

# The PEACE CHRONICLE

*The Newsletter of the Peace and Justice Studies Association*



## THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE

***BEING THE CHANGE WE WISH TO SEE ...***

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News, views, and visions of nonviolence, and tools for peaceful change!

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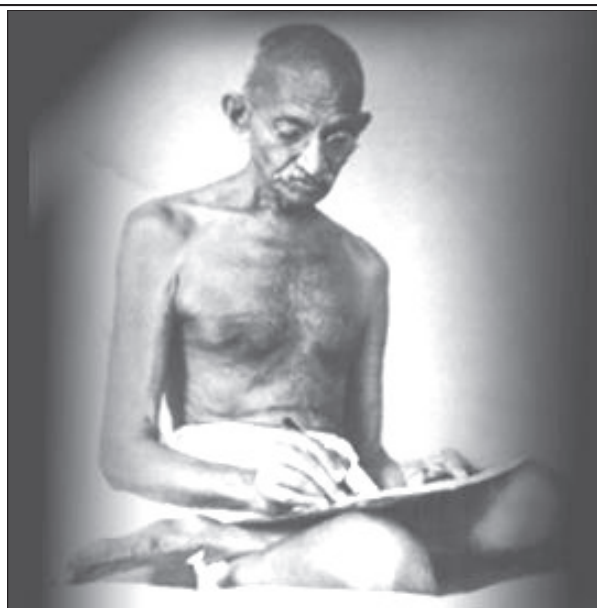
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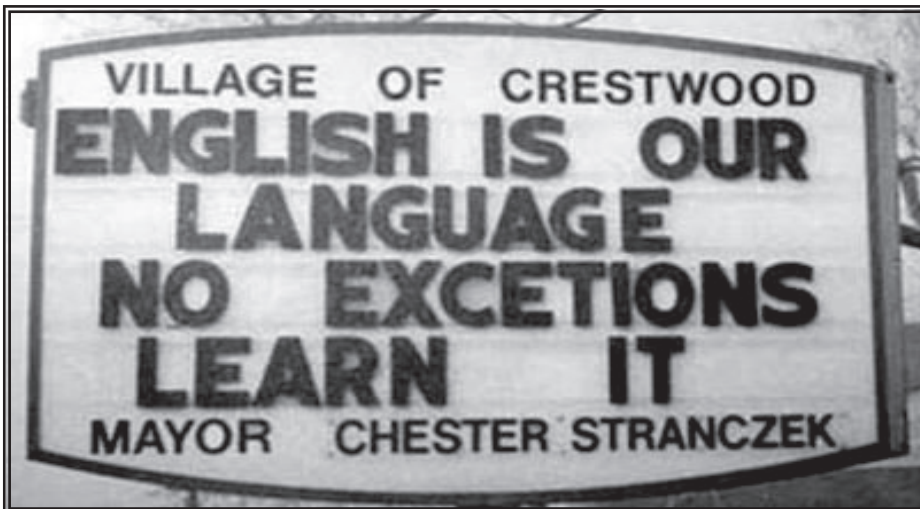
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*Editor's Note: More border checkpoints ... or spell checks?*

**PJSA**

**Who We Are**

The Peace and Justice Studies Association (PJSA) is a non-profit organization that was formed in 2001 as a result of a merger of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED) and the Peace Studies Association (PSA). Both organizations provided leadership in the broadly defined field of peace, conflict and justice studies.

We are dedicated to bringing together academics, K-12 teachers and grassroots activists to explore alternatives to violence and share visions and strategies for peace-building, social justice, and social change.

PJSA also serves as a professional association for scholars in the field of peace and conflict resolution studies, and is the North-American affiliate of the International Peace Research Association.

**Our Mission**

PJSA works to create a just and peaceful world through:

- ◆ The promotion of peace studies within universities, colleges and K-12 grade levels.
- ◆ The forging of alliances among educators, students, activists, and other peace practitioners in order to enhance each other's work on peace, conflict, and nonviolence.
- ◆ The creation and nurturing of alternatives to structures of inequality and injustice, war and violence through education, research and action.

**The Peace Chronicle**

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**Editor:**

Randall Amster

**Design Template:**

Shannon Wills

*The Peace Chronicle* is published by PJSA three times a year, and is circulated to current and potential members. The *Chronicle* features new scholarship and literature, the latest developments in peace research and education, discussion of central issues in the peace and justice movement, book and film reviews, and other important resources for scholars, educators, and activists. On the web: [www.peacejusticestudies.org](http://www.peacejusticestudies.org).

To submit an article or announcement to *The Peace Chronicle*, or to inquire about advertising or networking opportunities, please contact the PJSA at [info@PeaceJusticeStudies.org](mailto:info@PeaceJusticeStudies.org).

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## A Letter from the Co-Chair ...

### A Force with No Name

I just got off the phone with my dear friend Joanna Macy, and most of our conversation revolved around a question that I've been trying to deal with — well, to be honest, to parry — for forty years: “Why do you use the word ‘nonviolence’ if you say the thing you’re talking about is so positive?” My answer was what it always is: “Hey, come up with a better word and I’ll switch.” But most of the alternatives suggested are not English (*ahimsa*; *satyagraha*; the German *Gewaltfreiheit*, or ‘freedom from violence’) or they require more explaining than the offending item itself, like ‘soul force.’ What’s a soul? What kind of force are we talking about?

So finally, in exasperation, Joanna said, “What we’re dealing with is a force with no name.” Or rather, a force we haven’t yet named. Because it’s still so unfamiliar — not uncommon, since well over half the world’s population has experienced a significant nonviolent change in about the last thirty years — but unfamiliar because human consciousness is such that we can fail to ‘see’ what’s before our eyes if we don’t have a name, a category to put it in. We ‘see’ what we think we know, what we believe. Horrible example: when death by electrocution was introduced by the enlightened State, a group of ‘experts’ were invited in to witness the first employment of this new, ‘compassionate’ technique. The death was so ghastly

that two of the experts had to run out and be ill; but they universally declared that yes, this was the scientific and compassionate way to kill someone.

Back to happier considerations. The best term for nonviolence I have come across in my informal survey of the world’s responses to that discovery is, as many of you know, from Tagalog, for it arose in the famous Philippine “people power” insurrection of 1986-7: *alay dangal*, to ‘offer dignity.’ It says so much. It starts from the positive (thank God). It captures one of the most important and most overlooked concepts in nonviolent struggle: dignity, yours and your opponents. We even considered making it the title of the film we’re working on, *Weapon of the Brave*. But it’s in Tagalog (and it didn’t stick, apparently even over there).

Joanna went on: “What is this force that’s revealing itself, that clearly can’t be stopped because it has evolutionary power behind it?” Join us in this great adventure of finding out, implementing, and — yes — naming the ‘greatest power at the disposal of humanity’ (as Gandhi called it): the force with no name.

Your devoted co-chair,

*Michael Nagler*



## Nonviolence News: Declaration of Nobel Peace Laureates

Sixty-four years ago, the horror of atomic bombs was unleashed on Japan, and the world witnessed the destructive power of nuclear weapons. Today, with just a year until the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) Review Conference convenes at the United Nations in the spring of 2010, we, the undersigned Nobel Peace Laureates, echo U.S. President Barack Obama’s call for a world without nuclear weapons and appeal to the leader of every nation to resolutely pursue this goal for the good of all.

We find ourselves in a new era of proliferation. Despite the near universal ratification of the 1970 treaty, which binds states to nuclear disarmament, little progress has been made to fulfill this pact and eliminate nuclear weapons from our world. On the contrary, as the nuclear powers have continued to brandish their weapons, other nations have sought to produce their own nuclear arsenals.

We are deeply troubled by this threat of proliferation to non-nuclear weapon states, but equally concerned at the faltering will of the nuclear powers to move forward in their obligation to disarm their own nations of these dreadful weapons.

The fact that humanity has managed to avoid a third nuclear nightmare is not merely a fortunate whim of history. The resolve of the A-bomb survivors, who have called on the world to avert another Hiroshima or Nagasaki, has surely helped prevent that catastrophe. Moreover, the millions who have supported the survivors in their quest for peace, as well as the reality of our collective restraint, suggest that human beings are imbued with a better, higher nature, an instinct for inhibiting violence and upholding life.

We believe it is long past time for humanity to heed the warn-

ing made by Albert Einstein in 1946: “The unleashed power of the atom has changed everything save our modes of thinking, and we thus drift toward unparalleled catastrophe. We shall require a substantially new manner of thinking if mankind is to survive.” We know that such a new manner of thinking is possible. In the past ten years, the governments of the world, working alongside international institutions, non-governmental organizations, and survivors, have negotiated treaties banning two indiscriminate weapons systems: landmines and cluster bombs. These weapons were banned when the world finally recognized them for the humanitarian disaster they are.

The world is well aware that nuclear weapons are a humanitarian disaster of monstrous proportion. They are indiscriminate, immoral, and illegal. They are military tools whose staggering consequences have already been seen in the bombings of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the long-term impacts of those attacks. Eliminating nuclear weapons is indeed a possibility -- more than that, it is a fundamental necessity in forging a more secure planet for us all.

As Nobel Peace Laureates, we call on the citizens of the world to press their leaders to grasp the peril of inaction and summon the political will to advance toward nuclear disarmament and abolition. To fulfill a world without nuclear weapons, and inspire a greater peace among our kind, humanity must stand together to make this vision a reality.

**Betty Williams, Mairead Maguire, Adolfo Perez Esquivel, Desmond Tutu, Oscar Arias Sanchez, The Dalai Lama, Rigoberta Menchu Tum, Frederik W. de Klerk, Carlos Felipe Ximenes Belo, Jose Ramos Horta, Jody Williams, John Hume, Kim Dae Jung, Shirin Ebadi, Wangari Maathai, Mohamed ElBaradei, and Muhammad Yunus.**



*Announcing our 2009 conference...*

## EXPLORING THE POWER OF NONVIOLENCE

*The Peace and Justice Studies Association*

in partnership with the Wisconsin Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies  
and the Marquette University Center for Peacemaking

invites you to our annual conference

*October 8-10, 2009*

**MARQUETTE UNIVERSITY**

*Open to all academics, activists, students,  
K-12 educators and peace professionals*

Proposals have been received from a wide range of disciplines that address topics relevant to promoting nonviolent communities and practices, including many addressing the nature, history, and skills of nonviolent approaches to resolving and managing conflict, as well as ones that focus on economic and environmental justice, faith communities and nonviolence, and education in nonviolence at all levels including community education.

We will have a lineup filled with creative and dynamic workshops, panels, films, displays, and other formats. The conference will also include a focus on grassroots organizations, working with individuals and groups in the region to help develop a bridge from dialogue to action. Plenary panels, breakout groups, brainstorming sessions, and an impressive list of keynote speakers will offer multiple points of engagement and opportunities for networking with scholars, activists, and educators in the pursuit of peace and justice.

Join us in exploring these rich subjects in all their myriad forms, through the lens of historical narratives, current incarnations, and potential future applications to the struggles toward peace and justice in local settings and across the globe.

**Confirmed speakers include Sister Helen Prejean, Jonathan Schell, and 2008 MacArthur Fellow Will Allen.**

Registration may be completed via our website. Day rates will be available at the door.

*For more info, and to become a PJSa member,  
please visit: [www.peacejusticestudies.org](http://www.peacejusticestudies.org)*

WE LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU IN MILWAUKEE!



# PJSA ANNOUNCEMENTS: STUDENT PAPER AWARDS

## PJSA is pleased to announce the winners of our annual thesis and dissertation awards for undergraduate and graduate students!

Each year we select deserving students in the field and honor them for their outstanding efforts. New in 2009: the student winners are provided a session at our annual conference to present their papers. This year's winners are Maya Karwande (undergraduate) and Catia Confortini (graduate), respectively. A bit more about their work:

**Author:** Maya Karwande, B.A., Tufts University

**Advisor:** Paul Joseph

**Title:** *Failure to Engage: Outreach at the Bosnian War Crimes Chamber*

**Abstract:** Originally conceived at the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY), 'outreach' was a response to lack of public knowledge and misinformation about the Tribunal's work in the former Yugoslavia. Outreach has since been expanded to include not only provision of information, but facilitating a "two-way communication" of engagement between the court and the public. Outreach is considered necessary to form an institutional link between war crime prosecutions and larger processes of societal reconstruction in a post-conflict society. Despite the importance of outreach, almost no research has sought to address how outreach can or is effective. In this thesis I focus on outreach at the War Crimes Chamber in Bosnia-Herzegovina (WCC). The WCC was established in 2003 to prosecute war crimes committed during the conflict in Bosnia from 1992-1995. Included in the establishment of the War Crimes Chamber was a Public Information and Outreach Section (PIOS). This section was intended to foster a two-way communication between the Court and the people of Bosnia-Herzegovina through a variety of outreach strategies. However, I find that PIOS has not succeeded in engaging the public. Informed by analysis of the origin of outreach at the ICTY, theoretical models of outreach, and the implementation of outreach strategies at hybrid courts in East-Timor, Sierra Leone, and Cambodia, I identify the factors that have inhibited the implementation of outreach at the WCC. These factors are a lack of institutional commitment and the failure of PIOS to develop a detailed and coherent strategy. After identifying these factors I

recommend actions that could improve outreach at the WCC. In conclusion I expand my analysis to identify factors that should be considered in designing outreach strategies for future hybrid courts.

