

*new paths*



*new patterns*



## Annual Report 1999-2000

The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies  
University of Notre Dame



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## F R O M   T H E   D I R E C T O R

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If the academic year 1999-2000 was a “period of transition” for the Kroc Institute, it was certainly not a conventional changing of the guard.

momentum carried into the last days of the 2000 fall semester, from which vantage the previous eighteen months appears as a thematic whole.

Three Notre Dame professors — an international relations expert, an economist, and an historian — served as director of the Institute during that period. None of us sensed the invisible hand of design behind this succession — frankly, we felt like we were simply scrambling to keep our programs running smoothly as the search for a successor to Raimo Väyrynen unfolded. In hindsight, however, the cross-disciplinary sharing of responsibility for the Institute’s programs and direction seems almost prophetic. For as we bid farewell to the period of transition, the faculty and fellows of the Kroc Institute represent a striking variety of backgrounds and academic disciplines acting in concert under the banner of peace studies.

As such episodes go, it was an unusually fruitful time, during which a number of significant changes were made in the Institute’s leadership, research agenda, graduate program, faculty and staff. The

In the process peace studies at Kroc is being expanded — stretched, one might say, to the point of inducing growing pains. But this growth is healthy and in any case inevitable, given the profound changes in the world’s political cultures, arenas of conflict, international and global environments, and technoscientific capabilities. As the sources, nature, duration, goals and outcomes of conflict change, so does the operational definition of “peace.” In research agendas, course syllabi, and cutting-edge publications a new configuration of peace studies is taking shape. The new pattern reflects a paradigm for understanding the world that is notably more variegated than the dominant model of the cold war era.



John Paul Lederach

## A New Pattern of Multidisciplinary Collaboration

**R**obert Johansen, one of the original architects of peace studies at the Institute, initially led us in this direction by chairing the search for a Luce Professor of Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding. At this writing, the Institute is on the verge of making an appointment of a scholar who will lead our new research initiative in this area. The formal announcement, we hope, will be made this year.



Robert Johansen



Charles Wilber

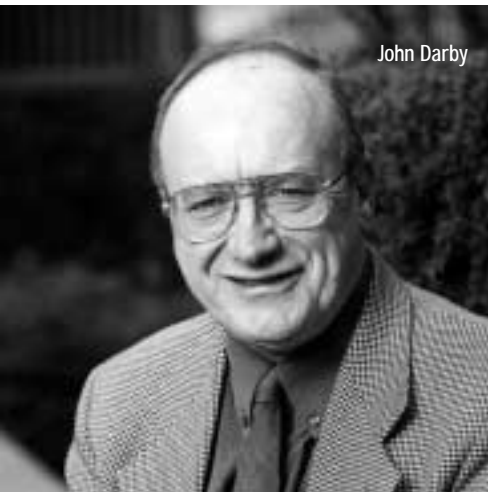
When the economist Charles Wilber succeeded Johansen as acting director of the Institute in January 2000, he secured another important appointment that Johansen had initiated. John Paul Lederach, founder of the Conflict Transformation Program and the Institute for Peacebuilding at Eastern Mennonite University, is perhaps the pre-eminent analyst and practitioner of the cultural and social approaches to effective peace-

building in divided societies. Having helped design and conduct training programs in 25 countries across five continents, Lederach brings vast experience in conflict mediation and resolution to his role as teacher and trainer of our international peace scholars. Over the next several years Lederach will be offering the master's students intensive courses in conflict transformation and peacebuilding with emphasis on the conciliation techniques and methods that he has developed in the field in Colombia, Guatemala, Nicaragua, Somalia, the Philippines, Northern Ireland, and the Basque Country, among other sites. His recent publications include *Building Peace: Sustainable Reconciliation in Divided Societies* (Washington, D.C.: USIP, 1997) and *Preparing for Peace: Conflict Transformation Across Cultures* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1995).

Johansen and Wilber both followed Väyrynen's lead by securing the relationship he had initiated between the Kroc Institute and John Darby, formerly Professor of Sociology at the University of Ulster and

*As the sources, nature, duration, goals and outcomes of conflict change, so does the operational definition of "peace."*

director of the Initiative on Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity (INCORE), Northern Ireland. Darby has written extensively on the conflict in Northern Ireland and recently participated in a comparative study of the peace processes in South Africa, Northern Ireland, Israel-Palestine, the



John Darby

Basque Country, and Sri Lanka. His co-edited volume, *The Management of Peace Processes* (New York: St. Martin's, 2000) is the first of six volumes emerging from INCORE's "Coming Out of Violence" research project, a forerunner of the

"Progressing Towards Settlement" project, which was the subject of a recent series of Kroc Institute lectures. At the Kroc Institute each fall Darby teaches courses on the conflict in Northern Ireland and on the dynamics of peace processes. With Professors Siobhan McEvoy-Levy (Butler University and Kroc Visiting Fellow in 1999-2001) and Tristan Borer (Connecticut College) he is co-directing the Kroc Institute's new Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC).

One can imagine how an historian of religion, fundamentalism, and ethnoreligious conflict greeted these developments at the Kroc Institute. I am delighted that the recent appointments have catapulted us into

the first rank of institutes, centers and think tanks studying the ethnic and religious dimensions of contemporary conflicts. Appointed as John M. Regan Jr.

Director in August 2000, I inherited the momentum and excitement generated by these

new appointments and had a hand in securing one of them. Cynthia Mahmood, who joins the Notre Dame faculty in January 2001 as Associate Professor of Anthropology with a joint appointment to the Kroc Institute, studies the roots and ethnography of local violence and ethnic/religious conflict. Building on her anthropological fieldwork studying Sikh radicalism, described in her recent book, *Fighting For Faith and Nation: Dialogues with Sikh Militants* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania, 1996), Mahmood has developed expertise as a mediator working within the Sikh community in North America. She is a dynamic teacher who is known for her collaboration with students on long-term research projects and in the field.

At least two major research programs have coalesced around these new appointments. The Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP) was launched with the 1999 award of the Luce professorship and enhanced by a generous Rockefeller Foundation grant to support a



Cynthia Mahmood



four-year program of Visiting Fellows. The PRCP will bring together scholars and practitioners of religion as well as secular leaders from various zones of conflict to participate in conferences and symposia, conduct research and publish findings, and engage in cross-cultural, intra-religious and inter-religious dialogue. All this activity will constitute a systematic attempt to describe and comprehend "lived religion" as an element in both violent conflict and conflict transformation. By "lived religion" we refer to religion not in its abstract or pure form, but as a concrete social and cultural reality shaping

the everyday lives of believers. Visiting fellows and Kroc faculty seek to understand the complex ways in which scriptures and religious traditions are interpreted and practiced within the heat of conflict.

Religion taken in isolation from ethnicity may not carry the stu-

dent of contemporary conflicts very far. The aforementioned Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC) focuses on the fate of negotiated settlements and the ethnically and religiously divided societies those settlements are intended to repair. Darby is interested especially in the impact of post-settlement violence on the previously warring, now barely-trusting-one-another sides. McEvoy-Levy examines the role of civil society in rebuilding war torn

and ethnically separated communities. Borer is writing a book on the role of Truth and Reconciliation Commissions. Beneath each of these inquiries, however, lies a set of assumptions about the political and cultural salience of ethnicity. The scholar of religion might usefully interrogate these assumptions, asking where notions of the sacred or transcendent influence ethnic actors, and how such notions legitimize atrocities or urge reconciliation.

In sum, it seems fair to predict that professors Darby, Mahmood, Lederach,



Tristan Borer

### New Fellows Appointed in 1999-2000

Rev. Michael Baxter, C.S.C., Assistant Professor of Theology

Doris Bergen, Associate Professor of History

Paolo Carozza, Associate Professor of Law

Teresa Ghilarducci, Associate Professor of Economics and  
Director of the Higgins Labor Research Center

David Lodge, Professor of Biological Sciences

Scott Mainwaring, Conley Professor of Government and  
Director of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies

Juan Mendez, Professor of Law and Director of the Center for  
Civil and Human Rights

Kristin Shrader-Frechette, O'Neill Professor of Philosophy  
and Concurrent Professor of Biological Sciences

Ashutosh Varshney, Associate Professor of Government and  
International Studies

McEvoy-Levy and Borer, working in tandem with Kroc “veterans” such as David Burrell, C.S.C., Carolyn Nordstrom and Patrick Gaffney, C.S.C., and with a host of world-class visiting fellows, will make the Kroc Institute an indispensable center for the study of the ethnic and religious faces of war and peace in this still-nameless era of regional, territorial and local conflict.

