

peace • colloquy

The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies
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Peacebuilding after Peace Accords

SOUTH AFRICA'S DESMOND TUTU INSPIRES KROC, NOTRE DAME

Ethnic politics slow Northern Ireland peace process

JOHN DARBY

“Father Bert” earns trust of government, rebels

MARTHA MERRITT

Insight, inspiration, interaction

A colleague once confided to me that he found academic conferences quite tedious. “I’d rather just wait for the book to come out,” he quipped. While somewhat tongue in cheek, his comment nonetheless raises an important question: Why do we organize conferences?

As an institute focusing on peace studies, our stock in trade is gathering diverse and often contentious groups of people together to examine international conflicts. In addition to providing venues for presenting and critiquing research, we also hope that such gatherings will stimulate dialogue between researchers and practitioners; provide opportunities for students to interact with prominent researchers, global leaders and peacebuilders; and call attention to neglected topics.

In this issue, we capture some of the insight, the inspiration, and the interaction that was sparked by our conference “Peacebuilding After Peace Accords,” held on September 11-13, 2003. The conference was sponsored by the Kroc Institute’s Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC) and marked the culmination of a three-year effort.

Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu delivered a profoundly moving keynote address, much of which is reprinted in this issue. The resonance of Tutu’s speech can be seen in the poignant reflections on his visit by our graduate students in peace studies as well as students from nearby Culver Academies.

The conference also featured a challenging — and controversial — keynote by Johan Galtung; an engaging panel on the peace process in South Africa; an international youth panel with students from Israel, the Balkans, and Northern Ireland; and presentations by sixty scholars and practitioners from more than a dozen countries.

In the words of Father Ted Hesburgh, “It was a Notre Dame moment.”
I can’t wait for the books to come out.

HAL CULBERTSON
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR



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Peacebuilding after Peace Accords

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Filipino priest gains trust of rebels, government

"Father Bert" tells Martha Merritt that he wants people's stories to be told.



Extremist gains slow momentum of Good Friday Accords

There is no "swing vote" in ethnic politics like Northern Ireland's, writes John Darby.

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RIREC: Peacebuilding After Peace Accords

The Struggle for Social Justice in Post-apartheid South Africa

DESMOND TUTU

In 2004 we celebrate a decade of freedom and democracy in South Africa by commemorating that wholly unexpected and quite spectacular victory over one of the world's most vicious political systems and the relatively peaceful transition from repression to freedom in 1994.

Most expected that once a black-led government was installed then South Africa would see an orgy of retribution and revenge as blacks went on the rampage giving vent to all their pent-up fury for all those many, many years when they suffered untold misery all because of their ethnicity, their race, their skin colour. One of the songs of our struggle is a haunting melody that asks plaintively in Xhosa, "What have we done? Our sin is our blackness."

Yes, that was the conventional expectation, that the post-conflict period would be a time of reckoning. Instead, the world was awed by the spectacle of the Truth and Reconciliation process when victims of frequently gruesome atrocities revealed a mind-boggling nobility and

generosity of spirit in their magnanimous willingness to forgive the perpetrator. We rejected the twin options of a type of Nuremberg trial and the general amnesia of blanket amnesty. We resolved to look the beast in the eye, to let victims tell their story, to risk opening wounds which had seemed to have healed when they were in reality festering, we opened those wounds, cleansed them and poured on them the balm of acknowledgement, of giving voice to hurt, of rehabilitating the dignity of those who for so long were anonymous, faceless victims. Perpetrators were given the chance to come to terms with what they had done, to make a full disclosure and then to obtain amnesty in an example of restorative justice which was

more about healing than about punishment, more about forgiveness and reconciliation than about retribution and revenge.

We knew that none of us possesses a fiat — we are not God — so that bygones would be bygones. We knew that the deeds of the past had an uncanny capacity to return and

haunt people. The TRC was a way of hope, of faith in the fundamental goodness of people, that we would not give up on anyone, that even the worst perpetrator still remained a child of God with the capacity to change, that each of us has the capacity to become a saint.

Forgiveness and reconciliation have been shown not to be nebulous namby-pamby things. No, they are the stuff of *real politik*. The alternative, the way of revenge, of retribution, leads to a ghastly *cul de sac* — the spiral of reprisal provoking counter reprisal ad infinitum, ending with no security, no peace but a toll in human lives and property that is inexorable and exorbitant. It is not to be merely idealistic to say that without forgiveness there is no future, it is being a hard-nosed realist. Just ask the people of the Middle East and of Northern Ireland or Sri Lanka or Rwanda. True peace and real security will never come from the barrel of a gun, however overwhelming.

Peace and security come because all enjoy justice and freedom. Peace and security come because it is acknowledged that people matter.

Social Justice in Post Apartheid South Africa

Apartheid was vicious, having refined the racism that had been part and parcel of the South African way of life from the moment white people encountered the indigenous people of that part of the continent. It was a policy of exclusion. The vast majority of the people were excluded from all real political decision making which gave access to all other kinds of power, rights and resources.

There was a Race Classification Act according to which the population of our country was branded like so many



animals. The methods to determine race were often crude and unscientific like sticking a pin unexpectedly in the victim and assigning a race label according to his shriek of pain, or by putting a comb through his hair. Sometimes siblings were assigned to different race groups because one was of a darker hue than others. Children sometimes committed suicide when this happened, for whiteness was the open sesame to massive privilege and benefit. There was a

Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act which prohibited marriage between whites and people of other races, and the Immorality Act which prohibited sexual relations between whites and people of other races. People committed suicide for being accused under this legislation. It made sordid something that should have been beautiful and noble — love between two people.

By law blacks were confined to owning only 13% of the land while comprising 80% of the population. The remaining 87% was enjoyed by the 20% whites. The apartheid government spent nearly ten times per annum on a white child's education what it spent on a black child.

It was the same in every sphere of life. The Job Reservation Act prohibited blacks from performing certain skilled work and now you hear whites bleating about affirmative action. Our country had pioneered the first heart transplant showing we were up there with the best in sophisticated medical technology, but people were dying of cholera simply through a lack of clean water — we have to add that the people referred to were of course black people. Hardly any whites died of cholera.

Sadly, devastatingly, it did not take long for many so treated to think of themselves as non-entities, with a sense of self-hatred gnawing at the very vitals of one's being causing us to doubt that we too were God's children.

How one wishes there were a magic wand which one could wave and, "Hey presto," all the awfulness would be changed into its glorious counterpart. We have set ourselves high and noble goals in the new South Africa but it is going to take us a long while to attain them without substantial help from our allies in the international community. Our Constitution entitles every South African to a

decent home, to adequate health care, to a good education, to the so-called economic, cultural and social rights and our highest court, the Constitutional Court, has declared that they are enforceable — they are not just nice ideals to strive after.

It is in our best interests in South Africa and everywhere to try to achieve the eight goals of the Millennium Plan — to halve poverty (we should eradicate it in South Africa) to provide free education, to make health care readily available to all, to reduce infant mortality, to advance the cause of women, to deal with AIDS, TB and malaria and to remove slums. I think we are doing well but we can do better. But we really cannot do this without your help.