**Author:** Catia Confortini, Ph.D., USC

**Advisor:** J. Ann Tickner

**Title:** *Imaginative Identification: Feminist Critical Methodology in the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom, 1945-1975*

**Abstract:** I examine the policies of the oldest international women's peace organization, the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom (WILPF), toward disarmament, decolonization and Israel/Palestine between 1945 and 1975. I argue that changes in these policies embodied different ideas about peace. The WILPF's early understandings of peace were grounded in liberal modern principles and inscribed in the post-war international order. Gradually, the WILPF began identifying the limitations of its ideological foundations and formulating policies based on this critique. I argue that the WILPF arrived at its new policies thanks to an increasing reliance on feminist critical methods, which the organization consciously but largely implicitly followed, and which allowed it to break the entrapment of the context that created and shaped it. From the WILPF's women's activism I distill the elements of a methodology of emancipatory social change: I argue that, as activists, the WILPF's women practiced a theoretically-informed methodology and made theoretical contributions to feminist IR by proposing different ways to think about the relationship between women, feminism and peace. The history of the WILPF suggests that, rather than identifying a firm set of principles about what constitutes emancipation, social change, or even peace, a theory of emancipatory agency needs a methodology that favors an inclusive decision-making process, recurrent self-criticism, the enactment of a feminist ethics of care, and applies these practices to a set of initial, and always immanent, criteria. I propose that feminist critical methodology helps actors challenge the constraints and shaping powers of structures and effect emancipatory social change.



## PJSA NEWS and NOTES

### PJSA IN THE NEWS

Reprinted recently by the *New York Times*, an investigative news article summarizes the growth and development of the field: "Peace studies, incorporating anthropology, sociology, political science, theology and history, aim to uncover the roots of conflict, transform the underlying causes, develop preventive strategies and teach resolution skills. More than 400 universities and colleges worldwide now offer undergraduate or graduate degrees, as well as individual courses and certificates.... The **Peace and Justice Studies Association**, a group for scholars in the field, says student enrollments in university-level courses have surged in recent years."

### PJSA WEBSITE REDESIGNED

After months of planning, we have a brand new PJSA website with a better "look and feel," greater ease of navigation, and more resources for our members! Special thanks to our web manager, Amy Shuster, for her tireless efforts to implement the transition. We appreciate your feedback as the site yet evolves.

### WELCOME TO OUR NEW PJSA BOARD MEMBERS

The votes have been counted and we have a new PJSA board!

Congratulations to our newly elected PJSA board members: Ellen B. Lindeen (Secretary), Barbara J. Wien (Awards Chair), Rick McCutcheon (Membership Chair/Liaison), Brian J. Trautman, Hakim Williams, and Julie Pittman (At-Large)!

And congratulations are also due our re-elected board members: Shannon Wills (Treasurer), Doug Archer (Research Liaison), Christine Hansvick (Academic Liaison), Randy Hade (Student Liaison), Daniel O'Leary (At-Large), and Elavie Ndura-Ouedraogo (Publications Chair)! Shannon is moving from board Secretary to Treasurer, while Daniel is leaving the Treasurer's position and becoming an At-Large member.

Thanks to all of them for their pledge of service to PJSA's mission—and thanks to everyone who participated in the voting!

—Joanie Connors, PJSA Nominations Chair



## THE DIRECTOR'S CUT: "AND THE WAR DRAGS ON..."

by **Randall Amster**, *PJSA Executive Director*



With the recent anniversaries of Woodstock (40 years) and the Geneva Convention (60 years), we're reminded of the pernicious nature of warfare and the generational duty to ameliorate it as much as we are able. The contexts in which these landmark events transpired both were obviously inspired by the ravages of war, one often thought of as a "good war" (World War II) and the other popularly understood as a "bad war" with tragic consequences (Vietnam). Despite the gains reflected in and prompted by the legal and cultural shifts of these seminal peace-oriented landmarks, today we are still embroiled in military conflicts that appear long-term and intractable. How can it be that even now, after all these years of blood, sweat, and tears, we find ourselves enmeshed again in an innately losing proposition that generations before us have attempted to end?

Some of this is due to our tendency to see things more in small pieces than as a whole. It's tempting to think of any particular conflict as having a discernible beginning and end, rather than seeing each one as part of a long, unitary, ongoing conflict that has persisted for centuries. Most wars are sold this way, including the Iraq War, which supposedly started with 'Shock and Awe' and recently reached a 'closure' upon turning military operations over to the Iraqis. Still, whether the U.S. remains an active participant is largely beside the point, although we surely will on numerous levels ranging from economics and arms to ideology and politics at the very least. The primary issue is that the conflict itself will continue regardless, and its effects will linger indefinitely, rendering it yet another war without end. This is the pattern that has emerged in the industrial epoch, due in part to the technologies of warfare and also to the complexities of geopolitics. Simply put, in these times wars do not end, they are never truly won, and their illogic permeates the field. As we shift our focus from Iraq to Afghanistan, and eventually from Afghanistan to the next resource-rich front, we would do well to consider some of the lessons from modern era of war.

**Hot zones stay hot:** Upon cessation of open hostilities it seems that we can safely pronounce a war "over," but the fighting often lingers well beyond the ostensible victor's participation, resulting in internecine conflict as competing factions jostle for power in the newly-spawned power vacuum left behind in the wake of war. This may rise to the level of full-on civil war and take the form of low- to medium-intensity infighting that can last for decades and beyond. Iraq seems to be on course for precisely this sort of outcome. A related result is the interposition of a "strong man" regime in the wake of war, leading to a redoubling of oppressive forces and the creation of new adversaries that will generate more wars. For how many years have we had troops stationed in or around Korea? Even across the "demilitarized zone" and a half century of detente there remain tensions that seem likely to yield another hot war in the future.

**Toxic legacies:** In addition to the human equation, there's also the ongoing toxification of war-torn regions. Deforestation, loss of arable lands, decimation of wildlife, cancer clusters, birth defects, and depleted water tables are among the frequent results of war that last for generations. Vietnam lost nearly 3/4 of its forests during the war, and up to a third of the country remains wasteland. The first Gulf War spilled more oil than the Exxon Valdez into fragile local waterways, leading to human contamination as well as the wholesale destruction of marine life. In the wars in Bosnia and Kosovo in the 1990s, there was massive environmental degradation and a lingering toxic soup of mercury, dioxin, and depleted uranium in the aftermath. The conflict between India and Pakistan over Kashmir has caused polluted lakes and the loss of precious water resources, as well

as numerous endangered species being pushed to the verge of extinction. And the Israel-Lebanon conflict of 2006 resulted in nearly one third of the Lebanese coastline slicked with oil, the loss of endangered turtles and the entire marine life of the region impacted, and Israel's Mt. Naftali Forest being decimated by Hezbollah rockets. These are but a few recent examples, and we would need to also include the worldwide effects of landmines and unexploded ordnance for a complete picture of the lasting toxicity and indefinite destructiveness of warfare.

**The military mindset:** Indeed, it might be said that every war plants the seeds for the next one. From how many of these sorts of calamities will new conflicts spring? People left with shortages of food and water—not to mention the anguish of despair—are highly likely to engage in actions reflecting their immiseration. Suicide bombers are born of these ashes, as are dictators and torturers. It's been said that generals will still "fight the last war" even as they prepare for the next, and there may well be a logic here reflecting the fact that the last war never really ended. Focusing upon strategic targets and lines on maps doesn't tell the story of a war any more than examining rates of home ownership tells us about the health of an economy. There is an underlying mindset at work, a martial culture premised upon the threat and/or use of superior force. The military view prioritizes results over process and ends over means, and abstracts peoples and places into targets and territories. Even soldiers on the side of "good" are dehumanized and denied basic rights as they're conscripted to fight ostensibly for "freedom." Individuals, communities, values, cultures, and bioregions are all expendable for the greater good of winning the war. How else do we explain the mentality that "we had to destroy the village in order to save it" and the obvious point that we've been at war almost continuously for over two centuries?

**Tortured logic:** This is the trap of warfare and the use of force to resolve conflicts. People who are defeated at the point of a sword learn that swords are what is needed to get things done, and often will eventually turn their swords on either their initial adversary or a convenient proxy. The intrinsic ethos here is that force is the key to getting one's way and having power. The irony is that even where this "works," all it has really done is validate the basic premise that war is what one does to be successful—thus it may be said that war is lost as soon as it is begun. The logic of warfare is inherently tortured, empirically untenable, and ultimately self-defeating. Abolishing it will be the central challenge of our era, as we strive to come to grips with a planet ravaged by two centuries of war and the creation of innumerable hot zones in the process. If we can somehow perceive the current topography of devastation as an object lesson in what NOT to do, then perhaps this can be a turning point in human history toward more creative processes.

In this light, as Gandhi once said, "I object to violence because when it appears to do good, the good is only temporary; the evil it does is permanent.... Victory attained by violence is tantamount to a defeat, for it is momentary." We cannot keep playing out the inherently defeatist drama that is warfare, but instead must break the cycle and deploy our imaginations rather than more armaments. Again Gandhi, reminding us of the untapped potential for peace: "We are constantly being astonished these days at the amazing discoveries in the field of violence. But I maintain that far more undreamt of and seemingly impossible discoveries will be made in the field of nonviolence." Manifesting these new discoveries and making the impossible possible is our generational crucible, and it will yield either our demise or triumph in the days ahead.

*IN THE NEWS:***SHOOT TO KILL? DRONES, DRUGS, & THE WAR ON TERROR**by Joshua Brollier, *Online Journal*, August 24, 2009

According to a Senate Committee on Foreign Relations report released on August 11, the U.S. has put 50 Afghan drug traffickers on a “kill or capture” list. This shift in America’s counter-narcotics drive in Afghanistan is designed to cut off the flow of money to the Taliban. Drug dealers who have proven links to the Taliban are placed on the “joint integrated prioritized target list” and can be shot on sight.

Despite debatable claims from two American generals who testified before the U.S. Congress that this policy of assassination is legal under the military’s rules of engagement and international law, this “shoot now, investigate later” policy quickly raises the question of who has proven links to the Taliban and why, if the links are so clear, the drug dealers could not be brought in for investigation and a trial.

From preemptive strikes, to illegal occupations, to unlawful detentions, to torture, to illegal cross-border drone strikes, to the use of depleted uranium munitions, the U.S. has been operating in an “anything goes” military mentality for years. To ask that Afghan drug dealers be afforded some semblance of due process, that their ties to the Taliban be articulated and proven to the public, is clearly asking for too many democratic reforms in the U.S.’s nation building experiment in Afghanistan. The policy of extra-judicial executions blatantly looks past Western officials’ own accusations that President Karzai’s brother, Wali Karzai, and numerous other officials in his administration have been heavily involved in drug smuggling.

What is more, the media, political analysts and U.S. forces are once again assuming that there is some sort of inherent legitimacy to a U.S. military presence in Afghanistan and that the problem lies with strategy alone. And so the people of Afghanistan are largely left out of the process of finding a solution for the very serious problems facing their homeland. They may be given the option to vote in farcical U.S. touted elections, but many Afghans feel that there is little to gain by casting a ballot in favor of Karzai’s corrupt regime or his competitors. In a recent article featured in *Al Jazeera*, Ahmed Khan, a Pashtun tribal leader, observes that the entire process is inconsequential:

*“Whatever happens, it’s all the same. Even the leading two challengers to Karzai were once members of this post-Taliban government. Whether they are part of Karzai’s government or running against him, they are all part of the same group of people. This is about America’s presence in Afghanistan and prolonging it for as long as it is necessary for them.”*

The elections aside and for the sake of argument, let’s assume that the U.S. presence and counter-narcotics strategy in Afghanistan are legitimate. How would the American public feel about implementing the same policies consistently when the War on Terror and the War on Drugs collide here at home?

At least one U.S. oil executive has recently pleaded guilty to conspiracy for buying oil stolen from powerful Mexican drug cartels that have tapped Mexican government pipelines. Mexican President Felipe Calderon has acknowledged that the drug cartels have extended their grasp to the theft of oil, and the Mexican police estimate that at least \$46 million worth of oil has been smuggled to unnamed U.S. refineries. One-hundred forty-nine bank accounts have been frozen this year in connection with these crimes and the U.S. Department of Homeland Security is scheduled to return \$2.4 million of assets seized

from U.S. companies to Mexico’s tax administration.

