

# peace • colloquy

The Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies  
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## Peacekeeping: Defining Success

ANTHONY LAKE

## The Fundamentalist Factor

SCOTT APPLEBY



## Economic Causes of Civil Wars

PAUL COLLIER

## From the Editor

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s anyone who has visited the Kroc Institute can attest, the place is abuzz with discussions of peace.

This dialogue emerges in part from the diverse array of people who cross paths at the Kroc Institute. At the heart of the conversation are scholars in a variety of fields, both at Notre Dame and other institutions. Through analyses of cultural, political, religious, and ethical dimensions of current international conflicts, they provoke new insights into the meaning and prospects for peace.

Peacebuilding practitioners working on the ground around the world, including many of our students and alumni, bring another set of questions to the discussion. These voices challenge us to think concretely about how peace can be fostered through conflict resolution, human rights, human development, refugee assistance, and other peacebuilding programs.

The Institute also has contacts with international policymakers at the UN, State Department, World Bank, and other institutions, who direct our attention to the need for more equitable and effective global strategies for peace.

By bringing together these and many other voices, the Kroc Institute has become the focal point for an engaging colloquy — or “serious discussion” — on peace. As its name suggests, each issue of *peace colloquy* seeks to highlight important contributions to this ongoing dialogue through feature articles by faculty, visiting lecturers, and alumni. Like its predecessor, the Kroc Institute *Report*, *peace colloquy* will also include articles on recent events and programs at the Institute; news about Institute faculty, students and alumni; and descriptions of recent publications by the Institute and its faculty fellows.

We hope the new content and updated format will provoke reflection on diverse aspects of peace while also informing alumni and friends of the Institute about our current activities.

I invite your comments and suggestions.

**HAL CULBERTSON**  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR,  
KROC INSTITUTE



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## 2001-02 Rockefeller Visiting Fellows Explore Islam and Peacebuilding

The Kroc Institute's Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP) is proud to welcome its first group of Rockefeller Foundation Visiting Fellows. Through a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation Humanities Fellowships program, the PRCP is hosting visiting fellows from a variety of cultural and political contexts to explore the diverse roles played by religious actors in contemporary conflicts. The grant provides funding for Visiting Fellowships over a 3-year period beginning in the Fall of 2001. Further information about this program is available on our website <[www.nd.edu/~krocinst](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst)>.



**MOHAMMED ABU-NIMER** (Spring semester 2002), a conflict resolution specialist in the School of International Service, American University, received his Bachelor's and Master's degree from Hebrew University, Jerusalem and the Ph.D. from George Mason University, where he wrote a dissertation entitled

"Conflict Resolution Between Arabs and Jews in Israel: A Study of Six Intervention Models." As a Rockefeller visiting fellow at the Kroc Institute, Abu-Nimer will complete a book on Islamic resources for nonviolent conflict resolution.



**THOMAS SCHEFFLER**, a political scientist at the Freie Universität Berlin, is conducting a case study of Lebanon, entitled "Dynamics of Violence-Dynamics of Peace? Religious Hierarchies and the Domestication of Violence in Lebanon." Based on extensive research in the region, Scheffler will compare the contributions of

high-ranking Muslim and Christian religious leaders to legitimating or restraining violent conflict in 20th century Lebanon.



**TAMARA SIVERTSEVA**, an ethnographer at the Russian Academy of Sciences, Institute of Oriental Studies, is an expert on Islam's role in shaping civil society throughout the North Caucasus. She has done extensive field work in Dagestan, a region which has received little attention in the West. Dagestan has demonstrated a

surprising ability to stave off violent conflict, in sharp contrast with neighboring Chechnya. While in residence at Notre Dame, Sivertseva will be completing a book project exploring the cultural and religious factors behind Dagestan's stability.



**HAKAN YAVUZ**, a political scientist at the Middle East Center, University of Utah, and a frequent commentator in the Turkish media, studies Islamic conceptions of human rights, the politics of identity, and the impact of globalization on developing countries. While at the Kroc Institute, Yavuz will be completing a book

on the Nur movement of Turkey (which has branches in Central Asia, Bosnia, Albania, and Germany), a rapidly growing Islamist movement notable for its openness towards democracy and international standards of human rights. Yavuz is particularly interested in its implications for the evolution of modernist thinking in the Islamic world as a whole and for future relations between Islam and the West.

## Kroc Institute Visiting Fellows Examine Ethnic Conflict and Globalization

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In addition to the Rockefeller Foundation Visiting Fellows, the Institute is hosting three Kroc Institute Visiting Fellows during 2001-02, who will be contributing to Kroc research initiatives on ethnic conflict and globalization.

**TRISTAN BORER** is Associate Professor of Government at Connecticut College and the author of the award-winning study of resistance to apartheid, *Challenging the State: Churches as Political Actors in South Africa, 1980-1994* (University of Notre Dame Press, 1998). Borer specializes in African politics, human rights, transitional justice and the roles of religious, ethnic and cultural actors in these realms. A co-director of the Kroc Institute's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC), her forthcoming book will evaluate the success of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

**ELISE GIULIANO** earned her doctorate in Comparative Politics at the University of Chicago in 2000 with a dissertation entitled "Paths to the Decline of Nationalism: Ethnic Politics in the Republics of Russia." Her post-doctoral fellowship at Columbia University's Harriman Institute last year was one of several fellowships and research grants Elise has won recently. During her visiting fellowship at the Kroc Institute, Giuliano will extend her research on the rise and decline of ethnic conflict in Russia to other republics in the post-Soviet region.

**ELAINE THOMAS** earned the Ph.D. in Political Science at the University of California, Berkeley in 1998 with a dissertation entitled "Nation After Empire: The Political Logic and Intellectual Limits of Citizenship and Immigration Controversies in France and Britain, 1981-1989." After graduation, Thomas accepted the position of Collegiate Assistant Professor at the University of Chicago. The recipient of a SSRC-MacArthur fellowship, she was also a research fellow at the Institut d'Études Politiques in Paris. During her fellowship at the Kroc Institute, Thomas is revising the dissertation into a book showing how globalization is transforming existing conceptions and practices of political membership and how those transformations are affecting social justice and relations among ethnic groups as well as the prospects for lasting peace in Europe.



Kroc Director Scott Appleby with (left to right) Tristan Borer, Elise Giuliano, and Elaine Thomas

## Philpott Brings Interest in Religion and Politics to Core Faculty

**Daniel Philpott**, the newest member of Kroc Institute's Core Faculty, will bring fresh insights into the relationship between religion and politics to the Institute. Philpott holds a joint appointment as Assistant Professor in Government and International Studies.

Philpott is not a newcomer at Notre Dame. In 1998-99, he spent a year on campus as a visiting fellow at the Erasmus Institute. He also held a visiting appointment at Princeton in 1995-96 after completing his doctorate at Harvard in 1995.

Philpott's first book focuses on the role of ideas in the historical development of sovereignty. *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* was released by Princeton University Press in March 2001.

"The topic was essentially answering the question: How did the world ever get to be organized into sovereign states," he explains. "The book focuses on two historical episodes: first, the formation of the sovereign state system in early modern Europe that culminated in the Peace of Westphalia in 1648, and second, the decline of the colonial empires during the 20th century that culminated around 1960. The latter development resulted in the expansion of the sovereign state system around the globe."

"One of the things that made me want to look at this was the fact that sovereignty is (now) becoming compromised and circumscribed." Two major influences, he says, are behind the current challenges to sovereign states. "One is the ongoing extension of the European Union. The other is the increasing incidence of humanitarian intervention in the internal affairs of various nations."



What has intrigued many about Philpott's point of view is the bold case he makes for the central role of ideas — particularly religious ideas — in the evolution of sovereign states. While military and economic power cannot be overlooked, only the power of ideas can adequately explain the creation of a world of sovereign states, he argues.

That interplay of religious ideas in politics has particularly preoccupied Philpott. He is a member of a scholarly working group promoting the study of religion and politics. Directed by Harvard's Samuel Huntington, it includes scholars from across the United States.

Recently, Philpott's scholarship has turned to issues of reconciliation. "The subject of reconciliation in politics is one that I now want to address in an academic way," Philpott comments. "Reconciliation has many layers, and it must involve justice, accountability and truth-telling. I am interested in exploring the larger question of how societies deal with past injustices or evils."

A recent convert to Catholicism, Philpott has been deeply impressed by Pope John Paul II. The pope's contributions in bringing the language of reconciliation and forgiveness into the broader social context have not yet been fully appreciated or explored, he says.

In 1996, a five-day visit to war-torn Sarajevo deepened Philpott's commitment to exploring issues of political reconciliation. Traveling as part of an international team, he observed the devastating impact of war and was impressed by discussions of reconciliation by diplomats, religious leaders and relief workers from Islamic, Catholic and Serbian Orthodox traditions. Philpott plans to continue field research on reconciliation in other conflict settings.

