

RELIGION, CONFLICT, AND PEACE PROCESSES

NB: This syllabus assumes a 10-unit course (quarter length) with each unit divided into two 75-minute classes

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Course Overview

Course Description

The "war on terrorism," the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, the seemingly interminable and intractable religious-ethnic-nationalist conflicts in the Middle East and elsewhere have contributed to a dramatic reexamination of the role of religion in conflict and peacebuilding, as well as the moral norms governing the role of military force.

This course explores the role of religion, ethics, and culture in conflict and peacebuilding. In doing so, it brings together two topics that are often addressed separately in the literature and in curricula: religious and philosophical perspectives on the ethics of the use of force, and the role of religion in conflict and peacebuilding. In showing how the two topics are intimately related, this course also shows how theological and ethical perspectives interact with those of sociology of religion, political science and religious studies. This course takes theory seriously, yet also emphasizes the importance of applied ethics and lived religion.

The first part of the course provides a general framework for assessing the nature and causes of contemporary conflicts; the role of religion in world affairs; the major normative approaches to the use of force; and the role of religion and religious norms in promoting and preventing conflict. The second part then addresses particular *jus ad bellum*, *jus in bello*, and *jus post bellum* issues, including terrorism, preventive war, humanitarian intervention, the conduct of war, and post-war reconciliation. The course then moves to an examination of theories of the role of religion in peacebuilding, including the role of women, before considering specific types of religious peacebuilding. In exploring these topics, the course considers a range of recent or current cases, from the interventions in Iraq to the role of religion in the Israeli-Palestinian conflict.

Course Objectives

1. To acquire theoretical knowledge about questions of religion, ethics and war, as well as the role of religion in religio-ethnic national conflicts and in peacebuilding more broadly;
2. To learn to link specific issues and cases to broader theoretical questions;
3. To effectively communicate ideas in a variety of oral and written forms.

Course Readings

The course draws on a wide range of authors, relying principally on journal articles that preferably will be placed on-line, but could also be distributed in a course pack. They are divided between Required and Supplemental Readings, so that the amount of reading can easily be adjusted as needed or readings can easily be substituted for each other.

Course Schedule

UNIT 1. What is War and Conflict

Note: Professors could choose two of the following four units

Class 1. The "realities" of war and its moral ambiguity

Required Reading:

C. Hedges, "On War," *NY Review of Books*, 12/16/04.

Andrew Carroll, ed., *Behind the Lines* (Scribner, 2005): 143-45, 158-60, 168-71, 190-92, 203-205, 211-212, 235-237, 258-260, 297-299, 377-82 (letters, mostly from soldiers, from various wars)

Supplemental Reading:

Nancy Sherman, *The Untold War: Inside the Hearts, Minds, and Souls of our Soldiers* (Norton & Co., 2010)

Class 2. The varieties of contemporary conflicts and their causes

Required Reading:

J. J. Hewitt, J. Wilkenfeld, T.R. Gurr, *Peace and Conflict 2010: Executive Summary*: 1-26 (University of Maryland Center for International Development and Conflict Management website: <http://www.cidcm.umd.edu/projects/project.asp?id=32>)

J. Levy, "Theories of Interstate and Intrastate War" and M. Howard, "The Causes of War," in *Turbulent Peace*, C. Crocker, F. Hampson, and P. Aall, eds (U.S. Institute of Peace, 2001): 3-38.

Supplemental Reading:

David P. Barash, ed., *Approaches to Peace: A Reader in Peace Studies*, 2nd ed. (Oxford, 2010): 9-46 (Freud (psychiatry), Lorenz (biology), Mead (anthropology), Hedges (journalism), Sumner (sociology), Janis (social psychology), Howard (history), Galtung (economics) on causes of war)

Human Security Report 2009, Part II: "The Shrinking Costs of War": Overview: 1-8 (http://www.hsrgroup.org/docs/Publications/HSR2009/2009HumanSecurityReport_Overview.pdf)

Class 3. Varieties and causes of violence

Required Reading:

Kathleen M. Weigert, "Structural Violence" (Elsevier Inc 2008): 2004-2011

Johan Galtung (1990), "Cultural Violence" *Journal of Peace Research* 27 (3), 291-305.

Webb K. (1986), "Structural Violence and the Definition of Conflict". In Laszlo E. and Yoo J.Y. eds) *World Encyclopedia of Peace*, vol.2, pp.431-434.

Peter Uvin, "Global Dreams and Local Anger: From Structural to Acute Violence in a Globalizing World" in *Rethinking Global Political Economy: Emerging Issues, Unfolding Odysseys*. Mary Ann Tétreault, Robert A. Denmark, Kenneth P. Thomas, and Kurt Burch, eds. London: Routledge, 2003).