Given the ties between Texas oil companies and what some people have described as “Mexican narco-terrorists,” it’s time we recognize the truth in the words of Edward Peck, former U.S. Chief of Mission in Iraq (under Jimmy Carter) and ambassador to Mauritania; *“And so, the terrorist, of course, is in the eye of the beholder.”*

If the U.S. government were to use its own definition of terrorism and its own rubric for determining sufficient cause for military action and assassination, then it would follow, logically, that Predator and Reaper drones would not only be useful for assassinations in Afghanistan and Pakistan. They would work well to monitor and target American oil executives and their corporate sanctuaries here in the United States. There would be no need for laborious trials and expensive lawsuits to prosecute the American oil tycoons and their Mexican counterparts. A young, technologically savvy Air Force cadet could safely and easily operate a MQ-9 Reaper drone from Creech Air Force Base in Nevada, using the drone’s “hunter-killer” capabilities and Hellfire air-to-ground missiles to take out strategic and precise targets in Texas.

As it stands, the U.S. is using drone surveillance planes domestically, but not for keeping tabs on the oil industry’s ties to the drug cartels. Drones track people crossing into the country across our northern and southern borders. Determined workers, many of whom are coming from Mexico, are often trying desperately to feed their families, but they risk their lives when they cross into the U.S. under the gaze of Unmanned Aerial Vehicles (UAVs) that can detect their every move. These same “eyes in the skies” apparently show no compassion when a migrant dies of exhaustion, dehydration and/or starvation in the attempt to cross the line into what is often perceived as a land of freedom and economic opportunity. Meanwhile, corporate oil executives can count on the U.S. to give them a slap on the wrist or even look the other way when, with no remorse, these wealthy CEOs provide revenue to gangsters and terrorists involved in the drug war.

In the interest of clarification, I don’t think drone warfare or any other type of violence is the solution for the underlying societal problems leading to corporate profiteering, drug cartels, militarism or extremism. I am only pointing out that if the American public is ready to condone mass assassinations in Afghanistan and elsewhere, we should apply our logic fairly and be ready to stomach them here at home. Before criticizing groups like the Taliban and Afghan or Mexican drug dealers, we should cut off our own addictions to violence, narcotics and greed at their root source here in the U.S.

If the American public were to go beyond the sentiments of outrage and disillusionment to actually take direct action to stop U.S. military interference in the affairs of other countries, ending corporate exceptionalism, and rethinking our shameful war against immigrants and drug users, these steps would go much further in creating global peace and security than persisting in the failed War on Terror policies, now rebranded by the Obama administration as the Global Contingency Operation. If we’re not willing to take these steps and many others that require personal involvement and sacrifice, we can surely expect more violence, looting, and drug running for decades to come.

*Joshua Brollier (Joshua@vcnv.org) co-coordinates Voices for Creative Nonviolence based in Chicago*






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## Speaking of Nonviolence: *Our 2009 Conference Plenaries*

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**Sister Helen Prejean** is a clarion voice for the abolition of the death penalty. She joined the Sisters of St. Joseph of Medaille in 1957 and received a B.A. in English and Education from St. Mary's Dominican College, New Orleans in 1962. In 1973, she earned an M.A. in Religious Education from St. Paul's University in Ottawa, Canada. She has been the Religious Education Director at St. Frances Cabrini Parish in New Orleans, the Formation Director for her religious community, and has taught high school students.

Sister Helen began her prison ministry in 1981 when she dedicated her life to the poor of New Orleans. While living in the St. Thomas housing project, she became pen pals with Patrick Sonnier, the convicted killer of two teenagers, sentenced to die in the electric chair of Louisiana's Angola State Prison. Upon Sonnier's request, Sister Helen repeatedly visited him as his spiritual advisor. In doing so, her eyes were opened to the Louisiana execution process. She turned her experiences into a book that not only made the 1994 American Library Associates Notable Book List, it was also nominated for a 1993 Pulitzer Prize. *Dead Man Walking: An Eyewitness Account of the Death Penalty in the United States* was number one on the New York Times Best Seller List for 31 weeks. It also was an international best seller and has been translated into ten different languages. The book was developed into an Oscar-winning major motion picture in 1996, starring Susan Sarandon as Sister Helen and Sean Penn as a death row inmate.

Fifteen years after beginning her crusade, the Roman Catholic sister has witnessed five executions in Louisiana and today educates the public about the death penalty by lecturing, organizing and writing. As the founder of "Survive," a victim's advocacy group in New Orleans, she continues to counsel not only inmates on death row, but the families of murder victims, as well. Sister Helen has served on the board of the National Coalition to Abolish the Death Penalty from 1985–1995, and has served as Chairperson of the Board from 1993–1995. She is also a member of Amnesty International and an honorary member of Murder Victim Families for Reconciliation. She presently is the Honorary Chairperson of Moratorium Campaign, a group gathering signatures for a world-wide moratorium on the death penalty. On December 18, 2000 S. Helen, Paul Hoffman, board member of Amnesty International and Mario Marizziti, representative of The St. Egidio Community in Rome, Italy presented Kofi Annan with 2.5 million signatures from people all over the world calling for a moratorium on the death penalty.

S. Helen's second book, *The Death of Innocents: An Eyewitness Account of Wrongful Executions*, was published in December 2004. In it, she tells the story of Dobie Gillis Williams and Joseph O'Dell, whom she accompanied to their executions. She believes both of these men were innocent. The book takes the reader through the evidence, including evidence the juries never heard either due to the incompetence of the defense lawyers or the rigid formalities of court procedure. S. Helen examines how flaws inextricably entwined in the death penalty system inevitably lead to innocent people being executed and render the system unworkable.

**Hon. Janine Geske** is one of nation's foremost experts on alternative dispute resolution and restorative justice. She is a Distinguished Professor of Law at Marquette University, and also teaches in the Marquette University Graduate Program in Dispute Resolution. She served on the Wisconsin Supreme Court from 1993-1998. From 1981-1993, she was a Milwaukee County circuit court judge, and in several other academic and legal capacities. For the last four years running, she has been named one of the Best Lawyers in America for her work in alternative dispute resolution. In 2008, she was inducted into the Wisconsin Academy of Science, Arts and Letters. In 2007, she was awarded the 2007 Thurgood Marshall College Fund Legacy Award, the 2007 American Inns of Court 7th Circuit Professionalism Award, the 2007 U.S. Postal Service Government Service/Law Award, the St. Norbert College Ambassador of Peace Award, the SET Ministry Transformation Award, an honorary member of Phi Beta Kappa. In 2006, Justice Geske was awarded "The Woman of the Word Award" from the Milwaukee Cathedral Place, and The "Difference Maker Award" from the American Bar Association General Practice, Solo and Small Firm Division. These are only the most recent awards in a career recognized for a deep commitment to justice.

**Robert Enright**, received his Ph.D. from the University of Minnesota and is a licensed psychologist and professor of Educational Psychology at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. He is a founding member of the International Forgiveness Institute in Madison, and is the author of over 100 publications, including four books: *Exploring Forgiveness*, *Helping Clients Forgive*, *Forgiveness Is a Choice*, and a children's book, *Rising above the Storm Clouds*. He has been a leader in the scientific study of forgiveness and its effects since 1985. His work on the subject has appeared in Time, McCall's, the Wall Street Journal, the Washington Post, the Chicago Tribune, and the Los Angeles Times. He has appeared on ABC's 20/20, NBC's Nightly News, and many other programs. Currently, Dr. Enright is working on forgiveness education programs for primary school children in Milwaukee's central-city and Belfast, Northern Ireland.

**Cheri Maples** is a Dharma Teacher, private consultant, trainer, and co-Director of the Center for Mindfulness and Justice. She has been a student of Thich Nanh Hanh's for 19 years. She was ordained by Thich Nhat Hanh as a lay member into the "Order of Inter-being" in 2002 when she received the 14 Mindfulness Trainings directly from Him. In January of 2008, she was honored to be ordained as a Dharma teacher by Thich Nhat Hanh. Cheri worked in the criminal justice profession for 25 years. As a former Wisconsin Department of Justice employee, Cheri worked as an Assistant Attorney General. Prior to coming to the Dept. of Justice, she was the Head of Probation and Parole for the State of Wisconsin Department of Corrections. Prior to holding that position, she was a police officer for 20 years with the Madison Police Department, where she served as a patrol officer, a training officer, a patrol sergeant, a lieutenant in charge of the night shift, a patrol lieutenant, a detective lieutenant, and the captain of personnel and training. (more)



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## Speaking of Nonviolence: *Our 2009 Conference Plenaries*

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Before becoming a police officer, she worked as a community organizer. In this capacity, she worked in neighborhood centers, deferred prosecution programs, domestic violence programs, and was the first Director of the Wisconsin Coalition against Domestic Violence. In addition to having a law degree from the University of Wisconsin-Madison, Cheri also has a Master's Degree in Social Work from the University of Wisconsin-Madison. She is a licensed attorney and a licensed clinical social worker in the State of Wisconsin.

**Jonathan Schell** is the 2005 Distinguished Visiting Fellow at the Yale Center for the Study of Globalization. He began his career at *The New Yorker* magazine, where he was a staff writer from 1967 until 1987. During those years he was the principal writer of the magazine's Notes and Comments, and also wrote long pieces, many of which were published as books. His reflective work on the nuclear question *The Fate of the Earth* (Knopf, 1982), which first appeared in three parts in *The New Yorker*, became a best-seller and was hailed by *The New York Times* as "an event of profound historical moment." It received the Los Angeles Times book prize, among other awards, and was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize, the National Book Award, and the National Critics Award. Schell's other books include *The Military Half* (1968), *The Time of Illusion* (1976), *The Real War* (1988), *The Unconquerable World: Power, Nonviolence, and the Will of the People* (2003), and *A Hole in the World: A Story of War, Protest and the New American Order* (2004). He received the Lannan Award for Literary Non-fiction in 2000. From 1990 until 1996, Schell was a columnist at *Newsday* and *New York Newsday*. He has taught at Emory and Princeton Universities, New York University, and Wesleyan University where he was a Distinguished Visiting Writer from 1997 to 2002. In 1987, he was a fellow at the Institute of Politics and in 2002 a fellow at the Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy at the John F. Kennedy School of Government at Harvard. Since 1998, he has been the Harold Willens Peace Fellow at the Nation Institute and the Peace and Disarmament Correspondent for *The Nation* magazine.

**George Cheney**, professor of Communication, is also Director of Peace and Conflict Studies, and of the Barbara L. and Norman C. Tanner Center for Nonviolent Human Rights Advocacy University of Utah. Cheney has taught courses and conducted research on topics ranging from quality of work life to perspectives on globalization. His first book examined the development of the U.S. Catholic bishops' pastoral letter on nuclear arms. He has published six other books and over 80 articles and chapters. In 2008, he received the Gandhi Peace Award in Salt Lake City for his work upholding and promoting the ideals of Mahatma Gandhi's legacy. Currently, he is working

on a book on ethics and communication and another on the rhetoric and culture of peacemaking. He has consulted in public, private, and nonprofit sectors, has served on community boards, and has facilitated discussions on contemporary issues. He is an avid hiker and a lover of the Red Rock Country of southern Utah.

**Michael Nagler** is Professor emeritus of Classics and Comparative Literature at UC, Berkeley, where he founded the Peace and Conflict Studies Program and taught the upper-division nonviolence course as well as meditation and other courses for over twenty years. He is the founder-President of The Metta Center for Nonviolence Education, and is also a co-chair of PJSa. His major work, *The Search for a Nonviolent Future*, received a 2002 American Book Award and has been translated into Korean, Arabic, and other languages; he also wrote *Our Spiritual Crisis: Recovering Human Wisdom in a Time of Violence* (2005), *The Upanishads* (with Sri Eknath Easwaran, 1987), and other books and articles on peace and spirituality. He has spoken for campus, religious, and other groups on peace and nonviolence, and consulted for the U.S. Institute of Peace and many other organizations. Michael has worked on nonviolent intervention since the 1970s and served on the Interim Steering Committee of the Nonviolent Peaceforce. Among other awards, he received the Jannalal Bajaj International Award for "Promoting Gandhian Values Outside India" in 2007. Founder of the Blue Mountain Center of Meditation; he has lived at the Center's ashram in Marin County since 1970 and gives presentations around the world for the Center's Eight-Point Program.