A Marshall Plan for South Africa

Western Europe was devastated by World War II. To help Europe get back on its feet the United States provided help through the Marshall Plan. Southern Africa, not just South Africa, has been devastated by apartheid. I think a case could be made for a special Marshall Plan-type of aid to help us deal with the ghastly legacy of apartheid.

I am not greedy. The United States gives over US \$3 billion to Israel per annum because rightly the continued existence of Israel is important for the world — we hope an Israel that would live in peace with its neighbours including a viable, independent and sovereign Palestinian state.

I think a successful, vibrant South Africa is equally important for the world as an experiment in co-existence of different races of former oppressors and oppressed in a post conflict land. So I would urge that an annual grant of US \$2 billion for five years be granted to us to deal with the legacy of apartheid. It could even be earmarked and designated for certain projects only — health, education, and housing. It would be a most worthwhile investment. You helped us to become free. Help us to become successful for we are, very oddly, totally improbably, a beacon of hope for the rest of the world — if it could happen in South Africa it can happen anywhere and everywhere.

Archbishop Desmond Tutu is winner of a Nobel Peace Prize and former chairman of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.



Desmond Tutu shares smiles with, from left to right, Dan Philpott, peace studies undergraduate program director; undergrads Peter Quaranto, Michael Poffenberger and Silvana Zepeda Diaz; and Kroc graduate students Marissa (Pay) de Guzman and Lola Ibragimova

Students feast on ideas at breakfast with Tutu

IRENE ZIRIMWABAGABO (KROC M.A. CLASS OF 2004)

“I was expecting him to enter ceremoniously with an entourage,” said Brenda Fitzpatrick. “But to my surprise he just ran into the room, dressed in a T-shirt, sat down and with a smile, apologized for being late!”

Fitzpatrick, a Kroc M.A. peace student from Canada, was among those privileged to have breakfast with Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu on the morning after his keynote address at the “Peacebuilding After Peace Accords” conference. Among those present were faculty members from both the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies and the Kellogg Institute for International Studies; Notre Dame’s associate dean for graduate studies, Don Pope-Davis; students in the Kroc master’s program; and a few other graduate and undergraduate students taking peace studies courses.

This rare opportunity allowed the students to talk with the Nobel Prize winner about his experiences in the anti-apartheid struggle, and his work on unity and reconciliation of the South African people since their momentous transition to democratic rule in 1994. The students had read excerpts from his book, *No Future without Forgiveness*, and had discussed intensely its themes of forgiveness and reconciliation.

No reasonable amount of time would have been sufficient to explore all the thought-provoking and inspiring ideas that Archbishop Tutu expressed in his writing and his earlier address. Professor Cynthia Mahmood, director of graduate studies at the Kroc Institute, invited him to address the group briefly, and then suggested that the floor be opened to questions. His comments echoed the themes of his keynote address: the need for empathy, understanding, forgiveness, and unconditional inclusion of others different from ourselves.

What most captivated his audience was his ability to communicate a message of hope and faith so completely — not just verbally, but also through the power of his presence, energy, and humility.

“He is persuasive by the nature of his charisma. Listening to him made me think of his stand on forgiveness as viable,” said Mark Canavera, a student from the United States. “I could now understand how the transition to peaceful reconciliation was possible by seeing the forces behind it.”

Tutu’s call for forgiveness seemed to cross religious and cultural boundaries. “Although he spoke from a Christian point of view, it was not difficult to understand from other religious perspectives,” said Chayanit Poonyarat, a student from Thailand.

Many listeners were struck by his assertion that, in the process of forgiveness and reconciliation, it is important to acknowledge the perpetrators’ humanity.

“I was impressed when he said that people also dehumanize themselves when they dehumanize others. As peacebuilders, we might tend to side with victims, but it is important that we find a way to reach out to the oppressors as well — we need to include them in the healing,” said Elias Omondi Opongo, a Kenyan student.

It was motivating for the students to hear that message from someone who arguably has succeeded in working with oppressors. Raouf Ahanger, a student from India, said it is Tutu’s experiences “that give him sound reason to say what he does, that no problem is intractable. That there is hope and hope sustains life.”

The compelling story that South Africans have to share about trying to heal their deeply wounded society has a strong impact on those working for peace. Said Deniz Ugur, a Turkish student: “Every movement or idea needs a powerful symbol. Tutu is a symbol for peace.”

Students from military prep school rave about Tutu



Eleven seniors from Culver Military Academy and Culver Girls Academy — independent, college preparatory schools in northern Indiana — traveled to the University of Notre Dame to hear Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu speak on September 11. Several Kroc Institute faculty and students have participated in activities of the academies' Global Studies Institute, which especially seeks opportunities for Culver students to interact with scholars and leaders in the global community. The students' visit to Notre Dame included the chance to meet the Nobel Peace Prize winner after his speech. It was an inspiring evening, as reflected in the students' comments excerpted below.

The stature of Tutu was remarkably small in comparison with his grand reputation. ... He was neither the longwinded politician, nor the radical with a call to action, nor was he preachy as one might stereotype a priest. ... He was a normal man, and he made us laugh very hard.

— Howard Mauck, Chicago

There is something about the Tutu lecture that I will never forget. It was not a particular quote, it was not the people I was sitting by — it was a feeling that one gets only when one knows something within has forever changed.

— Sotiria Anagnostou, Mishawaka, Indiana

Under President Bush and the Republican administration, the United States stands on a realist platform in its policies on terrorism. Yet Tutu also claims to adhere to *realpolitik*, but with a different approach: "A true realist believes that there is no future without forgiveness." This twist on what I believed as truth, prompted by Mr. Tutu, made me realize that as long as people are dying or living in fear, peace does not exist.

— Greg Ladd, Lexington, Kentucky

I come from an extremely pro-military family (my father was in the Air Force, my uncle in the Marines, one grandfather was a pilot in Vietnam, and my other grandfather was a three-star general), so I always thought that it was necessary to use military force to uphold justice. It never occurred to me that promoting peace instead of an M-16 would get you anywhere, but Desmond Tutu proved this through the struggles of his people and their fight against prejudice.

— Kelsey McKee, Plano, Texas

Sometimes he would yell, other times he would sing. At one point during the speech, when he whispered the ideals of freedom in South Africa, emotions flooded me. ... Tutu made me realize that God is real and if you believe in something, God will give you the strength to achieve it. This was an amazing and enriching experience — one that I will never forget.

— Alex Gonzalez, Wilton, Connecticut

As I approached Tutu after the speech, I grasped his hand, looked into his eyes, and said, "a pleasure to meet you." The old man had a light handshake; however, it was by no means loose. Tutu answered me with a simple, "hello." When our hands unclasped, my goose bumps slowly went away, and I began to wonder whether I would ever have another opportunity like that again.

— Ridge Daves, Palm Beach, Florida

While it has occurred to me there would be an abiding animosity between two combatants after a peace treaty, I have never given enough thought to what possible solutions there are to ensure an end to violence after accords. In Archbishop Tutu's words, a conflict can never truly end until both sides relinquish their desire for retribution.