This deepening of interdisciplinarity at the heart of the Institute is also reflected in the appointment of nine new fellows during the 1999-2000 year, including a philosopher of science who calls for greater scientific and governmental accountability regarding the effects of nuclear, chemical and biological research; a theologian who focuses on the ethics of peace and war; an economist who studies retirement income and labor unions; an expert on Latin American politics; a specialist in ethnicity, nationalism, and South Asian politics; two human rights scholars; and a fresh-water biologist interested in the intersection of science, religion, ethics and policy.

Newly nominated fellows include an anthropologist who analyzes local political transformation and the reconstruction of popular truth and memory in communities that suffered mass violence; a sociologist who studies the dynamics of riots as a form of political protest and a source of collective violence; a developmental economist who assesses the economic and social impact of racist and other exclusivist political movements upon communities; and an expert in global security who has recently examined the concept of transparency (of intent on the part of an adversary, as measured in troop movement, resource mobilization, etc.) as an instrument in the enforcement and stabilizing of cease-fires and peace agreements.



Siobhan McEvoy-Levy

*In sum, it seems fair to predict that professors Darby, Mahmood, Lederach, McEvoy-Levy and Borer, working in tandem with Kroc “veterans” such as David Burrell, C.S.C., Carolyn Nordstrom and Patrick Gaffney, C.S.C., and with a host of world-class visiting fellows, will make the Kroc Institute an indispensable center for the study of the ethnic and religious faces of war and peace in this still-nameless era of regional, territorial and local conflict.*

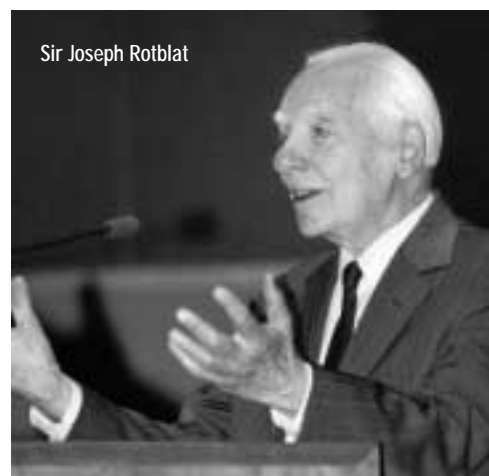
## Building on Foundational Themes and Methods in Peace Studies

I hesitate to count the number of times I have used the word “new” in the above descriptions. Yet the “new” interdisciplinarity simply builds upon the foundational disciplines and themes of peace studies. The role of international institutions and norms in sustaining just and peaceful relations among states and peoples remains a critical preoccupation of Kroc’s faculty and fellows. So, too, does the enforcement of treaties and peacekeeping, the shrewd use of targeted sanctions, the defense of civil and human rights, the protection of the environment, and the containment of nuclear, biological and chemical weapons. The American-Scandinavian Foundation provided a generous endorsement of our continuing commitment to excellence in the tradition of peace studies by awarding the Institute a visiting fellowship for Peter Wallensteen, one of Europe’s leading peace researchers, who will join our teaching and research faculty for the spring semester of 2001.

Elsewhere in this Annual Report the reader will find synopses of Kroc Institute initiatives and activities which deepened our engagement with challenges to peace and stability that persist despite the end of the Cold War. The proliferation of nuclear as well as chemical and biological weapons, for

example, continues to demand our best efforts as scholars, teachers and practitioners of peacebuilding. Thus the Institute was proud to bring to campus the Nobel laureate Sir Joseph Rotblat, founder of the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs and a leading advocate of the elimination of nuclear weapons. In March he presented a keynote address which set forth the framework for a conference on “Averting Nuclear Anarchy,” which examined ethical, scientific and political dimensions of current nuclear policy. Rotblat simultaneously raised issues about the need for young people, and particularly young scientists, to take leadership on nuclear issues, that were subsequently addressed by our student-organized conference, “2000 Roads to Peace.”

Elsewhere on the arms control agenda, the Kroc Institute’s partnership with Jawaharlal Nehru University, dedicated to identifying means of containing the arms race in South Asia, led to a successful conference in New



Sir Joseph Rotblat



Betty Williams



Delhi which explored the future development of peace studies curricula in South Asia. The conference brought together South Asian international relations experts from all major coun-

tries in the region (including three former Kroc Visiting Fellows) and three Kroc Institute Faculty Fellows.

Another topic of longstanding interest and exploration at the Kroc Institute is the tradition of nonviolent social change. A highlight of the year past was the inauguration of the John Howard Yoder Dialogues on Nonviolence, Religion, and Peace by Jim Wallis, editor-in-chief at *Sojourners* magazine. The annual community-wide event focuses on the religious, moral and political dimensions of nonviolence, the defining subject of the career of the late John Howard Yoder, professor of theology at Notre Dame and a founding fellow of the Kroc Institute. Also exploring this general theme was Nobel laureate Betty Williams, President of the Centers of Compassion for Children and co-founder of the Community of Peace People in Northern Ireland. Ms. Williams visited the Institute in March 2001 and delivered a presentation advocating a stronger voice for children in international institutions.

Not least among the priorities of the Institute is the further development of our participation in public policy debates

relevant to the fellows' areas of expertise. The appointment of George Lopez, a founding fellow of the Institute, to the newly created position of Director of Policy Studies, reflects this renewed commitment. Part of Lopez's new assignment is to coordinate the Institute's grant-seeking and research agenda with our mission of service to the policy and educational communities. Another effective means of achieving this goal is the new Kroc Institute Policy Briefs series, now published on a regular basis both electronically and in paper. Recent policy briefs provided analyses of contemporary political trends such as the European Union's developing military capacity, the loss of momentum suffered by the foes of globalization and world trade, and strategies for curtailing the arms race in South Asia.

Most exciting are the projects that integrate the perspectives and areas of expertise that might be found at a Kroc Institute roundtable on any given day. One such project is the weekly Colombia seminar, chaired by George Lopez, which provides the opportunity for Colombian — and U.S. — based scholars and activists to interpret together the changing political and human rights landscape in Colombia, and to discuss issues arising from their ongoing collaboration at Notre Dame under the auspices of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, the Center for Civil and Human Rights, the Kroc Institute, the Colombian Commission of Jurists, and other human rights and social justice partners in Colombia.



Scott Appleby

In my fourth month as director of the Kroc Institute, as I adjust to the sometimes dizzying pace and variety of intellectually, emotionally and morally stimulating activities and events unfolding under this capacious roof, I have gained a deeper appreciation for my predecessors and close colleagues. A special word of thanks is due to Bob Johansen, who charted much of the current course; to Raimo Väyrynen, who continues, as a senior research scholar, to generate exciting new proposals and ideas; to George Lopez, who stands energetically and insightfully at the center of so many worthy Kroc Institute endeavors; and to Chuck Wilber, who during his brief tenure as acting director set into motion monumental changes in the graduate program (see the following report) which have already enriched the educational and social experience of our twenty international peacemakers-in-training.

A new pattern of interdisciplinary collaboration building upon and remaining in close conversation with foundational themes and methods in peace studies.... The development of expertise in the source and healing of religious and ethnic conflict, in the nuclear arms race in South Asia, and in new global institutions such as the international criminal court.... Constructive changes in the faculty and staff, in the graduate

curriculum and living situation, and in the policy outreach of the Institute....

Perhaps we should change directors every six months or so!

*Scott Appleby*

*John M. Regan Jr. Director*

Scott Appleby was appointed John M. Regan Jr. Director of the Kroc Institute beginning in August 2000. Appleby, a professor of history with a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago (1985) and a B.A. from Notre Dame (1978), has been a fellow of the Kroc Institute since shortly after he joined the faculty in 1994, and a member of the Institute's executive committee since 1996. For the past seven years he has directed Notre Dame's Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism.

An expert on the role of religion and culture in international affairs, Appleby is the author of *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2000), a study of religious peacebuilding for the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. He was the lead author of two major grants recently won by the Kroc Institute — a Henry R. Luce Professorship in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding, and a Rockefeller Visiting Fellows award.

