Peace, War, & Social Conflict

Newsletter of the Peace, War, & Social Conflict Section
of the American Sociological Association

June 1999

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From the Chair

Rob Benford, University of Nebraska-Lincoln

It's hard to believe that another year has passed. Oops, make that another century! The twentieth century has unfortunately been one of the most eventful and deadly in terms of war, genocide, ethnic conflict, and human suffering. As we move into the next millennium, let us pool our wisdom and skills to contribute to a mindful reconstruction of our social arrangements so that fewer and fewer people experience the horrors of war, ethnic cleansing, and various forms of structural violence. No one is better suited to contribute to that task than you, the scholars who seek to understand the social dynamics and correlates of war, peace, and social conflict.

The annual meetings of the American Sociological Association (August 6-10) provides us with an opportunity to share some of what we've recently learned about war, peace, and social conflict. This newsletter includes the details regarding the section’s program and activities. Our section’s program will include sessions on "International Humanitarian Intervention," "Genocide, Democide, and Politicide," and "Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements" as well as roundtables on "Cross-Cultural Conflict Mediation," "Social Dimensions of the Military Presence," "Sources of Social Conflict," "Making Policy, Foreign and Military," and "Examining Genocide: Recent Controversies and their Impact on Sociology."

In addition to what promises to be a stimulating and illuminating program, we will also take time out for a little food, drink, and catching up on one another’s lives at our annual reception. The reception will be held in the Hilton (the main ASA hotel) beginning at 6:30 on Friday, August 6th. The reception’s precise location will be announced in the final program and at section’s sessions throughout the day. Please mark your calendars now, however, because our reception was omitted from the preliminary program. Please feel free to bring non-members to the reception and we’ll talk them into becoming section members!

Finally, please be sure to attend our business meeting. It will be held immediately following our section’s roundtables from 1:30 to 2:15 on Friday. Your presence at these meetings is important for several reasons. For one, Mady Segal, Chair-Elect, wants members to be involved in planning the 2000 meetings to be held in Washington D.C. For another, attendance at section business meetings is one of the indicators
ASA monitors to assess our section’s viability.

I hope to have a chance to chat with each of you during the meetings, to learn more about the teaching and research you’re doing related to peace, war, and social conflict. Please come to Chicago and partake in the many opportunities our section, the ASA, and Chicago have to offer. See you in the windy city.

ASA Annual Meeting: CHICAGO

Program Schedule for the Section on Peace, War & Social Conflict

**Section Day: Friday, August 6, 1999

7:00-8:15 AM Council Meeting

Friday: 8:30-10:15 #20 International Humanitarian Intervention
Organizer: Laura L. Miller, University of California, Los Angeles
Presider: Dana P. Eyre, Naval Postgraduate School


Discussion: Dana P. Eyre, Naval Postgraduate School

Friday: 10:30-12:15 #42 Genocide, Democide, and Politicide

Tamas Stark, Institute of History, Hungarian Academy of Sciences, "Genocide or Genocidal Massacre?: The Case of Hungarian Prisoners in Soviet Custody"

Hyun Sook Kim, Wheaton College, "Violence and Memory: The Politics of Modernity in Korea"

Nicole Vartanian, Columbia University, "In A Perfect World: Durkheim's Imperfect Conception of Power and the Legitimation of Nationalism and Genocide in Turkey"

Discussion: Pinar Batur Vander Lippe, Vassar College

Friday: 12:30-1:30 #65 Section on Peace, War, and Social Conflict. Referred Roundtables
Organizers: Meyer Kestnbaum, University of Maryland; and Lee Smithey, University of Texas - Austin.

