

Peace, War & Social Conflict

Section of the American Sociological Association

Website: www.peacewarconflict.org

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Section Officers

Chair: **Lee Smithey**

Swarthmore College (2006-2007)
lsmithe1@swarthmore.edu

Chair-Elect: **Louis Hicks**

St. Mary's College of Maryland (2007-2008)
lehicks@smcm.edu

Past-Chair: **Morten Ender**

United States Military Academy (2005-2006)
morten.ender@usma.edu

Secretary / Treasurer: **John T. Crist**

United States Institute of Peace (2006-2009)
john_crist@usip.org

Council Members

Meredith Gould

University of Wisconsin, Parkside (2004-2007)
Meridith.Gould@uwp.edu

David Segal

University of Maryland, College Park (2004-2007)
dsegal@socy.umd.edu

Joyce Apsel

New York University (2005-2008)
Jaa5@nyu.edu

Yuko Kurashina Whitestone

University of Maryland, College Park (2005-2008)
ykurashina@socy.umd.edu

Patrick Coy

Kent State University (2006-2009)
pcoy@kent.edu

Tammy Ann Smith

Columbia University (2006-2009)
tas17@columbia.edu

Media Editors

Newsletter: **Josh Klein**

Iona College
jklein@igc.org

Website: **Amy Hubbard**

AmySHubbard@yahoo.com

Committee Chairs

Membership: **Yuko Kurashina Whitestone**

University of Maryland, College Park
ykurashina@socy.umd.edu

Nominations: **Patrick Coy**

Kent State University
pcoy@kent.edu

Student Awards: **Joyce Apsel**

New York University
jaa5@nyu.edu

Career Award: **Lee Smithey**

Swarthmore College (2006-2007)
lsmithe1@swarthmore.edu

ANNOUNCEMENT: Section Reception

**Attend our section reception
near the Sheraton and Hilton hotels in New York**

Our reception in New York will be held on Saturday, August 11 at 6:30 p.m. at Faces and Names at 161 W. 54th Street, only 1-2 blocks from the Sheraton or Hilton hotels. Join us for food, conversation, catching up, and honoring one of our section founders, Helen Fein. We have reserved a private room, and food and a cash bar will be provided.

A flyer with a map announcing the reception is available: www.swarthmore.edu/SocSci/lsmithe1/export/PWSC_reception_2007_NY.pdf.

Print a flyer, spread the word and invite your ASA friends!

An Interview with ASA President Frances Fox Piven

An Interview with ASA President Frances Fox Piven

It will not be long before we are gathering in New York to catch up with one another and share our work together. As a kind of prelude, I approached Frances Fox Piven (FFP), the President of the ASA, to speak with her about this year's theme and its relevance to our section interests.



~ Lee Smithey (LS)

LS: I'll just start with the theme of the meetings, "Is another World Possible," and I wonder if you could comment on the theme or what you mean by the "possible" or what "another world" looks like.

FFP: We wanted the conference to focus on the prospects for serious reform and also to consider the kinds of political strategies that will be required to push for serious reform. The theme also clearly is an effort to connect with the global justice movement and to ask sociologists to think about directions of change and amelioration of the grievances associated with neo-liberal globalization.

LS: And have you received any feedback from people in the association about the theme?

FFP: Well, the feedback I've gotten is all positive, but I suspect that's because people who are annoyed by it and who think of this as another example of the politicization of sociology by these lefties would not communicate with me, they would communicate with each other.

LS: How do you see the sociological study of peace war and social conflict contributing to this study of the possible, and what would you encourage members in our section to focus on?

FFP: Your section has laid out for yourselves a very broad set of topics. You include conflict in general, so you're pretty much embracing all of the important dynamics in social life. But if we restrict it to peace and war, then I think one very important topic which has not gotten much attention by social movement people is the question of whether peace movements have ever succeeded. Now, there is a conventional wisdom to the effect that they have never succeeded, and I don't think that's true. I think that their impact on the war-making policies of nations or national elites is complex, but it is not insignificant by any means.

If, for example, we look at the peace movement during the Vietnam War, it is widely said that the peace movement didn't end the war. First, that's not quite true. The peace movement did succeed in first restraining the conduct of the war. Lyndon Johnson did not feel he could bomb Southeast Asia off the map without terrific repercussions in the United States. That's the first counter to the common wisdom. The second is that when the peace movement spread to the GI's, it had an enormous impact and really did lead to the winding down of the war because the military brass saw the collapse of their own forces, evidenced, for example, by the hundreds of fraggings [assassinations of unpopular officers by their own soldiers] that were occurring in Vietnam, and they didn't like that at all. They wanted to pull out, and they were very very reluctant for decades to go to war again. And when they did, it was against toy countries like Grenada or Panama, and that de-escalation was a good thing. So, the peace movement not only restrained the conduct of the war, but it can take a large share of the credit for the winding down of the war and the withdrawal of American forces. And they restrained the exercise of American military power for decades afterwards. So, that's a big accomplishment

LS: Do you see parallels with regard to the Iraq war today and what seems to be the growth of veterans' peace groups.

FFP: Yes, I do, although what we have not yet seen, (or at least I haven't seen evidence of it, or maybe the evidence is being suppressed) is the same kind of disaffection among the troops themselves. Maybe that has something to do with the fact that we're fighting with a volunteer army this time.

LS: I wonder if you have any thoughts on the implications of the global protest before the war.

FFP: At the time, the New York Times editorialized that there was another great power in the world, and it was the power of the movement, the anti-war movement. So, it was a big downer when the movement did not have an immediate and clear impact. But that really gets into another kind of discussion which is: What is it about movements that makes them effective when they are effective? In the case of the anti-war movement during the Vietnam War, the parades and the marches were not particularly effective, although they probably did lead to a certain restraint on the part of the Johnson administration.

But, the disaffection of the armed forces, it seems to me, was more effective, and it's easy to see why that is so. There was a kind of strike in the army, and when people withdraw cooperation in that way, that can have an enormous impact. The marches and the demonstrations are efforts to sway opinion and also efforts, of course, to make the people in the movement feel their strength, feel how many there are, boost their morale. They are something short of a direct power strategy, but the actual withdrawal of cooperation by the troops is a much more direct and potentially effective strategy. Think, for example, if the transportation workers in the ports and the airports all refused to work on war materials, refused to transport war materials, that would be pretty effective.

LS: Turning to the U.S. military, I wonder what you see as the importance of the military in reform and progressive social change in this other possible world, and that may of course involve a lot of the aftermath of the Iraq war as soldiers come back home.

FFP: It's hard for me to think of a general argument that makes the military a valued addition to any society. I really mean that. You put arms in the hands of a select few, and it's always dangerous, it's almost always bad. So, there have been moments when there have been proposals to use the military as a sort of reform institution. Young men and women going to the military would get education, and they would get training, and they would get occupational skills, and so forth. There's got to be a better way to do that, and of course there are many other ways of doing that. I'm at a loss to think of

the value of any country's military including the sort of insurgent and guerilla type militaries around the world.

LS: C. Wright Mills said, "What the powerful call utopia is now in fact the condition for human survival." in reference to the threat of nuclear annihilation, and I wonder if you see any connections between the ASA meeting theme and Mills' comment.

FFP: I think there's a very big connection. C Wright Mills was talking about the military, but since that time, we've confronted a series of other, also ominous threats that could lead to the destruction of human life as we know it. Obviously, global warming is such a threat, the spread of pollutants is another threat, and then there is the real question that we have to raise about the sustainability of the quasi- democracy we've had in the United States. The distortions of democratic procedures in the last thirty years or so are more serious than in earlier periods of untrammelled business influence, if only because government didn't play as large a role. The United States government plays an enormous role in American society and in the entire world, and it's a government that seems to be run by a clique of people who don't even have a future horizon, they just want to grab it all, and eat it all up now.

LS: Thinking back to the Mills quote, at the beginning of the 21st Century it seems there are lots of things that would have been seen as purely utopian forty years ago, like the idea of non violent revolution, and yet we've seen many nonviolent revolutions. These and other alternatives to violent conflict, such as diplomacy and aid and development work, are now more on the table than they have been in the past.

FFP: I don't recall Mills ever taking a position on nonviolence. That's a very tricky issue because, usually, when people take that position, they combine the moral feelings behind a nonviolence stance with the strategic issues that are raised by a nonviolent strategy. I think the civil rights movement did that. The nonviolence was very strategic, and yet it was always argued as a moral issue.

