

5-2023

## Concerned Philosophers for Peace, Vol. 31 (2023)

Concerned Philosophers for Peace

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### Recommended Citation

Concerned Philosophers for Peace, "Concerned Philosophers for Peace, Vol. 31 (2023)" (2023).  
*Concerned Philosophers for Peace*. 50.  
[https://ecommons.udayton.edu/concerned\\_philosophers/50](https://ecommons.udayton.edu/concerned_philosophers/50)

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# Concerned Philosophers for Peace

## Newsletter Volume 31 (Spring 2023)

ISSN: 1062–9114

Greetings and Peace,

We begin this issue with a major announcement:

### **Bill Gay Award for an Early Career Scholar**

The Bill Gay Award is for an early career scholar (defined as a scholar who is within 6 years of receiving their terminal degree) who has demonstrated their commitment to engaging with peace, peace studies, and peace and justice scholarship and/or activism. To be eligible for the award, a scholar must submit a full paper (5-7K words) at least two months in advance of the annual Concerned Philosophers for Peace conference. All submissions will be blind reviewed by the CPP awards committee. The award will be announced at the annual CPP conference by the awards committee chair, and comes with a \$2000 prize, formal certificate of recognition, and paper publication (subject to editorial approval) in the scholarly, peer-reviewed journal *The Acorn: Philosophical Studies in Pacifism and Nonviolence*.

Many thanks to Dr. Bill Gay, long-time CPP member, contributor, and activist scholar for peace and justice. His generous financial support is the backbone of this prestigious award, and CPP hopes that awardees will follow in Dr. Gay's illustrious footsteps as lifelong champions for a more just and more peaceful world.

To learn more about Dr. Bill Gay and his work with the Concerned Philosophers for Peace, turn to page 4.

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### **How to stay up-to-date on CPP happenings**

Website: [peacephilosophy.org](http://peacephilosophy.org)

Facebook: [www.facebook.com/Concerned-Philosophers-for-Peace-241571222548560](https://www.facebook.com/Concerned-Philosophers-for-Peace-241571222548560)

YouTube: [www.youtube.com/channel/UCKwauwg47qQQDhktUett4JA](https://www.youtube.com/channel/UCKwauwg47qQQDhktUett4JA)

Email: [concernedphilosophersforpeace@gmail.com](mailto:concernedphilosophersforpeace@gmail.com)

**To pay your membership dues**, please visit: <https://peacephilosophy.org/registration-dues/>

Want to share a short essay, recent news, events, publication, job posting, or other information related to peace and nonviolence studies? Email your contribution to: [concernedphilosophersforpeace@gmail.com](mailto:concernedphilosophersforpeace@gmail.com). All contributions are subject to approval and space limitations.

# President's Page

## Sanjay Lal (Clayton State University) President 2022-2023

As we are now well into a post-pandemic era and some clear sense of normalcy can be noticed, it is understandable for peace advocates to lament what appear to be missed opportunities that were presented to the world over the last several years. Instead of realizing a greater sense of unity and shared purpose, COVID seems to have only aggravated our divisions and antagonisms. Underscoring this impression is, what appears to be, undeniable evidence that (contrary to a common belief left over from the Enlightenment Age) not even the findings of science can produce the kinds of resolution and consensus so vital for better realizing a more peaceful world. Furthermore, it is indeed a sad reflection of our times that, for the first time since WWII, we are witnessing an active conflict over territory taking place within the continent of Europe. Not exactly what any of us envisioned when we were wishing for a return to pre-Covid times!

Amid such a global backdrop, I could not be happier to report that CPP is as active as ever! Indeed, as is indicated by the recent creation of the Bill Gay Award for Early Career Scholars (made possible by Bill's incredible and characteristic generosity), CPP is actually even expanding its mission. Thanks to Bill's gift we can have greater assurances that the next generation of peace philosophers will keep coming along! By continuing to do all we can to make it known that specializing in peace is, in fact, a viable route for pursuing success in academic philosophy, CPP is (in its own way) offering an immense value to the world.

Beyond our value to academic philosophy, I'm excited by the possibilities presented by Barry Gan's initiative in regard to the ongoing war in Ukraine (see elsewhere in this issue). This initiative, together with the theme of this year's conference in Knoxville, can serve as a catalyst for our members to bring unique philosophical insights by which the wider world can deal with what is clearly one of the most serious military conflicts of our time. We have, in other words, a great opportunity before us to pursue some worthwhile public philosophy! Given our mission, I cannot imagine a more important objective for us to take up right now.

Once again, our in-person conference is one of my most anticipated events of the year. I look forward to not only seeing long-time friends but making new ones in Knoxville this October!

### Images from the 2022 Presidential Address



## Call for Papers

Concerned Philosophers for Peace

36th Annual Conference (October 27-28, 2023, Knoxville, TN)

Co-Sponsored by: Pellissippi State Community College and University of Tennessee, Department of Philosophy

### Peace in the Face of Aggression: Responses to the Russo-Ukrainian War

### Keynote: Cheyney Ryan

Concerned Philosophers for Peace (CPP) seeks to find ways to promote peaceful, nonviolent transitions in all arenas of common life, and this year's conference will focus primarily on peaceful and nonviolent solutions to the Russo-Ukrainian War. Based on discussions within the CPP, we recognize there are many different ways to frame and analyze the causes, methods, and solutions of the conflict. With this in mind, we ask authors to reflect on the variety of peaceful, nonviolent responses one might have to the Russo-Ukrainian War, including from the pacifist position. In addition to the main theme, we welcome papers on any topic related to peace and nonviolence, especially papers that promote diverse and decolonized ideas of peace and peace studies. Submit abstracts of no more than 500 words for papers related to this theme or to the overall mission of Concerned Philosophers for Peace. Possible Topics Include (but are not limited to):

- Just War vs. Pacifist responses to war
- "Peaceful aggression" causing violent conflict
- Supplying weapons and aid as a nonviolent response
- Economic sanctions as violence against the populace
- "Insider" and "outsider" responses to inter-state aggression
- "Old-school" and "new-school" responses to war and conflict
- Technological responses to aggression: violent or nonviolent?
- Role of technology in 21st century pacifism
- How to proceed peacefully when we disagree
- The future of peace studies and peace activism
- Peace studies without activism
- Diverse and decolonized sources of peace/peace studies: music, dance, art
- Linguistic and status quo practices: barriers to presenting and publishing dissenting and diverse perspectives
- Effective ways to communicate peace and peace studies
- Diverse teaching sources of peace/peace studies
- Overlooked historical figures/accounts of peace activists

CPP welcomes submissions from undergraduates, graduate students, professional academics, independent scholars, and anyone willing to present persuasive sound argumentative positions in line with our theme and ethos. We also welcome submissions from a range of fields including philosophy, law, public policy, business, history, religious studies, political science, social science, or related fields. Submissions from teachers, researchers, or practitioners are also welcome, particularly insofar as those presentations could complement the theme of the conference. Concerned Philosophers for Peace is the largest, most active organization of professional philosophers in North America involved in the analysis of the causes of violence and prospects for peace.

#### **Submission Guidelines: Deadline: July 3, 2023**

Email your CV and an abstract of no more than 500 words, prepared for blind review to Court Lewis, [cdlewis1@pstcc.edu](mailto:cdlewis1@pstcc.edu). Write "CPP 2023 submission" in subject line. Include name, institutional affiliation, e-mail address, and paper title in the body of your e-mail. If you are a Graduate or Undergraduate student, please indicate so in your email.

**\*\*There will be a cash prize for the best Graduate student paper and the best Undergraduate student paper.\*\***

#### **APA Divisions, Call for Abstracts**

Abstracts of approximately 500 words and author bio should be sent to the corresponding Liaisons by 31 July.

##### **The Eastern Division**

(Graham Parsons: [graham.parsons@westpoint.edu](mailto:graham.parsons@westpoint.edu))

##### **The Central Division**

(Court Lewis: [court.lewis@gmail.com](mailto:court.lewis@gmail.com))

##### **The Pacific Division**

(Andrew Fiala: [afiala@csufresno.edu](mailto:afiala@csufresno.edu))

#### **Call for Reviewers**

The CPP is always looking for people to serve as blind reviewers for books, articles, conference papers, etc. The CPP, along with *The Acorn*, also have the need for people to publish reviews on recent books.

Brill's Philosophy of Peace Series also welcomes submissions of manuscripts by individual authors. All of volumes go through a rigorous peer-review process; the result of which is that these works are adding both to research and pedagogy in the philosophy of peace and in peace studies.

#### **Brill's Philosophy of Peace website:**

<https://brill.com/view/serial/POP>

## Member Profile: Dr. William “Bill” Gay, Founder and Benefactor of Concerned Philosophers for Peace

Paula Smithka, (Associate Professor, Philosophy & Religion, University of Southern Mississippi)

William C. “Bill” Gay, Professor Emeritus of Philosophy at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte, was one of the founding members of Concerned Philosophers for Peace and has been involved with the organization, holding a number of significant positions since its founding. The organization had its beginning in the spring of 1981 when a group of philosophers who were concerned about the acceleration of the nuclear arms race, met at the Pacific divisional meeting of the American Philosophical Association. Under the leadership of Stephen Anderson (who served as Ad Hoc Coordinator), Ann Geller, and David Weinberger, the group formed PANDORA (an acronym for “Philosophers Against Nuclear Destruction of Rational Animals”). The name was later changed to *Concerned Philosophers* and then *Concerned Philosophers for Peace* (CPP) in 1987 when Bill took over the editing of the Newsletter, serving as its editor from 1987-2002.