1. Cross-Cultural Conflict Mediation

Amy S. Hubbard, Randolph-Macon College, Julie Honnold and Leonda Keniston, Virginia Commonwealth University, "Inter-racial Dialogue: Prospects for Genuine Change" Candice C. Carter, University of North Florida, "Cross-Cultural Conflict Resolution: Obtaining Just Agreements"
2. *Women, War and the Armed Forces in Japan*

CANCELED

3. *Social Dimensions of Military Presence*

Warren Fincher, University of Texas-Austin, "Competing Medical Systems in Postcolonial South Asia: A Case Study of Medical Knowledge and Social Conflict" Yuko Kurashina, University of Maryland, "Accession of Women in the Japan Self-Defense Force: Paradoxical Gender Integration" Bradford Booth, University of Maryland, "Gender-Specific Effects of Military Presence on Local Rates of Unemployment"

4. *Sources of Social Conflict*

Gordon Fellman, Brandeis University, "Cultural Stereotypes and the Adversary Compulsion" Rennison Lalgee, University of Texas-Austin, "Religious and Ethnic Conflict in a Secular Society: India's Cow Protection" Lester Kurtz, University of Texas-Austin, and Mariam Mniga, Dar-es-Salaam Television, "Cultural Conflict and Stereotypes"

5. *Peace and Conflict in the Classroom*

CANCELED

6. *Making Policy, Foreign and Military*


7. *Examining Genocide, Recent Controversies and their Impact on Sociology*


**Friday: 1:30-2:15 Business Meeting**

**Friday: 6:30-8:00 Reception**

**Sunday, August 8, 1999**

**Sunday: 10:30-11:15 #261 **Transnational Dimensions of Social Movements (Co-Sponsored with Section on Collective Behavior and Social Movements)

Organizer & Presider: Jackie Smith, State University of New York at Stony Brook


Discussion: Debra Minkoff, Yale University
Activists Gather to Mark Anniversary of First International Peace Conference

Jackie Smith  
SUNY- Stony Brook

In 1899 Queen Wilhelmina of the Netherlands and Czar Nicolas II of Russia called upon the nations of the world to assemble in The Hague for the First International Peace Conference. That conference marked the origins of international efforts to develop institutions that would reduce the likelihood of armed international conflict. At the initiative of the Dutch and Russian governments, international meetings were held in The Hague (17-18 May 1999) and in St. Petersburg (23-25 June) to commemorate the historic events of 1899 and to consider the enduring questions raised by the original Hague Peace Conference: armaments, humanitarian law and laws of warfare, and the peaceful settlement of disputes (UN General Assembly Resolution 52/154, 15 December 1997; A/C.6/52/3).

As at all recent global conferences, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) staged a parallel meeting to correspond with the official event. The meetings took place against the stark backdrop of the NATO-Serbia-Kosovo conflict, reminding all of the urgency of addressing the problem of war. The NGO gathering might prove to have been the more influential one, since it provided opportunities for activists from all parts of the world to discuss their work, to share ideas about contemporary crises and obstacles to peace, and to join together around new initiatives such as a global people’s assembly and the strengthening of global institutions that would reduce the likelihood of armed conflict. This conference also provided the opportunity for activists to celebrate some notable achievements they helped secure in the advancement of international law, including an international treaty to ban the use of landmines, a comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty, and a treaty to establish an International Criminal Court.

More than 8,000 people, representing more than 100 nationalities, attended the Hague Appeal for Peace conference, participating in over 400 sessions including panel presentations, working groups, and other activities during the four-day event. In addition, hundreds of organizations displayed their materials in the conference exhibition hall. Plenary sessions reinforced common values among participants and highlighted the conferences formal goals: 1) strengthening international humanitarian and human rights laws and institutions; 2) advancing the prevention, peaceful resolution, and transformation of violent conflict; 3) developing and linking disarmament efforts, including nuclear abolition; 4) identifying the root causes of war, and developing a culture of peace.

Making appearances were world leaders such as Kofi Anan, Queen Noor of Jordan, and Prime Ministers of the Netherlands and of Bangladesh, Nobel Laureates including Jody Williams (International Campaign to Ban Landmines), Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Joseph Rotblat and Rigoberta Menchu Tum. Written or taped statements were delivered from Jimmy Carter, Nelson Mandela, and Aung San Suu Kyi, among others. Those addressing the conference repeatedly acknowledged the victories that peace activists have realized in the recent entry into force of the Ottawa Convention which bans the use of landmines, the signing of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, and the advancing of an International Criminal Court. And the conference’s closing plenary seemed to serve its purpose of motivating and energizing activists before they dispersed to their home bases. Kofi Anan’s benediction to his "fellow peacemakers" proclaimed: "don’t despair, don’t be discouraged, and above all, don’t give up."