LS: But it doesn't have to be, right? It doesn't have to be argued as a moral issue, necessarily.

FFP: I would argue it is both, but I think that people often say to themselves and to each other when they're caught up in the passion of the movement: the system is so violent that our violence is justified. I think that that is actually a reasonable moral argument, but it's usually strategically stupid to engage in violence. There's absolutely nothing strategically to connect the limited violence of the insurgents with the ultimately nonviolent goals that they profess. It just doesn't work

LS: Do you believe the ASA resolution in 2003 against the war in Iraq was an appropriate action for the

association to take, and what if anything should the association be doing now that the U.S., four years later, remains militarily engaged in an international and ethnopolitical conflict?

FFP: I think most of us agree with the basic claims of the resolution right? Of course, it's so easy to pass resolutions.

LS: I recall a lot of debate over whether or not the resolution sacrificed the ASA's academic credibility.

FFP: That's a perennial issue. I think that the practice of sociology involves not only the building of theory and evidence about how group life works, how societies work, how social problems occur and so forth, but I think it's appropriate to bring to that work a kind of moral sensibility. I do not agree with the notion that, on the one hand, we're scientists or social scientists, and on the other hand, in our citizen life, we can go out and join a demonstration. I think we should bring our knowledge to bear on our moral concerns.

LS: I remember some people suggesting that the ASA should create a white paper on the war, and that would be a way of bringing our expertise to bear. As far as I know, that hasn't been done. One sometimes feels that sociologists have left peace and war issues to political scientists and other social scientists, and I wonder if you get the same impression and, if so, why you think that might be the case.

FFP: Well, I know if it's been left to political scientists, they have dealt with it in a very limited way as having to do with the power of nation states in the international system. They have not dealt with the impact of war on societies, on American society for example. In fact political scientists and sociologists treat periods of war almost as exceptions, they bracket those years of war when they study historical developments, for instance, and that's a mistake because some of the biggest changes in American society have occurred during war periods and as a result of war mobilization. So, it's like putting blinders on your ability to do analysis when you engage in this habit of bracketing war emergencies.

However, if there are people in your section that are willing to work on a white paper on the impact of war on American society, about the cost of war for Americans, viewed sociologically, I think that the section should make a proposal to the council, and it should outline the kind of white paper that the section thinks could be done, and it should volunteer to serve on a commission that would then be mandated to develop the white paper. Why don't you do that?

LS: One final question: What has you most excited about the meetings this summer?

FFP: I'm pleased that we are devoting many sessions to political developments in the global south, and that we will have lots of speakers from other parts of the world. American sociology has been a bit parochial, so it should be bracing and illuminating to hear from sociologists whose experience is distinctive. And we'll have more sessions on politics generally, including politics in the United States. There is much to be learned I think from a sociological perspective on the turbulent political changes of our time.

Let me encourage others to also interview your favorite sociologist or one whom you think has a significant bearing on the interests of our section as a contribution to the newsletter.

**Peace, War and Social Conflict Section
Election Results for 2007**

Chair-Elect: **Davis S. Meyer**

Council Member #1: **Daniel Ritter**

Council Member #2: **Meredith A. Kleykamp**

Let us extend our appreciation to all of our colleagues who participated this year by running for an office. Your willingness to be nominated and run is a great service to the section.

**Peace, War and Social Conflict Section
Sessions and Events at ASA**



PLEASE NOTICE:

- Our reception will be held on the evening (August 11) BEFORE the day during which our section sessions will be held (August 12)
- A regular session on "Peace and Conflict" and a workshop on "Teaching the Sociology of Peace, War, Military Institutions, and Social Conflict" will be held on Saturday, August 11 (the same day as our reception).

SATURDAY, AUGUST 11, 2007

8:30am - 10:10am

Teaching Workshop. Teaching the Sociology of Peace, War, Military Institutions, and Social Conflict (co-sponsored with the ASA Section on Peace, War, and Social Conflict)

Location: Sheraton New York

Session Organizer: Morten G. Ender (United States Military Academy)

Co-Leader: Ryan D. Kelty (United States Military Academy)

Co-Leader: Morten G. Ender (United States Military Academy)

Panelists:

- Randall Collins (University of Pennsylvania)
- Ksenia Gorbenko (University of Pennsylvania.)
- Uli Linke (Rochester Institute of Technology)
- Aleksandra Milicevic (Colgate University)
- David R. Segal (University of Maryland)
- Mady Wechsler Segal (University of Maryland)
- Danielle Taana Smith (University of South Carolina)

War, social conflict, and violence remain at the forefront of the American and global experience. Students and sociologists alike are seeking structured opportunities to teach and learn about war, peace, terrorism, conflict, the military, and social conflict in meaningful, structured, and perhaps most significantly, a sociological way. Members of the Peace, War, and Social Conflict Section of the ASA have contributed to and published Teaching the Sociology of Peace, War, and Military Institutions: A Curriculum Guide (4th Edition, 2007). In this workshop we will present four domains: Peace, War, Military Institutions, and Social Conflict from a sociological perspective and with relevant courses and pedagogical tools. Leaders will 1) discuss in and around the course(s) they teach in terms of content; 2) the context in which they teach such as kinds of students. Prerequisites and level of the course; 3) matters associated with the process and structure of teaching and learning to include texts and other instructional tools, resources, etc. Instructional materials and other sources will be made available as well as high technological presentations.

10:30am - 12:10pm

Regular Session. Peace and Conflict

Location: Sheraton New York

Session Organizer: David E. Rohall (Western Illinois University)

Presider: David E. Rohall (Western Illinois University)

- *Economic Globalization and Multilateral Peacekeeping: Competing Agendas?*
Jackie Smith (University of Notre Dame)
- *Ethnopolitical Conflict Transformation: Cultural Innovation and Loyalist Identity in Northern Ireland*
Lee A. Smithey (Swarthmore College)
- *Understanding the Positive Effects of Armed Conflict on Women's Parliamentary Representation*
Melanie M. Hughes (The Ohio State University)
- *Beyond the Baker-Hamilton Recipe for Honorable and Peaceful End of Iraq War and Other Related Conflicts - Sociological Theories of Peace and Endless Conflicts*
Ghyasuddin Ahmed (Virginia State University)
- *A Memorable Process: A Theoretical Exploration of Forgiveness*
Amy Colleen Finnegan (Boston College)

Discussant: David E. Rohall (Western Illinois University)

6:30pm - 8:00pm

Section on Peace, War, and Social Conflict Reception and Presentation Honoring Helen Fein

Location: Faces and Names restaurant at 161 W. 54th Street

SUNDAY, AUGUST 12, 2007

8:30am - 9:30am

Section on Peace, War, and Social Conflict Roundtable Session (one-hour).

Location: Sheraton New York

- Table 01. The Social Construction of Peace, War, and Violence
- Table 02. The Causes and Consequences of Civil Violence

- Table 03. Understanding Causes of Conflict Behavior: From Micro to Macro

9:30am - 10:10am

Section on Peace, War, and Social Conflict Business Meeting (40-min)

Location: Sheraton New York

10:30am - 12:10pm

Section on Peace, War, and Social Conflict Paper Session. Is a Nonviolent World Possible?

Location: Sheraton New York

Session Organizer: Daniel Egan (University of Massachusetts-Lowell)

Presider: Daniel Egan (University of Massachusetts-Lowell)

- *Gandhian Dialectics: Constructing a Nonviolent World?*
Lester R. Kurtz (University of Texas)
- *Towards a Theory of Nonviolent Revolutions: The Case of Iran 1977-79*
Daniel P. Ritter (University of Texas at Austin)
- *"I Don't Eat Ketchup to This Day": Race, Memory-making, and the Potential for Reconciliation*
Kristen Maria Lavelle (Texas A&M University)
- *The Friends' Peace Testimony, Changing Understandings and Strategies of Action*
Christopher Andrew Morrissey (University of Notre Dame)

In keeping with the 2007 ASA Meeting's theme "Is Another World Possible?," the Peace, War and Social Conflict Section is sponsoring a panel entitled "Is a Nonviolent World Possible?" Papers are encouraged which address this question in any number of ways, including (but not limited to) the philosophy of nonviolence, nonviolence in social theory, nonviolent social movements, and the institutional forces (at the international, national, or local levels) which either facilitate or undermine the development of a nonviolent world.

