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Tolerance and Diversity in Islam

A S M A A F S A R U D D I N

Ethics and Law in a New Type of War

G E O R G E A . L O P E Z

Reducing the Nuclear Threat in South Asia

A D M . R A M U R A M D A S

From the Editor

While watching the recent debate in the U.S. Congress over the war with Iraq, I had to wonder if Kant was wrong. Despite projections of significant human casualties and enormous financial costs, the U.S. Congress was willing to “decree for themselves the calamities of war” — and a risky, “preemptive” war at that. Is modern democracy not the bulwark against war that Kant thought it would be?

In fact, democracies almost never go to war with other democracies — a remarkable finding that has been repeatedly confirmed. However, democracies do not have the same propensity toward peaceful conflict resolution in disputes with autocracies, which frequently end in war. In such conflicts, democracies often presume that their adversary will not be constrained by any institutional and normative commitments, and therefore “the only language they will understand is war.” In the conflict with Iraq, Saddam Hussein’s recalcitrance only reinforces that presumption.

The “democratic peace” — as this theory is often called — has become a bedrock principle in the field of peace studies. The theory not only provides a description of how democracies behave, but also suggests a strategy for peacebuilding. If democracies are less likely to have wars between themselves, then encouraging the spread of democracy will also strengthen international peace.

The key question — and the question which engages many faculty, students and alumni of the Kroc Institute — concerns how to foster the growth of democracy. The Bush administration proposes to democratize Iraq through military intervention. However, the world has not seen many good examples of democratization by invasion, especially in recent years, and a U.S.-led effort to build a democracy in the heart of the Arab world could produce a strong anti-imperialist backlash. Moreover, as Kant would be quick to point out, the very idea of establishing democracy by outside intervention raises fundamental ethical questions, particularly regarding the incongruity between means and ends.

In this issue of *Peace Colloquy*, Asma Afsaruddin suggests a different approach to democratization in the Muslim world. Based on her recent book on legitimate leadership in Medieval Islam, she counters the oft-heard claim that the Islamic tradition is undemocratic. She describes how ideals of democratic governance and tolerance have played an important role in Islamic history and calls on Muslims to revive them today.

If democracy is to grow in Muslim societies, it must find roots such as these within Islamic history and culture.

HAL CULBERTSON
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR



If the consent of the citizens is required in order to decide that war should be declared . . . , nothing is more natural than that they would be very cautious in commencing such a poor game, decreeing for themselves all the calamities of war.

— Immanuel Kant, *Perpetual Peace* (1795)



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| w h o ' s n e w |

2002-2003 M.A. Students in Peace Studies

The Institute welcomes 22 new students in its M.A. program:

Mai Ni Ni Aung (MYANMAR), 32, studied zoology in Myanmar and received an M.S. in development studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. She worked with World Vision on a project with street children and recently established an NGO supporting projects related to the Chin tradition, education, and women's economic development.

Tahir Aziz (PAKISTAN), 32, studied political science and Islamic history and earned an M.A. in anthropology in Pakistan. He worked as director of the Human Rights Commission of the government of Azad Kashmir for four years and most recently has worked as coordinator of the Human Rights Desk with the Kashmir Institute for International Relations in Azad Kashmir.

Mica Barreto Soares (EAST TIMOR), 29, majored in psychology in Indonesia. She worked for an Indonesian human rights group supporting independence for East Timor and for the United Nations Transitional Administration in East Timor (UNTAET) in Dili.

Christine Birabwa-Nsubuga (UGANDA), 26, studied human rights and international law in Uganda and Sweden. Birabwa has worked at the Human Rights and Peace Centre at Makerere University and with the Uganda Human Rights Commission Office. She is a Fulbright Scholar at Notre Dame.

Hindolo Bockarie (SIERRA LEONE), 27, studied political science in Sierra Leone. He co-founded the Sierra Leone Youth Empowerment Organization and worked with the International Rescue Committee to interview 350 ex-child combatants who have been reunited with their families by the IRC.

Nell Bolton (USA), 27, earned degrees in religious studies and theological studies in Tennessee and Georgia. Nell worked at the Carter Center as a project assistant for African peacebuilding in the Democracy Program, as well as in the Conflict Resolution Program and Public Information Office.

Brenna Cussen (USA), 23, studied mathematics and peace studies in Massachusetts. Brenna spent a year teaching high school with the Jesuit Volunteers International in Chuuk, Micronesia. She lived at a Catholic Worker House of Hospitality in Worcester while working with Worcester PeaceWorks.

Cora Fernandez Anderson (ARGENTINA), 27, majored in international studies in Argentina. She worked on the security and light weapons project for the Institute of Criminal and Security Policy of Buenos Aires and for the Argentine Council for International Relations. She is the recipient of a Fulbright Scholarship.

Mireya García-Durán (SPAIN), 24, studied political science at Juniata College in the United States and international studies in Spain. She co-founded a student association focused on the analysis and practical understanding of the decision-making process in the international arena. Mi received a graduate fellowship from "la Caixa," one of the leading banking institutions of Spain.

Ruth Hill (NORTHERN IRELAND), 24, received a degree in law from Cambridge. Ruth is interested in using sports to promote peace and cultural exchange. Her work with the Japan Organizing Committee for the 2002 World Cup in Japan and Korea enabled her to witness two countries putting aside centuries of conflict to manage a global football event.

Vandy Kanyako (SIERRA LEONE), 28, studied history in Sierra Leone and international relations in the Netherlands. In 1990 he founded Peacelinks to help children victimized by war in Sierra Leone. In 2001 he interned with the UN Office for Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs in New York and was awarded the Hague Appeal for Peace prize.

Agadjan Kurbanov (TURKMENISTAN), 30, studied law in Turkmenistan and human rights in Hungary. He has served as legal advisor for the Ministry of Justice of Turkmenistan and in the Liaison Office of the UN High Commissioner for Refugees in Ashgabat. Agadjan is the recipient of a Muskie Fellowship.



The Kroc Institute's 2002-03 M.A. Students

Patrick Mason (USA), 26, majored in history at Brigham Young University and is a doctoral candidate in history at Notre Dame. He has developed a particular interest in religious peacebuilding, and seeks to explore the theological, cultural, and organizational possibilities for peacebuilding within his own tradition of Mormonism.

Lisa McKay (AUSTRALIA), 26, studied psychology and forensic psychology in Australia. She has worked as a forensic psychologist, trauma counselor and critical incident stress debriefer. She spent six months in 2001 working for the OSCE Mission to Croatia as a stress management and communications skills trainer for the staff.

Brian McQuinn (CANADA), 29, studied business administration in Canada. During five years with the Canadian Institute for Conflict Resolution in Ottawa, Brian worked on peace-building projects in Indonesia, Bosnia and Herzegovina and East Timor. Most recently he served as the Conflict Resolution Program Manager for the International Rescue Committee in Rwanda.

Chaim Neria (ISRAEL), 27, studied Jewish law and Jewish philosophy at yeshiva and international relations at university in Israel. He has managed the staff at a non-profit organization for disabled children and worked as a counselor at a home for distressed youth emphasizing peaceful conflict resolution.

Carmen Pauls Wiens (USA), 32, majored in psychology, bible and religion at Bethel College in Kansas. Carmen has worked as a member of the Christian Peacemaker Teams in Hebron, West Bank, and with the Mennonite Central Committee (MCC) in Palestine and Iraq.

Riziki (Mama-Nassir) Shahari (TANZANIA), 42, studied international relations and French in Tanzania and earned an M.A. in international affairs from Columbia University. In 1986 she joined the Centre for Foreign Relations, Tanzania, where she is currently a lecturer in Africa and the Middle East. She is a Fulbright Scholar at Notre Dame.

Mohamed Shehab El Din (EGYPT), 25, studied business administration in Egypt and conflict resolution in the Netherlands. Shehab has occupied leadership positions in the Arab Youth Forum, the International Association of Students in Economics and Management (AIESEC) and other national and international youth organizations.

Shabnam Siddiqui (INDIA), 28, majored in sociology in India. She has been engaged in gender and peace activities in both India and Pakistan for the last eight years, including the Indo-Pak People's Forum for Peace and Democracy. Shabnam has served as national coordinator with a women's advocacy NGO based in Mumbai.

Danna Weiss (USA), 22, majored in religious studies at the University of Virginia. She conducted fieldwork in Jerusalem, interviewing Ultra-Orthodox Jewish women for a manuscript, and interned at the Carter Center and the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington, D.C. Danna is the recipient of a Jack Kent Cooke Graduate Fellowship.

Alexei Zakharov (RUSSIA), 23, earned a degree in social and economic knowledge in Russia and an M.A. in political science from the University of Manchester Moscow program. He has written several articles about the war in Chechnya and worked for an international consortium developing a global conflict early warning system. Alexei is a Fulbright Scholar.

2002-03 Rockefeller Visiting Fellows Study Religion, Women and Conflict in South Asia

The Kroc Institute's Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP) welcomes its second group of Rockefeller Foundation Visiting Fellows. This year's program focuses on the relationship between religion and conflict in South Asia, with a particular emphasis on the role of women. The program is supported through a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowships program. Further information about the program, including application information for the 2003-04 academic year, is available on our website at <www.nd.edu/~krocinst/visiting_fellows>.



MOHAMMED ABU-NIMER (Spring semester 2003), a conflict resolution specialist in the School of International Service, American University, received a Ph.D. from George Mason University in 1993. He is the author of *Dialogue, Conflict Resolution and Change: The Case of Arabs and Jew in Israel* (SUNY Press,

1999) and *Reconciliation, Coexistence, and Justice in Interethnic Conflicts* (New York: Lexington, 2001). He has received several awards for his research, including grants from the United States Institute of Peace and the Bureau of Educational and Cultural Affairs. Since 1990 he has conducted nearly one hundred workshops in conflict resolution, multiculturalism, religion and peacebuilding in conflict areas such as Gaza, West Bank, Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone, Northern Ireland, Mindanao (Philippines) and Guatemala. Abu-Nimer examines Islamic resources for nonviolent conflict resolution.