**Fr. Cedric Prakash**, S.J. is the Director of "Prashant", the Ahmedabad-based Jesuit Centre for Human Rights, Justice and Peace. In India, Fr Prakash has been at the forefront in issues related to communal harmony and peace. In the wake of the carnage that engulfed Gujarat in 2002, he was invited to testify before the US Commission on International Religious Freedom. and is still involved in helping the victims in their pursuit for justice. He is also a visiting faculty at locales including Eastern Mennonite University at their Summer Peacebuilding Institute. For his work, Fr. Prakash has received numerous awards, including the Rafi Ahmed Kidwai Award presented for Humanitarian Work by the Indian Muslim Council, USA in 2003; the Kabir Puraskar conferred on him by the President of India for his work in the promotion of Communal Harmony and Peace in 1995; and the Minorities Rights Award by the National Commission for Minorities of the Government of India in 2006. He was awarded the Chevalier de la Legion d' Honneur, one of the highest French civilian awards, acknowledging his commitment to the defense and promotion of Human Rights in India. Fr Prakash is currently the Wade Chair Scholar in the Marquette University. *(see next page)*



## Speaking of Nonviolence: *Our 2009 Conference Plenaries*

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**Will Allen** is an urban farmer who is transforming the cultivation, production, and delivery of healthy foods to underserved, urban populations, for which he was named a MacArthur Fellow in 2008. In 1995, while assisting neighborhood children with a gardening project, Allen began developing the farming methods and educational programs that are now the hallmark of the non-profit organization Growing Power, which he directs and co-founded. Guiding all is his efforts is the recognition that the unhealthy diets of low-income, urban populations, and such related health problems as obesity and diabetes, largely are attributable to limited access to safe and affordable fresh fruits and vegetables. Rather than embracing the “back to the land” approach promoted by many within the sustainable agriculture movement, Allen’s holistic farming model incorporates both cultivating foodstuffs and designing food distribution networks in an urban setting. Through a novel synthesis of a variety of low-cost farming technologies—including use of raised beds, aquaculture, vermiculture, and heating greenhouses through composting—Growing Power produces vast amounts of food year-round at its main farming site, two acres of land located within Milwaukee’s city limits. Recently, cultivation of produce and livestock has begun at other urban and rural sites in and around Milwaukee and Chicago. Over the last decade, Allen has expanded Growing Power’s initiatives through partnerships with local organizations and activities such as the Farm-City Market Basket Program, which provides a weekly basket of fresh produce grown by members of the Rainbow Farmer’s Cooperative to low-income urban residents at a reduced cost. The internships and workshops hosted by Growing Power engage teenagers and young adults, often minorities and immigrants, in producing healthy foods for their communities and provide intensive, hands-on training to those interested in establishing similar farming initiatives in other urban settings. Through these and other programs still in development, Allen is experimenting with new and creative ways to improve the diet and health of the urban poor. Will received a B.A. (1971) from the University of Miami. After a brief career in professional basketball and a number of years in corporate marketing at Procter and Gamble, he returned to his roots as a farmer. He has served as the founder and CEO of Growing Power, in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, since 1995 and has taught workshops to aspiring urban farmers across the country.

**Whitney Sanford** is an Assistant Professor in the Department of Religion at the University of Florida, focusing on sustainable agriculture and social justice, particularly in the global South. She analyzes how food and agriculture fits into different religious and cultural traditions and how religious and spiritual values shape food practices, both in production and consumption. Her recently completed manuscript, titled “Transforming Agriculture: Hindu Narrative and Ecological Imagination,” explores

the relationship between Hindu narrative, the moral imagination, and sustainable agriculture. In this book, she asks how narrative can be useful in guiding not only our ways of thinking about ourselves in the world within the frame of agriculture but also about how we view the task ahead of us—sustainable relations with the earth and the biotic community, which includes human and non-human organisms. Her new project, “Gandhi’s Environmental Legacy: Food Democracy and Social Movements,” investigates Gandhi’s influence on contemporary sustainability and food democracy movements, particularly focusing on resistance to emerging agricultural biotechnologies. This ethnographic fieldwork-based project explores Gandhi’s influence on contemporary food and water sovereignty movements in the global South and addresses this question: how does religion reciprocally integrate and inform innovative responses to the environmental and socio-economic problems wrought by large-scale agricultural systems in the global economy. Her courses at the University of Florida include Religion and the Environmental Crisis, Environmental Movements of the Global South, and Gender and Nature. She published *Singing Krishna: Sound Becomes Sight in Paramanand’s Poetry* (SUNY, 2006), and her articles have appeared in journals including the Journal of Agricultural and Environmental Ethics, International Journal of Hindu Studies, and Journal of the American Academy of Religion.

**Christian Petrauskis** graduated from Marquette University in 2004 with a BS in Civil and Environmental Engineering and an interdisciplinary minor in environmental ethics. While at Marquette, Christian was actively involved in the organization JUSTICE, where he spearheaded a campaign that brought fair trade coffee to campus, and during his senior year he was a co-facilitator of SEAC, the campus environmental club. Through volunteer experiences at the Heifer Project Educational Farm in Ceres, California and Growing Power in Milwaukee, Christian developed an interest in sustainable agriculture that ultimately led him Lusaka, Zambia. As research officer in the Social Conditions Research Project of the Jesuit Centre for Theological Reflection for over three years, Christian coordinated research efforts on the cost of basic needs and published a number of policy papers on labor, education, social protection and other social issues. He also contributed to the design of an innovative research tool (the Rural Basket) that is currently used to assess household food security in remote villages of Zambia and has begun to feed into policy debates on rural development. Christian currently works and studies in the field of emergency medicine in Chicago and intends to begin medical school in 2010.

**Veena Rani Howard’s** interest lies in Hindu thought, comparative religion, and Indian nonviolence discourses.

**H.E. Mr. Miguel d’Escoto Brockmann** is President of the 63rd session of the United Nations General Assembly.

## \*\*\*NEW BOOK SPOTLIGHT\*\*\*

### *Building Peace — Practical Reflections from the Field*

Even though international peacebuilding has rapidly expanded in the last two decades to respond to more multi-faceted and complex conflicts, the field has lagged behind in documenting the impact and success of projects. To help address this gap, the Alliance for Peacebuilding, one of the leading networks in the field, has brought together 13 stories of innovative peacebuilding practices from around the world in the new book *Building Peace*.

While the projects covered are diverse in nature, together they demonstrate the significant impact of peacebuilding work. Editors Craig Zelizer and Robert Rubenstein bring together contributors who created new institutions to prevent and manage conflicts at varied levels, helped restore relationships in conflict-affected communities, and empowered citizens to work for positive change in their societies across ethnic, religious, and political divides.

It's clear that there is no quick fix for violence but this volume will go a long way in providing inspiration and practical tools for policymakers, academics, and practitioners who seek to make significant and valuable contributions towards achieving peace.

"This volume provides an enlightening, encouraging, and fascinating set of reports about effective peacebuilding endeavors. These accounts and assessments were written by persons directly engaged in each undertaking and yield valuable lessons. Certainly, these highly diverse actions deserve widespread attention and frequent emulation." —**Louis Kriesberg, Professor Emeritus of Sociology, Maxwell Professor Emeritus of Social Conflict Studies, Syracuse University**

"Building Peace presents a rich set of case studies of courage in peacebuilding that should inspire another generation of peacemakers. The authors provide a great variety of blueprints for communities, nations and multi-cultural groups dealing with the aftermath or reduction of ongoing and often violent conflicts. That the case studies come from such diverse areas demonstrates that having multiple approaches and processes in our peacemaking toolkit makes peacebuilding possible in widely divergent cultural and geopolitical settings. There is much to be learned here for practitioners, students and teachers of peace. It will make a great contribution to courses on conflict resolution, prevention and handling and on post-conflict peacebuilding analysis and practice." —**Carrie Menkel-Meadow, Professor of Law at Georgetown University Law Center and author of Dispute Resolution: Beyond the Adversarial Model**

"A must-read for all who care about a brighter future for our world. This book demonstrates the significant impact of peacebuilding across conflicts and communities —and

it showcases examples from an impressive range of contexts, from political diplomacy to healthcare, the arts to land disputes. The book is both rigorous and readable and, as such, is an important resource for the classroom instructor and student, the peacebuilding researcher, and all others who aspire toward a more secure and thriving world." — **Daniel L. Shapiro, Director, Harvard International Negotiation Program**



*Craig Zelizer* is the Associate Director of the Master of Arts in Conflict Resolution Program within the Department of Government at Georgetown University and a Senior Partner with the Alliance for Conflict Transformation. He has over 15 years experience in peacebuilding activities around the world, including assessment, training, dialogue, capacity building and evaluation work. He has published several articles on trauma and peacebuilding, arts and peacebuilding, and careers in international peace and conflict resolution. He is also the founder of the Peace and Collaborative Development Network, an online platform to bring together scholars and practitioners working on international conflict. He holds a Ph.D. in Conflict Analysis and Resolution from George Mason University.

*Robert A. Rubenstein* is professor of anthropology and international relations at the Maxwell School of Syracuse University, where from 1994-2005 he directed the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts. He earned his Ph.D. in anthropology from the State University of New York at Binghamton, and his Ms.P.H. from the University of Illinois School of Public Health. His research focuses on cultural aspects of dispute settlement, international health, and the anthropological study of peacekeeping. He is a founding member and Co-Chair of the Commission on Peace and Human Rights of the International Union of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences. He has published more than 85 journal articles and book chapters and is author or editor of 7 books, most recently *Peacekeeping Under Fire: Culture and Intervention*.

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# GLOBAL DIRECTORY OF PEACE STUDIES AND CONFLICT RESOLUTION PROGRAMS



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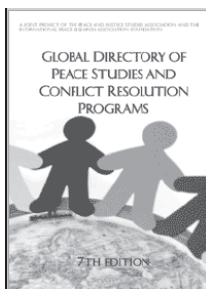
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## SPOTLIGHT ON NONVIOLENCE By Hope Benne

### *PJSA Members Discuss the Role of Capitalism and Socialism*



In a lively thread on the PJSA listserv last June, we grappled with the role of capitalism in today's world. The thread arose when a fiery devil's advocate, **Monroe Eskew, University of California, Irvine**, questioned why a notice about a socialist conference would be posted on the listserv. He asserted: "To assume peace activists are socialists makes too many assumptions. This is alienating and jeopardizes outreach to capitalists."

PJSA members responded with clear-cut views on capitalism. Many felt capitalism manifests what Johan Galtung, a Norwegian founder of the field of peace studies, called "structural violence." This type of violence, such as homelessness, hunger, and lack of medical care, "harms, violates, and increases suffering and pain."

**Abigail Fuller, Manchester College**, said, "Many in the peace movement (and on this listserv) believe capitalism is a major (if not THE major) obstacle to peace and justice in the contemporary world."

Our provoker, deftly relying on the Socratic Method, asked: "How can the peace movement be relevant to mainstream America if it assumes capitalism is harmful? I have serious doubts that 'capitalism' is a major obstacle to peace. What exactly do you mean by capitalism, and what part of it is inherently violent? Is it the concept of free markets? Or is it selfish human nature? Is it the idea that we are going to solve specific conflicts by banning markets and reforming human nature? This is precisely what Michael Foucault criticized. To me, solving a conflict is about finding a way for parties who have different interests and beliefs to nonetheless exist peacefully together. It seems to be independent of the foundations of economics."

### THE DOWNSIDE OF CAPITALISM

#### WORKER EXPLOITATION, INEQUALITIES, HUNGER

**Mark Lance, Georgetown University**, replied, "If you don't know about the enormous literature on structural violence, on the ways capitalism feeds the war economy, on the ways that capitalism contributes to worker exploitation, hunger, inequality, etc. around the world, you could certainly ask someone for a reading list. I would start with the [Economic and Philosophical Manuscripts of 1844](#) by Karl Marx."

#### OVERPRODUCTION

**Gordon Fellman of Brandeis University** answered: "Marx explained that industrial capitalism is so efficient it overproduces. Overproduction in the making and selling of armaments brings profits, but also wars. If it weren't for profits on wars, there would be fewer wars. Overproduction also leads to consumerism, the centering of life on buying and consuming what is produced in our hyper-efficient economic system. If it weren't for over buying and using stuff, the new-imperialism called globalization, which relies on war among other devices to keep going, would be doomed."

#### PROFIT AND WAR

**Marc Pililuk, former Professor at UC Davis and currently at Saybrook Graduate School** asserted: "The issue of capitalism and war is a critical one. I have studied this intensively using a great deal of accumulated evidence to come up with an answer, much of which is laid out in my book [Who Benefits From Global Violence and War: Uncovering a Destructive System](#).

Capitalism is an abstract concept. Like aggression, fundamentalism, and other generic suspects for violent events, it needs closer examination to see who is doing what. The causes of both structural violence and armed conflict are found in decisions of real people operating in social structures they have created and which others have granted legitimacy. The evidence does support the existence of a power elite broadly able to protect the wealth and power they have accumulated, the rules that permit, indeed require, growth, and the ability to call upon military force when necessary to protect their interests. They are also able to control much of the discourse that passes for debate over social issues. Hence you may notice that disarmament, major debt forgiveness, reform of the federal reserve, nationalization of banking, and even single payer health-care are 'off the table.' This is not a conspiracy, but rather one hell of a big elephant that the elite has typically been able to conceal from view."