From 1988 to 1993 Appleby was co-director of the Fundamentalism Project, an international public policy study conducted by the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. He is the editor of *Spokesmen for the Despised: Fundamentalist Leaders of the Middle East* (Chicago, 1997) and the co-editor, with Martin E. Marty, of *Religion, Ethnicity, and Self-Identity: Nations in Turmoil* (1997), *Fundamentalisms Comprehended* (1995) and four previous volumes in the University of Chicago Press series on global fundamentalisms. Appleby is also the author or editor of five books on religion in the United States.



## R E S E A R C H      A C T I V I T I E S

In support of its research interests in international norms and institutions, security and sanctions; religious and cultural dimensions of peacemaking; conflict resolution and transformation; and the promotion of human rights and social, economic and environmental justice, the Kroc Institute sponsors major conferences, symposia, lectures, visiting fellows programs and research projects. Highlights of major projects and working groups are described below. Please consult the appendices for complete lists of publications, guest lectures and other events.

### Enforcing Norms of Peace

#### Sanctions Project

The past year for the sanctions project has been devoted to two major themes: an evaluation of the UN Security Council experience with economic sanctions in the 1990s and the examination of smart sanctions. In the former area, project co-directors David Cortright and George Lopez received sponsorship from the Canadian government and the International Peace Academy to undertake the review of twelve major sanctions cases. Mobilizing a team of researchers which included former Kroc and Government department Ph.D. students Rich Conroy and Jaleh Dashti-Gibson, Cortright and Lopez produced *The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Security Council Sanctions in the 1990s* (Lynne Rienner, 2000).

The researchers concluded that UN sanctions, especially those levied against Iraq, have actually been more successful than generally acknowledged, achieving at least partial compliance by the target in four of the twelve cases. Sanctions are most successful when they are effectively monitored and administered and when they move toward engagement and bargaining with the target, rather than punishment and isolation. The

book also concludes that the UN has moved away from generalized trade sanctions to more sharply focused and targeted sanctions, most often to avoid the negative human impact of sanctions. However, arms embargoes imposed during the past decade have been a dismal failure as member states did not commit to their effectiveness.

These findings, as well as a series of recommendations for administrative reforms in

the formulation and management of sanctions, sparked a lively debate within the Security Council, where the book premiered in a United Nations symposium on April 17. The debate led to the adoption of a Canadian resolution for studying sanctions reform. The report of the study committee created by that resolution is due to the Council in early 2001. On April 18 the book was premiered in Washington, D.C. as Lopez and Cortright spoke at the Managing Global Issues Seminar Series of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. The *New York Times*, NPR, CBC, and BBC featured the book in articles, reports and editorials.

The focus of the smart sanctions research, which has received financial support from the MacArthur Foundation and the United



States Institute of Peace, has been on ways of sharpening the bite of such techniques as financial asset control, travel and flight bans, and arms embargoes.

Regarding the latter area,

Cortright and Lopez have been intensely involved in what is being referred to as 'the Bonn-Berlin process' named after the two sites where the German government has brought together UN officials and selected experts to examine ways of generating more effective travel and arms embargoes. Rich Conroy (Kroc Visiting Fellow 1998-99) has been especially involved in research and writing in the travel area. Much of the work on this theme will be included in the forthcoming edited volume by Lopez and Cortright entitled *Toward Smart Sanctions: Effective and Humane Sanctions Reform*, to be published by Rowman & Littlefield.

David Cortright (left) and George A. Lopez (right) with Secretary-General Kofi Annan

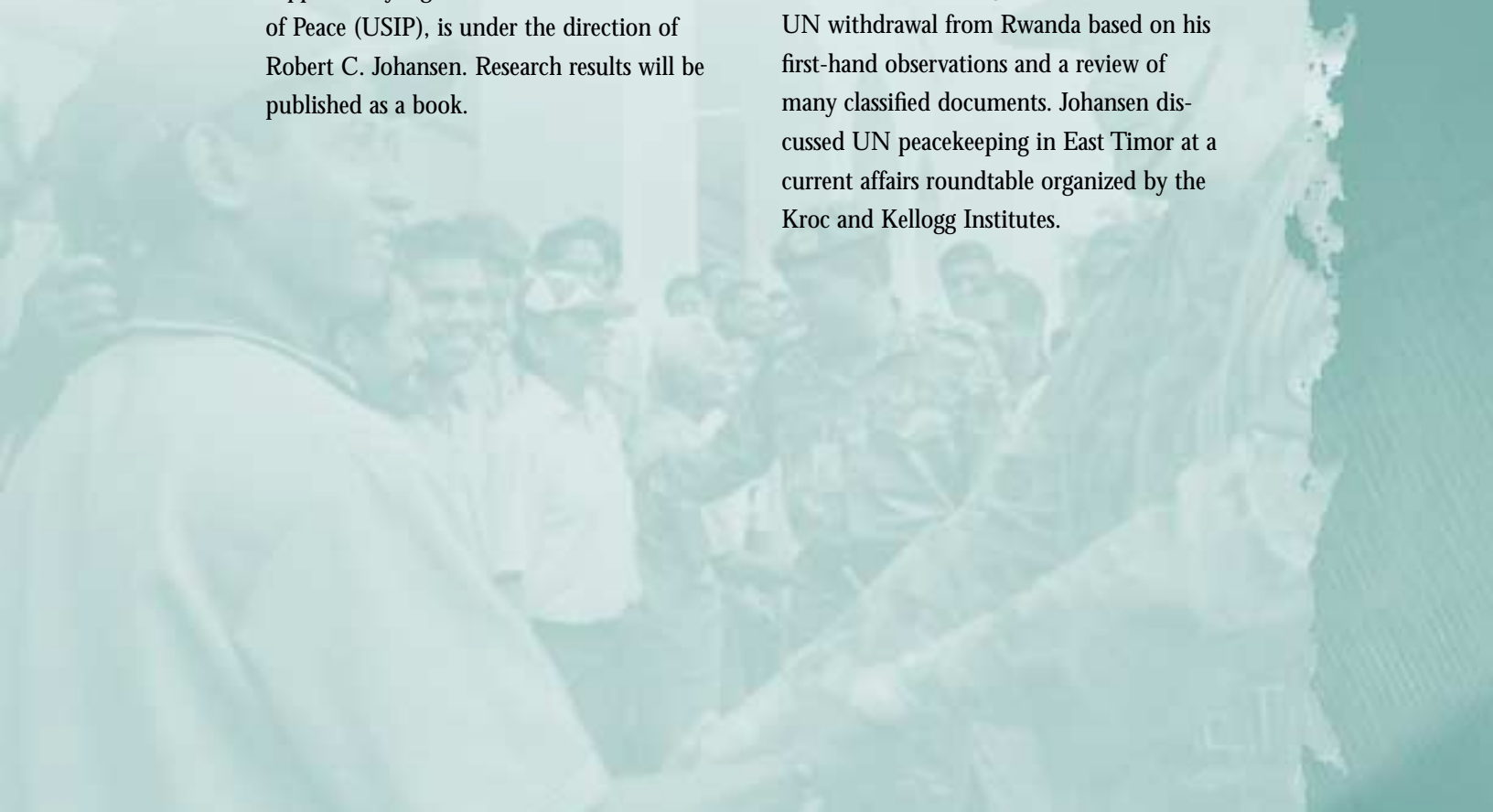


## Strengthening UN Peacekeeping and Enforcement

This project seeks to identify ways of increasing the effectiveness of multilateral peacekeeping and enforcement operations conducted by the UN. What conditions justify UN intervention in intrastate conflicts? What forms of intervention are most promising in ethno-nationalist conflicts? How might the international community prevent genocide and “ethnic cleansing” in the future? These questions stand at the heart of the project, which extended its scope during the past year to include examination of complex UN operations in East Timor and Sierra Leone. These cases will complement ongoing research on recent UN operations in Yugoslavia, Somalia, Cambodia, Rwanda, Liberia and Angola. The project, which is supported by a grant from the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP), is under the direction of Robert C. Johansen. Research results will be published as a book.