As an observer to this conference, I took note of the relative over-representation of participants from Northern countries, with a particularly large number of U.S. citizens in attendance. Although this is not surprising given the greater access to resources, the proximity of Northern activists to the Hague, and the fact that international peace organizations tend to be disproportionately based in the North (while groups in the South tend to focus more on
sustainable development concerns), it doesn’t accurately reflect the distribution of those with interests in eliminating war as a political tool. As was reiterated by many speakers at the conference, while Kosovo remained a most pressing image for many attendees, the fact is that Africans, Asians, and Latin Americans have witnessed comparable atrocities with little or no international outrage. The presence of activists from the global South helped to remind those who needed reminding of the long and bloody struggles in Columbia, the Sudan, Ethiopia/ Eritrea, and elsewhere. And representatives from many of the world’s indigenous populations gave witness to the suffering that their peoples have endured under both nationalization and globalization.

There were three aspects of the conference which I found particularly hopeful. First, the conference organizers made particular efforts to encourage the participation and education of young people. An orientation meeting for youth preceded the conference, youth delegates spoke on all the key plenary sessions and many of the concurrent sessions, and youth caucus meetings were held throughout the conference. Second, the content of the program and the substance of many sessions revealed that organizers and participants conceive of their peace-oriented work broadly, including human rights, environmental protection, and the regulation of global economic forces among the targets of their work. This again is not new, but the ease with which these issues were related by speakers and attendees show promise for expanded cooperation between NGOs working for peace, environment, and economic justice/ development. Also, there were promising efforts to publicize and generate support for two key NGO initiatives— one for an elected, citizens’ assembly to the United Nations and the other for coordinated efforts promoting global institutions that would limit the possibilities of future wars.

Finally, the conference was evidence of the important role that NGOs play in cultivating citizen constituencies for the United Nations. Delegates to the conference were asked to consider the actual and potential roles of the UN in resolving global conflicts. Speakers and participants showed a disappointment in the many failures of the UN organization, and young women from Bosnia and Uganda chastised UN agencies for repeatedly responding too late to many conflicts and bringing too little assistance. Nevertheless, audience responses to plenary and panel speakers demonstrated an overwhelming support for stronger and more democratically accountable multilateral institutions.

For more information on the Hague Appeal for Peace conference and follow-up activities, see http://www.haguepeace.org/

**Book Reviews**


*Francis Daehoon Lee, University of Bradford, UK*

Resisting the Bomb is a comprehensive account of peace movement history between 1954-1970, a vibrant period of world nuclear disarmament efforts. The detailed and balanced account on the role that the peace movement has played in bringing the first changes in disarmament should be useful for scholars, policy analysts, and advanced undergraduate students. The book seeks to answer the main question ‘why have the world powers all rushed into a nuclear arms race only to never use the bombs while signing all sorts of partial and self-contradictory arms control treaties?’ The author answers by claiming there is a missing ingredient of history for that period, something that most of us stored in oblivion – "the largest grassroots struggle in modern history, one that mobilized millions of people in nations around the globe: the world nuclear disarmament movement."

Wittner gives us a thorough historical account of a movement working to make something not happen. The book never confines itself to the description of the movement, but tells us how it was initiated, inspired and supported, and then, how it was felt and reacted to by the actual people who had their fingers of the launch button. It describes the rise of Ban-the-Bomb movements around the globe, efforts to build international movement linkages, the movement’s popularization and expansion, its inevitable debates and divisions, and the confrontational reactions from major governments. The author particularly focuses on the interaction between the rise of the movement and the reaction of the governments by dividing the period into roughly the fifties and the sixties. Clearly portrayed in this text are the
gradual divisions that emerged among policy makers as a result of movement discourses and pressures. This is a dynamic, highly readable account which makes readers to understand in unusual depth what took place, because the reader feels the expectations and tensions of the movement as if they were there. Through his historical analysis, Wittner demonstrates the contingency of the outcomes of key policy decisions, and leads his reader to better appreciate the significance of anti-nuclear activism in the formation of contemporary nuclear policy. The text is geared for both scholars and for use in advanced undergraduate or graduate courses. Among its contributions is that Wittner systematically details some of the early transnational connections among peace movement activists.