Bill furthered his integral involvement with CPP as a member of the Executive Committee of Concerned Philosophers for Peace from 1987-2012 and subsequently served as an ad hoc committee member from 2013-2019. He served as CPP’s President in 1993 and the Executive Director from 1997-1999. In addition to serving as CPP’s Newsletter editor from 1987-2012, Bill has held and continues to hold other important editorial positions. He is Associate Editor of the Value Inquiry Book Series (VIBS) of Editions RODOPI, 2002-present, he was the Co-Editor of the Philosophy of Peace (POP) Special Series of VIBS, from 2002-2003, and the Editor of the Philosophy of Peace (POP) Special Series of VIBS, from 2004-2012 which included ten books.

Furthermore, Bill has attended and presented his scholarly work *at each* of the 35 annual CPP meetings! He has 33 published book chapters associated with CPP volumes and has penned “Editorial Forwards” for three of the book volumes and has several articles and editorial comments published in the *Concerned Philosophers for Peace Newsletter*. He has also cultivated relations between CPP and the Institute of Philosophy of the Russian Academy of Sciences and has published three books with its member Tatiana Alekseeva and three books with another member, Alexander Chumakov.

Bill’s long-time commitment and dedication to Concerned Philosophers for Peace reflects an academic career devoted to the philosophy of peace, peace-building, conflict resolution, defining and promoting linguistic nonviolence, and more. He has been, and continues to be, a supportive colleague and committed peace activist. He has served as a mentor and friend to numerous undergraduate and graduate students, including myself, and continues to support to young scholars early in their academic careers with advice and guidance. In this regard, Bill has most generously donated \$30,000 to CPP in order to provide awards for outstanding student presentations at CPP conferences and to endow the *Bill Gay Award for an Early Career Scholar*, established by CPP’s Executive Committee in his honor. The *Bill Gay Award* is for an early career scholar (defined as a scholar who is within 6 years of receiving their terminal degree) who has demonstrated their commitment to engaging with peace, peace studies, and peace and justice scholarship and/or activism. To be eligible for the award, a scholar must submit a full paper (5-7K words) at least two months in advance of the annual Concerned Philosophers for Peace conference. All submissions will be blind reviewed by the CPP awards committee. The award will be announced at the annual CPP conference by the awards committee chair, and comes with a \$2000 prize, formal certificate of recognition, and paper publication (subject to editorial approval) in the scholarly, peer-reviewed journal, *The Acorn: Philosophical Studies in Pacifism and Nonviolence*.

Thank you, Bill, for your extraordinarily generous financial and long-time personal support for *Concerned Philosophers for Peace* and for your life-long commitment and dedication to making a more peaceful and just world!



# *Why is Nonviolence an Ethical Response to Populist Violence?*

**Alvin Tan** (Faculty, University of Santo Tomas, Manila, Philippines)

## ***Rhetoric of Populism***

Populism is as old as written history is concerned but it becomes more palatable in our modern times when this becomes a systemic and structural approach among totalitarian regimes. The accelerating attractiveness of populism is magnified and intensified with the rise of modern machinery specifically, but not exclusively, in the field of media communicated technology. The geopolitical sphere and power of media throughout the world are significantly expanding. Its wide-range and extent of influence sends a multi-layered system of impervious network of filters to feed the insatiability of the secularized mindset of this world.

The ascent of populism is a crucial yet critical spectacle of the post-truth phenomenon. Populism is one of many pathological symptoms of the post-truth era. Populism is a political doctrine and strategy at the same time, which highlights the views and sides of the public in a dishonest and cunning way. It approaches the issue at hand in a calculative yet versatile manner in order not to downplay the ruler's power over the people. It dissuades negative criticism yet applies it to the people just the same. The rule of emotion and affective appeal is an effective strategy to persuade the people to side with the ruler.

Populism, as a pungent apparatus for seizing power, is rhetorically impermeable when utilizing the language of media. The hegemonic guideline of populist leaders combined with modern media accentuates its unresolved dominance, elusive power-steering, and fluid recalibration in the decision-making process of the individual and public opinion in general. This populist charm gives rise to a global village. It is where populism and media converge its power. This global village or globalization is a cutting-edge model of dominion. It is inherently violent. It is a compendium of assertive forces and hegemonic re-appropriation of elite qualities. Before, globalization is merely constrained to geopolitical conquest and material accumulation of resources and power. Today it turns out to be progressively stylish and convoluted since it rises above the material exigencies and existential conditions. It complements global control by altering human consciousness to mere functions or bare life mechanisms, creating a fabricated world of techy minds, a hovering narcissistic ethic, and "divinatory" impositions.

Moreover, globalization, as a modern form of imperialism, is a political, economic, social, and cultural phenomenon that highlights the competitive advantage and control strategies of corporations in multi-layered spaces in society. It also magnifies and homogenizes commercial spaces in many nations that rationalize thought control procedures. Thought control and democracy are incompatible. Disciplinary apparatuses are forms of controlling the (public) mind. Such an apparatus is not malevolent in itself but once it justifies and preserves the power relation of the corporate elites and experts, then this social/political contraption becomes visibly decadent. Moreover, the great majority must be put in silence to facilitate effectively violent schemes and oppressive gestures. The indifferent majority is managed by the specialized class. This class is an interpenetrating network of elitist voices and expert authorities.

## ***Nonviolent Response to Populist Violence***

Contrary to violent tendencies and appropriations, nonviolence is a political apparatus and attitude in the attainment of a peaceful and fecund community of inquirers. Civic and political concordance and perfect egalitarianism is a mere fantasy. Collective power and political equality cannot be resolved in an absolute sense, but we can arrive at a provisional agreement and rational consensus if we impartially deliberate, contest, and debate upon certain issues and open the discussion to competent participants to find a solution to any problem, if necessary.

(Continued on page 13)

## Essay Prizes

We are pleased and proud to announce the Graduate Student Paper Award Winners for the 2022 Annual CPP Conference, “Peace, Nonviolence, Power, and Crisis” (held in October 2022 at the University of New Mexico, hosted by Will Barnes). The winners are:

### Outstanding Paper Award

**Anthony White**

“Our Problem Isn’t Polarization—It’s Sectarianism: A Kingian Diagnosis and Response”

### Outstanding Paper Award

**Capucine Mercier**

“Nonviolence as Critique of Individualism in Butler and Gandhi”

Please join us in congratulating the winners and thanking all of those who submitted papers for consideration. CPP strives to encourage and support the next generation of scholars, and we hope that these graduate student paper awards go some way toward furthering that goal.

In addition, thanks to our CPP prize subcommittee. Without their work and deliberations, we wouldn’t be able to make these awards!

## Your Officers in 2023

**CPP President 2022-2023:** Sanjay Lal

**CPP Treasurer 2022-2025:** Stephen DiLorenzo

**CPP Executive Director 2022-2024:** Jennifer Kling

**CPP Communications Co-Coordinators 2022-2025:** Greg Moses and Anthony Sean Neal

**CPP APA Eastern Liaison 2022-2023:** Graham D. Parsons

**CPP APA Central Liaison 2022-2023:** Court Lewis

**CPP APA Pacific Liaison 2022-2023:** Andy Fiala

**Newsletter editor:** Court Lewis

## Join the CPP mailing list!

**Visit: [peacephilosophy.org](https://peacephilosophy.org) (Scroll down and enter your email address under the “Follow CPP Webpage Updates” title.)**

**Alternatively, you can email Jennifer Kling ([jkling@uccs.edu](mailto:jkling@uccs.edu)) to be added to our listserv.**

## **CPP at the APA**

### **Eastern APA**

#### **Panel 1**

**Jeremy Davis** (University of Georgia)

“Should the Military Want More Progressives to Join? (Should More Progressives Want to Join the Military?)”

**Cansu Hecpoglayan** (Boston University)

“How to Cultivate Civic Friendship in Polarized Societies”

**Tamara Fakhoury** (University of Minnesota–Twin Cities)

“Non-Normative Behavior and the Virtue of Rebelliousness”

**Jordan Pascoe** (Manhattan College)

“The Epistemology of Disasters”

#### **Panel 2**

**Author Meets Critics:** *Ethics, Security, and the War Machine: the True Costs of the Military* by Ned Dobos

Author: **Ned Dobos** (University of New South Wales)

Critics: **Lee-Ann Chae** (Temple University)

**Kevin Cutright** (United States Military Academy)

**Graham Parsons** (United States Military Academy)

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### **Central APA**

#### **Panel 1**

**Topic:** Bonhoeffer’s Forgiveness and Contemporary Issues of Peace and Nonviolence

**Gregory Bock**, Chair (The University of Texas at Tyler) and

**Court Lewis\*** (Mississippi State Community College)

“Illuminating Bonhoeffer’s Conception of Forgiveness”

**William Barnes\*** (New Mexico Highlands University)

“Simone De Beauvoir: The Virtue of Un-Knowing”

**Talhah Mustafa** (University of Nebraska Lincoln)

“Racial Powers”

**Joel Ballivian** (UW-Madison)

“Reparations for Historic Racism: What Does Benefitting Have to Do With It?”