**Sandy Olliges, San Jose State University**, said "As Marc pointed out, there is ample evidence that capitalism supports the war system. I have not done an extensive study on this, but it seems both capitalism and socialism can be tools of the war system when used by people with a world view in which other people, animals, and the earth are resources to be exploited, and violence is an accepted way to resolve conflict."

#### UNPROVEN ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT HUMAN NATURE

The accepted discourse in the U.S., controlled as it is by elite classes, is based on outdated assumptions about human nature. Day in and day out, messages convey that people are competitive, acquisitive, and self-centered. This promotes a false consciousness about human nature which has become reflected in legal and psychological mythologies based on private property, individualism, and self-orientation. These unproven assumptions contradict the fact that most human groups through history have fostered good social relations and required that the common good prevail.

#### ENVIRONMENTAL DEGRADATION

Profitable practices such as the mining and burning of fossil fuels, trawler fishing, indiscriminate dumping of toxic wastes, and transport-intensive agricultural systems are wrecking environmental havoc. People working in companies profiting from these practices, and hired lobbyists, would lead us to believe there are no alternatives.

#### SO-CALLED 'SOCIALISM' AND CAPITALISM BOTH CONTAIN STRUCTURAL VIOLENCE

Our devil's advocate, Monroe, made clear that "war and violence are also prevalent in non-capitalist societies, such as North Korea, Soviet Russia, China, and a myriad of feudal regimes of yore." These societies, however, do not live up to the true meaning of socialism — which is radical democracy where the means of production are commonly owned.

By the time the thread ended, we had collectively constructed many truths, and realized capitalism and so-called "socialism" BOTH contain structural, cultural, and direct violence. They manifest a concentration of control over economic resources in the hands of a few and that control is often enforced violently,

**Father Ben Urmston S.J., Xavier University**, then had the wit to assert: "I suggest we take the best of socialism and the best of capitalism and make something new."



**SOMETHING NEW: A SHIFT IN VISION**

Since economic structures are, in the final analysis, made up of communities of thinking, feeling individuals, change will occur when people and communities adopt new visions for the future.

**Kathe Latham, University of North Carolina, Greensboro,** said: “My current research focuses on ways of knowing that encourage participation in the creation of a global commons. We need a new ethics describing what fairness means in a global commons. Rather than focus exclusively on conflict resolution and peace studies, we must also be interdisciplinary in our thinking... The ‘practice’ of peace must include mutual accountability. What is the greatest good for human and non-human communities? We need to understand we are far removed from the physical world that nurtures and feeds us. Dualistic and determinist solutions that do not take into account the complexity of the global crisis — economically, environmentally and socially — have become glaringly insufficient. Yes, capitalism is brutal and needs to be replaced, but any other ideal system that does not take into account our own human-centered arrogance and lack of connection to the land will fail as well. It’s not about capitalism vs. socialism, but how we come together to create something new that, as Thomas Berry says, ‘arises from the wild unconscious depths of the human soul.’”

**Sandy Olliges, San Jose State University,** added, “Either capitalism or socialism could be tools for creating peace when used by people with a world view in which all people, animals, and the earth are interconnected in the web of life and are, therefore, to be protected and nurtured.”

The **Pope**, in a July 7, 2009 encyclical titled *Caritas in Veritate* (*Charity in Truth*), asserted: “There is a strongly felt need for reform of the United Nations and, likewise, of economic institutions and international finance, so the concept of ‘the family of nations’ can acquire real teeth... There is an urgent need for a true world political authority to manage the economy... Economic systems must be guided by charity and truth ... we must pursue microfinancing, clarification of intellectual property rights, and aid to the poor.”

**Social entrepreneurship** is a promising vision exemplified by Nobel Peace Prize winner Muhammed Yunus, founder of the Grameen Bank. Social entrepreneurs apply business practices to tackling social and environmental problems. Social entrepreneurship is gaining popularity due to its pragmatic support of privately-funded urban and rural schools, redistribution of land to the poor, and building green homes.

As we strive to ameliorate current economic systems, we long for nonviolent ones.

*Hope Benne teaches Peace Studies and World History at Salem State College, Salem, MA*

**Resources recommended:**

[Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a World of Strangers](#) by Kwame Anthony Appiah

[Lost in Space: The Criminalization, Globalization, and Urban Ecology of Homelessness](#) by Randall Amster

[How to Change the World: Social Entrepreneurs and the Power of New Ideas](#) by David Bornstein

[Who Benefits from Global Violence and War?](#) By Marc Pilisuk

[The Art and Ethos of Enduring Peace](#) by Sharon Welch

[The Great Work](#) by Thomas Berry

[Rise of the Rich](#) by Peter Gran

**CAN NONVIOLENCE EXIST WITHOUT STRUCTURE?**

There are many forms of non-violence, including meaningful dialogue, conflict resolution, arbitration, education, voting intelligently, giving input to our public representatives, getting basic human rights into our legal and constitutional structures, civil disobedience, and many others. But can the many forms of non-violence work without adequate structures?

On July 8th Pope Benedict XVI issued an encyclical, “Love in Truth.” On July 17th Walter Cronkite passed to the next life. At first these may seem like unrelated events. But both Benedict XVI and Walter Cronkite point us to a major issue facing our human family which affects all of the other issues, a democratic world federation. Is it possible to say we’re non-violent if we don’t even discuss ending the war system?

There are Christians who believe that to work toward a world federation before Christ comes again is the work of the devil. An Episcopalian, Cronkite responded, “If that’s true, put me at the devil’s right hand.” Benedict XVI proceeds from theology and philosophy. Cronkite concludes the necessity of a democratic world federation from experience in, and observation of, world events. Benedict XVI states that the basic form of poverty is isolation, not being able to love or not being loved, closing in on oneself, thinking one is self-sufficient, or considering oneself too insignificant to belong. There is much interaction now on a world-wide basis. We need an aha! moment when we recognize we are one human family. No one can go it alone. All of us have talents we can contribute to the common good.

We grow through our relations with others and with God. Peoples grow in relationship with other peoples. The family does not submerge the identities of its individual members. The unity of the human family does not submerge the identities of individuals, peoples and cultures. Rather individuals and peoples can only grow together when there is security, sharing, and giving of themselves to others and to the common good.

Each person of the Christian Trinity gives themselves completely to one another in a unique and absolute unity. Yet each Person remains distinct in profound interpenetration. Jesus prays that “they may be one even as we are one.” John 17:22. The human family can only be enriched by looking toward the Trinity. True openness and sharing with one another does not mean loss of individual identity but profound unity. If a religion leads to selfishness, cutting oneself off from the neighbor or the community, we know this is a false religion. Respect for the whole person and every person is the criterion for evaluating cultures and religions. Just as the thirteen colonies in 1787 became convinced they needed to move from a confederation to a federation, Walter Cronkite knew that national sovereignty in 2009 now means something new. Even though our economy and our military is still unsurpassed, the United States cannot go alone. We need to respect and value the whole person and every person. We need to value all peoples and all cultures. True openness and sharing with one another does not mean loss of individual identity but profound unity.

Change in the way we look at our human family and our nation states may lead us to examine and re-examine present attitudes and present structures. We can’t write without a pencil or pen. We can’t send an e-mail without a computer. We can’t make decisions as a human family without adequate structures that will work. For local decisions we need local government. For national decisions we need a national government. For global decisions like ending the war system, confronting global climate change, creating a fair global economy, we need a democratic world community, a global legislature, a global judicial body, a global administrative council, a global police force.

A world constitution with democratic structures, checks and balances, according to the principle of subsidiarity is an enormous challenge. But leaving us with present structures is like sending a baseball player to the plate without a bat. Without a democratic world federation, a global ethic, the various forms of non-violence, a fair global economy won’t work. If we don’t begin to discuss and work toward a democratic world federation, we’re avoiding a necessary structure without which the various forms of non-violence will be in the end ineffective.

—Father Benjamin J. Urmston, S.J., PhD, Xavier University



# EXPLORING THE POWER . . .

## On Nonviolence as a Principle for PJSA

By Tom H. Hastings

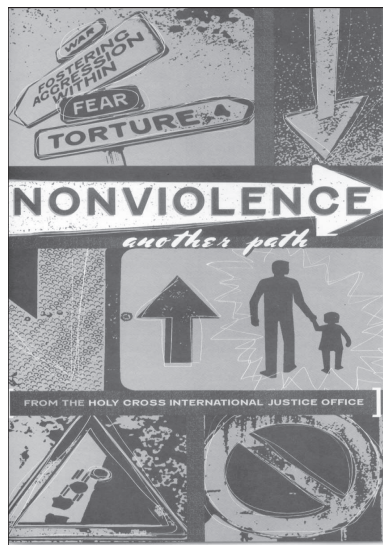


The Peace and Justice Studies Association claims that “We are dedicated to bringing together academics, K-12 teachers and grassroots activists to explore alternatives to violence and share visions and strategies for social justice and social change.” Some say that this doesn’t mean that PJSA stands for nonviolence. I would hope, however, that it does. In my mind, our dedication isn’t to exploration of all alternatives to injustice, just nonviolent alternatives. Perhaps those alternatives won’t always yield dispositively successful results, but neither will violence, obviously.

The heart of the issue for our field of Peace and Justice Studies is engagement—when and how. Unless we stand for nonviolence and refuse to endorse violence, exactly how are we separate from all other disciplines or fields? Is there a point to our association if we allow ourselves to be hijacked by the allure of violence and thus only subscribe to a selective, situational devotion to nonviolence? After all, if we say that we need nuclear weapons only in the event of existential threat but we renounce the offensive use of them, are we different from most other disciplines? If we say that state violence is wrong but approve of insurgent violence, who are we then?

There are some in PJSA who believe we should endorse violence committed by oppressed peoples who are fighting brutal occupation. I would heartily disagree. Indeed, I would see our role as exactly the opposite, that is, to help explore alternatives both to the state violence that oppresses them and to the violent response. Justifying violence is so easy and that is not our mission nor is it, in my mind, our dedication.

Does this mean that PJSA would endorse the violence of the police when they arrest a terrorist at our border who is attempting to smuggle in chemical weapons, and a shootout ensues and the terrorist and two border guards are killed? Not in my mind; however, rather than endorse that action, could we not rather explore nonviolent alternatives, as we say we are dedicated to doing?



Does this mean that when a villager in Darfur shoots at a Janjaweed troop bent on genocidal violence that we should condemn that act of clear self-defense and defense of one’s children? Of course not—how arrogant that would be. But neither, in my mind, should we figure out how to support such violence. Others will do that; I hope our mission is to explore nonviolent alternatives for that poor villager, if that is the interest of some in the

PJSA.

What of Palestine? Should PJSA condone violence used by Palestinian fighters? No. Should we renounce that violence by people who were driven from their land and are in dire poverty and are being brutally oppressed? Hardly. We should explore nonviolent alternatives. The palette of such alternatives is quite broad and diverse and needs our scholarly attention if we are to understand it more deeply.

Will this marginalize PJSA? Will it drive away scholars who should be a part of our association? Not in my mind. I don’t believe this mandates nor even implies a philosophical or religious commitment to nonviolence. Rather, I suggest, this approach is a strategic principle which gives us some guidelines, some parameters, to the research and advocacy we choose for our organization. Does this squelch debate? No, it makes it more productive; we can begin to seriously focus on *how* to achieve social change, protection of vulnerable populations, liberation, self-defense, environmental protection and regime change using a wide variety of potential methods that don’t inflict physical pain and don’t contribute to structural violence. This is the rich area of exploration we never quite get to because this first obstacle—violence or nonviolence?—continues to block discourse and deeper examination.

As one who has tried very hard to practice and learn nonviolence on the ground, against the military, into the courtrooms, and on into jail and prison cells, as someone with two peace felonies who would like to learn how to make our sacrifices in struggle more effective, I am hoping that PJSA becomes the “turn-to” organization for serious scholarly study of the facets of nonviolent struggle that need constant improvement. The gifts, talents, and intellectual products of our membership should inform and create options for those engaged in nonviolent struggles around the world.

Does this mean that PJSA would not be interested in the work of those who study violence? Of course not—how could we possibly offer alternatives to something we don’t understand? That would be tantamount to suggesting that a medical researcher hoping to cure cancer would not learn about the disease. That would be silly. But constantly being diverted by debates about the advisability of violence as a response to injustice, militarism, occupation or other threat is a bit like a medical researcher who cannot move the debate past some theological obstacle. Instead of doing stem cell research, we get stuck on the false debate of how some God might feel about it. The first question thus blocks progress and endlessly redirects the conversation into areas that are more about worldview than learning to deal with threats to human health. This is what frequently happens to those who try to practically propose possibilities that might transform conflict from destructive to constructive—the debate is then hijacked and we look at various methods of destructive conflict management as possible paths toward some eventual potential for a better world.