LAMIA KARIM received a Ph.D. in anthropology from Rice University in 2001. Her dissertation, entitled "Development and Its Discontents: NGOs, Women and the Politics of Social Mobilization in Bangladesh," received the Gardner Award for Best Dissertation in the Humanities and

Social Sciences at Rice University. Her innovative research has garnered several awards, including a Fulbright Fellowship for Dissertation Research, a Guggenheim Foundation Dissertation grant, and a previous Rockefeller Fellowship at the University of Hawaii. Karim examines

the struggle over civil society in Bangladesh by focusing on an ethnographic and historical study of militant Islam in contemporary Bangladesh, its Wahabi madrassah educational system, and its contested relationship with the women's rights movement in the country.



PATRICIA LAWRENCE received a Ph.D. in cultural anthropology in 1997 from the University of Colorado at Boulder, where she now teaches.

Lawrence's work explores how the Tamil minority living in Sri Lanka's eastern war zone copes with torture, disappearance, poverty, displacement, and viola-

tions of fundamental human rights through creative forms of religious rituals. Lawrence focuses, in particular, on the role of Hindu oracles. Her articles and chapters in edited volumes present fine-grained studies of altered lives and everyday realities changed by years of ethnic violence. She has received several awards, including an SSRC-MacArthur Foundation Fellowship and a Fulbright-Hayes Fellowship. She also has served as consultant for documentary films based on her ethnographic research, and has been a consultant to organizations in the region working on development, peacebuilding, women's issues and human rights.



MONIQUE SKIDMORE received a Ph.D. in anthropology from McGill University in Montreal in 1999. Her research earned several awards and grants including a Wenner-Gren dissertation fieldwork grant and the H.B.M. Murphy Prize for Medical

Anthropology. Skidmore is currently a

lecturer at the School of Anthropology, Geography and Environmental Studies at the University of Melbourne, Australia. She will examine how Burmese women engage Theravada Buddhism and Nat Spiritism to mediate fear, violence, and vulnerability in everyday life. She is one of only a few scholars who has been able to conduct fieldwork in rural and peri-urban Burma (Myanmar), and has published articles on women's health, violence and fear in Burma, and on Buddhist methods of peacebuilding and community reconciliation in Cambodia.

| f e a t u r e s |

Tolerance and Diversity in Islam

A S M A A F S A R U D D I N

In the thirteenth century, when the non-Muslim Mongols had taken possession of Baghdad, their ruler Hulegu Khan is said to have assembled the religious scholars in the city and posed a loaded question to them: according to their law, which alternative is preferable, the disbelieving ruler who is just or the Muslim ruler who is unjust? After moments of anguished reflection, one well-known scholar took the lead by signing his name to the response, “the disbelieving ruler who is just.” Others are said to have followed suit in endorsing this answer.

Just — and accountable — government has long been considered a desideratum in Islamic political and religious thought. The Qur’an states that the righteous “inherit the earth,” righteous in this case referring to the morally upright rather than the members of any privileged confessional community. A righteous and just leader ruling by at least the tacit consent of the people and liable to being deposed for unrighteous conduct remained the ideal for most Muslims through much of the Middle Ages, even though dynastic rule replaced limited elective rule only about thirty years after the Prophet Muhammad’s death in 632 CE. That thirty year period of non-dynastic rule became hallowed, however, in the collective Muslim memory as the golden era of just and legitimate leadership.

The consequences of this memory could have potentially far-reaching repercussions for the reshaping of the Islamic world today. The Qur’anic concept of *shura* refers to “consultation” among people in public affairs, including political governance, and was practiced in particular by the second caliph Umar during the critical thirty year period. It is a term that resonates positively with many contemporary Muslims who wistfully recognize the intrinsic value of this sacred concept but find it rarely applied in the polities they inhabit today. Contrary to certain popular caricatures, Muslims are not somehow genetically predisposed to accept tyranny and religious absolutism. There is a healthy

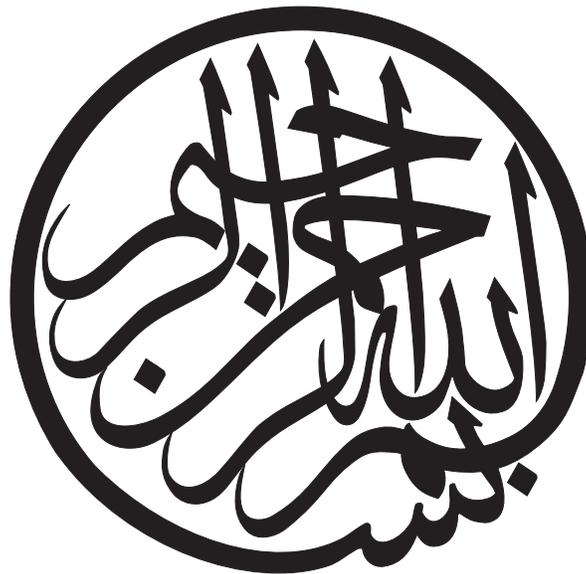
respect for honest, reasoned dissensus within the Islamic tradition; this attitude finds reflection in the saying attributed to the Prophet, “There is mercy in the differences of my community.”

With historical insight and interpretive rigor, one can discover common ground between the modern Western ideal of democratic pluralism and the praxis of various pre-modern Muslim societies. Long before the first ten amendments to the United States Constitution were formulated, medieval Muslim jurists developed what may be called an Islamic bill of rights meant to ensure state protection of individual life, religion, intellect, property, and personal dignity. Non-Muslims such as Jews and Christians (later Zoroastrians and others as well) also had specific rights in the Muslim community. Above all, they had the right to practice their religion upon payment of a poll-tax to the Islamic state (from which priests, other clerics, and the poor were exempt) and were consequently freed from serving in the military. The Qur’an after all counsels, “There is no compulsion in religion.” Within roughly twenty years after the Prophet’s death, Islam lay claim to the former domains of the Byzantine and Persian empires in Persia, Syria-Palestine, Iraq, and Egypt.

It is important to point out that territorial expansion did not mean forcible conversion of the conquered peoples. The populations of Egypt and the Fertile Crescent,

for example, remained largely Christian for about two centuries after the early Islamic conquests. Individual Christians and Jews sometimes obtained high positions in Muslim administrations throughout the medieval period. Syriac-speaking Christians were employed by their Muslim patrons in eighth and ninth century Baghdad to translate Greek manuscripts into Arabic; their inclusion in the intellectual life of medieval Islam helped preserve the wisdom of the ancient world. Centuries later, Jews fleeing from the “excesses” of the Spanish Reconquista would find refuge in Muslim Ottoman lands and establish thriving communities there. Clearly, the Qur’an’s injunction to show tolerance towards people of other, particularly Abrahamic, faiths was frequently heeded by those who revered it as sacred scripture.

To deny these lived realities of the Islamic past, which point to what we would term in today’s jargon a respect for pluralism and religious diversity, is to practice a kind of intellectual violence against Islam. Islamic militant radicals who insist that the Qur’an calls for relentless warfare against non-Muslims without just cause or provocation merely to propagate Islam and certain Western opinion-makers who unthinkingly accept and report their rhetoric as authentically Islamic are both doing history a great disservice. Radical Islamist fringe groups with their desperate cult of martyrdom are overreacting to current political contingencies and not obeying any scriptural imperative. It is worthy of note that the Qur’an does not even have a word for martyr; the word “*shahid*,” now commonly understood to mean “a martyr,” refers only to an eye-witness or a legal witness in Qur’anic usage. Only in later extra-Qur’anic tradition, as a result of extraneous influence, did the term “*shahid*” come to mean bearing witness for the faith, particularly by laying down one’s life, much like the Greek-derived English word “martyr.”



The question thus remains: if there is much in the history of Muslims that may be understood to be consonant with the objectives of civil society, how and why did it go awry? Zeal for political power and corruption on the part of many ruling elites throughout history, and debilitating encounters with Western colonialism and secular modernity in recent times are prominent among the constellation of reasons advanced to explain this current state of affairs. Another possible, and partly facetious, response is to say that we are only 1400-plus years into Islamic history; it took a fractious Christian Europe almost two thousand years, after all, to develop civil society in the modern sense. By this reckoning, the Islamic world still has another half a millennium to go.

But clearly time is not on its side. There has in fact never been a better time for collective introspection and moral housecleaning. A contrite Christian Europe after the

debacle of the Holocaust was forced to question some of its interpretive traditions and their moral and social consequences. After the atrocities of September 11, the virulently militant underbelly of political Islam can and should be eviscerated by debunking the interpretive strand that, in clear violation of the most basic precepts of Islam, fosters the glorification of violence and self-immolation. In its stead, reflective Muslims must engage in a process of recovery and re-valorization of genuine Islamic core values, such as consultative

government, religious tolerance, respect for pluralism and peaceful coexistence with diverse peoples, that are understood by them to undergird the best of their tradition. The compatibility of these core values with those of civil society imparts both urgency and legitimacy to this process.

Asma Afsaruddin is Assistant Professor of Classics at Notre Dame and a Fellow of the Kroc Institute. Her scholarly research focuses on the early religious and political history of Islam, Qur’an and hadith studies, and classical and modern Arabic literature. She recently published *Excellence and Precedence: Medieval Islamic Discourse on Legitimate Leadership* (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 2002). This article is adapted from “Recovering the Core Values of Islam,” published in *Muslim Democrat*, vol.4, no. 1, January 2002, p. 8.

Ethics and Law in a New Type of War

G E O R G E A . L O P E Z

Just two days after the horrific September 11, 2001 attacks, Thomas Friedman of the *New York Times* noted that the task ahead for an America faced with a new type of war would be “to fight the terrorists as if there were no rules, and preserve our open society as if there were no terrorists.”

What moral and legal rules have applied in this new type of war? Immediately after September 11, the prevailing U.S. government approach to the rules pertaining to these concerns was to claim that the unprecedented nature and form of the attacks warranted unprecedented means in response. In short, new threats and actions by a new enemy demand new rules. At the same time, as these rules take form and are implemented, they will continue to be adapted to the unique threat and war, or so suggested the Bush administration.

Prisoners

The designation of those captured in the fighting — and then the nature of their internment — has been a matter of substantial controversy. Human Rights Watch has led the way in taking the U.S. government to task regarding the intentionally ambiguous legal status of those captured in Afghanistan. The administration’s characterization of those held has varied from “the enemy” to “illegal combatants” to “detainees.” Even as Washington consistently resists calling these people “prisoners of war,” lest our ability to garner intelligence from them about al Qaeda be compromised, two ironies have developed.