**Solomon A Laleye\*** (Adekunle Ajasin University)

“Advanced Cyber-Crime, Ritual Killings and Their Mutual Exclusiveness”

**John Park** (California State University, Sacramento)

“Why Regulations on Empirical Claims in the Media Are Justified”

(Continued on the Next Page)



## **CPP at the APA**

### Central APA

#### **Panel 2**

**Topic:** Visions of Peace and Nonviolence in Popular Culture

**Kate C.S. Schmidt**, Chair (Metropolitan State University of Denver)

“Batman Never Kills: Envisioning the moral costs of violence in popular culture”

**Katie Harster** (Boston College)

“‘For Light and Life’: Peace in Thoreau and the Jedi of Star Wars: The High Republic”

**Colin J. Lewis** (University of Colorado, Colorado Springs)

“Hegemons, Peace-seeking, and The Godfather”

**Jennifer Kling** (University of Colorado, Colorado Springs)

“Nonviolent Activism in Lord of the Rings”

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### Pacific APA

#### **Panel 1**

**Book Symposium:** Andrew Fiala and Jennifer Kling, *Can War Be Justified?: A Debate*

Authors:

**Andrew Fiala** (California State University, Fresno)

**Jennifer Kling** (University of Colorado, Colorado Springs)

Critics:

**David K. Chan** (The University of Alabama at Birmingham)

**Yvonne Chiu** (U.S. Naval War College)

**R. Paul Churchill\*** (George Washington University)

**José-Antonio Orosco** (Oregon State University)

#### **Panel 2**

**Topic:** Nonviolent Resistance in the Muslim World

Moderator:

**Andrew Fiala** (California State University, Fresno)

Panelists:

**Walaa Quisay** (University of Edinburgh)

**Tom Woerner-Powell** (University of Manchester)

(\*Unable to attend)

## Roots

Barry L. Gan

In the early 1980's Ronald Reagan assumed the Presidency of the United States and called the Soviet Union an evil empire. He was critical of arms control treaties and began modernizing U.S. nuclear weapons. He pushed an anti-missile defense system that was labeled Star Wars. He fired the air traffic controllers, essentially destroying their union and giving a boost to union-busting elsewhere, too, most notably in the major news media. Rush Limbaugh began his broadcasting.

In the midst of this hostile and negative environment some philosophers formed a group called PANDORA. PANDORA was an acronym, standing for Philosophers Against the Nuclear Destruction of Rational Animals. It was a decidedly political sub-group of the American Philosophical Association, and among our aims were (1) to make respectable the study of war and peace within the APA, (2) to inject into the ivory tower of academic philosophy some ideas that might generate concrete outcomes in the "real" world, and (3) to use our expertise to speak clearly to the public about complex issues of nuclear weapons, war, and peace. Within a couple of years, we determined to abandon the name PANDORA because of concerns that the name suggested that the troubles of the world were all the fault of a woman. We eventually adopted instead the name Concerned Philosophers for Peace.

We met regularly at various APA sessions, but eventually, in 1987, we had our first national conference at the University of Dayton, hosted by Joe Kunkel. The meetings and conferences were lively affairs, with some philosophers arguing that a strong nuclear capability was the best way to achieve peace, and others arguing for views more in line with pacifism and nonviolence. We discussed terrorism. Some members established relations with philosophers in the Soviet Union, hoping to build bridges in countries that many deemed adversaries to the U.S. The business meetings were sometimes raucous affairs because... (Continued on page 13)

## Striving for Perpetual Peace on the Brink of the New Cold War

Edward Demenchonok

In January 2023, the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, founded in 1945 by Albert Einstein, moved the hands of the Doomsday Clock forward by 10 seconds, indicating that now it stands at 90 seconds to midnight (a metaphor for a nuclear catastrophe) to alert humanity to the threats to its existence, including nuclear war, climate change, and biotechnology. The Bulletin calls the present day "a time of unprecedented danger." The hands were not so close to midnight even at the peak of the Cold War, and in 1991, at the end of the war, the Clock was at 17 minutes to midnight.

There is a lack of serious discussions in academic publications and in mass media about the issue of war. Instead of in-depth analyses of the problem of war and its potentially catastrophic consequences, there is quite superficial and biased talk justifying militarism with ideology about the conflict of "democracies" vs. "autocracies." There are irresponsible flirtations with nuclear threats. The speculation about possible moves on the geopolitical chess board misses the bigger picture and the fundamental understanding that war in a nuclear age can destroy not only all the chess players but also the whole world. Public apathy, hypnotized by the propaganda narrative of mass media, is alarming in the face of the mounting threat to the future of humanity.

Equally concerning is that although a few publications address the beginning of the New Cold War, they are mostly limited to descriptions of the confrontation and the looming World War III, with very little to say about possible solutions and viable, peaceful alternatives. There is a saying that the pathology of war starts in people's minds. This is, of course, not the only root cause of the problem. However, for philosophers, the possible cure is to appeal, first of all, to people's reason and consciousness. (Continued on page 11)

## Book Review Blurb

### **Ludic Ubuntu Ethics: Decolonizing Justice**

Mechthild Nagel

Routledge, 2023 (Routledge Series in Penal Abolition and Transformative Justice)

In the 1990s, South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission championed a novel approach to transitional justice ethics: Ubuntu—a Zulu word for friendship and shared humanity. *Ludic Ubuntu Ethics* offers a vision for decolonizing justice by foregrounding Ubuntu ethics. Furthermore, it showcases a psycho-social, ludic model that critiques the Western rule of law and affirms Indigenous justice conceptions that favor transformative justice. In other words, what has been depicted as primitive, wayward, and uncivilized is in fact care-centered, peace-affirming, and community-oriented.

By contrast, the rule-centered, individualized lens of punishment disfavors a peaceful, long-lasting problem-solving, compassionate approach. Paradoxically, the ideal of the rule of law has never been strictly applied: colonized subjects have always been treated to summary punishment in white supremacist settler colonial nation states. In other words, the agonistic adage “you do the crime, you do time!” is a ruse played out in the theater of justice administration. The Western Roman codex adheres to a logic of agonism—the deadly game of justice as vengeance in the realm of Justitia, or Lady Justice. Indigenous, non-agonistic practices, by contrast, adhere to a kinship, nested-care, and socio-centric worldview which explores how the community has wronged the individual(s). The ludic realm offers a balancing approach favoring healing over punishment. *Ludic Ubuntu Ethics* appeals to those interested in global comparative peace studies, critical justice studies, and Africana studies.

### ***Reintroducing Politics of War and Peace: A Survey of Thought***

Stephana Landwehr

*Politics of War and Peace: A Survey of Thought* was first published in 1981 and was used at various colleges. It continues to provide directions for political leaders, military personnel, citizens, and people worldwide. *Politics of War and Peace* contains the original writings of sixty-three of the world's most esteemed thinkers on war and peace, which makes it a handy tool for reading primary sources, and for college students, current/future political leaders, and current/future military leaders. It provides guidance for directing discussions and analysis, and it is a convenient help for religious leaders preparing educational materials and sermons, a source of information for the media, as well as a reference for citizen voters. The reader is greeted with a Preface by the renowned military strategist and soldier, Andrew J. Goodpaster, followed by a Forward and Introduction. Each featured thinker is arranged in two tables of contents, chronological and topical. Each thinker is introduced with a summary, followed by the title of their writing and then the original writing itself. The book can be read as a whole text, according to topic, or time-period. The writings lift peace out of 20th and 21st centuries' chaos and rise above to places where people of all ages and walks of life can explore directions concerning war and peace. Old and new situations can be seen through the eyes of the featured authors.

#### **Topics**

What would Plato say to big tech and media giants regarding their control of battlefield information as well as controlling public discourse? What would Thomas Aquinas say about qualifications of leaders empowered to declare war? What would George Washington say about limiting citizens' food, clothing, and shelter to supply an army? What would Arnold Toynbee say about protecting borders and peace? What would John F. Kennedy say to citizens living in a 21st century democratic republic? During crisis, how can citizens best express their dissatisfaction with war and/or leaders? The book contains 63 primary source writings covering six major areas, including an Introduction, The Causes of War, Just War, Civil-Military Relations, Achieving National Goals Through War, and War and World Society. The audience level is intended for teens and adults, lay and professional readers. The collection offers writings from a diverse set of thinkers and world leaders, philosophical, religious, and political. Key words associated with the text include civilian leadership of military, human rights, just war, just peace, violent resistance, and universal disarmament. *Politics of War and Peace* can be found online via most major booksellers.

#### **About the Authors**

During the turbulent days of the 1970's, Abbot Brayton and Stephana Landwehr were young professors of political science at East Tennessee State University in Johnson City, Tennessee. Out of the turbulence, they were inspired to explore political thinkers and military strategists in search of answers to the life and death struggles facing the world. Landwehr left ETSU, returning to her home state of Missouri, working for a religious organization. Brayton retired as a colonel in the US Army Reserve, returned to Vermont and worked in business. However, their research continued. Abbott Brayton died in 2017.

## Striving for Perpetual Peace on the Brink of the New Cold War, Continued from page 9

With the benefit of hindsight, we may wonder why, three decades after the end of the Cold War, we are witnessing such regression. Why is the “end of history,” once triumphantly proclaimed by the neoconservative Francis Fukuyama, now at risk of becoming an apocalyptic end? Most importantly, what can we do to avert this threat? Answering the last question requires a better understanding of history, not merely obtained through theoretical speculation but also forged in political praxis.

To better understand the contemporary situation, we need to view it within its broader historical context. Thinkers from many philosophical traditions have expressed grave concerns about the lust for domination and war. In Western philosophy, the themes of war and peace were developed by Immanuel Kant in *Toward Perpetual Peace* (1775). To the violent “state of nature,” Kant proposed a law-governed social organization: a society of free citizens with a republican constitution, lawful external relations between states entering a peaceful federation, and a cosmopolitan right. He goes beyond the social structure and toward the minds and hearts of individuals, appealing to their reason and moral consciousness. For Kant, the categorical imperative is tripartite, comprising morality, right, and peace. Therefore, it is our moral duty to take advantage of political opportunities to create conditions for lasting peace. His project remains as apt and urgent today as it was in his time.