*Tom Hastings teaches at Portland State University*

## *Member Commentary: “What’s with all the guns?” by Heidi Huse*

In 2001, I completed my dissertation analyzing the rhetoric of the women’s Mother’s Day 2000 gun control and gun rights rallies, born as a response to what was described as an “epidemic” of gun violence. I never imagined that almost 10 years later, guns would still be a prominent national issue. In fact, for most of the succeeding years after defending my dissertation, I never tried to publish it; I assumed that once pro-gun presidential candidate George W. Bush was elected president in November of 2000, the issue was a moot point and would garner little attention from potential publishers. Both the Million Mom March for federal gun legislation and the Second Amendment Sisters for absolute gun rights disappeared fairly quickly into relative obscurity, so this women’s public rhetorical performance appeared to me to be obsolete.

Then in 2007, a horribly tragic shooting event occurred at Virginia Tech, followed by another senseless shooting at Northern Illinois University. Earlier, in 2003, a day-long gun standoff at Dyersburg State College in rural Northwest Tennessee hit frighteningly close to home. Questions arose in the media about how these troubled shooters so seemingly easily got their hands on firearms. In an atmosphere of fear, college and university campuses across the United States developed and revised security policies and safety measures for students taking classes or living in campus housing.

On the flip side, the November 2008 election of Barack Obama to the U.S. presidency gave rise to a whole new fear, this time on the part of frightened pro-gun rights advocates who sounded the alarm that this liberal, progressive president would soon nullify the second amendment to the U.S. Constitution, sending his minions to round up all the guns from innocent, peace-loving, law-abiding hunters, gun enthusiasts and other gun-owning citizens. Immediately after the November election, print and electronic news outlets reported that gun and ammunition sales were rising, as worried Americans grabbed up as many guns and boxes of ammunition as they could afford and carry, “before it was too late.”

The furor over imminent gun restrictions and/or confiscation continued into the summer of 2009. Despite economic hardships, sales of guns and ammo have continued, including here in Tennessee. “I’ve sold four times as much in the last six months as I did in the last 20 years combined”, said Cliff Hunter, owner of Tommy Bronson Sporting Goods in Memphis. “Hand guns and the tactical weapons, they’re absolutely off the charts” Hunter declared to Toby Harnden. In April 2009, North Carolina media outlet WRAL.com reported that one sporting goods store experienced a “100 percent increase in gun sales from this time last year.” More recently Fox cable news reported that to promote sales at his Missouri truck dealership, one dealer promised a free AK47 automatic assault rifle to any new customers purchasing a truck. Back in Tennessee, my home state legislature recently passed a law that allows non-drinking patrons to carry guns into bars. Clearly, guns as a socio-cultural and political icon and issue are still relevant, and gun debates are still heated, if not divisive.

Even as a single female living and driving alone, I began my study firmly allied with the position that stronger federal gun legislation was essential to our national well-being and domestic peace. But the more I engaged with the gun-rights arguments, particularly the right to own a handgun for personal self-defense, my anti-gun dogma became slightly muted as I recognized the right, if not lamentable need, we have in the U.S. to own defensive weapons.

Now, all these years later, I still do not believe that eliminating

fire arms is possible in the world as we have made it, where we may realistically encounter genuinely threatening others who are unwilling to abandon their violent intentions. However, despite such a globally violent context, my own standpoint is strong and clear: guns are *not* the best answer to conflict, even if as a last resort they become unfortunately necessary. Guns (and flesh-shredding ammunition) in fact *do* kill people; they are designed to kill (even though they generally require beings with opposable thumbs to pull the trigger).

As an environmentalist and animal advocate, as a peace advocate committed to a lifestyle and ethic of compassion, tolerance, and the universal right to meaningful life and well-being, I realize that the *real* issue is not the gun itself. Rather, the issue is the history and culture out of which passionate advocacy for the unrestricted “right to bear arms” arises. Out of devotion to a hallowed American gun mythology, pro-gun advocates insist that as “law-abiding citizens,” we are constitutionally guaranteed wholly “uninfringed” gun ownership in the privacy of our own homes and lives, whether we choose to own a single hunting rifle or handgun, or to build a personal arsenal filled with firearms from pistols to AK47s.

The United States legally prohibited slavery in the 19<sup>th</sup> century but laws have not ended racism or racist violence. Hate-crime legislation has not prevented homophobic oppression or persecution. Stronger gun control legislation or enforcement of current gun control law *may* forestall specific acts of gun violence or prosecute criminal shooters. But it cannot address the violent, militaristic thread coloring an historical, national, cultural tapestry that romanticizes and valorizes guns and firepower as virtually sacred instruments of national and individual protection, manifest destiny and expansion, and patriotic pride—not to mention their necessity for preserving God-ordained democracy, personal safety, the well-being of our children, and lasting peace. Challenging such a long-held and deeply engrained ethic will take an ongoing, intergenerational sea change in moral consciousness and action.

Neither the Million Moms nor the Second Amendment Sisters, in 2000, used their respective, globally-public forums to seriously confront the oppressive and violent cultural vapor permeating the ethical air we breathe as residents, citizens, diplomats, tourists, exchange students, laborers born and/or living for extended periods in the United States. Such a focus might have allowed the two adversarial groups of women to work together to reduce violence of all kinds. Perhaps now, nearly 10 years later, we can learn from their gaping oversight. Putting their specific, narrow focus on guns into a broader perspective, we can pick up where they left off—digging honestly into our own personal and national ethics of violence, and bringing the ugly truths to light so that we can begin change toward a society in which any need for guns will be extremely rare.

Heidi A. Huse ([hhuse@utm.edu](mailto:hhuse@utm.edu)) is Assistant Professor of English at The University of Tennessee at Martin







## Reviews

**Rajmohan Gandhi. *Gandhi: The Man, His People, and the Empire*. University of California Press, 2008, 738 pp.**

Having read all the standard biographies of Gandhi, and written a forward to the one that best captures his spiritual practice and spiritual significance (*Gandhi the Man*, by my teacher, Eknath Easwaran), I was not prepared to be as educated, entertained, and inspired as I was by this mighty work of his grandson Rajmohan Gandhi. Rajmohan combines scholarly competency (he is a research professor at the University of Illinois at Champagne-Urbana) with unique access to many records of his famous and well-documented grandfather (including the priceless photo of himself as a child with the grandfather who is showering him with a startling love). More importantly—for it can be disastrously hard to understand Gandhi no matter how well informed one is—he combines objectivity with devotion, managing to present the human side of the Mahatma along with his incredible greatness and accomplishments in a way that enlarges our imagination of what it means to be a human being. If Jesus had such a biographer, rivers of blood shed in bitter debates over the Savior's godhood or manhood could have been spared.

But that was then. The main point now is that a close reading of this book brings home to us King's declaration that if we want to live in peace—or live at all, I would add—"Gandhi is indispensable."

I'm inclined to start with insights into the Mahatma's leadership—and a new anecdote for me about it. Upton Close, an American far-East expert who met and admired Gandhi, was asked if he had found out the Mahatma's secret, and said no, but his wife did. Because when asked if she had sensed his unusual power while in his presence she said no, 'I sensed my own': "In his presence I felt a new capability and power in myself ... I felt good for anything—an assurance I had never known before, as if some consciousness within me had newly awakened" (611).

The popular image of saintly Gandhi as a timid, 'good' person who would not hurt a fly is of course drastically mistaken, arising from our distorted belief that violence is the only form of power, so that if one is not violent they must be weak. Reading this book settles that issue soon enough. When the intercommunal violence that even he could not quell raged as India was torn apart in the act of independence, he wrote to colleagues, "there is such a fire raging in me that I (will) know no peace until I have found a solution for all this.... If I find that my comrades are deceiving me, I will be furious and I shall walk barefoot on and on through hail or storm. I would throw away the soft seat and other amenities which you have offered me" (579).

Yet Gandhi gained his great power not by

grabbing for it, as I would be inclined to do, but by renouncing it—exactly the opposite of our 'normal' human response to challenge. When a prayer meeting he was conducting in Rajkot, Gujarat was being broken up by a 600-strong mob of sword and lathi (club)-swinging reactionaries, the nearly 70-year-old Gandhi stood still, closed his eyes and repeated his mantram (Rama) with a force of devotion noticed by a young follower who had rushed to his side. Then, the prayer having worked, Gandhi dismissed all the coworkers who were trying to protect him and *put himself entirely at the disposal of the mob*, saying to one who was in his vicinity, "I wish to go under your sole protection, not coworkers" (418). Rajmohan quotes the young worker's eye-witness report that, "To everyone's amazement the thugs' violence melted like ice. The leader of the gang stood before Babu with folded hands."

Writing to his nephew Maganlal from Champaran, the scene of one of his early triumphs of Satyagraha in India, Gandhi had said of the great poet-saint of medieval Rajasthan, "Mira was stabbed with the dagger of love ... if we too can get at this dagger ... we can shake the world to its foundations" (203). And it seems that's exactly what he did. Of all the commentators and biographers who have dared to tread on the baffling episode of Gandhi's final yajña ('sacrifice') during the extreme violence of partition, Rajmohan is the only one I know of who I believe has got the story right:

Touring violence-torn Noakhali in Bihar, Gandhi had his granddaughter Manu sleep alongside him, both without clothes. Why? And why just then? Many of his closest followers could not understand and begged him to stop the practice, but Gandhi had long since ceased to obey any but the 'still small voice' within him. And while he did not launch into justifications, it's pretty clear what he was trying to accomplish. A secretary at the time, the brilliant and skeptical scientist, N.K. Bose, "one day overheard Gandhi saying to an associate about brahmacharya (control of sexual and other passions), "If I can master this, I can still beat Jinnah" (his great adversary over Pakistan) (552). Trying to interpret this for an earlier, western biographer, another secretary, Pyarelal, explained, "Gandhi is under his own complete control. That generates tremendous energy and passion" (456).

It may not need a grandson to get across to us this paradoxical dynamic of 'renounce and enjoy' (a favorite line of the Mahatma's from the Isa Upanishad), but there are times when I think it needs an Indian. What Pyarelal did for Fischer, anyway, Rajmohan has done for all of us. His detailed but readable, fact-filled but insightful work enables us to peer through many windows into the human being who, for me as for so many, wielded the most powerful, inventive spirit for good the modern world has seen.

—Michael Nagler

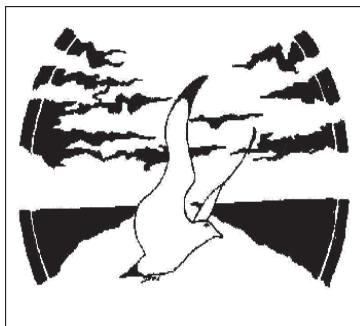
Paul K. Chappell. *Will War Ever End?* Rvive Books, 2009, 84 pp.

Captain Paul K. Chappell of the U.S. Army writes a very persuasive book, comparing the tolerance of war to the tolerance of slavery, serfdom, and subjugation of women -- all of which are now almost universally deemed unacceptable and unthinkable. Chappell argues that through peaceful demonstration to governments and global re-education of people, we can see the end to war in our lifetime. Halleluiah, I'm on board!

In this slim volume, Chappell manages to pack in clear reasoning and solid support for his multi-part argument, drawing on sources as diverse as Socrates, Einstein, Smedley Butler (at the time of his death, he was the most decorated marine in U.S. history), and Martin Luther King to buttress his points that: war drives people insane; the biggest problem of every army is how to stop soldiers from running away; being loving allows us to be brave; cooperation is the key to our survival; unconditional love builds an indestructible bond between people; we have a stronger instinct to posture (scare away) than to kill; fury motivates us to protect our loved ones; hatred is always painful; unconditional love is inherently joyful; and unconditional love is stronger than hatred. All these points add up to a common sense conclusion that war can be eradicated given our fear of violence, our hope for preservation and survival, and our capacity for love.

Coming from a West Point graduate, Iraqi war veteran, and Captain in the U.S. Army, this argument is especially moving and doubly-hearted. He knows whereof he speaks, and his knowledge and words are powerful. He ends his book with clear, strong indictments of war from past 'soldiers' of valor, including Dwight D. Eisenhower, George Orwell, Leo Tolstoy, Gandhi, and Antoine de Saint-Exupery. Chappell is working on a follow-up volume to this book: *Peaceful Revolution*, a guide on how to rethink the question of war and eliminate all warmongering. I look forward to following his noble battle to end all battles, and I will be one who joins in spreading the message that war can end in the 21st century.