— Rocky Carbone, Pine Hill, New Jersey

At the beginning of the lecture when Tutu claimed he wanted peace, love, and brotherhood for everybody, I was a little shocked and thought this was an unrealistic goal. I said to myself, "That could never happen in the world we live in today." But by the end of the lecture I was completely proven wrong, and I felt like a new person walking out of the building and on the bus ride home. My thoughts turned to questions, "What can I do to help, or make a difference, what can I do to share peace, love, and brotherhood with everyone?"

— Whitney Breidenbaugh, Tampa, Florida

What next for South Africa?

PETER WALSH

Crime, disillusionment and economic imbalance stand in the way of South Africa's progress, according to experts who took part in a roundtable discussion of that country on the second day of the RIREC "Peacebuilding After Peace Accords" conference.

Two prominent South Africans, Dr. Mamphela Ramphele and Dr. Charles Villa-Vicencio, shared their views on South Africa's progress since its first non-racial elections in 1994. The discussion, titled "The Peace Process in South Africa: Achievements and Challenges," addressed political, socio-economic, and justice issues facing the country's policy-makers a decade into democratic governance.

Dr. Peter Walshe, a fellow at the Kroc Institute and a South African, opened the discussion with an introduction to the political context that formed the liberation movement. His presentation highlighted two themes: the political culture and goals of the liberation movement as it confronted the apartheid regime, and the challenge of meeting those expectations. Walshe located this political culture in a commitment to non-racialism, equality of all people before the law and adherence to the "traditional African culture of respect for human beings, *Ubuntu*." He recognized the leadership of the African National Congress in the decades following its formation in 1912, as well as the contributions of the Black Consciousness Movement in the 1960s and 1970s, the South African Communist Party, activist religious organizations, the United Democratic Front of the 1980s, and international anti-apartheid organizations.

Addressing the growing discontent and disillusionment in post-apartheid

South Africa, Walshe noted that the political transition of the 1990s occurred as the government's ability to redistribute resources was constrained by the regulations and competitive nature of the global economic system.

Ramphele, managing director of the World Bank and former vice chancellor of the University of Cape Town, is well known for her activism in the Black Consciousness Movement. In a stock-taking report on South Africa's progress at the end of a decade of freedom, Ramphele lauded the government's achievements, but conceded that much work remained to be done. The most visible accomplishments are "forceful implementation of sound macro-economic policies and greatly enhanced fiscal planning," she said; the biggest challenges are "low growth and pervasive high unemployment." Despite reconstruction and development initiatives, she said, the country continued to experience growing unemployment and economic disparity. Ramphele linked poverty and unemployment to rising crime rates, which, together with the HIV/AIDS pandemic, deterred foreign investment. She concluded by making

six recommendations for the South African government: improve employment absorption, invest more in human capital, increase domestic savings, maintain fiscal prudence, promote investment and exports, and improve the criminal justice system.

The second speaker, Villa-Vicencio, was the National Research Director of the Truth and



Reconciliation Commission, and is founder and Executive Director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. His presentation continued the theme of South Africa's achievements and challenges since 1994. Like Ramphele, he highlighted the persisting, dualistic nature of society and the widening gap between the haves and have-nots. Recognizing progress in economic planning and advances in access to public services such as health, education, water and electricity, he qualified his optimism with a warning: "We at the same time face several major challenges that need to be overcome in order to consolidate these gains, lest we drift into the kind of malaise that could recreate so many of the tensions that we faced in 1990, bringing the nation to the brink of collapse." He identified these crucial challenges as racism and poverty, disease and health care, and crime and corruption.

"To talk about poverty, unemployment and HIV-AIDS is to talk about race," Villa-Vincencio contended. "Unless economic redistribution and empowerment is negotiated, political discord and social unrest is likely to intensify." A positive development in efforts to alleviate the AIDS scourge was the Cabinet decision to provide anti-retroviral treatment, though the health infrastructure is ill-equipped to cope with the demands.

Crime and corruption will continue to hamper the country's progress, Villa-Vicencio said, especially with regard to foreign investors. He commended the fact that corruption cases are being reported rigorously by the media. Crime, he argued, had a crippling impact on society and had hurt South Africa's international reputation.

From the presentations and a lively debate that followed, a clear message emerged: that while South Africa had set an exemplary precedent regarding the possibility of peaceful political transitions, the challenges posed by post-agreement peacebuilding are numerous and often daunting. One contested issue was the appropriate role of the state in redistributing wealth. Ramphele contended that the government could do more. The mere transfer of wealth to a small, elite group of blacks would not solve the country's problems, she said. She mentioned the government's indecision about whether to act directly or rely on the private sector that, to date, had not shown a keen interest in redistribution of wealth.

The panelists agreed that the constraints imposed by a highly competitive globalized economy set severe limits on state initiatives, forcing the South African government to choose between orthodox economic policies and the basic needs of its people — which, if unmet, might threaten the country's hard-earned peace.

Peace studies guru provokes thought, discussion

A. Rashied Omar
RIREC coordinator



Norwegian scholar Johan Galtung, one of the founders of the field of peace studies, provided a provocative opening salvo to the RIREC conference. His keynote address was spiced with comments such as: "A one-word definition of peace

is equality," "With the exception of South Africa, I have not seen a single peace accord," and "The decline and fall of the American empire will take place within 20 to 25 years, based on the theory that any imperial structure will produce so many contradictions that will force a change in the structure."

Beyond his obvious pleasure in provoking his audience, the main focus of Galtung's address was to explore the relationship between conflict and youth in two ways: the impact of conflict on youth, and the impact of youth on conflict. His key thesis was that to be young is to have little experience with the violent ways of the world, but also a greater vested interest in developing creative and nonviolent ways of handling conflict. He offered examples of action at the personal level, at the social "micro" level, at the inter-state/nation "macro" level and at the inter-region/civilization "mega" level.

Galtung explored the unique perspectives and resources that young people bring to violent conflict, drawing particularly on examples from the United States. "The power of the youth lies in their ability to call a bluff," Galtung said. Such power was amply demonstrated, he said, by protests against the Vietnam War by college students in the 1960s. He also noted that, in the buildup to the Iraq War in March 2003, high school students were often leaders in organizing anti-war protests.

During his wide-ranging address, Galtung also made brief excursions into what he described as the "fault lines" that abound among human relationships and have the potential to generate conflict and violence. They include equity, nature, generation, gender, race, class, and nation. He also touched on a theme for which he is well-known, differentiating between "negative peace," which he contends accommodates structural violence, and "positive peace," which he defines as "equality."

Galtung's bold assertion that the dominant peace discourse — particularly the discourse about "peace accords" — tends to legitimate global injustices was highly controversial. In short, Galtung stimulated intense discussion on the fundamental themes of the conference.

