

# peace • colloquy

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

Issue No. 4, Fall 2003



## In Memoriam: Joan B. Kroc

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### Liberalism and Global Inequality

M I C H A E L W A L Z E R

### From the Field: Small Arms Proliferation in the Philippines

M A R C O G A R R I D O

## From the Editor

In this issue, we pay tribute to Mrs. Joan B. Kroc, who died of brain cancer on October 12, 2003.

In celebrating the life of Mrs. Kroc, I cannot help but begin with her philanthropy, of which the Institute has been a major beneficiary. As many of you are aware, Mrs. Kroc left a bequest of \$50 million to the Kroc Institute, bringing her total gifts to the Institute to nearly \$70 million. While it is tempting to proclaim the many ways this most recent gift will transform the Institute, we will save such exultation for our forthcoming Annual Report.

For the moment just finding words to describe her extraordinary generosity is a challenge. Nearly all of her giving had an element of surprise, both in manner and magnitude. She could leave one speechless.

Her philanthropy emphasized support for institutions that directly benefit individuals, whether they be the marginalized in San Diego or aspiring peacebuilders in Africa. As tributes from our alumni poured in following her death (some of which appear on pages 12-13), I was struck by the sense of personal gratitude toward Mrs. Kroc that so many alumni felt, myself included.

Behind her philanthropy lay an unflinching commitment to peace. In one of her first national initiatives for peace, in May 1985 she ran full page advertisements in major newspapers encouraging readers to contact their congressman or senator to stop the nuclear arms race. For the advertisement, she chose to feature a quote from Dwight Eisenhower focusing on the human cost of war, which aptly sums up the vision behind her giving.

Later that same year, Fr. Hesburgh gave his now legendary lecture in San Diego with Joan Kroc in the audience. He described the need for scientists and religious leaders to work together to halt the nuclear arms race and the greater credibility this would give to both groups. Impressed by his visionary, yet practical, approach, she offered to help. The rest, as the say, is history.

While some have referred to the partnership between Mrs. Kroc and Fr. Hesburgh as “her millions and his vision,” I think a better description would be the pairing of her commitment to establishing the credibility of peaceful alternatives in international affairs and his commitment to the role of higher education in bringing this about. As Mrs. Kroc told Scott Appleby in her final days, “Now they will know that I am serious about peace!”

To get a glimpse of the global impact of this partnership, I invite you to peruse the Alumni News on pages 22-23 or read Marco Garrido’s (’02) penetrating analysis of the impact of the war on terrorism on small arms proliferation in the Philippines on page 16.

There is no more fitting tribute to Mrs. Kroc than the work of our alumni for peace.



**HAL CULBERTSON**  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

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## Kroc Institute Welcomes 24 M.A. Students

The Institute welcomes 24 new students in its Master of Arts program in Peace Studies. Students have come from 17 countries around the world. Among this year's class, three are Fulbright scholars, one received a Muskie/Freedom Support Act Fellowship, and one was awarded a Mackenzie King Traveling Scholarship.

**Raouf Ahanger** (INDIA), 33, earned a master's degree in journalism and mass communication at the University of Kashmir in 1997. He has served as anchor, script writer and director for television documentaries and news programs. In 1996, Raouf joined the staff of *Kashmir Images*, a leading English language daily. He also worked as executive director of the Institute for Reconciliation in Jammu and Kashmir, and is secretary of the Kashmir Foundation for Peace and Development Studies.

**Anna Arroyo** (MEXICO and USA), 26, is a Mexican-born immigrant to the United States and a 2002 graduate of Georgetown University, where she studied foreign service. Anna has served as U.S. assistant director for program development for the Rio Grande/Rio Bravo Basin Coalition and as program assistant to the Northeast Mexico Program of the Nature Conservancy.

**Oldrich Bures** (THE CZECH REPUBLIC), 24, earned a master's degree in political science and European studies at Palacky University in 2002, where he is currently pursuing a Ph.D. Olda joined the information service of the People In Need Foundation, which provides the Czech public with information on international crises, violations of human rights and global issues. He attends the Kroc Institute as a Fulbright scholar.

**Mark Canavera** (USA), 26, graduated from Furman University in 1999, then served as a Peace Corps volunteer in Burkina Faso. He taught English and math in a village secondary school for two years and was a volunteer leader during his third year. While in West Africa, Mark developed several girls' education initiatives and implemented HIV/AIDS awareness and prevention projects.

**Marissa (Pay) de Guzman** (THE PHILIPPINES), 24, is a 1999 graduate of the University of the Philippines, where she studied philosophy and sociology. For three years she conducted research on development issues for Focus on the Global South, a program of development, policy research, and advocacy, and organized conferences in Bangkok, Seoul and Okinawa. Most recently, Pay served as Philippine coordinator for the Land Research Action Network, which pursues the equitable redistribution of land and resources.

**Brenda Fitzpatrick** (CANADA), 31, is a 1995 graduate of McGill University and in 2000 earned a diploma in Peace and Conflict Studies from the University of Waterloo. She has been active in environmental issues in Western Canada and has worked in Kenya as a volunteer HIV-AIDS educator and with the Sudan Track II Diplomacy Project run by Africa Peace Forum. As Grassroots Peacebuilding Officer with Oxfam-Quebec, she worked to incorporate community peacebuilding components into a health care project in South Sudan. Brenda is the recipient of a Mackenzie King Traveling Scholarship.

**Blanche Munah Hyde** (SIERRA LEONE), 31, is a 1998 graduate of the University of Sierra Leone. For four years, Munah worked for Handicap International, which provides physical and psychological rehabilitation to war victims in Sierra Leone. Recently Munah has worked with the United Nations Mission in Sierra Leone (UNAMSIL) as administrative assistant in the medical clinic.

**Lola Ibragimova** (KYRGYZSTAN), 22, is a 2003 graduate of American University Central Asia. Lola was an exchange student in Arkansas and on her return to Bishkek in 1999 she organized Amnesty International Kyrgyzstan, the only Amnesty group in Central Asia, and initiated a human rights education program for rural youth. She was the only non-European invited to join the Youth Directorate of the Council of Europe, where she worked to empower minority leaders of non-governmental organizations.



The Kroc Institute's 2003-04 M.A. Students

**Elizabeth Jordan** (USA), 22, is a 2003 Michigan State University graduate. Elizabeth helped to establish the undergraduate specialization in Peace and Justice Studies at MSU and served on the specialization's advisory committee. Her interest in social justice led her to Cuba to study race relations there in 2002, which culminated in her capstone paper for Peace and Justice Studies. In 2001 she worked with a high school Peace Center supervising peer mediations.

**Jean-Marie Kamatali** (RWANDA), 36, is a graduate of the National University of Rwanda and received a doctorate in law at the University of Graz-Austria in 1998. Jean-Marie has previously studied at Lafayette College, the University of Vienna, and Uppsala University. From 1998-2003 he taught and served as dean of the law faculty at the National University of Rwanda. Jean-Marie has been a consultant to international organizations, including FAO, UNICEF, the Danish Center for Human Rights and Lux-Development.

**Zo Sai Kunga** (BURMA), 31, is a graduate of Zomi Theological College in Burma and in 2003 earned a master's degree from Alliance Biblical Seminary in the Philippines. Kunga was one of the founders of Falam Social Welfare Society, where he served as financial secretary from 1995-97. Since 1998, he has continued activism on behalf of the people of Burma through Initiatives for International Dialogues, the secretariat of the Free Burma Coalition (Philippines). He was a founding member of the Asian Peace Alliance in 2002.

**Zafer Mohammad** (PALESTINIAN AUTHORITY), 29, is a 1996 graduate of An Najah National University in the West Bank. After college, Zafer taught English literature at the Arab Scientific High School in Ramallah and served as Youth Projects Coordinator for the Palestinian Ministry of Youth and Sports. For five years he directed the Palestinian Youth Council, and also established and directed the Palestinian Youth Forum for Development and Peace.

**Joshua Moore** (USA), 30, studied international relations and development at the University of Minnesota, graduating in 1995. For two years he served as inter-cultural program associate at the Minnesota International Center. From 2000 to 2003 he worked in Senegal with Africa Consultants International, where he designed and coordinated study abroad programs for 15 university groups each year and implemented programs in experiential learning and community service.

**Ann-Sofie Nyman** (FINLAND), 25, earned a master's degree in political science from Abo Akademi University in 2000. As a member of the Swedish-speaking minority in Finland, Ann-Sofie has seen the importance of a well-developed system of minority protection. In addition to internships at the European Parliament and the UN, she conducted research on the human rights implications of the post-September 11 fight against terrorism for the Vienna-based International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights.