Supplemental Reading:

Debra Bergoffen, "Exploiting the Dignity of the Vulnerable Body: Rape as a Weapon of War" *Philosophical Papers*, vol. 38, issue 3 Nov. 2009, pp. 307-32.

Skjelsbaek, I, "Sexual Violence and War: Mapping out a Complex Relationship, *European Journal of International Relations* 7 (2): 211-237 June 2001.

Michael Ignatieff, "The Narcissism of Minor Differences"

Mary Kaldor, *New and Old Wars*, "Introduction".

Media Suggestion:

Films:

The Greatest Silence: Rape in the Congo

The Battle of Algiers

Class 4. What is peacebuilding?

Required Reading:

From Strategies of Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Violent World, Daniel Philpott & Gerard Powers, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010)

John Paul Lederach and R. Scott Appleby, "Strategic Peacebuilding: An Overview", pp.19-44

Jackie Smith, "Economic Globalization and Strategic Peacebuilding", pp.247-269

From *What is a Just Peace?* Pierre Allan & Alexis Keller, eds. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006)

Pierre Allan and Alexis Keller, "Introduction: Rethinking Peace and Justice Conceptually", pp.1-11

Pierre Allan and Alexis Keller, "The Concept of a Just Peace, or Achieving Peace Through Recognition, Renouncement, and Rule", pp. 195-215

Supplemental Reading:

John Paul Lederach, *The Little Book of Conflict Transformation* Inercourse, PA:: Good Books, 2003.

Lisa Schirch, *The Little Book of Strategic Peacebuilding*

UNIT 2. Defining Religion

Class 1. What is Religion? What is secularism?

Required Reading [1] :

Steve Bruce, ed., *Religion and Modernization: Sociologists and Historians Debate the Secularization Thesis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001).

Jose Casanova, *Public Religion in the Modern World*, pp. 3-66

Supplemental Reading:

Talal Asad, *Formations of the Secular*, pp. 181-201

Casanova, "Secularization Revisited: A Reply to Talal Asad" in David Scott & Charles Hirschkind, eds. *Powers of the Secular Modern: Talal Asad and His Interlocutors*

Casanova, "Public Religion Revisited"

Alternate Readings:

David Little, "Belief, Ethnicity, and Nationalism," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 1,2 (March, April 1995)

Anthony Marx, *Faith in Nation*

Anthony Smith, *Chosen Peoples*

Abdullahi Ahmed An-Na'im, *Islam and the Secular State: Negotiating the Future of Shari'a* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2008)

Class 2. Religion in International Relations

Required Reading:

Daniel Philpott, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations*, pp. 73-150

Elizabeth Shakman Hurd, *The Politics of Secularism in International Relations*: chapters 1,2,4,8,9

Supplemental Reading:

Pippa Norris and Ronald Inglehart, *Sacred and Secular: Religion and Politics Worldwide*, (Cambridge University Press, 2004)

Scott Hibbard, *Religious Politics and Secular States: Egypt, India and the United States* (John Hopkins University Press, forthcoming)

Alternate Readings:

Faith-based Diplomacy: Trumping realpolitik, Douglas Johnston, ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003)

"Engaging Religious Communities Abroad: A New Imperative for U.S. Foreign Policy: Report of the Task Force on Religion and the Making of U.S. Foreign Policy", R. Scott Appleby & Richard Cizik, Coauthors. (The Chicago Council on Global Affairs, 2010).

UNIT 3. Varieties of Ethical Approaches

Class 1. Deontological and consequentialist ethics: Is torture really wrong?

Required Reading:

Joseph Nye, *Nuclear Ethics* (The Free Press, 1986): 14-26

Michael Walzer, *Just and Unjust Wars* (Basic Books, 1977, or a later edition) xix-xxv, 3-47.

Justice Department Memorandum: August 2002: pp. 1-2, 14-22, 39-50.

Human Rights Watch, "Summary of Law Prohibiting Torture," May 2004

Convention Against Torture, arts 1-5

Supplemental Reading:

M. Alexander, "I'm Still Tortured by What I Saw in Iraq," *Washington Post* (Nov. 30, 2008): B1.

Alan Dershowitz, "Should the Ticking Bomb Terrorist be Tortured?" in Dershowitz, *Why Terrorism Works: Understanding the Threat, Responding to the Challenge* (Yale 2002).

Media Suggestions:

Stanford Prison Experiment website (<http://www.prisonexp.org/>) provides slides and videos of famous experiment about torture and abuse of prisoners

Class 2. Conceptions of international order and implications for war and peace

Required Reading:

Just and Unjust Wars: 51-73

Nye, *Nuclear Ethics*, 27-41

Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, pp. 185-192 (paras 428-443)

Sohail Hashmi, "Islamic Ethics in International Society," in Hashmi, ed, *Islamic Political Ethics*: 148-172.