Filipino priest gains trust of rebels, government

MARTHA MERRITT

Martha Merritt is director of strategic and international development at the Kroc Institute. She was in the Philippines in November 2003 to develop field placements for students in the master's program. She spoke with the Reverend Roberto Layson, OMI, during a session of the Grassroots Peace Learning Center at the Mindanao Training Resource Center.

Roberto Layson is a small man, even by Filipino standards, with a still center. His smiles are treasures, much sought after by the many who love "Father Bert." His message of reconciliation between the government and the rebels is simple, but as he speaks of those driven from their homes by combat he begins to radiate the quiet strength that has made him a rare and respected intermediary.

"At least the guns are silent now," he says.

This has not been the case often enough in Father Bert's career of working with Muslim, indigenous, and Christian communities on the large island of Mindanao, with a population of 18 million and a long history of autonomy. After nine years of hard work and cooperation in the island of Jolo with the legendary peacemaker Bishop Benjamin de Jesus, the bishop was assassinated, reportedly by Moro (Muslim) bandits. "It was a hard time for me, and I was in danger of becoming bitter," Father Bert says. "I wanted to go back to Christian community." He did, but it was not long before the tight weave of politics, the military, and the people in the marshes drew back the man who could move among them. "I did not want to do it, but then I thought about my bishop and his work."

He first reached out to the Muslim and indigenous communities in 1997, when he was newly assigned to the Province of Cotabato and took the unusual step of befriending the people who live along the fringes of the Liguasan marshes. His conditions were that, first, the Muslims be open to government projects and second that the MILF (Moro Islamic Liberation Front) rebels protect him — another priest had been killed in the neighboring province by bandits a month before. With pledges but no guarantees, he embarked in 1997 on a long mission of peace.



Why has he been accepted by both the rebels and two presidential administrations? "I respect them. I always see the basic goodness in every one of them. That is why they trust me."

But earning that trust comes at personal cost. Father Bert's pain is evident as he talks and writes about what he sees as unnecessary conflict between the government and rebels that harms civilians. In his book, *In War, the Real Enemy is War Itself*, he chronicles the tremendous costs for refugees, especially children, who are forced to leave their homes and then are unable to return to safety. Peace negotiations seemed to be going well in 2003, after several waves of civilian exodus in previous conflicts, but then the government attacked, triggering more refugee movement. "A bomb created a crater in a cemetery. The dead there were killed twice." The waste is not limited to those who experience combat directly, nor can Christians afford to ignore the well-being of the less fortunate: "The lives and deaths of these people are intertwined with ours."

When did he decide to become a priest? "Ten years after my ordination," he says with a burst of merriment. Why did he decide to become a priest? His grave demeanor returns at that question. "I grew up in the barrio. I like to work quietly."

All of the attention to his peacebuilding is not what he would choose. He says that the sequence for healing in Mindanao must be truth, repentance, and justice, with the latter two premature if not preceded by truth. "People must know what happened," he says simply.

He is troubled that indigenous peoples who talk to him do not record their sacred stories, and he fears their history is being lost. Father Bert draws strength from the memory of an elderly woman who pleaded with him, "Please don't forget our stories. Please tell our stories." He does, with respect and acute awareness of the delicacy and strength required to facilitate peace and to establish safe havens in war-torn communities. With a haunted look, Father Bert concludes: "The worst thing is not the work itself, though that is hard. The worst is looking up and sometimes finding that I work alone."

Extremist gains slow momentum of Good Friday Accords

JOHN DARBY

With its last round of elections, Northern Ireland's voters rejected the great leap forward of the Good Friday Agreement. At first glance, recent election results look like a great leap back to the old familiar suspicions and violence.



Why did it happen? The key to the maneuverings in Northern Ireland over the last decade is not to be found in competition between the Catholic and Protestant blocs, but in the struggles within them.

The elections for the Northern Ireland assembly on November 28, 2003, resulted in a significant shift toward more extreme parties. In the 108-member assembly, the moderate Ulster Unionist Party won 27 seats losing ground among Protestant voters to Dr. Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionist Party with 30. Both parties favor the union with Britain, but the DUP opposes the Good Friday Agreement. On the Catholic side of the political chasm, Sinn Féin's 24 seats pushed them ahead of the Social

Democratic and Labour Party with 18 seats. For the first time Sinn Féin is the largest nationalist party.

The results appeared to have put on hold a peace process regarded as an inspiration to others mired in ethnic violence. In 1994 the Provisional IRA, which had been fighting for a united Ireland since the early 1970s, declared a cease-fire. The main loyalist paramilitary groups, which were prepared to fight for union with

Britain, soon followed suit. The negotiations that followed resulted in an agreement signed on Good Friday 1998.

Since then the historic breakthrough has been frustrated by a succession of problems in implementing the agreement. Unionists refused to stay in government with other pro-agreement parties until the IRA handed over its weapons. The IRA hedged. The reform of the police force was bitterly contested between nationalists and unionists. At times it appeared that the breakthrough was being squandered.

Behind the bluster and disappointments, other aspects of the agreement have been quietly and successfully implemented. Before dismissing Northern Ireland's electoral

wantonness, consider the accomplishments.

The 1994 cease-fires have, in the main, held firm. An assembly and executive, including both Unionists and Sinn Féin ministers, have been operating quite smoothly, although both are currently suspended. More than 2,000 political prisoners have been released. A North-South Ministerial Council, dealing with issues common to both parts of Ireland, is up and running; so is a British-Irish Ministerial Council. The constitution of the Irish Republic has been altered to remove its territorial claim on Northern Ireland.

Still, the voters at best took a step away from the agreement. At worst they created a dangerous vacuum. Their willingness to take this risk was dictated by the nature of ethnic politics.

Unlike most modern democracies where elections are determined by swings in the center ground, elections in ethnically divided societies like Northern Ireland are contested primarily between parties fighting for control of the same ethnic groups. Consequently, centrist parties are preoccupied by the need to prevent slippage toward the extremes. In times of crisis, voters edge toward the parties whose positions are more unequivocal.

The greatest threat for the UUP's leader David Trimble is that his deeply divided party may move against the agreement and his leadership, and that their supporters would switch to the DUP.

The SDLP faces a rather similar problem, that Catholic voters would drift toward Sinn Féin, also a pro-agreement party. Less noticed is the drift problem facing the leader of Sinn Féin, Gerry Adams, despite his election triumph. His freedom of action during negotiations has been limited by his need to ensure that his more militant supporters were kept on board.

These dilemmas facing Trimble and Adams are unlikely to alter in the immediate future. The new and less predictable element is the emergence of the DUP as the largest party representing Protestant opinion.

For the first time the DUP may be forced to accept real responsibility. It has covertly cooperated with Sinn Féin and other parties while maintaining strong rhetorical opposition to power-sharing. This strategy will now be severely tested. If the DUP continues its refusal to share power, the consequence is continuing direct rule from Britain. The party's leaders dislike direct rule, so they will have to choose between public posturing and private practice. There have been some mildly encouraging signs since the election. As I am writing this just before the annual St. Patrick's Day shenanigans, the DUP leaders are in

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Washington, outlining for the first time their conditions for engaging politically with Sinn Féin. They are also outlining their continuing objections to working in government with Sinn Féin. The point is less that they are objecting than that they consider it important to explain their position. An optimist might say that they are engaging in a political process.

