Global Peace Services USA

...an idea whose time has come

Greetings from John Eriksson, President, GPS USA.

In view of the current global crisis ignited by the invasion by Russia of Ukraine, this chapeau begins with a longer than usual introduction to the current newsletter issue. Any organization that purports to be concerned with poverty reduction, inclusive and accountable governance, conflict resolution and prevention and other challenges to sustained socio-economic development cannot escape relating to the current crisis. Global Peace Services USA is no exception.

At first glance, the major shift underway in alliances among democratic governments (e.g. the expected addition of Finland and Sweden to NATO) as a result of the ravages of the ongoing conflict would seem to have little to do with GPS and its commitment to identifying and promulgating viable nonviolent alternatives to violent conflict. The focus of world leaders is on the day-to-day implications of the war on both the humanitarian and the military fronts. Other observers see a fundamental, in some cases virtually apocalyptic, global crisis of democracy. Empirical confirmation of the crisis is seen in the decline of liberal polities, not only in the growing strength of the autocracies of China, Iran, Myanmar, Russia, Saudi Arabia, Syria and Venezuela, but, as well, in the "back-sliding" tendencies of varying degree in Bangladesh, Brazil, Congo, Ethiopia, Hungary, India, Pakistan, the Philippines, Poland, Thailand, Turkey, the United States, and Yemen.[1]

But successfully addressing the current crisis also requires considering a longer-term time horizon. What, beyond the absence of war, should peace look like? What kind of strategy will preserve the sustainability of the peace? What principles should guide relationships within countries and alignments among them? GPS becomes very relevant to these longer-term questions that nonetheless also require formulation and widespread discussion in the short-term.

Few analyses have penetrated more deeply into what the postwar period should look like. A prescient and still relevant essay, written almost thirty years ago, probes this challenge by calling for the democracies and their leaders to be make a continuing sacrifice to preserve and nurture democratic principles, even in peacetime. The author calls for deeper and clearer thinking about the fundamental values behind the label of "democracy." They include, according to this author, Václav Havel, then President of the Czech Republic, and former President of Czechoslovakia (who had earlier been imprisoned for his dissident activities in communist Czechoslovakia):

> *"The traditional values of Western civilization—such as democracy, respect for human rights and for the order of nature, the freedom of the individual and the inviolability of his*

---

[1] **For a thoughtful analysis, see Francis Fukuyama, "A Country of Their Own: Liberalism Needs the Nation,"** *Foreign Affairs,* May/June 2022.

property, the feeling of co-responsibility for the world, which means the awareness that if freedom is threatened anywhere, it is threatened everywhere—all of these things become values with moral, and therefore metaphysical, underpinnings. Without intending to, the communists taught us to understand the truth of the world not as mere information about it, but as an attitude, a commitment, a moral imperative … I have in mind, rather, sacrifice in a less conspicuous but infinitely broader sense, that is, a willingness to sacrifice for the common interest something of one's own particular interests, including even the quest for larger and larger domestic production and consumption." [2]

As noted in a thoughtful introduction to a 2022 re-publication of Havel's essay by the editor of Foreign Affairs,

> *"Today, armed conflict in Europe and a global crisis of democracy give renewed resonance to Havel's warning: winning the peace is 'an even more difficult task' than winning the war." [3]*

The articles in this edition of the GPS Newsletter emphasize the importance of taking a longer historical examination of experience in societies and cultures that have managed to maintain peace to the benefit of the majorities of their populations as measured in centuries. Among other things, these experiences are marked by the establishment of sustained approaches and mechanisms for the peaceful resolution of conflict and the prevention of violent conflict. What lessons do these experiences reveal for the post-war era of Ukraine and other countries now suffering from violent conflict, as well as their partner countries who would support the recovery of these countries?