After WWI, there was a first attempt to implement the Kantian idea of a peaceful federation in the League of Nations (1920). After WWII, there was a second attempt with the establishment of the United Nations (1945). But it was derailed by the Cold War. In reality, this war began with the atomic bombing of Hiroshima and Nagasaki on August 6 and 9, 1945. Most researchers argue that there was no justification for dropping the bomb and that President Truman’s decision to do so was motivated by the geopolitical interests of an emerging superpower in possession of a powerful weapon that could be used both as a political instrument and as a demonstration of force to the Soviet Union and the wider world.<sup>1</sup>

Now, as never before, we are living under the threat of the total annihilation of humankind. Albert Camus, Jean-Paul Sartre, John Dewey, and Bertrand Russell all realized this newly created existential threat. As the Russell-Einstein Manifesto suggested: “We have to learn to think in a new way,” one that considers human life and the survival of humankind as the supreme and unconditional value. “We appeal as human beings to human beings: Remember your humanity, and forget the rest.”<sup>2</sup>

The rise of global consciousness, which resulted in movements for peace and democratization, and the prudence of political leaders led to the end of the Cold War. But the general task was much broader—to remove the root cause of wars in a nuclear age and to reduce both nuclear and conventional weapons, ultimately leading to disarmament.

The end of the Cold War was a historical crossroads. There was the possibility of leaving the vicious circle of power politics and wars, and instead, pursuing a positive transformation of society and the world order, removing the causes of war and injustice, and creating the conditions for lasting peace. Many hoped that “they shall beat their swords into plowshares” (Isaiah 2:4) and that humanity would embrace its opportunities for peaceful international relations and cooperation in the search for solutions to social and global problems.

The end of the Cold War-era bipolar division of the world inspired scholars to seek ways of democratizing relationships among the nations in a multicentric world. Since the early 1990s, numerous philosophers and political scientists, including Daniele Archibugi, Ulrich Beck, Richard Falk, David Held, and Mary Kaldor, have insisted on the need for substantial transformations of world politics and expressed innovative ideas about the democratization of international relations and the possibility of a cosmopolitan democracy.<sup>3</sup>

The ideals of cosmopolitanism were reborn in the works of Karl-Otto Apel, Jürgen Habermas, Seyla Benhabib, James Bohman, and Fred Dallmayr, among others. Kant serves as a common source of inspiration in their search for solutions to today’s problems. There are two main trends in cosmopolitan thought. One emphasizes the equal moral status of each human being, inalienable human rights, and the future of humanity as a whole. (Continued on the next page)

The other articulates the protection of the cultural diversity of nations, minority groups, and individuals. Both trends reflect a tension between the universal and the particular, and attempts at their reconciliation are embodied in the motto “unity in diversity.” Cosmopolitanism expresses a quest for changes moving from the war-prone world of divisions and hegemonic domination toward a world order of peace and multilateral cooperation. This can be considered the third attempt to move toward the implementation of the Kantian project of lasting peace.

On the eve of the twenty-first century, many hoped for positive changes and a new era of peace and socio-economic development. Unfortunately, the economic and political forces interested in the preservation of the status quo and the vested interests of big corporations, the military-industrial-political complex, and the “deep state,” epitomized in the neoconservative “revolution,” soon torpedoed these transformative opportunities and shifted world politics toward the extreme right, militarism, and global hegemony. This was in diametric opposition to the prospects of lasting peace once envisioned by Kant.

### *Perpetual war for “democratic peace”?*

Hegemonic domination is at odds with people’s fundamental desire for freedom and sovereign and independent development. Neocolonial hegemonism cannot be imposed without using force or “soft” and “hard” power. This will inevitably provoke self-defense reactions from nations that do not want to be envassaled. The politics of global domination is essentially confrontational and war-prone. Thus, at that historic turning point, world politics was derailed from the possibility of peaceful development to entirely the opposite direction—toward regression to lawless pre-United Nations imperial designs.

One may wonder how this was possible in the “enlightened” twenty-first century. It is hard to imagine that anyone would have wanted, after the end of the Cold War, to return to the conditions of a new Cold War and live under the nuclear Sword of Damocles. Kant believed that, in a law-governed society with a republican constitution, “the consent of the citizens of a state is required in order to decide whether there shall be war or not.”<sup>4</sup> If this is true, then did republican citizens agree—or were they even consulted—to be thrown into the whirlpool of the new Cold War? In what kind of “democracy,” then, are we living? Who is responsible for such decisions?

Rather than morally responsible individuals, it is those who are in pursuit of the “golden calf” of wealth and profit from wars who are in control of the economic-political-ideological system and possess the real power to decide on war and peace and on the destiny of peoples. With the concentration of power and the domination of self-interested elites, manipulating and corrupting voters, this gap between politics and morality seems to become an abyss. This has resulted in people’s disappointment and political apathy. However, this cannot be an excuse for citizens: in a formally democratic society with elections, citizens have voting rights and thus co-responsibility for state politics.

Unfortunately, the brainwashing propaganda machine has shown its deceptive efficiency even in academia. For instance, there are those whose “academic scholarship had been perverted to justify violence.”<sup>5</sup> Among the chorus of neoconservative and neoliberal advocates of global hegemony were Francis Fukuyama, with his rather premature triumphalism of the “end of history,” Samuel Huntington, who declared the inevitable “clash of civilizations” and the victory of Western civilization, the theorists of “liberal internationalism” and “democratic peace,” and others.<sup>6</sup> The concept of “democratic peace” deserves closer consideration as an example of how academic scholarship can be used to justify politically organized violence. At first glance, the concept appears attractive in that it combines two great political ideals: democracy and peace.

On closer inspection, however, its core idea of promoting “global peace through the spread of democracy” through a military superpower’s force raises questions about its interpretation of democracy and peace. It seems paradoxical that peace can be achieved through liberal states waging war against the nonliberal part of the world, that is, “the West against the rest.” (Continued on page 14)



### ***Why is Nonviolence an Ethical Response to Populist Violence?*, by Tan (continued from page 5)**

Nonviolence, as an ethical position, would produce a more rational and legitimate outcome which may not always guarantee an absolute and definitive solution to any problem but would create a well-grounded, more humanistic discussion, and deliberation about competing issues. Modern political strategies of violent oppressors are not really felt, if not significantly seen as something oppressive, since they are systematically entrenched and dressed in paternalistic social contraptions. Modern political strategies of violent oppressors have euphemized the democratic vestige as training with a heart, well in fact it makes a duality between the irresistible attraction towards the conditions of life of the oppressor, on one hand, and self-alienation and/or self-devaluation of the oppressed, on the other hand.

For Judith Butler (*The Force of Nonviolence*, 2020), we cannot talk about life without the conditions of life. These conditions of life have social inequalities. Today, this social inequality, as necropolitical violence, is highlighted in a hyper-individualistic individual which discounts the value and dignity of the other. As such, it underscores systemic racism and mindless sociability of different social agencies. For them, the efficacy of nonviolence is grounded on interdependency and the grievability of human lives. It is a form of social equality that is primordial in any social relationship. If it is lived out properly it propels the right means to create social bonding grounded on communal recognition and mutual respect. Interdependency is a shared space by all individuals who long for an egalitarian community and solidarity coming from different walks of life and familial rootedness.

Nonviolence, as moral jujitsu, is transformative when the individual is empowered to become the sort of individual who one needs to be. Transformation is not the same as integration in the social world of the oppressor yet, it is an ontological vocation for every individual to acknowledge and satisfy as they enter the world of interdependency. Nonviolence is transformative for both parties but never vindictive and impugnable to one another. It opens the individual to a world of conceivable outcomes and urges the individual toward self-discovery and creating one's own self.

### ***Roots*, by Gan (Continued from page 9)**

... the organization took public stances on pressing issues of the day, especially nuclear disarmament, the civil war in Nicaragua, and more. We argued over the wording of such positions. A few years later Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and the U.S. response added more fuel to the concerns of our group.

CPP on occasion drafted statements that urged particular action by U.S. citizens and by the U.S. government. We explicitly encouraged members to write op-ed columns in their local newspapers to inform the general public of the issues of the day as we saw them. As a result, for example, for a few years I became a regular columnist in our local paper and also in a local monthly entertainment magazine, where I wrote for a feature called Left/Right. (Perhaps it should have been called Left/Wrong?)

But it seems that in recent years CPP has lost some of its focus. It's accurate to say that we have met one of our goals—the respectability of the study of war and peace within the APA. But we have lost sight of two other goals, to attempt as a group to help generate outcomes in the “real” world; and to use our expertise to speak to the public about issues of war and peace. That loss of vision is what led me to suggest at the previous CPP meeting that CPP draft a statement on the war in Ukraine. The initial impetus to do so seems to have lost steam. It is encouraging, however, that we are devoting this fall's conference to discussion of that war. Perhaps something concrete can come out of it. I anticipate much discussion, possibly raucous, on the issues surrounding that war again this fall, and CPP should again look forward to some concrete results from those discussions.