Finally, consider the dog that didn't bark. Since the election, no one has been talking about a return to the 30-year war that preceded the peace process. The political parties were relatively relaxed about future developments. Although most feel that a major breakthrough is unlikely until late 2004 at the earliest, this has been the most striking achievement of Northern Ireland's peace process.

John Darby is Professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies at the Kroc Institute, and former director and senior research fellow at the Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity, Northern Ireland. A version of this article first appeared on the opinion page of the Chicago Sun-Times on December 12, 2003.

| w h o ' s n e w |

Larissa Fast follows peace path back to the Kroc Institute

Larissa Fast decided at age 12 that she wanted to earn a doctoral degree. It took her years to choose a field of study, though. When she did, her experiences at home and in the world at large both played a role.

“I grew up Mennonite, in a pacifist environment,” said Fast, who will join the Kroc Institute faculty this fall. “My second year at university, I went to visit Israel and the occupied territories, after the first Intifada had started. I remember being there, witnessing the violence and thinking ‘There has to be a better way to work at this.’”

That was in 1990. Those study-tour images of the Palestinian uprising — the burning tires, the refugee camps, soldiers everywhere — stayed with Fast. “I saw the militarization of society,” she said. After graduation from Bethel College two years later, she worked for two years at



Larissa Fast

Maison de l’amitié, a refugee assistance center in Montreal, as a volunteer for the Mennonite Central Committee. There, she met many survivors of torture. “That also was an important piece of turning me toward peace studies.”

Her inquiries about master’s programs led her to the Kroc Institute, from which she graduated in 1995.

“It was an amazing year. A lot of my close friends are from that year, and I’m still in touch with them,” she said. “We all interacted with people who didn’t think like we did. I had to clarify my thoughts. It exposed me to different ways of looking at issues.”

After graduation, Fast spent a year working for Catholic Relief Services in The Gambia, West Africa. She’s been a project manager, consultant and conflict analyst for several international non-governmental organizations. But she decided along the way that she wouldn’t want to work full-time with relief groups. “I like to keep my feet in both practice and academics.”

Her education has been interdisciplinary at every step. In 2002, she received her Ph.D. from the Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, at George Mason University. Since then, she has taught at Conrad Grebel University College in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, where she is an assistant professor teaching peace and conflict studies. She is also program associate for Project Ploughshares, an ecumenical peace and disarmament agency that works to influence Canadian policy.



Larissa Fast, center, in the Kroc Institute class of '95

Graduate program assistant eases move to two-year M.A.

Larissa Fast, continued

As a member of the core faculty of the Kroc Institute, Fast will teach courses on conflict resolution at the graduate and undergraduate levels. She will hold a joint appointment as visiting assistant professor in the department of sociology.

Fast's father is a minister, born in the United States, and her mother is a nurse, born in Canada. She holds dual citizenship. While she prefers the political climate of Canada to that of the U.S., she is excited about coming to the Kroc Institute. She looks forward to being part of a faculty team whose members focus on peacebuilding. As the only peace studies professor at Conrad Grebel, she said, "I've been feeling a sense of isolation from people who research and write about the same things."

Political science professor Bob Johansen, a senior Kroc fellow, encouraged his former student to apply for the position. He praised Fast's qualifications as a scholar, teacher, and global citizen. "Because she was a graduate of our program, and a superb student while in the program, we had the added benefit of being confident that we knew we were hiring a person of integrity with a long-term commitment to working for peace and justice."



Justin Shelton's career has changed direction. After a decade spent preparing American undergraduates to study abroad, he now helps graduate students — most from outside the United States — adjust to life at the University of Notre Dame.

Shelton started in February as the Kroc Institute's graduate program assistant. He is taking over many responsibilities from Anne Hayner, director of graduate student and alumni affairs, so that Hayner may devote more time to the institute's growing alumni network.

Shelton's focus is student services. His responsibilities include preparing program materials and helping to arrange for student housing and travel. Those tasks will become increasingly complicated as the program expands from one year to two.

"Justin brings enthusiasm, warmth and professional expertise in international education to the task of learning the needs of our unique set of students," Hayner commented. "I'm sure we will find his experience in study abroad useful as we design and refine field experiences in the two-year program, many at international sites."

Shelton was attracted to Kroc by the fact that its graduate students represent a microcosm of the world's cultures. The job integrates his interest "in all things international" with his desire to nurture and empower students.

"My goal is to ensure that the students have a successful experience, not only within the diverse group but on campus and in the larger community," Shelton said.

Shelton received a bachelor of arts degree in French and International Studies from Butler University in Indianapolis in 1992. He has worked for 10 years in the administration of study-abroad programs at Butler University, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign and University of Colorado at Boulder. He has traveled extensively, especially in Central and South America, and speaks Spanish, French, and Italian.

Kroc's alumni staffers offer empathy, inside knowledge

“Exciting, but a little strange.”

That’s how Larissa Fast describes the prospect of working alongside some of the professors who taught her. Fast, class of ’95, will teach conflict transformation starting in the fall. She will be the fourth graduate of the Kroc Institute’s M.A. in Peace Studies program to join the faculty or staff at the institute.

The alumni-employees believe that tapping their experience as Kroc students makes them more effective.

“We occupy a unique vantage point to be able to fully empathize with both sides of the educational process, teaching as well as learning,” said research program coordinator Rashied Omar, class of 2002.

Here is a quick look at the current alumni working at the Kroc Institute:

A. Rashied Omar, coordinator of the Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC) and the Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP)

Omar came to the Kroc Institute from South Africa, where he was a well-known Muslim religious leader. He entered the master’s program intending to get a doctorate as well. He took a course in comparative fundamentalism from Kroc Institute director Scott Appleby, whose research interests dovetailed with his own. At the time, the PRCP program was just taking off, and it also intrigued him. Omar was offered the program coordinator’s job upon graduation.

“Suddenly I was a colleague among my former teachers,” he recalled. “People saw me as a student, but gradually they began to appreciate me as a full and equal partner.” For his part, Omar added, it took some adjusting to think of himself fully as a staff member and stop relating primarily with the students.

Omar is working to complete his Ph.D. from the University of Cape Town, specializing in religion and violence. Meanwhile, he coordinates both major research programs at Kroc. It’s a lot to handle. Fortunately, he said, PRCP’s annual conference is held in the spring, and RIREC’s in the fall.



Rashied Omar, Hal Culbertson and Felicia Leon-Driscoll

Hal Culbertson, associate director

Culbertson, class of '96, already had a law degree and a master's in philosophy when he was accepted as a peace studies student at Kroc. What inspired him to apply was his three years spent as a program administrator with the Mennonite Central Committee in Bangladesh. After graduation from Kroc, he stayed in South Bend and worked as an attorney, waiting for the right conflict resolution job to come up. Meanwhile, he did some editing for the institute.