The first article, "Multicultural Peaceful Societies," by GPS Board member, Dr. Robert Muscat, examines the long sweep of the historical record of sustained multicultural peaceful societies worldwide and seeks to understand the reasons explaining this phenomenon. The article will provide the background paper for a virtual GPS Forum planned for mid-2022. The author asks at the outset a key question to be addressed and indicates the comparative method to be applied:

> *"How did these periods of internal or domestic peace, these exceptional chapters, happen? They deserve to be celebrated, as they have been in many individual studies. However, there appears to be a dearth of studies that compare, categorize, and analyze these episodes. They are not, and were not, utopias. But the inhabitants of these eras, and their governors, were among the luckiest and most judicious we have known."*

Dr. Muscat delineates five characteristic types of multicultural peaceful societies, beginning with "Tolerant Dynasties" including the Umayyad era of Andalus in Spain in 756-1031 and the Abbasid caliphate era in the Middle East, centered in Baghdad, in 768-1258 (known initially as the "City of Peace)." Subsequent types include examples ranging from the 15th to the 21st Centuries:

---

[2] **Václav Havel, "A Call for Sacrifice,"** *Foreign Affairs*, **March/April 1994, p.4.**

[3] **"Václav Havel on Winning the Peace," Daniel Kurtz-Phelan, Editor,** *Foreign Affairs,* **March/April 2022**

- *"Cities and City-States: Entrepôts"*
- *"Harmony by Rational Choice"*
- *"Safety in Numbers: Low Hegemonic Possibility"*
- *"Decentralized Confederation: Elites Strike a Bargain"*

After a review of experience under these five types of multicultural peaceful societies, the author concludes: "What the successful cases have had in common is an effective system for dispute resolution." Specific contextual factors are identified that preclude a number of the identified examples from qualifying as truly multicultural peaceful societies. Among the remaining candidates mentioned by the author are Belgium, the Czech and Slovak Republics, Malaysia, Singapore, Switzerland and Tanzania. Other countries could arguably be added to the list. But all these possibilities exhibit varying degrees of stress that in the absence of robust conflict resolution mechanisms, could lead to less than peaceful societies.

The value of Dr. Muscat's analysis is that it includes the multicultural dimension, as well as sustainability over time in identifying peaceful societies and "unpacks" them into five analytical categories, so as to better understand how and why multicultural peaceful societies evolved. This opens a potentially rich field for further analysis, which the forthcoming Forum is expected to explore.[4]

The second article, "Pursuing Peace Across the Centuries: Teachings from the Jewish Tradition," is a review by GPS Board member, Dr. Mindy Reiser, of a recent volume by Rabbi Daniel Roth, Third-Party Peacemakers in Judaism: Text, Theory, and Practice (Oxford University, 2021). The author, drawing from the text of the counsel of rabbis across the centuries, "encourages active engagement by rabbis and laypersons in serving as third party peacemakers and reconcilers. The peacemaker need not wait for an invitation from one of the aggrieved parties to help reconcile the parties in conflict; they can, and indeed, should, step forward seeing a conflict underway, and work to bring the parties together." Dr. Reiser sees value in the book, "both for readers specifically focused on successful strategies for conflict reconciliation and peacemaking, as well as people interested in gaining a richer appreciation for the wisdom and teachings of rabbinic sages and commentators."

To continue and expand our current work, such as the GPS Newsletter, with articles readers are unlikely to find elsewhere and special events such as the 2019 discussion of the Colombia Peace Process, we need sustained help from you. Please consider making a generous tax-deductible contribution to GPS. Either mail a check to our postal address or donate through our website www.globalpeaceservices.org. Phone: 301-681-6968.

---

[4] **Freedom House provides annual ratings of 210 countries and territories in terms of political rights and civil liberties. See: https://freedomhouse.org/countries The results of the Freedom House methodology could be compared with the results of the approach of the Muscat paper.**

Multicultural Peaceful Societies

A Great Question has always been: What is the Nature of Man? Are we inherently good? Or is evil our "default" nature? Philosophers, theologians, students of animal behavior (ethologists), psychologists, evolutionary biologists, poets and novelists have wrestled with this question. The smashed heads and bound wrists of 27 individuals, including women and children - found in Kenya in 2017, is the oldest evidence uncovered thus far of group violence between humans; the people were clubbed and speared to death about 10,000 years ago. The oldest remains of a single murdered individual date back 430.000 years. Every day's news adds to history's drumbeat of wars and atrocities: violent transfers of power, autocratic regimes crushing dissent and repressing ethnic and religious minorities, civil wars. The recent emergence of disciplines and institutions studying conflict causes, precursors, triggers, resolution, and peacekeeping, testifies to the persistence of human aggression.