## Striving for Perpetual Peace on the Brink of the New Cold War, Continued from page 12

To an inquiring mind, this idea of peace through war may sound illogical or like Orwellian doublespeak. Nevertheless, it has been propagated in numerous publications and academic discussions and adopted as a core ideological justification of the hegemonic policies of “spreading democracy,” “regime change,” and humanitarian interventionism.<sup>7</sup>

One of its leading theorists, Michael Doyle, has offered his own version of “liberal peace,” which essentially justifies unbounded interventions and wars waged by liberal states against nonliberal states. He argues that “a separate peace exists among liberal states,” which remain in a “state of war” with nonliberal states, and through the steady expansion of the “liberal zone of peace,” even by force, world peace will be established.<sup>8</sup>

Doyle’s theory divides the problem into the “state of peace” in the liberal zone and the “state of war” in the rest of the world. Furthermore, the differences in form of government between liberal and nonliberal states become an insurmountable barrier between the state of peace and the state of war. His conception is based on the sharp juxtaposition of allegedly “peaceful” liberal states and “aggressive,” war-prone nonliberal states. This division supposedly derives from the various domestic policies concerning publicity and human rights in liberal and nonliberal societies. “Differences in international behavior then reflect these differences.”<sup>9</sup>

Notably, Doyle is talking not about a war of self-defense on the part of liberal states but about their interventions in other states overseas: “liberal republics also are prepared to protect and promote—sometimes forcibly—democracy, private property, and the rights of individuals overseas against nonrepublics, which, because they do not authentically represent the rights of individuals, have no rights to noninterference.”<sup>10</sup>

Doyle tries to find support for his concept by appealing to Kant’s *Toward Perpetual Peace*. However, his reading of Kant’s political philosophy is highly controversial and, I would argue, distorted. For example, while referring to Kant’s First Definitive Article for Perpetual Peace, Doyle argues that contemporary constitutional democracies in the West have already met this article’s criteria and are inherently peaceful and that “republican governments are a source of the liberal peace.”<sup>11</sup> At the same time, Doyle stresses that peacefulness is limited to liberal states, even though they wage war against nonliberal states. “Liberal states are different. They are indeed peaceful. They are also prone to make war.”<sup>12</sup> In explaining this paradox, Doyle erroneously attributes his own views to Kant: “Liberal states have created a separate peace, as Kant argued they would, and have also discovered liberal reasons for aggression, as he feared they might.”<sup>13</sup> But Kant never said anything about a “separate” peace, nor anything about any fear of aggression specifically from nonliberal states of liberal ones.

Doyle cannot support his double thesis about intra-liberal peace and bellicosity toward nonliberals with reference to Kant. Doyle’s “liberal peace” conception also errs toward an idealized image of “peaceful democracies.” For instance, he claims contemporary Western-style democracies have fully implemented the Kantian ideal of peaceful republicanism. However, many critics indicate that Doyle eliminates the democratic, participatory element from Kant’s republicanism, which extends to foreign policy, and that contemporary liberal states do not meet Kant’s main criterion of civic participation. They conclude that these states are far from Kant’s ideal and the full implementation of his requirements for peace.

For example, when Kant claims that republican citizens would most likely vote for peace due to a pragmatic consideration to avoid the hardships and unhappiness of war, this inclination is based on the general human desire for happiness. In other words, they would opt for peace regardless of the international context or the difference between liberal and nonliberal states. Thus, if the foreign policy of democracies were really guided by democratic norms, constitutional restraint, and peaceful decision-making processes, they would be consistent and independent from the international context. But they are not. As Georg Cavallar writes, “We are left with two possibilities: if democracies are not completely peaceful, then either the liberal peace hypothesis is wrong, or the democracies we are talking about are not real democracies.” He concludes that “the liberal democracies involved have not become Kantian democracies in the fullest sense.”<sup>14</sup> Therefore, their war-proneness comes first of all from their internal democratic deficit rather than from the international context. (Continued on the next page)

## Striving for Perpetual Peace on the Brink of the New Cold War, Continued from page 14

Kant's Second Definitive Article states that an indispensable condition for peace is the relationship among states based on international law in accord with "the *right of nations*" (*ius gentium*).<sup>15</sup>

The strength of nonviolence is ethical because it allows the person to discern what is right from wrong, good from evil, and proper from improper. Also, it involves the commitment to do what is right, good, and proper. Furthermore, nonviolence, as praxis, elevates the discourse to political action. Nonviolence provides the democratic space to realize one's authentic self and actualize the resonant potentiality of the other.

Further, "The right of nations shall be based on *a federalism* of free states."<sup>16</sup> Kant stresses that this "need not be a state of nations" or a "world state," in which the states would lose their sovereignty.<sup>17</sup> He also warns against the idea of a *world republic* (which he compares with a despotic "world monarchy"); instead, it should be "a *pacific league* (*foedus pacificum*)" to preserve and secure "the *freedom* of a state itself and of other states in league with it" and to prevent war.<sup>18</sup>

In his interpretation of this article, Doyle adds the qualifier "liberal," limiting Kant's universal conception of comprehensive, "perpetual" peace to a "separate peace" in the exceptional "zone" of liberal states, excluding the rest of the world, which becomes the "democratizing" warzone: "In the meantime, the 'pacific federation' of liberal republics ... brings within it more and more republics ... expanding separate peace."<sup>19</sup> But Kant did not say that. Kant sees the root cause of organized violence "in view of the malevolence of human nature,"<sup>20</sup> which must be remediated through the transformation of society and international relations and by enlightening the people and improving their reasoning ability and moral consciousness. Concerning peace, he is talking about "nations" and "states" in general, without distinguishing between their political systems, and he means peace for all.

Doyle goes on by further emphasizing his thesis of liberal-nonliberal antagonism and that the way toward "liberal peace" is through forcible regime change until the total "disappearance" of nonliberal regimes is obtained: "I think Kant meant that the peace would be established among liberal regimes and would expand by ordinary political and legal means as new liberal regimes appeared... [T]he occasion for wars with nonliberals would disappear as nonliberal regimes disappeared."<sup>21</sup>

Furthermore, Doyle portrays Kant as an advocate of a separate peace of liberal republics, their expansionism, and their wars with nonrepublics. He insinuates that Kant "builds an account of why liberal states do maintain peace among themselves" and "he also explains how these republics would engage in wars with nonrepublics."<sup>23</sup> However, Doyle's statement entirely contradicts Kant's philosophy and the project of perpetual peace. In this distorted image, Kant, an authoritative philosopher of peace, is portrayed as a precursor of neocolonial hegemonic conquest under the banner of "liberal peace."

What some liberal authors imply, Doyle says explicitly: that Western liberal democracies have the right to intervene in nonliberal states out of a moral desire to "spread democracy" and to protect human rights. Nonliberal states are labeled as "not just" and "aggressive," lacking in legitimacy, having no sovereignty, and "do not acquire the right to be free from foreign intervention." Such interventions are viewed by Doyle not as exceptional means to resolve a specific situation such as brutal human rights violations or genocide—in these cases, the UN Security Council can authorize the necessary measures—but as a sweeping general policy or *carte blanche* for arbitrary interventionism against nonliberal states as such, based on the "presumption of guilt." But in the Fifth Preliminary Article, Kant stated: "No state shall forcibly interfere in the constitution and government of another state."<sup>24</sup> Such interference would violate the right of a people, and thus, "it would itself be a scandal given and would make the autonomy of all states insecure."<sup>25</sup>

Recently, critical philosophers have developed the political conception of human rights and added a new dimension to the conception of sovereignty: the status of being a member of the international community with the right to participate in global governance institutions that make coercive decisions affecting all states and their citizens. (Continued on the next page)

Sovereign equality and human rights are two distinct but interrelated legal principles of the same, dualistic, international political system, and both are needed in order to make it more just.<sup>26</sup> Recently, critical philosophers have developed the political conception of human rights and added a new dimension to the conception of sovereignty: the status of being a member of the international community with the right to participate in global governance institutions that make coercive decisions affecting all states and their citizens. Sovereign equality and human rights are two distinct but interrelated legal principles of the same, dualistic, international political system, and both are needed in order to make it more just.<sup>26</sup>

Regarding international law, there is a certain dualism in its normative orientation. On the one hand, there is a primary orientation toward the preservation of peace by prohibiting the violation of the sovereignty of individual states. On the other hand, there is also a concern for human rights. The UN Charter, for instance, reflects this dualism in its normative orientation toward maintaining international peace and security (based on the principle of the sovereign equality of all its members and prohibiting the use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state) while also promoting respect for human rights and, in the case of their brutal violation, enforcement through a mandate from the UN Security Council (thus limiting the sovereignty of states).

Kant addressed the tension between these two orientations and viewed its solution in a process of a fundamental shift from an international to a cosmopolitan law (*ius cosmopolitanicum*). The prospect of a peaceful solution to this dualism lies in the democratic self-transformation of societies and international relations as steps on the long-term transition from an international to a cosmopolitan order of justice and peace.

Notably, Doyle scarcely mentioned the Third Definitive Article, which formulates the “cosmopolitan right.” In it, Kant stresses that “universal *hospitality*” toward foreigners is “not a question of philanthropy but of *right*.”<sup>27</sup> Cosmopolitan right (law) is the culmination of the Kantian project and provides a key for its understanding. It goes beyond any division, including the system of conflicting states, to recognizing the “other” and everyone as human beings and unifying peoples in an ideal of a cosmopolitan order. Cosmopolitan law unifies peoples globally, thus yielding strong pacifying effects. This is incompatible with Doyle’s “liberal peace,” which actually means the “perpetual war” of the “liberal West” against “the rest” of the world.