In 1997, Culbertson was hired as Kroc's publications editor and grant writer. That job grew into associate director. As "right hand" to Director Scott Appleby, his responsibilities range from budget oversight to the planning of office renovation. In 2003, he took on another: teaching non-governmental organization management.

"Being on the research side of the program, I didn't see as much of the students," he said. "My empathy with them is what made me want to teach a course."

The dual role of alumnus and employee, he said, "is always an advantage, never a disadvantage." He's enjoyed watching the master's program grow and gain recognition. When Culbertson was a student, he knew John Paul Lederach as the author of conflict transformation text books; now, Lederach is also a Kroc faculty member.

Felicia Leon-Driscoll, internship coordinator

What do Kroc's peace studies students do after graduation? Leon-Driscoll, class of '89, remembers well the need to answer that question. When she was about to graduate, in the second year of the program's existence, there was no one on the staff assigned to help students prepare for the next step in their lives. The faculty and staff could only offer informal career counseling as their demanding schedules allowed.

It took a year of searching after graduation, but Leon-Driscoll did find the kind of job she wanted, coordinating a peace studies program at Iona College in New York. Her husband's studies eventually brought the family back to Indiana, where she worked as family services director for the South Bend Center for the Homeless. In 2000, she agreed to serve as the Kroc Institute's internship coordinator, advising students on post-graduate opportunities. It's a part-time position that fits nicely with her role as mother of four young children.

Some things have changed since Leon-Driscoll graduated. "People are more sophisticated at a younger age," she said of the students and their approach to job-hunting.

Another difference is that employers are more familiar with peace studies degrees. So is the public. Leon-Driscoll recalled that, when she was in school, "it was a pretty obscure degree." Her mother's card-club friends wondered about this agriculture degree that Felicia was getting — in "pea studies."

A l u m n i N e w s

Connie Molusi ('93), from South Africa, recently appointed group chief executive officer of Johnnic Communications Ltd, is the first black person to lead a significant media company in South Africa. A career journalist, he worked in the public sector for four years, joining the Ministry of Posts, Telecommunications & Broadcasting as a ministerial advisor during Nelson Mandela's presidency, and later serving as general manager of support services. He served as project manager for the African Connection Project, a plan to increase the level of connectivity across Africa. In 2000, Connie moved to the corporate sector as CEO of Johnnic Publishing, publisher of *The Sunday Times*, South Africa's best-selling national newspaper, and in 2003 was appointed group CEO of the entire media and entertainment company. He serves on the board of the World Association of Newspapers and is chairman of the Newspaper Association of South Africa. E-mail: <molusic@johnncom.co.za>

Cath Byrne ('95), from South Africa, has been hired as assistant professor of social psychology, with a focus on social justice, at the University of Santa Cruz, California. She will begin in August. E-mail: <ccb@psych.upenn.edu>

Obinna Anyadike ('97), from Nigeria, is managing editor of the United Nations' Integrated Regional Information Network (IRIN) in Southern Africa, based in Johannesburg. Born out of the 1994 crisis in the Great Lakes region of central Africa, IRIN has pioneered the use of e-mail and web technology to report on humanitarian crises in Africa, including issues ranging from human rights to the environment. In 2000, Obi launched PlusNews, a specialized HIV/AIDS news service with the goal of producing a comprehensive one-stop interactive service for AIDS information and advocacy in sub-Saharan Africa. For more information: <http://www.irinnews.org/> or <http://www.plusnews.org/>. E-mail: <Obi@irin.org.za>

Helena Hofbauer ('98), from Mexico, is executive director of Fundar, a center for analysis and research dedicated to the promotion of democracy in Mexico and other countries. The center works to build capacities in civil society in Mexico and more than ten other countries of Latin America, by holding governments accountable for use of public funds. Emphasis has been on gender-related issues and social programs for the poor, with additional work on broader topics like transparency, accountability and access to information. "We have a staff of 15-20 people. If people are interested in our lines of work, I would love to offer opportunities for internships at Fundar," Helena writes. More information on Fundar can be found at www.fundar.org.mx. E-mail: <helena@fundar.org.mx>

Sophie Gelashvili ('99), from the Republic of Georgia, joined the OSCE Mission to Georgia in April 2003, where she works in the political/military section. She spent the previous four years working with Oxfam, which she loved, but is looking forward to focusing on conflict issues. She continues to teach at the Georgian Technical University. She writes, "With recent events in Georgia, we did not have much time to work on any other issues but elections and democratization. Things have been developing quite fast during past couple of months. I gained some experience in non-violent resistance, so if anybody wants to do a case study on Georgia, I know good primary sources for that. But, seriously, nobody expected such a peaceful outcome!" E-mail: <sophikog@gol.ge>

Karmela Devcic ('02), a journalist from Croatia, was appointed foreign news editor at the largest Croatian weekly, *Globus (The Globe)* in August 2003. E-mail: <karmela_devcic@yahoo.com>

Brian McQuinn ('03), from Canada, has been appointed Senior Program Associate in the Conflict Resolution Program at the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia. Prior to his time at Notre Dame, Brian worked as the Conflict Resolution Program Manager for the International Rescue Committee in Rwanda and as the reconciliation specialist for the Jane Goodall Institute's study of Conservation and Community Conflict. During five years with the Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution in Ottawa, he designed and delivered conciliation, mediation and facilitation courses and worked on peacebuilding projects in Indonesia, East Timor and Bosnia.

Agadjan Kurbanov ('03) has returned to Turkmenistan, where he is working as staff attorney with the American Bar Association/Central European and Eurasian Law Initiative Office in Ashgabat.

Ruth Hill ('03), from Northern Ireland, has been appointed Associate Director of the new Indianapolis Peace House, a component of the collaborative Plowshares project of Earlham, Goshen and Manchester colleges. The Peace House will be the location of a semester-long study-away program in peace studies for undergraduates from the three colleges and others around the nation. Ruth will have primary responsibility for the undergraduate program, which will include both course work and supervised internships. For more information: <http://www.plowsharesproject.org/>. E-mail: <jruthhill@yahoo.com>

Lisa McKay ('03), from Australia, is Director of Training and Education at the Headington Institute in Los Angeles, a non-profit organization that provides psychological and spiritual support to humanitarian aid and disaster relief personnel through staff training, organizational consultation and counseling services. For more information: http://www.headington_institute.org/. E-mail: <lmckay@headington_institute.org>

| p u b l i c a t i o n s |

Faculty Publications

Books

Denis Goulet, **The Uncertain Promise: Value Conflicts in Technology Transfer.** Chinese edition, in Mandarin. (Beijing, Academy of Social Science, 2004).

Will technology deliver on its promise to bring development to the Third World? Is modern technology truly the key to successful development? Can technologies be transferred from one cultural setting to another in ways that are more beneficial than destructive? And how do policies for becoming technologically “modern” relate to broader development goals in diverse nations? These questions lie at the heart of this book by Denis Goulet, which was first published in English in 1997, then revised in 1989 (New York, New Horizons Press). In it, Goulet peels away the mystique surrounding modern technology to lay bare its basic dynamism and its dual nature as simultaneous bearer and destroyer of values. His concern is that societies — developed as well as less-developed — not allow “high technology to subvert truly human ends. For the author, today’s essential problem “is not technology *itself* but the successful management of it, which requires wisdom and clarity as to the kind of society desired and the ways in which technology can help construct it.”



