

Item	Resource
1	<p>Hi Everyone</p> <p>I also wanted to let you all know about a project that Georgetown has been doing with the United States Institute of Peace, called Peace Media (http://peacemedia.usip.org)</p> <p>The site still is in beta mode, but you may find the site useful for identifying films and multi-media materials. A brief description is included below</p> <p>Georgetown University's Conflict Resolution Program and USIP have created an online database of multimedia resources related to conflict management, as well as best practices for designing and using them. The resources include films, radio and TV programs, video games, music, and more. Many of these materials are accompanied by teaching guides that help educators and conflict management practitioners facilitate discussion or community action.</p> <p>The goal of this clearinghouse is to provide a central site where individuals and organizations working in the conflict management field can access materials that support conflict analysis and prevention, conflict resolution, and post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation. At the same time, the site will encourage development of the field itself by distilling best practices for creating and using multimedia in support of conflict management activities. The clearinghouse will also feature a discussion forum to support direct interaction among members of the field.</p>
2	<p>Planting Peace</p> <p>http://organicconsumers.org/plantingpeace/index.cfm</p> <p>"A Resource Center for news and activities that seek to build a powerful coalition to bring about cooperation and synergy between the peace movement, the climate crisis movement, and the organic community."</p> <p>Extensive links to organizations, articles, videos and books that make the connections. Highly recommended -- as are many of the other emphases and resources on the Organic Consumers Association site:</p> <p>Organic Consumers Association</p> <p>http://organicconsumers.org/</p>
3	<p>Please also check out the Univ. of Maryland's outstanding series, "Beyond the Classroom: Critical Conversations on Civic Engagement and Social Change", featuring films about organizing for democracy, economic justice, human rights and peace. I will forward their spring series to you. ' So glad to see your "Top 10 Favorites" list of community organizing films. Thanks for sharing what you've learned with Peace & Justice Studies Association (PJSA) listserve. Barbara J. Wien</p>
4	<p>Here is one more excellent documentary by Naomi Klein about factory workers in Argentina organizing and taking over closed factories after their economic collapse:</p> <p>The Take - http://www.thetake.org/</p> <p>The website also includes news from similar movements around the world.</p>
5	<p>http://www.afmpgame.com/</p>

Con
 "If
 to p

A FORCE MORE POWERFUL

Can a computer game teach how to fight real-world adversaries—dictators, military occupiers and corrupt rulers, using methods that have succeeded in actual conflicts—not with laser rays or AK47s, but with non-military strategies and nonviolent weapons? Such a game, **A Force More Powerful (AFMP)**, is now available. A unique collaboration of experts on nonviolent conflict working with veteran game designers has developed a simulation game that teaches the strategy of nonviolent conflict. A dozen scenarios, inspired by recent history, include conflicts against dictators, occupiers, colonizers and corrupt regimes, as well as struggles to secure the political and human rights of ethnic and racial minorities and women.

A Force More Powerful is the first and only game to teach the waging of conflict using nonviolent methods. Destined for use by activists and leaders of nonviolent resistance and opposition movements, the game will also educate the media and general public on the potential of nonviolent action and serve as a simulation tool for academic studies of nonviolent resistance.

6 I'm writing to let you know about a new brochure that Psychologists for Social Responsibility (PsySR) has just completed. Entitled "**Psychology for Social Change: Strategies That Work**", this brief brochure provides important examples of the crucial role that psychological knowledge and best practices can play in addressing today's urgent social and environmental challenges. It's intended for a broad audience, including policymakers, activists, educators, students, news media, and the general public.

A free downloadable PDF version of the full-color brochure (8.5" by 14", double-parallel fold) is now available on the PsySR website at www.psysr.org/brochure. The same webpage also provides information about how to order printed copies. I hope you'll take a look and please share the link with your friends and colleagues. Thanks!

Roy J. Eidelson, Ph.D.
President-Elect, Psychologists for Social Responsibility

7 Could you live like this?

<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article15693.htm>

<http://www.informationclearinghouse.info/article20155.htm>

Barbara J. Wien

8 Dear colleagues,

I'm happy to announce that the Global Education Guidelines, a handbook for Educators to understand and implement Global Education, a project of North-South Centre, is now available on-line:

http://www.coe.int/t/dg4/nscentre/GEguideline_presentation_en.asp

The Global Education guidelines is meant to be a pedagogical tool to support educators from formal and non-formal systems to understand and

	<p>put into practice global education activities in their respective contexts.</p> <p>By presenting global education philosophy and content, related methodology and evaluation issues and by sharing existing practice, tools, resources and bibliography, the guidelines aims at strengthening global education fundamentals and practices.</p> <p>The guidelines is built up on achievements in global education (GE) led by the NSC GE programme such as:</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - the GE networking process for the improvement of GE in CoE member states initiated through the Global Education Week (GEW) network; -the delivery of two core GE referential documents : the GE charter (1997) and the Maastricht Declaration-Global Education in Europe to 2015, Strategy, Policies and Perspectives (2002). <p>The Global Education Guidelines complements existing NSC global education pedagogical existing tools (GEW website, newsletter, publications) offering education practitioners a systemic approach about the understanding and practice of global education.</p> <p>Georgeta-Paula MIHAI, co-autor Romania http://www.nscentre.org/</p>
9	<p>We have put Colman McCarthy's "Class of Nonviolence" online, with his blessing:</p> <p>www.salsa.net/peace/conv</p> <p>The 48 essays are free to download and use. Free is good :)</p> <p>It might be prudent, as others have suggested, to start where the students are, with Christian Nonviolence, in this particular study with MLK and Dorothy Day. You might find though that Roman Catholic theorists and practitioners are dismissed in the conservative, fundamentalist south as being as alien as Hindus.</p> <p>You will see that we are also in the process of putting an additional 44 essays online (I'm about halfway through) -- Thomas Merton might also resonate.</p> <p>Susan Ives, San Antonio peaceCENTER</p> <p>www.salsa.net/peace</p>
10	<p>I've mentioned previously that the San Antonio peaceCENTER, with his blessing, put Colman McCarthy's "Class of Nonviolence" online, www.salsa.net/peace/conv. I also wrote a facilitator's manual that includes a lot of collateral material that can enhance the read-reflect-discuss format of Colman's class (he wrote the intro.)</p>

	<p>My book came out almost two years ago and since then so have many new resources -- and there are some that have been around for awhile that I didn't know about at the time. We've come up with some new exercises and handouts, too.</p> <p>So, today I started a blog to highlight resources for teaching peace to adults and young adults. It's at www.classofnonviolence.blogspot.com. To get it started I posted five entries but don't expect that every day :) Maybe one or two a week.</p> <p>I invite other peace educators to add their own resources via the "comments" feature on the blog. If you have handouts you can e-mail them to me and I can put them on the peaceCENTER Web site so others can download them. I use a lot of video but feel free to submit books, web sites -- whatever you use. You can use the entries I have posted to determine the level of detail that is useful.</p> <p>This list has been so useful to us in our work!</p> <p>Susan Ives, San Antonio peaceCENTER</p>
11	<p>Any serious reading of the Gospels specifically and the New Testament generally leads one to the conclusion that nonviolence is a Christian essential. There are so many good books on this (which, in effect help the reader to read the New Testament seriously). Perhaps best is John Howard Yoder's, <i>The Politics of Jesus</i>.</p> <p>Grace and peace, Michael</p> <p>Michael Minch, PhD. Associate Professor, Philosophy Director, Peace and Justice Studies Utah Valley University</p>
12	<p>I am in the process of reading a book called <i>Jesus and Gandhi: The Saving Power of Nonviolence</i>. This book aligns Gandhi's teaching with the Sermon on the Mount. It speaks to "living in the fullness of Christ" rather than focusing on right and wrong. I, too, am in the Bible belt and deal with nominal Christians who are focused on retributive justice as opposed to restorative. I have been able to show some of my students that Gandhi was more Christian in his behavior than most Western, Constantinian Christians. The most important tool for me is to avoid judging my students for judging.</p> <p>By the way, I loved your description of your community. The only difference between your community and mine is that I'm in the midwest rather than south. The rest remains true. In the community college where I teach, one of the largest programs is the auto body program. One out of four vehicles in the parking lot is a pick-up, often with rifles in the back. Ain't it fun? I can have a very real sense of humor about it and I love the big lunks.</p> <p>"When the power of love overcomes the love of power, the world will know peace."</p>