**Camlus Ouma Omogo** (KENYA), 29, is a 1999 graduate of Urbaniana University in Rome. He also earned a post-graduate diploma in planning and management of development projects at Catholic University of Eastern Africa in Nairobi. For three years Omogo worked with Security Research and Information Centre (SRIC). His research on crime in Kenya formed the core of SRIC's publication *Kenya Crime Survey Series*. Omogo is a Fulbright Scholar.

**Elias Omondi Opongo, S.J.**, (KENYA), 34, holds undergraduate degrees in philosophy from Saint Pierre Canisius in Kinshasa, and in theology from Hekima College (Catholic University of Eastern Africa) in Nairobi, and in 2003 earned a master's (STL) from Weston Jesuit School of Theology. For two years Omondi, a Jesuit priest, worked with refugees from Rwanda and Burundi under Jesuit Refugee Service (JRS) in northwestern Tanzania. From 1999-2001 he conducted UNESCO peace education workshops for teachers and refugees in Somalia, Yemen and Tanzania.

**Chayanit (Nid) Poonyarat** (THAILAND), 24, is a 2001 political science graduate of Thammasat University and spent a year as an exchange student in Virginia. Nid worked for two years as assistant for the Peace Information Center in Thailand. In 2001 she joined Inter Press Service Third World News Agency (Asia-Pacific) in Bangkok as correspondent and special assistant for the Greater Mekong media fellowship program.

**Biljana Radonic** (SERBIA & MONTENEGRO), 25, studied international affairs at John Cabot University in Rome, graduating in 2003. As a Serb from Croatia, Biljana was forcefully moved to Serbia and became a refugee in 1991. In 1998 she began undergraduate studies in Belgrade and worked as part of the Kosovo Verification Mission. In July 1999, when most Serbs were leaving Kosovo, Biljana joined the UN Mission in Kosovo, where she worked for a year before winning the Balkan Presidential Scholarship for study at John Cabot University.

**Mirak Raheem** (SRI LANKA), 25, is a 2001 graduate of the London School of Economics and Political Sciences. Mirak interned at the Center for Strategic and International Studies in Washington and at the Verification Education Research Training Centre in London, where he worked on Middle East issues. In 2003, as coordinator of the Peace and Conflict Unit at the Centre for Policy Alternatives in Colombo, Mirak studied informal dispute resolution in the northeast and demilitarization in the north of Sri Lanka. Mirak is a Fulbright Scholar.

**Rebecca Steinmann** (CANADA), 27, holds a bachelor's degree from the University of Waterloo, where in 2003 she also earned a post-graduate diploma in Peace and Conflict Studies. Rebecca's passion for peace and conflict transformation is rooted in her Mennonite faith. During a term of service with Mennonite Central Committee in South Africa, she interned with ACCORD, a conflict resolution center, and helped build relationships through mixed-race living experiences in Durban. She has also served as a mediator for Community Justice Initiatives in Ontario.

**Deniz Ugur** (TURKEY), 23, earned bachelor's and master's degrees in public administration from Fatih University in 2003. Deniz describes himself as a member of Anatolian Society, rather than a member of any religious or ethnic group. He participated in the Fatih University project 'Peace Studies in Palestine for the Next Century.' He has been researching the Nur Movement, a moderate interpretation of Islam, as a means for reconciling democracy and Islam.

**Joshua Vander Velde** (USA), 26, studied anthropology at the University of California-Santa Cruz and spent an exchange year in North India. After graduating in 2000, he helped synagogues throughout the United States and Canada to strengthen their social justice programming as coordinator of the Social Justice Initiative of the Jewish Reconstructionist Federation in Philadelphia. Josh lived in Jerusalem for six months in 2003, studying Hebrew and Arabic and volunteering with the Arab-Jewish partnership Ta'ayush and other peace efforts.

**Irene Zirimwabagabo** (RWANDA), 23, studied journalism and political science at Rhodes University, South Africa, graduating in 2002.. Irene's parents were forced into exile in Uganda during Rwanda's first genocidal violence during the 1950s. Irene was born in Kenya and grew up in Lesotho, Namibia and South Africa. She was finally able to visit Rwanda and obtain citizenship after the 1994 genocide. After graduation she joined the African Development Bank in Cote d'Ivoire to work on anti-corruption programs. She is writing a semi-autobiographical book titled *How We Made Rwanda Our Home Again*.

**Lidia Zubytska** (UKRAINE), 22, graduated in 2002 from Lviv Ivan Franko National University. Lidia spent an exchange year at the University of Alabama in Huntsville. After resuming her studies in Lviv, Lidia focused on the theory of communication and ecumenical dialogue, particularly between the Catholic and Orthodox Churches in Ukraine. She is the recipient of a Muskie/Freedom Support Act graduate fellowship for study at Notre Dame.

## Merritt Appointed Director of Strategic and International Development



Establishing a global internship program for Kroc Institute students is a job that consumes a lot of hours and racks up many frequent-flier miles. Yet it is just one part of Martha Merritt's role in the expansion of the graduate peace studies program.

Is it possible for one person to do everything she needs to do? Merritt answered the question with a broad smile.

"Of course not. That's why I love it. I'm a natural multi-tasker."

Merritt, 42, became the Kroc Institute's Director of Strategic and International Development on July 1. It is a new position in which she works alongside Cynthia Mahmood, Director of Graduate Studies, to extend the one-year program to two years starting in fall 2004. The goal is to better integrate the scholarship and practice of peacebuilding, Merritt said. Associated tasks range from the critical and complex (planning a curriculum that will allow students to specialize in their studies) to the simply important (finding more campus-area housing so that two classes of Kroc students can be at Notre Dame each year).

Merritt brings to the job both a familiar face and a new set of eyes.

A political scientist with expertise in Russia and the Baltic states, Merritt came to Notre Dame in 1994 after earning her doctorate at Oxford University. As an assistant professor in the Department of Government and International Studies, she also became a faculty fellow with the Kroc Institute. As such, she was acquainted with peace studies students. Yet Merritt was not involved with Institute administration until she joined the executive committee in 2001. In spring of 2003, she became a member of the graduate admissions committee. She has also served on the strategic planning committee, which developed the plan she was hired to implement.

"It's been exciting to take the skills I use as a Russianist and apply them in new world regions," Merritt said of her position, which involves offering the services of graduate students to peacebuilding groups in a half-dozen far-flung places as part of a new six-month field practicum. For example, she said, an intern might prepare case files for refugees who are applying for asylum.

"A nice aspect of this job is that I'm coming with something to offer. As a scholar, you sometimes feel as if you're taking something, if only someone's time."

Merritt is writing a book on the concept and practice of political accountability. She felt her scholarly work would have a home at the Institute. "Peace studies helps me visualize what an ideal system of checks and balances looks like," she said. She praised the Institute's "intellectual sparkle" and the leadership of director Scott Appleby.

Appleby returned the compliment.

"What I appreciate most about Martha is that her first-rate professionalism is combined with energy and charisma," he said.

Merritt's charm, and her belief in the mission of the Kroc Institute, are both captured in what she describes as a humbling moment during her travels. It happened in Africa, after she spoke to a group of schoolchildren.

"One of the little girls came up and took my hand and said, 'I am so glad you are coming to Uganda to build peace.'"



## Rockefeller Fellows Explore Religion's Role in African Countries

This year's Rockefeller Visiting Fellows program focuses on the role of religion in contemporary African conflicts. The program is supported through a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowships program. Further information about the program, including application information for the 2004-05 academic year, is available on our website at [http://kroc.nd.edu/visiting\\_fellows/](http://kroc.nd.edu/visiting_fellows/).



**Rosalind I. J. Hackett** is Distinguished Professor in the Humanities at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where she teaches courses in religious studies, anthropology and African studies. Born and educated in Britain, she obtained her Ph.D. from the University of Aberdeen in 1986. She

has published widely on new religious movements in Africa, as well as on religious pluralism, art, gender, the media, and religion in relation to human rights. She taught and conducted research in Nigeria for more than eight years and is currently finishing a book on religious conflict in Nigeria sponsored by the U.S. Institute of Peace. While at the Kroc Institute, Rosalind will be expanding her research on the growing links between media liberalization and religious conflict in Africa, and exploring the peacebuilding potential of the media. In that connection, she will be planning a workshop in Lagos in 2004 for Nigerian journalists on the coverage of religion and conflict.