12:30pm - 2:10pm

Regular Session. Military

Location: Sheraton New York

Session Organizer: Juanita M. Firestone (University of Texas)

Manuelita Barrios Rodriguez (Universidad del Rosario)

Presider: Juanita M. Firestone (University of Texas)

- *Is There a Relationship between Veteran Status, Spatial Mobility, and Social Mobility in the All Volunteer Force Era?*
Amy Kate Bailey (University of Washington)
- *McSoldiers in Iraq?: Innovative Professionals or Human Tools*
Morten G. Ender (United States Military Academy)
- *Military Keynesianism in the Post-Vietnam War Era*
Michael E. Wallace (University of Connecticut), Casey A. Borch (University of Connecticut)
- *Which Revolution in Military Affairs?*
Aaron Major (New York University)

Discussant: Richard J. Harris (University of Texas-San Antonio)

2:30pm - 4:10pm

Section on Peace, War, and Social Conflict Paper Session. Peace, War, and Social Development

Location: Sheraton New York

Session Organizers: Steven Carlton-Ford (University of Cincinnati) and Stephen J. Scanlan (Ohio University)

Presider: Stephen J. Scanlan (Ohio University)

- *The "Roots" of Transnational Terrorism: A Replication and Extension of Burgoon*
Edward Michael Crenshaw (Ohio State University), Kristopher K. Robison (Ohio State University), J. Craig Jenkins (Ohio State University)
- *The Internal Displacement of Kurds in Turkey As a Process Producing Poverty and Social Exclusion*
Hatice Deniz Yukseker (Koc University)
- *Beyond the Revolution: The Long-Term Reintegration of Guerrilla Ex-Combatants in South Africa*
Laura J. Heideman (University of Wisconsin-Madison)
- *Role and ex-role: The process of exiting the role of a paramilitary*

The relationship of peace and war (and other forms of armed conflict) to social and economic development has been under-theorized and under-examined. Papers in this session could examine challenges to social and economic development as a cause of or precursor to armed conflict, or as a response to or consequence of war (or other form of armed conflict). Conversely, papers could examine the relationship between the lack of peace or the existence of positive peace to social and economic development. In depth case studies, comparative case studies, and large-scale (including/especially cross-national) quantitative studies are all welcomed.

Essays and Research Notes

Iraq: A Quagmire Of Appeasement? Alec Campbell

Reprinted from: September 17, 2006, Alec Campbell, Copyright © 2006 Blethen Maine Newspapers Inc.

Beware of politicians bearing history lessons.

The focus on the past typically masks an absence of policy and strategy for the future. Consider the Iraq war in this light. According to the Bush administration, it is a replay of World War II. According to Democrats, Iraq is the new Vietnam War. Unfortunately, a veneer of plausibility conceals deep flaws in both cases.

President Bush compares Islamists to Nazis and Communists and says that the battle against them is the decisive ideological struggle of the 21st century. Invoking another World War II analogy, Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld then asks if we can "truly afford to believe that somehow, some way, vicious extremists can be appeased."

Appease is a loaded word.

In 1938, the major European powers forced Czechoslovakia to cede territory to the Nazis in order to avoid war. This action, later denigrated as appeasement, was morally bankrupt -- but not the decisive moment armchair historians have made it. A different position might have changed the timing of war, but it was far too late to do anything about fascism itself. By 1938, Hitler had been in power for five years, anti-Semitic Nuremberg laws were in effect and Dachau and Buchenwald were full of political prisoners. The rise of Nazism was rooted less in accommodation and appeasement than in the earlier punitive treaty of Versailles, which undermined the German economy with reparations and alienated the German military upon which the new and fragile Weimar government was

dependant. This victor-imposed peace was far more important than later accommodation.

The failures of Versailles led to World War II, after which the lessons of that first Great War were embedded in the long occupation before the transfer of sovereignty, the welcoming of former enemies into the allied community and in the provision of Marshall Plan aid rather than the imposition of reparations. If the Bush administration wants to learn from World War II, they should look at the post-war rather than the pre-war period.

Democrats these days meet accusations of appeasement with descriptions of a quagmire in Iraq that allude to Vietnam. On the surface, Vietnam and Iraq seem quite similar. Both cases are characterized by guerrilla forces engaging the vastly more powerful American military with unconventional tactics. However, context matters; in today's world the Iraqi resistance cannot rely on substantial overt support of superpowers or neighboring states. Iraq is Vietnam without cheap supply from the Soviet Union or North Vietnamese regular army units. This is a Vietnam with fewer casualties and no Tet offensive or Khe Sanh. From this perspective, Iraq is more like Northern Ireland than Vietnam.

One problem with analogies is that they are endless. Here are two that no one is making: First, perhaps the end of the Cold War is analogous to the end of World War I. In both cases victorious allies failed to ensure the stability of former zones of conflict. As a result, Russia is now an undemocratic and repressive state headed by a former KGB agent. Our former mujahedeen allies in Afghanistan are now at the core of Islamist terrorist organizations, just as disaffected German soldiers were at the core of European fascism. Iraq, Afghanistan and Russia are all potential twenty-first century Weimar Republics.

Alternatively, the Global War on Terror is akin to the Cold War struggle against communism. From this perspective, Iraq is like Korea, the first hot war in a longer ideological conflict. Perhaps someone should point out to the Bush administration historians that the United States won the Cold War while scoring a tie and a loss in the two major hot wars of the period. Truce in Korea and withdrawal in Vietnam did not lead to defeat in the larger ideological struggle. This larger struggle cannot be won in Iraq any more than the Cold War could be won in Korea. If we push this analogy contemporary Iran is similar to Korean war-era China. This should give administration saber rattlers some pause.

Are my analogies any better than Rumsfeld's to World War II or liberal allusions to Vietnam? Probably not.

We can learn from history but its lessons are not simple and analogies are imperfect. We should study the rise of fascism, post World War II occupations, Korean

geopolitics and Vietnamese insurgency tactics. This will not reveal simple answers usable in political speeches, on-air commentaries or -- dare I say -- newspaper op-ed pieces, but it might get us closer to something useful.

Alec Campbell is associate professor of sociology at Colby College. He is working on a book concerning the impact of war veterans on American politics.

An Essay On: Security First: For A Muscular, Moral Foreign Policy (Yale University Press 2007), By Amitai Etzioni

By Nicholas Wheeler, The Institute for Communitarian Policy Studies, The George Washington University

Amitai Etzioni argues that our international problems are largely self-inflicted. And he sees good news in this finding, to the extent that many of our problems admit of a solution. We are suffering, he argues, from a severe form of realism deficiency disorder. Etzioni uses the term "realism" not in a Freudian sense, nor in a Realpolitik sense. Given that it is much easier (albeit far from easy) to learn to face reality than to change reality—Etzioni shows that there is cause for optimism for the post-Bush world.

First of all, despite multiple terrorist attacks, we are not involved in a clash of civilizations. Etzioni presents considerable evidence to show that most Muslims are moderate people who oppose violence. For those who are quick to argue that this may be true but only of non-Arabs, he presents data to show that most Palestinians, for example, also seek a peaceful solution with Israel. Many may have voted for Hamas, but they did so because of its attention to social services and its integrity, as opposed to the corrupt Fatah party. (He points to similar data for several other Arab nations.) That is, most Muslims are on our side of what Etzioni calls the "true fault line"—the divide between those who rely on violence and those who favor peaceful coexistence—in contrast to the way in which Bernard Lewis and Samuel Huntington divide the "West" and "the rest," a worldview that gained much following after 9/11.

One major reason many believe the Muslim world is so problematic is that we have bought lock, stock, and barrel into another unrealistic theory, namely, that we ought to make the world safe by promoting democracy. Such a theory argues that the world is trending towards democracy and that we should give history a helping hand; after all, this theory holds, many of our most reliable allies are liberal democracies.

Etzioni shows that genuine liberals are in reality few and far between in most of the world. Hence if we approach

the world seeking only liberals as allies, we shall find few. On the other hand, if we set out in search of moderates, we shall find many more partners. He uses the spat over the Danish cartoons to illustrate his point. Most Muslims were offended by the cartoons and—given half a chance—would ban them, and generally limit free speech, a key liberal tenet. However, at the same time, most Muslims opposed violent reactions to the publication. Similarly, the U.S.’s efforts to get Afghanistan and Iraq to introduce the separation of mosque and state and to grant full-blown women’s rights in their constitutions are unrealistic, and delayed what must be done: providing security first. Etzioni draws from this analysis one of his major policy recommendations: in places like Iraq and Afghanistan we should help provide law and order, but otherwise leave it to the people of these nations to hammer out the details of their political systems.