## 2001-02 M.A. Students Bring Diverse Experiences in Peacebuilding

The Institute welcomes 20 new students to its M.A. program:

**Catalina Acevedo** (Colombia) served as an advisor to the Colombian High Commissioner for Peace and as a researcher at the Universidad de los Andes.

**Hassab Elrasoul Y. Ali** (Sudan) worked for several years as a peacebuilding officer for a local NGO, the Badya Center for Integrated Development Services and for UNESCO.

**Marta Balint** (Romania) worked as a translator at a Bucharest-based child protection NGO.

**Abolghasem Bayyinat** (Iran) worked on arms control and international trade issues for the Iranian Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

**Jean-Paul Bigirindavyi** (Burundi) worked for World Relief and is developing a youth center in Nairobi, Kenya to foster peacebuilding.

**Agnes Campell** (The Gambia) is a nurse and midwife and has worked for many years in rural development.

**Karmela Devcic** (Croatia) was a reporter for a highly-rated political news TV show in Croatia.

**Marco Garrido** (USA) a native of the Philippines, researched agrarian reform at a development think-tank in Manila.

**Peter Gichure** (Kenya) a Catholic priest, teaches Systematic Theology and serves as theological advisor for the Catholic Justice and Peace Commission in Nairobi.

**Alisher Khamidov** (Kyrgyzstan) directed a non-profit media association in Kyrgyzstan and wrote a series of articles on religious and ethnic conflict in the Ferghana Valley.

**Asma Khan** (Pakistan) taught and conducted research at the University of Karachi related to her interests in conflict resolution, foreign policy, and religious extremism.

**John Kleiderer** (USA) taught journalism in Tanzania and worked with Jesuit Refugee Service in camps for Burundian refugees.

**Anastasiya Leukhina** (Ukraine) was an interpreter at the School of Social Work at Kiev-Mohyla Academy and studied communications and conflict resolution in Canada.

**Tetty Naiborhu** (Indonesia) conducted research on protest and reform in Indonesia at the Center for Security and Peace at Gadjah Mada University.

**Dieu Huong Nguyen** (Vietnam) conducted research for 3 years at the Institute for International Relations, which advises the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Vietnam.

**Stanley “Karana” Olivier** (USA) served 12 years as a French-English interpreter with the U.S. Department of State and the UN International Criminal Tribunals for Rwanda and the former Yugoslavia.

**Kim Overdyck** (South Africa) was a member of the South African Police Service from 1983-96, where she investigated crimes committed against children. She was recently admitted as an advocate of the High Court of South Africa.

**Serhat Tutuncuoglu** (Turkey) worked as a research assistant on counter-intelligence actions in the U.S. against racial hatred groups.

**Her Vang** (USA), whose family fled Laos after the communist takeover, recently completed an M.A. thesis at Iliff School of Theology on nonviolence and Hmong history.

**Willow Wetherall** (USA) worked at the Mitchell Center for Environmental and Watershed Research, where she acted as a liaison to Cyprus.

Biographies of these students are available on the Kroc Institute’s website <[www.nd.edu/~krocinst](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst)>.



The Kroc Institute’s 2001-02 M.A. Students

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

# Peacekeeping: Defining Success

A N T H O N Y L A K E

What are the political purposes of peacekeeping? The conventional wisdom is that the purpose of peacekeeping in contexts of civil war, ethnic conflict, or fractured states is to heal the fractures, and, as was attempted in Bosnia, to reconstitute the state.

I think we need to begin to contemplate exceptions to the conventional approach. From a military point of view, before any operation is begun, there is a moral obligation and a practical obligation to define success in a political sense. Only then will we know that the job has been completed and it is time to come home.

It is not enough to say that we cannot tolerate the human anguish in a situation and therefore we are going to intervene, even if the purpose of the intervention is unclear. But, in effect, that is what we have done in Kosovo. I believe we should have intervened sooner in Kosovo and should not have taken ground troops off the table in the initial stages as we did. At the same time, we should have forced ourselves and our allies to define the political solution to the problem better. In effect, we responded to events rather than adopting a political and diplomatic strategy that would shape them.

This is exactly what happened in Vietnam. Contrary to what many believe, the U.S. military never was defeated in Vietnam. Had there been the political will in the United States, we could have stayed in Vietnam in perpetuity and prevented South Vietnam from falling to the North. But our purpose was not to colonize Vietnam. Our political goal — the only way we could succeed and leave — was to leave behind a government in Saigon that could defend itself on its own. Vietnam was and is a strongly nationalistic society, which it had to be in order to avoid being taken over by the Chinese for 2000 years. However, the more the United States did for the government in Saigon, the more its nationalists credentials became tattered. The weaker its domestic support became, the less effective it was in the military struggle. This

in turn led to increased reliance on U.S. intervention, creating a vicious circle that we were never able to break.

Similarly, in Kosovo today, because of the strong feelings of our European allies and the Russians and the Chinese, we have implied that Kosovo will remain under Yugoslav sovereignty in some undefined status, and we have left that status very fuzzy indeed. However, it is extremely unlikely that the majority in Kosovo will ever accept living under Yugoslav sovereignty, especially if Montenegro becomes independent. As a result, at some point the troops that came in to rescue the Kosovars will be seen not as a liberating force, but as an occupying force. They will then become increasingly at risk from the very people they were sent to protect.

In short, we need exit strategies which are not defined by defeat, but by success. The common definition of success in all of these recent operations — except in East Timor, which was on a somewhat different legal footing — is the reunification of the state. While this is a worthy goal and one that we should as a general principle pursue, the goal may not be achievable in a reasonable span of time; it could be the work of generations. In addition, the international community needs to be clear about who is primarily responsible for achieving that goal. If the international community takes the primary responsibility on itself for healing the wounds and bringing a fractured society together, this can create dangerous dependencies within the country and can fuel resentments of the international community's role.

Therefore, the international community should limit its military missions to giving such societies a breathing space — a period of calm — combined with economic and political assistance until they can again manage their own affairs. If we



reach further, and set as our goal reuniting a shattered nation, we condemn ourselves either to defeat or to the near-perpetual occupation of deeply divided societies.

Of course, I am not suggesting that we set very short deadlines. If there is a reasonable case for operations to last for a decade or more, as I believe to be the case in Bosnia, so be it. And if there is a reasonable case to extend a deadline, as we did in Bosnia, so be it.

However, after a reasonable amount of time the breathing space created by the military peacekeepers should end. If the security situation remains relatively stable, then the civilian dimension of the operation — the aid program, the political assistance, etc. — certainly can continue. But if the military situation starts to deteriorate, or if the cumulative bloodshed is so large and the ethnic hatred so deep that the two parties simply cannot live together, then we should think the unthinkable, and work to oversee a peaceful separation. I think this is clearly going to be the case for Kosovo.

Moreover, if it is obvious from the start that the society will never reunite, as I think was the case in Kosovo, then we should set separation as the goal from the beginning. Such a suggestion is often met with strong disagreement and even anger. And certainly abroad, our European allies, the Russians, Chinese and most African states are vehemently opposed to division. The Europeans do not like the precedent in Kosovo or the separation between Kosovo and Yugoslavia, because of what it implies for other actors in the Balkans. But I would note that it is about to happen in Macedonia, and perhaps one reason why Albanians are making such trouble in Macedonia is out of frustration over the undefined status of Kosovo. The Russians and Chinese oppose separation because of what it implies for Chechnya, Tibet and Taiwan. And the Africans oppose it because African borders were set by colonial powers with no regard for realities of African life and efforts to open this issue could provoke further civil wars.

But given the realities of the world, we need to think about the exceptions to the rule. There are many critical questions which must be asked in this context: What is the scope of the humanitarian crisis? How are our interests or other's interests affected? Is reconciliation still possible in the practical sense? Have all diplomatic means to hold the country together been attempted, or at least considered? Has a state's behavior in the face of separatist movements become so reprehensible



Anthony Lake talks with Fr. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C.

and so repressive that it has lost its right to sovereignty over its component parts, as I would argue has occurred in Yugoslavia? Would allowing a state to break up produce further ethnic bloodshed in the breakaway state because of the creation of a new majority and minority? Would the new entity be democratic? Would it be

viable economically and militarily? What effect would allowing separation have on neighboring countries and on the region? What role would the international community play in guaranteeing the independence of a new state against aggressive attacks by the states that have lost a piece of themselves?

The current course is unsustainable and could be disastrous. It will produce a growing number of peacekeeping garrisons scattered around the world with no end in sight, turning the United Nations and the members involved in this into the greatest colonial power in history, which is neither its mandate nor sustainable. Certainly if this becomes the case in the United States our military and our public will raise serious objections, reinforcing those who are already skeptical of American leadership in UN efforts. We should not allow that to happen.