**Sakah Saidu Mahmud** is Associate Professor of Political Science at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky where he teaches comparative politics of the developing world. A native of Nigeria, Mahmud received his Ph.D. (1992) from the Graduate School of International Studies at the University of

Denver. His publications include a book, *State, Class and Underdevelopment in Nigeria and Early Meiji Japan*, (Macmillan, and St. Martin's Press, 1996), and a specialized monograph, *Can the Nigerian Democracy Succeed?*

(1998) for the Stoke Phelps Foundation. Mahmud has conducted fieldwork in Nigeria, Senegal and the Republic of South Africa on human rights, democratization and development. His current research focuses on a comparative study examining how and why Islamic activism has produced civic peace in Senegal in contrast to Nigeria where activism often leads to confrontations and conflict. He conducted preliminary fieldwork in both countries and hopes to complete a book length manuscript at the Kroc Institute.



**James Smith** is a social-cultural anthropologist and a specialist in African studies. He received a Ph.D. in anthropology from the University of Chicago in 2002. He is the author of articles and papers exploring popular East African responses to social change, economic and political liber-

alization, and structural adjustment. Smith's doctoral dissertation, *Bewitching Developments: the Moral Politics of Development in Kenya*, examines the often surprising cultural and religious receptions and re-deployments of national and international development interventions and discourse in Kenya, and is being rewritten for publication as a book. He has received several awards for his research, including grants from the National Science Foundation, the Fulbright-Hays Foundation, the Wenner-Gren Foundation, and the Spencer Foundation. His current research concerns conflict over cultural revivalism and new religious movements in East Africa.



## Kroc Institute Visiting Fellows Examine Ethnic Conflict and Peacebuilding

In addition to the Rockefeller Visiting Fellows, the Institute is hosting three Kroc Institute Visiting Fellows who are contributing to Kroc Institute research on ethnic conflict and peacebuilding. Further information about Kroc Institute Visiting Fellowships, including application information for the 2004-05 academic year, is available on our website at [http://kroc.nd.edu/visiting\\_fellows/](http://kroc.nd.edu/visiting_fellows/).

**Angiliki A. Kanavou**, a conflict resolution analyst, received her Ph.D. in International Relations/Communications from the University of Southern California. Her work focuses on political-psychological aspects of peacebuilding. Her dissertation on the role of values in post-settlement processes focuses on the case of Cyprus (1959-1974) and offers a value-based framework for analyses of political processes after the signing of peace agreements. She is currently working on a book that



applies this framework in the cases of Ireland and India/Pakistan and an article on authoritarian leadership in ethnic conflicts. In addition to her research, Kanavou is teaching courses on conflict resolution at the Kroc Institute.

**Fr. Tom McDermott, C.S.C.**, has been a Holy Cross priest for 25 years. He received a B.A. and M.Th. from the University of Notre Dame. During eighteen years in East Africa, McDermott worked as a parish priest, a seminary rector, and director of Youth Ministry and Pastoral



Coordinator for various dioceses. He also served as Religious Superior and Director of Formation for his own congregation. In the early 1990s, McDermott spent four years in the Office of Campus Ministry at Notre Dame, receiving University Awards for preaching, community service, and commitment to social justice. Presently, in addition to consulting with the Kroc Institute on the development of field sites in Africa, McDermott is Associate Pastor of St. Adalbert's/St. Casimir's Parish in South Bend.

**Charles A. Reilly** has just completed five years as director of the Peace Corps in Guatemala, one of the largest programs in the world with over 250 volunteers. For the preceding three years he coordinated civil society outreach programs for the Inter-American Development Bank, after serving for many years as representative for Brazil and Mexico, and then vice-president of the Inter-American Foundation. He began his Latin American development work as the founding director of Maryknoll's Center for Integral Development in Guatemala. He received a Ph.D. in political science from the University of Chicago and has edited five books, including *New Paths to Democratic Development in Latin America: The Rise of NGO-Municipal Government Collaboration* (Lynne Rienner, 1995) and published numerous articles. At the Kroc Institute, Reilly is conducting research on the relationship between development and peacebuilding in Guatemala and Ireland.



## In Memoriam: Joan B. Kroc, 1928-2003

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**J**oan B. Kroc, age 75, noted philanthropist, passed away on October 12, 2003, in Rancho Santa Fe, CA. The cause of death was glioblastoma, a form of brain cancer.

“We join our associates at Notre Dame in expressing our formal condolences to Mrs. Kroc’s daughter, granddaughters and grandchildren on the loss of this great-hearted champion of peace and justice,” said Fr. Theodore Hesburgh and Kroc Institute director Scott Appleby in a joint statement. “Mrs. Kroc was single-minded in her dedication to eliminating the threat of nuclear weapons and all forms of deadly violence. The establishment and continuing support of Notre Dame’s Kroc Institute was just one of several important initiatives she fostered in support of human rights, conflict transformation and peace-building around the world. She will be sorely missed.”

In the fall of 1998, Mrs. Kroc made a major gift to the Salvation Army to build and endow the Ray and Joan Kroc Community Center in San Diego, California. The center formally opened in June of 2002. In March of 1998, Mrs. Kroc advanced her vision of peace with a gift to the University of San Diego to establish the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice.

The Joan B. Kroc Foundation (1983-1990) addressed issues including substance abuse, world hunger, world peace and care for the terminally ill. Gifts were made to Notre Dame’s Kroc Institute; to the St. Vincent de Paul Joan Kroc Center for the Homeless in downtown San Diego; and San Diego Hospice to build a state-of-the art inpatient facility for the terminally ill. The Foundation also supported AIDS research.



photo by Twyla Cecil

Mrs. Kroc founded Operation Cork, a ten-year program from 1976-1986, to build awareness of chemical dependence and its impact on the family. During this period, she made major gifts to the Hazelden foundation in Center City, Minnesota, and the Betty Ford Center in Rancho Mirage, California.

A native of St. Paul, Minnesota, Mrs. Kroc was a professional musician and music teacher for many years. Her late husband, Ray Kroc, was the founder of McDonald's Corporation. They married in 1969 and the Krocs relocated from Chicago to San Diego in 1976. Mrs. Kroc is survived by her daughter, four granddaughters and four great-grandchildren.

The faculty, staff, students and alumni of the Kroc Institute were deeply saddened by her death. Many of them wrote to express their gratitude for what she had done for the world, and for each of them.

Here are just a few of their comments.

I am deeply saddened to hear of Mrs. Joan B. Kroc's death. She has, through her kind heart and generosity, influenced many people who want to make a change in this conflict ridden world. As an alumni of the peace program at Notre Dame, I know that she has given me and my fellow Kroc Institute friends the tools to light the darkness in order to find the path towards peace.

Faith during times of sadness is vital. Although I know that Mrs. Kroc was not of my faith, as a Buddhist, I can only say that Mrs. Kroc's meritorious deeds are numerous and may she attain nibbhana (nirvana).

— *Maneesha Pasqual, Sri Lanka, '02*

No doubt Mrs. Kroc enabled many of us to explore the world in ways we could never have imagined prior to our experiences at the Kroc Institute at Notre Dame. Her generosity and curiosity has endowed a program that we hope will continue to teach and train academics and activists seeking meaningful (re)solution to complex issues and conflicts. We applaud her for this triumph.

Further, Mrs. Kroc serves as a model for us as individuals: that our passion to engender a more peaceful world should, and can, be coupled with concerted efforts of philanthropy on our own part. I hope we may be inspired by Mrs. Kroc to integrate into our own moral and financial budgets ways to enable others to see the world differently.

— *Rabbi Jonathan Crane, USA, '97*

Among Mrs. Kroc's many admirable qualities, one stands out for me: her caring for other people and desire to alleviate human suffering. Once toward the end of a visit to Notre Dame, she insisted on bringing the fanfare of a hectic schedule of dazzling special events to a sudden halt. She silently slipped into the building that she had previously insisted should bear Father Hesburgh's name (as he had insisted that the Institute should bear hers) for only one purpose: to meet 21 graduate students drawn to the Kroc Institute from all regions of the world to study peace-making, and personally to thank them for committing themselves to full-time work for international peace and justice. She asked them about their motivations, fears, and hopes. Before she left, she quietly acknowledged that recent eruptions of violence around the world had left her discouraged, but that being able to talk with the students and sense their commitment had uplifted her. She connected quickly, deeply, and personally with others. She knew how to draw and to radiate spiritual strength from that infinite reservoir of good will that is shared by those committed to working for peace with a determination never, never to give up.

— *Robert C. Johansen, Senior Fellow  
Professor of Political Science*

Apparently, when asked about why he became a philanthropist, Mr. Ray Kroc said, "I never saw a Brinks armored truck following the hearse of a rich person." Well, Mrs. Kroc's hearse is not going to be followed by a Brinks armored truck, either. But all the persons that she has touched including mine will always remember her place in our lives and the whole world, witnessing the immortal task she has accomplished while she had the chance.