Several Kroc Institute events and publications addressed questions germane to this project. The Institute published a policy brief by Raimo Väyrynen on “The European Union’s New Crisis Management Capability” (Policy Brief #3, February 2000), which examined the establishment of a new EU military force and highlighted the need for coordination with UN peacekeeping. Väyrynen also received a grant from the USIP for further research on the development of the EU force. Michael Barnett, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin, presented a lecture re-examining the much-criticized UN withdrawal from Rwanda based on his first-hand observations and a review of many classified documents. Johansen discussed UN peacekeeping in East Timor at a current affairs roundtable organized by the Kroc and Kellogg Institutes.

Michael Barnett





## Conference: Averting Nuclear Anarchy: The Current Crisis in Arms Control

The rejection of the comprehensive nuclear test ban treaty by the U.S. Senate, the loss of momentum in U.S.-Russian arms reductions, nuclear tests by India and Pakistan, and the looming U.S. decision to deploy a national missile defense system that may violate the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty have created a crisis for nuclear nonproliferation and disarmament.

To address these issues and examine the agenda for reducing nuclear dangers, the Fourth Freedom Forum and the Kroc Institute convened the "Averting Nuclear Anarchy" conference on March 31 at the University of Notre Dame. Cosponsoring the program were the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, the Lawyers Alliance for World Security, and the Union of Concerned Scientists.



Thomas Graham

The program featured policy experts, ethicists, scientists and scholars. Research Fellow and Fourth Freedom Forum President **David Cortright** began the program with an overview of the current crisis in arms control, noting

how the role of nuclear weapons in U.S. policy has expanded to include "counter-proliferation." **Gerard Powers**, Director of the Office for International Justice and Peace of the U.S. Catholic Conference, spoke on the ethical dimensions of the nuclear dilemma, particularly focusing on the continuing relevance of the 1983 pastoral letter of the U.S. Catholic Bishops, *The Challenge of Peace*.

**Lisbeth Gronlund**, Senior Staff Scientist at the Union of Concerned Scientists and Research Fellow at MIT's Security Studies Program, addressed several technical limitations of the proposed national missile defense program and observed how it violated the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) treaty. Joining Gronlund on the scientific panel was **Andreas Toupadakis**, former scientist at the Lawrence Livermore and Los Alamos National Laboratories, who recently resigned because of his opposition to the continued maintenance and development of nuclear weapons.

Addressing the policy aspects of the current nuclear dilemma were former Ambassador **Thomas Graham** of the Lawyers Alliance for World Security, **Stephen Schwartz**, publisher of the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, and **Sarah Sewall**, Projects Director of the Carr Center on Human Rights at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University. Graham criticized the U.S. Senate's rejection of the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT), arguing that further actions like this could unravel arms control and non-proliferation efforts. Schwartz delineated the enormous financial costs of the nuclear arms race, while Sewall placed the current crisis within a broader context of an increasingly unilateralist and "exceptionalist" U.S. policy.



Stephen Schwartz

The keynote address by **Sir Joseph Rotblat** formed a bridge between the "Averting Nuclear Anarchy" conference and the student-organized conference "2000 Roads to Peace." (See page 23.) Rotblat is Emeritus Professor of Physics at the University of London and received the 1995 Nobel Peace Prize for his role as leader of the Pugwash Conference on Science and World Affairs,

which played a key role in developing the current arms control regime. Rotblat was introduced by **Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh**, C.S.C., President Emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, who praised Rotblat's long and distinguished devotion to the cause of disarmament and emphasized the importance of religious leaders and scientists cooperating to rid the world of nuclear dangers. Like many other scientists at the time, Rotblat reluctantly joined the Manhattan Project believing that the development of the atom bomb was morally acceptable as a deterrent to the Nazi regime. When it became clear that the real purpose of the project was not to deter Hitler, but to subdue the Russians, he resigned. Rotblat stressed the need to eliminate war itself, rather than just nuclear weapons,



Sarah Sewall

and noted recent developments, such as the formation of the European Union, which could reduce the potential for war.

## Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding

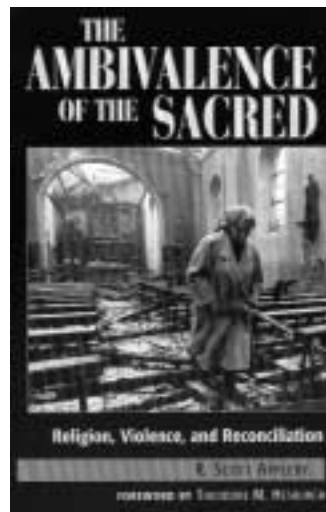
**T**he new Kroc Institute Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP) is an interdisciplinary, interreligious initiative that explores the complex roles of diverse religious traditions in contemporary conflicts. The PRCP encompasses the full spectrum of religious involvement in contemporary conflict, from the religious legitimization of violence to religious peacebuilding efforts, including conflict mediation by religious groups and efforts to promote inter-religious and intra-religious dialogue. Through deeper understanding of religion's complex role in conflict situations, the PRCP hopes to strengthen the potential for peacebuilding within all religious traditions.

The PRCP was significantly strengthened and expanded during the 1999-2000 academic year. The Kroc Institute received a \$350,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation in support of visiting fellowships in the PRCP over a 3-year period beginning in 2001. The grant will enhance the research component of the PRCP by attracting scholars and peacebuilding practitioners with expertise on a diverse range of religious, cultural and political contexts.

The Kroc Institute and the University of Notre Dame also conducted a search for the Luce Professor of Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding, who will lead the PRCP. The professorship was created through an award from the Henry R. Luce Foundation. A search committee composed of Kroc Institute fellows interviewed several outstanding candidates, and hopes to announce an appointment in the near future.

The year also saw the publication of Scott

Appleby's *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence and Reconciliation* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), which examines what religious terrorists and religious peacemakers share in common, what causes them to take different paths in fighting injustice, and how a deeper understanding of religious extremism can and must be integrated more effectively into our thinking about tribal, regional, and international



conflict. The book provides a map of the field and a framework for further research by the PRCP. This book was commissioned by the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict and emerged out of a conference co-sponsored by the Commission and the Kroc Institute at Tantur Ecumenical Institute in Jerusalem.

## Kroc Institute-JNU Peace Studies Academic Exchange

The Kroc Institute-Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) Peace Studies Academic Exchange, led by David Cortright of the Kroc Institute and Amitabh Mattoo of JNU, seeks to encourage peace research and education on matters of South Asian security through academic exchanges of scholars and collaborative research projects. The coalition was made possible through a grant from the Ford Foundation to JNU and Notre Dame.

In March 2000, the Kroc-JNU team organized a workshop on peace and conflict studies in New Delhi that brought together South Asians from all countries in the region. Also attending were Kroc Institute Fellows David Cortright, George Lopez, and Raimo Väyrynen. Discussions centered on the development of a common curriculum as well as the development of a South Asian Peace Studies Reader. This reader will consist of chapters written and published by South Asians and others on a range of issues including conceptions of peace and security, weapons of mass destruction, economic and developmental issues, ecology, migration and refugees, and small arms. The volume is being prepared jointly by JNU and the Kroc Institute. Mallika Joseph, a doctoral candidate at JNU and a Research Officer with the Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies (IPCS) in New Delhi, spent

the spring 2000 semester at the Kroc Institute working on the peace studies reader.

In April-May 2000, Kanti Bajpai, Associate Professor in the School of International Studies, JNU conducted research on human security as a Visiting Fellow at the Kroc Institute. Bajpai completed an article on "The Idea of a Human Security Audit," which was published in the Kroc Institute *Report* #19. A more extensive version of this paper, "Human Security: Concept and Measurement," was published in South Asia and as Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #19:OP:1. On the basis of the conceptualization done by Bajpai, he and Amitabh Mattoo are planning to



Kroc/JNU Conference Participants



Kanti Bajpai

conduct an audit of human security in India by comparing the various states within the country.

Building on collaborations generated by this project, the Kroc Institute published a policy brief by Samina Ahmed and David Cortright, entitled “Preventing a Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia: U.S. Policy Options” (Policy Brief #2, January 2000). Ahmed is currently a fellow at Harvard’s Kennedy School of Government and previously collaborated with Cortright on

*Pakistan and the Bomb* (Notre Dame 1998). The Institute also published “Pakistan’s Nuclear Weapons Program: Moving Forward or Tactical Retreat?” (Occasional Paper #18:OP:2) by Ahmed.