Nina Sankovitch, [readallday.org](http://readallday.org)



## Archer's Arrows: Pointing You Toward the Right Sources!

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### This edition: "Favorite Free Websites"

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It's about time we took another look at web resources for peace and justice people. The ones that I've selected all share two characteristics: I've often used them myself or referred folks to them and they're free. Not only are there no costs to access the sites but most of the resources at the sites are free to view or download. At least, they were still free when I checked them this week! And the usual disclaimers continue to apply. This is not a comprehensive list and the sites I've listed are not necessarily the very, very best. They're simply a selection of what I have found to be quite helpful resources. Please feel free to send in a description of your favorite sites for a future column.

**Foreign Government Resources on the Web** ([www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/foreign.html](http://www.lib.umich.edu/govdocs/foreign.html)) is maintained by John Downey, International Documents Librarian, and Grace York, Coordinator, Documents Center, at the University of Michigan Library. This is probably my favorite "mega" site. It provides the most comprehensive listing of foreign government information that I've come upon. It has regional and alphabetical listings along with several topical access points. Even better, almost hidden at the bottom of the homepage under "Additional Web Pages" is a link for "International Agencies." Here you will find lists of and guides to International Governmental Organizations (IGOs) and Non-Governmental Organizations (NGOs), from the most obvious to the most obscure. The web design is dated and the organization and selection are eclectic, but links are updated fairly regularly. There's also a genuine lack of institutional chauvinism as many other University research guides are featured. Well worth a lengthy browse.

**CRInfo—The Conflict Resolution Information Source** (<http://v4.crininfo.org>) is the responsibility of Co-Directors Guy and Heidi Burgess of the Conflict Information Consortium at the University of Colorado at Boulder. It's packed with useful information of the usual sort (articles and citations), plus essays cooperatively developed for the site by students and practitioners of conflict transformation and sample course outlines. You'll also find a link to their partner **Beyond Intractability: A Free Knowledge Base on More Constructive Approaches to Destructive Conflict** ([www.beyondintractability.org](http://www.beyondintractability.org)), which includes essays, interviews, case studies, profiles, and reflections. The two sites together document a wealth of creative practice and reflection in conflict resolution.

You're probably already aware of and familiar with the next two, **Amnesty International** ([www.amnesty.org](http://www.amnesty.org)) and **Human Rights Watch** ([www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)). I've included them as two examples of excellent websites maintained by NGOs. There are certainly many, many others. If you have a favorite group in mind, all you need to do to find their website (and they probably have one) is to Google their name and hit the search button. This is also a very helpful strategy for obtaining information about or from point of view (POV) or movement organizations. No need to rely on a mimeograph or a copier anymore; just throw up a website! I've also included these two because their efforts are truly international and their web sites are kept up to date with breaking news and recent analysis. Both are good starting points for up-to-date analysis of international hotspots.

**Conciliation Resources** ([www.c-r.org/index.php](http://www.c-r.org/index.php)) describes itself as "an independent charity working to prevent violence, promote justice and transform conflict into opportunities for development." While you can purchase paper copies of its publications, it makes most of them available online at no charge – part of its mission. Of particular value for peace and justice people is its *Accord* series. Appearing approximately three times per year *Accord* documents peace processes, peace treaties and post armed conflict developments generally focusing on one country or region per issue. So far issues have covered Somalia, Aceh, Sudan, Nagorny Karabakh, Angola, Colombia, PNG-Bougainville, Northern Uganda, Tajikistan, Sierra Leone, Northern Ireland, Georgia-Abkhazia, Philippines-Mindanao, Cambodia, Mozambique, Sri Lanka, Guatemala, and Liberia. The documentation and analysis is so helpful that we buy the paper copy for our library in addition to providing electronic access.

**International Relations And Security Network (ISN)** ([www.isn.ethz.ch/isn](http://www.isn.ethz.ch/isn)) claims to be "the world's leading open access information service for international relations and security professionals." And they just may be right. The closest competitor of which I'm aware is CIAO (Columbia International Affairs Online) -- but access to CIAO is by subscription. A Swiss based service with it is home at ETH Zürich (Eidgenössische Technische Hochschule/Swiss Federal Institute of Technology), ISN's website contains thousands of policy briefs, working papers and similar documents in its digital library submitted by communities and partners around the world.

**The World Factbook** ([www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook](http://www.cia.gov/cia/publications/factbook)) is produced by the United States Central Intelligence Agency. As a quick, free source of statistics it is excellent. As for the accuracy of its analysis, you be the judge.

Finally, I can't resist listing the **Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies** (<http://kroc.nd.edu>). I call your particular attention to three resources featured on the Kroc site. *Reflective Peacebuilding: A Planning, Monitoring, and Learning Toolkit* written by John Paul Lederach, Reina Neufeldt, and Hal Culbertson and jointly sponsored by Catholic Relief Services is a practical, field tested handbook funded by a grant for the United States Institute of Peace. The *Catholic Peacebuilding Network* (CPN) has its home at Notre Dame but links member practitioners (both Catholic and non-Catholic) from around the world. Lastly, the *Peace Accords Matrix* is a database of peace accords and their implementations. Also funded by a grant from USIP, the latter project is led by John Darby and is part of a larger effort co-sponsored by the Kroc Institute and the Conflict Data Program of Uppsala University in Sweden led by Peter Wallenstein. Another interesting feature of this site is a growing list of downloadable course syllabi along with videos of numerous conferences, panels and guest speakers.

Again, please don't hesitate to send in your suggestions for inclusion in future columns...

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J. Douglas Archer  
Reference and Peace Studies Librarian  
University of Notre Dame  
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# PJSA Job Board

## PEACEKEEPERS WANTED

**Institution:** Nonviolent Peaceforce  
**Position Description:** Nonviolent Peaceforce is an unarmed, professional civilian peacekeeping force that is invited to work in conflict zones worldwide. With international headquarters in Brussels, Nonviolent Peaceforce has worked in the conflict areas of Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and Guatemala. Among other activities, it works with local groups to foster dialogue among parties in conflict, provide a proactive presence and safe spaces for civilians, and develop local capacity to prevent violence. Its staff includes veterans of conflict zones and experienced peacekeepers. We are seeking highly skilled and experienced persons to serve in conflict zones as International Civilian Peacekeepers (ICPs). There is an immediate need to fill several skilled positions in Sri Lanka, the Philippines, and possibly Sudan (see [www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/en/workwithus](http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org/en/workwithus) for job descriptions). We are therefore seeking applications from persons with specific skills and expertise in working with internally displaced peoples, children in armed conflict, civilian protection issues, humanitarian relief, or peacekeeping operations in general. The ability and openness to working in sometimes hostile, warlike, and hardship environments is critical; skills in conflict analysis, project management, finances, security or logistics would be desirable. Women, candidates from the Global South, and those of the Muslim faith are especially encouraged to apply.  
**Application Deadline:** Rolling.  
**Application Process:** Please send the following: (1) a completed application form; (2) a copy of your current CV; (3) a letter agreeing to be deployed by NP for up to 24 months if chosen. Send your completed application package to [recruit@nvpf.org](mailto:recruit@nvpf.org). For more information on Nonviolent Peaceforce visit [www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org](http://www.nonviolentpeaceforce.org).

## INTERNSHIPS: PEACEBUILDING

**Institution:** Meta-Culture Dialogics  
**Position Description:** MCD works to build peaceable and sustainable communities by changing how people address conflict. MCD is committed to changing the way people typically react to conflict, striving to make it possible for people to talk honestly about their real differences, explore common interests and brainstorm solutions in ways that promote learning, improve decision-making and strengthen communities. MCD accepts applications for employment and internships on an on-going basis. For more information, please visit their web site at <http://meta-culture.org/involved>.  
**Application Deadline:** Open; rolling.  
**Application Materials:** If you are interested in working or interning with Meta-Culture Dialogics, please send your resumé and a letter of introduction to Beth Fascitelli at [beth@meta-culture.in](mailto:beth@meta-culture.in).

## VISITING RESEARCH FELLOWS

**Institution:** The Kroc Institute for Int'l Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame  
**Position Description:** We seek to bring outstanding scholars focused on peace research to the University of Notre Dame for all or part of the 2010-2011 academic year. Fellows conduct research related to an existing Institute emphasis while fully participating in the life of the Institute. For 2010-11, the Institute particularly seeks applications for research focusing on 1) the comparative study of peace processes and 2) Islam and/or Catholicism in modern conflict settings. Junior fellows receive a stipend of \$20,000 per semester; senior fellows receive \$25,000 per semester. Housing is provided in furnished Institute apartments at no cost. Fellows have library and Internet access, and document retrieval services.

**Application Deadline:** November 1, 2009.  
**Application Information:** A complete application consists of: completed two-page application form; CV; research proposal; bibliography; and two letters of recommendation. Only applicants at the post-doctoral (junior) and senior scholar level will be considered. Fellowships begin at the start of the University of Notre Dame's semester and can be made for one semester or an academic year. If you have questions, please contact Kathy Smarrella, Visiting Fellows Coordinator, at [kmarrel@nd.edu](mailto:kmarrel@nd.edu). For further information and to access the application, please visit <http://kroc.nd.edu/research/visiting-research-fellowships>.

## JOB & INTERNSHIP LISTINGS: ONGOING

**Organization:** The Kroc Institute for Int'l Peace Studies, University of Notre Dame  
**Description:** Comprehensive list of websites and resources for openings in the areas of peace studies, conflict resolution, international affairs, public policy, human rights, international development, NGOs, the UN, and other international organizations.  
**Website:** <http://kroc.nd.edu/alumni/career-resources/jobs>

**Organization:** Fresno Pacific University, Center for Peacemaking and Conflict Studies  
**Description:** Up-to-date, well-maintained listing of jobs and opportunities in fields such as mediation, peacebuilding, restorative justice, and conflict resolution.  
**Website:** <http://peace.fresno.edu/rjjobs.php>

**Organization:** American University, School of International Service  
**Description:** Listing of jobs and internships in areas of peace and conflict resolution.  
**Website:** [www.aupeace.org/jobs](http://www.aupeace.org/jobs)





## Notices and resources

### ◆◆◆◆ *Nonviolent Change*

*Nonviolent Change*, Journal of the Research/Action Team on Nonviolent Large Systems Change, is now online at [www.nonviolentchangejournal.org](http://www.nonviolentchangejournal.org), and invites articles, commentaries, reviews, news, and announcements relating to practical ways of getting to peace within and between communities. Please send all submissions and requests for information to Editor Steve Sachs at [ssachs@earthlink.net](mailto:ssachs@earthlink.net).

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### *Conflict Resolution Day is October 15th*

The Association for Conflict Resolution's Board of Directors adopted a resolution designating the third Thursday in October annually as Conflict Resolution Day in order to increase public awareness about conflict resolution and its many benefits. For more information visit: [www.ACRnet.org](http://www.ACRnet.org).

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### *Plowshares Peace Archive Now Online*

The three Historic Peace Church colleges in Indiana (Earlham, Manchester, and Goshen) have unveiled the Plowshares Digital Archive for Peace Studies as part of the Virtual Peace Studies Library. The expansive digital collection of peace resources, which covers a period of about 300 years, contains 32,000 pages of material in formats such as diaries, minutes, books, journals, questionnaires, newsletters, newspapers, and essays. It also covers a broad range of peace topics including: draft resistance, slavery, race relations during and after the civil rights movement, student activities, and European peace conferences. The archive is at: [www.plowsharesproject.org/php/resources/index.php](http://www.plowsharesproject.org/php/resources/index.php).

### Peace Review

a Journal of Social Justice

*Peace Review* is a quarterly, multidisciplinary, transnational journal of research and analysis, focusing on the current issues and controversies that underlie the promotion of a more peaceful world. Social progress requires, among other things, sustained intellectual work, which should be pragmatic as well as analytical. The results of that work should be ingrained into everyday culture and political discourse. The editors define peace research very broadly to include peace, human rights, development, ecology, culture, and related issues. The task of the journal is to present the results of this research and thinking in short, accessible, and substantive essays. Each issue develops a particular theme but we run both on-theme and off-theme essays. Visit the journal's new website at: [www.tandf.co.uk/journals/CPER](http://www.tandf.co.uk/journals/CPER).

Submissions can be sent to Robert Elias, Peace Review, University of San Francisco, San Francisco, CA 94117 USA, or emailed to: [elias@usfca.edu](mailto:elias@usfca.edu).

**Want Peace Review delivered to you? Special subscription rate for PJSa members is only US \$35!**

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### *New MA Program in Peace and Conflict Studies*

The National Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies at the University of Otago, Dunedin is New Zealand's first program to combine global cross-disciplinary expertise on the issues of development, peacebuilding, and conflict transformation. It conducts high level research on the causes of violent conflict and conditions for sustainable peace. The Centre will be offering a post graduate diploma and MA in Peace and Conflict Studies in the first semester of 2010. For inquiries please contact Professor Kevin P Clements, [kevin.clements@otago.ac.nz](mailto:kevin.clements@otago.ac.nz).