Etzioni applies the same “Security First” thesis to international relations. He sees Libya as a test case for such a foreign policy. Libya turned moderate in security terms when it disgorged its WMD program and ceased supporting terrorism. However, it continues to be a highly illiberal nation. Surely one would prefer for Libya to become a liberal democracy. However for now it is viewed as satisfying first-order international needs. Instead of condemning Libya, as human rights groups demand, we should hold it up as a model for other hostile nations. Surely if North Korea and Iran followed the Libya model, we would be dancing in the streets. Democratization and liberalization should be considered as a Stage II development, following focus on security.

Another aspect of the current, unrealistic U.S. worldview is the often-implicit but widely held belief in the West that the world is increasingly secularizing as it modernizes, and that the U.S. should only support secular leaders, programs, and initiatives abroad. Etzioni cites a court case that bans USAID from spending money on religious education programs abroad, and he describes conversations with State Department officials who are very wary about working with religious groups overseas. Etzioni, in contrast, sees moderate but religious Muslims (and other believers) as the best antidotes to radical ones. He compares the situation to the Cold War, in which the U.S. found that the best antidote to communists were other social democrats, and not necessarily conservatives. He provides a list of specific measures that can be undertaken in this regard, including bringing moderate mullahs from Indonesia and Bangladesh to places such as Afghanistan and southern Iraq.

The lack of realism in U.S. foreign policy is particularly evident in the ways we grossly misjudged our capacity to engage in social engineering and post-war reconstruction abroad. Etzioni draws on his sociological training and research to show that a foreign policy that presumes we can turn nation after nation into “shining, prosperous democracies” is as unrealistic as the presumption that we

can “reconstruct” post-conflict nations such as Afghanistan and Iraq if we just turned that mission over to civilians or had such missions handled by the State Department rather than the Pentagon. Etzioni, to the contrary, argues that we must realize that democracy is a delicate plant that grows slowly, only after the ground is well prepared, and best prepared by those in whose garden it is being grown.

The U.S. can help prepare the ground for democratization but not deliver it ready made or rush it along. Among the steps that he calls for is to engage, rather than isolate, totalitarian regimes (compare, for example, U.S. policy towards Cuba, North Korea, Iran, and Saddam’s Iraq, to U.S. policy towards China and the USSR). He shows that when societies open up to U.S. travel, investment, and international communication, these all erode the power of totalitarian regimes and eventually open the door to democratization.

Etzioni’s most unusual and compelling argument is that U.S. foreign policy is based on a misunderstanding of the basic elements that make up a good society. A good society is not one merely centered on individual liberty, rights, democracy, and free markets—all individualizing elements. A good society also nurtures a strong social order by drawing primarily on a shared moral culture and informal social controls. He finds that the reason practically all newly liberated societies, from Russia to Iraq, exhibit high levels of antisocial behavior (including drastic increases in crime and drug use), is that they need help not so much in liberalizing as in replacing their former police states with the kind of social order that plays a key (albeit often invisible) moralizing role in free societies.

When moral culture and informal social controls collapse, radicalism rises. It is unrealistic to treat radicalism as a childhood disease of modernization, as Francis Fukuyama has suggested. If a moral vacuum persists, so will radicalism. Here Etzioni returns to his theme about the importance of religion in our foreign policy, as it can serve as a major source of moral culture for failing and newly liberated states.

All said and done, the more we realize that our major international challenges are smaller in scope than widely held, that we have many more potential allies than we sometimes presume, and that it is foolish to try to democratize the world on the run, the sounder our foreign policy will be.

Although many see realism as counter to a moral stand, Etzioni argues that the realistic approach he promotes both contains values in its own right and champions still others. His realism aims to avoid the cynicism and distrust that result when nation after nation is promised democratization and economic development to no avail. Moreover his realism allows us to see that the people of the world have other yearnings and commitments than

the various liberties cherished by the West. They seek to nurture interpersonal and communal bonds, and spiritual and religious values.

The book reflects that Etzioni is a social scientist and hence his book is more evidence-driven than based on theories of international relations (which are at the root of several other books on the world after Bush). His book is also more future-oriented than some others. Most importantly, in contrast to several books that reflect the good wishes and daydreams of their authors, Etzioni's work is grounded in the reality which cannot be ignored as we seek to advance values dear to all of us.

The Horror Of War Can Be Catnip For Young Men

By Jerry Lembcke. Published in *National Catholic Reporter*, May 25, 2007

Oliver Stone's film "Platoon" came out in 1986 with predictions from antiwar activists that here was a film portraying the horror of war so graphically that, at long last, Americans would turn away from it.

The expectations I took with me when I went to see the film were dashed early when I heard the oohs and ahhs normally elicited by action films. From my vantage point in the darkened theater, I could see several pairs of men and boys. Fathers and sons, I wondered. Veterans and sons?

By the end, my mind was as much on the audience as the film. As the credits rolled, I made a point to listen in on some conversations: awestruck sons asking fathers if "it was really like that"; fathers confirming that, yes, war is hell; the lesson punctuated with youthful expressions of "cool."

War is hell -- cool! Union Gen. William Tecumseh Sherman had pronounced war "hell" just before he torched Atlanta. It became an antiwar trope during the 20th century. It was as if the repetition of the phrase "War is hell," and the evermore realistic portrayals of it, from the World War I classic "All Quiet on the Western Front" through "Saving Private Ryan," which took the genre of films-to-end-all-wars into the 21st century, would banish the discord and bring the light.

But over the years, the thought congealed for me: "War is hell" isn't working as an antiwar slogan. Worse, I feared, the horror of war might be a kind of catnip for young men. The worse we make it sound and look, the more irresistible it is. Maybe it's the Calvinism engrained in American culture that calls us to duty -- the greater the risk, the greater the glory; no cost, no benefit.

When I was recently invited to speak on the cost of war at Holy Cross College, I hesitated. Sure, I could tote up

the costs of the wars in dollars, lives and broken bodies, but why? Is there a tipping point at which the costs get so great that we run to the streets yelling, "No more war," and it all ends? Will a display of empty boots on the village common remind us of the living souls that used to fill them and we'll say "enough"?

Maybe. But probably not. The social chemistry joining human losses in combat with patriotism and the will to war is more complex than that. For every Gold Star mother marching with Code Pink, there is a parent seeking to avenge his or her loss through more war. An eye for an eye, you know. Continue the mission so my loss will not have been in vain.

In March, I watched the ABC special on Bob Woodruff's recovery after he suffered a head wound while reporting from Iraq. The program used Mr. Woodruff's story to raise awareness of the head-injury cases of military veterans. The distended skulls, slurred speech, the difficulties they have with basic body movement were hard to watch. The memory it evoked of my own visit to St. Albans Naval Hospital in 1970 to see my friend Denny who had had half his face ripped away by a mortar round in Vietnam didn't make it any easier.

But I also watched, mindful of what else ABC could have been showing us: hours of personal and political detail about the 1,000 GIs and Marines, still in service, who signed the Appeal for Redress opposing the war and presented it to Congress in February -- a story that got a 15-minute slot on "60 Minutes" the hour before the Academy Awards began.

Just imagine if the opening of the first GI antiwar coffeehouse near Fort Drum, N.Y., in November had been given more than a passing glance by the press, and if the names of Army Lt. Ehren Watada, prosecuted for refusing deployment to Iraq, and Marine Press Officer Josh Rushing, who went public with his objections to propaganda fed to Americans about the war, were as common in the American conversation as, say, the names of Jessica Lynch or Pat Tillman.

There's a new documentary about the GI resistance movement during the Vietnam years. Called "Sir! No Sir!" the film shows church leaders chained to men refusing deployment to Vietnam, an act that said, "Arrest them and you arrest us." It lent the legitimacy of religious authority to in-service resisters and offered civilian America a different way to support the troops. It symbolized empowerment and it emboldened more people inside and outside the military to take action to end the war. (See <http://www.sirnosir.com/>).

There are two narratives about the consequences of war. One is about its losses and costs, the other about war's unintended consequences: the education and politicization of the very people sent into combat, a consequence with the capacity to stop the war.