On the other hand, a powerful historical case for seeing mankind as progressing towards adopting laws and mores of ever wider justice and humanity, starting with the seventeenth century Enlightenment. This does not mean that the rising tide of justice, decency, and peacefulness has been lifting all of mankind's societies. Our species has been engaged in group living for 150-200,000 years, yet large fractions (including what you might call major civilizations) are still living under autocratic rulers who are mentally or psychologically unstable, self-aggrandizing or paranoid, having no regard for truth or norms of peaceful conduct.

All human collectives are heterogeneous in one or more respects—religion, ethnicity, economic class, educational attainment, language, clan and tribe, culture, profession, degrees of authority and power, race, gender, demographics. The larger and more numerous generally are more diverse. Some are more settled and have evolved rules for a stable modus vivendi. Others are recently formed—as countries that emerged from colonialism with boundaries arbitrarily set by the former colonial powers—and may have not yet stabilized relations among these diversities. Despite these difficulties of heterogeneity, Enlightenment optimists have some history on their side. There have been periods, even qualifying as multi-cultural Golden Ages, when diverse people, and peoples, lived together in relative peace and harmony. (The key word here is "relative." Some historians decry the label of Golden Age for glossing over the dark sides of each such period.) Can any lessons be drawn from these relatively irenic societies?

I set aside the isolated peaceful societies studied by anthropologists. They are virtually all small-population villagers, many living in remote places hardly touched by the outside world. While they are a testament to the possibility of humans living amicably, their rarity and remote circumstances could be taken as evidence of exceptionalism that shows the unlikelihood of relevance to the bulk of mankind.

I also set aside, as three separate subjects: (1) struggles between economic classes that have culminated in violence—peasant revolts, farmers versus herders, industrial workers pitted against employers (the latter of which was thought, in Marxist theory, would transcend all other forms of conflict within and between states); (2) wars between external separate collectives—invading countries, expanding empires, aggressive colonizing; and (3) minor non-state level conflicts like blood feuds and honor killings.

Mary Anderson and Marshall Wallace, in their 2013 book *Opting Out of War,* describe thirteen communities (in thirteen different countries) which, in the midst of recent civil conflicts, remained islands of peace, communities that refused to join any of the surrounding warring sides. Unfortunately, the refusal of these "local" communities to enter the warfare, on one side or another, had no effect on the surrounding violence or on the warring parties. The authors conclude that these cases cannot be considered models for general conflict prevention. They were small-population communities that achieved consensus through responsible leadership in close consultation with their membership. They stood apart from the ideological or realpolitik contexts defining the surrounding struggles and from the "divisive leadership" pursuing these struggles. Nevertheless, they "remind us that options exist." Actually, one of Anderson and Wallace's cases—two cities in Bosnia - Sarajevo and Tuzla (discussed further below)—does have relevance for understanding peace maintenance in multicultural societies. A similar study of many more

successful cases of local peace-making efforts by "civil society" (by the European Centre for Conflict Prevention) also illustrates the limits of "bottom-up" conflict resolution.

Of course, no society can be free of internal micro-violence, of exploitation and corruption. The dim view of our species was captured in the ancient Latin expression *homo homini lupus,* man is a wolf to man (which is unfair to wolves), a judgment reflected in the writings of many thinkers on the human condition, including Machiavelli, Hobbes, Dostoevsky, and Freud. not to mention Nazi "thinkers."

How did these periods of internal or domestic peace, these exceptional chapters, happen? They deserve to be celebrated, as they have been in many individual studies. However, there appears to be a dearth of studies that compare, categorize, and analyze these episodes. They are not, and were not, utopias. But the inhabitants of these eras, and their governors, were among the luckiest and most judicious we have known.

These multicultural peaceful societies can be grouped under five characteristic types:

1. Tolerant Dynasties

Two historic Moslem dynasties enjoyed extended periods of domestic harmony: the Umayyad era of al-Andalus, in Spain in 756-1031, and the Abbasid caliphate era in the Middle East, centered in Baghdad, in 768-1258, and initially named the City of Peace, "Openness and tolerance thus ran right through Baghdad's golden age when so much groundwork was being done in medicine, mathematics, philosophy, geography and other branches of science….merchants, theatre types, writers, scientists, astrologers and alchemists - were flocking to Baghdad." (Watson, 276.) "The great cities of Islam, especially Baghdad, attracted…a great variety of people representing different religious and ethnic groups, and this encouraged the development of a cosmopolitan intellectual life sometimes referred to as Arabic humanism. In this atmosphere, members of groups often hostile to one another—Moslems of various sects, Christians, Zoroastrians, Jews, and freethinkers—shared a common heritage of philosophy gained from the study of Greek writings… (and discussed) …their differences of outlook and religion

with reasonable toleration." (Scheindlin.335.) Many languages were spoken and translation of learned texts and literary works flourished. The caliphate was the center of a vast trade network, until its destruction in 1258 by the Mongols.

