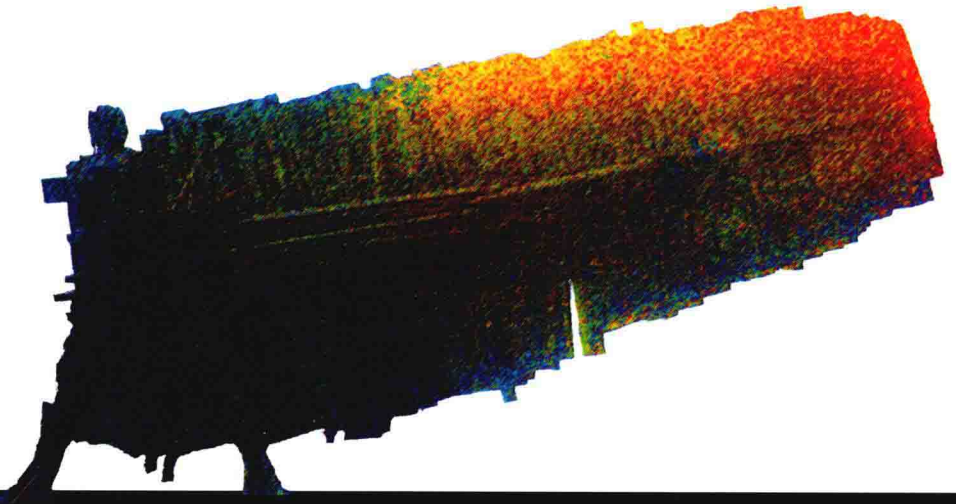


Global Challenges: Peace and War

Edited by Yih-Jye Hwang & Lucie Cerna

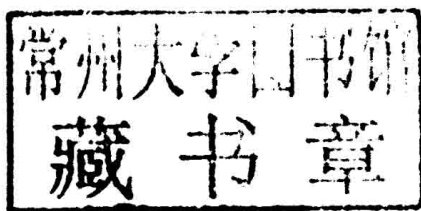


MARTINUS NIJHOFF PUBLISHERS

Global Challenges: Peace and War

Edited by

Yih-Jye Hwang and Lucie Cerna



MARTINUS

NIJHOFF

PUBLISHERS

LEIDEN • BOSTON

2013

Cover illustration: The cover image is inspired by César Baldaccini's "The Freedom Fighter", a formidable bronze sculpture standing tall over the promenade of the Hong Kong Cultural Centre since 1992 in tacit memory of the 1989 events in Tiananmen Square. With its lone wing surviving historical triumphs and tribulations, this monument was later recoinced "The Flying Frenchman" and continues to celebrate the tenacity of the human spirit through peace and war.
~ Created by Cissie Fu, Political Arts Initiative (www.politicalarts.org<<http://www.politicalarts.org>>)

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Global challenges : peace and war / edited by Yih-Jye Hwang and Lucie Cerna.

pages cm

Includes index.

ISBN 978-90-04-25326-1 (pbk. : alk. paper) — ISBN 978-90-04-24693-5 (e-book) 1. Peace.

2. Peace-building. 3. War. I. Hwang, Yih-Jye, editor of compilation. II. Cerna, Lucie, 1981– editor of compilation.

JZ5538.G56 2013

303.6'6—dc23

2013016073

This publication has been typeset in the multilingual "Brill" typeface. With over 5,100 characters covering Latin, IPA, Greek, and Cyrillic, this typeface is especially suitable for use in the humanities. For more information, please see www.brill.com/brill-typeface.

ISBN 978-90-04-25326-1 (hardback)

ISBN 978-90-04-24693-5 (e-book)

Copyright 2013 by Koninklijke Brill NV, Leiden, The Netherlands.

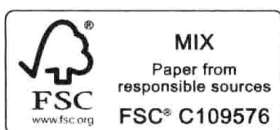
Koninklijke Brill NV incorporates the imprints Brill, Global Oriental, Hotei Publishing, IDC Publishers and Martinus Nijhoff Publishers.

All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, translated, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted in any form or by any means, electronic, mechanical, photocopying, recording or otherwise, without prior written permission from the publisher.

Authorization to photocopy items for internal or personal use is granted by Koninklijke Brill NV provided that the appropriate fees are paid directly to The Copyright Clearance Center, 222 Rosewood Drive, Suite 910, Danvers, MA 01923, USA.

Fees are subject to change.

This book is printed on acid-free paper.