For the sake of our interests and for the sake of peacekeeping and all the human beings whose lives are at stake, we must scale our ambitions to our resources and to our real responsibilities. If we do not, our support for and leadership of UN peacekeeping efforts will be badly damaged. That would be a tragedy. For if we dismiss efforts to redress such wrongs as those in Kosovo as mere social work abroad, we will have diminished ourselves. In the words of Franklin Delano Roosevelt: "Governments can err. Presidents do make mistakes. But the immortal Dante tells us that divine justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted on different scales. Better the occasional faults of a government that lives in charity than the constant omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

**Anthony Lake** is Distinguished Professor in the Practice of Diplomacy at the Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. From 1993-97 he served as Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs. This article is based on the Seventh Annual Theodore M. Hesburgh C.S.C. Lectures on Ethics and Public Policy, which Lake delivered at the Kroc Institute in April 2001.



# The Fundamentalist Factor

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S C O T T   A P P L E B Y

The people of the book have a gripe with secular modernity. Vocal and well-organized minorities within Christianity, Judaism, and Islam are disgusted with their “mainline” and merely orthodox co-religionists. Nurtured within the Abrahamic faiths, they have established their own alternative institutions, transnational networks, and fluid movements or cells. Whether lodged in Jewish settlements on the West Bank, schooled in madrasahs along Pakistan’s border with Afghanistan, or tuned in to the 700 Club studios in Virginia, these self-proclaimed “true believers” tend to demonize their enemies, manufacture or exploit moments of crisis, and challenge or compel their somnolent co-religionists to take a decisive stand “for God.”

By any reckoning, Islam has produced more contemporary fundamentalist movements than any other great religious tradition. Of course, it is inaccurate and wrongheaded to conclude that Islam is therefore inherently intolerant. Muslims have produced a variety of social practices and political cultures; both the Muslims of South Asia and the Muslims of Turkey, for example, have political cultures that differ from those of Arab Muslims. Any totalizing or essentialist description of Islam (Islam is always opposed to free markets, Islam is essentially socialist in nature) is bound to be misleading.

But it is also worth noting that it is the so-called Islamist or Islamic fundamentalist movements, in fact, that seek to essentialize Islam. They envision Islam as a comprehensive and stable set of beliefs and practices that determines social, economic, and political attitudes and behavior. Moreover, they interpret and would apply Islamic law in accord with the narrowest and most militant readings of Qur’anic concepts like tawhid (the unity of God), umma (the worldwide Muslim community), and jihad.

American journalists and officials have appeared foolish in their stunned reactions to “new” evidence — such as Mohamed Atta’s letter of instruction to his fellow hijackers — that these terrorists actually believe in God and would invoke His assistance before piloting planes into buildings. Long before September 11, Muslim extremists made no secret of their terror-legitimizing interpretations of Islamic law. In the mid-1980s, Islamist shaykhs (formally trained religious scholars, whose Qur’anic learning has attracted disciples) were already giving their blessings to suicide missions, strictly forbidden by Islamic law. They reinterpreted self-martyrdom as a legitimate act of self-defense against “an enemy whom it is impossible to fight by conventional means,” as Shaykh Sayyed Muhammed Hussein Fadlallah, the spiritual guide of Lebanon’s Hezbollah movement, told an interviewer in 1985. Such rulings are based in convictions that are widely shared by both Sunni and Shiite extremist cadres.

Why, then, does Islam produce so many viable fundamentalist movements?

First, the mass media have increased popular awareness of inequalities and injustices, as well as of the corruption and mismanagement that bedevil governments and state-run institutions. A growing sense among Muslims of “relative deprivation” compared with other societies has coincided with exhaustion and disgust at a string of failed secular “solutions,” from the Pan-Arabism espoused in the 1950s and 1960s by Egypt’s Gamal Abdel Nasser to the Marxist leanings of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Islamists blame these failures (as well as their vulnerability to Western powers and, especially, military defeat at the hands of the Israelis) on the abandonment of Islam as the basis for the ordering of society. Their “solution” is fundamentalist rather than nationalist because the glorious Islamic empires and civilizations that serve as precedents antedated or resisted the rise of the modern secular nation-state. Indeed, Islam’s own religious vocabulary and conceptual repertoire conceive of a transnational, transregional spiritual community of believing Muslims as the basic political entity.

Second, Islam has been remarkably resistant to the differentiation and privatization of religion that often accompanies secularization. (In this Islam resembles Roman Catholicism, which officially retained a largely medieval worldview until approximately the mid-1960s.) It is often pointed out that Islam has not undergone a reformation like the one experienced by Christianity, which led to a pronounced separation of sacred and secular, religious and political spheres.

Finally, Islamist preachers and leaders have competed successfully with mainstream Islamic leaders for resources and respect. They have done so by avoiding personal corruption and demonstrating integrity in providing services to the needy. Their recruitment, training, and retention of core activists is exemplary. Their exploitation of Islamic theological and religio-legal resources has been by turns crude and sophisticated but always effective.

Ultimately, extremist Islam will fail. Its hope for conformity is doomed by the internal pluralism of the Islamic tradition and by the inability of extremists who reject cooperation with outsiders to meliorate the economic and social inequalities that haunt most Muslims. As a result of the extremists’ failure, however, they will continue to be a disruptive and destabilizing force in Islamic societies.

Under such circumstances, preachers and jurists who reject extremism and seek to strengthen Islamic political culture and civil society stand the best chance of undermining fundamentalism in its violent incarnations. Chandra Muzaffar of Malaysia and Abdolkarim Soroush of Iran, among other “progressive” Muslim thinkers who have developed popular followings, argue that political Islam is not destined to bequeath the mantle of the Prophet to the spiritual sons of bin Laden. While influential among youth, these progressive intellectuals are not currently positioned to bring about a transformation in their societies. One of the unintended consequences of September 11, however, may be that they or their disciples will find a wider audience.

**Scott Appleby** is the John M. Regan, Jr. Director of the Kroc Institute. This article was first published in *Lingua Franca* 11, no. 8 (November 2001). Further Kroc Institute responses to the events of September 11 and their aftermath are discussed on page 14.

# Economic Agendas of Civil Wars

PAUL COLLIER

As an economist who works on civil wars, I am in a small minority in two senses: very few economists work on civil wars and most of the people who do work on civil wars are not economists. I do not want to imply that economics has more to offer than other disciplines. But to date, the contribution of economics has scarcely even been heard, and it deserves more attention.

I lead a research project at the World Bank which has examined some 160 countries and 78 civil wars between 1960 and 1999. The project seeks to develop a statistical model which will explain the incidence of civil war within a country. The model examines the impact of several explanatory variables and predicts the risk of civil war over a 5-year period.

## The Economic Causes of Civil Wars

Our statistical analysis indicates that the level, growth, and income structure of a country are significant and quite powerful explanations for the likelihood of civil wars.

First, conflict is overwhelmingly a phenomenon of low income countries. Obviously, conflict reduces income, but our research controls for this by examining income before the conflict at the beginning of a 5-year period and predicts the risk of civil war during the subsequent period.

Second, and more controversially, our research indicates that the faster the rate of growth in a country, the lower the risk of conflict. This result runs counter to the common presumption that rapid economic change in a country causes conflict. In fact, rapid economic growth reduces conflict. To provide some order of magnitude, the average developing country faces about an 11% risk of having civil war in any 5 year period. Each time a percentage point is added to the rate of growth, this reduces the risk of civil war by a percentage point, which is a significant impact.

Third, dependence on primary commodities substantially increases the risk of conflict, unless the primary commodity is extremely plentiful, as in the case of oil in Saudi Arabia. The difference in the risks is absolutely enormous. In a country with no primary commodity exports at all, the risk is about 1% in a 5-year period. In a country with high dependence on primary commodities, which means about 30% of its national income comes from primary commodities, the risk is around 23%.

The particular primary commodities upon which a country is dependent does not matter as much as one might think. The big difference is between oil and non-oil, but the impact is not that marked. At low levels of dependence on oil, the effect is not significantly different from dependence on other primary commodities. However, if a country has 40% or 50% in oil income, the likelihood of civil war is quite high.

Besides these economic factors, two aspects of a country's social composition are also closely correlated with the likelihood of civil war. One is "ethnic dominance." By dominance, I mean that the largest ethnic group in the country is more or less a majority but not overwhelming. Our research suggests that when the largest ethnic group is between 45 and 90% of the population, this constitutes conditions of ethnic dominance. If the country is characterized by ethnic dominance, the risk of conflict approximately doubles. This might first appear to be a large effect, but it is small when compared with the economic effect.