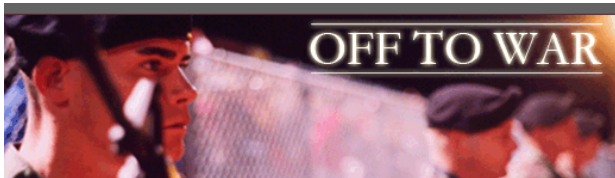
We don't have to choose between these narratives. If the experience of Vietnam holds true, it will be the movement of a new generation of warriors turned against their war that will create the pressure to improve care for the wounded and lead the fight for reparations for the country they helped destroy. At home, where I write, Denny's picture is on the shelf by the keyboard; in front of me, beyond the monitor, is a silk-screen of the reflecting pool on the Washington Mall. It's a de Kooning, produced by the artist on the mall where in April 1971 he'd joined Vietnam Veterans Against the War to protest the war and petition Congress to end it.

There are two narratives. One tells us why we should end the war, the other how to do that. Just hours before speaking at Holy Cross, I opened an attachment sent by a new organization, Iraq Veterans Against the War, with photographs of its members reenacting their combat patrols in Iraq. They were doing this as a public demonstration against the war, on the Washington Mall, with the reflecting pool in the background.

These are the troops we sent to war. They're not victims, they're not casualties, and they're not costs. They don't want yellow ribbons. They want us to help them end the war.

Essay On Recent Film Documentaries About Iraq, Iraqis, War, And Soldiers

By Morten G. Ender, United States Military Academy



A number of documentaries about Iraq are beginning to hit the streets. Many are available on DVD. Some are still in theaters and touring film festivals. Some films appeared just prior to the ousting of the Baathists in 2003 and have gained some momentum for their insight into Iraq in the years prior to the current war. Most of the films however have appeared after the U.S. invasion.

Wikipedia, everyone's favorite encyclopedia to hate, has established a list of almost 100 films related to Iraq (see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/List_of_film_documentaries_about_Iraq). Some are up for Academy Awards for Best Documentary. Almost all have links to websites of the films.

Two websites for accessing comprehensive information about films include: <http://www.rottentomatoes.com> and <http://www.imdb.com/>. PBS's Frontline (<http://www.pbs.org/frontline/>) has been making some

interesting films in recent years. My psychology colleagues tell me they have at least one film about PTSD and other psychological problems suffered by returning service members. Teachers of peace, war, military institutions, and social conflict should find one or two useful from the list below useful for their classes. Some have instructional materials on their websites. I have used a number in my military and war film course including Gunner Palace and The War Tapes. I'm sure there are some about Afghanistan as well and I'd appreciate receiving names and weblinks to films from colleagues to update this list.

Below is a list of the more prominent films with years, websites, and weblinks.

Off to War. (2006).

http://www.dctvny.org/productions/off_to_war.html.

My Country My Country. (2006). Directed by Laura Poirtras. <http://www.pbs.org/pov/pov2006/mycountry/>.

The Dreams of Sparrows. (2005).

<http://www.iraqeye.org/>.

Gunner Palace. (2004). Directed by Michael Tucker and Petra Epperlein <http://www.gunnerpalace.com/content/>

Uncovered: The War on Iraq. (2003). Directed by Robert Greenwald <http://www.robertgreenwald.org/about.php>.

Paying the Price: Killing the Children of Iraq. (2000). Directed by John Pilger.

<http://www.bullfrogfilms.com/catalog/pay.html>.

Christmas in Baghdad. Directed by Deborah Oster Pannell

Turtles Can Fly. (2005). Directed by Bahman Ghobadi. See: http://www.rottentomatoes.com/m/turtles_can_fly/.

Control Room (2004). Directed by Jehane Noujaim. <http://www.imdb.com/title/tt0391024/>.

Iraq in Fragments. (2006). Directed by James Longley. <http://www.iraqinfragments.com/>

The War Tapes. (2006). Director by Deborah Scranton. <http://thewartapes.com/trailer/> Winner of the Tribeca Film Festival's 2006 Best Documentary.

About Baghdad. (2005).

<http://www.aboutbaghdad.com/>.

Iraq for Sale. (2006) by Robert Greenwald.

<http://iraqforsale.org/>.

Fahrenheit 9/11. (2004). Directed by Michael Moore. <http://www.fahrenheit911.com/>.

Baghdad ER. (2006). HBO's documentary directed by Jon Alpert and Matthew O'Neill. <http://www.hbo.com/docs/programs/baghdader/index.html>.

Occupation: Dreamland. (2004). Directed by Ian Olds Garrett Scott. <http://www.occupationdreamland.com/>.

Voices of Iraq. (2004). <http://www.voicesofiraq.com/>.

A Company of Soldiers. (2005). PBS Frontline Documentary. <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/shows/company/>.

U.S. Social Forum Peace Caucus Explores Possibilities For Enhancing Coalitions For Peace And Justice

By Jackie Smith, The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies & Sociology Department, University of Notre Dame

The first U.S. Social Forum (USSF) took place June 27-July 1, 2007, in Atlanta Georgia, providing space for diverse movements to come together to discuss the problems they confront and to explore new ways of working together.

Ten thousand people gathered for this meeting, representing hundreds of organizations from around the country. The USSF was part of the much broader World Social Forum process, which began in Porto Alegre, Brazil in 2001 and which has flourished around the world through hundreds of global, regional, national and local social forums.



I organized a peace caucus at the USSF because my research has indicated that major U.S. peace and antiwar groups have had limited involvement in the World Social Forum process, even though their counterparts from other countries have been very active there. I hoped to encourage more U.S. peace activists to participate in the USSF with this series of three workshops during which participants discussed the challenges of building coalitions to do peace and justice work, considered ideas being put forward by diverse groups, and developed consensus on strategies for helping renew and strengthen social movements working to end war and its underlying causes. This essay describes what happened in the Peace Caucus sessions and examines some lessons from this

"participant observation" research. I reflect on the challenge of doing "socially responsible" scholarship.

The Peace Caucus

While I had hoped the Peace Caucus would draw a diverse array of groups, participants were mostly white, middle class, and working largely within the mainstream of the peace movement. This is not surprising, given that there were over 100 simultaneous workshops to choose from! Nevertheless, several activists of color and people working in low-income communities attended, providing valuable insights into how to transcend these familiar boundaries.

The first session of the Peace Caucus brought together George Martin, national co-director of United for Peace and Justice and Sameer Dossani, Executive Director of 50 Years is Enough & member of Mobilization for Global Justice to present ideas and launch a discussion of the challenges of coalition work in the peace movement. A key theme that emerged from the session is that peace organizers are constantly faced with the urgent need to stop particular wars while also wishing to address the underlying causes of war. When people are dying, it's hard to not act to "put out the fire." And in the context of ongoing wars, those arguing that we need to find better fire prevention methods can look callous if not misguided. Participants also noted how the U.S. electoral and policy process encourages narrow, single-issue frames rather than more complex proposals to address the structural causes of violence and militarism.

The second peace caucus session presented several "visions" of how those concerned with peace and justice might focus their energies. Representatives of groups organizing campaigns that I thought were putting forward especially innovative and promising initiatives for peace and justice -Nicola Torbett of Tikkun and the Network of Spiritual Progressives, Cheryl Tarr of the campaign for a U.S. Department of Peace, and Lois Barber of EarthAction International-spoke about the Global Marshall Plan initiative, the Department of Peace Campaign and the UN Emergency Peace Service and WorldVote initiatives, respectively. United for Peace and Justice co-director Leslie Kagan offered some insightful reactions to the proposals from the perspective of an organizer who has worked to build a diverse coalition of peace groups. She noted, for instance, that the original Marshall plan was an explicit attempt by the U.S. to secure its own financial interests in a post-WWII Europe, so a plan to enhance international financial assistance should seek to distance itself from the negative implications of this name. She also voiced the concerns of many activists here and in the global South by stressing that any work to strengthen the United Nations through initiatives such as the Emergency Peace Service must be preceded by steps -starting with reform

of the Security Council--to make that institution more representative of and accountable to all of its members. Comments from participants identified other limitations of the proposals, including their failure to adequately address inequalities in the distribution of economic and political power.

Before our last Peace Caucus session, though, a workshop on building links between peace and social justice struggles. Several participants in this session were organizers in African American and Latino/a communities, giving me a chance to ask these organizers about coalition building among peace activists. It was clear that "peace" work in communities of color tended to focus on ending gun violence in neighborhoods, fighting the "prison industrial complex," and combating military recruitment. In the context of the USSF, however, we were able to move beyond these observations about the different priorities of diverse communities in this country to discuss ways of forging unified struggles to resist militarism and violence. We discussed openly how the different cultures of organizing and speaking present in middle-class and low-income communities can hinder efforts at effective communication and trust-building between groups. I took these lessons to our third Peace Caucus session, and found that these themes resonated with ideas raised at the other two workshops our Caucus members attended.