First, despite protests that these detainees were not prisoners of war, the evidence about prisoner treatment shows the United States to be in virtual compliance with the Geneva Conventions, save on prisoner access to legal counsel. What appears to hold the United States back from articulating its full compliance is the fear of entrapment by such criteria if unexpected developments occur later in the war. This hesitancy has led to a second and

most intriguing development. The U.S. government group most concerned about such ambivalence regarding Geneva standards has been the U.S. military, who do not want a dangerous precedent set for their own treatment in some future conflict.

Military Tribunals

For all the ambiguity of definition and rules for dealing with those captured in Afghanistan, the Bush administration staked out very clear ground early in the conflict regarding the justice component of the new war. Those who would be brought to trial either for involvement in 9-11 or as members of al Qaeda, would be tried in new military tribunals. The administration’s declaration quickly sparked a counter argument for the utility and relevance of using the criminal court system to try terrorists. This debate about tribunals dominated discussion on National Public Radio and played substantially in other areas of the press. The strong critique of the administration position led it to an evolving re-assessment.

By January 2002 and with the Taliban toppled, the Bush administration was talking openly about modifications that would occur should military tribunals be needed. Then without much political fanfare, the indictment, arraignment, and pretrial procedures for the suspected twentieth hijacker of September 11, Benjamin Moussaoui, proceeded through the existing U.S. federal court system in Virginia. And John Walker Lindh, whom so many believed would come before a tribunal, was handed over to the U.S. Justice Department and has since been convicted and sentenced — all within the normal criminal justice

system. This “learn as we go” approach regarding courts and legal proceedings for the crimes of September 11 does appear more democratized. But the results come less from administration leadership and conceptualization than from the steadfast pressure of the broader civil society.

Civilian Casualties

The U.S. approach to dealing with the death of Afghan civilians deserves closer scrutiny. As President Bush stated in his address to the General Assembly in November 2001, firmly embedded in the U.S. heritage of political and moral concerns is the rule to limit the death of civilian nationals. Any fair assessment would conclude that in a number of ways, the first phase of the war was demonstrably more humane — certainly in design, and in much of its execution — than any previous U.S. war-waging enterprise. The commitment to limit loss of civilian life during the massive bombing that opened the U.S. military campaign in October was so strong that pilots often checked with command headquarters in Florida to obtain up-to-date intelligence for certain targets. This practice led some political figures and news analysts to suggest that such efforts were overly scrupulous and may have permitted key members of the enemy to escape.

However admirable this behavior was during the early phases of the war, as conditions began to shift on the ground, so too have the rules that apply to Afghan civilian casualties. Since the installation of the interim government, there have been more civilian casualties from U.S. attacks than during the war to overthrow the Taliban. Frustrated by the continued elusiveness of the very top leadership of both the Taliban and al Qaeda, and still engaged in various actions of a police nature against pockets of resistance, the Pentagon has now selected new targets, many located in more populous areas. In addition, there have been a few serious mistakes in targeting — such as the wedding fiasco — which have fueled further concern about slipping down a slope fraught with increased civilian casualties.

Particularly difficult to understand is the obstinacy of Pentagon officials to discuss these developments. Details about new missions of ground troops and Special Forces are hushed. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld



The administration's characterization of prisoners held at Guantanamo Bay has varied from “the enemy,” to “illegal combatants,” to “detainees.”

AP/Wide World Photos

discusses civilian casualties only in response to direct questions about them. Since mid-December these “answers” have reiterated two themes: the responsibility for civilian casualties

rests squarely with the Taliban and al Qaeda as they seek to hide among the general population; and the Pentagon is not going to keep track of civilian casualties or talk about them. The implication is that no one is counting the dead because the numbers do not matter.

This may be the area of greatest slippage in the law and ethics of fighting the new war. Such a situation does not bode well for a democracy now on the edge of war with Iraq.

Conclusion

In a style that can only be labeled “making the rules as we go along,” the U.S. administration's approaches to the new war on terrorism, from its inception to its current police-style actions, have been modified — sometimes by changing circumstances, sometimes by the heat of criticism or the light of open discussion within the wider body politic. But some areas of the war on terrorism have not evolved so productively. Despite the early U.S. commitment to limit collateral damage, under the interim Afghan government, U.S. forces are killing more civilians than during the air and ground war. Continuing drama and legal ambiguities dominate the holding and interrogation of the diverse fighters and former Taliban operatives who are prisoners of the United States. Only in the area of military tribunals have the wider civil society and the media had an impact on deciding which rules apply to this new war.

This may give us some cause for celebrating the virtues of democracy. But the fact that placing the war more centrally within the standards of Western law and ethics must be achieved from the bottom up, rather than through administration leadership, continues to spark grave concern among peace and human rights groups.

George A. Lopez is Director of Policy Studies and Senior Fellow at the Kroc Institute. His research focuses on economic sanctions and repression. Several recent publications by Lopez are featured on the Kroc Institute's webpage. “Alternatives to War with Iraq: Kroc Institute Resources on Policy and Ethics,” <www.nd.edu/~krocinst/media/iraq.html>.

Reducing the Nuclear Threat in South Asia

A D M I R A L (R E T .) R A M U R A M D A S

September 11, October 1, and December 13 are all significant dates in recent history. While the first ended in the war against terrorism in Afghanistan by the international coalition led by the United States, the latter two events almost resulted in a war between India and Pakistan.

The terrorist attacks on the United States and India have brought these two nations closer together in addressing the common enemy of terrorism. India had been highlighting the dangers of terrorism to the international community since the early nineties, and had also identified its main source to be located in Pakistan and Afghanistan. Such warnings fell on deaf ears, and only the attacks of September 11 made the world community fully appreciate the scope of the threat.

At the same time, the United States is deeply indebted to Pakistan for General Musharraf's courageous stand against the Taliban and the use of bases in Pakistan for its operations. Of course, greater U.S. presence in Central and South Asia as a sequel to the "war against terror" is not a positive development in terms of regional stability and peace. There are indications that U.S. presence in this region will be of a long duration, which could trigger the development of a second Cold War — with the United States and the West on one side, and China, Russia and India on the other.

Both India and Pakistan belong to the international coalition against terrorism — both signed the UN Security Council Resolutions 1368 and 1373 condemning the attacks of September 11 and reaffirmed their commitment to work together to eliminate the threat of terrorism. The attacks on India of October 1 and December 13 thus infuriated India. India mounted a huge diplomatic offensive against Pakistan to cease cross-border terrorism and return the twenty terrorists that India claimed were on its wanted list.

This resulted in an eyeball to eyeball confrontation involving nearly a million armed forces of the two countries along their common border. Compounding the danger, both sides are capable of delivering nuclear weapons, yet have only rudimentary command, control, communication and intelligence systems. The exchange time for a missile flight between the two countries is on the order of 2-3 minutes, which does not leave much time for understanding, analyzing, and reacting to perceived attacks.

Domestic compulsions both in India and Pakistan gave rise to much of the rhetoric exchanged between the two countries. In the case of Pakistan, its rhetoric helped manage its radical turn against the Taliban and fundamentalist Islamic groups, which Pakistan and the United States helped to create during the Cold War. In India, the public rhetoric was largely determined by the impending elections to the state assemblies in four states, including the largest, Uttar Pradesh.

General Musharraf's courageous address of January 12, 2002 included the banning of two groups identified by India as responsible for attacks on its democratic institutions. The General's plan to contain fundamentalism and terrorism within Pakistan and also to stop their implementation of terrorist activities outside Pakistan, including in Jammu and Kashmir, was well received in both government and civil society circles in India and elsewhere. However, the Government of India still maintains that these commitments by General Musharraf have not been translated into action on the ground and therefore the dialogue is not a possibility at present.

General Musharraf followed this up with an offer to enter into a 'no-war' pact with India, and to discuss the de-nuclearization of South Asia. Unfortunately, this offer to discuss nuclear matters has also been rejected by India. India's test of the Agni II solid-fueled rocket in January 2002 was an inadvisable and unfortunate complication.

Despite all this apparent hostility between the two countries at official levels, peoples' groups and peace coalitions on both sides of the border made substantial efforts with their respective governments to avoid war and to resume a dialogue. Diplomatic interventions at the highest levels from various countries, such as those by U.S. Secretary of State Colin Powell, supplemented these ongoing efforts by civil society groups to ensure restraint. The visit to the United States by General Musharraf in February reaffirmed the lowering of tensions.

As these events make clear, both India and Pakistan must do everything possible to return to normalcy. Despite three well-meant agreements between the two countries — namely, the Tashkent Declaration of 1965; the Simla Agreement of 1972; and the Lahore Declaration of 1998, wherein both countries had agreed to settle all their outstanding issues only by peaceful means — they failed to do so. This has been mainly due to the absence of a neutral monitoring and implementation authority, which should now be put in place to ensure that the next agreement, whenever it materializes, does not meet the same fate as those before it. Perhaps a few countries within the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) could perform this role.

In addition, for any nuclear disarmament to happen in South Asia, the major nuclear powers must also participate on an equal basis. As a starting point for such a process, I suggest that all nuclear weapons states should "de-alert" their weapons under the auspices of an international agency. De-alerting would require that the warheads be physically separated from the missile or other vector for delivering the warhead. Since this process would be under international supervision, no weapon could ever be used accidentally — or even intentionally — outside the purview of this international monitoring agency.

Unfortunately, recent steps taken by the five nuclear weapon states, and the United States in particular, have undercut the credibility of their calls for India and Pakistan to refrain from developing and deploying nuclear weapons. The decision by the Bush administration to unilaterally withdraw from the Anti-ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty is not helpful, nor are the administration's plans for the possible use of nuclear weapons against non-nuclear weapon states, its research and development of new nuclear weapons, and the resumption of nuclear testing, all advanced recently in the U.S. Nuclear Posture Review. These decisions are likely to influence other countries' perceptions of the military utility of nuclear weapons and damage international and regional efforts toward nonproliferation and disarmament.