Global Challenges: Peace and War

LUC Texts in Global Challenges

Aiming to 'build knowledge for a better world,' Leiden University College The Hague is founded on the premise that education and research are fundamentally connected. Based in the city of international peace and justice, LUC promotes interdisciplinary and internationally inclusive scholarship into the global challenges of our time.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The idea for this book came some time ago when we were both teaching at Leiden University College (LUC) The Hague. LUC The Hague, founded in 2010, is an international honours college of Leiden University, located in the world's capital of peace and justice, The Hague. It encourages students to engage with global challenges in an interdisciplinary curriculum.

One mandatory course for first year students is on global challenges: peace. The course convenor, Yih-Jye Hwang, had to come up with a brand-new syllabus for the first cohort of students. The course was meant to be interdisciplinary, expose students to a wide range of theoretical and empirical approaches, allow them to do research on peace and war, work together in groups and learn how to write and present on various topics. In the first years in existence, the syllabus drew on a number of different books and articles, and very short introductions to the case studies. Students were then required to find information on the cases and selected readings on their own. There was no book that could provide the necessary theoretical and case study background in one piece, which was a significant drawback. In 2011, we thought that LUC The Hague should have its own book that students and faculty could use every year. The result is this edited volume.

However, this book could not have been written and completed without the efforts of many people. We must express our gratitude to all the contributors for delivering very interesting chapters, and keeping up with our deadlines. We are also grateful to our colleagues at Leiden University, who have assisted us immensely to develop the syllabus at various stages. These colleagues include Arlinda Rustemi, Carsten Stahn, Cissie Fu, Corina Stan, Eric Storm, H.W. (Rico) Sneller, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer, Laurens van Apeldoorn, Maja Vodopivec, Niels van Willigen, Sander Dikker Hupkes, Thomas Bundschuh, and Sara Kendall. Most of them have contributed directly to the course by delivering plenary lectures and/or have taught smaller seminars. We would like to give special thanks to Lieke Schreel for her guidance and help when the course was first taught in 2010. We are indebted to all of them for their help.

We would like to thank the Dean of LUC The Hague, Chris Goto-Jones, for his encouragement and support throughout this project. At Brill, we thank our editor, Nozomi Goto, for her assistance throughout the process,

as well as Wilma de Weert for her help with the production of the manuscript. We are grateful to Priya Swamy for copy-editing the whole manuscript and to the LUC Research Centre for its financial support. In addition, we thank Cissie Fu for her book cover design.

Last but not least, our students at LUC The Hague, especially the 2010, 2011 and 2012 student cohorts, deserve special thanks as they served as testing-ground for this new course, and their ideas and evaluations have helped to improve the direction of the course. We hope this book will be useful to future students at LUC The Hague as well as other interdisciplinary programmes.

This book is dedicated to the LUC The Hague students.

Yih-Jye Hwang and Lucie Cerna
The Hague and Oxford, January 2013

ABOUT THE AUTHORS

Laurens van Apeldoorn is Assistant Professor in Philosophy, LUC The Hague.

Lucie Cerna is Lecturer in Politics, Merton College, University of Oxford, and former Assistant Professor in Political Economy, LUC The Hague.

Edmund Frettingham is a freelance writer living in London.

Patsy Haccou is Assistant Professor of Mathematical Biology, LUC The Hague.

Helen Hintjens is Senior Lecturer, International Institute of Social Studies (ISS) in The Hague, Erasmus University Rotterdam.

Yih-Jye Hwang is Assistant Professor of International Relations, LUC The Hague.

William Hynes is economist/policy analyst at the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Research Associate at LUC The Hague.

Sara Kendall is Researcher, Grotius Centre, Leiden University.

Jessica Kroezen is PhD candidate, Institute of Political Science, Leiden University.

Benjamin Pohl is Researcher, Institute of Political Science, Leiden University.

Francesco Ragazzi is Assistant Professor in International Relations, Institute of Political Science, Leiden University.

Håvar Solheim is PhD candidate, Institute for History, Leiden University and Centre for Latin American Research and Documentation (CEDLA), Amsterdam.

Corina Stan is Assistant Professor of Comparative Literature, LUC The Hague.

Eric Storm is Lecturer in History, Institute for History, Leiden University.

Niels van Willigen is Lecturer in International Relations, Institute of Political Science, Leiden University.

Ann Marie Wilson is Assistant Professor of History, LUC The Hague.

CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	vii
About the Authors	ix
Introduction	1
<i>Yih-Jye Hwang and Lucie Cerna</i>	

PART ONE

THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

1 Peace in Historical Perspective: The Birth of Contemporary Peace Movements	17
<i>Ann Marie Wilson</i>	
2 The Causes of War	29
<i>Niels van Willigen and Benjamin Pohl</i>	
3 Biology of War	43
<i>Patsy Haccou</i>	
4 Just War Theory	53
<i>Laurens van Apeldoorn</i>	
5 Law of War	65
<i>Yih-Jye Hwang and Lucie Cerna</i>	
6 The Economics of War	79
<i>William Hynes</i>	
7 The Representation of War in Literature, Film and New Media	89
<i>Corina Stan</i>	
8 End of War	103
<i>Niels van Willigen and Jessica Kroezen</i>	

PART TWO

CASE STUDIES

9	The Yugoslav Wars	117
	<i>Francesco Ragazzi</i>	
10	The Iraq War	135
	<i>Edmund Frettingham</i>	
11	The Pacific War	155
	<i>Maja Vodopivec</i>	
12	War and Peace in Colombia	177
	<i>Håvar Solheim and Eric Storm</i>	
13	Genocide, War and Peace in Rwanda	195
	<i>Helen M. Hintjens</i>	
14	The Libyan Civil War and the Rise of the 'Responsibility to Protect'	219
	<i>Sara Kendall</i>	
	Index	235

INTRODUCTION

Yih-Jye Hwang and Lucie Cerna

Introduction: What is Peace?

What does 'peace' mean? Is peace merely the absence of war, or can it also mean something else? Is peace a condition of emancipation, the maintenance of the status quo, or is it a system of hegemonic stability? Whatever it may mean, how can peace be acquired? And above all, what is the relationship between peace and war?

While peace has been extensively studied and analysed, it is a fact that there is no consensus on what 'peace' actually means, nor does the concept have a clear, comprehensive or satisfying definition. Simply by looking at laureates of the Nobel Peace prize over the past one hundred years (who arguably present a Western idea of peace), one will find many different conceptualisations of peace and various paths to peace. These laureates range from individuals (or organisations) who organised and conducted peace movements, humanitarian works, arms control, peace negotiation, conflict resolution on the one hand, to those who embraced efforts to promote democracy, human rights as well as environmental protection on the other (The Norwegian Nobel Committee 2012). Likewise, academic scholars and students conceptualise the term in various ways across a broad range of disciplines. Some see forms of 'peace' as the pragmatic removal of overt violence, the balancing of power, collective security, rule of law, etc.; others conceptualise the term as harmony, tranquility, a 'divine state', a state of goodness, etc. As such, competing concepts and discourses of peace exist. It is thus vital to problematise peace and ask what it is, or what it should be, at the outset of this book.

The most widely used and all-inclusive contemporary definition of peace was proposed by Johan Galtung, one of the most prominent architects in peace research. In the editorial to the founding edition of *the Journal of Peace Research* in 1964, Galtung originally described the 'absence of war' as negative peace and 'the integration of human society' as positive peace. He further noted that these two types of peace 'should be conceived as two separate dimensions. One can have one without the other' (Galtung 1964: 2). With regards to positive peace, Galtung thereafter developed the

concept that denotes the presence of conditions for political equality and social justice (Galtung 1969). In what follows, we will first critically interrogate the term 'peace' when it is conceptualised as negative peace, and then when it is conceptualised as positive peace.

Peace and war are ostensibly contradictory and therefore locked in a dialectical relation. In other words, the negation of a definition of war yields a definition of peace. Nevertheless, this way of defining 'peace' leads to another equally troubled concept: 'war'. What is war? According to Clausewitz, war is 'an act of force to compel our enemy to do our will' (Clausewitz 2007: 13), it 'is not merely an act of policy but a true political instrument, a continuation of political intercourse, carried on with other means' (28). This definition stressed the importance of combat, for which Clausewitz describes war as 'a clash between major interests, which is resolved by *bloodshed*—that is the only way in which it differs from other conflicts' (100, emphasis ours). Similarly, Sun Tzu understands war as the destruction of enemy forces in order to compel one's enemies to submit to one's will. However Sun Tzu believes that the highest objective in war is to compel the enemy to submit to one's will not only through fighting, but also other non-violent elements such as deception and diplomacy. As he notes, 'attaining one hundred victories in one hundred battles is not the pinnacle of excellence. Subjugating the enemy's army without fighting is the true pinnacle of excellence' (Sun 1994: 168). To simplify the discussion, we temporally define war as a 'political movement through violence'.