The third and final Peace Caucus session was to build consensus on a final document that we would forward to the People's Movement Assembly for the following day. We discussed a draft "citizen's peace plan" we wanted to advance to help focus the attention of activists around the country on a common strategy for ending the Iraq war. We also wanted to provide concrete suggestions for actions we could take in our communities that integrate the lessons we learned in our workshops. Below this essay I reproduce the document we adopted in Atlanta. What was interesting and a bit surprising to me was that the actions we agreed upon did not include any calls to join a campaign or even to work towards a particular policy goal. The call to action emphasizes the need to work on relationship-building. Participants agreed to move outside their comfort zones to attend meetings and events sponsored by groups different from their own. They also agreed to support civil society more generally by contributing to the World Social Forum process and by remaining vigilant to the need to support each others' work for peace. Instead of calls for "no war" or for specific institutional changes, the Peace Caucus is calling for effort to foster a "culture of peace, human rights and justice." This requires a shift from the familiar campaigning strategy towards more conscious efforts to link the means we use to promote peace with the ends we hope to achieve.

Lessons Learned

Although I had organized the Peace Caucus with a general idea of the action plans I was hoping to see us agree upon, the result was nothing like what I anticipated. Moreover, I think what we experienced here reflects a general objective of the World Social Forum process, namely to provide spaces where people can start to articulate and develop new ways of doing politics. The WSF process emerged from the widespread realization that representative democracy is failing in most of the world to address the real needs people face. Economic globalization is threatening existing democratic rights and freedoms, and political leaders remain unwilling to confront the challenges of globalization to democracy.

The call to action of the Peace Caucus reflects the WSF aims of nurturing networks and building movement unity in a "horizontal" rather than top-down or "vertical" way. Its emphasis on culture of peace and human rights reflects the need to nurture identities that can more readily transcend the stubborn boundaries structured by racism, classism, patriarchy, and nationalism in the dominant culture. Existing political and economic structures have frustrated effective movement-building in the past, but most movements' efforts to promote social change have sought to work within at least some aspects of these institutional and cultural structures. Our discussions made clear that if we want to be more successful, we need to change what we do in dramatic ways. If violence is built into the basic structures of international capitalism and nationhood, we need to be mindful of how these institutions have shaped our own thinking and perceptions.

This latter point was dramatized in the final plenary of the USSF, the People's Movement Assembly, which provided two-minute time slots for groups to present their resolutions to the wider USSF assembly. Indigenous rights organizers were exceeding this allotted time, and the moderator took the microphone from a Bolivian indigenous leader in order to keep the program on schedule. The move was seen as deeply offensive to the large delegation of indigenous organizers, and indigenous leaders negotiated with USSF organizing committee to have time to offer their views on the incident and to conduct a traditional healing ceremony to foster new understanding and trust between indigenous and other groups. While my own western and middle-class background (as well as my need to catch a plane home!) made me sympathetic with the aim of providing equal time for all groups and keeping the program to its published schedule, this action in the space of the USSF helped me realize how much my own sensibilities have been shaped by the structures and institutions I'm seeking to transform. By forcing every group to articulate its statement in two minutes, we were privileging groups with greater familiarity with the English language and with written (versus oral) traditions, among other biases.

Another lesson I took away from this experience is that the WSF process creates open spaces for people to bring a variety of issues and formats of engagement, but it is used most effectively when leaders emerge to actively implement the WSF aims of building a networked movement. Such leaders organize workshops that bring diverse groups together rather than simply present projects of particular groups. They also help participants learn about the broader WSF process by integrating themes from plenary sessions into workshops and making references to other social forums. The USSF was the most globally conscious of all the social forums I have attended in this country.

This is partly because many members of the national planning committee have attended several World Social Forums and they appreciate the importance of building ties between U.S. and global social movements. The USSF website, program, and plenary sessions were used to help participants understand how our forum fits within the larger global context. The successful communication of this message was clear in the fact that quite a number of the resolutions presented at the People's Movement Assembly noted that groups were planning local social forums and intended to participate in the January 26, 2008 global day of action called by the WSF International Council.

A final reflection I took away from the USSF is that we live in a very diverse country, but we have no structures that enable us to engage in dialogues with people different from ourselves. Our society is highly segregated by race and class, and this prevents inclusive, democratic deliberation about what policies are best for our country as a whole. The WSF process has helped to give birth to a truly democratic space where people long disenfranchised by our electoral process can raise issues of concern to them, learn about the views of others, and consider ways of addressing shared problems. The success of USSF organizers in mobilizing a diverse array of participants and in bringing in some of the most marginalized groups in our society was evident throughout the spaces of the forum, and a member of the WSF International Council called ours the most diverse of all forums. The U.S. has challenged other social forum organizers to intensify their efforts to be more inclusive.

Citizen's Peace Plan Adopted by the Peace Caucus of the United States Social Forum June 30, 2007, Atlanta Georgia

We, participants in the U.S. Social Forum Peace Caucus Recognizing the devastating effects of the U.S. occupation on the Iraqi people; And acknowledging the relevance of the Iraq war and occupation to our struggle for social justice in our communities and our world; Emphasize the urgency of a rapid and humane end to the occupation. We therefore call for the following:

1) Military Withdrawal. The United States to immediately and completely withdraw all troops and bases from Iraq.

2) Iraqi National Reconciliation. The United States and the international community to play a supporting role in a national reconciliation process led by legitimate representatives of Iraq's diverse peoples.

3) Regional Stabilization. The United States to ask international institutions, such as the United Nations, the Arab League, and the Organization of the Islamic Conference, to sponsor regional conferences of all neighboring countries, including Iran and Syria, to seek measures to end the civil war and stabilize Iraq's future.

4) Reconstruction and Reparations. The United States to provide sufficient resources to an internationally administered fund to address the humanitarian crisis in Iraq, repair the physical damage caused by its invasion and occupation of Iraq and to provide reparations to Iraqis.

5) Support for veterans. The United States to provide sustained and sufficient support for all the veterans and their families who have suffered in this war.

6) Words, not war with Iran. The United States to cooperate with other countries and the United Nations to support the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty and engage Iran in direct diplomatic negotiations-- without preconditions--to end the nuclear standoff and promote the stabilization of Iraq.

7) Change U.S. foreign policy. The United States to shift its foreign policy to consistently support international law and institutions for a more just global system.

8) Transition to culture of peace. The United States to support domestic policies and programs that foster the transition from a culture of war to a culture of peace, human rights, and justice.

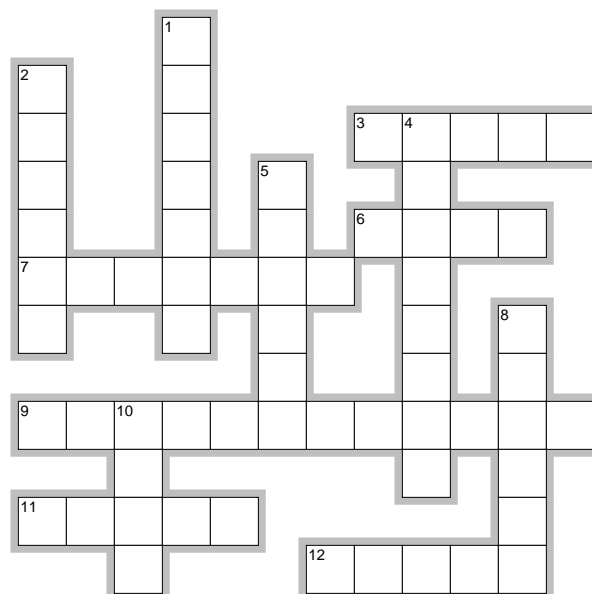
Final Declaration and Action Plan Adopted by the Peace Caucus of the United States Social Forum June 30, 2007, Atlanta Georgia

In order to achieve the citizen's peace plan, to strengthen work for peace and social justice, and to prevent future wars, delegates to the Peace Caucus at the United States Social Forum commit ourselves to taking the following actions to make another world possible. We encourage others in the United States and around the world to join with us to advance the cause of peace with justice.

1) We will participate in multiple activities of community groups other than our own, following the motto of "giving before we ask" others to support our campaigns.