This historical analysis captures the emotion of the middle decades of anti-nuclear activism, detailing the work within the movement of leaders like Norman Cousins, Albert Schweizer, Peggy Duff, and Bertrand Russell, whose idealism helped to mitigate the dangerous effects of governments’ nuclear policies. The tensions and fears generated by government resistance to the movement, by anti-communism, and by conflicts within the movement are conveyed in Wittner’s attempt to understand the sources of its successes and failures.

Wittner documents that, as the movement "emerged as a factor of some importance to world politics" in the early 1960s, the major governments began to change nuclear policies, starting with the atmospheric test ban treaty in 1963. Other nuclear arms control measures as we know today were taken in the following years; a nuclear nonproliferation treaty, treaties of banning nuclear weapons from the seabed and from outer space, a nuclear-free zone treaty, and a strategic arms limitation treaty. However, the crest outcome of the global campaign at that period was the atmospheric test ban, which was quite clearly not a ‘ban the bomb’ treaty.

As the author concludes, the peace movement of 1954-1970 can claim an ambiguous victory at best. Can we hope for a genuine victory, a total ban, in our time? The book tells us it all depends on us. But before starting anew, what is still left for us would be to reflect the vast failure between then and now – the failure of actually banning the bomb until today, hopefully guided by the next book (the third in a three-part history of the Ban the Bomb movement) by Wittner.

**The Political Influence of Global NGOs**


**Pauline P. Cullen, State University of New York at Stony Brook**

Few social scientists have endeavored to qualitatively assess the political influence of global NGOs. Arts, a biologist by training, is to be commended for his ambitious attempt to systematically evaluate claims about the increasing influence of NGOs in international environmental policies. This work focuses on NGOs' political influence on the Framework Convention on Climate Change and the Convention on Biological diversity. Both treaties were designed in the context of the UN system in the period 1990-92 and signed by 150 countries at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. *The Political Influence of Global NGOs* suggests that organizations such as Greenpeace International, Friends of the Earth International and the World Wide Fund for Nature did influence some policy outcomes of both conventions but only to a limited extent. Overall, the level of goal achievement was quite low, and many topics remained unaffected and most NGO impact was indirect in nature. For the author, these findings imply that other policy players were generally more influential than NGOs although he shows that even the limited NGO impacts are significant in the long term. One example is a case where NGO pressure had legitimized debates on binding targets and timetables for greenhouse gas emissions.

The first chapter provides a detailed narrative on the nature of international environmental problems. The remainder of the introduction and the next two chapters provide the subject, design and theoretical model of what is described as an explorative, hierarchical multi case study. This is followed by two chapters each one devoted to the positioning of NGOs and their activities through an exhaustive phase by phase and case by case account of the FCCC and the CBD conventions. The remaining three chapters are less descriptive, focussing on an analysis of a total of eighteen cases and providing an assessment of a possible explanatory factors followed by the formulation of a series of recommendations on future NGO strategy and concluding with a summary and discussion of the findings.

Arts views international institutions as enabling and constraining contexts for non-state actors including NGOs.
pressing for social change. The state is still considered dominant and because of this, the author favors the concept of political arena rather than policy network, a concept that is popular among international relations scholars (Keck and Sikkink 1997). For Arts, the policy network approach assumes a degree of interdependence and mutuality between states and NGOs, which is simply not present at global level. Arts defines his object of study-- global NGOs-- as promotional pressure groups. Choosing this definition also lead him to reject social movement literature, which he asserts is for the most part concerned with organizations which promote long-term social and cultural change, not covered by this study and its emphasis upon shorter term political activity.