It is time, therefore, that the over 180 non-nuclear signatories to the Non-proliferation Treaty (NPT) demand that the United States, along with the remaining four nuclear weapon states, demonstrate their commitment to the legal obligations of complete and general disarmament under this treaty. The non-nuclear signatories also need to present a united opposition to nuclear weapon programs in India and Pakistan. The non-nuclear weapon states in South Asia — Nepal, Sri Lanka, Bangladesh and Bhutan — must especially unite in opposition to plans by India and Pakistan to develop and deploy nuclear weapons in the region. The use of these weapons by either India or Pakistan would have impacts beyond the boundaries of these nations and would threaten the survival of them all.

Admiral (ret.) Ramu Ramdas is former Chief of the Indian Navy. He and his wife, Lalita, are both active in international peace efforts, and they serve as national leaders of India's Coalition for Nuclear Disarmament and Peace. They presented a joint lecture at the Kroc Institute on February 28, 2002.



| recent highlights |

In Multiple Voices

Conference explores Islamic peacebuilding after September 11

University of Notre Dame. The conference, entitled *In Multiple Voices: Challenges and Opportunities for Islamic Peacebuilding After September 11*, explored the heterogeneity within the house of Islam by surveying and analyzing the disparate reactions to the events of September 11. Participants also identified the renewed opportunities for peacebuilding and conflict transformation available within the Islamic tradition.

The conference was the culmination of the PRCP program for the 2001-02 academic year. Each of the PRCP's four Rockefeller Visiting Fellows, seven Notre Dame faculty and seven invited scholars presented papers at the conference. Participants addressed various aspects of Islamic peacebuilding and presented case studies of local Muslim responses to the events of September 11 in conflict areas such as Palestine, Chechnya, Dagestan, Pakistan, Kashmir and the Philippines.

In his keynote address, UCLA Professor of Islamic Law Khalid Abou El-Fadl called on Muslims to take up the invitation of the Qur'an to engage in "a collective enterprise of goodness" with non-Muslim societies that is built on a desire for respect rather than fear. Louay Safi, President of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists (AMSS), in a paper entitled "Islam's Jihad for Peace," argued that it is "very crucial to expose the confusion of those who insist that jihad is a holy war and who place doubts on Islam's ability to support global peace."

The Kroc Institute's Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP) convened its first major conference on April 12-13, 2002 at the

University of Notre Dame. According to Safi, the broader Qur'anic concept of jihad is "consistent with world peace."

In one of the more provocative papers, which brought into sharp relief some of the most contentious issues in the study of contemporary Islam, Rockefeller Visiting Fellow Thomas Scheffler argued that contrary to current academic opinion, "the jihadi ideology developed by Bin Laden and his lieutenants is neither apocalyptic, fringe or apolitical." He furthermore suggested that Bin Laden's popularity is not rooted in "apocalyptic terrorism," but, on the contrary, "in its appeal to well-established innerworldly eschatological thought in orthodox Sunni mainstream Islam." Scheffler's conclusion was that the reluctance of mainstream Islamic theology to "accept the loss of temporal power and/or to cultivate other, spiritual, sources of power" is a major obstacle in the way of sustainable Islamic peacebuilding.

In her response, Asma Afsaruddin, Assistant Professor in the Department of Classics at Notre Dame, argued that "many Muslims share the extremist's resentment over specific American foreign policy measures that result in unqualified support for Israeli occupation and repression of the Palestinian people." However, she contended, the vast majority of Muslims have not resorted to terror to express their sorrow and outrage in these cases. "To state that there is no difference between those who espouse and use terror and those who do not and would not condone its usage to redress these injustices is a gravely flawed conclusion."

Graham Fuller, former vice chairman of the National

Intelligence Council at the CIA, called for a shift and re-orientation of American foreign policy in the Middle East in order to provide an antidote to Islamic extremism. He observed that the war on terrorism has three objectives: to punish those who have committed or supported



Khalid Abou el Fadl (left) discusses Islamic peacebuilding with Graham Fuller (center) and other conference participants.



Rockefeller Fellow Mohammed Abu-Nimer examines Palestinian responses to September 11 as Anna Zelkina (left) and Rockefeller Fellow Tamara Sivertseva listen.

terrorism, to deter future acts of terror, and to address the socio-economic environment which leads to acceptance of terrorism. While U.S. policy will likely succeed in achieving its punitive goals, and may have some success at deterrence, virtually no attention is being given to addressing the root causes of terrorism. Thus, “the net affect may be to exacerbate problems in the long term,” he concluded.

The PRCP Co-ordinator, A. Rashied Omar, presented a paper on interreligious peacebuilding which argued that the dramatic events of the past year have ironically created renewed opportunities for inter-religious solidarity in the United States. He identified a number of critical challenges, which inter-religious activists need to face in order to transform this newfound interest and energy into a sustainable movement for peace. “The inter-religious movement in the United States has contributed to the difficult process of healing in the post September 11 period. However, it needs to become a grassroots movement and to find intrinsic sources of

religious inspiration in order to make a difference to relations within the broader society” he said.

The success of this inaugural PRCP conference will no doubt provide a useful model for future events. The PRCP plans to publish the revised papers presented at the conference. According to Kroc Institute Director Scott Appleby, who will edit the volume, “The volume will provide a state-of-the-art discussion of the themes addressed in the conference. Our primary audience is the educated general public.”

The success of this inaugural PRCP conference will no doubt provide a useful model for future events.

Conference Program

Keynote Address

A Just Peace and its Requirements: The Classical Sources of Islam
Khaled Abou El Fadl

“Regional” Responses to September 11 (Part 1)

Palestine: Mohammed Abu-Nimer
Chechnya: Anna Zelkina
Daghestan: Tamara Sivertseva
Response: Patrick Gaffney

“Regional” Responses to September 11 (Part 2)

Pakistan: Muqtedar Khan
Kashmir: Cynthia Mahmood
Philippines: Amina Rasul-Bernardo
Response: Daniel Philpott

Changing Views of Violence with-in Islam

Islam’s Jihad for Just Peace: Transcending the Classical Notion of Jihad
Louay Safi

Apocalypticism, Innerworldly Eschatology, and Islamic Extremism
Thomas Scheffler

Sufi Conceptions of Jihad
Hakan Yavuz

Response: Asma Afsaruddin

Islamic Resources and Opportunities for Peacebuilding
Muslim Women and Peacebuilding
Azza Karam

Inter-religious Solidarity and Peacebuilding: The Case of Muslims in South Africa
A. Rashied Omar

Islamic Resources for Peacebuilding
Mohammed Abu-Nimer

Response: John Paul Lederach

Closing Address

Foundations and Implications of the U.S. War on Terrorism
Graham Fuller

Technology as a Tool for Justice and Peace

Physicist Freeman J. Dyson Delivers 2002 Hesburgh Lectures

Although the pursuit of science and technology is often at odds with the pursuit of social justice, theoretical physicist Freeman J. Dyson of the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton believes that scientists can collaborate productively with social justice advocates for the sake of the world's poor.

A native of England who emigrated to the United States in 1951, Professor Dyson delivered the eighth annual Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C. Lectures on Ethics and Public Policy, sponsored by the Kroc Institute, on April 9-10, 2002. That he stands in a minority regarding the humanitarian potential of science and technology does not concern the 79-year-old Dyson, now Professor Emeritus of the same institute where Albert Einstein worked.

"I hold it to be ethically unacceptable to tolerate the gross inequalities that prevail in the world today between rich and poor countries," Dyson told a crowd in the Hesburgh Center Auditorium. "And I hold it to be intellectually unacceptable to abandon scientific knowledge and the technological power that scientific knowledge brings."

Dyson is the author of many books which have appealed to both scholarly and popular audiences. *Disturbing the Universe* (1979) is his scientific autobiography while *Weapons and Hope* (1984) received the National Book Critics Circle Award for general non-fiction. His global justice orientation earned him the Templeton Prize for Progress in Religion in 2000.

At Notre Dame, Professor Dyson gave two lectures: "Eight Tales for Technophiles: Successes and Failures in Using Technology to Help the Poor" and "The World Economic Forum Debates: The Future of Science and Technology."

Dyson said that he preferred to state the case for technology's humanitarian potential with case histories — not scientific theories. He shared case histories of eight modern technological projects to alleviate poverty. Some were success stories, but several failed. The benefits of some — like the emerging green revolution — must still be assessed.

SELF, the Solar Electric Light Fund, a private foundation in Washington, D.C., supplies solar panels to generate electricity from sunlight. Small, inexpensive solar panel systems generate enough electricity in homes to run fluorescent lights, a radio, phone and a television. Children read and study more. Adults can lengthen their work-day and add to family income by producing marketable



Freeman Dyson with Fr. Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C.

products. In rural schools, larger solar collectors brought not only electric light into classrooms, but also computers, satellite links and the internet.

Professor Dyson also described the contribution of the Grameen Bank, the brainchild of economist Mohammed Yunus of Bangladesh. Developing a concept of micro-credit banking, Yunus made small loans to village women for income-generating projects such as cellular phones. These women sold phone service by the minute and made profits.

But well-intentioned attempts to raise living standards through technology can fail just as dramatically, Dyson insisted.

He spoke about the massive, tragic failure of Mao Tse Tung's "Great Leap Forward" in China in the late 1950s. Mao attempted to transplant industrial production to China's villages in order to shift wealth from the cities. Agricultural output plunged; millions of peasants starved.

In this third millennium, according to Dyson, the time has come for science and technology to meet the needs of the underdeveloped communities of the world. "Both our ethical and intellectual ideals must be sustained if we are to fulfill our obligations as stewards of a vulnerable planet."

A Legacy of Dialogue

Conference explores theological legacy of John Howard Yoder

The legacy of John Howard Yoder can be found not only in his writings; he also had a knack for creating fora for intellectually-rich dialogue on issues involving deep personal values.

Many of these initiatives continue to the present day. A Kroc-ROTC discussion group that he helped to establish at Notre Dame continues to meet regularly during the academic year to discuss issues of ethics and the military. At Notre Dame's Tantur Ecumenical Institute, Yoder played a role in promoting inter-religious dialogue. David Burrell, Professor of Theology and Philosophy and director of the study abroad program at Tantur, describes Tantur as "Father Hesburgh on the outside, and John Howard Yoder on the inside."