We have also investigated both ethnic diversity and religious diversity and the combination which we call social fractionalization. Controlling for ethnic dominance, the more the society is fractionalized into different ethnic and religious groups, the safer it is.

## Factors Not Correlated with Civil Wars

Some very surprising things are not correlated with the likelihood of civil war. One is military expenditure. We cannot find any deterrence effect to military expenditure before a conflict. Of course, it is quite complicated to examine the effect of military expenditures, because governments may see a big risk of conflict and increase military spending in anticipation of the conflict. In such a case, the increase in spending might appear to be causing the conflict, when it in fact may be a result of an impending conflict. Our research has controlled for that and we still cannot find any deterrent effect for military expenditures.

I also cannot find any effect from economic inequality on the risk of conflict. I have looked at both income inequality and land inequality, and neither are correlated with an increased risk of civil conflict. In particular countries, there might be a correlation, but globally, we find no relationship.

The other factor which does not appear to be correlated with conflict risk is political rights. Democracy, dictatorship, and political repression seem to have no effect on the risk of conflict. This often disappoints those who promote democratization as a means for avoiding violent conflict, but the statistical evidence does not support a strong correlation.

### The Case of Africa

The case of Africa over the last 30 years illustrates the statistical model I have outlined. Africa has a lower level of income than other regions, drastically lower growth than other regions and a chronically weaker structure of income. Africa alone of the continents has not diversified away from primary commodity dependence. It is more dependent on primary commodities now than it was 30 years ago.

Africa has had a very unfortunate deteriorating trend. Thirty years ago, it was safer than other regions. Now, it is more dangerous than other regions in terms of the risk of violent conflict, and that is fully accounted for by the economic deterioration in Africa.

On the other hand, there are relatively few societies in Africa that are characterized by ethnic dominance. While there are exceptions, Africa on the whole is just too fractionalized for even the biggest groups to be over 45%. This in turn reduces the risk of conflict.

Thus, on our analysis, Africa's high incidence of civil war is not due to its social structure. Its social structure is a factor making it relatively safe. Its problems are economic, and hence contingent. This conclusion is deeply against the grain of most thinking.

### Policy Implications

Several policy implications follow from this understanding of civil conflict. First, if we actually want to try to prevent conflict, we might get more mileage out of reducing the economic viability of violent movements than addressing objective grievances.

To avoid any misunderstanding, I think that there are very good reasons in all societies for addressing issues of inequality and political rights based on our research. Unfortunately, based on our research I think that it is a false bill of goods to believe that focusing on these issues is going to deliver peace in conflicted societies. Our agenda for conflict reduction has to be substantially focused on reducing the economic viability of violence.

Furthermore, it is clear that some of the variables that matter most in reducing the likelihood of conflict are economic variables — particularly the level of income, the growth of income, and the structure of income. Regardless of one's interpretation of the data, that suggests that economic interventions can build a more peaceful world.

What are those economic interventions going to be? One is to increase growth through a mixture of policies and aid. I have investigated whether aid has any direct effect on conflict risk, and I cannot find any. There are indirect effects through growth, but not direct effects.

Economic development is an effective strategy for reducing conflict. Based on a simulation, policy improvements and larger aid budgets could bring down the risk of conflict in a typical aid recipient country by about one third over a 5-year period, which would be a significant accomplishment.

Another policy implication is that primary commodity dependence is quite dangerous. Ten years ago, the World Bank did not know this, but now we recognize the enormous importance of diversifying the economy. The developing world has diversified massively over the last 20 years, but Africa has not followed the rest of the developing world in this regard. To my mind, the primary economic task now for Africa is to achieve that diversification.

Finally, this analysis has at least one implication for the war against terrorism. International terrorists are using failed states — states where there are civil wars — for safe havens. Failed states are the one type of territory which is absolutely out of reach. Consequently, I believe that one part of the long term strategy to fight terrorism must be to reduce the number of safe havens.

Of course, that is easier said than done. It is not achieved by bombing them. By bombing, you can destroy a government, but failed states have already achieved that. That is not a remark on what American policy should be, but rather a statement that over the next 10 years, to solve the problem of failed states, we must make development interventions to prevent states from falling into failure, and — what is even harder — to rebuild states which are in conflict and coming out of it.

Compared with the sums of money that will be spent on military and intelligence activities, the amount of money that is spent on a development agenda is absolutely tiny. And yet, our research shows that money spent on a development agenda will substantially reduce conflict risk. I can only hope that this fact will be taken into consideration.

**Paul Collier** is Director of the Development Economics Research Group at the World Bank and a senior World Bank spokesperson on development economics research. He is currently on leave from Oxford University where he is one of six full time professors of economics and director of the Center for the Study of African Economies. Recently, Collier published *Economic Causes of Civil Conflict and Their Implications for Policy*, a study of 47 civil wars from 1960 to 1999. This article is excerpted from a keynote address he gave at the Kroc Institute on October 3, 2001, for a meeting of the Institute's working group on Globalization and Local Violence (see page 20.)

| recent highlights |

## After September 11

### *Kroc Institute Responds to the Global Crisis*

The crisis on campus and in the media. Many of the Institute's activities throughout the rest of the fall semester focused on the developing global situation.

The on-campus response included a series of panel discussions together with the Kellogg Institute on various dimensions of the situation. Over 500 students, faculty, and members of the local community packed the Auditorium of DeBartolo Hall for each of these panels. Videos of the first two panels are available at <[www.nd.edu/~krocinst/sept11.html](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/sept11.html)>.

The Institute also helped coordinate a creative endeavor to promote wider discussion of the global crisis among students through the "Week of Education on Peace and War," which was held the week of November 11. In addition to guest lectures and films, over 50 Notre Dame faculty participated in panel discussions held in the dorms over four evenings.

Faculty fellows also have written editorials and commentaries in widely-circulated newspapers and magazines, including *Newsweek*, the *Chicago Tribune*, *Foreign Policy* and the *Chronicle of Higher Education*. In addition to numerous interviews on local television, faculty fellows offered interviews and commentary broadcast on PBS, BBC International, MSNBC and WGN Radio.

Links to many publications and events are provided on the Kroc Institute's new web page "After September 11: Initial Responses from the Kroc Institute." The page also contains links to background material and related information. The page has attracted wide attention and was selected for inclusion in the Yahoo web directory on September 11 materials.

The tragic events of September 11 and the war on terrorism raise issues at the heart of the Kroc Institute's mission. Immediately following the terrorist attacks, the Institute launched a multi-phased response to

## Kroc Responds

### Commentaries

Scott Appleby, "Building Peace to Combat Religious Terror," *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 28, 2001.

Brian Cox and Daniel Philpott, "A Time for Reconciliation," *San Diego Union Tribune*, January 11, 2002.

Rev. Patrick Gaffney, C.S.C., "Understanding the Gulf between Islam and the West," September 20, 2001.

John Paul Lederach, "The Challenge of Terror: A Traveling Essay," September 16, 2001.

John Paul Lederach, "Quo Vadis? Reframing Terror from the Perspective of Conflict Resolution," presented at the University of California, Irvine, Townhall Meeting, October 24, 2001.

Daniel Lindley, "Don't Doubt America's Will to Win a War," *Chicago Sun Times*, October 26, 2001.

George Lopez, "After Sept. 11: How Ethics Can Help," *America*, October 8, 2001.

Cynthia Mahmood, "Kashmir and the War on Terrorism," Kroc Institute Policy Brief #8 (October 2001).

A. Rashied Omar, "A Muslim's Anguish in the Midst of the Attack on America," November 30, 2001.



A panel presentation on September 13 considered terrorism, war, and security after September 11. (Left to right) Scott Appleby, Baroness Shirley Williams (M.P.), Dan Lindley, Layna Mosely, and George Lopez.



Faculty met with students in their dorms during the “Week of Education on Peace and War,” November 11-16.