	<p>Sandy Krell-Andre Southeastern Community College West Burlington, IA</p>
13	<p>I raised concerns about USIP because of the intellectual content and conceptualization they promote, and their lack of openness and diversity. Their definitions of peace and terms of debate are highly circumscribed, yet they are insinuating themselves into more and more academic programs.</p> <p>Absent from their literature is any examination of militarism and disarmament, the role arm sales play in the conduct of U.S. foreign policy, and the concept of human security over national security. There is no discussion about the militarization of our economy. Could they not produce a single report that shows what economic conversion of military industries and a massive shift of federal spending could mean for peace in terms of education, health care, quality of life for the poor, industrial policy, increased trade, jobs, environmental protection, renewable energy and more? Isn't that what we lobbied Congress to create in 1986? What do they do with the \$100 million Congress awarded them in 2002, 2003, etc.? Imagine what the peace movement could have achieve with those funds.</p> <p>There seems to be no acknowledgement by USIP that peace educators have been developing a systematic body of knowledge for over sixty years that calls into question the inevitability of war and posits nonviolent methods of defense. In fact, senior staff were most disparaging of peace studies when I worked there from 1997 to 2002, seeing it as merely an outgrowth of current political activism.</p> <p>What USIP promotes as peace studies can be more accurately called security studies or <i>realpolitik</i>. A case in point is a workshop at a community college where USIP recently recommended that students learn contracting with the Department of Homeland Security as a sure career path. Theirs is a technocratic response to conflict and negotiation.</p> <p>On questions of openness and fairness - - I saw Palestinians negotiators shouted down and drowned out by Samuel Lewis (former USIP President, very hawkish, ex-U.S. Ambassador to Israel) at a USIP public forum when they tried to present the reasons they couldn't sign Oslo II. The International Fellows program has had so few Arabs over the last 20 years that I can count them on one hand (and perhaps not a single Palestinian, but many Israelis). Grantees have also been urged to remove key Muslim scholars from their proposals as a condition of getting funding, although those scholars represent the most moderate voices in Islamic circles. This kind of pressure was the result of the Patriot Act and most pronounced in the period following 9/11. The academics I know withdrew their request for funding rather than submit to censorship.</p> <p>I was terminated from USIP for repeatedly presenting pacifist positions over the course of five years and for trying to spark dialogue among the staff about alternative policy proposals (although the First Amendment rights of federal employees are supposed to be protected). Some of the people who sought to terminate me are gone. Some are still in high places. You can read about it in Amy Goodman's book <u>Exceptions to the Rulers</u> and in the <u>Progressive</u> magazine.</p> <p>Thank you, Joseph Gerson, for reminding all of us that USIP developed and presented an early strategy for occupying Iraq. Spoken with true Quaker simplicity.</p> <p>Gordie, I am all over Barney Frank's proposal now. Thank for lighting a fire under that idea! YOU ROCK.</p> <p>Barbara J. Wien</p>
14	<p>Barney Frank's proposal to reduce defense spending by 25%</p>

	<p>Here's the best piece I've seen so far on the topic: http://www.thenation.com/doc/20090302/frank</p> <p>Gordie</p>
15	<p>Dear colleagues,</p> <p>I am truly AMAZED at how many postings have surfaced these past days in regards to USIP. That alone leads me to ponder the root source of such rich dialogue. This last string regarding "strict adherence" to nonviolent principles has finally caused me to weigh in this addition:</p> <p>One thing the U.S. left and progressive movement has always been weak about is the issue of WITH WHOM to build strategic alliances. For pacifists and followers of Gandhi, the question can be more complicated, because in addition to the principles of progressive action one must now also consider the question of violence used by our potential allies. The thing that gets me about the predominately white, often Eurocentric peace movement groups (who struggle to cite Gandhi and King but can't find contemporary people of color with whom to take leadership from or even to work with) is that we seem ever-ready to bend our principles just a little when it comes to building alliances with well-funded, mainstream (often also predominantly white) groups whose hands may be more than dirty with the violence of structural inequality and empire. We are much faster to criticize, and much slower to work with, oppressed peoples who are struggling against the dominant paradigms of our time who may occasionally use armed tactics in their struggles for freedom. With that latter group, we are much more likely to maintain our "moral" high ground and withhold support. I would suggest that there is nothing moral about this at all, and would argue that the dichotomy that made the difference-strategic, tactical, and otherwise-for Gandhi, King, and others, was NOT between strict adherence to nonviolence and violence, but rather between the oppressed and the oppressor (never forgetting that we all have the capacity to be both-but that material conditions do separate people into those groups at any given historical moment).</p> <p>As far as the elephant in the room, as Joanie and Barry have questioned, I'll try to give a tiny bit of background without naming names. Once upon a time, one of the leaders of COPRED and PJSA worked very directly with USIP. This person, by all accounts and without controversy, was one of their best trainers, most sought after spokespeople, and generally a great boost to USIP's work. A time came, however, when-as US militarism in the Middle East increased-an untenable position occurred. In all good conscience, this person could not remain gagged regarding a critique of US bombings, yet-tied directly as it is to US government agencies-the USIP could not allow this person to speak out. So the person was fired. It wasn't and isn't about some bad feelings or bad blood that can be resolved through mediation and the singing of Kumbaya. It was and is a matter of policy. That said, there is no way that the statement "the USIP has an important role in the peace movement but with obvious limitations" can be accepted if we are thinking critically and acting with principle.</p> <p>Let me be clear: I am a pragmatic supporter of revolutionary nonviolence, proudly standing in the tradition of Dellinger, Deming, Gene Sharp, and many others. That pragmatism allows me to support comrades who choose to take jobs with USIP, understanding the limitations and recognizing that at some point one might have to face silencing or an end to one's job. I support groups and individuals who benefit financially from grants from USIP, because-after all-money is money and we live and work in capitalist America, and we need to fund our work as best we can. There are areas of our work where USIP's objectives and our own occasionally overlap. But I would never think of USIP as an organization that has any role in building the MOVEMENT for lasting peace with justice that will require a fundamental restructuring of class, race, national, and gendered inequalities that USIP is structurally committed to upholding. That movement, that glorious and beloved community, may be a long way away . . . and many organizations and institutions may go through many transformations between now and then. But, especially in the age of Obama, we must be crystal clear about the nature of those we build short-term, pragmatic and occasional alliances with. We must take off the rose colored glasses which often makes our collective thinking fuzzy-headed. We must better understand the subtleties of short term and long term, of strategic and principled, alliance building.</p> <p>Forward Ever, Matt Meyer</p>

PJSA founding Chair

16

Dear Peace and Justice Friends,

I have found this thread around the USIP surprising . . .

As a new member, it is interesting to observe that there appears to be some history between USIP and PJSA that I do not fully understand. However, what I do know is that David Smith, Senior Program Officer at USIP came to our Community College here in NH and provided the “institutional heft” that I needed to get the support and attention from our College President and faculty for our new Peace and Justice Studies Program. In his capacity as a consultant, he provided information about a variety of PJS community college programs around the country. He highlighted their differences and how they reflected the communities they served. Because of his visit and recommendations, I was able to move forward with our program. It is currently the only PJS program at a community college in NH.

I attended my first PJSA Conference in 2008 and was given the opportunity to invite PJSA members to publically support the US Department of Peace and Nonviolence bill HR 808. The support was not there - there appeared to be concerns over how the DoP might be staffed, organized and implemented. I believe we need a DoP so we too, can have “institutional heft.” Any time you have any kind of institution you run the risk of misguided leadership. It is up to the citizens to become active and stay engaged in the process.

I believe we need to work for peace within the government institutions as well as at the grassroots level. Peace being such a complex topic needs a multifaceted approach; I don’t think we can afford to alienate any of the players within the peace community. I look forward to working with you all!

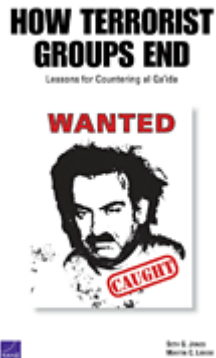
Join me at the DoP conference in March! www.ThePeaceAlliance.org

Thanks for listening.
Barbara Thorngren

17

How Terrorist Groups End

Lessons for Countering al Qa'ida



By: Seth G. Jones, Martin C. Libicki, [Rand Corporation Research Report](#)

All terrorist groups eventually end. But how do they end? The evidence since 1968 indicates that most groups have ended because (1) they joined the political process (43 percent) or (2) local police and intelligence agencies arrested or killed key members (40 percent). Military force has rarely been the primary reason for the end of terrorist groups, and few groups within this time frame have achieved victory. This has significant implications for dealing with al Qaeda and suggests fundamentally rethinking post-9/11 U.S. counterterrorism strategy: Policymakers need to understand where to prioritize their efforts with limited resources and attention. The authors report that religious terrorist groups take longer to eliminate than other groups and rarely achieve their objectives. The largest groups achieve their goals more often and last longer than the smallest ones do. Finally, groups from upper-income countries are more likely to be left-wing or nationalist and less likely to have religion as their motivation. The authors conclude that policing and intelligence, rather than military force, should form the backbone of U.S. efforts against al Qaeda. And U.S. policymakers should end the use of the phrase "war on terrorism" since there is no battlefield solution to defeating al Qaeda.

See Also:

[News Release](#) [Research Brief](#) [Congressional Briefing](#)

18

One of the founders of peace studies, Prof. Johan Galtung is publishing a series of textbooks for peace studies education. They can be ordered through internet, at Transcend University Press. Information below:

(www.transcend.org/tup):

Book 1: "50 Years: 100 Peace and Conflict Perspectives" by Johan Galtung.

Peace proposals for 100 conflicts that he has mediated worldwide, some of which he helped resolve. This book marked the 50 years since he founded Peace Studies as an academic discipline back in 1958.

Book 2: "Democracy ? Peace ? Development" by Johan Galtung and Paul D.

Scott. Extends the concept of democracy to the work place, the school and the family, with ten case studies.

Book 3: "50 Years: 25 Intellectual Landscapes Explored" by Johan Galtung.

Gives an overview of the strengths and weaknesses of 25 social sciences, indicating what is still missing.

Book 4: "Globalizing God: Religion, Spirituality and Peace" by Johan Galtung and Graeme MacQueen. Draws together the best ideas from the major world religions.