To assess current developments in the region, the Institute organized a current affairs panel, “The Pakistani Coup: A Step Backward or Forward?” with Visiting Fellow Moonis Ahmar, Associate Professor of International Relations at the University of Karachi, and Kroc Fellow Ashutosh Varshney as panelists.

## Globalization

Convened by Raimo Väyrynen, the Kroc Institute working group on globalization explores conceptual, practical, and ethical aspects of the globalization process. The multidisciplinary group includes Joseph Buttigieg (English), Barbara Fick (Law), Denis Goulet (Economics), George Lopez (Government), Layna Mosley (Government), and Lee Tavis (Business Administration). The group explores the complex interaction between globalization processes, efforts at their global governance, and societal responses to them. With the eruption of anti-globalization protests against the World Trade Organization, the World Bank, and other international agencies during 1999-2000, the group turned its attention toward developing a framework that would facilitate critical thinking about the interests and values which inspire support for and opposition to globalization.

To enrich its study of the ethical dimensions of globalization, the Institute invited Saskia Sassen, Professor of sociology at the University of Chicago and Centennial Visiting Professor, London School of Economics, to deliver the Sixth Annual Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C. Lectures on Ethics and Public Policy. In her lectures,

which explored the theme “Toward New Architectures of Governance in a Global Age,” Sassen examined the changing role of states in governing the global economy and analyzed the impact of a strengthening global economy on the continuity and formation of rights often associated with citizenship. Raimo Väyrynen and Patrick Gaffney



presented responses highlighting the relationship of accountability and national democracy and the uneven dispersion of globalization. In addition, a lecture by William Reno, Associate Professor of Political Science at Northwestern University, explored the interaction of globalization and violence comparatively in the former Soviet Union and Africa.



Saskia Sassen, who completed a Ph.D. in sociology at Notre Dame, with doctoral classmates Gilberto Cardenas (left), Assistant Provost and Director of Notre Dame's Institute for Latino Studies; Fr. Hesburgh; and Jorge Bustamante, Conley Professor of Sociology at Notre Dame

## Grants to the Kroc Institute Awarded During 1999-2000

**The Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowships Program** awarded \$350,000 to support Visiting Fellowships in the Program in Religion, Conflict, and Peacebuilding (PRCP) over a 3-year period beginning in 2001. The grant will support research by scholars and peacebuilding practitioners on the complex role of diverse religious traditions in contemporary conflicts.

**The Ford Foundation-Santiago** awarded \$400,000 to the Kellogg Institute in collaboration with the Kroc Institute, the Center for Civil and Human Rights, the Colombian Commission of Jurists, and Inter-American Dialogue for a three year project on Democracy, Human Rights, and Peace in Colombia. As part of the collaboration, the Kroc Institute will be enrolling at least one Colombian in its M.A. program each year and hosting visiting fellows.

**The American-Scandinavian Foundation** awarded \$20,000 for a Visiting Fellowship for Peter Wallensteen, Dag Hammarskjöld Professor of Peace and Conflict Research, Uppsala University, Uppsala, Sweden, during the spring semester of 2001. Wallensteen will be the Foundation's first Swedish Visiting Lecturer.

**The Paul M. and Barbara Henkels Visiting Scholars Series** at the University of Notre Dame awarded \$10,000 to the Kroc Institute for a conference on "The Waning of Major War," to be held April 6-8, 2001. The conference, which is co-sponsored by the Nanovic Institute for European Studies, will examine historical and political perspectives on the possibility that interstate war is declining.





## G R A D U A T E P R O G R A M

Graduate work in peace studies at the Kroc Institute equips students with theoretical understanding and practical skills to prepare them for careers in research, teaching, public service, economic development, or social action.

In a highly selective process, the Institute accepts 20 students annually in its intensive 11-month Master of Arts program. Approximately three quarters are drawn from outside the United States. The Institute particularly seeks students

from war-torn areas or regions where violence could erupt, and actively seeks to ensure cultural, religious, and socio-economic diversity among participants.

During the 1999-2000 year, the program took a number of steps to strengthen its emphasis on developing students' practical skills in peacebuilding. A new course, Peacemaking Praxis and Professional Development, is designed to improve the students' analytical and problem-solving skills, to give them structured experience in peace research as well as in fieldwork, and to prepare them for competing effectively in the job market and professional life. Charles Wilber (Director of Graduate Studies), Anne Hayner (Administrator of the master's program), Felicia Leon-Driscoll (coordinator of fieldwork) and Russell

Kitchner (University of Notre Dame Career Services) each supervise different dimensions of this year-long course.

Another new feature of the master's program is a summer course focusing on conflict transformation and peacebuilding taught by John Paul Lederach, Professor of Conflict Studies at Eastern Mennonite University and a leading practitioner in the field. Lederach brings a wealth of field experience in peacebuilding practice to the program and will assist students in designing strategies for peacebuilding in specific contexts.

The 1999-2000 academic year also saw the closing of





“Peace House” in Columba Hall. Since the program began in 1986, the Columba Hall facility has been home to many students in the M.A. program. Nearly all students in the 2000-01 class chose to reside in an off-campus apartment complex identified by the Institute, which offers greater independence and increased living space.

The Kroc Institute initiated a new internship program this past year to assist students in integrating the theory and practice of peacemaking and to help students obtain experience in peace organizations after completion of the M.A. After identifying potential internship possibilities, interested students are invited to apply to the Institute for up to three months of funding, which would supplement the resources available from the host organization.

Five students were chosen to receive funding for internships in 2000: Elizabeth Buckley (USA) worked at the Carter Center at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia in research on the diaries of President Jimmy Carter; Arif Mohammad (Pakistan) assisted the editor of the Arms Control Reporter, a publication of the Institute for Defense

and Disarmament Studies (IDOS) in Cambridge, Massachusetts; Charles Muwunga (Uganda) assisted with research on economic sanctions at the Fourth Freedom Forum, Goshen, Indiana; Ojong (“Princewill”) Odidi (Nigeria) assisted the Carter Center at Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia in human rights programs; and V. A. Vidya (India) interned at the Rocky Mountain Peace and Justice Center in Boulder, Colorado.

As in previous years, students in the 1999-00 class have moved on to a wide range of peacebuilding careers. Several have accepted positions in international and non-governmental organizations, including:

- ✦ Center for Budget and Policy Priorities, Washington, D.C.;
- ✦ World Wildlife Fund, Washington, D.C.;
- ✦ Red Cross, Boston, Massachusetts;
- ✦ Elizabeth Fry Society, Vancouver, B.C.;
- ✦ Institute for the Future, Menlo Park, California; and
- ✦ Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Kosova.

Three continued their graduate study in doctoral programs at the University of Florida and Notre Dame. One returned to a position in the U.S. military. Others returned to academic positions at the University of Winnipeg, Canada and Parahyangan Catholic University, Bedung, Indonesia.

## Kroc Alumni Facilitate Undergraduate "Mexico Seminar"

From May 17 – May 31, 2000, ten Notre Dame undergraduate students gained a first-hand experience of life in Mexico, with the help of the Kroc alumni network.



Estela Roman ('94-95) (right), with Dora Diaz (left), a community worker and traditional healer from the Mexican Institute of Traditional Medicine.

For more than a decade, Notre Dame's Center for Social Concerns has offered an experiential learning program in Mexico, inviting students to increase their awareness of issues facing developing countries and to challenge their own assumptions about poverty in the developing world. This year's "Mexico seminar" sparked a new partnership with the International Center for Cultural and Language Studies (CICE), a nonprofit organization directed by **Estela Roman**, a '94-95 alumna of the Kroc Institute.

CICE seeks to establish a forum for dialogue among people of different cultures and supports community projects which empower people with little or no economic resources. CICE thus provided an ideal partner for connecting Notre Dame students with a number of local and indigenous groups working for social justice.

After visits to several cultural and historical sites in Mexico City, the group traveled to CICE's home office in Cuernavaca. From there they visited a local NGO working for self-sustainable development, a tortilleria factory owned by a women's cooperative, a rural farm and deer-raising project, and a community education project in the Nahuatl-speaking town of Coatetelco.

"The Seminar served as a fruitful starting point for engaging issues and questioning a world system which allows such great inequalities," observed **Elizabeth Buckley** ('99-00), who co-facilitated the trip. Through the seminar, "a Notre Dame education can further evoke the challenge of Catholic social teaching and the call that each of us has to live more simply so that others may simply live."