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### *Peace Psychology Text Available for Free Download*

The copyright for the edited volume *Peace, Conflict, and Violence: Peace Psychology for the 21st Century* (published in 2001) has been reverted to the editors: Daniel Christie, Richard Wagner, and Deborah Winter. They have made the book available online for downloading at no cost to encourage course and program development in peace psychology worldwide. For a PDF file of the book, please visit: <http://academic.marion.ohio-state.edu/dchristie/Peace%20Psychology%20Book.html>.

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### *U.S. Government e-Journal on Nonviolent Change*

The Bureau of International Information Programs of the U.S. Department of State publishes a monthly electronic journal examining major issues facing the U.S. and world. The current issue on "Nonviolent Paths to Social Change" is available for free download at: [www.america.gov/media/pdf/ejs/0309ej.pdf#popup](http://www.america.gov/media/pdf/ejs/0309ej.pdf#popup). "The contributors to this publication show collectively that armed violence is not necessary to achieve positive change. All they are saying is give nonviolence a chance." Still, we are reminded within that: "The opinions expressed in the journals do not necessarily reflect the views or policies of the U.S. government."

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### *Lifelong Peace Advocate Passes Away at 66*

Jim McGinnis, founder of the Institute for Peace & Justice (IPJ), conscientious objector, and a lifelong advocate and educator for peace, passed away suddenly on August 13, 2009. Jim died of an apparent heart attack while on his morning walk in his St. Louis neighborhood. He is survived by his wife, Kathy McGinnis, co-founder and co-director of the IPJ, and their three children (David, Tom, and Theresa) and three grandchildren. You are invited to continue Jim's lifelong efforts through donation and continuing support of the IPJ. To learn more about the remarkable life of Jim McGinnis and his work, please visit: [www.ipj-ppj.org](http://www.ipj-ppj.org).

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### *Peace Research Journal Seeks Reviewers*

The journal 'Peace Research' is looking for peace and conflict scholars to serve as book reviewers. If interested, please contact the Editors at: [peacere-search@uwinnipeg.ca](mailto:peacere-search@uwinnipeg.ca). For more info about the journal itself, please visit them online at: [www.peacere-search.ca](http://www.peacere-search.ca).

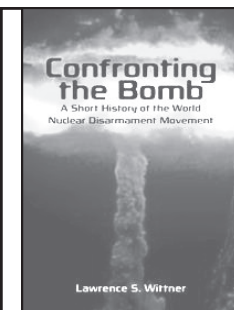


**THE LATE ADDITION: *Call for op-ed pieces***

This is to remind you of a standing invitation to send your peace op-eds (400-700 words) to **PeaceVoice**, and also to let you know we've expanded to include articles of analysis (700-1,500 words). Their volunteers have increased the editor database and they now place all pieces that they accept multiple times. One of their recent offerings, from historian Lawrence Wittner, was placed in several outlets around the country. He prepared an analysis piece well ahead of Hiroshima/Nagasaki anniversaries and sent it to them. Without Dr. Wittner's piece, many readers would not have marked those days, or would have done so in ways we might see as counterproductive in our era of nuclear proliferation. Each of us has areas of specialization; each of us has the credentials to get an editor's attention; and each of us could help elevate the national discussion about issues of war, peace, and justice. Send them your peace-related essays along with a one-sentence tagline that establishes your bona fides. In addition to Dr. Wittner, recent contributors include Kathy Kelly (Voices for Creative Nonviolence), Bill Scheurer (Peace Garden Project), and Michael Nagler (Metta Center for Nonviolence Education). Foundation-supported, **PeaceVoice** essentially serves as your free literary peace agents! For more information, visit: [www.peacevoice.info](http://www.peacevoice.info).

**THE LATE ADDITION: *Call for papers***

The Journal of Aggression, Conflict and Peace Research (JACP) will publish a broad range of empirical studies, theoretical and review papers on all aspects of aggression, conflict, and peace. It will produce high quality publications that attend both to academic and practical development issues. JACP will cover a broad range of areas, perhaps best encapsulated by brief definitions of each core topic: *Aggression* is defined broadly as 'harm to self or others including fear inducing behaviour', which will cover individual aggression and extend to acts of terrorism and self-injurious behaviour; *Conflict* is defined as potentially arising in any situation where the interests' of one individual or group of individuals is in competition with another individual or group; *Peace* is defined as the non-violent and non-coercive resolution of conflict or the mitigation of potential violent reactions to conflict, with a focus also on the factors known to promote peaceful societies, and on conflict transformation. JACP is an appropriate outlet for a broad array of research on aggression and both conflict resolution and transformation. Manuscripts that include both theoretical and applied perspectives on aggression, conflict, and peace are particularly encouraged. Requests for information concerning the journal, including guidelines for contributors, can be obtained by contacting either Prof. Jane L. Ireland ([JLIreland1@uclan.ac.uk](mailto:JLIreland1@uclan.ac.uk)) or Dr. Nicola Graham-Kevan ([ngraham-kevan@uclan.ac.uk](mailto:ngraham-kevan@uclan.ac.uk)).



**Confronting the Bomb:**  
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## Peace Research

The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies

In continuous publication since 1969, *Peace Research: The Canadian Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies* is Canada's oldest and primary scholarly journal in its area. It is published twice a year by Menno Simons College, a college of Canadian Mennonite University affiliated with the University of Winnipeg, and is distributed internationally. *Peace Research* publishes broadly on issues of peace and conflict, violence, poverty, justice, and human well-being.

We invite scholars, both Canadian and global, to publish cutting edge research and analysis on peace and conflict issues from both disciplinary and interdisciplinary perspectives. Submissions may be sent to the Editors via email at [peaceresearch@uwinnipeg.ca](mailto:peaceresearch@uwinnipeg.ca). We welcome your subscription to *Peace Research* as well.

For submission guidelines, subscription information, and general inquiries, please visit our website at [www.peaceresearch.ca](http://www.peaceresearch.ca). Or contact us by mail at *Peace Research*, Menno Simons College, 210-520 Portage Ave., Winnipeg, MB, R3C 0G2, Canada.

**Want to advertise in  
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Distributed three times a year to members and friends of PJSA, this newsletter is a very cost effective way to reach a dedicated audience. Cost of advertising is \$100 for a quarter-page, \$175 for a half-page, and \$300 for a full page. Exchange offers will be considered as well. To inquire about specs, or to place an ad, please contact us at: [info@peacejusticestudies.org](mailto:info@peacejusticestudies.org)

## Events Calendar

**November 14, 2009 — CONFERENCE**

**21st annual Peace Studies Conference**

Hosted by: Central New York Peace Studies Consortium, in cooperation with Le Moyne College  
[piscitnj@lemoyne.edu](mailto:piscitnj@lemoyne.edu)

From Martin Luther King Jr. to Mahatma Gandhi, peacemakers have recognized the importance of teaching young people how to live in peace. The challenge of protecting our children is complicated when some of them are involved in generating the violence. Around the world, organized illegal trafficking (in drugs, arms, human beings etc.) poses an international threat to peace and global security. A peaceful future depends on meeting the challenges of violence at all levels, including developing alternatives for youth in our communities. This conference hopes to provide a venue for discussion of the global problem of youth and gang violence and to share peacemaking tools and alternatives to violence. In this interdisciplinary conference we hope to promote a wide-ranging conversation including diverse fields and experiences, including: connections to education, ethics, crime, punishment, social welfare/work, justice, corporate gangs, race, class, gender, ability, religion, popular culture, internet communities, policy, media, economics, and international development and affairs.

**November 21-22, 2009 — CONFERENCE**

**North American Anarchist Studies Network, NAASN**

Hosted by: Charter Oak Cultural Center, Hartford CT  
[anarchiststudies@hotmail.com](mailto:anarchiststudies@hotmail.com)

This inaugural conference seeks to provide a space to develop theoretical and empirical work that pays critical attention to anarchism and related fields of interest. The creation of this new network is a way for North American anarchist scholars to be able to support each other and create a space for critical dialogue and reflection. This conference is a place to discuss research, dialogue with one another in panels, educate ourselves through presentations, and explore the role of the theoretician and the researcher in the larger project of dismantling capitalism, the state, and domination in all of its forms. Importantly, we see this as an occasion for dialoguing with one another to learn and grow, and would like to avoid sectarianism, personal attacks, and debating-to-win.

**July 6-10, 2010 — CONFERENCE**

**Communicating Peace**

Hosted by: IPRA, at the University of Sydney (AU)  
[www.iprasydne2010.org](http://www.iprasydne2010.org)

Every two years, the members of the International Peace Research Association (of which the PJSA is the North American affiliate) meet at a global conference to: assess conflict and peace building in the world; discuss the state of the art of peace research; plan future research; and influence the practice and decision-making of violence prevention and peace building. Invited speakers include Johan Galtung, founder of the TRANSCEND network; and Muhammad Yunus, Nobel and Sydney Peace Prize Laureate.

*And one last plug for our upcoming 2009 PJSA Conference...*

**October 8-10, 2009 — CONFERENCE**

**Exploring the Power of Nonviolence**

Hosted by the PJSA, the Wisconsin Institute for Peace & Conflict Studies, and the Marquette University Center for Peacemaking  
[www.peacejusticestudies.org/conference](http://www.peacejusticestudies.org/conference)

Proposals are encouraged from a wide range of disciplines that address topics relevant to promoting nonviolent communities and practices. Proposals are especially welcomed addressing the nature, history, and skills of nonviolent approaches to resolving and managing conflict, as well as ones that focus on economic and environmental justice, faith communities and nonviolence, and education in nonviolence at all levels including community education. We seek proposals for creative and dynamic workshops, panels, films, displays, and other formats. The conference will also include a focus on grassroots organizations, working with individuals and groups in the region to help develop a bridge from dialogue to action. Plenary panels, breakout groups, brainstorming sessions, and an impressive list of keynote speakers will offer multiple points of engagement and opportunities for networking with scholars, activists, and educators in the pursuit of peace and justice. Join us in exploring these rich subjects in all their myriad forms, through the lens of historical narratives, current incarnations, and potential future applications to the struggles toward peace and justice in local settings and across the globe.

## Latin America after the Neoliberal Debacle

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 —Thomas Panniah, Harvard University

*Latin America after the Neoliberal Debacle* looks at the sharply declining legitimacy of liberal democracies in the region and the new array of popular forces working for social transformation. In particular, the authors analyze the failure of neoliberal policies and the growing demand for expanding participatory democracy and achieving more genuine regional cooperation. This interdisciplinary study will be useful for students and scholars concerned with how past and present policies shape the future of this important region of the world.

Ximena de la Barra is an independent consultant recently retired from UNICEF where she was the Latin American Public Policy Advisor.

Richard A. Delio Buono is associate professor of sociology at the New College of Florida and is visiting associate professor of political science at the Universidad Autónoma de Zacatecas, Mexico.

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# Peace and Justice Studies Association: Our Partnerships

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In 2005, BCA entered into a partnership with PJSA to promote peace and justice through education, research and action and to engage students, faculty, and college and university staff members in international programs focused on peace, justice and other issues of mutual concern. Through this partnership, PJSA Institutional members' students and PJSA student members will receive special consideration for BCA's distinctive educational programs all over the world. BCA will waive application fees for peace studies students from PJSA member institutions who want to attend BCA peace and justice studies programs abroad. For more information about BCA or applying to a BCA program, e-mail [inquiry@BCAabroad.org](mailto:inquiry@BCAabroad.org) or visit the BCA website at [www.BCAabroad.org](http://www.BCAabroad.org).

Since April 2005, PJSA and the Higher Education Consortium for Urban Affairs (HECUA) have been working together to provide opportunities for students to participate in academically rigorous, experiential learning programs focused on social justice and social change. Undergraduates enrolled at PJSA member institutions receive special benefits when they enroll in HECUA programs: a discount of \$500 on the non-consortium fees for semester programs, and a discount of \$150 on the non-consortium fees for short programs. PJSA members also receive annual mailings of HECUA materials, and there is a PJSA liaison to the HECUA Board of Directors. Program sites include Bangladesh, Ecuador, Northern Ireland, Scandinavia, and the southern U.S. Complete program materials can be found at [www.hecua.org](http://www.hecua.org).



In November 2008, PJSA partnered with the Center for Global Education (CGE) at Augsburg College to add another scholastic membership benefit. This new partnership will offer discounts to individual members and member institutions alike, including \$500 off fees for undergraduate students going on the Center's Mexico or Central America semester programs, or \$100 off fees for faculty, staff, or students going on the Center's international travel seminars or professional development programs. Since 1979, the CGE has been a pioneer in peace and justice studies abroad, and working towards a just and sustainable world has been central to their mission. Program details can be found online at [www.CenterForGlobalEducation.org](http://www.CenterForGlobalEducation.org).



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