Islamic Spain enjoyed a similar harmony and cultural flowering. Arabic dynasties rule in Iberia from the mid-eighth century until 1492, when the last vestiges were snuffed out by the Catholic "reconquista." The history of Al-Andalus was complex, its golden age interspersed with periods of intolerant fundamentalist rule. Once the Arab expansion had succeeded in its rapid conquests from the Middle East to Spain, armed conflict was largely limited to factional struggles between rival Arab families and factions, long-running border warfare with non-Moslem states aside. The tolerance practiced by the ruling Arab elites has been attributed partly to their tax system. Moslems were exempt from a tax that fell entirely on nonbelievers; the importance of this tax for state revenue was a disincentive to state conversion of the large non-Moslem populations under Arab rule. Christians and Jews were treated as second-class citizens, but as "people of the book" they enjoyed protected status. The other factor determining the toleration or religious oppression of different periods was how different Islamic factions, by conviction or for political calculation, chose to interpret the Koran. In Spain, the tolerant Umayyads were displaced by the fundamentalist Moslem Berbers from North Africa in 1095. Islands of Moorish multiculturalism held on in diminishing statelets as Islamic Spain gradually fell to the Christian reconquista.

At first, the new Catholic rulers extended the rule of toleration. A major reason was economic; the kingdoms were short of labor (due to the Black Death plague), and the skill specialization along religious lines underlay a web of interdependence. Economic interest often clashed with religious hostility. Town councils "recognized that the presence of minorities had a significant effect on their economic well-being, and often spoke openly about the benefits of minority immigration and the dangers of the reverse…At the same time that the town council of Oviola was attempting to attract Muslims to settle there in the 1420s, for example, it sent an armed mob to attack the Muslims of neighboring Crevilla whom it accused of having abducted some local Christians." (Nirenberg,

38.) Anti-Jewish and anti-Moslem pogroms broke out in many Spanish cities in the 1300s and 1400s, resulting in massacres and mass conversions. The fate of Jewish communities in the various Spanish kingdoms depended on the whims and economic needs of the ruling royalties. Ultimately, under the centralized rule of Ferdinand and Isabella, fear that converted Jews were secretly continuing to practice Judaism, and threatened to undermine the faith of Catholics, led to the creation of the Spanish Inquisition in 1478. With the decrees of 1492 and 1502 that forced Jews and Moslems to either convert or leave Spain (and Portugal), Iberia became solely Catholic and remained so for nearly 400 years.

2. Cities and City-States: Entrepôts

Several densely populated cities, some veritable city-states, enjoyed domestic harmony for years, in some cases for long periods: Thessalonika, Venice, Genoa, Trieste, the many cities of the Hanseatic League They were international trading centers, benefitting from a merchant population that included people with commercial connections, often familial, in distant places. As entrepôts, their populations had a strong incentive to get along with each other.

Salonica/Thessalonika had a Jewish majority for 500 years until the Nazi takeover in 1941, along with minorities of Greeks, Turks, Roma, and Bulgarians. It was long one of the culturally richest cities in Europe. Its peaceful status was often threatened by struggles between outsiders (Ottomans, Byzantines, Greeks, etc.) for control of the city.

For over a thousand years Venice was an independent city-state before its capture by Napoleon in 1796 and absorption into the new Italian state in 1866. For centuries the city had been a great naval and commercial power in the eastern Mediterranean and was also a center of a brilliant culture. An orderly republic, Venice hosted many foreigners and tolerated other religions. "The practical tolerance of Venice has always made it a cosmopolitan city, where east and west mingle, and where (as Shakespeare rightly said) 'the trade and profit of this State consisteth of all nations.' Settlers of many races contributed to the power and texture of the Republic…Venice in its commercial prime was like a bazaar city, or a caravanserai, where the Greeks, the Jews, the

Armenians, and the Dalmatians all had their quarters, and the Germans and Turks their great emporia." And as an English visitor in the sixteenth century observed, "it signified nothing 'if a man be a Turk, a Jew, a Gospeller, a Papist, or a believer in the Devil, nor does anyone challenge you, whether you are married or not, and whether you eat flesh and fish in your own home.'" [Jan Morris, 94, 99.]