Yoder also made substantial contributions to the development of the "Believer's Church Conferences." The term "Believer's Church" was coined by Max Weber to emphasize the voluntary character of several radical Protestant groups, and the term gained currency in the literature by and about these groups. The conferences draw together theologians, ministers, and lay people, predominantly from Mennonite, Brethren, and Quaker traditions, and observers from other denominations, to discuss issues at the intersection of theology and practice. Yoder helped



John Paul Lederach reflected on the influence of John Howard Yoder on his approach to peacebuilding.

organized the first conference in 1967 and co-convened several subsequent conferences with D. F. Durnbaugh.

It was thus a fitting tribute that the fourteenth conference, held at the University of Notre Dame on March 7-9, 2002, addressed the theme "Assessing the Theological Legacy of John Howard Yoder." The conference, which attracted

more than 300 participants, was co-sponsored by several academic institutions with which Yoder had been affiliated: the Institute for Mennonite Studies at Associated Mennonite Biblical Seminary (AMBS), Goshen College, and the Kroc Institute and Theology Department at Notre Dame.

Mark Thiessen Nation of the London Mennonite Center opened the conference with a keynote address exploring Yoder as Mennonite, Evangelical, and Catholic. John Paul Lederach, Professor of International Peacebuilding at the Kroc Institute, described the influence of Yoder on his own approach to peacebuilding, noting how Yoder's expansive view of history as moving toward reconciliation has provided a basis for hope in the midst of seemingly intractable conflicts. David Burrell emphasized Yoder's communal model of doing theology as a corporate endeavor of "faith on the way."

In addition to plenary sessions, the conference featured presentations by more than 30 participants. Topics ranged from Yoder's views of the Nicene Council and his dismissal of Constantinianism to the influence of his views on Protestant ethics and contemporary ecumenism.

During a closing plenary session, panelists noted several important themes which emerged at the conference. Gayle Gerber Koontz, Professor of Theology and Ethics at AMBS, observed that North American Mennonites can benefit from a stronger dialogue between pietism and evangelicalism. Michael Baxter, Assistant Professor of Theology at Notre Dame, highlighted the role Yoder played in identifying resources for peace in the Catholic tradition and at Notre Dame. "John pointed out things that were there that we didn't see," Baxter said, referring to Yoder's observation that the relics of Saint Marcellus, a third century centurion beheaded for refusing to serve in the Roman army, can be found beneath the altar at Notre Dame's Basilica.

Stanley Hauerwas, Professor of Theology at Duke University and a former colleague of Yoder, observed in his concluding comments that an important achievement of the conference was to put Yoder's ideas into dialogue with the classical tradition — including Augustine, Niebuhr, and others. "This is the start of some important work that still needs to be done," he said.

Partners in Peacebuilding

CRS Workers from 25 Nations Study Peacebuilding at Second SIP

Thirty-five staff members and partners from Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in 25 different nations attended the 2002 Summer Institute in Peacebuilding, held from June 23 to July 4 at the Kroc Institute.

SIP was founded and piloted in 2001 to strengthen peacebuilding skills of Catholic Relief Services (CRS) personnel who work in developing regions that are frequently conflict zones. At the institute, participants explore crucial issues such as the role of religion in conflict and peacebuilding, and strategies for delivering aid in conflict situations. Typically, CRS staff members provide relief in emergency situations and work to break the cycle of poverty through initiatives such as community banks, health education and clean water projects. This year's SIP participants came from Madagascar, Cameroon, Sudan, Rwanda, Kenya, Pakistan, India, East Timor, Indonesia, Bosnia, Yugoslavia, Ecuador, Nicaragua and Colombia. The participants included country representatives, program managers and technical advisors for CRS, which now has 2,800 employees worldwide. Also attending were two Catholic church officials from Haiti.

The summer institute was designed with three basic goals in mind. SIP trains participants in conflict resolution, deepens their understanding of Catholic social teaching and alerts them to new issues in economic development.

The first seven days of the 2002 institute focused on peacebuilding concepts and skills. John Paul Lederach, Professor of International Peacebuilding at the Kroc Institute, presented the fundamental framework and principles of peacebuilding. He described peacebuilding tools and their use in various settings. Using case studies and anecdotes about peacebuilding, Lederach also employed a variety of engaging, interactive exercises to help participants experience the impact of reconciliation methodologies and tools. Lederach also led a workshop on creative arts as a peacebuilding tool.

Four shorter half-day presentations about the religious dimensions of peacebuilding complemented Lederach's 5-day "core course." Andrea Bartoli of the Community of St. Egidio, an international Catholic community, talked about his community's peacebuilding intervention in Mozambique in the early 1990s. Kroc Fellow Todd Whitmore, Associate Professor of Theology at Notre

Dame, discussed Just War Theory and Catholic Social Teaching. Kroc Institute Director Scott Appleby explored religion as an inspiration for both violence and peace. Rashied Omar, Coordinator for Kroc's RIREC and PRCP programs, discussed peacebuilding as an inter-religious effort. A popular new feature at the 2002 SIP was the "Peacebuilding Marketplace," which allowed participants to trade peacebuilding ideas, lessons and tools.

During the last two days of the institute, participants exam-

ined peacebuilding programs within CRS. Participants also critiqued and reviewed a draft document entitled "CRS Approach to Peacebuilding: Guidelines for CRS Staffers and Partners," which is being developed to help guide future CRS peacebuilding efforts.

SIP is a joint effort of the Kroc Institute and CRS, an agency founded by the American Catholic Bishops in 1943 to resettle European refugees. SIP was co-directed again this year by Jaco Cilliers, CRS Technical Advisor for Peacebuilding, and George Lopez, the Kroc Institute's Director of Policy Studies.

After just two summers, the program has proven to be mutually beneficial for CRS and the Kroc Institute. The SIP provides opportunities for CRS workers to develop peacebuilding skills and enlarge their global support network, while also giving Kroc Institute faculty and staff a deeper understanding of peacebuilding issues emerging in the field.



Sinisa Milatovic (Yugoslavia) and Boris Peterlin (Croatia) shared reflections on CRS projects in the Balkans.

Catholic Peacebuilding Network

New Working Group Studies the Roots and Potential of Catholic Peacebuilding

A new working group, made up of more than 30 practitioners and scholars from several disciplines, is examining religious peacebuilding through a Catholic lens. The group intends to take inventory of the rich (and often underdeveloped) resources of Catholicism for peacebuilding, including the ubiquitous presence of local churches and Catholic relief, development and social justice agencies in conflict settings.

Through this “mapping” exercise, the group seeks to develop greater understanding, articulation, self-awareness — and, eventually, collaboration — among the diverse Catholic groups and agencies already engaged in work for peace and justice. This would be a first step toward enlarging the ranks of “Catholic peacebuilders” and promoting deeper collaboration with other religious and secular peacebuilding groups. At a fall meeting of the working group held at Maryknoll Mission Center in Ossining, New York, the group decided to call itself the Catholic Peacebuilding Network.

The group is currently composed of representatives from the Kroc Institute, the United States Institute of Peace, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, Maryknoll Research Center, Catholic Relief Services, the Community of Sant’Egidio, Catholic University of America, Pax Christi, *America* magazine, Catholic Charities, and the Catholic Theological Union, Chicago.

Kroc Institute director Scott Appleby hopes the group will nurture a fresh examination of the peace tradition

within Catholicism and thereby prepare Christian peacemakers for effective engagement with the new challenges arising from the present distinctive historical moment of conflict and global unrest. He particularly welcomes the opportunity to explore these issues with participants involved in religious peacebuilding on the ground.

“My own scholarship and that of several colleagues here at the Institute builds upon peacebuilding as a grass roots phenomenon,” Appleby said. “Every society has a religious dimension, with people of faith who can be resources for community building and nonviolent conflict resolution.”

Todd Whitmore, Associate Professor of Theology at Notre Dame, thinks the group will generate new perspectives on the relevance of Catholic teaching to contemporary issues. Whitmore, who specializes in moral theology, particularly social ethics, is the director of Notre Dame’s Program in Catholic Social Tradition.

Today, Whitmore says, Catholicism requires a more highly developed and nuanced vision of peace. Peace is not simply the absence of war. Peace, he says, is linked to the common good. “It seeks a certain quality of relationship between persons or between nations.” From a Catholic perspective, Whitmore contends, the violent attacks of September 11, 2001 exposed underlying global inequities which need to be addressed.

John Paul Lederach, Professor of International Peacebuilding at the Kroc Institute, and a Mennonite member of the working group, sees the Catholic Church as a significant untapped resource for peacebuilding around the globe. Based on his many years of experience in peacebuilding, Lederach maintains that the Catholic Church is uniquely positioned as a transnational actor to serve as a locus for peacebuilding. Since the Church functions on every level of society in many different regions around the world, it fosters cross-cutting ties and relationships critical to peacebuilding.

Prior to the fall 2002 meeting at Maryknoll, the group gathered, for the first time, in conjunction with a Notre Dame conference on “The New ‘New Things’: Catholic Social Teaching and the Twenty-First Century.” Held on April 4-6, the conference was organized by the Program on Catholic Social Teaching and was cosponsored by the Kroc Institute, the Kellogg Institute, and the Henkels Visiting Scholars Series. Talks on Catholic peacebuilding were offered as joint sessions of the conference on Friday, April 4.



Tom Bamat (left), Executive Director of Maryknoll’s Center for Mission Research and Study, joined panelists Jaco Cilliers (center) from Catholic Relief Services, and John Paul Lederach from the Kroc Institute in a discussion of Catholic experiences in peacebuilding.

student and alumni activities

Take Ten

Notre Dame Students Take Peacebuilding Program to South Bend Schools

For almost three years, Kroc Institute undergraduate and graduate students have made their own efforts to address the problem of violence in the schools. In 2001-02, about 50 Notre Dame students — many of whom were students at the Institute — volunteered with “Take Ten” an innovative peacebuilding program for students in grades 4 through 6.

In South Bend schools, program volunteers worked weekly with children who become Take Ten’s “peace ambassadors” in their own schools. Take Ten ambassadors shared lessons about peacemaking through lunch-hour skits, posters and announcements. They are encouraged to creatively expand on Take Ten principles or guidelines, such as “Weapons have no place in solving conflicts in school,” or “School should be a violence-free zone,” or “No one has the right to hurt someone or destroy something because of the way he or she feels.”