## U N D E R G R A D U A T E P R O G R A M

The Concentration in Peace Studies (CPS) is a 15-credit-hour multidisciplinary program available to undergraduates who want to complement their major field with courses focused on issues of peace, violence, justice, and human rights.

Courses in the concentration aim to combine knowledge with relevant skills and are drawn from more than 15 university departments.

The focus of much of the work within the undergraduate program was on the design and expansion of the concentration of peace studies into other curricular options for students which included peace studies as a second or co-major. The program also considered criteria whereby peace studies might be constructed by a student as a fully independent major. This latter option emerged as T. Nicholas Tyszka, last year's Yarrow Award winner, became the first student in the University to graduate with peace studies as an academic major. These options will be undergoing review by the appropriate committees within the College of Arts & Letters in the coming academic year.

Other noteworthy developments in the undergraduate area included a set of awards for course and program development that expanded the offerings and reach of the program. Christopher Hamlin in the History

Department and Daniel Lindley in the Department of Government and International Studies each received summer stipends for course development from a cooperative program funded by the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts (ISLA) and the Kroc Institute. Each developed an upper level course on war, which in each case was to be premiered this fall semester. Additionally, the Institute engaged in a series of summer meetings with staff of the Center for Social Concerns to explore additional ways of cross-fertilizing the curricular and outreach work of each unit as they service the educational interests of undergraduates in the peace and justice area.

In May the undergraduate concentration in peace studies again selected two outstanding juniors for the Yarrow Award. This annual prize is given to the upper level students in peace studies who best exemplify a combination of strong academic achievement and service work for peace and justice. The award is provided by Notre Dame alumnus Ms. Leslie Anderson and named in honor of Peter Yarrow, longtime activist for

social change, songwriter and performer.

This year the committee selected Tim Doenges and Erin Lovell, both juniors. Doenges' service work has taken him across the United States and to the other end of the hemisphere. As an advocate for the poor, homeless and those trying to recover from cycles of crime, he has worked at a children's orphanage in Talagante, Chile and lived and worked with members of the Dismas House communities in Albuquerque, New Mexico and South Bend. Dismas House is a transitional living and motivational environment for persons coming out of prison and attempting to re-enter U.S. society. He plans to work for Dismas after graduation in 2001.

Erin Lovell has also engaged in a wide array of service activity at both the local and global level. She participated in foreign study in London and Ireland and has worked at the Hibiscus Children's Shelter. The theme of children in the Irish conflict will be the subject of Lovell's senior thesis work next year, when she will also be working under the direction of Kroc Fellow Mark Cummings, who directs a large US-based project on families in conflict. Lovell also completed an internship at the YWCA working on domestic violence issues and has been involved with Best Buddies International, which links people with mental retardation in one-on-one friendships across borders.



## Student Conference Explores 2000 Roads to Peace

Each year, undergraduate and graduate students at the Kroc Institute organize a conference run in its entirety by students. A recent gift by Joan Kroc has ensured that these conferences will continue to be an annual highlight.

Last year's conference, entitled "2000 Roads To Peace," took place on Friday, March 31, and Saturday, April 1. The conference attracted student participants from across the Midwest and as far away as New York. T. Nicholas Tyzka served as this year's conference chair, and the conference planning committee included more than twenty-five undergraduate and graduate students in peace studies.

The conference began on Friday evening with a keynote address by 1995 Nobel laureate **Sir Joseph Rotblat**. (See page 14.) Friday's events were capped off by an opening party at the Center for Social Concerns.

Saturday's events included an all-day program. At the heart of the conference were sessions where students presented and discussed papers that they had written on issues relating to justice, peace, and violence. Topics ranged from domestic issues of civil rights discrimination to international issues of human rights abuses.

Other panels throughout the day included distinguished activists for peace. Among the panelists who sat on the panel entitled, "Living A Peaceful Life After Your Studies Have Ended," was **Rev. Stephen P. Newton, C.S.C.**, President & C.E.O. of the Wilson Foundation.

Concluding remarks were given by **Betsy Fader**, Director of Strategy and Planning at the Doris Duke Foundation, based in New York City.





## P U B L I C A T I O N S

The Institute completed a major upgrade of its website this past year. The redesigned site has a number of added features, including a search engine; online subscriptions to events, policy briefs, and web updates lists; an expanded “People” section with contact information, biographies and CV’s of all Institute fellows and staff; and a new “Research” section which provides information on current research projects and links to related materials and publications. The number of visitors to the Institute’s website again more than doubled from the previous year, with an average of over 1600 requests for pages per week coming from of more than 400 hosts.



The Institute published two briefs in its newly inaugurated Policy Brief series, which analyzes current issues in international affairs and proposes innovative strategies for peace. The series received favorable attention from policy-makers. “Preventing a Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia: U.S. Policy Options,” Policy Brief #2, by Samina Ahmed and David Cortright, was reprinted in the *Congressional Record* (March 21, 2000, E366-67) at the request of Rep. Timothy Roemer, Third District of Indiana.

During the 1999-2000 year, the Institute added five papers to its Occasional Paper Series, addressing topics ranging from nuclear policy in South Asia to Arab-Islamic rituals of reconciliation. The Kroc Institute’s Occasional Paper Series includes original research by visiting lecturers and members of the Notre Dame community. The full-text of all papers are available on-line at [www.nd.edu/~krocinst/ocpapers/](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/ocpapers/).

Papers are also published on Columbia International Affairs Online [www.ciao.org](http://www.ciao.org), a comprehensive collection of working papers on international affairs from research and policy institutes and organizations worldwide.

All of these publications together with the online edition of the Kroc Institute’s semi-annual newsletter, the *REPORT*, are available on the Institute’s web site at [www.nd.edu/~krocinst](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst)

# Occasional Paper Series

19:OP:1

The Kroc Institute  
FOR INTERNATIONAL  
University

## Policy Brief

### The European Union's New Crisis Management Capability

By Raimo Väyrynen

#### Recommendations

- The international community and the United States should welcome the new EU force as a major contribution to the development of a more differentiated response to military crises.
- The EU should develop its new force concurrently with the strengthening of its political and economic instruments.

To the surprise of most observers, the establishment of its own crisis management instrument, the European Council, backed up by NATO. The Council pledged to maintain high readiness to respond to crises independently of the EU states as a new instrument of crisis management.



## Occasional Papers

### Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict

Occasional Paper #18:OP:1

Neve Gordon and George A. Lopez.

### Pakistan's Nuclear Weapons Program: Moving Forward or Tactical Retreat?

Occasional Paper #18:OP:2

Samina Ahmed

### Stable Peace through Security Communities? Steps Towards Theory-Building

Occasional Paper #18:OP:3

Raimo Väyrynen

### Human Security: Concept and Measurement

Occasional Paper #19:OP:1

Kanti Bajpai

### Rituals of Reconciliation: Arab-Islamic Perspectives

Occasional Paper #19:OP:2

George E. Irani and Nathan C. Funk

## Policy Briefs

### Preventing a Nuclear Arms Race in South Asia: U.S. Policy Options

Policy Brief #2, January 2000

Samina Ahmed and David Cortright

### The European Union's New Crisis Management Capability

Policy Brief #3, February 2000

Raimo Väyrynen

## Appendix I — Publications by Kroc Fellows

### Books

**R. Scott Appleby**, *The Ambivalence of the Sacred: Religion, Violence, and Reconciliation* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000).

**David Cortright and George A. Lopez**, with Richard W. Conroy, Jaleh Dashti-Gibson, and Julia Wagler, *The Sanctions Decade: Assessing UN Strategies in the 1990s* (Boulder, Co.: Lynne Rienner, 2000).

**Fred Dallmayr**, ed., *Border Crossings: Toward a Comparative Political Theory* (Boston: Rowman & Littlefield, 1999).

**John Darby** and Roger MacGinty, ed., *The Management of Peace Processes* (MacMillan/St. Martin's, 2000).

**Denis Goulet**, *Ética del Desarrollo: Guía Teórica y Pr-ctica* [Development Ethics: A Guide to Theory and Practice] (Madrid, Spain: IEPALA Editorial, 1999).

Alexandre Kiss and **Dinah Shelton**, *International Environmental Law (Second Edition)* (New York: Transnational Press, 2000).

