

Jahresakademie 2017, Vortrag Prof. Dr. Eberhard Schockenhoff:
PEACE RESEARCH AND PEACE ETHICS AS AN INTERDISCIPLINARY TASK
SOME COMPREHENSIVE THESES

1. *The Paradigm Shift in Peace Ethics, which is Characterized by the Words "from Just War to Just Peace", not only Announces a Thematic Change.*

The focus is no longer on how to enforce the law by means of military force, but on building a viable and lasting peace order. This change is accompanied by a methodical expansion of research perspectives. While the doctrine of just war had been developed in its scholastic and natural law form for centuries in the context of moral theology, the concept of just peace developed from the interdisciplinary co-operation of several research approaches: the development of modern international law, the debate on the theory of international relations within the field of political science, economic theory, historical peace research, and philosophical and theological ethics.

2. *The Biblical and Theological-Historical Roots of the Doctrine of Just Peace*

The concept of Shalom means more than just non-war or a mere coexistence, a non-violent coexistence of human beings. It describes the divine peace of creation, which promises men and animals a comprehensive well-being. In this broad sense, Shalom means health, security, material and spiritual well-being of the individual as well as the community. The promise of a messianic state of peace is described in Isaiah 32:17 as: "The work of righteousness shall be peace. The fruit of righteousness is peace and security for ever." In the Latin translation of the Bible, these words of Isaiah later become a shortened formula of peace ethics: *opus justitiae pax* (= peace, the work of justice).

In official releases of the Catholic Church, the concept of just peace and the strategy of peace building through the promotion of development and international cooperation can already be found in the Encyclical *Populorum Progressio* by Pope Paul VI. (1967). Its guiding principle, which implies the corresponding considerations of modern peace research, is: "Development is the new name for peace."

3. *The Doctrine of Just Peace Owes Decisive Impetus to the Development of Modern International Law*

The classic international law, which remained valid from the Peace of Westphalia in 1648 until the end of the Second World War, was based on two principles: the sovereignty of the individual states and the commandment of non-intervention into their internal affairs. Part of the sovereignty of a state was an almost unrestricted right to conduct war, which they could dispose of at will. The principle work of the Dutch philosopher, Hugo Grotius, bore the title: *De iure belli ac pacis* (= Law of War and Peace). Both are, therefore, two equally legitimate states of the international order which alternate according to the behavior of governments.

Following the catastrophe of the Second World War, the international community agreed on a general prohibition of violence, as prescribed in the UN Charter. The international ostracism of war knows only two exceptions in which military application of force can be legitimate: the self-defense of a state against foreign aggression and the so-called humanitarian interventions for the protection against systematic human rights violations or a decay of the state authority. To justify such interventions, which require a mandate from the UN Security Council, serves the doctrine of *responsibility to protect*.

4. *The Three-Pillar Model of Peace Building*

Current research on peace, in cooperation with the theories of political science, developed the fundamental distinction between peace making and peace building. When the hot phase of a military dispute is over and the weapons fall silent, the real task of a post-war period begins by building a stable and lasting peace order. A theoretical three-pillar model, consisting of the components of democracy promotion and human rights policy (1), development co-operation and trade (2) and the development of supranational organizations (3), serves this purpose.

5. Promoting Democracy as a Way to Secure Peace

The idea of "peace building through the advancement of democracy" is based on a principle founded on the nature of states and their political forms of governance. The stronger the internal organization of a state is based on violence, dependence and lack of freedom, the less is its capacity for peaceful conflict resolution to the outside. This means, on the other hand, the better the system of distributive justice is developed in terms of access to security, prosperity and political power, the less the violence in interstate relations. A lasting strategy of peace building must therefore begin with the internal transformation of authoritarian power structures and the formation of democratic power relations. The relationship between democratic forms of government and the peaceableness of a society is historically well documented: consolidated democracies do not wage wars with each other.

6. The Importance of Poverty Reduction and the Promotion of Prosperity

In addition to the concept of democratic peace, there is a second pillar, which can be paraphrased as human rights protection, poverty control and welfare promotion. The minimum conditions of a just peace are that the rights of all people are respected: for subsistence, minimal economic security and freedom. The concept of national security is therefore extended in recent peace ethic approaches to the idea of a human security, which considers indispensable prerequisites for a just peace in the protection from extreme material need, police arbitrariness or paramilitary terrorism as well as protection against expulsion and forced resettlement.

The level of fair distribution of goods that can be achieved in individual countries can be influenced externally, especially by more equitable conditions of world trade. Although poverty and social hardship in many countries also have internal causes (corruption, lack of education, ethnic conflicts, exploitation of raw materials by elites), the prosperity level of a state depends to a large extent on foreign trade conditions which open up access to world markets.

7. Strengthening of International Organizations

In the current world order, international organizations such as the United Nations, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Trade Organization (WTO), and the International Court of Justice play an important role in the peaceful resolution of interstate conflicts. It forms the third pillar in the theory of just peace. A peace strategy that focuses on the development of the international order is faced with the problem of the constitutional weakness of the UN, which does not have its own armed forces and therefore is not capable of enforcing international law. This situation will not change in the foreseeable future. Nevertheless, there is no political alternative to strengthening of international organizations. However, the development of international regional organizations is not only recommendable for political but also for moral reasons. Every human being, on whatever part of the earth he or she is born, is not only a citizen of his or her country, the child is also a member of mankind. The idea of the rights of the citizen of the world is linked to the demand for cosmopolitanism, which forms the moral foundation of an international peace order.

8. Renaissance of the Doctrine of Just War?

In current peace ethics, the question whether there is a renaissance of the doctrine of just war in the context of humanitarian interventions is controversial, because the justification of the use of military force is based on criteria originally developed within the framework of the doctrine of just war. Preconditions for intervention are: a just cause (threat of massive loss of life, ethnic cleansing, state degradation, or genocide), the right intention, and legitimate authority on the basis of a UN mandate. Furthermore, military force can only be used as the ultimate means when peaceful measures have failed. In addition, there must be reasonable prospects for success and the rules of international humanitarian law for restricting military measures must be strictly adhered to.