## Events

### September 13

**After September 11: Rethinking Terrorism, War and Security**

Co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute  
(This panel is available for viewing online at [www.nd.edu/~krocinst/sept11.html](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/sept11.html))

### September 20

**After September 11: Christian and Muslim Holy Wars**

Co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute  
(This panel is available for viewing online at [www.nd.edu/~krocinst/sept11.html](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/sept11.html))

### October 3

**After September 11: Civil Liberties, Human Rights, and Legal Remedies**

Co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute for International Studies and the Center for Civil and Human Rights

### November 1

**The Economic Causes and Consequences of the September 11 Attacks**

co-sponsored by the Department of Economics, the Department of Finance and Business Economics, and the Higgins Labor Research Center

### November 11-16

**A Week of Education on Peace and War** — a series of panel discussions in the dorms, lectures, films and other events focusing on the September 11 attacks and subsequent events

### November 5

**Rebellion and Violence in Islamic Law: Avenues for Conflict Resolution**

Khaled Abou El Fadl, Acting Professor of Law, the Omar and Azmerald Alfi Distinguished Fellow in Islamic Law, UCLA

### November 12

**War, Peace and Imperatives of Justice: An Islamic Perspective**

John Kelsay, Richard L. Rubenstein Professor in the Department of Religion, Florida State University  
Co-sponsored by the Department of Theology

### November 19

**Israel’s Quest for Peace and the War Against Terrorism**

Moshe Ram, Consul General of Israel to the Midwest, Chicago, IL

Summaries and video files of many of these events are available online <http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/sept11.html>

## A First SIP for CRS

### Summer Institute in Peacebuilding builds Kroc-CRS relationship

From Sunday July 22 through Wednesday August 1, 2001 the Kroc Institute, in conjunction with the peacebuilding team of Catholic Relief Services (CRS), hosted and co-directed a Summer Institute in Peacebuilding (SIP). The Institute was designed to provide participants with both a focused environment for increasing their skills and perspectives in peacebuilding, and an opportunity for critical engagement of new thinking in three related areas: Conflict Resolution and Peacebuilding, Catholic Social Teaching, and New Issues in Economic Development.

The SIP had several specific goals:

- to increase the peacebuilding capacity of CRS as an institution by training staff and partners, in conflict transformation and peacebuilding methods and skills;
- to provide a setting for CRS staff and partners in which they could share information, make connections across their programs and regions, and establish a long-term network;
- to provide a forum for interaction of CRS staff and partners with Kroc faculty experts in Catholic Social Thinking and other topics such as Youth and Peacebuilding, and Gender Issues in Conflict;
- to provide the Kroc Institute with an opportunity to listen to the needs and agenda of peacebuilders in the field in order to serve CRS better in the future.

John Paul Lederach explains peacebuilding.



Each of the three major themes was developed in longer sessions under the direction of a single expert facilitator. In the first, John Paul Lederach, Professor of International Peacebuilding at the Kroc Institute, conducted two days of small and large group exercises in progressive peacebuilding. Lederach challenged the participants to apply the general principles that were being demonstrated to their local conditions.

Following Lederach, independent development specialist Kim Maynard, who had worked extensively with Mercy Corps

International, led a one day session. Maynard provided a number of situational exercises which incorporated both economic and managerial concerns with the Lederach framework.



Orson Sargado (CRS, Philippines) talks with Nombana Razafinisoa (CRS, Madagascar)

Kroc Fellow and Associate Professor of Theology Todd Whitmore led the third thematic session on Catholic Social Teaching. Whitmore examined the concepts and themes which have formed the cornerstone of Catholic Social Teaching since Pope Leo XIII. Among these were the preferential option for the poor and the principles of subsidiarity and solidarity.

Interspersed throughout the ten days were sessions conducted by various Kroc faculty with expertise in themes particularly relevant to the SIP. Among those sessions were George Lopez on mediation, Cynthia Mahmood on gender issues in conflict and development, Hal Culbertson on programming implications of gender and peacemaking in Bangladesh and Siobhan McEvoy-Levy on youth as sources of violence and/or peacemaking. Particularly pop-



Martha Ines Romero (CRS, Colombia)



ular throughout the Institute were the sessions offered by Scott Appleby, the Regan Director of the Kroc Institute, on religion as a source of violence and a source of peacebuilding.

Jaco Cilliers, Senior Advisor for Conflict Resolution for Catholic Relief Services, convened discussions of regional issues and coordinated the development of both a statement of purpose and concrete application of the meanings of peacebuilding. Through his leadership, the participants were able to define peacebuilding as:

- a process of changing unjust structures into right-relationships
- which transforms the way people, communities and societies live, heal and structure their relationships to promote justice and peace
- and creates a space in which mutual trust, respect and interdependence is fostered.

The groups then undertook the difficult task of identifying the kind of changes that need to take place in each of their sites to operationalize this definition in their daily work. These were expressed as indicators of peacebuilding and have



Mike Pozniak (CRS Headquarters) with Jamileh Sahlieh (CRS, Palestine)

both a transformative dimension and a monitoring function. The resulting eleven indicators will serve as the basis of future CRS peacebuilding programs in various sites but will also serve as the basis for departure thematically for next year's SIP.

In the midst of their hard work, the participants also took time to enjoy one another's company by participating in various recreational activities in and around campus. They jogged the lakes of Notre Dame or enjoyed beach volleyball. A number of the CRS staff from sub-Saharan Africa and South Asia witnessed their first live baseball game as the group took an excursion to Chicago to see the Cubs major league baseball team play, followed by free time at Chicago's Navy Pier. Some participants were able to take advantage of the Shakespeare summer theatre performance on Notre Dame campus as well.

Kim Maynard discusses development and peace.



Assessments from participants and the SIP faculty and staff indicate that the SIP generally met its goals. But there also was substantial learning in unexpected ways. Participants noted that their difficulties in developing

effective peacebuilding programs differed depending on whether the program aimed to meet short-term needs or long-term challenges. This will be a focal point of future SIP work, as will continued refinement of CRS working principles of peacebuilding which were forged by this year's CRS participants.

Both CRS and Kroc participants appreciated the mixture of sessions and co-curricular activities which permitted time for CRSers and those from Kroc to build relationships.

The second SIP is scheduled for late June of 2002.



Jaco Cilliers (left) leads a breaktime activity.

| r e s e a r c h |

## Kroc Institute Launches RIREC

**New research initiative explores post-accord  
peacebuilding**



John Darby (right) discusses post-accord violence with Dominic Murray.

The Kroc Institute's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC) was officially launched at a workshop held on September 24-25, 2001 at Notre Dame. This new research project focuses on post-accord peace-

building and the difficult but pressing questions of how to create a sustainable, just peace after a period of protracted conflict.

The launching seminar was attended by a multidisciplinary team of 15 scholars and practitioners working around three research themes: violence, youth/the next generation, and transitional justice. At the heart of the project is an effort to develop new theoretical lenses for comprehending the nuances of post-accord peacebuilding, which will integrate



Michael Wessels (right) makes a point about youth and violence in discussions with Siobhan McEvoy-Levy and Edward Cairns.

conflict management and conflict transformation concerns, techniques and methodologies. The project will test these lenses against cases and develop relevant policy recommendations.

During the two days of discussions, RIREC participants laid the foundations for the next two years of

research. The seminar participants worked in three related research clusters, each representing a key dimension of the post-accord landscape, as well as in full plenary sessions. In addition to identifying research areas they will each examine during the next two years, participants also considered the critical relationship between the three thematic areas.

The participants concluded that each cluster will be responsible for producing a volume and the three cluster directors will edit a synthetic volume. Post-accord peacebuilding has yet not been conceptualized in this fashion, much less systematically studied as a dynamic process generating its own outcomes and patterns of behavior.

## RIREC Research Clusters

### Violence

Led by John Darby, Professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies at the Kroc Institute, this research cluster examines the perpetuation of violence after the accord is signed, either as a vestigial (but nonetheless powerfully destructive) force, or as a tactic used by hardliners and rejectionists to derail the implementation phase of the peace process.

*Cluster participants:*

**Marie-Joelle Zahar**, Department of Political Science, University of Montreal; **Virginia Gamba**, South Africa; **Dominic Murray**, Director Center for Peace and Development Studies, University of Limerick

### The Next Generation

Led by Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science at Butler University, the project's second dimension explores the relationships of this violence to the availability of recruits from among the marginalized youth on all sides of the conflict, and, more broadly and programmatically, the conditions under which youth might resist recruitment into gangs and militia, contributing instead in constructive ways to the peace process.

*Cluster participants:*

**Edward Cairns**, Department of Psychology, University of Ulster at Coleraine; **Jaco Cilliers**, Catholic Relief Services; **Michael Wessels**, Department of Psychology, Randolph-Macon College; **Victoria Sanford**, Department of Anthropology, University of Notre Dame

### Transitional Justice

Under the direction of Tristan Borer, Associate Professor of Government, Connecticut College, and a Visiting Fellow at the Kroc Institute during 2001-02, the third dimension of the project explores the relationship, in turn, between civil society, youth, and patterns of violence, on the one hand, and public efforts at reconciliation and other forms of transitional justice on the other.

*Cluster participants:* **Charles Villa-Vicencio**, Executive Director, Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, Cape Town, South Africa; **Brandon Hamber**, Research Associate Democratic Dialogue, Belfast; **Juan E. Mendez**, Director, Center for Civil and Human Rights, Notre Dame Law School; **Pablo De Greiff**, International Center for Transitional Justice

## Lessons from South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission

**RIREC workshop features lecture by Charles Villa-Vicencio, former TRC Research Director**

There is a simple yet profound lesson to be learned from the successful transition from racial conflict to a non-racial democracy in South Africa, said Charles Villa-Vicencio, Executive Director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation and former Research Director for the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC). "Talks are important; even talks about talks are important. Military power can achieve only so much. Peace and legitimate power are ultimately negotiated."