**Dinah Shelton**, *Remedies in International Human Rights Law* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

**Kathleen Maas Weigert** and Robin Crews, ed., *Teaching for Justice: Concepts and Models for Service-Learning in Peace Studies* (American Association for Higher Education Publications, 1999).

### Articles and Chapters

**Tristan Anne Borer**, "Truth, Reconciliation, and Justice," *Peace Review* 11, no. 2 (1999): 303-309.

**David Cortright**, "The War Against War," in *Against the Vietnam War: Writings by Activists*, ed. Mary Susannah Robbins (Syracuse, NY: Syracuse University Press, 1999), 224-242.

**Fred Dallmayr**, "Globalization from Below," *International Politics* 36, no. 36 (September 1999): 321-334.

**Patrick Gaffney**, "Fire from Heaven: The Combustible Context of the Easter Ritual at the Church of the Holy Sepulcher," in *The Nature and Function of Rituals: Fire From Heaven*, ed. Ruth-Inge Heinze (Westport, Connecticut: Bergin and Garvey, 2000), 151-178.

**Denis Goulet**, "Defining Wealth, Rethinking Development, Achieving Sustainability," *Humanomics* 15, no. 2/3 (1999): 42-59.

-, "Ethics, Culture and Development: Livestock, Poverty and Quality of Rural Life," in *Livestock, Ethics and Quality of Life*, ed. John Hodges and In K. Han (Oxford/New York: CABI Publishing, 2000), 131-156.

-, "Science, Religion, Développement: Adversaires ou Partenaires? [Science, Religion, Development: Strangers or Partners?]," *Foi et Développement* 281 (Mars 2000): 1-7.

**George A. Lopez**, "More Ethical than Not: Sanctions as Surgical Tools," *Ethics and International Affairs* 13 (1999): 143-148.

**George Lopez** and Neve Gordon, "Terrorism in the Arab-Israeli Conflict," in *Ethics in International Affairs*, ed. Andrew Valls (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000), 99-116.

**Siobhan McEvoy-Levy**, "Communities and Peace: Catholic Youth in Northern Ireland," *Journal of Peace Research* 31, no.1 (2000): 85-104.

**Carolyn Nordstrom**, "Visible Wars and Invisible Girls: Shadow Industries and the Politics of Not- Knowing," *International Feminist Journal of Politics* 1, no. 1 (1999): 14-33.

**Raimo Väyrynen**, "The Enlargement of NATO: Shaping Europe in the Post-Cold War World," in *Security Dilemmas in Eurasia*, ed. Constantine Arvanitopoulos (Athens, Greece: Nereus 1999), 73-114.

**Kathleen Maas Weigert**, "Structural Violence," in *Encyclopedia of Violence, Peace and Conflict*, Vol. 3, Lester A. Kurtz, Editor-in-Chief (San Diego, CA: Academic Press, 1999), 431-440.

**Kathleen Maas Weigert** and Robin Crews, "Moral Dimensions of Peace Studies: A Case for Service-Learning," in *Teaching for Justice: Concepts and Models for Service-Learning in Peace Studies*, ed. Kathleen Maas Weigert and Robin Crews (American Association for Higher Education, 1999), 9-21.

## Appendix II — 1999-2000 Lectures

September 13

“Alternatives to Western Conflict Mismanagement in Yugoslavia”

**Jan Oberg**, Director, Transnational Foundation for Peace and Future Research (TFF)

September 15

“Can a Christian Do Enough to Oppose Genocide While Remaining Nonviolent?”  
The John Howard Yoder Dialogues on Nonviolence, Religion, and Peace

**Jim Wallis**, Editor-in-Chief, *Sojourners* magazine

September 21

“The ‘Custom of Fell Deed’: The Effects of Violence on Peace Processes”

**John Darby**, Professor of Ethnic Studies, University of Ulster, Northern Ireland; Visiting Fellow, Kroc Institute and Keough Institute of Irish Studies

*co-sponsored by the Keough Institute of Irish Studies*

September 27

“The European Union: A Great Power in the Making?”

**Esko Antola**, Jean Monnet Professor of European Studies, University of Turku, Finland

*co-sponsored by the Nanovic Institute for European Studies*

September 30

Current Affairs Roundtable: “Prospects for Peace in East Timor”

Panelists:

**Peter Moody**, Professor of Government and International Studies; Acting Director, Center for Asian Studies

**Robert C. Johansen**, Professor of Government and International Studies;

**Y. Slamet Purwadi**, graduate student in peace studies from Indonesia

*co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute for International Studies and the Center for Asian Studies*

October 5

“Drugs, Gangs and Religious Vigilantism in Post-apartheid South Africa”

**Rashied Omar**, Imam, Claremont Main Road Mosque, Cape Town, South Africa

October 6

Current Affairs Roundtable: “Is Colombia Disintegrating?”

Panelists:

**Gustavo Gallón**, Colombian Commission of Jurists (CCJ) & UN;

**Olga Gutiérrez**, Universidad Javeriana de Colombia;

**George Lopez**, Professor of Government and International Studies;

**Helena Olea**, CCHR, Law School, & CCJ;  
**Carlos Rodriguez Mejia**, Kellogg Institute & CCJ

*co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute for International Studies*



October 7

“Crafting an Independent Estonia”

**Barbara McCrea**, Visiting Scholar, Kroc Institute

October 12

“The Constitutional Impasse in Belarus as a Challenge to the International Community”

**Sergei Solodovnikov**, researcher, OSCE; Visiting Scholar, Kroc Institute

October 26

“New Challenges in Understanding Contemporary Conflict and Violence”

**George A. Lopez**, Professor of Government and International Studies

October 28

“The Pakistani Coup: A Step Backward or Forward?”

*Panelists:*

**Moonis Ahmar**, Associate Professor of International Relations, University of Karachi, Pakistan; Visiting Fellow, Kroc Institute

**Ashutosh Varshney**, Associate Professor of Government and International Studies; Fellow, Kroc and Kellogg Institutes

*co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute for International Studies*

November 1

“‘Bone of my bone, blood of my blood’: Why Ethnic Conflicts are so Violent”

**Walker Connor**, Department of Political Science, Middlebury College

November 2

“Conflict Prevention: Promises and Pitfalls”

**Raimo Väyrynen**, Professor of Government and International Studies

November 2

“Regulatory Agencies and Citizen Panels: Resolving Questions of Scientific Fact and Law”

**Thomas Field, Jr.**, Professor of Law, Franklin Pierce Law Center

*organized by the Science, Technology and Values Program of the Reilly Center and the O’Neill Chair*

November 4

“Seeking a Common Future for the Congo: The Convergence of Opportunity and Pressure after the Lusaka Accords”

**Rev. Patrick Gaffney, C.S.C.**, Associate Professor and Chair, Department of Anthropology

November 9

“Violence, Business and State-Collapse: Is Africa a Special Case?”

**William Reno**, Associate Professor of Political Science, Northwestern University

November 11

“US Non-Proliferation Policy in South Asia: Problems and Prospects”

**Samina Ahmed**, Fellow, Belfer Center for Science and International Affairs, Harvard University

November 16

“A New Agenda for World Politics?”

**Stephanie Lawson**, Professor of International Relations, School of Economic and Social Studies, University of East Anglia

November 18

“Democracy and Human Rights in South Asia”

**Clarence Dias**, Director, International Center for Law in Development  
*organized by the Pakistan Association of Notre Dame*

November 18

“Debating Definitions: Assessing the ‘Success’ of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission”

**Tristan Anne Borer**, Assistant Professor of Government and International Relations, Connecticut College; Visiting Fellow, Kroc Institute

November 23

“Rethinking the Theory and Practice of ‘Peace Process’”

**Moonis Ahmar**, Associate Professor of International Relations, University of Karachi; Visiting Fellow, Kroc Institute

January 20

“Religion and Politics: Reflections on the Rushdie Affair”

**Bhikhu Parekh**, Professor of Political Theory, University of Hull, England

January 24

“Islamophobia: A Media Ploy for Mapping Global Conflict Minus Muslim Actors?”