Denis Goulet, **Development Ethics: A Guide to Theory and Practice** Chinese edition, in Mandarin. (Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Publishing House, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2003).

After setting forth the contours of this new discipline of development ethics, the author formulates general principles underlying ethical strategies in development and discusses their application in such topics as technology for development, ecology and ethics, culture and tradition, and the ethics of aid. This was originally published in 1995 (New York, The Apex Press, and London, Zed Books Ltd. A Spanish edition was released in 1999 (Madrid,

John Paul Lederach, **Tejiendo Relaciones: Procesos de Dialogo y Negociación en Contextos de Conflicto Armado.** (Bogota, Colombia: Ediciones Clara. 2003).

Published in Spanish, “Weaving Relationships: Processes of Dialogue and Negotiation in Contexts of Armed Conflict” is based on a series of lectures and workshops given by Lederach with community, sectoral and labor movement leaders who are involved in social movements for peace and justice in Colombia. The chapters cover the complexities and challenges of building dialogue and negotiation in a setting of protracted and violent conflict, from the standpoint of nonviolent social movements.



Alan Dowty, ed., **Critical Issues in Israeli Society** (Westport, Connecticut, Praeger, 2004). Includes Alan Dowty, **“Introduction: The Tribalization of Israel?”** pp. 1-6, and Alan Dowty, **“A Question That Outweighs All Others: Israel and the Palestinians in Broad Perspective,”** pp. 169-194.

The Arab-Israeli conflict becomes more comprehensible when put in broad historical perspective, and there are also more grounds for optimism. A long view of history highlights the gradual detachment (since 1967) of Arab states from the conflict, leaving Israel with a non-existential threat from the Palestinians. It is even possible today to project the likely resolution of the remaining objective issues. But in light of the Al-Aqsa Intifada, Dowty considers whether subjective dimensions of the conflict will cause it to outlive resolution of the original issues.

Luis Pásara, **Paz, Ilusión y Cambio en Guatemala** (Guatemala: Universidad Rafael Landívar, 2003).

“Peace, Illusion and Change in Guatemala,” published in Spanish, analyzes the peace process for which final agreements were signed in December 1996, the main issues in the negotiation phase, and the role played by social and political actors. Popular participation, Pásara argues, was limited during both negotiation and implementation; Guatemalans kept a distant relation to the peace process. By examining the peace agreements, the book emphasizes their ambition, gains and shortfalls. Pásara, a former Kroc Fellow, also reviews the role played by the external actors (among them wishful thinkers) and devotes a chapter to the United Nations Mission in Guatemala. Finally, he offers a balance sheet of the peace process and analyzes the value of the type of agreements used. He argues that the process found its limits in the characteristics of the society that it tried to transform.

Chapters

Scott Appleby, **“A Moment of Opportunity? The Promise of Religious Peacebuilding in an Era of Religious and Ethnic Conflict,”** in *Religion and Peacebuilding*, Harold Coward and Gordon S. Smith, eds., (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

This book looks beyond headlines concerning violence perpetrated in the name of religion to examine how world religions have also inspired social welfare and peacemaking activism. In their introductory chapter, Appleby and co-author David Little point out that non-extremist believers who see peacemaking as central to their religious identity face daunting challenges.

They may be required to confront combatants and proponents of violence who propose to speak in the name of, and with the authority of, the religious tradition. Beyond making peace, the authors say, lies the more complex task of promoting nonviolent social change — something for which religious leaders may be ill-prepared.

Scott Appleby, **“Religion and Conflict Transformation,”** in *Liberating Faith: Religious Voices for Justice, Peace, and Ecological Wisdom*, Roger S. Gottlieb, ed., (Lanham, New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), pp. 435-440.

Liberating Faith is an anthology that shows how religion has joined with and learned from movements for social justice, peace, and ecological wisdom. Appleby's chapter is excerpted from his book, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000). He begins with five vignettes illustrating the range of peacemaking activities in which religious people have played a role, including preventive diplomacy, teaching, poll monitoring, conflict mediation and nonviolent protest. He contends that religious peacebuilding includes not only conflict transformation on the ground and post-conflict reform, but also the efforts of people working away from sites of deadly conflict. Among those are legal advocates of religious human rights, scholars conducting research relevant to cross-cultural and inter-religious dialogue, and theologians and ethicists who are probing and strengthening their religious communities' traditions of non-violent militancy.

Fred Dallmayr, **“A Global Spiritual Resurgence?: On Christian and Islamic Spiritualities,”** in *Religion in International Relations*, Fabio Petito and Pavlos Hatzopoulos, eds., (Hampshire, England, Palgrave/Macmillan, 2003), 209-236.

Acknowledging the upsurge of many kinds of spirituality, but also noting the danger of market manipulation and a slide into pop psychology, the essay seeks to retrieve central spiritual traditions in two major world religions. Following a discussion of the core meaning of “spirituality,” two prominent types are differentiated in both religions: a “gnostic” or knowledge-oriented spirituality, and an “erotic-mystical” or agape spirituality. In the end, the essay argues in favor of practical piety and an “everyday mysticism” informed by agape traditions.

Rosalind I. J. Hackett, **“Exploring Theories of Religious Violence: Nigeria’s Maitatsine Phenomenon,”** in *A Festschrift in Honor of E. Thomas Lawson*, Timothy Light and Brian Wilson, eds. (The Hague: E. J. Brill, 2003). **“Managing or Manipulating Religious Conflict in the Nigerian Media,”** in *Mediating Religion: Conversations in Media, Religion and Culture*, Jolyon Mitchell and Sophia Marriage, eds., (Edinburgh: T & T Clark).

In these publications, Hackett addresses some of the causes and manifestations of recent religious violence in Nigeria. She focuses on specific movements (sectarian Muslim, Pentecostal) as well as on the role of the media in shaping attitudes of tolerance and intolerance. The chapters also consider the range of interpretive stances — whether from academics, government officials or the media — on religious conflict and violence, and their influence on actions and outcomes.

Rosalind I.J. Hackett, **“Prophets, ‘False Prophets,’ and the African State: Current Issues of Religious Freedom and Conflict,”** in Philip Lucas and Thomas Robbins, eds., *New Religious Movements in the 21st Century* (New York: Routledge, 2003).

Hackett examines emerging patterns of religious conflict in several African states against the backdrop of democratization, pluralization and globalization.

David Cortright, Alistair Millar and George A. Lopez, **“Sanctions, Inspections and Containment: Viable Policy Options in Iraq,”** in David Little and Gerhard Beestermöller, eds., *Iraq: Threat and Response*, (Hamberg, LitVerlag Publishers, 2003), 127-149.