— *Tsegaye Arrefe, Ethiopia, '93*

I was one of those lucky ones to meet with Mrs. Kroc in 1999 when she was kind enough to visit the Institute and discuss with us about our lives as Peace and Hesburgh scholars and how being at the Kroc had changed our views of the world. I was impressed by her sincerity and good heart as well as her smile and elegance.

We have all been touched by Mrs. Kroc's sincerity and benefitted from her generosity. I hope that others will take her as a great example and follow the path she so amply opened and maintained for the betterment of this somewhat messy world. Her great commitment to world peace shall be remembered by many generations to come.

— *Binnur Ozkececi-Taner, Turkey, '99*

I sincerely believe that studying in the Kroc Institute was the best thing that has ever happened to me so far. It did transform my thinking and equipped me to play my role in the world as a better human being. I believe it's certainly true of many others who are or have been affiliated with the Kroc Institute in any way. This all great work of transforming the hearts and souls wouldn't have been possible without Mrs. Kroc's generosity and commitment to world peace. May her soul rest in peace.

— *Tahir Aziz, Pakistan, '03*

I am so sorry to hear that Mrs. Joan B. Kroc has passed away. It is owing to her own avowed peace work and involvement that many of us around the world could learn and then continue to work for peace. We have gained knowledge and insight and created an international network of like-minded friends.

I hope that her family and friends such as Father Ted have good health and courage at this time of loss and sadness.

— *Kaja Szwykowska, Poland, '90*

It's sad to hear about the demise of Mrs. Kroc. We all must be really grateful to her for having left the embodiment of her generosity for us in the form of the Kroc Institute. Indeed this is (according to the Islamic tradition) a "Sadqai Jareya" — a contribution that would till eternity be there to attract God's mercy and blessings for her. May God bless her soul with peace — which she so untiringly strived for.

I personally as well as on behalf of all my friends at MA Peace Studies express profound grief on her sad demise, and solidarity with all her family and friends.

— *Raouf Abanger, India, current student*

This morning I was very sad to receive the message that Mrs. Kroc passed away. She left us with a huge heritage of love and passion. I still remember clearly that I gave her a small picture of my husband's photograph with McDonald's logo. Actually we planned to go to the States for three months under the sponsorship of Asian Cultural Council to conduct a research on contemporary art in the U.S. and we were thinking of meeting her in San Diego. It was a great misfortune that she just left us all with great sadness. I am sure that she left in peace and love surrounded by all of us. May her soul stay in Paradise!

— *Fang Zhang, People's Republic of China, '99*

Two aspects of Mrs. Kroc's interaction with our students and her interest in our program continue to stand out in my mind. First, she had a keen interest in the families of our students: who had they left behind? what sacrifices were being made to have them here in the U.S. studying peace? what did their family think of their work? This authentic interest resonated so well with these young people, but it was so consistent with Joan's commitment to real people. Secondly, she had a "can do" attitude about her. This was not a "why don't you do this?" query...but without being intrusive or mandating, she would say, "I know you can find a way to do that..." whatever the practical or programmatic dilemma might be. These are just two of the experiences which made her so refreshing a presence to us, even with infrequent visits.

— *George Lopez, Senior Fellow, Director of Policy Studies*

## | f e a t u r e s |

# Liberalism and Global Inequality

M I C H A E L W A L Z E R

Liberalism is above all a domestic theory, designed by its earliest practitioners to address the relationship of individuals to one another and to the state. The justice of particular states and societies and the rights of individuals as citizens and aliens: these are its primary concerns. But the greatest inequalities, the most terrifying misery, the ugliest forms of human degradation now exist in international society — which is to say, they are attributable (in part) to economic policies and practices that have global reach, and they are measurable across state boundaries. Some countries, despite the great inequalities within them, are overwhelmingly impoverished, desperately poor, while the inhabitants of others are mostly comfortable and even well-to-do.

In the aftermath of the September 11, 2001 attacks on New York and Washington, some liberal and leftist writers argued that these gross inequalities were the “root cause” of international terrorism — as if to give us a new reason for opposing them. That argument seems to me wrong, both for domestic and global society, for otherwise terrorism would be far more widely dispersed than it is (and far more prevalent and powerful in sub-Saharan Africa than in the Middle East). Desperate poverty makes more often for political despair and passivity than for activism of any sort. But sometimes, when historical circumstances are favorable, it gives rise to a politics of opposition and revolt. The forms of this politics are determined largely by culture and ideology, not by poverty- or inequality-in-itself. Struggles for emancipation and empowerment are the most common forms, and even when these struggles are high-pitched and passionate, they do not necessarily or usually include terrorism as one of their methods. The need to defeat terrorism is not a particularly good reason for trying to reduce inequality. There are older and better reasons, which have to do with the human suffering that unconstrained power and wealth joined with radical vulnerability and destitution inevitably produce. Terrorism is a different subject; inequality is important in its own right. So, how should we address the problems of global powerlessness and poverty?

The response to this question most consistent with liberal political theory is easy to describe — and a good

number of liberal theorists have actually (and commendably) responded in this way: they argue that we should, right now, take whatever steps are necessary to reproduce liberalism’s domestic success in the international arena. We should defend the human rights of individuals across the globe and look for international agencies that can undertake some, at least, of the functions of the liberal state: collecting and redistributing resources so as to enable the largest possible number of individuals to “pursue happiness”; sustaining a livable environment for rich and poor alike; maintaining a system of law enforcement aimed at “equal protection”; and so on. Liberalism’s theoretical drift — even if practice lags far behind — is toward a global regime that relates directly, with equal respect and concern, to individual men and women.

A regime of this sort looks more feasible today than it did only decades ago. The development of an international version of civil society opens the way for the characteristic liberal form of mediation between individual and regime, which is the work of social movements and interest groups of all sorts. Many such organizations already exist and have had some political impact, though it is hard to say how much. The most interesting feature of groups like Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, Oxfam, Doctors Without Borders, Greenpeace, and many others, is that they recruit staff, members, and supporters across all the world’s frontiers and defend the interests of men and women in many different countries. Their work is not yet

matched by groups aiming at economic redistribution, but after the political demonstrations in Seattle 2000, it is at least possible to imagine a global version of social democracy: parties and unions directing their energy, in the absence of a global state, at agencies like the World Bank and the World Trade Organization, which function in a statelike manner.

This emerging liberal politics reproduces what I have called the emancipation model at the level of international society. Amnesty International and Greenpeace are obvious examples of voluntary associations: they are the international equivalents of the American Civil Liberties Union and the Sierra Club. They act on behalf of (previously) powerless and vulnerable people, whose lives are diminished by brutal governments that ignore their rights or by profit-driven corporations that show no regard for the safety of their environment. And, as with the domestic counterparts of these associations, if they were ever fully successful, their members would have no reason to hang around together. If their vulnerability were overcome, their solidarity would evaporate.

For anyone interested in greater equality, global emancipation is a necessary politics. We need governmental or near-governmental institutions (like the UN, the IMF, and the WTO) that respond, or can be forced to respond, to the demands of international movements and associations, and that then act in an authoritative way to protect the interests or redeem the rights of vulnerable human beings.

But the politics of emancipation cannot stand by itself; its individualist and voluntarist commitments reproduce the characteristic weaknesses of domestic liberalism. For the inequalities of international society are both class/economic and categorical/political inequalities: the individual men and women who occupy the lowest ranks on the global hierarchy are there because they are poor, obviously, but also because they are (without ever having chosen to be) Congolese, Rwandan, or Bengali — or Kurdish or Palestinian. Their fate is determined by their location, by their parents, and by their nationality.

Many people in the world today are poor and powerless (in part) because they live in weak and dysfunctional states, which have been seized by predatory elites or warring gangs. In the direst circumstances, in time of famine or massacre, these people can be rescued, perhaps they can only be rescued, by the military intervention of foreign states. Over the long haul, however, what they need most is an empowered and effective state of their own. They should be helped to create such states, but the creation will ultimately have to be (in part) their own work.

The need for effective states is widely recognized in the international community, whose leaders acknowledge the necessity of “nation-building” after each local crisis, in Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda, and East Timor, for example — even if most of them are unwilling to commit their own countries to the necessary expense (one more example of the failure, up until now, of redistributive politics). And nation-building is in fact state-building: it requires the creation of institutions capable of maintaining law and order, collecting taxes, providing services, and sponsoring and shaping economic activity. A good global society will have strong international regulatory agencies with the power to enforce their regulations on the states that are its members — on behalf of individual men and women who are also its members. But this same global society will also have its own version of multi-culturalism: its member states will be independent and at least semi-sovereign, capable, ideally, of delivering “meat and potatoes” to their citizens.