Tables of content and sample chapters of books published by the TRANSCEND University Press (TUP) are available at www.transcend.org/tup where they can also be ordered online.

TUP's goal is to become a leading publisher of advanced peace literature.

	<p>The next six books to be published in 2009 are:</p> <p>Book 5: "The Fall of the US Empire ? And Then What?" by Johan Galtung</p> <p>Book 6: "Peace Business: Humans and Nature Above Markets and Capital" by Jack Santa Barbara, Fred Dubee and Johan Galtung</p> <p>Book 7: "A Theory of Conflict" by Johan Galtung</p> <p>Book 8: "A Theory of Development" by Johan Galtung</p> <p>Book 9: "A Theory of Civilizations" by Johan Galtung</p> <p>Book 10: "A Theory of Peace" by Johan Galtung</p> <p>For any questions please write to Antonio Rosa at tup@transcend.org.</p>
19	<p>Every now and then the Congressional Research Service publishes a report that directly implicates our interests in peace, social justice, and non-violence. I share the following CRS report because it has important implications for policy, scholarship, and activism. The material will be very useful for teaching and for research. I think you will agree. If you can, please give it a careful read. It is a powerful statement on who we are as a nation and what we wish to become.</p> <p>"Instances of Use of United States Armed Forces Abroad, 1798-2008" http://www.fas.org/sgp/crs/natsec/RL32170.pdf</p> <p>Anthony J. Marsella, Ph.D. Past President, Psychologists for Social Responsibility 2007-2008 Join PsySR today. www.psysr.org</p>
20	<p>Interesting, thoughtful video from the Global Oneness Project - hopeful, perhaps unrealistic?</p> <p>What Would It Look Like?</p> <p>24 minutes long</p> <p>http://www.globalonenessproject.org/videos/whatwoulditlooklike</p>
21	<p>This is an invitation to form part of the Nonkilling Psychology Research Committee at the Center for Global Nonkilling (CGNK). The Center is a nonprofit organization focused on research, education and action projects aimed at promoting change toward the measurable goal of a killing-free world. The Center draws from over 15 years of experience of its predecessor, the Center for Global Nonviolence and appeal by the World Health Organization (Violence and Health Report, 2002) and the Nobel Peace Laureates' Charter for a World without Violence.</p> <p>Nonkilling Research Committees on various areas of knowledge are being established as consultative bodies to promote the advancement of interdisciplinary scientific evidence on the possibilities of nonkilling societies. These Committees will provide creative input on research agendas, academic events, courses and publications. Your actual involvement as a member is flexible, ranging from simply supporting the idea</p>

	<p>with your name to actively participating in the development of publications and events. As an example, in 2010 the Center will publish a collective volume on “Nonkilling Psychology”, as part of the Committees specific projects. We would also like to invite you to consider the possibility of contributing toward this publication.</p> <p>You are also welcome to suggest names of other scholars that you consider could have interest in this initiative.</p> <p>For further details on the Center and nonkilling, please take time to visit the following websites (still partially under construction):</p> <p>Center for Global Nonkilling: http://www.nonkilling.org School of Nonkilling Studies: http://en.wikiversity.org/wiki/School:Nonkilling_studies Global Nonkilling Channel at YouTube: http://www.youtube.com/globalnonkilling</p> <p>Yours sincerely,</p> <p>Joám Evans Pim Communication, Global Team Leader Center for Global Nonkilling (CGNK) P.O. Box 12232, Honolulu, Hawai'i 96828 http://www.nonkilling.org</p>
22	<p>The International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution (ICCCR) is an innovative center committed to developing knowledge and practice to promote constructive conflict resolution, effective cooperation, and social justice. We partner with individuals, groups, organizations, and communities to learn to resolve conflicts constructively so they may develop just and peaceful relationships. We work with sensitivity to cultural differences and emphasize the links between theory, research, and practice.</p> <p>http://www.tc.edu/icccr/</p> <p>International Center for Cooperation and Conflict Resolution Teachers College, Columbia University Box 53, 525 W 120th Street New York, New York 10027-6696 Location: I.C.C.C.R., Box 53, Teachers College, Columbia University, New York, NY 10027 Phone: (212) 678-3402 Email: ICCCRDB@tc.edu Coordinator: Juliette De Wolfe</p>
23	<p style="text-align: center;"><u>LITERATURE RELATED TO PEACE AND THE ENVIRONMENT</u></p> <p style="text-align: center;">Compiled by Paul Stock paul.stock@colostate.edu</p>

GENERAL REFERENCES

Boulding, Elise. 2000. *Cultures of Peace: The Hidden Side of History*. Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press.

Boulding, Elise. 2005. "Peace Culture: The Vision and the Journey." *Friends Journal* : 16-8.

Earth Charter <http://www.earthcharterinaction.org/content/>

Earth Democracy by Vandana Shiva

Hawken, Paul. 2007. *Blessed Unrest*. New York: Viking.

Great Peacemakers (www.GreatPeacemakers.com)

The book is organized into five sections, or paths to peace, one of which is "Caring for the Planet." This path includes profiles of Rachel Carson, Dr. David Suzuki, Dr. Wangari Maathai, and Iranian-American architect Nader Khalili. Their profiles address issues such as insecticide use, global warming, deforestation, sustainable building, etc. and explore the relationship between the environment and peace.

Berghof Handbook Dialogue No. 7: Peacebuilding at a Crossroads? Dilemmas and Paths for Another Generation. Edited by Beatrix Schmelzle and Martina Fischer. Berlin: Berghof Research Center, 2009.

Available at: http://www.berghof-handbook.netstd_page.php?LANG=e&id=253&parent=5

THE ENVIRONMENT AND A BETTER WORLD (not explicitly in language of peace)

Hartmann, Thomas, *The Last Hours of Ancient Sunlight*.

Quinn, Daniel, *ISHMAEL*.

AGRICULTURE, FOOD AND PEACE

Fox, Michael Allen. "The Contribution of Vegetarianism to Ecosystem Health." *Ecosystem Health*, 5 (1999): 70-74.

Planting Peace

<http://organicconsumers.org/plantingpeace/index.cfm>

"A Resource Center for news and activities that seek to build a powerful coalition to bring about cooperation and synergy between the peace movement, the climate crisis movement, and the organic community." Includes extensive links to organizations, articles, videos and books that make the connections.

WAR, VIOLENCE and ENVIRONMENT

Austin, Jay and Carl E. Bruch, eds. 2000. *The Environmental Consequences of War: Legal, Economic and Scientific Perspectives*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bertell, Rosalie. 2000. *Planet Earth: The Latest Weapon of War*. London, UK: The Women's Press.

Brenes, Abelardo, and Deborah Du Nann Winter. 2001. "Earthly Dimensions of Peace: The Earth Charter." *Peace and Conflict* 7(2) Retrieved February 10, 2009

- Conca, Ken and Geoffrey Dabelko. 2002. *Environmental Peacemaking*. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Fox, Michael Allen. "Nuclear Weapons and the Ultimate Environmental Crisis." *Environmental Ethics*, 9 (1987): 159-179.
- Hagmann, Tobias. 2005. "Confronting the Concept of Environmentally Induced Conflict." *Peace, Conflict and Development* (6).
- Lanier-Graham, Susan D. 1993. *The Ecology of War: Environmental Impacts of Weaponry and Warfare*. New York: Walker & Company.
- Matthew, Richard A. and Ted Gaulin. 2002. "The Ecology of Peace." *Peace Review* 14(1): 33-9.
- Renner, Michael and Zoë Chafe. 2007. *Beyond Disasters: Creating Opportunities for Peace*. Washington, DC: Worldwatch Institute.
- Stockholm International Peace Research Institute. 1980. *Warfare in a Fragile World: Military Impact on the Human Environment*. London, UK: Taylor and Francis.
- Suliman, Mohammed (ed.). 1999. *Ecology, Politics and Warfare*. London, UK: Zed Books.
- Weisman, Alan. 2007. *The World Without Us*. New York: Macmillan.
- Westing, Arthur H. 1985. *Explosive Remnants of War: Mitigating the Environmental Effects*. London, UK: Taylor and Francis.
- Woods, Mark. 2007. "The Nature of War and Peace: Just War Thinking, Environmental Ethics, and Environmental Justice." In *Rethinking the Just War Tradition*. Michael W. Brough et al, eds. Albany, NY: State University of New York Press. 17-34.