Overall, Doyle’s appeal to Kant’s authority to find support for his “liberal peace” theory becomes self-defeating. His attempt to interpret the Kantian project of “perpetual peace” as a source for the war-mongering doctrine of “liberal peace” results in an ideologically biased distortion of Kantian philosophy. Philosophers more familiar with Kant’s philosophy have since dismissed Doyle’s interpretation as being at odds with Kant’s texts and basic premises. Even though “democratic peace” is theoretically groundless, it has nevertheless been used as an ideological justification for hegemonic interventionism. For example, former US President George W. Bush cited the concept of “democratic peace” to justify the Iraq War in 2003. The same tenet underpins President Joe Biden’s political framework of the struggle of democracy against autocracy, and “the battle between democracy and autocracy” was the leading theme of his first State of the Union address to Congress on March 1, 2022.

### *An elusive dream of global hegemony: playing with fire*

The hegemonic policy has been implemented in praxis, resulting in the dismantling of the agreements of the end of the Cold War, undermining the strategic balance in the world, and provoking a new Cold War. In a breach of its promises and written agreements, the US exploited the opportunity to become the sole military superpower, withdrew from arms control treaties, and modernized its nuclear arsenal. Breaking promises not to do so, and in violation of the principle of equal and indivisible security, NATO also expanded eastward, converting Eastern European countries and some of the former Soviet Republics into militarized outposts. (Continued on the next page)



## Striving for Perpetual Peace on the Brink of the New Cold War, Continued from page 16

The US undermined the concept of deterrence because its nuclear build-up disturbed the strategic balance. It developed the Ballistic Missile Defense System (BMDS), which makes it possible for the US to launch a first strike while simultaneously hoping to shield itself from a retaliatory response, and withdrew from the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty, the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty, and the Open Skies Treaty. The only remaining nuclear treaty is the New START Treaty. However, on February 21, 2023, Russia decided to suspend its participation in the treaty, accusing the US and its NATO allies of openly seeking to inflict a “strategic defeat” on Russia.

The US shift to the politics of global hegemony, its breach of promises to and written agreements with Russia (as its partner in peace negotiations to end the Cold War), and its subsequent hostility against Russia have been seen as steps to destroy it on the path to total dominance.

The crux of the matter is that the peaceful end to the Cold War was based on a great deal of trust, and Russians denounced the blatant trampling of this trust as a perfidious betrayal. Such mistrust undermined the very basis for diplomacy and agreements. Without basic trust, it is impossible to have any serious agreement, and this undermines the international system. This formed the prelude to a new Cold War. Against this background and given the current state of world affairs, it is unlikely that this second Cold War will have a similarly peaceful ending. Peace, trust, and international law have fallen prey to hegemonic hubris.

Global domination by a superpower is perceived as a threat by nations that do not want to be dominated, thereby provoking defensive reactions and galvanizing the arms race. In response to the US deployment of the BMDS, Russia developed hypersonic missiles immune to any current missile defense system. Neither “Star Wars” nor a layered missile defense system can shield the US from retaliation in the event of a first strike; instead, these have increased the risk that it might become the target for a retaliatory strike. China is also boosting its nuclear potential. Furthermore, technical mistakes in highly complex automated systems might trigger an unintended launch. All this increases the already high risk of a nuclear catastrophe for the world.

The tensions between Russia and NATO, waging a proxy war in Ukraine, resulted from NATO’s hegemonic policy of expanding closer to the Russian borders. Seeking to deescalate the tension, in mid-December 2021, Russia sent an open letter to US officials and NATO in an attempt to reach an agreement with the US and its allies on the principles of European security and NATO’s non-expansion. The letter asked for “*long-term, legally binding guarantees*” from the US that would rule out NATO pushing further into Eastern Europe, including Georgia and Ukraine, and the deployment of “*offensive strike weapons systems*” nearby. It addressed the issue of US nuclear weapons in Europe, US troop presence and weapons build-up along Russian borders, as well as arms control. It insisted on the withdrawal “*of all US armed forces and weapons deployed in Central and Eastern Europe, Southeastern Europe, and the Baltics.*” It aimed at strengthening the security of all parties involved, based on the principles of equal and indivisible security in Europe, according to which no state should be allowed to enhance its security at the expense of another. However, the US rejected the Russian proposal. In response, Russia said that it would be forced to respond, including “*through the implementation of measures of a military-technical nature,*” to ensure its own security after the US and NATO ignored key points from its proposal for a long-term European security architecture.

This was also the context of the aggravation of the Ukrainian crisis, which began with the Western-sponsored coup d’état in 2014 and the civil war in Donbas. The Minsk I and II Agreements, intended to settle the situation by peaceful political means, were signed and endorsed by the UN Security Council in Resolution 2202 of February 17, 2015, but were not implemented. The escalation of the crisis prompted the Russian leadership to decide to recognize the independence of the Donetsk People’s Republic and the Luhansk People’s Republic. On February 24, 2022, it launched a “special military operation,” claiming it was necessary to “*demilitarize and de-nazify*” Ukraine and to stop the escalation of the ongoing civil war in Donbas. Russia views the war in Ukraine as a proxy war being waged by NATO with the ultimate aim of inflicting a strategic defeat on Russia. (Continued on the next page)



More geopolitical tensions were added to the Indo-Pacific region in 2021 with the creation of the Australia-UK-US (AUKUS) military pact, involving nuclear-powered submarines and long-range Tomahawk cruise missiles. China denounced the pact, accusing its members of having an “obsolete Cold War... mentality.”<sup>28</sup> The escalating confrontation between nuclear superpowers increases the risk of Armageddon.

*Toward a peaceful alternative: A new cosmopolitanism to come*

But what about peace? An old adage says that “defeated armies learn well.” If this is so, the adherents of peace need to better understand the causes of the rise and fall of antiwar movements. Facing a new Cold War, those interested in peace should learn lessons from the past, rethink their strategies, and find new approaches in the struggle for, hopefully, a peaceful and just world order. First, people should not be passive consumeristic conformists in exchange for the comfort provided by the existing system but active citizens responsible for their role in democratic politics. As Kant would say, individuals should not surrender their freedom to be the masters of their own lives. Similarly, nations should not give up their sovereignty in exchange for the hegemon’s promises of protection and economic benefits. Moreover, they should not become paternalized vassals but preserve their sovereignty and international law as equal members of the international community with equal rights and responsibilities for maintaining the lawful and fair international order and for contributing to peace, the solutions to global problems, and the prosperity of humankind.

In contrast to the ideology of the status quo, which insists that there is no better alternative, philosophers show the dynamic processes in the world and the possibilities for change. They argue not for the dominating power to change hands but for a world free from *any* hegemonic domination. As an alternative, they justify the viability of the conception of cosmopolitanism, which, however, still needs to be revised. The project of a hegemon-centric world order claims to represent the future of humanity. It is in order to avoid this dystopia that cosmopolitanism sets forth its anti-hegemonic alternative. Thus, the *hegemonism vs. cosmopolitanism* opposition stands at the forefront of the struggle for the future of humanity.

Just as hegemonic designs and the new cosmopolitan project represent two different perspectives of the future, so are their strategies for achieving their goals different. The hegemonic superpower relies on force, imposes monologic dicta, and uses *divide et impera* tactics to dominate in a “controlled chaos.” In contrast, cosmopolitanism is peace-seeking, promotes morally good means for achieving moral goals, recognizes cultural diversity, and encourages dialogical relationships and the collaboration of peoples in pursuing common goals. Its theorists set out to revise its traditional interpretations and develop a new cosmopolitanism, which is not a mere ideal but also a political project open to diversity, with distinctive characteristics such as being reflective, critical, rooted, democratic, dialogical, and transformative.<sup>29</sup>

The core of the new cosmopolitanism is its *dialogical* character, which embraces its rootedness, openness to cultural diversity, recognition of the Other, and the normativity of dialogical relationships with the Other—engaging in dialogue with individuals, social groups, and nations, and expanding the boundaries of moral concern to the point of universal inclusion and global justice.<sup>30</sup> It guides political practices toward social transformation on both the macro and micro scales.

The new cosmopolitanism as a political philosophy is oriented toward an ideal of a future world order that offers an alternative to both the war-prone, anarchic, state-centered international system and to totalizing hegemon-centered “universal monarchy.” Its theorists stress the importance of strengthening international law and its institutions, such as an improved and independent UN, as the basis for sound international relations in a multicentric post-hegemonic world. They suggest thinking beyond nation-states, citizenship, and the state-centric international system and broadening the horizon of our views of a better, cosmopolitan future.<sup>31</sup> They refer to a “cosmopolitanism to come” as the realizable future potential of democratic political arrangements within sovereign states and international relations, in conformity with international law, gradually evolving from an international to a cosmopolitan order.<sup>32</sup> These ideas can serve as a guiding and mobilizing force in striving for social and global transformation. (Concluded on the next page)

The peaceful alternative is attractive to many people and serves as a common ground for dialogues between people with different cultural backgrounds and world-views who are vitally interested in the survival and prosperity of their families, communities, nations, and civilizations. People can use the internet and social media to establish solidary networks of associations, growing into a kind of peaceful world community that can discuss and develop the theoretical aspects of war and peace, create strategies and tactics for spreading and implementing cosmopolitan ideals, influence political processes, and promote the democratic transformation of societies and international relations. The articulation of a pluriversal and dialogical “cosmopolitanism to come” as a viable alternative inspires and provides us with a vision of the path toward stronger international collaboration and a cosmopolitan world order of freedom, justice, and peace.