No doubt, a politics committed to working with people in states is going to encounter some nasty and repressive states, and we will have to figure out how to deal with them, much as we have to do in domestic society when we encounter, say, chauvinist ethnic groups or fundamentalist religious sects. Recall the persistent oppression of women in groups and sects of this sort; we are sure to encounter similar or parallel forms of oppression in many sovereign states, which will have to be met by the same mix of external intervention and internal revolt that has (sometimes) worked domestically. But it cannot be met by a politics committed to transcending group life, breaking the categories of difference. This is sure to be ineffective (there are many examples), and it is also likely to be nasty and repressive in its own way. Individuals-with-rights are also individuals-with-emotions: they (or most of them) have the affiliative passions that go with their practical attachments, and if we want to strengthen their hands, some of the help they need has to come via their own political associations. On the way to becoming citizens of the world, they must have an opportunity to be, and they must learn to be, competent citizens of a particular state.

A well-known political philosopher and theorist, **Michael Walzer** is UPS Foundation Professor at the School of Social Sciences, Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey. Walzer delivered the Ninth Annual Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C. Lectures on Ethics and Public Policy on April 8-9, 2003, on the theme “Emancipation and Empowerment.” This article is excerpted from his lecture entitled “Emancipation and Empowerment: The Global Order.”



**in the field:**

# Small Arms Proliferation in the Philippines

**M A R C O G A R R I D O ( ' 0 2 )**

As the so-called “second front” in the war against terrorism, the Philippines has received a massive amount of military aid from the United States. The administration of U.S. President George W. Bush has pledged the Philippine government more than \$100 million in military equipment alone; this includes transport vehicles, high-tech gadgets, and a whole lot of weapons — some 30,000 M-16 rifles, to be exact.

While these weapons are intended to help the Armed Forces of the Philippines eradicate the nettlesome Abu Sayyaf bandits, their light weight and high value make them especially prone to ending up in the country’s thriving small arms black market. As it is, small arms run rampant in the Philippines. There are well over a million firearms loose in society. Registered firearms account for 706,148, while those that are unregistered number some 349,782. In Mindanao, more than 70 percent of the population owns one or more guns. Machine-guns can be bought for as little as \$375 and revolvers for a mere \$15.

## Gun-crazy

The demand for small arms is great, and the sources of this demand are various and complex. Insurgent groups obviously demand arms in order to wage their causes. In the same way, criminal groups such as the Abu Sayyaf require arms to carry out their criminal activities. The patent lawlessness of these groups, however, sets them apart. But the demand for or, more accurately, the fascination with arms and being armed does not alleviate in the mainstream. More ingrained and insidious justifications take hold, whether for protection, power, or prestige, or to accord with supposed tradition.

In cultural terms, being armed becomes a proxy for manifesting personal prowess (although in truth all that a gun bestows is power). Likewise, family prowess, measured in a family’s ability to dominate or win elections, is greatly

enhanced by its “show of force,” which roughly equates to its show of arms. In this manner, many a clan dispute is settled, law evaded, and election decided.

## Gun-running

Three sources largely account for the abundant availability of small arms in Philippine society: local manufacture, smuggling, and diversions from government stocks. Forty-five or so local manufacturers of firearms, or *paltik*, provide an easy and affordable supply of guns not only domestically but throughout the region. Japanese *yakuza* regularly import *paltik* from Mandaue or Danao in Cebu, and even smuggle in Filipino gunsmiths; in fact, the Philippines ranks third among countries in the production of seized handguns in Japan, and third again in the number of gun shipments foiled by the Japanese.

Small arms are also commonly smuggled into the country through a number of “back doors.” Smuggled guns can be cheaper than their local counterparts and need not be licensed. Moreover, shipments made in connivance with foreign governments or organizations often go to arm domestic insurgency groups. China once shipped arms to the New People’s Army, as did both Libya and Malaysia to Muslim secessionist groups in Mindanao. More recently, arms shipments to the Moro Islamic Liberation Front from Afghanistan have allegedly emanated from al-Qaeda and been financed by Osama bin Laden. Some of the money that goes to purchasing these arms may even be pilfered



Philippine Interior Secretary Jose Lina (center) watches the destruction of handguns on Small Arms Destruction Day, July 10, 2002. (AP file photo, reprinted with permission)



from aid allocated for developmental purposes.

Finally, through loss, thievery, or sale, government munitions end up in the wrong hands. There is certainly no shortage of buyers, and the lucrative black market for small arms can prove an irresistible temptation to underpaid and enterprising soldiers. The influx of new small arms from the United States can only augment that temptation.

## Bullet-riddled security

The toll small arms take on state and human security is enormous. Their unchecked availability makes them highly susceptible to misuse. Small arms enable armed conflict, crime, and general lawlessness, and generally foster a climate of insecurity and fear. In terms of armed conflict, the free flow of these weapons not only arm insurgents but also the communities near where insurgents operate. Reactionary and vigilante groups, assembled for defense, retribution, or offense, escalate the level of violence. The conflict thoroughly permeates communities as each becomes another front in an enlarging civil war.

Small arms likewise enable crime. Not only do they endow crime with a more violent character — small arms are routine implements in homicide (82 percent) and murder (78 percent) in the Philippines — but are themselves a reason to engage in criminal activity, since their smuggling is lucrative business. Not to mention, of course, that troublesome criminal cum terrorist groups such as the Abu Sayyaf would not be half as effective in sowing terror if they went about brandishing bolos rather than ArmaLites.

Compounding the rampancy of small arms is the Philippine government's inability (or perhaps unwillingness) to do very much about it. Smuggled guns, as I mentioned, escape government detection and often fall into criminal hands. Between 1993 and 1999, for example, 93 percent of the firearms involved in criminal cases were unlicensed. Meanwhile, the government can do little more than tout small victories, all but imperceptible given the scale of the problem. In observation of Small Arms Destruction Day in 2001, despite the hundreds of thousands of small arms available, Secretary of the Interior and Local Government Joey Lina could only produce 300 for destruction.

The free flow of small arms conduces to a general disorder that undermines human security in a variety of sinister ways. Conflict results in displacement and deprivation, insurgency groups degenerate into criminal gangs that prey on communities, which arm themselves to the hilt in response; a climate of fear deepens. Developmental functions fail and further development is discouraged. Basic services such as health care cease being delivered into embattled communities; development projects cannot be implemented; schooling is interrupted as young people are conscripted to fight or simply because going to school has become too dangerous; democracy becomes a farce as candidates buy or bully votes through a show of arms; private armies allow rich families to evade or even break laws with impunity; a poison takes over people's minds, hate and fear seed further conflict; a climate of insecurity deepens insecurity.

While the rampancy of small arms is not the only factor deepening human insecurity in the Philippines, its agency is unmistakable.

**Marco Garrido** (M.A. '02) is a writer for the *Asia Times*, covering peace and development issues. Born in the Philippines, Marco immigrated to the U.S. with his family at age 9 and completed a B.A. in English and American Literature at Harvard University in 2000. After graduating from the Kroc Institute, Garrido completed a Kroc post-M.A. internship at Focus on the Global South, a development think tank in Manila, focusing on trade, conflict, and the war on terror.



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## | recent highlights |

## Women and the Contested State

## PRCP Conference Explores Religion, Violence and Agency in South Asia



Peter van der Veer

The effects of violence on women in South Asia were explored during the second conference of the Kroc Institute's Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP).

The conference, *Women and the Contested State: Religion, Violence and Agency in South Asia*, was held April 11-12 at the University of Notre Dame. Participants looked at the subject through the lenses of regional religious traditions and the contested nature of nation-building in the postcolonial era.

The conference was the centerpiece of the PRCP's program for the 2002-03 academic year. Each of the program's three Rockefeller Visiting Fellows and ten invited scholars presented papers. The presentations were richly detailed and highly diverse. They ranged from micro-political modes of resistance in Sri Lanka to multiple strands of violence in Bangladesh, Pakistan, and India. The presenters came from a wide range of academic disciplines including anthropology, political science, history, and religious studies.

Veena Das, renowned South Asian anthropologist and professor at Johns Hopkins University, gave the opening address. She raised the vexing question of how the bio-political state (a notion she borrows from Michel Foucault), which is invested with the responsibility of preserving and managing life, can also allow and even cause the death of significant parts of the population. "We are living in an era in which the state is more in the business of producing killable bodies than that of managing life," Das said. She argued that contemporary states are fulfilling their aims "through the agency of crowds, who do their work of killing." As an example, she cited the mass killings and plundering of Muslims in the Gujarat State of India in February/March 2002.