Take Ten was introduced in South Bend by Jay Caponigro, Director of the Robinson Community Learning Center, a project of Notre Dame’s Center for Social Concerns. Caponigro first observed the program in Chicago and felt that every school could use it. “In one school, violence might be swearing and name-calling; in another, it’s punching,” he explained.

Jim Kapsa, principal of 700 students at Darden Elementary School in South Bend, agreed that school violence is a growing concern. “One question that parents ask when I meet them is ‘How safe is your school?’” he said. Both students and parents are afraid of gangs and shootings. But, Kapsa says, there are fewer violent incidents since Take Ten came to Darden two years ago.

Sister Dian Majsterek, principal of 103 students at St. Adalbert School, also saw improvement. “I do lunchroom duty in the cafeteria,” she said.

“Students would come and say: ‘he threw this or that’ or ‘she’s calling me this or that.’ Now, I just remind them of the Take Ten motto: “Talk It Out, Work It Out, Walk It Out.”

Notre Dame freshman Bill Coffey was so impressed with the program at Muessel School that he volunteered to be Take Ten’s student coordinator in 2002-03. Coffey thought that one of Take Ten’s simulations on verbal violence and the value of dialogue was particularly effective.

“We had two kids stand back to back. One was verbally abusive while the other remained silent.” Coffey said. “Victims” felt threatened, fearful or even guilty, Coffey recalled. Later, kids faced each other and shared their feelings. Dialogue and mutual respect emerged where one might have expected name-calling or anger.

Notre Dame senior Beth Krause was Take Ten’s student coordinator for 2001-2002. Though Peace Studies was her minor, Krause knew it would be difficult to teach nonviolence to kids who sometimes faced violence at school, home or in their neighborhoods. “I soon found that I was learning along with students that nonviolence is a viable means to address conflict and a better way to live life,” she wrote in a term-paper about Take Ten.

During the 2002-2003 school year, South Bend’s Take Ten program will have a new Project Director. Kim Overdyck, a 2002 M.A. graduate of the Kroc Institute, would like to see Take Ten in every South Bend school.

But Overdyck also understands that peace education takes time.

“I want children to have an alternative to violence when faced with a conflict, and I believe that Take Ten is that alternative,” commented Overdyck. “We need to stop the cycle of violence in our society, and the best place to start is with our children. Children need to know that the bravest action is a non-violent action.”



Notre Dame students and Take Ten peace ambassadors build relationships during an informal gathering. (Photo by John Kleiderer)

Be the Change

Student Conference emphasizes Gandhian theme

Over 110 undergraduates from the United States and Canada gathered March 22-23 at the Hesburgh Center at Notre Dame to talk about peace topics presented by peers from 14 colleges or universities.

This year's conference theme — "Be the Change" — was taken from the writings of Mahatma Gandhi: "Be the change you want to see in the world." The '02 conference featured fourteen workshops on such topics as security issues, Islam and inter-religious dialogue, religious foundations of peace, teaching peace in elementary schools, and the media's role in reporting peace issues.

The keynote speech and conference workshop were delivered by former Washington Post columnist and veteran peace educator Colman McCarthy. McCarthy, the director of the Center for Teaching Peace in Washington, D.C., observed that peacemaking requires commitment, prayer, adherence to non-violence and service — with an emphasis on prayer and service. "Experiential knowledge is crucial for peacemakers," he said. McCarthy

himself jumped feet first into peace education in 1982. He approached a public high school in Washington, D.C. and offered to teach peace studies when asked to teach journalism. Since then, McCarthy, whose latest book is *I'd Rather Teach Peace* (Orbis 2002), has taught peace studies at Georgetown, American University, the University of Maryland and in a juvenile prison.



In a workshop on "Religious Foundations of Peace," four undergraduates spoke about witnessing inter-religious efforts for peace. Notre Dame senior Kate Diaz talked about attending the January 24, 2002 inter-religious gathering called in Rome by Pope John Paul II. Buddhists, Sikhs, Muslims, Jews, Catholics, Protestants, Orthodox and even Voodoo practitioners went to Rome for dialogue and prayer. The pope invited them all to travel by train to an all-night prayer vigil for peace in Assisi, the home of St. Francis.

"What I saw," recalled Diaz, "is that God is the prime wellspring of peace. Prayer can unleash new energies for peace."

In a workshop on Islam and Inter-Religious Dialogue, one presenter, Rashied Omar, an Imam from South Africa and the Coordinator for Kroc Institute research programs on religion and ethnic conflict, talked about how inter-religious dialogue has a new priority in the aftermath of September 11. This new emphasis on inter-religious dialogue has made it easier to dispel negative stereotypes about Islam and Muslims, Omar said.

"There are a number of diverse articulations and understandings of Islam," he said. However, the foundations of religious tolerance are found in the authentic sources of Islam — the Qur'an and the hadith (the traditions of the Prophet Muhammad). "If your Lord had so desired, all the people on the earth would surely have come to believe, all of them; do you then think that you could compel people to believe." (Qur'an, 10:99).



Colman McCarthy with Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.

Alumni News

Lynne Woehrlé ('88), from the United States, has been appointed Assistant Professor of Sociology at Mount Mary College in Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Rosette Muzigo-Morrison ('93), from Uganda, is the longest-serving legal officer with the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda (ICTR), having worked with the ICTR in The Hague, Arusha, Tanzania and Rwanda. She is currently serving in the Appeals Chamber Support Unit of the ICTR in The Hague. She visited Notre Dame in August 2002 to share her experiences with Kroc Institute faculty and new graduate students.

Nina Balmaceda ('96), from Peru, is working for a human rights NGO, Institute for Legal Defense, in Lima and teaching at the university.

Rohan Gunaratna ('96), from Sri Lanka, research fellow at the Centre for the Study of Terrorism and Political Violence, University of St. Andrews, Scotland, published *Inside Al Qaeda: Global Network of Terror*, a comprehensive analysis of the structure and development of the organization. When the book was published in June, Rohan conducted over 50 interviews and media appearances. The book was featured in televised interviews on the *CBS Evening News*, ABC's *Nightline*, and CNN, and in articles in *Newsweek*, *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, the *Chicago Tribune*, and the *Los Angeles Times*.

Oana-Cristina Popa ('96), from Romania, earned a Ph.D. (magna cum laude) in History and International Relations from "Babes-Bolyai" University of Cluj, Romania, in May 2001, with a dissertation entitled *Cooperation and Regional Security in Southeast Europe after 1989*. After serving four years as director of the Bucharest office of the Fulbright Commission, Oana joined the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in February 2002 as Adviser to the Minister on NATO and EU integration. She now serves as Deputy Director of the Department of Early Warning Analysis in the Foreign Ministry.

Charles Muwunga ('00) returned to Uganda in January 2002 and now serves as a Regional Investigation Officer with the Uganda Human Rights Commission. In addition to receiving complaints of human rights violations, he also initiates investigations in such areas as working conditions in factories, refugee rights, children's rights, corporal punishment in schools, domestic violence, and rights of prisoners. Information on the work of the Commission is available at www.uhrc.org.

Regina Saffa ('01), from Sierra Leone, completed a report on Sierra Leone NGOs for the Geneva-based Humanitarian Accountability Project. She is now in the Foreign Service, working with the American Embassy in Freetown as the Political/Economic specialist, and sits on the steering committee of the Anti-Corruption Commission. Corruption is a key issue for both the government and the international community because it has been identified as one of the root causes of the 11-year civil war. Regi also works with disenfranchised women, mostly ex-female combatants or abductees/victims who have not benefitted from the disarmament package, through the British-sponsored Community Reintegration Program.

Blendi Kajsii ('01), from Albania, is a research fellow with the Albanian Institute for International Studies (AIIS) in Tirana. He is currently working on a public survey regarding Albania's membership in the European Union (EU), as well as a project that aims to improve local governance in Albania, financed by the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington. Blendi co-authored a 2002 AIIS report on the state of democracy in Albania entitled "Albania: A Weak Democracy, A Weak State," which is available from the web site <http://www.aiis-albania.org>. Blendi has also been teaching an introductory political science course at the University of Tirana.

Anastasiya Kushleyko ('01), from Russia, is now working for the International Committee of the Red Cross in Moscow. With support from the Kroc Institute, Anastasiya completed a 3 month internship at the ICRC after finishing her M.A. She is pleased that this has turned into a more permanent position.

Elton Skendaj ('01), from Albania, is National Project Coordinator for the UN Department for Disarmament Affairs (UNDDA). In partnership with the Hague Appeal for Peace, the UNDDA is implementing a project on "Developing Peace and Disarmament Education Initiatives to Disarm Children and Youth." This collaborative effort focuses on communities in Albania, Cambodia, Niger, and Peru. Elton is the in-country project partner for Albania.

Tetty Uli Naiborhu ('02), from Indonesia, received Kroc Institute funding for a six month internship with the Center for Security and Peace Studies in Yogyakarta, Indonesia.

Marco Garrido ('02), a Filipino US citizen, is serving a six month internship with Focus on the Global South in the Philippines, where he works on agrarian reform, alternative trade, common property rights, communal ownership and the fight for the rights of indigenous peoples.

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

Institute Publications

Occasional Papers

All Kroc Institute Occasional Papers are available in full-text at <www.nd.edu/~krocinst/ocpapers/>.

Inequalities in the Light of Globalization

by Denis Goulet (*Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #22:OP:2*)

Great inequalities have risen alongside increasing globalization in recent years, giving rise to the question: what is the relation between the two? Inequalities have always existed, and are not caused directly by globalization, which serves as the vehicle of flawed development. Calls for “another globalization,” as recently heard at the Porto Alegre (Brazil) World Social Forum, therefore require “another development” prizing equity over economic growth and participation over elite decision-making. Inequalities previously accepted were delegitimized by historical forces — European colonization, the Industrial Revolution, and development’s promise of technological deliverance from poverty; globalization is the latest destructuring and destabilizing historical force. Anti-globalization movements have moved beyond negative protest to build alternative solutions. Under certain (difficult) conditions, it may become possible to negotiate “another globalization.”