Methodologically Arts is both rigorous and innovative in triangulating interview data, documentation and participation. Political Influence is assessed by the EAC Method, - encompassing Ego perception or the views of NGO respondents which are then confronted by Alter-perceptions or the views of government representatives, while Causal analysis covers the reconstruction through documentation of negotiation and decision processes to detect possible causal links between NGO interventions and policy outcomes.

From this impressive collection of data Arts isolates the most important enabling and constraining factors on NGOs' ability to exert political influence. Enabling factors are the quality of NGO expertise (in particular substantive knowledge and diplomatic skill) and the similarity between NGO demands and existing regime rules. Factors which seem to constrain NGOs are the use of a "wrong" approach (confrontational, radical, idealistic), the presence of like-minded states (which dominate a topic) and are not dependent on any NGO input, and negotiations based on traditional block politics of North vs. South. NGO structure, nature of intervention, quantity of NGOs and the extent of NGO co-operation did not demonstrate an impact on the outcomes Arts examined.

In sum, Arts suggests that NGOs may increase their political influence, through professionalizing their lobbying and advocacy in political arenas and through organizing moderate external protest. These recommendations may seem unremarkable but are couched in his carefully explicated research findings.

While Arts's theoretical model seems adequate for the task at hand, his reliance upon earlier literature rather than the more recent contributions within political science and work on transnational social movements on the position of non-state actors within international systems limit the theoretical power of his arguments. In his conclusion Arts addresses the shortcomings of his work, reviewing and attempting to counter the more serious methodological problems of conducting such an ambitious qualitative project.

In fact, there is throughout the text a significant amount of explanation and qualification of the data and findings. While appreciating the author's concerns for the methodological transparency and rigor, the decision to include all findings and derivations in the body of the text rather than in footnotes complicates the work of the reader. This work, which brings the reader step by step through the research process, will be of particular interest to students and scholars with similar qualitative research agendas. One last note to the publisher is the use of non-inclusive language throughout the text- certainly a no-no, even allowing for the challenges of translation.

**American Exceptionalism?: Textbooks' Coverage of the United Nations**

In a study of how the United Nations is treated in the textbooks used in American high schools and colleges, the United Nations Association found that, of the more than 30 texts reviewed for the study, most failed to list the United Nations in the table of contents, and in only some did UN-related material appear in the index. No text clearly identifies founding countries other than the United States, and only three provide charts that help detail the UN's structure. None of the texts addressed the global conferences of the past decade or the growing relationship between the UN and civil society groups. For further information on this study contact: Glenn E. Bell, UNA-USA, 801 Second Ave. New York, NY 10017.

**Section Officers Elected**

Gordon Fellman, Professor of Sociology and Chair of the Peace and Conflict Studies Program at Brandeis
University, was elected section Chair. Gordie will begin serving as the Chair-Elect following the 1999 ASA meetings in Chicago. His term as section Chair will run from September 1, 2000 through the end of August 2001. He will be responsible for organizing session activities for the 2001 ASA meetings in Anaheim.

John T. Crist, Program Officer of the U.S. Institute of Peace, was elected to serve on the section’s Council. John will be joining Juanita Firestone, Professor of Sociology at the University of Texas at San Antonio, as an incoming member of the Council. Juanita was elected last year in a tie vote, but her term was delayed for one year. Juanita’s and John’s terms will run from September 1 1999 through August 31, 2002.

All section members owe a debt of gratitude to each of this year’s candidates. We appreciated your willingness to stand for election. In the event that a future nominating committee selects you as a candidate to serve as a section officer, we hope you’ll say yes.

Member News

Rob Benford has been selected to succeed Doni Loseke and Spencer Cahill as the incoming editor of the Journal of Contemporary Ethnography. JCE was founded in 1972 by long time section member, John Lofland, Professor Emeritus at the University of California-Davis. Rob seeks to sustain the previous editors’ commitments to publishing the best ethnography has to offer. JCE encourages submissions of and/or about ethnography broadly defined and without regard to disciplinary or national boundaries. Ethnographies related on topics related to peace, war, genocide, social conflict, militaries, peacekeeping, and refugee are particularly welcome. JCE is published six times per year by Sage Publications, Inc. Please send your submissions to: Rob Benford, Editor, Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588-0390.