A second keynote address, "Tradition and Violence in South Asia," was delivered by the Dutch historian of religion, Peter van der Veer. He argued that, in Gujarat and other cases such as the destruction of the Babri mosque, "it is sufficiently clear that the institutions of the state are involved in civil society to the extent that political leaders are the main instigators and organizers of communal violence." He challenged the conventional wisdom that a liberal government and the adoption of a liberal tradition can provide answers to endemic violence that religious traditions cannot provide. This, he contended, is clearly borne out by the post-colonial Indian state's inability to ameliorate communal violence since its independence. "Democratization in India implies a growing participation of large sections of the population both in the political process and in communal violence," van der Veer concluded.

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*Participants looked at the subject through the lenses of regional religious traditions and the contested nature of nation-building in the postcolonial era.*

Veena Das



The conference ended with a roundtable discussion at which four Notre Dame academics and one Kroc Institute master's student teased out the implications of the conference proceedings for religion and peacebuilding in South Asia.

In an "Afterthought" to the roundtable, Professor Fred Dallmayr, a Notre Dame political scientist, said that he was particularly struck by the paper of Yasmin Sakia, a historian from the University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill. It dealt with the effects of violence perpetrated on women in the so-called liberation war of 1971 in Bangladesh based on extensive interviews with victims. "In the middle of this historical narration something happened which was not part of the story or was not written down in the paper: the presenter's voice suddenly faltered, as if seized by an inner trembling. For a while, she could not go on, and had to collect herself," Dallmayr said. "A well-prepared and professionally crafted text suddenly was invaded by a subtext which had not been prepared or planned. Thus, perhaps against her own intention, in reporting on women victims in Bangladesh, Yasmin became herself a witness, 'bore witness' to the very meaning of violence as a violation and inflicted suffering."

The PRCP plans to publish the revised papers presented at the conference. Two of the Rockefeller Visiting Fellows, Monique Skidmore and Patricia Lawrence, will edit the volume.

## Conference Presentations

### Keynote Addresses

"Forms, Life and Killable Bodies"  
Veena Das,  
Johns Hopkins University

"Traditions of Violence in South Asia"  
Peter van der Veer,  
University of Amsterdam

### Panels

*Resisting Terror: Women, Agency, and Micro-politics of the Sri Lankan Everyday*

Alexandra Argenti-Pillen,  
University College, London  
Mangalika de Silva, University of Amsterdam

Patricia Lawrence, Rockefeller Fellow, Kroc Institute;  
University of Colorado

Mohammed Abu-Nimer (respondent), Rockefeller Fellow, Kroc Institute;  
American University

*Encounters with the Mysterious: Women's Engagement with Alternative Power Structures in Authoritarian Burma*

Bénédicte Brac de la Perrière,  
LASEMA-CNRS, Paris

Ingrid Jordt, University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee

Monique Skidmore,  
Rockefeller Fellow, Kroc Institute; Australian National University

Juliane Schober (respondent),  
Arizona State University

*Between Subjects and Citizens: Women, the "Modern" State, and Violence in Bangladesh and India*  
Betty Joseph, Rice University

Lamia Karim, Rockefeller Fellow, Kroc Institute;  
University of Oregon

Cabieri Robinson,  
Cornell University

Yasmin Saikia, University of North Carolina-Chapel Hill

## The Political Dilemmas of a Religious Vision

Judith Brown examines Gandhi's nonviolence in Yoder Dialogues

"Gandhi's vision of non-violence was a religious one," said Judith Brown, Beit Professor of Commonwealth History at the University of Oxford. "Nonviolence was part of an encompassing spiritual vision of the meaning of human life in relation to ultimate reality." As a result, Gandhi did not countenance the suggestion that non-violence could fail and attributed any apparent failures to the misapplication by its activists rather than the realities of practical politics.

Brown examined "Gandhi's Non-Violence: The Political Dilemmas of a Religious Vision" in the Fourth Annual John Howard Yoder Dialogues on Nonviolence, Religion and Peace, held on April 25. To illustrate the political dilemmas posed by non-violence, Brown compared the results of Gandhi's local protests with the all-India campaigns.

The local movements achieved "major and measurable successes in terms of the goals set," Brown argued. She

noted that the goals of local campaigns, such as the 1917 Champaran campaign on the cultivation of indigo or the 1918 Ahmedabad campaign on wages for millworkers, were clearly defined and small scale, and the participants were cohesive and homogeneous groups that demonstrated a high level of discipline. In addition, nonviolence at a local level played into the vulnerabilities of a multi-tiered system

of imperial government in which a district or provincial administration could be pressured by a higher level of authority into concessions.

However, "if we turn to the all-India campaigns we find almost the mirror image of this situation," she said. The goals were rarely defined with precision and often sought to build cohesion within the Congress party or gain leverage for it as the authentic voice of India. Participants in the campaigns came from all parts of Indian society, each bringing their own distinctive goals and intentions. As a result, discipline was difficult to maintain.



A specialist on nineteenth and twentieth-century Indian history and politics, Brown has authored numerous publications on Gandhi, including *Gandhi: Prisoner of Hope* (Yale University Press, 1989).

After calling off the first all-India campaign against the British in 1922 in the face of actual and potential violence, Gandhi continually experimented to find ways to increase discipline, such as by limiting participation in the Salt March of 1930. By the time of the Noakhali campaign in 1946-47, he avoided a mass campaign altogether, and effectively took refuge in the belief that a single individual committed to nonviolence could transform a violent situation.

In addition, the imperial regime was much less vulnerable to nonviolent actions than local authorities. While Gandhi's campaigns are sometimes viewed as the reason for the British withdrawal, "when the British did eventually decide to leave India it was for much more complex and deeper reasons, having more to do with the shifting economic relationship of Britain to India, the worth of the imperial relationship to Britain, and the impact of World War II," asserted Brown.

Gandhi's nonviolence has much to contribute to peace and the management of conflicts, Brown concluded, but theorists and activists must engage the political dilemmas it creates, especially when applied to large-scale conflicts.

## In the Shadow of War

### 2003 Student Conference Highlights Student Views of Iraq War

This year's student conference proved especially timely. Held just ten days after the war against Iraq was launched the conference, entitled "Shadows of War, Visions of Peace," attracted undergraduates and graduate students from 12 colleges and universities across the United States.

"Back in the fall, it looked like [war with Iraq was impending]," said Emily Badrov, senior political science major and an organizer of the conference. The students selected 'Shadows of War' as a conference theme back in October, when the Bush administration



began making its case for war.

Panels of four to five undergraduates addressed a wide variety of issues, ranging from "Opportunities and Challenges of NGO's and IGO's in Global Society" to "Religious Paths to Peace" to "Innocence Lost: The Effects of War on Children."

In a particularly timely panel entitled "Justifying War in the Modern World," students presented papers that related to just war theory and argued that the current war with Iraq did not meet this criteria.

John Viano from Marquette University argued for the need for greater information sharing among nations in order to better predict empirically the actions of countries. Such trust and complicity among nations, Viano argued, would remove much guesswork from international politics.

"If we all recognize that we are insecure, we can do something about it that is not violent," he said.

De-Yuan Kao from the University of Chicago discussed the evolution of U.S. doctrine regarding the use of force from 1980 to the present day and compared the use of force in the first and second Gulf Wars.

Claire Carter from Indiana University compared the political philosophies of Michael Walzer, Simone Weil and Albert Camus with respect to pacifism and just war theory and argued that the war with Iraq clearly violated the concepts of just war theory.

"This war is preventive, designed to respond to a distant threat. [There is] no pressing need to act in self-defense," she concluded.

Notre Dame's Ky Bertoli focused on the Catholic Church's views toward just war theory and the war with Iraq, illustrating the differences between the Church and the Bush administration with respect to the war.

"[The Bush Administration says that] we are acting because the risks of not acting would be much greater. The Vatican stands starkly on the other side," he said.

In addition to student-led panel discussions, the peace conference featured a workshop by George Lopez on "Resolving Conflicts with Other Americans Over the Current War"; presentations from Take Ten, a peacebuilding program for fourth through sixth graders led by Notre Dame volunteers; and a dramatization of Aristophanes' anti-war play *Lysistrata*. The conference concluded with a concert sponsored by Amnesty International.

Shabnam Siddiqui, a graduate student in peace studies from India who helped organize the conference, was impressed with the level of discussion.

"Over here [in America] the kind of intellectual understanding and dialogue that youth are involved in is particularly spectacular," she said.