Denis Goulet is the O’Neill Professor of Education for Justice and Professor of Economics, and a Fellow of the Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame

An E-parliament to Democratize Globalization: An Idea Whose Time Has Come

by Robert Johansen (*Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #22:OP:3*)

Johansen argues that an e-Parliament would be a major step toward more democratic global governance and accountability for powerful interests and actors throughout the world. For the first time, it is possible to create a parliamentary forum, held primarily on the Internet, for the world’s democratically-elected legislators to engage each other and members of civil society. The e-Parliament would assist governments and citizens in seeking more effective ways of addressing global problems, such as limiting weapons of mass destruction, discouraging terrorism, ending hunger, and protecting the environment. The e-Parliament would thus address four underlying global problems: a democratic deficit in global decisionmaking, an action deficit in international institutions, a resource deficit in meeting human needs, and a vision deficit in nurturing a sense of human solidarity.

Robert Johansen is Professor of Political Science, and Director of Graduate Studies and Senior Fellow at the Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame.

The Campaign Against Terrorism

by Daniel A. Lindley (*Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #22:OP:1*)

Lindley argues that the main purpose of the war on terrorism is to reduce the probability that terrorists will use weapons of mass destruction (WMD). While the events of September 11 were a catalyst, this threat is the real reason the United States and its allies must fight against terrorism. In addition to force, Lindley recommends a number of other steps in the campaign against terrorism: the United States must increase domestic preparedness against WMD attacks, limit proliferation of WMD, reduce enmity towards the United States, decrease dependence on Middle East oil, increase foreign aid, and employ legal tools. Lindley also assesses and sometimes rebuts critiques of the use of force and the war in Afghanistan.

Daniel Lindley is Assistant Professor of Political Science, and a Fellow of the Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame.

Policy Briefs

All Kroc Institute Policy Briefs are available on the web at www.nd.edu/~krocinst/polbriefs/.

Winning Without War: Sensible Security Options for Dealing with Iraq, by David Cortright, George A. Lopez, and Alistair Millar, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F5 (October 2002).

The Aftermath of the Israeli-Palestinian War of 2002, by Arie Kacowicz, Policy Brief #10 (June 2002).

Nonviolent Voices in Israel and Palestine, by Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Policy Brief #9 (June 2002).

Sanctions, Inspections, and Containment: Viable Policy Options in Iraq, by David Cortright, Alistair Millar, and George Lopez, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F3 (June 2003).

Other Policy Publications

Our new webpage, “Alternatives to War with Iraq: Kroc Institute Resources on Policy and Ethics,” www.nd.edu/~krocinst/media/iraq.html, features current commentary by Kroc Institute scholars on the proposed war against Iraq.

Iraq and Just War Thinking
George A. Lopez, *Commonweal* (September 27, 2002).

Disarming Iraq: Nonmilitary Strategies and Options
David Cortright and George A. Lopez, *Arms Control Today* (September 2002).

Stop the War Before it Starts
David Cortright, *The Progressive* (August 2002).

The Power of Nonviolence
David Cortright, *The Nation* (18 February 2002): 13–14.

Proposed: A More Effective and Just Response to Terrorism
David Cortright, *USA Today Magazine*, (January 2002): 10–12.

A Hard Look at Iraq Sanctions
David Cortright, *The Nation* (3 December 2001): 20, 22, 24.

A Stark Vision of the World
David Cortright, *Sojourners* (November–December 2001): 25, 27.

Faculty Publications

Books

Smart Sanctions: Targeting Economic Statecraft
David Cortright and George A. Lopez, (eds.) (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2002).



regarding targeted, or so-called “smart,” sanctions which aim to pressure leaders while avoiding coercion of the general population. Chapters examine the historical, economic and legal dimensions of arms embargoes, travel bans and financial controls. Other essays detail the U.S. practice

for capturing financial assets of targets and how smart sanctions were used against the Milosevic regime in 2000. With colleague Alistair Millar, the editors have written a concluding chapter that details a smart sanctions strategy which might be used against Iraq.

Sanctions and the Search for Security: Challenges for UN Action

David Cortright and George A. Lopez (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 2002).

Following on the publication of *The Sanctions Decade* — lauded as the definitive history and accounting of United Nations sanctions in the 1990s — Cortright and Lopez continue their collaboration to examine the changing context and meaning of sanctions and the security dilemmas that the Security Council now faces. They note that, despite widespread disagreement about the effectiveness of UN sanctions and the need for reform, the Security Council continues to impose sanctions, and it maintains ongoing measures in eight countries. Exploring the dynamics of recent developments, the authors assess a range of new multilateral approaches to sanctions and economic statecraft, review the heated debate over the humanitarian impact of sanctions, and consider the increasingly important role of NGOs in UN policymaking. They conclude with a framework for future policy, as well as specific recommendations for enhancing the viability of “smart sanctions” strategies.

Achieving our World

Fred Dallmayr (Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2001).

In an age marked by global hegemony and festering civilization clashes, Dallmayr charts a path toward a cosmopolitan democracy respectful of local differences. He draws upon and

develops insights from a number of fields: political theory, the study of international politics, recent Continental philosophy, and an array of critical cultural disciplines to illustrate and elucidate his thesis. Dallmayr concludes that a genuinely global and plural democracy and 'civic culture' is the only viable and promising path for humankind in the new millennium.

Guns and Government: The Management of the Northern Ireland Peace Process

John Darby and Roger MacGinty (Basingstoke, England: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2002).

What factors facilitate or obstruct political movement during a peace process? Darby and MacGinty divide the Northern Ireland peace process into its constituent parts, allowing a thorough analysis. Chapters are devoted to political change, violence and security, economic factors, external influences, popular responses, and the role of symbols. Issues such as the sequencing of concessions, lending and borrowing between contemporary peace processes, and whether the peace process is top-down or bottom-up, are also covered. Drawing on interviews with key players (politicians and policymakers) in the peace process, the authors offer insights into the problems faced by those charged with negotiation in a deeply divided society. The book steps beyond a simple account of the Northern Ireland case, placing the conflict in the context of other contemporary peace processes. Judged in this light, Northern Ireland's peace process is more successful than the daily headlines would suggest.

A Sea of Orange: Writings on the Sikhs and India

Cynthia Mahmood (Philadelphia: Xlibris, 2001).

Sikhism, a religion of twenty million people with its heartland in India, is



one of the least-understood traditions in the world. The state of Punjab in which the majority of Sikhs live has been the site of a serious conflict in the past two decades. This book contains ten essays on Sikh militancy, religious conflict in India, and human rights. Drawing on sources used in judicial, political and academic arenas, as well as a grass-roots perspective rooted in anthropology, Mahmood explores the complex maze that is contemporary India and the Indian diaspora.

Fritz Steppat: Islam als Partner: Islamkundliche Augsätze 1944-1996

Thomas Scheffler (ed.), (Würzburg: Ergon Verlag / Beirut: Orient-Institut, 2001 [= Beirut Texte und Studien; vol. 78]).

The volume presents thirty essays on Middle Eastern history, literature, and politics by Fritz Steppat, a former director of the German Orient Institute in Beirut (1963-68) and chair professor of Islamic Studies at the Free University of Berlin (1969-88). Influenced by the theologian Paul Tillich and the Orientalist Carl Heinrich Becker, Steppat's work was devoted to understanding Islam as a "partner" in an overarching world community and not as an "exotic object." Scheffler, who was a Rockefeller Visiting Fellow at the Institute in 2001-02, contributed an introduction to the volume entitled "Fritz Steppat – erkbio-graphische Einf,hrung." ["Fritz Steppat – Work and Biography: An Introduction"].

The Prevention of Humanitarian Emergencies

Raimo Väyrynen and E. Wayne Nafziger (eds.) (Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire: Palgrave in association with the United Nations University/World Institute for Development Economics Research, 2002).

Since the end of the cold war, civil wars and state violence have escalated, resulting in thousands of deaths. This book, the third volume in a series for the United Nations University/World Institute for Development Economics Research (UNU/WIDER), provides a toolbox for donors, international agencies, and developing countries to prevent humanitarian emergencies.



The emphasis is on long-term development policies rather than mediation or reconstruction after the conflict ensues. Policies include democratization, reforming institutions, strengthening civil society, improving the state's administrative capability, agrarian reform, accelerating economic growth through stabilization and adjustment, reducing inequalities, and redesigning aid to be more stable.

Chapters

R. Scott Appleby, "The Quandary of Leadership," in *The Place of Tolerance in Islam*, ed. Khaled Abou El Fadl (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002), 85-92.

Appleby presents an assessment of religious leadership in the areas of tolerance and cross-cultural dialogue, written in response to Khaled Abou El Fadl's lead essay on the current situation of Islam in this regard.

R. Scott Appleby, **“Religions, Human Rights and Social Change,”** in *The Freedom to do God’s Will: Religious Fundamentalism and Social Change*, ed. Gerrie ter Haar and James J. Busuttill (New York: Routledge, 2002), 197-229.

Appleby offers a comparative analysis of religious communities in their openness to, and incorporation of, “universal” human rights discourse, including a discussion of the obstacles to fuller participation and possible strategies for overcoming such obstacles.

R. Scott Appleby, **“Religion as an Agent of Conflict Prevention and Resolution,”** in *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, ed. Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall (United States Institute of Peace, 2001), pp. 821-840.

This edited volume is the latest effort by the U.S. Institute of Peace to provide comprehensive introductory material in the fields of conflict resolution and peacebuilding in settings of international conflict. Appleby’s chapter explores the role of religious actors in peacebuilding efforts.

Dennis Goulet, **“Ethical Analysis in Development Economics,”** in *Crossing the Mainstream*, ed. Amitava K. Dutt and Kenneth P. Jameson (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 29-51.

Development engages economic, political, social, cultural, environmental, and ethical issues. Because it simultaneously creates and destroys values, it is seen by some as a good thing, by others as a destructive historical force. This ambiguity affects how economists study it. Emerging paradigms of development which reject maximum economic growth in favor of comprehensive human development as the goal call for a new way of doing economics. This leads economists to put

values back into all dimensions of economics — theories, methodology, analysis, and prescription.

John Paul Lederach, **“Civil Society and Reconciliation,”** in *Turbulent Peace*, ed. Chester Crocker, Fen Hampson, and Pamela Aall (Washington DC: U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2001).

This edited volume is the latest effort by the U.S. Institute of Peace to provide comprehensive introductory material in the fields of conflict resolution and peacebuilding in settings of international conflict. Lederach’s chapter provides an overview of how to build civil society and reconciliation in post-accord settings where protracted conflicted has created deep animosities and divisions.