3. Harmony by Rational Choice

Bosnia had been an island of relative pluralism and accommodation over most of its history. When the first Iberian Jews arrived in Sarajevo in 1565, Bosnia had already been under the tolerant Ottoman Turks for one hundred years. Ottoman rule lasted more than four centuries, ending only with the Berlin Congress of 1878 at which the Great Powers awarded Bosnia to the Austro-Hungarian Empire.

From 1565 until the arrival of the Nazis in April 1941, the Jews of Bosnia practiced their religion freely, built numbers of synagogues, were never forced to live in a ghetto and were never subjected to a pogrom. Medieval Bosnia had its share of warfare, generated by the ambitions of greater and lesser Balkan and Turkish potentates. But according to one recent history, in pre-Ottoman Bosnia, "Rulers and nobles (unlike their contemporaries in most of Europe, including the nobility of Serbia and Croatia) were indifferent to religious issues. They intermarried and formed alliances across denominational lines; when it suited their worldly aims, they changed faiths easily. They made no attempt to proselytize for their own faiths or to persecute others, consciously resisting calls from the Pope or the Hungarians to persecute those of other faiths." [Donia & Fine, Jr., 26.]

The tradition of tolerance was reinforced during the period of Turkish rule by the practice of defining subject peoples by religion and granting the religious communities self-rule in social affairs and complete freedom of worship. There was economic friction between landlords, largely Muslim, and their Christian peasants. But until modern times, the resentments and clashes arose out of class rather than religious interests. While the fractured leadership of contemporary Bosnia shows no signs of returning the country to the comity it enjoyed in the past, the cities of Sarajevo, its capitol, and Tuzla have maintained their longstanding

multiculturalism, aided by tolerant communal leadership.

The determination of the leadership and inhabitants of these two non-entrepôt cities to sustain their inter-communal civility puts them in the category of rational civilized choice, not forged by economic necessity. Although the "better angels of our nature" is not a solution that can be artificially crafted, it is worth a quote from Anderson/Wallace's account: "In early March 1992, Bosnian Serb paramilitaries barricaded parts of Sarajevo [to effect ethnic separation] but, in the face of demonstrations by students, were forced to retreat….Bosniak old-dwellers who enjoyed who enjoyed a good reputation in Sarajevo…protected their Serb and Croat friends…Similarly, Serb and Croat old-dwellers who remained in the city protected their Bosniak neighbors and friends against Serb paramilitary units….Looking back, people in Sarajevo emphasized that there had never been fighting among the various ethnic and religious groups throughout a regional history that spanned thousands of years….ordinary people worked together and did not turn against each other."

In Tuzla, a long history of civic pride and working-class solidarity trumped ethnic and religious differences. In fact, celebration of religious holidays staged a comeback during the war, with citizens joining each other's celebrations. Leadership was a critical factor. "In this rather large city, the fact that leaders chose to walk about and be accessible, and the symbolism of their being seen to be close to and listening to the people played a significant role in maintaining a sense of awareness and inclusion among the citizens and in bolstering them in the face of adversity."

In a striking juxtaposition with these two cities, the political leadership of the national-level Bosnian religiously defined factions continue to stoke sectarian tension while the religious leaders—Moslem, Christian, and Jewish—continue to work for restoration of the historic peaceful comity. In 2017, Mufti Husein Kavazovic called on the "political elites" to stop their "manipulation of religion" for political purposes. Jacob Finci, head of the Jewish community, pointed to Sarajevo as "proof that living together is possible." [European Jewish Congress website, Aug 17, 2017, retrieved 1/13/2022] In 2021, the president

of the Serbian unit of Bosnia threatened to turn his police into an army, a move that would further separate it from the structure of the state, if not lead to secession.