RELIGION, ENVIRONMENTALISM AND PEACE

- Fox, Michael Allen. "Gandhi and the World Environmental Crisis." *The Acorn: Journal of the Gandhi-King Society*, 16/1 (Fall/Winter 2006-07): 5-11.
- Gottlieb, Roger S., ed. 2003. "Part VIII: This Sacred Earth: Religion and Environmentalism." In *Liberating Faith: Religious Voices for Justice, Peace and Ecological Wisdom*. Lanham, MD: Rowland & Littlefield Publishers.
- Liechty, Joseph C. 2008. "Religion and the Environmental Crisis." *Journal of Religion, Conflict and Peace*.
http://www.plowsharesproject.org/journal/php/editor.php?issu_list_id=11&editor_list_id=8

CURRICULUM

www.facingthefuture.org

VIDEOS

Michael Klare's *Blood and Oil*
The 11th Hour
An Inconvenient Truth

	<p>Contact Joseph Schor (schrojh@email.uc.edu) for the following (lit review, focusing on the use of film in making the necessary connection. The references are very good.):</p> <p>Reckman, Brent. <i>The Use of An Inconvenient Truth as a Pedagogical Tool for Teaching Peace through Environmental Justice in the 21st Century</i>. Unpublished.</p> <p>Reckman, Brent, Joseph Schroer and Larry Gache. <i>Environmental peace: The use of film as a pedagogical tool for peace with specific consideration toward An Inconvenient Truth</i>.</p>
24	<p>FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE</p> <p>AFSC NOMINATES GENE SHARP FOR 2009 NOBEL PEACE PRIZE</p> <p>Philadelphia, February 3. The American Friends Service Committee (AFSC), a Quaker peace and social justice organization, has nominated Gene Sharp for the 2009 Nobel Peace Prize in recognition of his lifelong work of studying and promoting the power of nonviolent action to resist oppression and aggression. Countless democratic opposition movements worldwide have used his findings to improve social and political conditions in their countries.</p> <p>Now 80, Sharp has devoted more than 50 years to studying nonviolent action, documenting the strategies employed for nonviolent transformation, analyzing how they have operated, and making the results of his research accessible to the widest possible audience. Holding advanced degrees from Ohio State and Oxford Universities, Sharp is one of the founders of the academic discipline of peace and conflict studies. Professor Emeritus of political science, University of Massachusetts, Dartmouth, for nearly 30 years Sharp held a research appointment at Harvard University’s Center for International Affairs. He continues his research and writing as Senior Scholar at the Albert Einstein Institution (AEI) at http://www.aeinstein.org, a nonprofit organization he founded in 1983 to advance the study and use of strategic nonviolent action in conflict situations around the world.</p> <p>A major theorist of nonviolent action, Sharp is probably best known for publishing a shelf full of books and monographs, most notably <i>The Politics of Nonviolent Action</i>, 1973, immediately recognized as the definitive work on nonviolent struggle and that continues to be widely used; <i>From Dictatorship to Democracy</i> 1993; and <i>Waging Nonviolent Struggle</i>, 2005, hailed as “the practitioners’ handbook for the 21st century nonviolent movement” by scholar-activist Elise Boulding. Translated into more than 45 languages, many of his works can be downloaded directly from the AEI website. They have influenced social activists in Eastern Europe, the Middle East, Latin America, Russia, Burma, and Zimbabwe to help realize positive political change nonviolently.</p> <p>Although himself a pacifist, Sharp emphasizes that nonviolent action can be employed even by those who are not committed to pacifism as a moral principle. “Nonviolent struggle can be practiced by imperfect people in an imperfect world, who are nevertheless able to act without use of violence. Such means are available to all people who share a desire for justice, freedom, and peace. While few individuals are able to ‘turn the other cheek’ in the spirit of love and forgiveness, many more are able to understand that for their particular objectives nonviolent action offers the best chances of success.”</p> <p>In 1947, AFSC, along with the British Friends Service Council received the Nobel Peace Prize on behalf of Quakers worldwide for humanitarian service during and after two World Wars. AFSC has its international headquarters in Philadelphia and offices in 22 countries. Its programs emphasize the inherent dignity and worth of all people; its work is based on faith in the power of love to overcome violence and injustice.</p> <p>John J. Meyer Clerk, AFSC Nobel Peace Prize Nominating Committee email: jjminde@gmail.com</p>
25	<p>The <i>Journal of Religion, Conflict, and Peace</i> 2, no. 1 (Fall 2008) is available at www.religionconflictpeace.org.</p> <p>Preview of the Journal</p>

Editorial

"Religion and the Environmental Crisis"
by Joseph Liechty

Articles

"A Critique of Jean Bethke Elshtain's *Just War Against Terror* and an Advocacy of a Constructive Alternative"
by Pamela K. Brubaker, Glen H. Stassen, and Janet L. Parker

"Engaging the Powers of Nonviolence"
by Julie Todd

"The Politics of Love and War"
by Robert C. Johansen

Case Study

"The Work of Christian Peacemaker Teams in Colombia"
by Julie P. Hart

Reviews

Belief and Bloodshed: Religion and Violence across Time and Tradition, edited by James K. Wellman, Jr.
Reviewed by Guy Lancaster

Memory and Violence in the Middle East and North Africa, by Ussama Makdisis
Reviewed by Pepijn van Houwelingen

Palestine Peace Not Apartheid by Jimmy Carter
Reviewed by John Berteaux

The Politics of Past Evil: Religion, Reconciliation and the Dilemmas of Transitional Justice, edited by Daniel Philpott
Reviewed by Rebecca Johnson

26

Exploring the Power of Nonviolence

October 8-10, 2009 at Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin

~ [Call for Proposals](#) ~

~ [Submit a Proposal: DEADLINE March 15, 2009](#) ~

The Peace and Justice Studies Association (PJSA) is pleased to announce that its annual conference will be hosted at Marquette University, focusing on the theme of "The Power of Nonviolence." Join us in exploring this rich subject in all its 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. [Read more about the conference theme...](#)

We seek proposals for creative and dynamic workshops, panels, films, displays, and other formats. The conference will 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.

[Proposal Submission Form: Deadline March 15, 2009](#)

Margaret Groarke
Manhattan College

27 You can find a link to my latest article, analyzing President Obama's apparent decision to ignore Amnesty International's call to suspend military aid to Israel on human rights grounds, at:

<http://www.fpif.org/fpif.txt/5923>

You can find links to over 250 articles of mine written over the past several years under "Recent Articles" on my web site at www.stephenzunes.org, where they are categorized by subject:

Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Israel/Palestine, Lebanon, Western Sahara, Latin America, Eastern Europe, Obama's foreign policy, U.S. electoral politics, human rights, nonviolent action, nuclear non-proliferation, etc.

My web site also includes audio and video recordings of recent talks as well as announcements of scheduled public appearances, the next of which will be:

Tuesday, March 10, at 7:00pm

Cleveland L3

Mt. Holyoke College

South Hadley, MA

"The Other Occupation: The Struggle over Western Sahara"

Please forward this on to anyone you think might be interested in reading my latest article or who might be interested in getting on my non-PJSA mailing list.

Stephen Zunes
Professor of Politics
University of San Francisco
2130 Fulton Street

San Francisco, CA 94117

ph: 415-422-6981
fax: 415-422-2101
cell: 831-234-9468

www.stephenzunes.org

28

All prejudice isn't created equal; whites distribute it unequally to minorities The University of Washington news release about a series of studies in Journal of Personality and Social Psychology http://www.eurekalert.org/pub_releases/2009-02/uow-api022509.php Feb 25, 2009

The Declaration of Independence may proclaim that all men are created equal, but American whites tend to distribute their prejudice unequally toward certain members of minority groups, according to new research.

A series of six studies conducted by University of Washington and Michigan State University psychologists shows that whites react more negatively to racial minority individuals who strongly identify with their racial group than to racial minority individuals who weakly identify with their group.

The research, published in the current issue of the Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, provides an explanation for why some Blacks report personally experiencing more prejudice than others.

"Research has shown that the more minorities identify with their group, the more prejudice they report experiencing," said Kaiser.

"Most research has explained this finding by focusing on factors within minorities that make some individuals more susceptible to perceiving prejudice than others. Our studies provide an alternative explanation by showing that whites react more negatively toward strongly identified minorities than weakly identified ones."

The researchers believe strongly identified minorities are not paranoid in claiming they experience increased levels of prejudice and weakly identified minorities are not being self-deceptive when they report experiencing low levels of prejudice, said Cheryl Kaiser, a UW assistant psychology professor and lead author of the paper. Instead, they just may simply be reporting on reality as they experience it.

"Take a situation where a person is ambiguously rejected for a new job," she said. "A person with a strong minority identification might wonder if the rejection was due to prejudice while one with a weak minority identification might not. If you experience more prejudice you expect more prejudice. These things work in tandem and feed each other."

Kaiser and her colleague recruited nearly 400 college students for the six studies that measured whites' attitudes toward Blacks and Latinos. They also were surveyed on their general attitudes about Blacks or Latinos, depending on the study. In the studies, minorities were either described as being strongly identified (where their group was very important and a central aspect of their self) or weakly identified (where their group was less important and not at the core of their self).

She said individuals typically want to be around others who share their values and exclude people who don't share those values or world views. The research indicated that whites perceived strongly identified minorities as less likely to share similar worldviews with them relative to weakly identified minorities.

"We are not arguing that minorities should not identify with their group," said Kaiser. "Such identification can be important and provides meaning, self worth and identity.

"Some research about prejudice has tended to lump members of minorities into homogenous groups. But there is a lot of heterogeneity. People differ in looks, language ability, attitudes and many other ways, but we tend not to pay attention to these factors.

That's why it is important to identify those subsets in groups, why people react to them and what are the active ingredients of prejudice. Whites need to understand that they distribute prejudice unevenly and target those who strongly self-identify as being Black."

Jennifer Pratt-Hyatt, a doctoral student at Michigan State is the co-author of the paper. The research was funded by the National Science Foundation and the UW's Royalty Research Fund.