John Paul Lederach, **“Five Qualities of Practice in Support of Reconciliation Processes,”** in *Forgiveness and Reconciliation*, ed. Raymond Helmick and Rodney Petersen (Radnor, PA: The Templeton Foundation, 2001).

This edited volume emerged from a conference on reconciliation sponsored by the Templeton Foundation. The book chapters cover a wide array of approaches and understandings of reconciliation. Lederach’s chapter provides a practitioner’s view of attitudes and approaches for supporting reconciliation that have proven useful. He cautions against reducing reconciliation to a formula or technique-based methodology.

John Paul Lederach, **“Levels of Leadership,”** in *Peacebuilding: A Field Guide*, ed. Luc Reyhler and Thania Paffenholz (London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001).

This field guide is oriented toward providing tools for developing peacebuilding processes on the ground by providing practical advice and

conceptual models. In his contribution, Lederach provides an overview of the different levels of leadership in society, with discussion of the top, mid-range and grassroots levels of initiative. He also discusses the types of peace initiatives each level can undertake and provides descriptive tools for developing interdependent peace processes which connect initiatives at different levels.

John Paul Lederach, **“The Challenges of Terror,”** in *Where Was God on Sept. 11?* ed. Don Kraybill and Linda Gehman Peachey (Scottsdale, PA: Herald Press, 2002).

This volume brings together essays, sermons, and articles written from mostly Mennonite and pacifist orientations in response to the events of September 11, 2001. Written while Lederach was stranded in Guatemala immediately after September 11, Lederach’s essay was widely circulated on the internet and is available on the Kroc Institute webpage. He suggests a number of lessons learned from peace initiatives where terrorism was employed as a tool of struggle and calls for new approaches to combating the challenge.

John Paul Lederach, **“For Our Healing,”** in *Towards Healing, A Self Help Directory*, ed. Sean Coll. Fermanagh (Victims Programme, Fermanagh District Council, Northern Ireland, 2002).

The Directory is a first effort to bring together all the organizations in Fermanagh District providing trauma healing and conflict transformation. In the opening chapter to the directory, Lederach discusses the challenges of healing in the aftermath of violence and the need for authenticity of approach that respects each individual while recognizing several important guideposts common to all.

Martha Merritt, **“Fragments of Empire and Baltic Integration: Lessons for Building Tolerance”** in *Minorities and Tolerance* (Washington, DC: Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, 2001). Adapted and reprinted as the lead article for the *Newsletter of the Association for the Study of Nationalities* (“Fragments of Empire: Baltic Lessons for Building Tolerance,” ASN 7:1, Fall 2001).

The Baltic states have unwittingly served as laboratories for the mediation of ethnic tension during the process of state-building. Their challenge has been to transform isolated, culturally Russian populations and localities into more integrated parts of the national and international communities, which is often as much a mental as a geographical exercise. She discusses how focusing on membership (which includes both national membership and the ultimate mutual goal of joining Europe) rather than abstract qualities like loyalty allows for constructive and often modest goals of integration.

Daniel J. Myers, **“Social Activism through Computer Networks”** in *Computing in the Social Sciences and Humanities*, ed. Orville Vernon Burton (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2001).

This paper examines the contribution of computer-assisted communication and computer networks to the formation and functioning of social movements and collective behavior. Myers outlines key characteristics of computer-mediated communication that have ramifications for social movements and identifies potentially fruitful areas for research using the activist computer forum.

Victoria Sanford, **“Truth Commissions”** in *Encyclopedia of Crime and Punishment*, ed. David Levinson (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage, 2002).

This essay presents a comparative review of truth commissions and analyzes the relationship between truth-telling and justice.

Thomas Scheffler, **“Lebanon,”** in *Elections in Asia and the Pacific: A Data Handbook, vol. 1: The Middle East, Central Asia, and South Asia*, ed. Dieter Nohlen, Florian Grotz, and Christof Hartmann (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 169-197.

With 17 parliamentary elections held since 1920, Lebanon is one of the oldest and most fertile laboratories of developing democratic structures in a multi-religious and multi-ethnic Middle Eastern setting. Scheffler’s paper, which he completed during a Rockefeller Visiting Fellowship at the Kroc Institute, provides an overview of the country’s political history and major societal and religious fault lines, a survey of current electoral provisions (as of 2000), and statistical data on Lebanon’s electoral body, election results, parties, and governments since 1943.

Articles

R. Scott Appleby, **“History in the Fundamentalist Imagination,”** *Journal of American History*, vol. 89, no.2 (September 2002): 498-511.

Appleby presents a comparative analysis of attitudes toward history and the narrating of history on the part of several Islamic, Christian and Jewish “fundamentalist” groups, giving special attention to Osama bin Laden and al Qaeda. The article is part of a special issue dedicated to “History and September 11.” The issue will be transformed into a book for adoption in college and university courses.

David Cortright, **“The Winter Soldiers Movement: GIs and Veterans Against the Vietnam War,”** *Peace & Change*, vol. 27, no. 1 (January 2002): 118-124

After being overlooked and misunderstood for decades, the war resistance effort of soldiers and veterans during the Vietnam era is finally receiving the attention it deserves. The clash between the traditional John Wayne image of military heroism and the bitter experience of the Vietnam War led many soldiers and veterans to resist. Vietnam Veterans Against the War emerged as an important voice in the anti-war movement. The organization became the target of an intensive opposition effort by the Nixon administration, which infiltrated the organization and indicted several of its leaders. Recent scholarship on this little-known chapter of American history sheds new light on the trauma caused by the war, and on the “winter soldiers” who served their nation doubly, as soldiers and then as advocates for peace.

David Cortright and George A. Lopez, **“Smarting Under Sanctions,”** *The World Today*, March (2002), vol. 58, no. 3, 17-18.

This essay examines the debate over targeted sanctions, using the case of European Union sanctions against the government of Zimbabwe as a focus for discussion. Targeted measures have been applied with increasing frequency in recent years by the UN Security Council, the European Union and the U.S. government. These sanctions apply pressure on decisionmaking elites while avoiding comprehensive trade restrictions that harm innocent populations. The EU sanctions against Zimbabwe follow this model. They freeze the overseas bank accounts and restrict the travel of a designated list of Zimbabwean elites.

Denis Goulet, **“What is a Just Economy in a Globalized World?”**

International Journal of Social Economics, 29:1/2 (2002):10-25.

This paper aims to address the ethical and social issues raised by economic development in a globalized world. It argues that development has not delivered economic well-being to all nations and peoples and questions the view of development as the main achievement by economics. It attempts to define what a just economy is and examines how economic justice can be achieved when the economic system is structurally unjust.

John Paul Lederach, **“Building Mediative Capacity in Deep Rooted Conflict,”**

in *The Fletcher Forum of World Affairs*, vol. 26, no. 1 (Winter/Spring, 2002): 91-101.

Lederach suggests that mediation in protracted conflict can be understood as a process involving the creation of social spaces between divided groups, as opposed to a process lodged in the work of an individual or small team. In addition to defining key concepts, he provides detailed examples of mediation processes, drawing on his experiences working with women’s groups in Somalia.

George A. Lopez, **“The Style of the New War: Making the Rules as We Go Along,”**

Ethics and International Affairs, vol. 16, no. 1 (Spring 2002): 21-26.

Lopez argues that in the new war against terrorism, the U.S. administration has preferred to develop the parameters of the rules as events unfold. These rules — especially in the area of civilian casualties, the treatment of al Qaeda and Afghan prisoners, and regarding the establishment of a military tribunal — have drawn harsh criticism from the human rights community. The result has been debate

in some areas but not in others and a gradual movement of the U.S. position more in accord with international law in general.

Cynthia Mahmood, **“Terrorism, Myth, and the Power of Ethnographic Praxis,”**

Journal of Contemporary Ethnography (October 2001).

Cynthia Mahmood was invited to contribute the lead article in this journal’s special issue on the anthropology of violence. She reflects on the concept of terrorism, and discusses her courtroom activism in bringing results of her field research with religious militants to legal settings.

Cynthia Mahmood, **“Anthropological Compulsions in a World in Crisis,”**

Anthropology Today, vol. 18, no. 3 (June 2002).

In a guest editorial, Mahmood explores the unique insights which anthropologists can bring to the current global crisis. She suggests that anthropology has a spiritual component which impels ethnographers to seek face-to-face encounters with the other, often at great risk. Turning to the current crisis, she notes how mainstream efforts to strengthen moderate voices within Islam often avoid delving into the social structure or cultural context of radical Islam. She encourages anthropologists to pursue this critical, but risky, research.

Daniel J. Myers and Alexander J. Buoye, **“Campus Racial Disorders and Community Ties, 1967-1969,”**

Research in Social Movements: Conflict and Change, vol. 23 (2001): 297-327.

A common tactic in the analysis of the racial civil disorders of the 1960s has been to eliminate from data sets those events that occurred on university and college campuses. This procedure

assumed a disjuncture between urban and campus collective violence, specifically in that the former would be related to local economic and social conditions and the latter would not. Contrary to earlier assumptions, our analysis shows a strong connection between campuses and their local context. The authors conclude by discussing the implications of omitting campus events from past riot research.

Rashied Omar, **“Muslims and Religious Pluralism in Post-Apartheid South Africa,”**

Journal of Muslim Minority Affairs, vol. 22, no. 1 (2002).

Omar argues that religious pluralism in post-Apartheid South Africa continues to make a difference to relations within the broader society. It has contributed to the reconciliation process, the sensitive transformation phase and, above all, nation-building. However, to remain relevant in the long term, religious pluralism must become a grass-roots movement and to find intrinsic sources of religious inspiration.



Father Ted cut the ribbon for the new wing of the Hesburgh Center.

New Addition Dedicated

On May 22, 2002, the Kroc and Kellogg Institutes officially opened the new wing of the Hesburgh Center for International Studies. The occasion was marked by a dedication and blessing of the facility, with Fr. Ernest Bartell, former director of the Kellogg Institute, and Fr. Theodore Hesburgh officiating.

The recently completed \$2.5-million addition houses 24 new offices for the Kroc and Kellogg Institutes. The Kellogg Institute has moved its administrative offices to the first and second floors of the new wing, while the Kroc Institute has relocated its research program faculty offices on the third floor.



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