Supplemental Reading:

Richard Wasserstrom, "On the Morality of War, 21 *Stan. L. Rev.* 1636-56 (1969)

National Intelligence Council, *Global Trends 2025* (2008)

Media suggestions:

"Breaker" *Morant* (1980): The final argument of the defense lawyer gives an eloquent and concise argument for why "war is hell" and normal moral rules should not apply

UNIT 4. Religion, Conflict and the Use of Force

Class 1. Religion and Conflict: Does religion cause conflict?

Required Reading:

Samuel Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs*

James D. Fearon and David Laitin, "Ethnicity, Insurgency, and Civil War," *American Political Science Review*

Monica Duffy Toft, "Getting Religion? The Puzzling Case of Islam and Civil War"

Mark Juergensmeyer, excerpts from Global Religious Rebellion in *The New Crusades: Constructing the Muslim Enemy*, Emran Qureshi and Michael Sells, eds. Edward Said, "Clash of Definitions"

"The Clash of Civilizations: An Islamicist Critique"/ Roy Mottahedeh

William Cavanaugh, "Does Religion Cause Violence?" *Harvard Theological Review*

David Little, "In Review: Required Reading: A Double-Edged Dilemma" *Harvard Divinity Bulletin* 2007

Supplemental Reading:

William Cavanaugh, *The Myth of Religious Violence: Secular Ideology and the Roots of Modern Conflict* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009)

Talal Asad, *On Suicide Bombing* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2007)

Alternative Reading: religion, conflict the politics of multiculturalism

Susan Okin, *Is Multiculturalism bad for Women* (Princeton University Press, 1999)

Joan Wallach Scott, *The Politics of the Veil*, (Princeton University Press, 2007)

Rowan Williams, "Archbishop's Lecture-Civil and Religious Law in England: A Religious Perspective" (Feb, 2008), <http://www.archbishopofcanterbury.org/1575>

Media Suggestions:

Film: *The Last Valley* (1971) on wars of religion

Class 2. Just war: Muslim, Jewish, Christian perspectives

Required Reading:

Marc Gopin, "Judaism, the Limits of War, and Conflict Resolution," in *Religion, Law and the Use of Force*, J.I. Coffey & Charles Mathewes, eds (Transnational 2002): 7-22.

Abdulaziz Sachedina, "From Defensive to Offensive Warfare: the Use and Abuse of Jihad in the Muslim World," in *Religion, Law and the Use of Force*, J.I. Coffey & Charles Mathewes, eds (Transnational 2002): 23-37.

"The Development of the Just War Tradition," (1-13) and "Survey of Roman Catholic Teachings on War and Peace" (15-38) in *Catholic Perspectives on Peace and War*, T. Massaro & T. Shannon, eds (Sheed & Ward, 2003)

Supplemental Reading:

John Kelsay, *Arguing the Just War in Islam* (Harvard Press, 2007)

J. Childress, "Just War Criteria," in *War or Peace*, T. Shannon, ed., (1980): 40-58

James Turner Johnson, "Just War Thinking in Recent American Religious Debate over Military Force," in *The Price of Peace: Just War in the Twenty-First Century*, Charles Reed & David Ryall, eds (Cambridge 2007): 76-97.

S. Hashmi, "War," in *Key Themes for the Study of Islam*, ed. Jamal J. Elias (Oxford: Oneworld, 2010): 336-55.

James Turner Johnson, "Historical Roots and Sources of the Just War Tradition in Western Culture," *Just War and Jihad*, J. Kelsay & J. Johnson, eds (1991): 3-30

Compendium of the Social Doctrine of the Church, pp. 213-20 (paras 488-505)

Gerard Powers, "The U.S. Bishops and War since the Peace Pastoral," *U.S. Catholic Historian* 27:2 (Spring 2009): 73-96

UNIT 5. The Jus Ad Bellum: Justice and the Resort to War

Class 1. Preemptive and preventive war: Iraq War 2003

Required Reading:

National Security Strategy 2002: 9-10; NSS 2006: 18, 22-24

Mark Amstutz, "Reinhold Niebuhr's Christian Realism and the Bush Doctrine," in *Christianity and Power Politics Today: Christian Realism and Contemporary Political Dilemmas*, E. Patterson, ed. (Palgrave Macmillan 2008): 117-135.