- 2) In our work we will remain consistently mindful of the connections between justice, peace, human rights, and human relations on the earth.
- 3) We will constantly strive to facilitate healing as we work to promote a culture of peace and human rights.
- 4) Recognizing the 60th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights on 10 December 2008, we commit to building awareness of human rights in our communities.
- 5) We commit to continuing the conversations begun at the United States Social Forum, sharing what we have learned and supporting each other in moving forward. We will work to support social forums in our communities in January 2008 as we look towards the second U.S. Social Forum in 2010.

We hope many groups will take up this call to action and carry forward the work begun at the U.S. Social Forum. Further discussion of this document is invited at www.earthaction.org.



Created with EclipseCrossword — www.eclipsecrossword.com

Missile Defense - Crossword Puzzle!

Across

3. Invented by the British, it lets you "see" with radio waves.
6. What a laser will supposedly do to a target.
7. Relating to the use of atom fission or fusion for energy.
9. A major technology company which is a top missile defense contractor – starts with one of the four winds.
11. The nothing between planets.
12. Light-emitting device that focuses light so that large amounts of energy can be delivered to a target far away.

Down

1. A flying object.
2. To protect oneself from an enemy.
4. The field of air travel and technology.
5. The device used in a violent act.
8. What the US wants to be: a _____ of Space.
10. The first word in the two word phrase often used as a synonym for missile defense.



General Announcements

ASA Holds Hill Briefing On Military



(left to right) - Morten Ender, David R. Segal, and former Marine Sergeant Brian Fricke.

ASA News, Media Contacts: Sujata Sinha or Lee Herring, (202) 247-9871, pubinfo@asanet.org

WASHINGTON, DC, MAY 18, 2007—The American Sociological Association (ASA) held a congressional briefing, hosted by the Senate Judiciary Committee, to present practical social science data and research findings of relevance to U.S. military recruitment and retention today. The purpose of the briefing was to provide timely information pertinent to the news of the day: The reportedly overstretched U.S. military in Iraq, with troops serving unprecedented third and fourth tours. This situation has provoked debate about military preparedness among national policymakers in need of useful information to inform federal actions.

At the same time, public controversy over the 14-year-old “Don’t Ask, Don’t Tell” (DADT) policy is reemerging as increasing numbers of service members disclose sexual orientations in conflict with DADT. According to the Department of Defense, 11,000 troops were discharged because of the military’s ban on openly gay service members. As the demand for troop surges heightens, as more and more soldiers are “coming out,” and as families deal with the pressures of longer tours, the military finds itself approaching a critical social-cultural crossroads.

ASA’s briefing attracted a packed audience of nearly 40 senate and congressional staff, social science leaders, science policymakers, and federal agency representatives. The briefing, titled “Military Recruitment & Retention: The Impact of Social and Cultural Factors,” featured Dr. Morten Ender, Associate Professor of Sociology, Department of Behavioral Sciences and Leadership, United States Military Academy, West Point, New York; Former Marine Sergeant Brian Fricke, who elected not to re-enlist because of the military’s DADT ban on openly gay personnel; and Dr. David R. Segal, Professor of Sociology and Director of the Center for Research on Military Organization, University of Maryland.

The speakers presented social science data and Fricke recounted personal experience to discuss social and cultural issues facing the military today. Segal explained the current state of research affecting homosexuals in the military. He stated there is “no relationship or negative relationship between social cohesion and performance. There has not been a single empirical test of hypothesis that when sexual orientation integration occurs in the military, cohesion is undermined and performance suffers.”

During the briefing, Ender described the effects of the army’s policies and practices on the soldiers and their families. Ender stated, “Soldiers and families in 2004 and 2005 conveyed that the demands of frequent and extended deployments and strain of extra workloads on the non-deployed, will negatively influence retention through their impact on work.” In addition, he said that “families...are increasingly dissatisfied with the length, frequency, and unpredictability of deployments.”

For more a copy of the PowerPoint data/research presentations or for more information on the speakers, contact Sujata Sinha at ssinha@asanet.org or (202) 247-9871.

Peace and Collaborative Development Networking
<http://internationalpeaceandconflict.ning.com/> is a free professional networking site to encourage interaction between individuals & organizations worldwide involved in development, peace, conflict resolution and related

fields. Members are encouraged to dialogue and share resources. From Craig Zelizer, Ph.D., Georgetown University, <http://conflictresolution.georgetown.edu/>.

25th Anniversary Celebration of International Institute of Peace Education.

The celebratory event in honor of the 25th Anniversary of the International Institute on Peace Education (IPE) will be a three-day symposium hosted at the United Nations Headquarters in New York from August 8-10, 2007. It is intended to help launch a new and more intense initiative in the development and dissemination of peace education and provide an opportunity for reflection on the evolution of the international peace education movement over the past quarter century.

Collaboratively hosting the event with the UN Department of Public Information will provide opportunity to reflect on how peace educators have been teaching about important international issues of concern to the UN and will provide increased opportunity for sharing and the introduction of peace education to a broad international community, including UN personnel and affiliated NGOs.

The event will comprise plenary sessions featuring members of the global peace education community as well as a number of interactive workshops demonstrating peace education practices from various world regions with special focus themes reflecting UN related issues and concerns.

Participation will be open to UN personnel, accredited NGOs, university students, and representatives of the growing community of international peace educators. Official program details and registration materials available at www.tc.edu/PeaceEd or email peaceed@tc.edu

Conference on Human Rights and Sociology

August 15, 2007, Columbia University School of Social Work, 1255 Amsterdam Avenue, New York, NY
Sponsored by Sociologists without Borders and Center for the Study of Human Rights, Columbia University

Francis Fox Piven will join us for dinner at Amy Ruth’s in Harlem. RSVP to Judith Blau at jrblau@email.unc.edu or Keri Iyall Smith at kiyallsmith@stonehill.edu. A voluntary fee of \$15 (collected at the door) provides entry, coffee, and lunch.

Pre-register online at
<http://humanrights.columbia.edu/sociology/>

Call for Authors

The Day that Changed Everything? Looking at the Impact of 9-11 at the End of the Decade

Editor: Matthew J. Morgan, Bentley College, Author of *A Democracy Is Born* (Praeger, 2007) and *The American Military after 9-11* (Palgrave-Macmillan, 2008)

Publisher: Greenwood/Praeger International Security Press
Publication: 31/01/2009

Overview: The attacks of September 11 were like nothing Americans had experienced before or since, but their ultimate impact was hard to measure in the immediate aftermath. Now that we are separated from the trauma by some years, it is time to assess the long-term damage. The key here is impact and effect. This is not about the event itself, nor is it about the causes. Nor is it a retrospective. Each volume answers, How has the United States been affected by 9/11? In other words, how do current events and present conditions reflect the fact of 9/11?

Volume I. Politics and War

What role does 9/11 play in electoral politics, what role does the war on terror play? This volume will probably be in two or three parts, with one part on domestic electoral politics, one on preparedness (including domestic intelligence), one on the prosecution of the war on terror in Afghanistan and Iraq and the alleged links to 9/11, the 9/11 Commission Report, etc.

Volume II. The Economics and Business of Terror

Impact of 9/11 on the airline industry and on all businesses that felt a reverberation, and on the American and global economies as a whole. Part I will be on specific industries in trouble: airline, tourism, hotel, restaurant-and those that experienced a temporary boom-gas masks, parachutes; Part II will be on the markets-stocks, exchanges, commodities, both US and global; Part III on less tangible things, such as investor confidence, a new emphasis on backing up data, workplace security.

Volume III. 9/11 in Religion, Philosophy, and Psychology

How are religious leaders incorporating 9/11 into their work, their sermons, what does each major religion have to say about it, how are psychologists dealing with patients who are traumatized by it, what ethical issues were raised by the attacks? This will be focused on 9/11 and the fear of subsequent attacks, but we will try not to stray into too amorphous terrain.

Volume IV. 9/11 in the Arts, Entertainment, and Media

Like other major events, such as the Holocaust and the Vietnam War, 9/11 is beginning to be felt in the art and entertainment world. Art (e.g., current exhibit "Terrorvision" in NYC, recently featured on CNN--lots more where that came from), architecture (new towers), poetry, novels, music (Bruce Springsteen, U2), dance, theater. The part of this volume on the media will be about how the major media reported the 9/11 attacks, and how that event changed the media. It will cover mainly television, radio, newspapers, and the Internet. This was first and last time most of us remember actually getting blow-by-blow news that mattered immediately and could not wait for later. This volume will also cover the burgeoning conspiracy-theory publishing sub-genre.