Nevertheless, the puzzle 'what is war' still needs to be unpacked due to a lack of consensus among scholars about the connotation of two key terms: 'political' and 'violence'. With regards to the former, the conventional use of the term 'politics' refers to the politics that takes place in parliaments, political parties and governments. Yet, this way of understanding politics is highly problematic, as it inherently excludes and delegitimises some important affairs and issues concerning human life that occur outside the institutionalised politics of states. A number of radical philosophers such as Michel Foucault therefore differentiate the term 'politics' from 'political' (Hindess 2005: 390). The former is characterised by its association with the classical, state-oriented conception of politics whereas the latter is a critique of the conception of politics that regards the state as the only actual political institution and legitimate imposition of order. Therefore the term 'political' implicitly signifies a 'power to definition' given the fact that everything is potentially political (Laclau 1990: 31–6).

With regards to violence, the term is commonly left undefined as well. The word often connotes physical attack, yet this way of defining violence implies a wide spectrum of occurrences. More importantly, as suggested by Galtung (1969), a chain of questions can be raised from this kind of definition. For instance, does violence need to be *actual* physical force by one person or group of people directly against another? What about psychological violence such as brainwashing? Similarly, is violence necessarily defined as direct and negative approaches to influence, such as punishment? Is violence something that is 'built into' an individual? More frequent than incidents of physical or psychological violence are incidents of *structural* violence, wherein resources, broadly defined, are unevenly distributed (Galtung 1969). As Levi and Maguire (2002) note, violence is 'a slippery term which covers a huge and frequently changing range of heterogeneous physical and emotional behaviors, situations and victim-offender relationships' (Levi & Maguire 2002: 796).

Leaving aside the problems of defining the terms political and violence, we can pose another important question: what precisely is the *goal* of war? A superficial answer to that question is simply 'victory', with all the satisfaction that it entails. However, the word victory does not provide a satisfactory answer because one can further question what sorts of 'victory' can be achieved through war—domination, resistance, or freedom? Human existence takes diverse forms, and this plurality is the *source* of conflict, whether in terms of territorial expansion and political conquest, scarcity and competition for resources, the sociological tension between unity and discord, or fighting for the preservation of a collective way of life. To rephrase the question of the goal of war, we may ask, what is the effect of peace?

Indeed, the concept of 'peace' is far broader than its antonym, war. Now, questions of justice, equality, and rights begin to emerge at a normative level in relation to peace. These issues coincide with Galtung's idea of 'positive peace', the integration of human society in which justice, rights, needs, and freedom of individuals are guaranteed. Galtung expanded the definition of violence as mentioned above that inevitably enlarges the concept of peace. In order to achieve a state of positive peace, poverty, social injustices, economic inequalities and political injustices must be eliminated. On the one hand, Galtung's idea of 'positive peace' overlaps with the Marxist conceptualisation of peace that hinges on social justice and equality. According to Karl Marx, capitalism is a system of exploitation by the bourgeoisie, and therefore must be replaced by socialism on

an international scale in order to provide freedom and equality. Marxists aim to remove certain types of structural violence that often promote economic exploitation and class domination. On the other hand, positive peace is compatible with liberal peace theorists such as Michael Doyle and Francis Fukuyama whose intellectual interest is to extend the domestic peace that rests upon the preservation of a socioeconomic order (i.e. market economy), or the use of a particular type of constitution (i.e. democracy), to an international community. Despite their differences in ideology, both schools share the idea of the emancipation of the individuals derives from the Enlightenment project that seeks to free the humanity from its self-imposed immaturity, and can also be traced back to 'Aristotelian *telos*', which attempts to lead human beings to 'a good and just life' in the polis (Neufeld 1995: 9). Accordingly, Richard Ashley (1981: 227) defined the term 'emancipation' as 'concerned with securing freedom from unacknowledged constraints, relations of domination, and conditions of distorted communication and understanding that deny humans the capacity to make their future through full will and consciousness'. In this vein, positive peace is perceived as a condition of emancipation.

Nevertheless, it is noted that a condition of emancipation may become a form of domination, just like orthodox Marxists' 'class emancipation' turned out to become class domination, at least in the former Soviet Union. A more recent example of such irony is that democratic peace can become a 'democratic crusade' wherein democracy as a political system is imposed via violence (or war) upon non-democracies. Scholars in peace research disagree with each other over the question whether peace *ought to be good*, especially when one attempts to consider 'peace' from perspectives of other cultures, religions, or civilisations. They would put the above-mentioned enlightenment-latent, Eurocentric conceptualisation of peace into question.