Michael Novak, "An Argument that War Against Iraq is Just," *Origins* (Feb. 20, 2003)

J. Childress, "Just War Criteria," in Thomas Shannon, ed., *War or Peace* (1980): 40-58

Just and Unjust Wars: Preface to SECOND edition, xi-xvii, xxii-xxiii

Supplemental Reading:

James Turner Johnson, *The War to Oust Saddam Hussein: Just War and the New Face of Conflict* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2005)

F. Wester, "Preemption and Just War," *Parameters* (Winter 2004-2005): 20-39.

Buchanan & Keohane, "The Preventive Use of Force," *Ethics & Int'l Aff* (2004): vol. 18, issue1, pp. 1-22.

Archbishop Rowan Williams, "Weaknesses and Moral Inconsistency led us to War." *The Times*, March 25, 2003

US Conference of Catholic Bishops, "Statement on Iraq," November 2002

Media Suggestions:

Video, Standoff in the Irish Sea (found readily on You Tube)

Frontline documentary, *Bush's War, Part 1* (The documentary can be downloaded from Frontline's website along with various related video resources: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/bushswar/view/>)

Class 2. Humanitarian intervention

Required Reading:

Just and Unjust Wars: xi-xvi (3RD ed), 101-108

J.T. Johnson, "The Question of Intervention," in *Morality and Contemporary Warfare*: 71-118.

Supplemental Reading:

J. Bryan Hehir, "Religion, Realism, and Just Intervention," in *Liberty and Power: A Dialogue on Religion & U.S. Foreign Policy in an Unjust World* (Brookings 2004): 11-33.

D. Shriver, "An Ethic of Humanitarian Intervention: A Post-September 11 Perspective," in *Religion, Law and the Use of Force*, J.I. Coffey & Charles Mathewes, eds (Transnational 2002): 39-53.

S. Asfaw, G. Kerber, and P. Weidrud, eds, *The Responsibility to Protect: Ethical and Theological Reflections* (World Council of Churches, 2005)

Media suggestions:

Film: *Hotel Rwanda* (scene of foreigners leaving the hotel)

UNIT 6. Jus in Bello: Fighting Wars Justly

Class 1. Protecting civilians in war: supreme emergency

Required Reading:

James Turner Johnson, "From Moral Norm to Criminal Code," in Anthony Lang, Jr., Albert Pierce & Joel Rosenthal, eds, *Ethics and the Future of Conflict: Lessons from the 1990s* (Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004): 68-90.

Just and Unjust Wars: 251-268

John Ford, SJ, "The Morality of Obliteration Bombing," *Theological Studies* (1944) in Richard B. Miller, *War in the 20th Century* (1992): 138-177.

Supplemental Reading:

Conrad Crane, "Slouching Toward Kosovo: Matching Moral Expectations and Military Capabilities," in Anthony Lang, Jr., Albert Pierce & Joel Rosenthal, eds, *Ethics and the Future of Conflict: Lessons from the 1990s* (Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004): 151-162.

Media Suggestions:

Documentary footage of carpet bombing of British, Japanese, and German cities is readily available through YouTube and other web sources.

Video: Killing of Reuters reporters 2007 <http://www.pdnpulse.com/2010/04/leaked-military-video-shows-killing-of-...> (Wikileaks.org)

Class 2. Legitimate and illegitimate weapons: nuclear weapons

Required Reading:

Just and Unjust Wars: 269-283

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Challenge of Peace* (1983): 53-84

S. Hashmi, "Islamic Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction: An Argument for Nonproliferation," in *Ethics and Weapons of Mass Destruction: Religious and Secular Perspectives*, S. Hashmi and S. Lee, eds (Cambridge, 2004): 321-52.

Supplemental Reading:

Just and Unjust Wars: 251-283

B. Hehir, "Ethics and Strategy: The Views of Selected Strategists," in T. Whitmore, ed., *Ethics in the Nuclear Age* (1989): 12-32

G. Schultz et al, "A World Free of Nuclear Weapons," *Wall Street Journal*, Jan. 4, 2007

Int'l Court of Justice Advisory Opinion on nuclear weapons (1996): paras 85-105

"Target Committee, Los Alamos, May 10-11, 1945," pp. 1-5

UNIT 7. Between War and Peace

Class 1. Jus Post Bellum: Occupation and the Ethics of Exit

Required Reading:

"Introduction," in *Ethics and International Affairs* 23:2 (Summer 2009): 115-120

G. Bass, "Jus Post Bellum," in *Philosophy & Public Affairs*: 384-412

Presbyterian Church, USA, "To Repent, to Restore, to Rebuild, and to Reconcile: A Study Paper on Lessons Learned and Directions Toward Peace in Iraq: 1-23
(http://oga.pcusa.org/publications/iraq_on_building_peace.pdf)

Supplemental Reading:

T. Govier, "War's Aftermath: The Challenge of Reconciliation," in L. May, *War* (2008): 229-248

G. Powers, "Our Moral Duty in Iraq," *America* (Feb. 18, 2008): 13-16

B. Orend, "Justice after War," *Ethics and International Affairs*, April 2002 (16:1): 43-56

Transcript (or video) of Kroc/Fordham Conference (9/18/07, with Walzer, Hashmi, Powers), "Exit or No Exit" at <http://kroc.nd.edu/events/07fordhamevent.shtml>

Charles Kegley, Jr. & Gregory Raymond, "From Just War to Just Peace," in Anthony Lang, Jr., Albert Pierce & Joel Rosenthal, eds, *Ethics and the Future of Conflict: Lessons from the 1990s* (Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004): 48-67.