#### Notes

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2. “Statement: The Russell-Einstein Manifesto,” *pugwash.org*, July 9, 1955, <https://pugwash.org/1955/07/09/statement-manifesto/>
3. Daniele Archibugi and David Held, eds., *Cosmopolitan Democracy: An Agenda for a New World Order* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995).
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**Concerned Philosophers for Peace**  
**Philosophy of Peace series volume 35**  
**Call for Papers**

**Theme: Peace, Nonviolence, Power, and Crisis**

**Submit papers of 20-30 pages related to this theme**  
or to the overall mission of Concerned Philosophers for Peace.

Due to the impending collapse of fossil fuel-driven late capitalist excess, political polarization and inertia, the unprecedented health disaster brought on by Covid and our response to it, and immanent environmental disaster, we face a future marked not just by crises, but by the apparent inability for current structures of power to respond adequately. How do we come together in the pursuit of peace, nonviolence, and justice in the face of Power in Crisis?

Topics might include, but are not limited to:

The nature of Power, how it forms subjects as well as how and why subjects formed by power might resist it.  
Indigenous and Nonwestern philosophical critiques of and alternatives to Power  
Intersectionality and power in crisis  
The relationship between peace, nonviolence, and social change  
Revolutionizing healthcare  
Revolutionizing capitalism  
Revolutionizing the military-industrial complex  
The relationship between revolution, rebellion, and power in crisis  
The relationship between emerging technology and peace, nonviolence, power, and crises  
Social networks, power, crises, and nonviolent change  
Framing crises, disasters, and apocalypses  
Nonviolently creating political alternatives to the Power Structures that are failing to address the Crises we face: (Social Ecology, direct democracy, Anarchism, etc.)  
Critiques of “empowerment” in relation to Peace, Nonviolence, Power, and Crisis.

We welcome submissions from undergraduates, graduate students, professional academics, independent scholars, and anyone willing to present persuasive sound argumentative positions in line with our theme and ethos. We also welcome submissions from a range of fields including philosophy, law, public policy, business, history, religious studies, political science, social science, or related fields. Submissions from teachers, researchers, or practitioners are also welcome, particularly insofar as those presentations could complement the theme of the conference.

**Submission Guidelines:**

Submit: full papers (with bibliography) around 20-30 pages, prepared for blind review

Send to: Will Barnes [will@planetarycollective.com](mailto:will@planetarycollective.com)

Write: “Power & Crisis submission” in subject line

Deadline: June 1<sup>st</sup>

Format: submit only files in .doc, .docx, or .pdf.

Include: name, institutional affiliation, e-mail address, and paper title in the body of your e-mail (if you are a student and would like to be considered for a student award, indicate that in your email).

**Call for Teaching Resources**

CPP gets requests from teachers and researchers who want ways to incorporate the philosophy of peace into their work, and we’re excited to make it easier to share this knowledge. Please help us to develop an online resource library to benefit all those who want to study peace [by emailing resources that you have!](#) You can send resources for any level of philosophic study, from a beginner level up through advanced academic study. Please indicate what kind of resource you are sending! We will be grouping resources by:

A. Teaching Resources

B. Class Syllabus or Reading List (on a labeled topic) or Lesson Plans (for 1 day, 1 week, or any length)

C. Free Reading Library Resources

Send PDFs, articles, Referral Links to other organizations, Weblinks to organizations that promote peace, whether academic or activist (If possible, please include a sentence about the organization, indicating whether it is local, national, or international), or other free readings.

**Please email any resources you’d like to contribute to: [concernedphilosophersforpeace@gmail.com](mailto:concernedphilosophersforpeace@gmail.com)**

Thank you in advance for helping us to compile this resource! Please direct questions to Kate Schmidt ([Kschmi37@msudenver.edu](mailto:Kschmi37@msudenver.edu))



18-20 OCTOBER 2023

**WHAT IS IT GOOD FOR? RETHINKING THE USES OF WAR  
AFTER AFGHANISTAN AND THE INVASION OF UKRAINE**

A century ago, following the destruction of World War One, skepticism about the resort to war swelled and a movement to outlaw war rose that included many prominent thinkers and activists. Today, something similar seems to be occurring. The past few decades saw a broad embrace of militarism in foreign affairs. Many came to see war as an effective solution to humanitarian crises, terrorism, and tyrannical governments, among other things. With the twenty-year war in Afghanistan fresh in our memories, there are a growing number of scholars raising doubts about the usefulness of war in international affairs.

At the same time, the Russian invasion of Ukraine has rekindled in many a sense of the honor, righteousness, and potential effectiveness of fighting a war in defense of others. Support for the Ukrainian resistance has come from across the political spectrum and led to the unification of Europe behind a militarized response to the threat posed by Russia.

This year, West Point's Conference on the Ethics of War and Peace will focus on the theme "What is it Good For? Rethinking the Uses of War After Afghanistan and the Invasion of Ukraine." We will gather to revisit the ethics of resorting to war with the benefit of the experiences of the last few of decades of interventionism. What ends can war be reasonably thought to achieve? What explains the strategic failures (and successes) of recent military adventures? What causes us to misjudge the value of resorting to war? Are there social structural features that encourage the resort to war or hinder it? And what can answers to these questions contribute to a more useful theory of *jus ad bellum* and the creation of a political system that supports it?

**Conference Speakers:**

1. Neta C. Crawford (University of Oxford)
2. Mary L. Dudziak (Emory University)
3. Samuel Moyn (Yale University)
4. Steven Pinker (Harvard University)
5. Cheyney Ryan (University of Oxford)
6. Jennifer Welsh (McGill University)
7. Ned Dobos (University of New South Wales)

Registration will open on or about July 31<sup>st</sup>, 2023, using a forthcoming link. The registration deadline is October 10<sup>th</sup>, 2023.

# Call for Undergraduate Papers

*Soliciting high-quality essays on the ethics of war and peace.*

## 2023 Ethics of War & Peace Conference

What is it Good For? Rethinking the Uses of War After Afghanistan and the Invasion of Ukraine

Department of English & Philosophy, U.S. Military Academy, West Point, NY

### Guest Speakers:

- **Steven Pinker**, Harvard University
- **Neta Crawford**, Brown University
- **Cheyney Ryan**, Oxford University
- **Samuel Moyn**, Yale University
- **Mary Dudziak**, Emory University
- **Ned Dobos**, UNSW Canberra
- **Elizabeth Samet**, U.S. Military Academy
- **Jennifer Welsh**, McGill University
- **Colonel Francis Park**, Army War College

The Department of English and Philosophy at the United States Military Academy is looking for undergraduate student papers of the highest quality to be presented at the 2023 Ethics of War and Peace Conference on **October 19-20, 2023**. The conference is a unique event that combines presentations by undergraduates with talks by senior scholars and military professionals. Students whose papers are selected will present them to an audience of interested peers, military officers, and academic scholars. You can find out more at our Phil-Events page or the conference home page.

This year, West Point's Conference on the Ethics of War and Peace will gather to revisit the ethics of resorting to war with the benefit of the experiences of the last few of decades of interventionism. What ends can war be reasonably thought to achieve? What explains the strategic failures (and successes) of recent military adventures? What causes us to misjudge the value of resorting to war? Are there social structural features that encourage the resort to war or hinder it? And what can answers to these questions contribute to a more useful theory of *jus ad bellum* and the creation of a political system that supports it?

With these questions in mind, we ask writers, authors, and thinkers to provide their unique perspectives, insights, and experiences to advance the conversation. While submissions relevant to this topic are encouraged, we value academic rigor and quality of work over strict adherence to the conference theme. Therefore, papers on any topic relevant to the ethics of war or peace will be welcome.

### **Submission Guidelines: Deadline: August 1, 2023**

Please submit complete papers suitable for a 20–30-minute presentation to Major Kevin Scott at [kevin.scott@westpoint.edu](mailto:kevin.scott@westpoint.edu). Submissions and presentations will be considered for the 'Best Undergraduate Paper Award'. Papers should be submitted in PDF format; decisions will be sent out later in August. Invited speakers will be responsible for their own travel expenses.



Let me start by saying, I am honored to be part of the Concerned Philosophers for Peace (CPP) and the revival of the CPP *Newsletter*. I am only one small part of its revival, but thanks to the help of many people—Bill Gay, Danielle Poe, Jen Kling, Greg Moses, Barry Gan, David T. Lewis, the CPP Executive Committee, the library information staff at University of Dayton, and of course, all of the contributors—the *Newsletter* is officially back in publication and hosted at University of Dayton's eCommons website: [https://ecommons.udayton.edu/concerned\\_philosophers/](https://ecommons.udayton.edu/concerned_philosophers/). Thank you all for answering my many emails and supporting me throughout the process.

Following the lead of previous *Newsletter* Editors, I decided to include my own small contribution in what I am calling "The Editor's Ear." I don't always have time to write long essays, especially not at the caliber that we have come to expect from CPP members. The folks involved in CPP are just amazing. The amount and quality of work they produce is mind-boggling. My imposter syndrome is constantly flaring up when I attend conferences and read the many essays and books from our members. Thankfully, CPP has always been accepting and supportive of all its members, regardless of their skills and abilities. If they weren't, I wouldn't be in charge of the *Newsletter*. Don't get me wrong, I am good at public speaking, planning and organizing, and writing conversational essays; but when I talk to and read works from our members, I am just downright impressed! In addition to all the praises I enjoy heaping on CPP, I've also been reading several works on the importance of community and living in truth. All three of these—praises, community, and living in truth—comprise why I love and participate in CPP.