Villa-Vicencio, a participant in the Kroc Institute's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC), presented a thought-provoking lecture focusing on the lessons learned from South Africa's TRC as part of the project's inaugural workshop on September 24-25. An internationally-recognized scholar on the TRC, Villa-Vicencio will lend his expertise to RIREC's "transitional justice" research cluster.



Charles Villa-Vicencio

After presenting a brief history of South Africa in relation to apartheid, Villa-Vicencio turned to the relatively nonviolent end to apartheid, which Archbishop Desmond Tutu proclaimed, "a miracle." He observed that, after the Soweto protests in 1976, "both sides realized that neither was strong enough to defeat the other." Thus, any resolution of the conflict would have to be built on some kind of political compromise.

The TRC emerged as a bridge between the old and the new. The only other options appeared to be a blanket amnesty or Nuremberg-type trials, neither of which would have been likely to work, noted Villa-Vicencio. A blanket amnesty would have left victims without any recompense or even public acknowledgment of the wrongs done to them, which could have led to further eruptions of violence.

On the other hand, seeking to prosecute perpetrators would have likely led to only a few successful convictions, given the difficulties inherent in prosecuting political crimes and the strain this would place on the justice system during a difficult transition. Moreover, prominent criminal trials can easily become show-trials, undermining the quest for a historical account of the past.

Of course, not everyone was convinced that the TRC was the mechanism for transitional justice. "The TRC was always more popular outside than within South Africa," he said. Many South Africans remain ambivalent about the TRC, given how the past remains present in the form of poverty, oppression, and crime. However, most think the TRC did help South Africa move through a difficult time.

According to Villa-Vicencio, one of the major achievements of the TRC is that it has led to the beginning of a rights-based culture in which people are aware of the existence of certain basic rights that cannot be taken away. He cautioned however that the two unresolved issues — poverty and racism — could bring the new South Africa to its knees.

## Globalization and Local Violence

**Kroc research project examines impact of globalization in urban and rural contexts**

How is globalization changing patterns of violence around the world? To address this question, the Kroc Institute has initiated a global, inter-disciplinary study of the links between globalization and violence.

The two-year project was launched October 3, 2001, with a day-long brainstorming conference at the Kroc Institute. Participants included Paul Collier (World Bank), William



William Reno

Reno (Northwestern University), Jean Comaroff (University of Chicago), and several Kroc Institute faculty fellows. The project, which is also being supported by the United Nations University, will draw on the work of field researchers and scholars from the regions under study.

“Instead of resulting from large-scale clashes between competing states, contemporary violence is increasingly sub-national and is manifested in local struggles for resources, power and protection,” notes Senior Fellow Raimo Väyrynen, director of the project and Professor of Government and International Studies. Accordingly, researchers will look closely “at the local context of this violence” and at the ethnic, religious, economic and political factors in various regions.

“We have always defined the world as divided by national boundaries,” said Väyrynen. “States are real and they (still) matter,” he continued. But international corporations, NGOs and technological developments — especially the Internet — have made virtually all nations and cultures more accessible to one another.

Political boundaries or borders have receded in importance in the face of a new, global reality. “Whether you are a poor person somewhere or a university professor, you realize that you are part of a larger whole,” Väyrynen said. “We can’t have isolated lives any more.”

The project will consist of two research tracks. One track will analyze the impact of globalization on urban violence in several major metropolitan areas, including Karachi, Bombay,

Johannesburg, Sao Paulo, St. Petersburg and Baku. A second track will examine its impact on rural violence in four, or possibly five, African nations, said Kroc Fellow Patrick Gaffney, C.S.C., Associate Professor of Anthropology.

“Africa is perennially under-represented in international discussions,” reported Gaffney, explaining the rationale for the Africa focus. He will be overseeing the work of on-site scholars in Kenya, Uganda, the Congo, Nigeria and perhaps Botswana.

“Anthropology comes to this from a different perspective,” he added. “The unit of study is the local community, the town, village or a series of clans.” The dynamics of violence seen on that lower level of cultural complexity will be vital input for the books the study hopes to produce.

Still, analyzing study findings will be a challenging job, contends Väyrynen. “It’s a complicated chain of influences,” he maintains. “Changes in world economy do create pockets of discontent, and that creates a possibility of reacting against grievances that people have been feeling.”

“But grievances aren’t enough to create violence. You must have people or a group of people benefiting from

the situation. For instance, there’s a social and economic background behind the local violence of Sao Paulo, which is the most violent city in the world.”

The project ultimately hopes to contribute to national and international economic policy decisions. Through its comparative approach, the project will identify how particular policy choices regarding integration in the global economy interact with local factors to either foment or mitigate violent conflict.



Raimo Väyrynen with Paul Collier

## Can Violent Conflict be Prevented through Development Aid?

Peter Wallensteen discusses findings of an OECD research team

During the 1990s, the analysis of conflict was framed by the experiences of humanitarian NGOs, which highlighted the significant human suffering caused by political violence. This approach contrasted sharply with the strategic approach predominant during the Cold War, which emphasized the role of superpowers.

This shift has spawned several trends in the “development and war” discourse. In addition to concerns about the negative impact of war on development and how development may be feeding wars, a growing area of discussion focuses on how development aid can be used to prevent wars.

To address this issue, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) task force on Conflict, Peace, and Development Cooperation asked an international team of scholars and practitioners, to make an inventory of research on the causes of internal war, with a view of suggesting ideas for preventive measures.

The international team, led by Peter Wallensteen, Dag Hammarskjöld Professor of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University, worked independently. Thus its views were those of the team, not of the organization. Wallensteen was a Visiting Fellow at the Kroc Institute during spring 2001 through an award from the American-Scandinavian Foundation (ASF), which named him the first ASF Visiting Lecturer from Sweden. He reported on the results of the study in a lecture presented on February 6



Peter Wallensteen

entitled “Can Violent Conflict Be Prevented through Development Aid?”

“Before a new conflict emerges, development aid should be directed at undoing the effects of previous wars,” he said. “This will often involve addressing refugee issues and ensuring that refugee camps do not become military training grounds.”

Aid can also be used to support democratization. Transitions to democracy often need to be quick in order to avoid resistance from vested interests, and often occur when a country’s economy is failing, as the case of Indonesia illustrates. Efficient provision of development aid can thus play a critical role in this process. However, Wallensteen underlined the importance of building democratic institutions, rather than rushing to elections.

Wallensteen drew attention to the important role of universities in integration efforts. He noted how Indian universities have reached a high level of respectability and play an important role in democratic development in India, but the same cannot be said of African universities, which have received little financial support from the West.

After a war, development aid should be used to support reasonable peace agreements and to rebuild society, not just infrastructure. However, rebuilding efforts can easily be derailed by corrupt elements in society, which often control the construction industry. Accordingly, Wallensteen suggested that rebuilding aid should be directed primarily at health and education services, which are generally less corrupt.

In conclusion, Wallensteen recommended that aid be used in ways which encourage the equitable sharing of resources in society and which promote gender equity, both of which will promote peace in the long term.

“Before a new conflict emerges, development aid should be directed at undoing the effects of previous wars.”

## The Waning of Major War

Conference explores historical trends in international warfare

Is the likelihood of major interstate war declining? Some recent scholarship suggests that several profound historical changes in the 20th century have made wars between great powers a relic of the past, even as domestic armed conflicts and civil wars continue unabated. Other scholars argue that the decline in major-power war is only a temporary phenomenon and does not indicate a trend.

To critically assess these questions, the Kroc Institute organized a conference on April 6-8 which took a comprehensive look at the future potential for interstate wars. The conference was co-sponsored by the Nanovic Institute for European Studies and the Henkels Visiting Scholars Series.

Martin van Creveld, author of *The Rise and Decline of the State* (1999) among many other seminal works, presented the



Martin Van Creveld

keynote address, contending that major wars between great powers are waning. In his view, this was largely due to the strengthening of international law and the development of nuclear weapons, which have made it impossible for the victors to survive a major confrontation. However, other forms of war, such as terrorism, guerrilla wars, and intra-state conflicts, are

replacing interstate war, and are in fact more destructive.

The decline of interstate war, and its complement, the growth of durable peace, appears to be part of a larger historical trend stretching back to 1500, asserted Paul Schroeder, professor emeritus of history at the University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Focusing on the long peace from 1763-1914, Schroeder noted how several wars which could have happened did not, but that the peace ended when the great powers ceased to see their own fate as bound up with others.