Malaysia is a case of successful avoidance of Voltaire's trap (defined in next paragraph) through rational choices made by the ruling elites. In the years before and after independence (1957), the country (then only peninsular Malaya) fought successfully to crush an insurgency by its Communist Party, largely ethnic Chinese. The multicultural, multi-linguistic population comprised a Malay majority, mainly rural; a large Chinese, mainly urban minority; a much smaller minority of Tamils; and a number of tiny indigenous communities. The government was based on a large parliamentary majority held by an alliance of the elites leading the two main parties, one Malay and one Chinese, plus the smaller Indian-community-based party. Following riots in the mid-1960s, in which Malays protested against the economic inequality between the two main communities, the government introduced a strong affirmative action program that, among other things, boosted Malay enrollment in higher education. Despite occasional political turmoil, including in the Borneo territories which were added to Peninsular Malaya to form Malaysia in 1963, the country has achieved substantial economic development and has maintained social peace.

4. Safety in Numbers: Low Hegemonic Possibility

The French philosopher Voltaire, in his 1763 *Letter Concerning the English Nation,* wrote: "If one religion only were allowed in England, the government would very possibly become arbitrary; if there were but two, the people would cut one another's throats; but as there are such a multitude, they all live happy and in peace." In other words, if a country has a large number of identity-groups there is less likelihood that any one group, or coalition of groups, will become dominant. In contrast, in a society with very few potentially rival groups, the chances are high they will contest for dominance. Tanzania appears to be a case in point of peacefulness due to great ethnic multiplicity. Independent since 1961, the country has a population of 61 million comprising over 100 ethnic groups and languages. It has been a model of stability in East Africa. With a largely rural population of about nine million speaking over 800 languages, mountainous

Papua New Guinea appears even more heterogeneous than Tanzania. While the country has a history of inter-village violence, and has arguably the world's worst record of violence against women, it remains an example of Voltaire's rule of multiplicity making state-level violence unlikely.

5. Decentralized Confederation: Elites Strike a Bargain

A few multicultural countries with configurations that fall into Voltaire's danger zone have avoided internal violent conflict nevertheless by deliberate design, an elite bargain to decentralize. The oldest stable example is Switzerland. The current Swiss federation structure dates from 1848, built on a cantonal union evolving since the thirteenth century. The governance system combines parliamentary with direct democracy, while the country's formal neutrality (and robust military) has kept it free from European wars. Belgium separated from the Netherlands in 1830 and developed its current decentralized federal structure starting only in 1970. The country has two large groups (Southern Dutch-speaking Flemish and French-speaking Walloons) and is not free of tensions, including secessionist sentiment among the Flemish. Spain is still a work in progress, with a significant minority of its Catalonian population dissatisfied with the degree of decentralization and favoring secession. A long-running and violent insurgency in the Basque region of Spain also sought secession. Although the Basque movement for national separation goes back to the late 19th century, extremist violence only began in 1959. The insurgency does not appear to have received large popular support; in 2011 its organization formally ceded, then voluntarily disarmed. Bosnia's decentralized cantonal structure was internationally designed and negotiated, under U.S. auspices, to end its civil war and create a decentralized modus vivendi. As noted, it looks very fragile.

Conclusion

What the successful cases have had in common is an effective system for dispute resolution. In the decentralized federations, legal decentralization reduces the number of subjects of potential social or political dispute open to general, nationwide contestation. Geographic decentralization can be a viable solution if the contesting groups are geographically separated and concentrated. Full-scale peaceful separation—partition—is workable if the parties agree, as in the case of Czechoslovakia, but secession without agreement has often been a cause for civil war, as in Pakistan/Bangladesh, Nigeria/Biafra, and the U.S. In the peaceful choice model, a stable elite bargain ensures negotiation and compromise to achieve non-violent dispute resolution. In the Voltairean structure case, sheer multiplicity denies any possibility of factional hegemony. The historic dynastic (Arab) hegemon was, and is, too subject to the whims and idiosyncrasies of individual rulers to be a dissent-tolerant model under modern conditions. As for entrepôt city-states, there is only one left in today's world, Singapore.

There are many multicultural countries now experiencing degrees of violent internal conflict (Philippines. Thailand, Myanmar, Pakistan, Yemen, Syria, Ethiopia, Congo, etc.). The international community usually promotes an elite-bargain, decentralized model, within the existing sovereign state borders, in its efforts to restore peace. In some cases, partition may be a better solution.

Selected Bibliography

Anderson, Mary B., & Marshall Wallace. 2013. *Opting Out of War; Strategies to Prevent Violent Conflict.* Boulder: Lynne Reinner.

