solely on the music as a “peaceful” place outside the conflict, or (2) to utilize music as a voice of protest or propaganda
    - Five reactions:
      * Ziyad Sahhab: fusion music of the political left
      * Garo Gdanian: death metal as release from violence
      * Joelle Khoury: jazz music as refuge
      * Raed Yassin: collecting the soundscape of war in Lebanon
      * Mazen Kerbaj: recreating the sounds of war and violence through musical instruments