29

**The 2009 National Training on Implementing and Enhancing a Local Youth/Teen Court Program
Cleveland, Ohio, March 30-31, 2009**

Hosted by Global Issues Resource Center, Cuyahoga Community College, the Ohio Resource Network, and the Ohio Commission on Dispute Resolution and Conflict Management

What is Youth Court?

Youth Courts offer a positive alternative to traditional juvenile justice and school disciplinary procedures, hold juvenile offenders accountable for their actions, promote restorative justice principles, help educate youth about the legal system and encourage and teach civic responsibility. In youth courts, young people are sentenced by their peers for minor crimes and offenses, generally for first time offenders aged ten (10) to eighteen (18) years of age where the offender has acknowledged his or her guilt and participates voluntarily, rather than going through the more formal, traditional juvenile justice process. Youth courts differ from other juvenile justice programs because they involve other young people in the process, especially in determining the offender's sanction. Depending on the model used, young people may serve as jurors, prosecuting attorneys, defense attorneys, bailiffs, clerks, and even judges. There are more than 1,100 local communities operating these local juvenile justice programs in 49 states and the District of Columbia.

Who should attend? Adults interested in establishing a program or new staff in existing programs who wish to enhance their knowledge and skills. These may include educators and administrators, law enforcement, human service professionals, court personnel, non-profit professionals, government and community organizers.

Credit Available: Social Work, Counselor, RCH, and CEUs

Training Location: Cuyahoga Community College – Eastern Campus, 4250 Richmond Rd., EEC 115, Highland Hills, Ohio 44122

Cost: \$175 per person (before March 1, 2009) includes training, two (2) lunches, breaks, and program materials (CRN: 18882). After

March 1, 2009, cost per person is \$200.

To Register: Call 216-987-3075 and reference the Course Registration Number (CRN:18882). Registration is limited to 100 participants! Register Early!

Instructor Biographical Information

Nancy Anne Miller is an Associate Professor and Youth Development Agent with the University of Wisconsin-Extension in Vilas County and Vilas County Teen Court Coordinator. Nancy, the founding President of the Wisconsin Teen Court Association, Inc. (WTCA), works with communities throughout the state of Wisconsin and nationally interested in starting Teen Courts.

Gary Kepley, is a Detective Lieutenant with the Mattoon Police Department (serving 22 years) in Mattoon, Illinois and the Captain of the Wabash Volunteer Fire Department (serving 23 years). Gary also serves the community in various capacities including working with the Cops for Kids program, serving as the Teen Court Director, and as a Community Unit #2 School Board member. Gary has assisted in training others in the youth court process across the U.S. and served as a consultant for the U.S. Department of Justice.

Scott Bernard Peterson, is the National Director for Criminal and Juvenile Justice at YouthBuild USA and the former Federal Program Manager at the United States Department of Justice Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention (OJJDP) where he was charged with a mandate to develop a new national initiative to expand the youth court concept across America. As the leading authority on Youth Courts and Teen Courts, Scott visited more than 150 local youth court programs, served as speaker at more than 165 state, national and international conferences, and received countless awards including the *2003 Paul F. Chapman Award* from the Foundation for the Improvement of Justice to the National Child Labor Committees. Helping to found the National Association of Youth Courts, Inc. in 2007, he is currently working to develop a regional coalition of in the New England area and he will travel to Australia to help with efforts to establish a demonstration program.

National Youth Court Training March 30th and 31st, 2009, 9AM – 5PM

The training will cover how to:

- Involve key stakeholders, organizing committees, and boards
- Identify the goal, objectives, tasks and performance measures of your program
- Develop a plan to recruit, train, organize, recognize and retain both youth and adult volunteers
- Examine types of cases to accept
- Establish and/or renew referral sources
- Offer a more comprehensive community service program
- Fund and resource your program
- Examine administrative and operational tasks such as developing a three (3) year budget, revenue plan, and legal and confidentiality issues
- Evaluate your program and collect needed data
- Market your program to raise awareness, support, resources and increase involvement

- Staff your program

Special Optional Event for National Training Attendees

April 1st, 2009, 8:30AM – 10:30AM

Grants, Funding and Writing the Application

This workshop will provide participants with a wide range of options of funding sources, both public and private, to support the operation of a local youth or teen court program. Participants will be provided with an example of a completed youth court grant application. Learn how to write your own goals, objectives, tasks and performance measure that relate to your specific program and your community.

Workshop Location: Embassy Suites Cleveland-Beachwood, 3775 Park East Drive, Beachwood, OH, U.S. 44122

Questions? Call Global Issues Resource Center at 216-987-2231 or Jennifer.Batton@tri-c.edu. Additional information may be found on the Global Issues Resource Center site at: www.tri-c.edu

Lodging Location - Hotel Embassy Suites Cleveland-Beachwood

The conference has reserved a block of rooms at the Embassy Suites Cleveland-Beachwood for the nights of March 29th – April 1st. The hotel is located at 3775 Park East Drive, Beachwood, OH, U.S. 44122. The Embassy Suites is located one mile from Cuyahoga Community College. Discounted rates are available by making your reservation by **March 9th, 2009**. Reservations after by March 9th, 2009 will be accepted at prevailing rates and availability. **The discounted rates are \$110 plus 7.5% tax (You must show an Ohio tax exempt certificate in order to be tax exempt)**. Reference Group Code: CUC and the Event: Cuyahoga Community College – Youth Courts Conference. To reserve a room call 216-255-3156 or 800-317-1960 or go

on-line to: <http://embassysuites.hilton.com/en/es/groups/personalized/CLEBHES-CUC-20090329/index.jhtml>

Join the Monthly E-Update:

Join the Global Youth Justice Monthly E-Update on Youth Court, Teen Court, Peer Court, Student Court and Peer Panels. Just email DrYouthCourt@aol.com and type “subscribe” in the subject line !

30

International Institute on Peace Education 2009

July 26 - August 2 * Budapest, Hungary

“Human Rights Learning as Peace Education: Pursuing Democracy in a Time of Crisis”

For more information visit: www.i-i-p-e.org

(Please note: application deadline is April 1, 2009)

The International Institute on Peace Education (IIPE) 2009 will take place from July 26 to August 2 in Budapest, Hungary. The institute is being co-organized by the IIPE secretariat and the EJBO Foundation with the support and sponsorship of UNESCO and the [Center for Nonviolence and Democratic Education of the University of Toledo](#), Ohio.

IIPE was founded in 1982 by Dr. Betty Reardon and faculty colleagues at Teachers College Columbia University and has been held annually in different parts of the world. For 26 years the IIPE has been providing unique short-term, residential, cooperative learning experiences in peace education. The IIPE is not a traditional conference but rather a “learning community” in which the organizers and participants work together to nurture an inclusive, highly interactive learning environment. It is an intensive multicultural and cooperative learning opportunity in which participants learn from and with each other about substantive peace issues and interactive teaching approaches. The IIPE is also an opportunity for networking and community building among those who educate and work for a culture of peace in the host region and around the world.

“Human Rights Learning as Peace Education: Pursuing Democracy in a Time of Crisis”

IIPE 2009 will explore the theme of “Human Rights Learning as Peace Education: Pursuing Democracy in a Time of Crisis.” Human rights learning, as facilitated by peace educators is critical, participatory and learner centered. It is intended to prepare learners to work toward the transformation of the existing order of violence and injustice into a world social system based upon the principle of universal human dignity. This principle of human dignity underlies all human rights concepts and norms and is at the core of human rights learning (HRL). HRL emphasizes modes of critical thinking and self reflection that are necessary for internalizing the essential principles of human rights, enabling individuals and communities to become agents of change (PDHRE). HRL begins with *“assuming the rights of learners to decide themselves what they will believe and develops means through which the learners can acquire information while forming their own opinions and determining their own course of action about the issues of concern to them...in the absence of authentic human rights learning people will not be able to achieve their full dignity.”* (Reardon)

Such critical thinking is essential to participatory democracy. “Strong democracy” (Barber) is based upon a positive conception of liberty dependent upon self-determination, equality, deliberation and direct participation in the political decisions that affect our personal and social lives (Snauwaert). The realization of human rights can be seen as the necessary conditions and core values of participatory democracy and positive peace. Educating for critical thinking and democracy would include questioning policy that deprives or denies any individual or group of any of their fundamental human rights. Such inquiry is a key process of peace education pedagogy.

The world is now seized by multiple, complex economic and political crises. Many of the policies and political decisions that have contributed to these crises have been justified as furthering “democracy.” The global economic crisis can be attributed in large part to the decisions and behaviors of a minority of the human family who control the world’s resources and act in short-term self-interest at the expense of the majority and the biosphere. The political crises stem from similar origins, the policies and strategies of those who wield state power without regard to universal human rights

During the year of the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) and the “International Year of Human Rights Learning,” it is fitting that the IIPE consider the framework of Human Rights as an ethical vision for just and democratic global and local societies. Human rights learning as peace education offers a pedagogy for an education toward the realization of essential rights, responsibilities, duties and obligations of an informed and engaged democracy. Through human rights learning as peace education, citizens may be capacitated to critically examine and challenge political ideas; inquire into economic and environmental policies; propose and consider alternatives; and work toward a more just global future.