Turning to the 20th Century, John Mueller contended that several kinds of war are in marked decline, or even obsolete, including major war between developed countries, conventional civil war, colonial war, and ideological civil war. Unlike van Creveld, however, Mueller traced the decline in warfare to a profound change in public attitudes about warfare and violence in general, rather than to technological developments. He concluded that the wars which remain,

such as that in Yugoslavia, are best understood as residual wars, and that many of these, particularly in Africa, have a character more like crime than war.

Kalevi Holsti agreed with Mueller's emphasis on the role of ideas and norms — particularly norms relating to territory, borders, and conquest — in explaining the declining incidence of major war. However, he argued that some versions of balance of power theory raise questions about Mueller's thesis. For example, the conflicts between great powers take a long time to develop and thus a half-century of great power peace is insufficiently long to establish a trend. Hosti also questioned whether the trend noted by Mueller is really toward obsolescence, since it is possible for human advances made in the 20th century to be forgotten or reversed.

Like other forms of war, the probability of the outbreak of an advertent or pre-meditated nuclear war among the major powers has declined in the short and medium terms, contended T.V. Paul. However, the danger of an inadvertent nuclear war still exists, and war-generating situations are likely to emerge both at the regional and global levels as the international system evolves from semi-unipolarity to multipolarity.

One factor associated with the decline of major war is the establishment of multilateral institutions. Patrick Morgan argued that multilateral institutions are more effective at preventing serious problems from arising or provoking conflict between powerful states than at containing ongoing conflicts or active movements toward war by great powers. He also observed that, while the West tends to see multilateral institutions as a prerequisite for peace, Southeast Asia has experienced a similar reduction in major war over the last 30 years without the development of multilateral institutions.

Other significant factors to consider are

the global extension of juridical sovereignty and economic liberalism, according to Hendrik Spruyt, who submitted a paper which was presented and discussed at the conference. The increased respect for the norm of state sovereignty has played a role in decreasing the prevalence of territorial wars or imperialistic expansion. Economic liberalization, a norm which is



Patrick Morgan talks with Paul Schroeder

more contested than sovereignty, also decreases the risk of confrontation.

William Thompson linked the discussion of the waning of war with current theory about democratization and its role in creating more peaceful international relations. Many have argued that democratization tends to make countries less prone to international war. However, democratization occurs within states, while the transformations underlying the waning of war occur at the level of international relations. Thompson concluded that democratization could play a major role in reducing war, but only if the social transformations take place in the institutions and political cultures of all of the major powers, which seems unlikely.

In addition to preparing a background paper for the conference, Raimo Väyrynen reflected on the role of war in different historical phases ranging from feudalism and abso-



M.A. students participated in the conference as part of their program of study. (Pictured here — Patrick Morgan with Kroc M.A. students Daniel Moriarty and Hossein Alizadeh.)

lutism to modern forms of capitalism. He discussed several theorists who have argued that capitalism is essentially peaceful and wars are caused primarily by the legacies of absolutism and great-power rivalries. Väyrynen noted that these views are difficult to substantiate as capitalism and the state have historically developed in tandem. However, he cautiously supported the view that the globalization of capitalism may reduce the likelihood of major interstate wars, though not other types of violence.

Väyrynen will edit papers from the conference for publication as a book.

## Conference Presentations

### **Keynote Address: The Future of Major War**

Martin van Creveld, Hebrew University

### **Life and Death of a Long Peace, 1763-1914**

Paul W. Schroeder, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign

Discussant: John Vasquez, Vanderbilt University

### **Does War Still Exist?**

John Mueller, Ohio State University

Discussant: Randall Forsberg, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, Boston

### **The Changing International System and the Decline of Major War**

Kalevi Holsti, University of British Columbia

Discussant: Peter Wallensteen, Uppsala University

### **Does the Risk of Nuclear War Belong to History?**

T.V. Paul, McGill University

Discussant: Alan Dowty, University of Notre Dame

### **Multilateral Institutions as Restraints on Major War**

Patrick M. Morgan, University of California at Irvine

Discussant: Daniel Lindley, University of Notre Dame

### **Normative Transformations in International Relations and the Waning of Major War**

Hendrik Spruyt, Arizona State University

Discussant: Dale Copeland, University of Virginia

### **Capitalism, Peace and War**

Raimo Väyrynen, University of Notre Dame

Discussant: John Mueller, Ohio State University

### **The Democratic Peace and Civil Society as Constraints on Major Power Warfare**

William Thompson, Indiana University

Discussant: Spencer R. Weart, American Institute of Physics

## Do Good Things *Always* Go Together?

Joint Kroc-USIP workshop examines the tension between human rights and peace

The tension between pursuing truth and justice, on the one hand, and guarding a fragile peace generated by settlements or negotiated regime transitions, on the other, frequently places human rights and peacemaking practitioners at odds. To explore the implications of this tension for the research and



Chester Crocker, Chair of USIP's Board of Directors

teaching of peace and human rights, the Kroc Institute and the United States Institute of Peace (USIP) organized a 2-day workshop for college and university faculty. Participants at the workshop included over 50 faculty from colleges and universities throughout the Midwest.

In setting the terms of reference for the workshop, Pamela Aall, director of education at USIP, distinguished several dimensions of the tension between human rights and peace: the moral issues of whether the need to stop further killing justifies amnesty for or negotiations with war criminals; the tactical questions of whether exposing human rights atrocities will further efforts for peace; and operational questions concerning the appropriate sequencing of events in a peace process. In the policymaking context, Chester Crocker, professor of strategic studies at Georgetown University and chair of USIP's Board of Directors, argued that human rights and peacemaking are not incompatible. "Rather, it is the issue of sequencing which determines the lesser of evils in many situations," Crocker said.

Participants considered the policy dimensions of this tension both at the diplomatic level and on the ground. Drawing on his experiences in Chile and India,

former U.S. Ambassador Harry Barnes commented that looking at situations from both a human rights and peace perspective often produces a better understanding than either view could on its own. Urs Boegli of the International Committee for the Red Cross (ICRC) observed how denunciation, mediation, and even 'calls for peace' can be dangerous for providers of humanitarian assistance on the ground, such as the ICRC. Participants explored these tensions in several difficult cases for rights and peace issues, including Bosnia, Kosovo, Guatemala, Colombia, and South Africa.

The workshop also considered the challenges of reconciliation, a term which carries religious, cultural, and political connotations that restrict its general application. The public legitimization of cultures of peace within society is nonetheless a critical element of peacebuilding, argued Scott Appleby, director of the Kroc Institute. Moreover, psychological studies indicate that reconciliation processes can break the cycle of violence by increasing social tolerance among victims of violence, reported Ervin Staub, professor of psychology at the University of Massachusetts.



Ervin Staub, University of Massachusetts

Participants also considered pedagogical approaches for both human rights and peace. Dinah Shelton, professor of law at the Notre Dame's Center for Civil and Human Rights, and Julie Mertus, assistant professor of international relations at American University, argued that the legal model of addressing social issues had several weaknesses, and human rights activists need the analytical tools from peace studies in order to understand how to make human rights activities more effective. Roy Licklider, professor at Rutgers University, and Mary Mulvihill, a doctoral student at Notre Dame, identified several resources which peace studies faculty could use to teach effectively about the tension



Urs Boegli (ICRC) and Siobhan McEvoy-Levy

between peace and human rights.



## John Howard Yoder and the Catholic Tradition

### Stanley Hauerwas presents Third Annual Yoder Dialogue

“John Howard Yoder sought to do nothing less than help Catholic Christianity rediscover itself in water that flows from the left wing of the Reformation,” said theologian Stanley Hauerwas. Hauerwas’ presentation, the 3rd annual John Howard Yoder Dialogues on Nonviolence, Religion and Peace, emphasized how Yoder’s Christology, though rooted in Mennonite tradition, has much broader implications for the Catholic tradition and Christian theology.

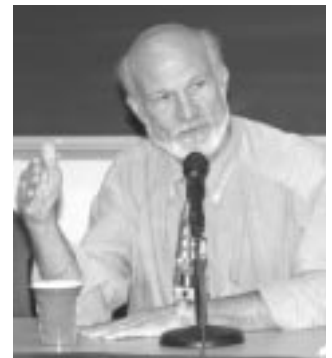
As a touchstone for understanding Yoder’s Christology, Hauerwas discussed a series of lectures Yoder delivered to young seminarians at Goshen Biblical Seminary during the 1960s and 1970s. When Hauerwas first became interested in the lectures in the 1980s, they were only available as mimeographed sheets sold at the seminary. Those collected lectures have now become Yoder’s *Preface to Theology: Christology and Theological Method*, which is being published by the American Academy of Religion with an Introduction by Hauerwas.