D. Philpott, "Reconciliation: An Ethic for Peacebuilding," in D. Philpott & G. Powers, eds, *Strategies of Peace* (Oxford, 2010): 91-118.

Class 2. An ethics of war and an ethics of peacebuilding

Required Reading:

David Little, "Peace, Justice, and Religion," in *What is Just Peace?* Allan and Keller, eds.

Daniel Philpott, "Reconciliation: An Ethic for Peacebuilding," *Strategies of Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Violent World* Daniel Philpot and Gerard F. Powers, eds. (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), pp. 91-118

Nigel Biggar, "Making Peace or Doing Justice: Must We Choose?" Rothberg and Thompson, eds.

Supplemental Reading:

G. Powers, "Catholic Peacebuilding: Moving Beyond Just War vs. Pacifism," *Prism* 20 (Winter 2008): 13-18.

UNIT 8. Theorizing About Religion and Peacebuilding

Class 1. The ambivalence of the sacred: Implications for the praxis of religious peacebuilding

Required Reading:

Scott Appleby, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred*

In Coward & Smith (eds.), *Religion and Peacebuilding*: Little and Appleby, "A Moment of Opportunity? The Promise of Religious Peacebuilding in an Era of Religious and Ethnic Conflict," 1-26.

In David Smock (ed), *Interfaith Dialogue and Peacebuilding*: Marc Gopin, "The Use of the Word and Its Limits: A Critical Reevaluation of Religious Dialogue as Peacemaking"; Jaco Cilliers, "Building Bridges for Interfaith Dialogue"

Mohammed Abu Nimer *Unity in Diversity* Chapter Two "Interfaith Dialogue: Basic Concepts and Approaches" & chapter 3: "Interfaith Dialogue and Peacebuilding in Israel and Palestine"

Gerard F. Powers, "Religion and Peacebuilding" in *Strategies of Peace: Transforming Conflict in a Violent World*

Supplemental Reading:

Craig Zelizer and Robert Rubin stein, eds. *Building Peace: Practical Reflections from the Field*, (Kumarian Press, 2009).

Qamar-ul Huda, ed. *Crescent and Dove: Peace and Conflict Resolution in Islam*, (Washington, D.C.: US Institute of Peace, 2010).

David Smock, "Religion in World Affairs: USIP Special Report",
<http://origin.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr201.pdf>

David Smock, ed. "Religious Contributions to Peacemaking: When Religion Brings Peace, Not War", USIP, 2006. <http://origin.usip.org/pubs/peaceworks/pw55.pdf>

Marc Gopin, *Between Eden and Armageddon: The Future of World Religion, Violence, and Peacebuilding*

Class 2. Women, Agency and Conflict Transformation

Required Reading:

Monique Skidmore and Patricia Lawrence, eds. *Women and the Contested State: Religion, Violence, and Agency in South and Southeast Asia*:

- Peter van der Veer, "Contesting Traditions: Religion and Violence in South Asia";
- Editors, "Resisting Terror: Women, Agency, and the Micropolitics of Sri Lankan Life"
- Patricia Lawrence, "The Watch of Tamil Women: Women's Acts in a Transitional Warscape";
- Alexandra Argenti-Pillen, "Mothers and Wives of the Disappeared in Southern Sri Lanka: Fragmented Geographies of Moral Discomfort"
- Mangalika de Silva, "The Other Body and the Body Politic: Contingency and Dissonance in Narratives of Violence"

Supplemental Reading:

Dorothy Smith, "Women's Perspective as a Radical Critique of Sociology" in Sharlene Nagy Hesse-Biber & Michele Vauser, eds. *Feminist Perspectives on Social Research*, (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004)

Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, "Women, Religion and Peace: Experience, Perspectives, and Policy Implications: An Interview Series",
<http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/projects/women-religion-and-peace.....>

Emiko Noma and Jennifer Freeman, "Grassroots Peacebuilding in the Nuba Mountains," *New Routes*, Vol. 15, Jan/2010

UNIT 9. Cases of Religious Peacebuilding

Class 1. Speaking and acting across cultural terrains

Required Reading:

Kevin Avruch, *Culture & Conflict Resolution* (selections)

John Paul Lederach, *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures*, (Syracuse University Press, 1995)

Supplemental Reading:

John Paul Lederach, *The Journey Toward Reconciliation* (selections)

Lisa Schirch, *Ritual and Symbol in Peacebuilding*:

- "Finding Ritual on a Map of Peacebuilding"
- "Forming and Transforming Identities"
- "Forming and Transforming Relationships"
- "Dancing in the Dragon's Jaws: Designing Peacebuilding Rituals"

Class 2. Global and Transnational Religious Peacebuilding

Religious Pluralism, Globalization, and World Politics, Thomas Banchoff, ed.:

- Scott Appleby, "Building Sustainable Peace: The Roles of Local and Transnational Religious Actors"
- Leslie Vinjamuri and Aaron P. Boesenecker, "Religious Actors and Transitional Justice"
- Katherine Marshall, "Religion and Global Development: Intersecting Paths"
- Thomas Michel, S.J., "Peaceful Movements in the Muslim World"
- Recommended: John O. Voll, "Trans-state Muslim Movements and Militant Extremists in an Era of Soft Power"

In R. Schreiter, C.P.P.S., S. Appleby, G. Powers, eds, *Catholic Peacebuilding: Theology, Ethics and Praxis* (Orbis, forthcoming 2010):

- John Paul Lederach, "The Long Journey Back to Humanity: Catholic Peacebuilding with Armed Actors"
- W. Headley & R. Neufeldt "Catholic Relief Services: Catholic Peacebuilding in Practice"
- Thomas Michel, "Catholic Approaches to Inter-religious Peacebuilding: Lessons from Indonesia's 'Sad Years'"

UNIT 10. Cases of Religious Peacebuilding

Class 1. Hermeneutics

From *Subverting Hatred: The Challenge of Nonviolence in Religious Traditions*, Daniel Smith-Christopher, ed.:

- Jeremy Milgrom, "Let Your Love for Me Vanquish your Hatred for Him"
- Christopher Queen, "The Peace Wheel: Nonviolent Activism in the Buddhist Tradition"
- Rabia Terri Harris, "Nonviolence in Islam: The Alternative Community Tradition"
- Donald Swearer "Reflections on Nonviolence and Religion"

From *Religion and Peacebuilding*, Coward & Smith, eds.:

- Eva Neumaier, "Missed Opportunities: Buddhism and the Ethnic Strife in Sri Lanka"
- Rajmohan Gandhi, "Hinduism and Peacebuilding," 45-68;
- Frederick M. Denny, "Islam and Peacebuilding: Continuities and Transitions"

Class 2. Praxis

From David Little (ed), *Peacemakers in Action*:

- Introduction
- Chapter 2: "Peasant Power: Jose Innocencio Alas"
- Chapter 4: "Would You Shoot Me, You Idiot?" Friar Ivo Markovic"
- Chapter 6: "The Elder: Ephraim Isaac"
- Chapter 7: "The Power of Ritual: The Rev. Dr. William Lowrey"
- Chapter 12: "Underground Woman: Sakena Yacoobi and the Afghan Institute of Learning"
- Conclusion: "Religion, Violent Conflict, and Peacemaking"

Supplemental Reading:

Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, "Peacebuilding Practitioners Interview Series,
<http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/projects/peacebuilding-practitioners-interview-series>

SUPPLEMENTAL UNITS

SUPPLEMENT FOR UNIT 1.

Class 1. Non-violence: Theory and Practice

Required Readings.

J. Childress, "Contemporary Pacifism," J. Langan, ed., *The American Search for Peace*: 109-131

Fahey & Armstrong, eds, *A Peace Reader*: 171-204 (passages from Gandhi, Erasmus, Fox, Hugo, Tolstoy, Niebuhr)

Supplemental Readings:

Ackerman and Duvall, *A Force More Powerful*: 1-9, 457-505 (lessons from cases)

John H. Yoder, *Nevertheless: The Varieties of Religious Pacifism* (Herald Press, 1971)

John Howard Yoder, *The Politics of Jesus*

Lisa Sowle Cahill, *Love Your Enemies: Discipleship, Pacifism, and Just War Theory* (major historical writings)

W. R. Miller, *Nonviolence: A Christian Interpretation* (Schocken Books, 1966)

Gene Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (Porter Sargent, 1973)

Media Suggestions:

PBS Documentary, "A Force More Powerful" (see, eg, the Danish resistance to Nazi occupation)

Class 2. Conscientious objection and selective conscientious objection

Required Reading:

C. Eberle, "God, War, and Conscience," *Journal of Religious Ethics* 35:3 (2007): 479-507

In Michael E. Noone, ed., *Selective Conscientious Objection* (1989), 7-23, 35-55, 89-106:

- K. Greenawalt, "Accommodation to Selective Conscientious Objection: How and Why"
- G. Flynn, "Selective Service and the Conscientious Objector"
- J. Langan, "The Good of Selective CO"

Carroll, *Behind the Lines*: 192-94

Supplemental Reading:

Fahey & Armstrong, eds, *A Peace Reader*: 205-212 (Muste)

National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *The Harvest of Justice is Sown in Peace* (1993): 7

Media Suggestions:

"Soldiers of Conscience" PBS documentary Oct. 16, 2008

SUPPLEMENT FOR UNIT 2. Applying the Just War Tradition

Class 1. Just war tradition and the right to self-defense: the Gulf War (1991)

Required Reading:

J. Childress, "Just War Criteria," in Thomas Shannon, ed., *War or Peace* (1980): 40-58

W.V. O'Brien, "Desert Storm: A Just War Analysis," *66 St. John's L. Rev.* 797-817 (1992)

Just and Unjust Wars: Preface to SECOND edition, xi-xvii, xxii-xxiii

Wikipedia article on "Gulf War" and related articles on "Origins" and "Diplomacy and Operation Desert Storm" at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Gulf_War

Supplemental Readings:

Kenneth L. Vaux, *Ethics and the Gulf War: Religion, Rhetoric, and Righteousness* (Westview Press, 1992)

A. Geyer and B. Green, *Lines in the Sand: Justice and the Gulf War* (Westminister/ John Knox, 1992): 17-135.

G. Powers, "The Catholic Bishops and the Gulf War," *Theology and Public Policy* (Fall 1992)

Archbishop John Roach, "Debate on the Persian Gulf," in *Origins*, December 20, 2000, pp. 457-460

Class 2. Terrorism

Required Reading:

J. Kelsay, *Arguing the Just War in Islam*, chapter 6 (Harvard, 2007): 198-226.

Clinton Bennett, "War and Peace in Islam: The Traditional View," in Bennett, *Muslims and Modernity* (Continuum, 2005): 198-239.

Jean Bethke Elasthan, "Terrorism," in Charles Reed & David Ryall, eds, *The Price of Peace: Just War in the Twenty-First Century* (Cambridge 2007): 118-135.

Supplemental Readings:

Martha Crenshaw, "Responding to Terrorism: Ethical Implications," in Anthony Lang, Jr., Albert Pierce & Joel Rosenthal, eds, *Ethics and the Future of Conflict: Lessons from the 1990s* (Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004): 32-47.

Michael Walzer, "Five Questions about Terrorism," in Walzer, *Arguing About War* (Yale 2004): 130-142

SUPPLEMENT FOR UNIT 3. The Possibilities

Class 1: Religion, Nationalism and Self-determination

Required Reading:

A. Buchanan, "Secession, state breakdown, and humanitarian intervention," in *Ethics and Foreign Intervention* (2003): 189-211

Supplemental Reading:

G. Powers, "Testing the Moral Limits of Self-Determination: Northern Ireland and Croatia," *Fletcher Forum*, Summer 1992, at 29-49

Class 2. Religion, peace processes, and cycles of conflict [2]

Required reading:

Uvin, Peter, Cohen, Sarah: 2006 "Building Civil Society in Post-Conflict Environments; From the Micro to the Macro", <http://www.wilsoncenter.org/topics/pubs/OCpaper.pdf>

Shapiro, I., "Theories of Change in Conflict Interventions". In Fitzduff, M. & Stout, C. *Psychological Approaches to War, Conflict Resolution and Peace* (Praeger Press, 2006).

Marc Gopin, "Religion, Violence and Conflict Resolution", *Peace & Change* Vol.22, Issue 1, pp.1-31, 2002

Supplemental Reading:

United States Institute of Peace: religion and peacemaking Site.
<http://www.usip.org/religionpeace/index.html>

Peacemakers Trust: Religion, Conflict Resolution and Peace Building
<http://www.peacemakers.ca/research/Religion/>

Peace building Institute. Religion and Peacebuilding:
http://www.peacebuildinginitiative.org/index.cfm?pageId=1781_USIP

Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operation, <http://www.usip.org/peaceops/index.html>

Berkeley Center for Religion, Peace and World Affairs: Case Studies on Religion and Conflict.
<http://berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/projects/case-studies-on-religion-and-conflict>

SUPPLEMENT FOR UNIT 4. Religion, Conflict and the Use of Force**Class 1. Religion and Conflict: Comparative Analysis & Case Studies****Required Reading:**