We invite applicants to join the IPE 2009 inquiry that will identify and assess the social, political and educational structures that pose impediments to the realization of human rights and a culture of peace. We will seek to examine the links between economic and political crises at the local, state, regional and global levels and look for ways to address them through education. Through our common discourse and reflection we will learn together about possibilities for formal, non-formal and informal education to capacitate citizens to pursue democratic change. We encourage all applicants to consider how they might contribute to this exploration from their own experiences locally, nationally and regionally, as formal or non-formal educators, or as advocates or activists. Together, we hope to illuminate the possibilities for human rights learning as peace education to guide us through and transform this epoch of political and economic crisis.

References:

Barber, Benjamin (1985). *Participatory Politics for a New Age*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.

PDHRE – Peoples Movement for Human Rights Learning. www.pdhre.org

Reardon, Betty. Statement prepared for PDHRE. www.pdhre.org

Snaauwaert, Dale (2005) “Reclaiming the Lost Treasure: Deliberation and Strong Democratic Education” *Educational Theory*, 42:351-367.

Application Information:

An online application is available at www.i-i-p-e.org/iipe/apply.html. Applications must be submitted by April 1, 2009 for full consideration. Notices of acceptances will be sent in mid April. If you require an earlier response for funding or have trouble using our online application system please contact us at info@i-i-p-e.org.

Acceptance for participation in the IPE is based upon applicant’s potential contribution to the goal of developing and strengthening peace education and human rights learning in the host region and toward a more global perspective on peace education among all participants. The IPE attempts to practice the principles of peace education by engaging all participants in our short term learning community in an experience of participatory learning in which all of us can learn from each other. Therefore the IPE is limited to 65 total participants. *The IPE requires full-time participation from all participants*. You must be able to participate in the full period of the IPE (July 26-August 2) for your application to be considered. If after acceptance a participant finds he or she must leave early or arrive late, their place will be given to another on the waiting list. For full details on acceptance criteria and application procedures please visit the [IPE website](#).

Participation Fees:

Participation fees cover all onsite costs including food, housing (double occupancy), local transportation and excursions. The participation fee for 2009 is \$600 US Dollars. We are currently seeking other sources of funding and support that may later reduce the participation fees. Updated fees will be posted on the IPE website.

Scholarship:

The institute operates on a self-sustaining basis in which all participants, including the organizers and presenters pay their own travel and participation fees or find their own funding. The IPE attempts each year to raise a small scholarship fund for participants coming from currency poor or post-conflict countries. Unfortunately scholarships are not provided for participants applying from the US or Western Europe. Scholarships come only in the form of participation fee waivers (*the IPE does not provide financial support for travel or other expenses*). If you think you will be in need of scholarship please indicate so when applying. We hope you might consider a contribution to the IPE to fund scholarships. Your generosity will help ensure that those potential participants in greatest need of training and solidarity will be able to attend the institute. We would be grateful for any amount you may be able to donate. All donations are *tax deductible*. You may download a donation form at www.i-i-p-e.org/donate.html.

Contact Us:

The International Institute on Peace Education
care of: Peace Education Center
Teachers College #171
Columbia University
525 West 120th St.
New York, New York 10027
web: www.i-i-p-e.org
email: info@i-i-p-e.org
tel: 212-678-8116

31

Ideological Justifications for the Permanent War Economy and the Globalization of Empire

Harry Targ

Constructing and maintaining a permanent war economy was a policy commitment made by virtually every U.S. administration and Congress since the 1940s. It meant that budget decisions would be based on the primacy of military spending. And, military spending served ever since World War II as an economic stimulus to overcome recessionary dynamics in the economy as a whole and to support secure contracts for huge corporations engaging in military production and service.

The permanent war economy paralleled and supported the fifty year development of U.S. capitalism on the world stage. During this time frame global capitalism shifted economic activity from direct investment in goods and services at home and abroad to financial speculation. Those corporations which continued to manufacture goods for domestic and international consumption shifted their productive operations to poor countries where lower wages could be paid. These changing features of the international political economy were extended by globalization, the dramatic increase in cross-national economic, political, and cultural interactions. In short, the global political economy of the last fifty years has been significantly shaped by the building of a permanent war economy, financialization, deindustrialization, and globalization.

While these processes are critical to understanding the U.S. role in the world, scholars, pundits, and most importantly politicians explained the U.S. role in the world in different ways. The American people were told that the U.S. faced diabolical enemies, that our place in world history was special, and that we had an obligation to bring the American experience to the world.

The ideological campaign for the Cold War was articulated in speeches by former British Prime Minister Winston Churchill in 1946 and President Harry Truman in 1947. The former, addressing a college audience in Fulton, Missouri warned that "...from the Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an iron curtain has descended across the continent." One year later, President Truman in his famous Doctrine speech argued that there were two ways of life in the world, one based on freedom and the other tyranny. The United States, he said must defend the forces of freedom against "totalitarianism." Of course, the threat came from the Soviet Union.

Three years later, an "in-house" document, National Security Council Document 68 (NSC 68) was drafted and circulated in the Truman administration by Secretary of State Dean Acheson. It recommended that military spending be the number one priority of every administration. And the recommendation was necessary because the Soviet Union constituted a military threat and an economic challenge. When the Korean War started, NSC 68 became publicly articulated policy and vision (even though the document itself remained classified until the 1970s).

The ideological construct, “good versus evil,” “freedom versus totalitarianism,” was rigidly imposed on a frightened public in the 1940s and 1950s as anti-communism pervaded the society. What came to be known as “McCarthyism,” imported images of domestic traitors, subversives, and foreignness into the American cultural stream. The threat was so great at home as well as abroad that state repression was justified to protect the nation.

In addition, academia contributed to the public face of this ideology through its development of “modernization theory.” Economic historian and Kennedy and Johnson foreign policy advisor Walt Rostow described what the world faced: Communism was “...a kind of disease which can befall a transitional society if it fails to organize effectively those elements within it which are prepared to get on with the job of modernization.” The disease must be expunged so that poor countries could develop market-based economies as did Europe and the United States. The ideological ground was laid for Vietnam, the Dominican Republic, Chile, Central America, and Iraq and Afghanistan in our own day.

And, of course, we can reflect on the words of President Reagan who proclaimed shortly before he left office: “We cannot escape our destiny, nor should we try to do so. The leadership of the free world was thrust upon us two centuries ago in that little hall of Philadelphia. In the days following World War II, when the economic strength and power of America was all that stood between the world and the return to the dark ages, Pope Pius XII said, ‘The American people have a great genius for splendid and unselfish actions. Into the hands of America God has placed the destinies of an afflicted mankind.’ We are indeed, and we are today, the last best hope of man on earth.”

And finally in our own day, and when the Soviet “evil empire” was long gone, a new enemy, “international terrorism” was identified. And, like the former Soviet Union, this enemy threatened our being and necessitated a strong military response. President Bush said in 2002 (and again in a similar way just days before he left office):

“But the best way to secure the homeland is to find the enemy wherever they try to hide and bring them to justice. The best way -- make no mistake about it. You should not be confused about the nature of the people we’re dealing with. They hate us, because we’re free. They hate the thought that Americans welcome all religions. They can’t stand that thought. They hate the thought that we educate everybody. They hate our freedoms. They hate the fact that we hold each individual -- we dignify each individual. We believe in the dignity of every person. They can’t stand that.

And the only way they know to express themselves is through killing, cold-blooded killing. And so we need to treat them the way they are, as international criminals. And that’s why my defense budget is the largest increase in 20 years. You know, the price of freedom is high, but for me it’s never too high because we fight for freedom.”

In sum, while American imperialism has its roots in military spending, financialization, deindustrialization, and globalization, it has been explained to the American people in terms of high moral principle, coupled with a sense of the special mission that America brings to the world. For Puritan America, Ronald Reagan, and George Bush, America is “a city on a hill.” While peace activists need to work against military spending, oppose the speculative economy, demand worker rights at home and abroad, and oppose unbridled “free trade,” they must challenge the ideological justifications that have served to mobilize a troubled and pliant citizenry to support US policy for decades.

Harry Targ teaches and writes on United States foreign policy and international political economy at Purdue University. He has a blog at www.heartlandradical.blogspot.com

32

The Global Political Economy and US Foreign Policy

Harry Targ

(Excerpts from a presentation at the Deerfield Progressive Forum, Deerfield Beach, Florida, January 17, 2009)

“When people do not have sufficient access to income, tools, opportunity and ability to accumulate assets, their fundamental right to work and earn a livelihood is threatened. Around the world and in the United States, systemic injustices, disparities based on gender, race and class, market fundamentalism, reworking of trade agreements and the erosion of labor rights all contribute to the erosion of people’s ability to earn a living wage with dignity.” Unitarian Universalist Service Committee (www.uusc.org, 2006.

We would be remiss if we failed to see the connections between the historic development of the permanent war economy and the parallel and connected developments of the global capitalist system. The global economic crisis and attendant war and terrorism in rich and poor countries alike are the direct resultant of years of unbridled, unplanned capitalist expansion on the world stage. We can plot the transformation of the global political economy, that is the parallel and combined development of economic and political institutions since World War II, to understand how and why the crisis of today emerged. And, after reflecting on world history, we can begin to see what needs to be done to overcome the crises that befall us.

Economic Crisis and Shifts Toward Financialization, Deindustrialization, and Globalization

During the period from 1945 and 1968, the so-called “golden age” of the U.S. economy, multinational corporations and banks spread across the globe while domestic consumption soared. Except for short recessions, the US economy grew steadily. The permanent war economy resulted in massive military spending, U.S. troops and bases in dozens of countries, bilateral and multinational military alliances, and deepening wars in Asia and covert operations in Africa, the Persian Gulf, and Latin America.