The authors argue that past policies of sanctions and inspections confined the worst intentions of the Hussein regime and so undermined his capabilities as to render Iraq not much of a threat — much less an immediate threat — to the United States or the region. They illustrate the argument with reference to the specific weapons that were labeled as threats but have since been destroyed or rendered inactive.

George A. Lopez and David Cortright, **“Learning, Adaptation, and Reform in Security Council Sanctions,”** in *The UN Security Council in the Post-Cold War Era*, David M. Malone, ed. (Boulder, Colorado, Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2004), 167-180.

The authors document and analyze the sanctions reform process since the mid-’90s that was mandated by the UN Security Council and which unfolded in a variety of conferences and processes. They show how the movement

toward sharper and more targeted sanctions, especially in the financial realm, lessened the negative humanitarian impact of sanctions and improved their political clout.

John Paul Lederach. **“The ‘Wow Factor’ and a Non-Theory of Change,”** in *Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding*, Cynthia Sampson, Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Claudia Liebler and Diana Whitney, eds. (Washington D.C.: Pact Publications, 2003).

This book applies appreciative inquiry — a way to bring about change using elicitive questions — as a way to develop positive approaches to peacebuilding. In his chapter, Lederach explores use of the creative process, especially the use of storytelling and music in motivating action. The focus is not placed on solving a problem, but rather on addressing the relational spaces and environment that surround it. In the end, he contends, people and their environments are transformed.

John Paul Lederach, **“The Journey Toward Reconciliation,”** in *Liberating Faith: Religious Voices for Justice, Peace and Ecological Wisdom*. (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield, 2003).

Liberating Faith provides a wide range of published and original speeches and articles from people of all faiths who build social activism from their particular traditions. Lederach’s chapter is from an earlier publication. In it, he explains from his own experiences how subtly and quickly dehumanization of the enemy takes place.

Articles



Scott Appleby, **“Who Should Be Next?”** *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2004), 58-63.

In writing a job description for the next pope, Appleby contends that the best successor to John Paul II should embrace science, reject globalization, reach out to the Islamic world — and brush up on economics. He says that challenges faced by the next pope will include a new and aggressive secularization, plus the advent of genetic engineering and related forms of biotechnology. As for Islam, the Vatican cannot ignore the fierce internal contest going on within that great world religion “that is both the Church’s main rival for adherents and its potential ally against a purely materialistic concept of human development.”

George A. Lopez and David Cortright, **“War on Terror or Real Security,”** *Sojourners Magazine*, vol. 33, no 1 (January, 2004), 30-34.

Lopez and Cortright propose moving from rhetoric of a global war on terror to a more focused policy of dealing with the quite differentiated terror groups that challenge global and U.S. security. They argue for more aggressive pursuit of financial assets and an intensive use of allied goodwill in forging more cooperative links for pursuit of terrorists. They critique the war in Iraq and other arguments for pre-emptive war against states as being detrimental to winning the struggle against al-Qaeda.

Fred Dallmayr, **“Cosmopolitanism: Moral and Political,”** *Political Theory*, vol. 31 (2003), 421-442.

Barely a decade after the end of the Cold War, a fury of violence has been unleashed, taking the form of terrorism, wars against terrorism, and genocide. These developments stand in stark contrast to more hopeful legacies of the 20th century: creation of the United Nations and adoption of international documents such as the “Universal Declaration of Human Rights.” These legacies have encouraged a series of initiatives aimed at the formulation of ethics to guide the global community. The essay examines the promise and drawbacks of some of these initiatives. After reviewing proposals by Hans Kueng and Martha Nussbaum, the essay turns to criticisms. The conclusion argues that a viable global ethics code needs to be anchored in, or supplemented by, a global political praxis.

Perez, Anthony D., Daniel J. Myers, and Kimberly M. Berg. **“Police and Riots, 1967-1969,”** *Journal of Black Studies*, (2003) 34(2): 153-182.

This paper investigates the role of policing in both the genesis and development of racial rioting. Focusing on riots in Boston and San Francisco in the late 1960s, the authors replicate the paradoxical pattern in which direct repression, particularly when characterized by excessive or selective use of force, often escalates conflict. They connect this pattern to three principle factors: police preparedness and training, racial polarization in attitudes toward the police, and police-community relations.

Oliver, Pamela E. and Daniel J. Myers, **“The Coevolution of Social Movements,”** *Mobilization* (2003) 8(1): 1-24.

This paper investigates the co-evolution of protest movements with regimes and other actors in their environments. Formal models of diffusion, adaptive learning, mutual reinforcement, and inter-actor competition are developed and compared to empirical protest series. Overall, the analysis suggests that movement dynamics are shaped more by interactions with other actors than by processes internal to a movement.

The flip side of influence, and other thoughts



Julie Titone
Director of Communications

One reason the Kroc Institute hired me last fall was to expand the influence of Kroc peacemakers in the world. But there's a flip side to the coin of influence. To encourage public awareness is to invite scrutiny. The more the media come in contact with the Kroc Institute, the more questions will be asked about what we do, who we are, where we stand.

The spotlight may get uncomfortably bright, especially given that controversy and diverse opinions are at the heart of the institute's mission. Dealing with the media glare will be easier if all of us appreciate the vital role that journalists play in conflicts, conflict resolution and the very existence of civil society. To paraphrase Tom Gjelten, who has long covered war and security issues for NPR: A journalist's job is to explain the world. The peacebuilder's job is to improve it.

Director Scott Appleby reminds us that the Kroc Institute takes a long-term approach to peacebuilding. I look at media relations in the same way. It takes years to develop relationships, to earn a reputation for being an accessible institution whose faculty and students have important things to say.

Every public conversation or controversy that touches the Kroc Institute — nearly any controversy in the world, come to think of it — can be an opportunity to let people know that the institute exists. Sometimes reporters will call us. More often, media contact will begin at our end. We'll reach out to the public by suggesting feature story ideas, responding to news events, or by encouraging our experts to share their knowledge in opinion articles.

Media outreach is just one aspect of my job. My primary tasks involve producing our own publications, such as the Peace Colloquy, the annual report, and our web site. I'm also interested in using better communications technology and the arts to convey the message of peace; bringing journalists to the institute as speakers and/or fellows; and finding wonderful ways to celebrate the upcoming 20th anniversary of the Kroc Institute.

All of this requires teamwork. Fortunately, the Kroc Institute has an ace team of faculty, staff and students. When our new graduate program assistant, Justin Shelton, arrived in February, I asked what surprised him about the Kroc Institute. He answered:

"I'm surprised at how incredibly busy everything is around here! And also at the caliber of faculty who are connected to the Kroc. And every one is just so nice . . ."

I couldn't agree more.



Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C., President Emeritus of Notre Dame, blesses a tree during a ceremony honoring his friend, Joan B. Kroc. The Japanese flowering dogwood was a gift from the Kroc Institute M.A. class of 2004. The students, who wished to honor Mrs. Kroc following her death in October, enjoyed visiting with Father Ted and sipping hot chocolate after the December dedication ceremony. The tree is located on the south lawn of the Hesburgh Center for International Studies.



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