Patrick Coy, a professor at the Center for Applied Conflict Management at Kent State University, has been appointed series co-editor for the research annual, Research in Social Movements, Conflicts and Change. Coy has also been named as the volume editor for each volume of the series. Published by JAI Press, the series has appeared annually for over 20 years. Queries or submissions are encouraged. For submission guidelines, contact: Patrick Coy, Center for Applied Conflict Management, Kent State University, Box 5109, Kent, OH 44242; pcoy@kent.edu; (330) 672-2875.

Jing Zhao established the US-Japan-China Comparative Policy Research Institute (CPRI). CPRI issues Comparative Policy Review and publishes one project theme each year. This year's project is The U.S.-Japanese Alliance, in Chinese. http://members.tripod.com/~cpri

Publications


**CALLS FOR PAPERS**

The *Journal for Gender Studies* is publishing a special issue of Gender and Globalisation in Autumn 2000. We are looking for a broad spectrum of articles representing feminist perspectives on gender and globalisation from all parts of the world. Themes may include: Interrogating the dominant conceptualisation of globalisation; The relationship of 'post-communist states' and communist states to global networks; The feminisation of labour and the gendering of labour markets; Gendering of new technologies and global information systems; The gendered effects of international speculative finance capital, goods and labour, transnational corporations; Transnationalisation of identity politics (youth culture, gender, sexuality). We encourage contributions from academics, activists, working people, NGOs, government organisations and other social institutions. Contributions may take the form of academic articles, short essays, comments, letters, reports, short fiction, poetry, photographs, artwork or book reviews. Submissions should be sent to The Editors, The Journal of Gender Studies, CASS, University of Hull, Hull HU6 7RX, England Email: Journal-Gender-Studies@cas.hull.ac.uk CLOSING DATE FOR SUBMISSIONS - 30 JANUARY 2000

*Review of Religious Research*, an interdisciplinary journal now co-edited by Christopher G. Ellison and Darren E. Sherkat, is seeking manuscripts on any topic dealing with religious beliefs, activities, and organizations. We strongly encourage submissions investigating the connection between religion and social conflict, peace, and anti-war activities. To submit, send 4 copies of manuscripts and an e-mail or disk version of the paper to Darren E. Sherkat, 1811-B Dept. of Sociology, Vanderbilt University, Nashville TN 37235. SHERKADE@CTRVAX.VANDERBILT.EDU. There is a $15 processing fee for scholars who are not members of the Religious Research Association. Membership is only $24, and information can be found at: http://rra.hartsem.edu.

*Current Perspectives in Social Theory* invites submissions for Volume 20, 2001 volume. *Current Perspectives in Social Theory* is an annual journal dedicated to publishing significant articles across the spectrum of perspectives within social theory, conceived of in a broad and interdisciplinary sense. To submit a manuscript, send five copies and a one-page abstract to: Professor Jennifer M. Lehmann, Editor, *Current Perspectives in Social Theory*, Department of Sociology, 741 Oldfather Hall, The University of Nebraska, Lincoln, NE 68588-0324. Deadline for Volume 20 submissions is January 31, 2000. Any manuscript received after Jan 31 will not be considered for the 2000 volume. Manuscripts for future volumes may be submitted throughout the year.

**Conference**

The Baker Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies at Juniata College celebrates Elizabeth Evans Baker's visionary
commitment to peace with a conference -- "Women and Peace: War, Resistance and Justice." September 30 - October 3, 1999 Registration deadline 15 September. Contact: The Baker Institute c/o Celia Cook-Huffman, Juniata College, Huntingdon, PA 16652. Phone: (814) 641-3464, Fax: (814) 641-3386. E-mail: cookhu@juniata.edu