Underlying the global thrust of the U.S. military was an economic expansion similar in scope to the British empire of the nineteenth century. For example, US invested capital rose from \$11 billion in 1950 to about \$70 billion in 1969. This was so because profit margins from foreign investments were almost twice those of domestic operations. The year 1969 was illustrative as profit rates were 6.8 percent on domestic investments and 12.5 percent on foreign investments. MacEwan wrote about the significance of enlarging investments around the world when he suggested that “the absolute growth of U.S. business interests abroad is impressive, but it should be seen in the context of the establishment of overwhelming U.S. dominance in the international capitalist economy” (in Harry R. Targ, *Strategy of an Empire in Decline: Cold War II, 1986, p.32.*)

The growth of international banking paralleled the growth of private investments on a worldwide basis and the United States was one of the leading financial participants. “In 1960 eight U.S. banks operated 131 overseas branches with overseas assets of \$3.5 billion ...By 1970 there were seventy-nine banks with 583 branches with \$77.4 billion in assets...For comparison’s sake, the total assets of all U.S. commercial banks in 1960 were \$255.7 billion; in 1967 \$448.9 billion; and in 1974 (June) \$872.0 billion. Thus while total domestic assets grew about 3 and one-half times between 1960-74, overseas assets grew about 42 times” (James Hawley in Targ, p. 35).

But, for reasons of military excess and the contradictions of global capitalism, the golden age could not last. The 1970s brought economic crisis around the world: oil shocks; inflation; high unemployment; over production; growing economic competition among the United States, European nations, Japan, and the Socialist camp. To further complicate the picture, third world revolutionary movements and demands for a New International Economic order challenged the global domination of industrial capitalist powers.

From the standpoint of U.S. corporations and banks, the most critical part of the crisis was the squeeze on profits. Public policies were adopted to promote recovery, particularly in profit rates. For example, the Nixon administration withdrew the United States from the Bretton Woods system of fixed exchange rates so that investors could speculate in currencies.

In addition, the rulers of the International Monetary Fund and private banks began a massive campaign to pressure poor countries to borrow money. At that point the debt system as we know it was launched. It opened the doors for wealthy countries, from which corporations and banks came, to impose economic policies on loan recipients. As poor countries found themselves unable to continue to import oil at draconian prices, European and U.S. banks, flush with petrodollars from oil rich countries, made funds available. In exchange, demands grew from powerful countries and leading international institutions such as the International Monetary Fund to force borrowing countries to deregulate and privatize their economies and cut taxes. Poor countries were told that they would receive loans if they transformed their economies in ways to open the doors to foreign capitalist interests. Eventually, the changes demanded of poor countries were instituted in rich countries as well. In sum, the political agenda of imperial powers was to use the economic crises, particularly the oil shocks, to reverse the forty year commitment of the capitalist world to the welfare state.

In this 1970s context of global economic crisis three interconnected components of the capitalist system were set in motion. The first, as has been suggested, was *financialization*. This involved the dramatic growth over the subsequent years in lending and credit, debt servicing, and speculation (stocks, bonds, hedge funds, private equity funds, and other forms of paper, e.g. “the virtual economy”). The second, *deindustrialization*, constituted a massive movement by investors of capital out of U.S. goods-production, or manufacturing, to more profitable speculative activities or to production overseas where labor costs, wages and benefits, were significantly cheaper. Finally, *globalization* stimulated a qualitative increase in the integration of the U.S. into the global economy and culture with shifts to overseas production, distribution, lending, and speculation.

The period since the late 1970s and most associated with the “Reagan revolution” represented the culmination of policies relating to *financialization*, *deindustrialization*, and *globalization*. The United States, the international financial institutions, and other capitalist powers, vigorously promoted so-called “neoliberal policies” everywhere. Countries that needed to borrow money to continue to purchase the oil they had become addicted to were forced to downsize their governments, cut back on public services, deregulate their economies, sell-off or privatize their publicly owned enterprises, and shift to producing products for export rather than domestic consumption.

At home, there were significant reductions in government programs relating to health, welfare, and education and radical increases in military spending. Sustained campaigns were initiated to destroy the labor movement. Tax cuts targeted the wealthiest Americans and breaks were given to corporations which shifted their manufacturing facilities to other parts of the world. And foreign policies were instituted to force poor countries to embrace the neoliberal policies described above. With minor variations such policies continued through forty years of Republican and Democratic party rule. Contemporary critics of these historic developments, such as Joseph Stiglitz and Kevin Phillips, refer to the economic program as “market fundamentalism” and the political vision of limited government, “negative government,” (limiting government programs to military spending and domestic police protection).

The Global Political Economy Today

We now can consider the structure of the global economy today, the impacts of these policies, and the reaction to them from those motivated to fulfill the fundamental needs of the world’s people.

Just a few pieces of data will illustrate what this historic process of economic and political transformation has come to:

First, *economic concentration* at the global level has reached extraordinary proportions. By 1996, the top 200 multinational corporations had combined sales exceeding the value of the Gross National products of all but the nine wealthiest countries and by 2002, these sales equaled 28 percent of the value of all goods and services produced in the world. In 2003, 52 of the world’s largest economies were corporations and 48 were nations. The largest corporation in the world today, Wal Mart, has the 19th largest economy among states, corporations, and banks. As to banks, twenty of them had assets of

\$425 trillion at the dawn of the new century and only 16 accounted for 60 percent of speculation on foreign exchange markets in 1999. Financial speculative transactions, reached a dollar value of \$1.5 trillion a day in the 1990s.

Second, global *debt* continues to grow and is paralleled by expanding national and personal debt in the United States, thus increasing the vulnerability and precariousness of all peoples. Poor countries owed the international banks, public and private, \$2.5 trillion in 2004 and between 1998 and 2002 poor countries paid back interest and principle on the debt \$217 billion more than they received in new loans. And in the United States since the 1990s, American indebtedness has exceeded earned income.

Third, the processes of *personal remuneration* are being radically transformed on a worldwide basis. Over the last 100 years, the major activities workers of all kinds have engaged in to “earn a living,” have shifted from agriculture, (providing basic sustenance), to manufacturing (in many cases earning a livable wage), to service (working for lower and barely survivable wages), to struggling in the informal sector (desperately hustling on the streets, running drugs, prostitution, gambling, and selling commodities in public markets). Almost half those who seek to earn a living in Latin America today are now in the informal sector.

Fourth, *inequality* is expanding between countries and within countries and *economic and political marginalization, or human precariousness* is spreading. United Nations and others sources report that gaps between rich and poor people have grown over the last 40 years. Eighty percent of the world’s gross domestic product is controlled by one billion people and the other five billion share the remaining twenty percent of it. Nearly one quarter of humankind lives on \$1 a day and almost half, 3 billion people, live on \$2 a day. African economist, Samir Amin, has a name for this mal-distribution of income and wealth. He calls it human “precariousness” (*Monthly Review*, October, 2003). The growing inequality in the global system is paralleled by a similar dynamic within the United States, with at least ¼ of the population poor or working poor. And African American scholar Manning Marable reminds us that the growing precariousness of existence in the United States hits people of color disproportionately (“Globalization and Racialization,” <http://www.greens.org/s-r/39/39-06.html>)

Resistance to Empire Abroad and at Home

These and other data can be daunting, particularly if we fail to examine the varieties of *resistance* in global and national politics. Mass movements of workers, farmers, women, indigenous people, environmentalists, and peace activists have been mobilizing increasingly everywhere. One kind of example is the World Social fora, the annual meetings of so-called “anti-globalization” activists who meet and network every year somewhere around the world. Their rallying cry is “Another World is Possible.” For the first time, an annual meeting of the World Social Forum was held in the United States in June, 2007 in Atlanta, Georgia. About 10,000 people attended, largely youth, women, people of color, and activists from or in solidarity movements with peoples of the Global South. Their energy, enthusiasm, and vision were inspiring.

At the level of governments, resistance to the global economic and political order that had been established after World War II is being challenged. Opposition is growing to rich country trade demands in the WTO, continued IMF penetration of poor countries, the debt system, and big power interference in the political and economic life of countries of the Global South.

In the United States during the recently concluded election season political interest and participation was high. Young and old became energized by the political process. Candidates were being pressured, by virtue of the mobilizations, to address issues relevant to workers, women, African Americans, and youth. They were forced, however inadequately, to address health care, the environment, racist government policies, and a neoliberal economic policy that privileges corporate and banking interests at the expense of workers in the United States and around the world.

All of these trends and forms of resistance have been highlighted within the last year by the emergence of a national and global financial crisis that

has not been seen since the Great Depression of the 1930s. Global capitalism is experiencing over-production, under-consumption, rapidly declining profit rates, unrecoverable indebtedness, and massive unemployment. In addition, the very environment that sustains life is under serious challenge. It is possible that the capitalist development of the late twentieth century, including financialization, deindustrialization, and globalization, and fostered by neo-liberal policies and militarism has reached a moment in which its survival is at risk.