This article was adapted from an article by Joe Trombello in the *Observer*, March 31, 2003.



## | a l u m n i n e w s |

**Celia Cook Huffman** ('88), from the United States, has been promoted to Professor of Peace Studies at Juniata College (Huntingdon, Pennsylvania), where she also serves as Associate Director of the Baker Institute for Peace and Conflict Studies and directs Baker Mediation Services. Celia earned her Ph.D. in Social Conflict Theory from Syracuse University. E-mail: <cookhu@juniata.edu>

**Pedro Dalcero** ('90), a diplomat in the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, is working in the Brazilian Presidential Palace in the office of President Lula's Special Advisor on Foreign Policy. After Notre Dame he worked as a senior researcher on globalization issues at IBASE (the Brazilian Institute for Social and Economic Analysis) and in 1996 joined the Brazilian Foreign Ministry, where he has served in the Division of Science and Technology prior to this appointment. E-mail: <pdalcero@uol.com.br>

**Julie McKay** ('93), from the United States, is a Program Manager at CDR Associates, an international collaborative decision-making and conflict resolution firm in Boulder, Colorado (<http://www.mediate.org>). Julie has worked for ten years as a mediator, trainer, and conflict resolution program designer; at CDR she specializes in organizational conflict management, training, and mediating complex, multiparty consensus-building processes. E-mail: <jmckay@mediate.org>

**Fatima Shabodien** ('94), from South Africa, is working in Indonesia for the International Foundation for Election Systems on a USAID civil society support project focusing on human rights and conflict management. After Notre Dame, Fatima worked as a conflict resolution trainer with Peace Visions in Cape Town and for the South African Department of Land Affairs in land reform issues. In 1998 she was awarded the Nelson Mandela scholarship for graduate studies in UK, where she earned an M.Phil. in Development Studies at Sussex University. Fatima writes, "My objective in taking this job in Indonesia was to gain international working experience. While I have studied, attended meetings/conferences and traveled to many countries, I have never before lived and become immersed in a context so different from the one I know. I thought this would be a good way of enriching my way of looking at developmental issues. I think, also given that the development sector remains dominated by people from the global

north, it is a qualitatively different experience when one comes from a developing country oneself. Increasingly, the international aid sector is itself becoming more diverse, and in my thinking, we're all the better for this trend." E-mail: <fatima@cssp.or.id>

**Isis Nusair** ('94), from Israel/Palestine, has received a fellowship from the Center for Women's Intercultural Leadership at Saint Mary's College (across the street from ND), where she will teach in the Women's Studies program. Isis is a Ph.D. student in the Women's Studies Program at Clark University, where she is completing a dissertation entitled "Gendered Politics of Location: Generational Intersections of Palestinian Women in Israel, 1948-1998." She previously served as a researcher on women's human rights in the Middle East and North Africa at the Women's Rights Division of Human Rights Watch, and has also worked as a researcher with the Euro-Med Human Rights Network. E-mail: <inusair@saintmarys.edu>

**Su Gengxin** ('95), has returned to his native P.R. China to teach in the English Department of Beijing University. He earned his Ph.D. in Comparative Cultural & Literary Studies from the University of Arizona in 2001, where he wrote a dissertation on "The Seduction of Culture: Representation and Self-Fashioning in Anglo-American Popular Culture." E-mail: <sugx618@yahoo.com.cn>

**Oana Popa** ('96), from Romania, was appointed Deputy Chief of Mission at the Romanian Embassy in Zagreb, Croatia in June 2003. E-mail: <oana.popa@zg.htnet.hr>

**Jonathan Crane** ('97), from the United States, graduated from Hebrew Union College in New York and was ordained a rabbi in May 2003. After Notre Dame he traveled to India on a Rotary fellowship, where he earned an M.Phil. in Gandhian Thought from Gujarat Vidyapith, a university founded by Gandhi in 1920. He studied at Hebrew Union College-Jewish Institute of Religion in Israel as a Wexner Fellow, and has served as a student rabbi in India, China and the United States. He currently directs the graduate programs of Harvard University's Hillel, teaches Jewish ethics and Jewish approaches to war and nonviolence at a Jewish high school in the Boston area, and is designing a course in Conflict, Violence and Ethics

which he will teach at Wheaton College (Mass.) in the spring.  
E-mail: <jcrane@camail.harvard.edu>

**Hossein Alizadeh** ('01), from Iran, has been named assistant coordinator for international programs at the Fellowship of Reconciliation in Nyack, New York. He received Kroc Institute support for an internship with FOR's Iraq program in 2001. For two years he has coordinated FOR's Campaign of Conscience for the Iraqi People. E-mail: <alizadehhossein@hotmail.com>

**Karana Dharma** (Stanley Olivier) ('02), from the United States, worked as a translator for the State Department and served as an election monitor in Kosovo before beginning a four-month Kroc-funded internship with the International Human Rights Law Group in Congo. He recently accepted a position as Field Supervisor with

CARE International in Ituri, North Kivu, DR Congo. He coordinates Congo en Action pour la Paix, a peacebuilding program of CARE in Eastern Congo. E-mail: <Karanad@cs.com>

**Nell Bolton** ('03), from the United States, earned an appointment as an International Development Fellow with Catholic Relief Services, where she works on Justice and Peace Programming from a base in Abuja, Nigeria. E-mail: <nbolton@crsnigeria.org>

**Mica Barreto-Soares** ('03), from Timor-Leste (East Timor), received Kroc Institute support for an internship as Junior Advisor to the Ambassador of Timor-Leste to the UN in New York City, where she has been attending meetings of the Security Council, General Assembly, Asian Group and the Non-Aligned Movement. E-mail: <barreto\_mica@hotmail.com>

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*Current features on our website include:*

- **Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu's Keynote Address**, "The Struggle for Social Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa," at the conference "Peacebuilding After Peace Accords" is available as a web video. A complete report on the conference will be featured in the next issue of *Peace Colloquy*.
- **Assessing the War Iraq** — Our current issues spotlight features recent commentary by Kroc Institute fellows on the regional and global repercussions of the war in Iraq, as well as proposals for strengthening international peace in the aftermath of the war.

Plus, complete information on our expanded M.A. program, Rockefeller Visiting Fellowships, Kroc Institute Visiting Fellowships, and other Institute programs and events.



## | c u r r e n t o p e n i n g s |

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Salary and rank are open. The position begins in August 2004. The successful candidate must have a scholarly and teaching record sufficiently strong to gain tenure in the department of appointment.

Applicants at the assistant professor level should demonstrate promise of building such a record. Applicants should submit a CV; a cover letter describing your research agenda and, if relevant, your organizational, field or other related experience; a writing sample; evidence of teaching ability; and three letters of reference to:

Professor Scott Appleby, chair  
Peace Studies Search Committee  
107 Hesburgh Center for International Studies  
Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies  
University of Notre Dame  
Notre Dame, IN 46556  
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Applications will be reviewed on an ongoing basis beginning on December 1, 2003 until the position is filled. The University of Notre Dame is a national Catholic research university and an AA/EO employer; minority and women candidates are particularly encouraged to apply.

### M.A. in Peace Studies

Beginning in the Fall of 2004, the Kroc Institute is expanding its M.A. program to a two-year curriculum. The multidisciplinary program is designed to equip students with both theoretical understanding and practical skills, and incorporates a six-month practicum at field sites in the United States and around the world. The Kroc Institute seeks candidates for admission from throughout the world, of diverse cultural, religious, and political backgrounds. Financial aid in the form of scholarships, stipends, support for travel, and funded internships is awarded to over 90 percent of Kroc students. The application deadline is January 5, 2004. Requests for application materials should be sent to:

Office of Graduate Admissions  
502 Main Building  
University of Notre Dame  
Notre Dame, IN 46556-5602  
telephone: (574) 631-7706  
e-mail: GradAd.1@nd.edu

Further information:  
<http://kroc.nd.edu/programs/masters/ma2yr.htm>



### Rockefeller Visiting Fellowships

The Institute invites applications for Rockefeller Visiting Fellowships in its Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP) for the 2004-05 academic year. The PRCP explores the complex role of religion in contemporary conflicts, ranging from the legitimization or sacralization of violence, to participation in conflict mediation and reconciliation, to the advocacy and practice of nonviolent resistance as a religious imperative. Program research emphasizes the relationship between religious ethics, human rights, and attitudes of tolerance and intolerance toward the other; religion's roles in conflict resolution, including conflict within and between religious traditions; and the contributions of religious actors to post-conflict reconciliation, justice and peacebuilding. Fellowships are open to senior and junior scholars in the humanities and social sciences of any nationality. The program seeks to include research by scholars and practitioners with expertise in Hindu, Muslim, Jewish, Buddhist, Sikh or Christian traditions or movements. For the class of 2004-05, the program encourages applications from scholars and practitioners with expertise in inter-religious and/or intra-religious dialogue, conflict transformation and peacebuilding. We are particularly interested in research projects exploring how inter- and intra-religious dialogue advances, or might advance conflict transformation and peacebuilding in conflict settings. Fellowships will ordinarily be for one year. Stipends begin at \$30,000 per year. Visiting Fellows will also be provided with an apartment, office, and access to University facilities. The application deadline is December 15, 2003.