For instance, theologian Perry Yoder (2005: 3) interestingly puts forward that 'peace is a middle-class luxury, perhaps even a Western middle-class luxury'. What he means here is that espousing a concept of peace and opposing the use of violence can be the rhetoric of those who try to maintain the status quo for the comfort of their own interests, preserving the existing power structures of an unjust society. As he discovered in his experience working in the Philippines, people there 'saw advocacy for peace as support for their oppression... talking of peace in this context sounded like the language of oppression used by oppressors to keep the oppressed in their place' (Yoder 2005: 3). Likewise, Galtung (1981: 187) noted that the ancient Roman conception of peace, the *pax*

(that has dominated the conceptualisation of peace in the Western world) primarily served the interests of the powerful to maintain the status quo through a system of law. He noted that *pax* was ‘certainly not in the sense of justice and prosperity for the periphery of the Empire . . . As a concept it was compatible with the type of system that ultimately proved too exploitative, both of nature and of the internal and external proletariats’ (Galtung 1981: 187). As such, peace is understood as the status quo, or even a system of hegemonic domination by a (small) group of people at the expense of the others (masses).

Outline of the Book

This book aims to offer an interdisciplinary and up-to-date introduction to studies of war and peace, from both theoretical and empirical perspectives. Given the ambivalence, richness, and multiplicity of the conceptualisation of peace, this book is designed to make readers contemplate how peace can be conceptualised by investigating its broadly defined opposite—‘war’—rather than providing readers *the* answer of what the idea of peace means, while merely accepting popular definitions of the term. Moreover, ‘peace studies’ requires a research agenda that engages broadly with interdisciplinary perspectives on peace, that bring together history, political science, philosophy, religious studies, law, economics, and culture, allowing for a deep and broad interrogation of ‘peace’. With these objectives in mind, the book is divided into two parts.

Part one, ‘Theoretical perspectives’, intends to look into several aspects of war from different disciplinary perspectives. Topics included here are the history of peace movements, causes of war, biology of war, just war tradition (from both philosophical and legal perspective), representation of war, economics of war and finally the end of war. Each of the chapters features an introduction to the theme and its primary content. Part two, ‘Case studies’, selects six case studies covering many regions in which students work on their own case study and have the opportunity to put theory into practice. This book aims to examine the nexus between theory and practice in relation to peace and war: each case study can be analysed by a theoretical perspective introduced in part one, and thus serve as a learning tool for students. Selected case studies include: Yugoslav Wars, The Iraq War, The Pacific War, War and Peace in Colombia, Rwanda and Libya.

Chapter one, 'Peace movements in historical perspective', written by historian Ann Marie Wilson introduces readers to the long history of nonviolent responses to conflict and insecurity. Debates about the meaning of peace go back to the ancient and medieval world, but the modern peace movement finds its origins in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, when a group of small, mostly religiously-based societies began to issue public declarations against war. Since then, a wide variety of political coalitions have coalesced around issues pertaining to peace and conflict resolution. In the nineteenth century, peace advocates worked to establish protocol for international arbitration and called for the regularisation of international law. The outbreak of World War I gave additional weight to the need for an international security organisation, while the disappointments of its aftermath led many to criticise the cultural glorification and romanticisation of warfare. Later in the twentieth century, the experience of World War II and the realities of the Cold War brought about a new focus on arms reduction, disarmament, and nuclear deterrence. Since then, peace organisations increasingly have grappled with the difficult questions raised by humanitarian intervention and alternative missions for military forces. No matter the issue, however, peace advocacy has frequently contributed to changes in the conduct of war. By tracing this history, Wilson shows that military and nonviolent responses to conflict can be seen in a dialectic relationship with one another.

Chapter two, 'Causes of war', by political scientists Niels van Willigen and Benjamin Pohl is designed to consider why (and how) wars occur. There are various ways to answer this question. Political realists may attribute the causes of war to human nature or the structure of the international system (i.e. anarchy). Marxist traditions, such as those proposed by Vladimir Lenin or Immanuel Wallerstein, may blame the logic of capitalism for giving rise to global inequalities which in turn lead to war. Other scholars, like Samuel Huntington, may ascribe the outbreak of war or the forging of peace to cultural factors, referring to civilisation, ethnicity, or nationalism. The variety of explanations shows us that there is no single causal factor that leads to war. Different thinkers have proposed numerous theories that explain the causes of various forms of warfare. Addressing all of them would be impossible in the context of this chapter, therefore the chapter focuses on a few dominant explanations. First, the causes of interstate war are discussed in a level-of-analysis framework. It means that we study war between states at the level of the individual, the state and the international system. Secondly, the causes of intra-state wars, or