Whatever the future holds for the global capitalist system, progressives must work in the short-run to try to improve the physical, political, cultural, and psychological well being of the world's citizens. In the twentieth century we saw various political movements and ideologies offering a vision of "positive government," that is a vision that says that political (and economic) institutions can and should be created by and for the vast majority of people. While many experiments in positive government failed, for a variety of reasons, the global movements of our own day are saying that we can establish new institutions that represent us all, and not just the rich and powerful. In the face of this deep crisis of capitalism and militarism, that is the continuing challenge of the 21st century.

Harry Targ teaches and writes on United States foreign policy and international political economy at Purdue University. He has a blog at www.heartlandradical.blogspot.com

33

THE PERMANENT WAR ECONOMY TODAY

Harry Targ

(Excerpts from a presentation at the Deerfield Progressive Forum, Deerfield Beach, Florida, January 17, 2009)

In the Beginning

After suffering the greatest economic depression in United States history, this country participated in a war-time coalition with Great Britain and the former Soviet Union to defeat fascism in Europe and Japanese imperialism in Asia. As a result of the economic mobilization for war, the United States economy grew to become the most powerful one by war's end. By 1945, Americans were responsible for three-fourths of the world's invested capital and controlled two-thirds of its industrial capacity. Near the end of World War II, General Electric CEO Charles Wilson recommended that the U.S. continue the wartime partnership between the government, the corporate sector, and the military to maintain what he called a "permanent war economy." He and others feared the possibility of return to depression.

To justify a permanent war economy-ever increasing military expenditures, bases all around the world, periodic military interventions, and the maintenance of a large land army, navy, and air force-an external threat was needed. In 1947 President Truman told the American people that there was such a threat, "international communism."

Many liberals and conservatives remained skeptical about high military expenditures. But, just before the Korean War started, permanent war economy advocates threw their support behind recommendations made in a long- time classified document, National Security Council Document 68, which recommended a dramatic increase in military spending. NSC-68 also recommended that military spending from that point on should be the number one priority of the national government. When presidents sit down to construct a federal budget they should first allocate all the money requested by military and corporate elites and lobbyists concerned with military spending. Only after that should government programs address education, health care, roads, transportation, housing and other critical domestic issues.

When the United States entered the Korean War, Truman committed the nation to a permanent war economy. Each subsequent president did likewise. According to Chalmers Johnson (*Blowback, Sorrows of Empire*), between 1947 and 1990, the permanent war economy cost the American people

close to \$9 trillion. Ruth Sivard (*World Military Expenditures*) presented data to indicate that over 100,000 U.S. military personnel died in wars and military interventions during this period. And, in other countries, nearly 10 million people died directly or indirectly in wars in which the United States was a participant.

Some influential Americans raised criticisms of the new permanent war economy. For example, while he subsequently complied with many of the demands for more military spending, President Eisenhower declared in one of his first speeches in office that “every gun that is made, every warship launched, every rocket fired, signifies, in the final sense, a theft from those who hunger and are not fed, those who are cold and are not clothed.” After eight years in the White House Eisenhower gave a prescient farewell address in which he warned of a “conjunction of an immense military establishment and a large arms industry” which was new in American history. And, he proclaimed; “We must guard against the acquisition of unwarranted influence, whether sought or unsought, by the military-industrial complex.” Incidentally, his original draft spoke of a “military-industrial-academic complex.”

Seven years later, in the midst of the Vietnam War, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. proclaimed “Somehow this madness must cease. We must stop now. I speak for those whose land is being laid waste, whose homes are being destroyed, whose culture is being subverted. I speak for the poor of America who are paying the double price of smashed hopes at home and death and corruption in Vietnam. I speak as a citizen of the world, for the world as it stands aghast at the path we have taken.”

The Permanent War Economy Today

So we find ourselves in the midst of two wars today-Iraq and Afghanistan-that are already more costly than any war except World War II, against an enemy magnified, demonized, and mythologized as much or more than the cold war enemy to justify a \$3 trillion price tag, the deaths of more than 4,000 soldiers, ten times that number of disabled veterans, and casualties and deaths of Iraqis and Afghans probably approaching a million people. 9/11 afforded the Bush Administration the opportunity to launch a “war on terrorism” and the justification of preemptive war on any human target defined as a possible threat to the United States. The “terrorists” became the post-Cold War “international communists.” This is what the permanent war economy has come to.

Did the vision of Charles Wilson and the framers and advocates of NSC 68 bear fruit in terms of the domestic economy? The answer to this question is complicated but in the end clear. The U.S. economy is subject to cycles of growth and decay; expansion and recession; and periods of increased consumerism and low unemployment versus periods of declining product demand, lower wages, and high unemployment.

Looking at the period since World War II, bursts of increased military spending brought the U.S. economy out of the recessions of the late 1940s and 50s. The 60s economy boomed as the Vietnam war escalated before the economic crises of the 1970s. The so-called Reagan recovery was driven by dramatic increases in military spending. 1980s military spending equaled the total value of such spending between the founding of the nation and 1980.

In addition, military spending has benefited those industries, communities, and universities which have been the beneficiaries of such largesse. In our own day, Halliburton, Bechtel, and Kellogg, Brown, and Root have done quite well. For example, when Dick Cheney left his post as Secretary of Defense in 1993 to become the CEO of Halliburton, its subsidiary, KBR jumped from the 73rd ranked Pentagon contractor to the 18th.

Military spending pumped money into the economy to the advantage of selected multinational corporations and some communities. Usually recipients of defense dollars were part of what C. Wright Mills called, “the power elite,” those powerful individuals who, at the apex of government, corporate, and military institutions, influence policy. On the other hand, most citizens have not been beneficiaries of military spending.

“Indirect effects” of military spending, overwhelm the short-term stimulative effects of such spending. Military spending is “capital intensive,” that

is the investment of dollars in military goods and services require less labor power to produce than the investment of comparable dollars in other sectors of the economy. Robert Pollin and Heidi Garrett-Peltier refer to spending on Iraq as a “job killer.” They estimate that \$1 billion spent on investments in education, healthcare, energy conservation, and infrastructure would create anywhere from 50 to 100 percent more jobs than comparable spending on the war. They say; “Taking the 2007 Iraq war budget of \$138 billion, this means that upward of one million jobs were lost because the Bush Administration chose the Iraq sinkhole over public investment”(The Nation, March 31, 2008).

Further, military spending requires government to borrow money from private sources. Consequently, the more borrowing for the military, the less funds are available for non-military economic activity. Non-military spending gets “crowded out” by investment in arms.

Paralleling this, expanding investments in military reduce the resources of society that can be allocated for the production of goods and services that have use values. Military spending constitutes waste in that the resources that go into armies, navies, air forces, and weapons of human destruction cannot be put to constructive use. Looking at government spending alone, the 2008 federal budget increased by \$35 billion in military spending, bringing the total to \$541 billion. At the same time federal aid to state and local governments fell by \$19.2 billion. The war on Iraq has already cost \$522.5 billion and it was projected by distinguished economists that the total cost for the war, including paying debts, veterans benefits, and replacing destroyed equipment, will top \$3 trillion (Linda J. Bilmes and Joseph Stiglitz, *Washington Post*, March 9, 2008, p.B01).

As a new administration enters office in the context of a deepening depression, 2009 military spending for two wars, over 700 military installations, and contracting with private armies operating everywhere, will push towards a trillion dollars. This prospective allocation of scarce government resources has to be evaluated in the context of President-elect Barack Obama’s call for a massive green-jobs economic stimulus package and bailout programs for some 40 states suffering from their own budget deficits.

The Permanent War Economy in One State

Citizens of Florida so far have spent \$36 billion on the Iraq war. And, the National Priorities Project (www.nationalpriorities.org) estimated that for one year of Iraq war expenditures the state of Florida could have provided 12.7 million people with health care, 25 million homes with renewable electricity, 575,000 music and arts teachers, 11.2 million scholarships for university students, and 613,000 elementary school teachers.

Looking at Broward County, taxpayers have paid \$3.9 billion for the war so far. Instead of expenditures for the Iraq war, this money could have provided for one year the following:

- 1,385,189 people with health care or
- 2,760,979 homes with renewable electricity or
- 90,432 public safety officers or
- 62,714 music and art teachers or
- 1,224,540 university scholarships or
- 28,953 affordable housing units or
- 2,169,806 children with health care or
- 535,663 head start places or
- 66,937 elementary school teachers

Andrew Bacevich summed up this tradition of permanent war in reviewing a biography of 1940s Secretary of Defense James Forrestal in *The Nation* (April 23, 2007):

“From Forrestal's day to the present, semiwarriors have viewed democratic politics as problematic. Debate means delay. To engage in give-and-take or compromise is to forfeit clarity and suggests a lack of conviction. The effective management of national security requires specialized knowledge, a capacity for clear-eyed analysis and above all an unflinching willingness to make decisions, whatever the cost. With the advent of semiwar, therefore, national security policy became the preserve of experts, few in number, almost always unelected, habitually operating in secret, persuading themselves that to exclude the public from such matters was to serve the public interest. After all, the people had no demonstrable ‘need to know.’ In a time of perpetual crisis, the anointed role of the citizen was to be pliant, deferential and afraid.”

It is the task of the peace and justice activists today to build a mass movement, mobilizing the citizenry to reject the role of “pliant, deferential,” and fearful citizens. The people must insist that President Obama say “no” to the semiwarriors.

Harry Targ teaches and writes on United States foreign policy and international political Economy at Purdue University. He has a blog at www.heartlandradical.blogspot.com