Further information and application instructions are available on the Kroc Institute's website at [http://kroc.nd.edu/visiting\\_fellows/index.html](http://kroc.nd.edu/visiting_fellows/index.html)

Further information is available by contacting:

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### Kroc Institute Visiting Fellowships

The Kroc Institute awards a limited number of single semester and full academic year fellowships on a competitive basis. The Visiting Fellows program seeks outstanding college and university faculty who conduct research, write and teach in peace studies, or who are professionals from international organizations. The Institute welcomes applications from persons whose work focuses on the dynamics of peace-building in post-conflict societies; the resolution of and transformation of contemporary conflicts; enforcing norms of peace, human rights and justice through regional and global mechanisms and institutions; and the role of ethical perspectives in various aspects of violence and peace building, including specific concerns regarding the use of force or weapons proliferation. Those whose work focuses on the role of religion in areas of violence or peace-building are encouraged to explore the Institute's Rockefeller Visiting Fellows program. Application deadline for the Visiting Fellows program is December 15, 2003. Application details are available at [http://kroc.nd.edu/visiting\\_fellow/visfelnotice0405.html](http://kroc.nd.edu/visiting_fellow/visfelnotice0405.html)

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

**Faculty Publications****Books****Economic Globalization and Compliance with International Environmental Agreements**

Dinah Shelton, A. Kiss and K. Ishibashi (eds.) (Kluwer, 2003).

Economic Globalization and Compliance with International Environmental Agreements is an innovative and in-depth consideration of the challenges economic globalization poses for the effective application of multilateral environmental accords. The introductory part of the book examines particular challenges of economic globalization. Part II tackles the interrelationship of global and regional environmental agreements and free trade regimes. It first looks at trade and other economic measures mandated by various environmental agreements, then at environmental measures in economic agreements. The third part of the book turns to compliance, analyzing the potential positive and negative impact of multilateral institutions, states, and transnational corporate activity. The last chapter considers the impact on compliance of modern dispute avoidance and dispute settlement mechanisms.

**Chapters**

David Burrell, C.S.C., **“Narratives Competing For Our Souls”** in *Terrorism and International Justice*, ed. James Sterba (Oxford University Press, 2003), pp. 88-100.

Burrell focuses on Israel/Palestine, showing how the occupation of Palestinian territory, in the wake of the 1967 war, without offering citizenship to those living in the territory occupied, has created a volatile contradiction at the heart of Israeli polity. The situation is not unlike that which triggered civil war in the United States, as the juxtaposition of “all human beings are created equal” with the classic compromise that “slaves shall count as 3/5 of a person” culminated in violence. Unable to incorporate so many Palestinians and demographically remain a Jewish state, by ruling over those whom it refuses to so incorporate, Israel’s self-description as a “Jewish state” is ethically challenged, as recent events have dramatically borne out.

David Cortright, George A. Lopez and Alistair Millar, **“Sanctions, Inspections and Containment: Viable Policy Options in Iraq,”** in *Iraq: Threat and Response*, ed. Gerhard Beestermoller and David Little (Munster, Germany: Lit Verlag, 2003), pp. 127-147.

Viable non-military options were available for assuring the disarmament of Iraq and containing the potential Iraqi weapons threat. In this chapter, written for a June 2002 colloquium in Hamburg, Germany sponsored by the Institute for Theology and Peace,

Cortright, Lopez and Millar outline a series of concrete policy options for achieving these objectives. The proposed options include better enforcement of targeted sanctions, rigorous UN weapons inspections, and an enhanced containment border-monitoring system. The authors offer detailed recommendations for how these policy approaches could address the security threat posed by the government of Saddam Hussein. They make the case that war was not necessary to achieve declared policy objectives in Iraq.

Denis Goulet, **“A Christian NGO Faces Globalisation: CRS as Development Agent,”** *Local Ownership Global Change*, ed. Roland Hoksbergen and Lowell M. Ewert (Monrovia, CA: World Vision International, 2002), pp. 204-233.

CRS (Catholic Relief Services), an NGO created in 1943 as a relief agency has now, in a world marked by globalization, become a development agent and advocate of human rights, social justice, environmental soundness, and the settlement of conflicts. As they took on welfare functions abandoned by states, NGOs became heavily dependent on funding from governments or international institutions, while striving to continue being “close to the people they serve” and retaining their ethically-grounded independence of action. After re-examining its mission, philosophy of action, and criteria for choosing projects and partners, CRS now evaluates its work through “a justice lens” and engages its members to view their specific work — in agriculture, micro-credit, women’s empowerment, health, and technical assistance

— as concrete arenas for promoting better development policy, creating new partnerships of action, promoting peace, and educating its constituency (Roman Catholics in the United States) to the need for structural change toward more just global economic systems, the integral defense of human rights, empowerment of the poor, and the promotion of peace.

## Articles

Dinah Shelton, **“The Boundaries of Human Rights Jurisdiction in Europe,”** 13 *Duke Journal of International and Comparative Law*, vol. 13 (Winter 2003): 95-153.

Over the past half-century, complex systems of norms, institutions and procedures have regionalized many aspects of human rights law in Europe. The strengthening and proliferation of European regional bodies monitoring the human rights performance of their Member States raise fundamental issues of governance. In this article, Shelton first presents an overview of the three regional systems of Europe concerned with human rights. She then examines the role of the two regional courts, the ECHR and the ECJ, as supervisory bodies established to ensure compliance with regional obligations. Part III considers the problem of potential conflicts of jurisdiction among the various regional bodies. The conclusion evaluates the impact of the European human rights systems on the laws and practices of the Member States.

Dinah Shelton, **“Righting Wrongs: Remedies in the Law of State Responsibility,”** *American Journal of International Law*, vol. 96, (Oct. 2002): 833-856.

This article examines the International Law Commission’s Draft Articles on Responsibility of States for Wrongful Acts, as they codify and progressively develop the international law of remedies. The essay begins with a review of the traditional law and practice concerning reparations and proceeds to an overview of the content of the relevant articles. Shelton examines progressive measures designed to restore and maintain the international rule of law and then more conservative rules designed to provide remedial justice for a state or states, highlighting the different, sometimes inconsistent approaches to the two parts.

Dinah Shelton, **“Hierarchy of Norms and Human Rights: Of Trumps and Winners,”** *University of Saskatchewan Law Review*, vol. 65 (2002): 299-331.

Throughout the development of international human rights and humanitarian law, legal philosophers, activists and government representatives have argued about the primacy of human rights law over other subject areas of international regulation. In this article, Shelton examines the question of the primacy of human rights law generally or at least the primacy of certain human rights over other subject areas of international and domestic law. She also explores questions concerning the relative importance of different rights.

Dinah Shelton, **“Protecting Human Rights in a Globalized World,”** *Boston College International and Comparative Law Review*, vol. 25 (2002): 235-255.

The shift in sovereignty accompanying globalization has meant that non-state actors are more involved than ever in issues relating to human rights. This development poses challenges to international human rights law, because for the most part that law has been designed to restrain abuses by powerful states and state agents. While globalization has enhanced the ability of civil society to function across borders and promote human rights, other actors have gained the power to violate human rights in unforeseen ways. This article looks at the legal frameworks for globalization and for human rights, then asks to what extent globalization is good for human rights and to what extent human rights are good for globalization. It then considers several legal responses to globalization as they relate to the promotion and protection of human rights. Shelton concludes that responses to globalization are significantly changing international law and institutions in order to protect persons from violations of human rights committed by non-state actors.



## M.A. Program Expanding to 2 Years in 2004

Beginning in Fall 2004, the Kroc Institute's Master of Arts Program in Peace Studies is expanding to a two-year curriculum. The redesigned multidisciplinary program will prepare graduates for careers in peacebuilding, including scholarly and policy research, teaching, public service in government and in non-governmental organizations, social action, diplomacy, and conflict transformation. A key feature of the program will be a six-month practicum at field sites in the United States and around the world that integrates theory and practice. Information about applying to the program can be found on page 24.



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