David Little, "Belief, Ethnicity, and Nationalism," *Nationalism and Ethnic Politics* 1,2 (March, April 1995)[3]

David Little & Donald Swearer, *Religion and Nationalism in Iraq: A Comparative Perspective* (Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press, 2007)

Supplemental Reading:

Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, "Bosnia: Ethno-Religious Nationalisms in Conflict"
<http://repository.berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/BosniaConflictCaseStudy.pdf>

Berkley Center for Religion, Peace & World Affairs, "Kashmir: Religious Diversity Becomes Religious Militancy <http://repository.berkeleycenter.georgetown.edu/KashmirConflictCaseStudy.pdf>

Francis Deng, *War of Visions: Conflict of Identity in the Sudan*, (Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1995)

Stanley Jeyaraja Tambiah, *Buddhism Betrayed? Religion, Politics, and Violence in Sri Lanka*, (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992)

SUPPLEMENT FOR UNIT 10.

Class 2: Case Study Israel/Palestine

Jean Zaru, *Occupied with Nonviolence: A Palestinian Woman Speaks*

Yehezkel Landau, "Healing the Holy Land: Interreligious Peacebuilding in Israel/Palestine", (Washington, D.C.: US Institute of Peace, 2003)

Marc Gopin, *Holy War, Holy Peace: How Religion can Bring Peace to the Middle East*

Atalia Omer, "Religion versus Peace: A False Dichotomy", *Studies in Ethnicity and Nationalism*(April 2008).

ASSIGNMENTS

15% Class participation and attendance: The success of this seminar depends on active, respectful, and informed class participation by all of us. In order to facilitate discussion, you will be asked, periodically, to prepare and hand in one- or two-paragraph responses to questions handed out prior to class. These responses will not be graded, but they will, among other things, allow those of you who are more reticent about speaking in class to demonstrate that you have reflected on the readings.

35% Case Study Research Project. 15 page research paper on a topic of your choice (with approval of professor)

Working with 1 or 2 other students, analyze a case or an issue pertaining to war and peace that shows how a particular religious tradition brings together its ideals (theology, ethics, spirituality), its institutional capacity, and its ability to mobilize people to manage conflict and promote peace. As a *research project*, your paper should reflect a close reading of the required readings for the class AND at least ten other books or *academic* articles, and it should conform to *standard footnoting and bibliographical styles used in your discipline*. In order to enhance the educational value of this project, I encourage students to consider choosing their topic in consultation with organizations in Washington, New York or elsewhere who could benefit from a well-researched and well-written paper on a particular topic.

25% 2 Short Papers *Maximum* 3 pages double-spaced

Paper #1: Write a Statement for a religious leader on the morality of unilateral U.S. military intervention against the Lord's Resistance Army, which has been terrorizing civilians in Uganda, Sudan, and Congo

Paper #2: Write a paper exploring how theoretical conversations concerning the limitations of the categories of the 'religious' and the 'secular' challenge your own research project.

25% Class Presentations with Handouts:

NewsHour Interview. Two students at a time will participate in a televised panel discussion/ debate that addresses issues related to the required readings for a particular class (see handout). The panel discussion will be filmed for your benefit. It will follow a News Hour format, with the professor as interviewer/

moderator. To help you prepare for this interview, please do talking points of *no more than 1-page single-spaced*. You will be graded on both the presentation and the talking points.

Class Presentation. Two students at a time will be responsible for working together to start the discussion for one class in the second half of the semester. That will entail a 10-15-minute presentation on one or two key issues raised by that day's readings. You might want to critique one of the main points of an author's arguments or propose an approach to the topic of that day not found in that day's readings - but, if you choose to do the latter, you must refer to the readings and explain why they are lacking. Your presentation should NOT JUST SUMMARIZE THE READINGS, but should stimulate a vigorous discussion in class by raising the most interesting/ controversial aspects of the readings. Feel free to draw on the supplemental readings, as well as the required readings. In addition to your oral presentation, please send the class Talking Points of *no more than 1-page single spaced*.

Ungraded

In-Class Simulation (for end of first half of semester): As a way to pull together disparate themes of the course, one class could be devoted to an in-class simulation of an inter-religious dialogue on Shell's Little War, a hypothetical case of civil war over oil in Nigeria. Groups of 2-4 students each represent a particular religious tradition. Given their ethical approach to the use of force and their understanding of the faith-based peacebuilding assets at their disposal, how would they contribute to the dialogue?

[1] There are important and interesting thematic overlaps here with Scott Hibbard's modules "Religion, the State and Governance in the 21st Century", especially the "Theory" section.

[2] Here there are important overlaps with Mari Fitzduff's modules. See "Religion and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding Syllabus"

[3] This article is also assigned for an alternate class in Unit 2