My first participation in CPP was in 2004, when my undergraduate ethics paper on nuclear weapons was accepted to the annual conference in Charlotte, NC. My mentor and friend, Dr. Paula Smithka, praised the group and said that they were supportive of all projects dedicated to peace and nonviolence. She wasn't wrong. Paula, herself, was introduced to the CPP via her mentor and friend, Bill Gay—a founding member of CPP. You will often see the three of us together at our annual conference, representing the impact of mentors and friends in creating community. After 2004, I engaged periodically in CPP presenting and publishing every few years, but graduate work and the job market often got in the way. Eventually, I found a stable job in 2013, and after getting settled in, was able to consistently engage in CPP's important work. As Robert Putnam explains in *Bowling Alone* and *The Upswing*, community engagement is an essential component of individual and societal flourishing, yet community engagement is at a historical low. Most people seem unwilling to invest in social capital and networks, and therefore, find themselves in isolation, stewing in their animosity, polarization, and anger. Sure, more people than ever before are engaged in online social networks, but these are highly controlled, manufactured, and disconnected from any narratives that challenge or contradict beliefs and interests. For those who primarily engage others via screens, most often only experience an echo chamber of propaganda. This echo chamber then inhibits their ability to engage with real, flesh and blood, existing others. Yelling at a screen and crafting pithy retorts translates into an utter inability to think, talk, and act with civility, which then create barriers that inhibit attempts to work towards a common good beneficial to all.

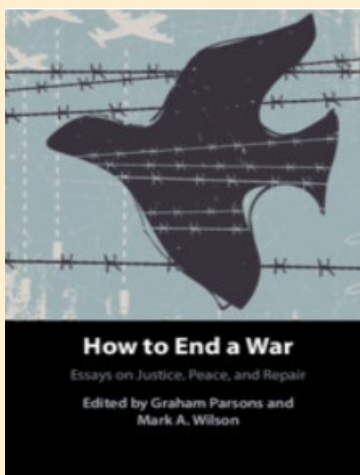
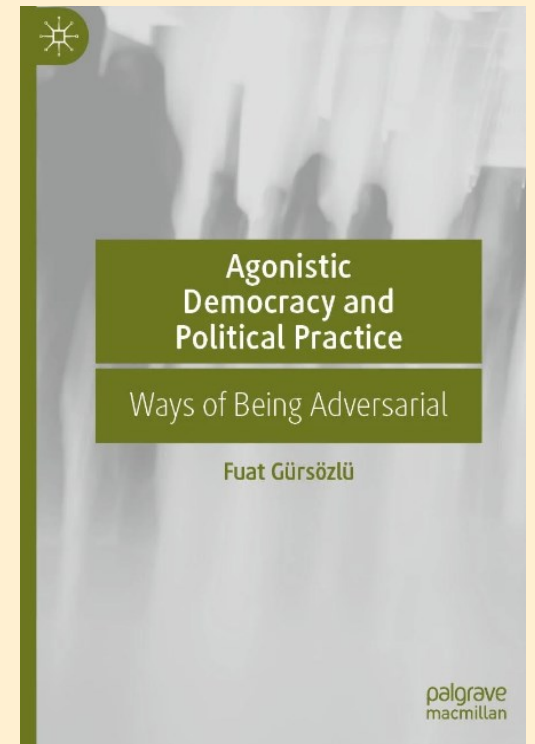
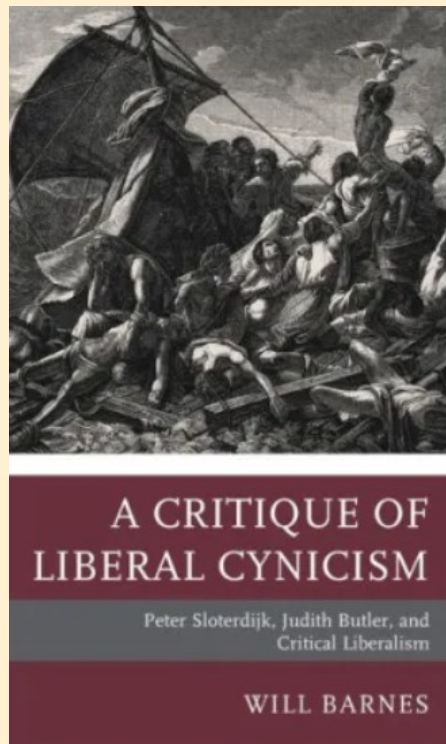
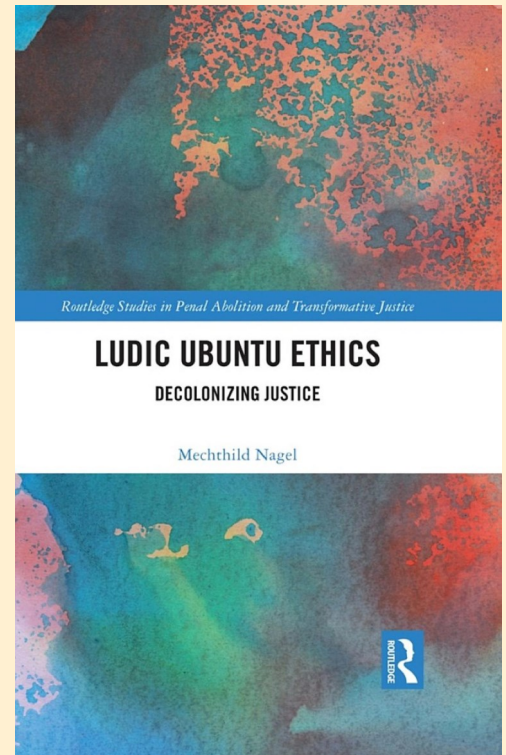
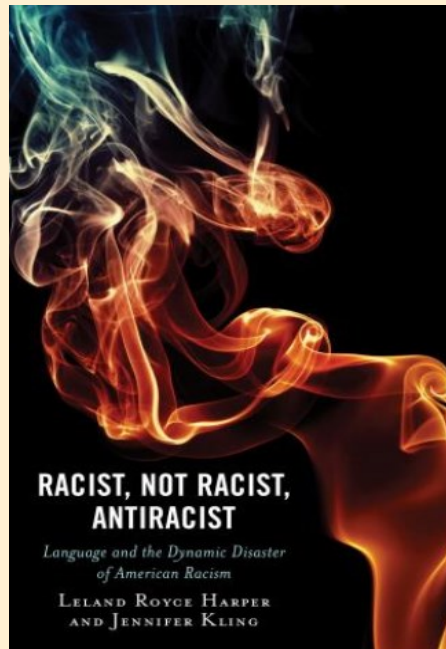
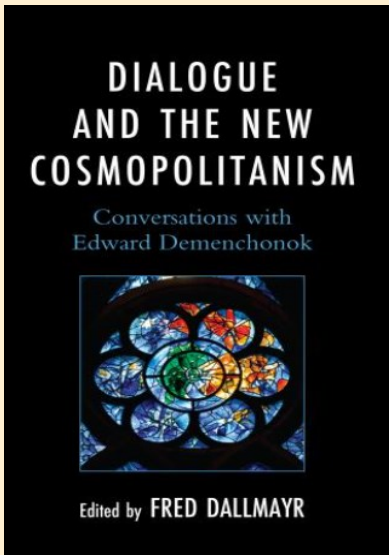
For me, CPP provides a means of social investment that informs, educates, and inspires me to engage my own local community. Have you engaged with your local community lately? It is scary and often depressing. Without CPP, I don't know if I could keep doing it. I am often the lone non-elected/appointed citizen at my city meetings, and for the groups of which I am the volunteer leader, I am lucky to have two people attend—one of them is my son. The only social engagement where I am guaranteed perfect attendance is at the local graveyard where I help pick up limbs and other debris. This lack of engagement prevents those who need help from getting help that might improve their lives, and it provides opportunities for dubious people to hijack social networks and use them for their own nefarious purposes. CPP gives me hope. It offers a community of diverse individuals dedicated to Being instead of Ideology. Yes, to be an engaged member of CPP requires some degree of ideological commitment to peace and nonviolence, but in no way do we require members or participants to subscribe to only one view. CPP offers dialogue and understanding through consideration and disagreement. We see and engage each other as Beings—actual, morally worthy entities engaged in the complex existence that is life. No one is just an ideology to be vilified and attacked. Our concern makes us compassionate; our diversity makes us wise; our commitment to peace makes us act; and our support of one another makes us unique. We can disagree and critique, yet work together in concert for peace and nonviolence because we are a community of Beings attempting to live in truth, not just ideologues shouting ideologies.

To live in truth is to constantly strive to engage actual people in the living world. In a social-political environment contaminated by the unceasing drive to promote only one ideology and to turn all Beings into Ideology, our only hope is community. CPP provides that community and inspires me to create community in my own neck of the woods. As CPP moves forward, we must all find ways of expanding participation in CPP and promoting community where we live. Thanks to its members, and beneficiaries like Bill Gay, CPP now offers many awards to help Undergraduates, Graduates, and emerging scholars. Thanks to many volunteers, we offer several opportunities to present, publish, and be active in the promotion of peace and nonviolence. If you are not one of CPP's volunteers or if you are not a member, I hope you will find a way to be part of our community and help us thrive by actively engaging in the work we do. Can we do more? Yes! For many members, you know how treacherous it is to be on the job market. How can CPP help? For those looking for ways to be activists and to make changes in our local communities, how can CPP help? For those who have ideas and skills of how to help CPP be more effective and to spread its message of peace and nonviolence in a digital age, how can CPP help? What questions do you have, and how can CPP help you ask and answer them? These are the questions that I continue to ask myself. Hopefully, we all will have a chance to discuss them and others via email, Zoom, or when we meet together in community during our annual meeting in Knoxville, TN this Fall. (Editor: Court Lewis)

## The Editor's Ear



# New Books!



**Thank you for reading, and we hope to see you in Knoxville, TN or at one of our future Online or APA events.**

**We are also deeply grateful for your support of peace and nonviolence.**