**Bruce Lawrence**, Professor of Religion, Duke University

February 1

“The Case for Abolishing Nuclear Weapons Now”

**Jonathan Schell**, author of *The Fate of the Earth* (1982) and *The Gift of Time* (1997)  
*co-sponsored by Fourth Freedom Forum, Goshen, Indiana*

February 8

“The UN’s ‘Retreat with Honor’ from the Rwandan Genocide”

**Michael Barnett**, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin  
*co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute for International Studies and its Africa Seminar Series*

February 17

“The Senegalese Youth and the Production of an Urban Culture”

**Mamadou Diouf**, Visiting Professor of History, University of Michigan  
*co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute’s Africa Seminar Series*

February 17

“Globalization and Sikh Radicalism”

**Cynthia Mahmood**, Associate Professor of Anthropology, University of Maine

February 24

“Arab-Islamic Rituals of Reconciliation:  
From the Interpersonal to the Communal”  
**George Irani**, Visiting Assistant Professor of  
Political Science, Washington College,  
Chestertown, Maryland

March 3

“Peace in the New Millennium: Nurturing  
Children in a Violent World”  
**Betty Williams**, President of the Centers of  
Compassion for Children, Winner of the  
Nobel Peace Prize for her work against vio-  
lence in Northern Ireland  
*co-sponsored by the Center for Social Concerns*

March 7

“‘This Island’s Mine’ or ‘Brave New World’:  
Young People and the Work of Peace in  
Post-Agreement Northern Ireland”  
**Siobhan McEvoy-Levy**, Visiting Fellow,  
Kroc Institute

March 21

“Archbishop Romero: An Apostle for  
Human Rights”  
THE ANNUAL ARCHBISHOP ROMERO  
LECTURE  
**Roberto Cuellar**, President of Inter-  
American Institute for Human Rights  
*co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute for  
International Studies*

March 23

“The European Union’s Plans for an  
Intervention Force”  
**Raimo Väyrynen**, Professor of Government  
and International Studies

March 23

“Bishop Bello of East Timor”  
**Arnold Kohen**, President of The  
Humanitarian Project, author of *From the  
Place of the Dead: The Epic Struggles of  
Bishop Belo of East Timor*  
*organized by the East Timor Action Network  
at Notre Dame*

March 28

“From Orientalism to Occidentalism:  
Western Philosophy as Seen by a Non-  
Western Philosopher”  
**Hassan Hanafi**, Professor of Philosophy,  
University of Cairo, Egypt  
*cosponsored by the Departments of Philosophy  
and Anthropology, the Program of Middle  
Eastern Studies, and the Dee Chair of  
Government*

March 28

“The Security Council in the 1990s: Boom  
or Bust?”  
**Amb. David Malone**, President of the  
International Peace Academy

April 6

“States and the New Geography of Power:  
De-Nationalized State Agendas and  
Privatized Norm-Making”  
THE HESBURGH LECTURES ON ETHICS AND  
PUBLIC POLICY  
**Saskia Sassen**, Professor of Sociology,  
University of Chicago

April 7

“New Challenges for Urban Governance in a Global Context”

THE HESBURGH LECTURES ON ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY

**Saskia Sassen**, Professor of Sociology, University of Chicago

April 10

“Virtual Solidarity: Working for Justice in World Religions”

**Tamara Sonn**, Professor of Religion, College of William and Mary

April 14

“Fairness and Sharing in Innovation Games: A Laboratory Investigation”

**Vai-Lam Mui**, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Notre Dame

April 18

“Interethnic Conflict in Central Asia”

**Arstan Kulnazarov**, Professor of Philosophy, Osh State University, Osh, Kyrgyzstan; Visiting Scholar, Kroc Institute

April 27

“Democracy, Dignity, and Poverty”

**Ashutosh Varshney**, Associate Professor, Department of Government and International Studies

*co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute for International Studies*

April 28

“Rethinking Pakistan”

**C. M. Naim**, Professor of South Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Chicago

*co-sponsored by the Pakistan Association of Notre Dame*

May 4

“Weapons of Mass Destruction and the Islamic Ethics of War”

**Sohail Hashmi**, Assistant Professor of International Relations, Mount Holyoke College

1999-2000 Conference  
Co-sponsorships

March 17-19

Military Chaplains in Their Contexts  
organized by **Doris Bergen**, associate professor of history

April 14-16

Alternative Conceptions of Justice  
organized by **James Sterba**, professor of philosophy

*[video available online at  
<<http://ethics.acusd.edu/video/justice/>>]*

## Appendix III — Faculty, Staff, and Students

### 1999-2000 Core Faculty

**R. Scott Appleby**, Professor of History, was appointed John M. Regan Jr. Director of the Kroc Institute beginning August 25, 2000.

**Robert C. Johansen**, Professor of Government and International Studies and Senior Fellow of the Kroc Institute, served as Acting Director of the Kroc Institute during academic year 1998-99 and the fall semester 1999. Johansen previously served as Director of Graduate Studies since the inception of the program.

**George A. Lopez** served as Director of Undergraduate Studies from the 1986-2000. In August 2000, Lopez became Director of Policy Studies and Senior Fellow at the Kroc Institute. He is on leave from the Department of Government and International Studies.

**Carolyn Nordstrom**, Associate Professor of Anthropology, served as Director of Graduate Studies in 1999-2000.

**Raimo Väyrynen**, Professor of Government and International Studies, is a Senior Fellow at the Kroc Institute. Väyrynen served as John M. Regan Jr. Director of the Kroc Institute from 1993-98.

**Charles K. Wilber**, Professor of Economics, served as Acting Director of the Kroc Institute during the spring semester 2000. Wilber began serving as Director of Graduate Studies and budget advisor in August 2000.

### 1999-2000 Faculty Fellows

**Rev. Michael J. Baxter, C.S.C.**, Assistant Professor of Theology

**Doris L. Bergen**, Associate Professor of History

**Jeffrey H. Bergstrand**, Associate Professor of Finance and Business Economics

**Rev. David B. Burrell, C.S.C.**, Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C. Professor of Theology and Philosophy

**Paolo G. Carozza**, Associate Professor of Law

**E. Mark Cummings**, Professor of Psychology

**Fred R. Dallmayr**, Packey J. Dee Professor of Government and International Studies

**Alan K. Dowty**, Professor of Government and International Studies

**Barbara J. Fick**, Associate Professor of Law

**Michael J. Francis**, Professor of Government and International Studies; Assistant Provost for International Studies; Director, Latin American Area Studies Program (Undergraduate)

**Rev. Patrick D. Gaffney, C.S.C.**, Associate Professor and Chair of Anthropology

**Teresa Ghilarducci**, Associate Professor of Economics; Director of the Higgins Labor Research Center

**Denis A. Goulet**, William and Dorothy O'Neill Professor of Economics

**George S. Howard**, Professor of Psychology

**Ruthann K. Johansen**, Concurrent Associate Professor of Arts and Letters; Assistant Director, Core Course

**David M. Lodge**, Professor of Biological Sciences

**Gilbert D. Loescher**, Professor of Government and International Studies

**Scott P. Mainwaring**, Eugene and Helen Conley Professor of Government and International Studies; Director, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies

**A. James McAdams**, Professor and Chair of Government and International Studies

**Juan Mendez**, Professor of Law; Director, Center for Civil and Human Rights

**Martha L. Merritt**, Assistant Professor of Government and International Studies

**Rev. Robert S. Pelton, C.S.C.**, Fellow of the Kroc and Kellogg Institutes

**Dinah L. Shelton**, Professor of Law

**Kristin Shrader-Frechette**, O'Neill Professor of Philosophy, Concurrent Professor of Biological Sciences

**James Sterba**, Professor of Philosophy



**Lee A. Tavis**, C.R. Smith Professor of Business Administration, Professor of Finance; Director, Program on Multinational Managers and Developing Country Concerns

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**David Cortright**, Research Fellow; President, Fourth Freedom Forum, Goshen, Indiana

**John Darby**, Research Fellow; senior research fellow, INCORE (Initiative of Conflict Resolution and Ethnicity), Northern Ireland

**Arstan Kulnazarov**, IREX Contemporary Issues Visiting Scholar (Spring 2000); Professor, Department of Philosophy, Osh State University, Osh, Kyrgyzstan

**Barbara McCrea**, Visiting Scholar

**Siobhan McEvoy-Levy**, Visiting Fellow (1999-2000); Adjunct Instructor/lecturer, Butler University

**Basil O'Leary**, Visiting Scholar

**Sergei Solodovnikov**, IREX Contemporary Issues Visiting Scholar (Fall 1999); researcher, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Belarus

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# The Joan B. Kroc Institute

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