Donia, Robert J., & John V. A. Fine, Jr. 1994.*Bosnia and Hercegovina*: *A Tradition Betrayed.* New York: Columbia University Press.

Morris, Jan. 1993. *The World of Venice.* New York: Harcourt Brace.

Nirenberg, David. 1996. *Communities of Violence: Persecution of Minorities in the Middle Ages.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Scheindlin, Raymond P. "Merchants and Intellectuals, Rabbis and Poets: 8udeo-Arabic Culture in the Golden Age of Islam," in David Biale, ed. *Cultures of the Jews.* 2002. New York: Shocken Books, 313-388.

van Tongeren, Paul, Malin Brenk, Marte Hellema, & Juliette Verhoeven, eds.2005. *People Building Peace II; Successful Stories of Civil Society.* Boulder: Lynne Reinner.

Watson, Peter. 2005. *Ideas: A History of Thought and Invention from Fire to Freud.* New York: HarperCollins.

❊ Robert J. Muscat

Pursuing Peace Across the Centuries: Teachings from the Jewish Tradition

The Jewish tradition has much to say about war and peace, but its rabbis and sages have much to say, as well, about those conflicts that consume everyday life and if left unresolved can go on to fracture a family, neighborhood or larger community. Daniel Roth, a rabbi and holder of a doctorate from the Conflict Resolution, Management and Negotiation Program at Israel's Bar Ilan University, has sought to bring this rich repository of wisdom to a larger audience who may well be unfamiliar with its teachings and findings.

Rabbi Roth's 2021 volume, **Third-Party Peacemakers in Judaism: Text, Theory, and Practice,** published by Oxford University Press, furnishes both an introduction and orientation to Jewish thinking on intervention in conflict situations, and rulings by religious authorities on specific cases brought before them. The cases span centuries and cultures—but their analyses and findings all share a deep grounding in Jewish sources.

Rabbi Roth, himself, was able to pursue his interest in peacemaking as theorized and operationalized within a Jewish religious framework at Bar Ilan University where he wrote his doctoral dissertation on "The Tradition of Aaron the Pursuer of Peace Between People as a Rabbinic Model of Reconciliation." The Jewish tradition, as conveyed by Rabbi Roth in his book, encourages active engagement by rabbis and laypersons in serving as third party peacemakers and reconcilers. The peacemaker need not wait for an invitation from one of the aggrieved parties to help reconcile the parties in conflict; they can, and indeed, should, step forward seeing a conflict underway, and work to bring the parties together.

Of particular value in this book, both for readers specifically focused on successful strategies for conflict reconciliation and peacemaking, as well as people interested in gaining a richer appreciation for the wisdom and teachings of rabbinic sages and commentators, are the many excerpts Rabbi Roth includes in the text of the counsel of rabbis across the centuries as preserved in the Mishna, Talmud, Responsa and other documents. Rabbi Roth, utilizing a fine social science lens, sets out through tables presented in the text the diverse approaches toward third party reconciliation put forth by these diverse commentators—going so far as to designate specific issues (he terms them "case studies") considered by the rabbis — indicating an array of social science variables useful to consider in pondering the ultimate success or failure of the approaches taken.

Rabbi Roth is current Director of *Mosaica—The Religious Peace Initiative,* and a lecturer in religion and conflict resolution at Bar Ilan University, with involvements in several other peacemaking projects.

While this volume is written in a manner most congenial for an academic audience, still its area of focus — third party peacemakers in Judaism — is one a wider community may well find of interest. Enterprising educators in both religious and secular settings might want to distill the book's findings in exchanges with community members — looking to identify approaches potentially applicable in daily life.

❋ Mindy Reiser

Global Peace Services USA

The newsletter of Global Peace Services USA is published regularly. GPS USA is incorporated in the State of Maryland and is tax-exempt. Current board members are Anna Amato, Aline Dukuze, John Eriksson, Robert Muscat, Mindy Reiser, and Ronald Ridker. We welcome contributions and comments. To contact us:

Global Peace Services USA
P.O. Box 27922
Washington, DC 20038-7922

Telephone: 301-681-6968
E-mail: globalpeaceservicesusa@gmail.com

Web site: www.GlobalPeaceServices.org

Global Peace Services USA
P.O. Box 27922
Washington, DC 20038-7922
www.GlobalPeaceServices.org