Volume V. The New Legal Landscape

Legal issues include the Patriot Act and civil liberties, privacy vs. national security, torture of prisoners at Abu Ghraib, enemy combatants detained, etc. Legal experts will explain how 9/11 has changed the legal landscape, and how civil liberties have been curtailed and civil rights violated.

Schedule

July-August, 2007: Selection of topics and authors

September 2007-August 2008: Writing, editing and revision of draft chapters.

August 1, 2008: Completed manuscript submitted to Publisher.

August-November, 2008: Copyediting, indexing, formatting, review of final manuscript.

December 1, 2008: Project completion; final manuscript submitted to production.

January 31, 2009: Projected publication date

Note for Prospective Contributors: Chapters will be authored by a mix of leading experts in the various disciplines and "up-and-coming" new members to their fields. Those interested should submit a 300-word chapter précis and short bio to editor Matthew Morgan (mmorgan@bentley.edu, 214.909.4186) no later than 31 August 2007.

Jack Nusan Porter, Director, The Spencer Institute, Newton, Mass and adjunct professor at Roxbury Community College, was elected treasurer of the 250-member International Association of Genocide Scholars. He takes office July 10 at their biennial meeting in Sarajevo, Bosnia.

John Crist was named a fellow of the Program on the Analysis and Resolution of Conflicts at Syracuse University's Maxwell School for Citizenship and Public Affairs. He will work on a book about Gandhian civil disobedience and its implications for strategic nonviolent conflict. In fall 2007, he will teach a course on nonviolent movements at Georgetown University's M.A. in Conflict Resolution program, before joining SU's PARC program in January, 2008, for the spring semester.

Lisa Leitz, Ph.D. Candidate at in Sociology at University of California, Santa Barbara recently received the University of California, Santa Barbara Dean's Dissertation Fellowship for work entitled: "The Military Peace Movement: Identities in Conflict." This is a year-long fellowship that covers fess/tuition, insurance, and a \$15,000 stipend.

PW&SC Section Member Research and Publications

Carlton-Ford, Steve, Morten Ender, and Ahoo Tabatabai. "Iraqi Adolescents: Self-Regard, Self-Derogation, and Perceived Threat in War." Recently accepted for publication by the *Journal of Adolescence*.

Chesterman, Simon, Beatrice Pouligny, and Albrecht Schnabel, eds. "External Organizational Contributions to Post-Mass Crimes Rehabilitation," in *Mass Crime and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding*, United Nations University Press, 2007.

Coy, Patrick G. Editor. Volume 27 of *Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change*, May, 2007. Elsevier.

Part I, entitled, "The Civil Rights Movement In Northern Ireland," includes three papers focused on the Troubles in Northern Ireland as seen through the lens of social movement theory.

Part II, entitled, "Political Opportunities and Political Cultures," consists of three papers centered on aspects of political opportunities, with the cases ranging from the women's movement in Wales to Brazil's landless workers movement to an examination of how dissent is mobilized in non-democracies.

Part III, entitled, "Identities, Ideologies, and Social Movement Participation," concludes another strong volume with four papers

exploring the robust intersection of identity and movement participation.

Crocker, Chester A., Fen Osler Hampson and Pamela Aall, eds., "Contemporary Conflict Resolution Applications," pp. 873-894 in *Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World*, Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2007.

Ender, Morten G. and Betsy Lucal (Eds.). (forthcoming). *Inequalities: Readings in Diversity and Social Life*. (2nd edition). (Boston, MA: Pearson Custom Publishing).

Ender, Morten G., Kathleen Campbell, Toya Davis, and Patrick Michaelis (2007). "Greedy Media: Army Families, Embedded Reporting, and the War in Iraq." *Sociological Focus*, 40(1):48-71.

Ender, Morten G., Lynne Woerhle, and Ryan Kelty (in press). *Teaching the Sociology of Peace, War, and Military Institutions: A Curriculum Guide* (4th edition). Washington, DC: American Sociological Association Teaching Resource Center.

Jeffries, Vincent, Barry V. Johnston, Lawrence T. Nichols, Samuel P. Oliner, Edward A. Tiryakian, and Jay Weinstein. "Altruism and Social Solidarity: Envisioning a Field of Specialization," in *The American Sociologist* vol. 37, number 3 (Fall 2006): 67-83.

Klein, Josh. "Where Should We Stand to Get the Best Perspective on Collective Violence?" Recently accepted for publication by *Critical Sociology*.

Presents a pedagogical conceptual taxonomy for exploring ideas about security, threat, conflict, peace and justice.

True, Michael. *People Power: Fifty Peacemakers & Their Communities*

Brief portraits of peacemakers around the world, from Thomas Paine to Young Catholic Workers, including Martin Luther King, Cesar Chavez and Dolores Huerta, Daniel and Philip Berrigan, Oscar Romero, Rosa Parks, Randolph Bourne, Eugene Victor Debs, Dorothy Day, Gandhi, Eugene Victor Debs, Tolstoy, Jane Addams, Quakers. ISBN 81 316 0098 4. Rawat Publications, Jawahar Nagar, Jaipur, India. Distributed in U.S. by South Asia Books, P.O. Box 502, Columbia, MO 65202. TOLL FREE (866) 513-4700 <sabooks@juno.com>

Wittner, Lawrence S., and Glen Harold Stassen, eds. 2007. *Peace Action: Past, Present, And Future*. Paradigm Publishers.

An inexpensive collection of short essays written by prominent leaders and supporters of Peace Action (America's largest peace organization) and its two important predecessors -- the National Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy (usually called SANE) and the Nuclear Weapons Freeze Campaign. The book is the first to survey the work of the three largest peace organizations in modern American history.

Members In The Media

Einolf, Chris. Published an article on torture in *Social Theory* which dealt with torture in situations of war and social conflict. The *Washington Post* did a story on it: "Why Torture Keeps Pace With Enlightenment," By Shankar Vedantam, June 11, 2007; Page A03.

Kriesberg, Louis. Op-Ed published in The Post-Standard (Syracuse, NY) April 1229, 2007, pp. E 1, 4, entitled "Repairing The Damage: Success In Iraq Requires New Partnerships, Far-Reaching Diplomacy."

Section Listservs

Section Announcement Listserv:

Please send your announcements to any of the following officers and they can post your announcement to the listserv: Chair, Chair-Elect, Secretary-Treasurer, and immediate Past Chair. Announcements are automatically sent to all section members via email. Messages are routed via peace_war-announce@listserv.asanet.org.

To be excluded from the list, email infoservice@asanet.org. A marker will be placed on your record so that your e-mail address will be excluded when the distribution list is refreshed. ASA will refresh the distribution list on a bi-monthly basis or as needed.

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To join the section discussion listserv you must send an email as described below:

1. In the address field type in majordomo@listserv.asanet.org; leave subject field blank;
2. In the text of the message type **subscribe peace_war**
3. Make sure there is nothing else in the message (no signature)

4. Send the message. You will receive confirmation, and an authorization key with which to confirm that you really want to join the list. Once you reply positively to that you will get a welcome message.

The section's discussion list, at peace_war@listserv.asanet.org, unlike the section announcement list, is not "prepopulated" with e-mail addresses of section members. Individuals must subscribe.

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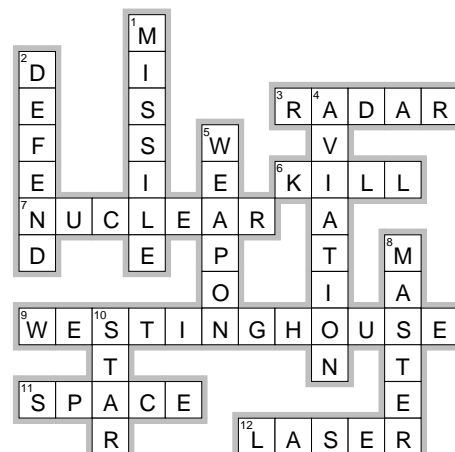
If you are not already a member of the American Sociological Association, and would like to join the Association and the Section, you can do so online by going to

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Any questions you might have regarding membership in the association can be addressed to membership@asanet.org; or you can telephone the ASA at 202-383-9005, ext. 389.

Questions about membership in the section may be directed to Yuko Whitestone at ywhitestone@socy.umd.edu

Crossword Puzzle Answers



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