Like his teacher Karl Barth, Yoder always had a Christological focus, and he refused to separate Christology from discipleship. As Hauerwas observed, “*Preface to Theology* grew out of Yoder’s fundamental opinion that Christian discipleship was an open and respectful awareness of particular historical identity.” Yoder consistently taught that the Gospel must have implications for social ethics and modern life, a theme revived for modern Catholics by the Second Vatican Council, especially in its document, “Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World.”

In his book, *The Politics of Jesus* (1972), Yoder contended that the political implications of the Gospel could not be ignored and that we should understand Christ as “the radical rabbi Jesus.” “The emphasis on nonviolence is not nearly so prominent in *Preface to Theology* as it is in *The Politics of Jesus*,” Hauerwas noted, “yet I think of the two books as being of a piece with each other. Reading them together adds strength to both books.”

“Yoder was convinced that one of the reasons that Christians had lost the ability to read the Scriptures was due to the attempt to make Christianity intelligible without the Jews,” Hauerwas continued. “That (Christian) creeds do not mention the promise to Israel may be one of the reasons that Christians have developed a forgetfulness toward not only the Jews but also toward a major part of our own Scripture — the Old Testament.”

Hauerwas’ remarks to a capacity crowd attending the third Yoder dialogues had all the hallmarks of a homecoming address. The Gilbert T. Rowe Professor of Theological Ethics at the Divinity School at Duke University was a member of the theology faculty at Notre Dame from 1970 to 1984. Yoder, a Mennonite theologian and proponent of Christian nonviolence, was also a member of Notre Dame’s theology faculty from the late 1970s until his death in December, 1997. Yoder was a founding fellow of the Kroc Institute where he initiated courses on war, law and ethics and a Kroc-ROTC discussion group which continues to the present day.



Stanley Hauerwas

John Howard Yoder sought to do nothing less than help Catholic Christianity rediscover itself in water that flows from the left wing of the Reformation.

## | student and

## Peacebuilding in the Midst of Change

**Kroc alumni support local NGOs in volatile East Timor**

In settings of conflict, dramatic changes occur quite rapidly. As a result, NGOs working in these settings must continually reassess their programs and adapt quickly to the changing needs on the ground.

Kroc alumni Winnie Romeril ('93) and Jill Sternberg ('90) have experienced this first-hand through their work with local NGOs in East Timor. Romeril has been working with Peace Brigades International (PBI) since 1988 and served on its Guatemala team in 1990-91. She is now Training Coordinator for PBI-Indonesia.

Sternberg and Charlie Scheiner, have been involved in East Timor advocacy in the United States for many years. Scheiner is the coordinator of the East Timor Action Network-USA (ETAN) and the national office is in their home. The couple recently moved to East Timor for a two-year project. Sternberg is assisting Nobel Laureate Jose Ramos-Horta in establishing a peace center focused on conflict transformation and preventive diplomacy. Scheiner is working to narrow the cultural and economic gap between the international and East Timorese communities.

Until recently, such a move would have been impossible. From the Indonesian invasion in 1975 to the mid 1990s, East Timor was virtually closed to the outside world. During this time, over 200,000 East Timorese, one third of the population, were killed by the Indonesian military and pro-Indonesian militias.

However, as the pro-democracy movement gained strength in the 1990s, local human rights groups saw a window of opportunity: With the fall of President Suharto after 32 years of authoritarian rule, Indonesia itself was undergoing a major transition. Furthermore, East Timor was now more open to outsiders than it had been in the past.

In 1998, representatives of local East Timorese human rights organizations met with PBI's National Coordinating Council to ask for accompaniment. PBI supports local human rights workers threatened with political violence by providing international escorts who can quickly relay first-hand information about persecution or harassment to an international response network.

"I appreciate PBI's philosophy of combining creative non-violent action with nonpartisanship," says Romeril. "It is a very respectful way to support local efforts for peaceful change and justice, without acting imperialist or imposing outside ideas."

Romeril and Sternberg were both members of the Council at the time and led PBI's exploration of a presence in East Timor, which would have been the organization's first project in Southeast Asia. The project was approved by PBI in 8 months, which was record time for PBI's consensual decision making process, says Romeril. But before any volunteers arrived, the situation suddenly changed.

In a surprise move, Indonesian President Habibie announced he would allow a UN-sponsored referendum in East Timor. PBI quickly redirected its efforts toward supporting an election monitoring operation, in which Sternberg took part.

"We had about 130 observers from 21 countries participate," notes Sternberg. "We witnessed the exhilarating



Jill Sternberg ('90) is assisting Nobel laureate Jose Ramos-Horta in establishing a peace center.

courage of the East Timorese people as they cast their ballots under death threat from the Indonesian military and militias. We also witnessed the near total destruction of the country after the results of the ballot were announced on September 4 and the Indonesian government and military realized they had not succeeded in getting the population to accept their autonomy package."

As the flow of refugees increased, attention soon shifted to West Timor. "In the militia-controlled refugee camps, foreign workers were under threat, but Indonesian (West Timorese) human rights workers could move more freely," explains Romeril. "PBI received and accepted requests to protect these local human rights defenders, as no other international group was giving them the coverage they felt they needed to continue operating safely."

## alumni activities |

“Once the situation in East Timor changed and then stabilized through the presence of international forces, the groups in East Timor originally requesting PBI services felt safe and no longer in need of protection,” says Romeril. At the request of local organizations, PBI continues to provide training in nonviolent conflict resolution methods in the region. However, PBI’s focus has turned to Aceh, where recent flareups have generated requests for protective accompaniment, which PBI is providing.

As the situation has stabilized in East Timor, a new set of peacebuilding issues has emerged. How should the country deal with atrocities committed while it was under Indonesian control? How will former militants be reintegrated into society? And how will returning refugees be compensated for losses? Sternberg will be grappling with such questions as these as she assists Jose Ramos-Horta.

“The initial focus will be to develop a team of East Timorese to examine different approaches to conflict resolution and adapt them to the local circumstances and culture,” says Sternberg. “We will both practice and assist with skills development. Our aim is to complement and collaborate with local NGOs. We envision three centers around the country; they will also function as internet cafes and provide a link to outside resources.”

Sternberg’s approach to conflict transformation has roots in her experiences at the Kroc Institute. “Debates we had about intervention inspired me to work harder to understand and later assist in the development of nonviolent mechanisms of intervention that do not undermine or disempower the local population,” she notes.

While much has changed in East Timor, one thing remains the same: the need for committed peacebuilders.

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More information about the Peace Brigades projects in Indonesia and elsewhere can be found at <[www.peacebrigades.org](http://www.peacebrigades.org)>.

## News From Other Kroc Alumni

**S.P. Udayakumar (Kumar) ('90)**, from India, and his family have returned to Tamil Nadu, India, where he is pursuing longstanding plans to bring Indian and Pakistani youth together for peacebuilding workshops. Kumar has been a researcher at the Institute on Race and Poverty at the University of Minnesota, and recently published *Handcuffed to History: Narratives, Pathologies, and Violence in South Asia* (Praeger: 2001).

**Noah Salameh (Ghnaim) ('93)**, from Palestine, was recently appointed director of the Bandar Ben Sultan Center for Peace and Regional Studies at Hebron University.

**Anna Busa ('98)**, from Latvia, has been appointed a Duty Officer at the Conflict Prevention Centre of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

**Valerie Hickey ('00)**, from Ireland, recently began work with the Wildlife Conservation Society in Washington DC, where she will focus on conservation finance, including the policies promulgated by bi- and multi-lateral donors, as well as oversight of projects such as the Mamiraua ecological reserve in Brazil. She previously worked for the World Wildlife Fund on a program that supported both bio- and cultural diversity around the world by increasing capacity-building among indigenous peoples.

**Martin Ewi ('01)**, from Cameroon, received Kroc funding for a six-month internship with the Organization of African Unity (OAU) Mission to the United Nations in New York City. As political affairs coordinator dealing with matters of African conflicts and regional integration, he attended meetings of the UN Security Council and served as the OAU representative to the Sixth Committee of Legal Experts of the General Assembly, where terrorism was the primary focus.

**Regina Saffa ('01)**, from Sierra Leone, served a four-month internship with the United Nations International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, Tanzania under Kroc Institute funding. In November 2001 she returned to Sierra Leone to begin work with the Humanitarian Accountability Project.

More Alumni News is available on our webpage at <[www.nd.edu/~krocinst](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst)>.



## The Missing Peace

Annual student conference reveals growing interest in children and violence

What peace issues are on the minds of the next generation? Judging by the 2001 student conference, the role of children and violent conflict is high on the emerging peace agenda, and is motivating increasing numbers of students to get involved in peace research and action.

The 2001 student conference, titled “The Missing Peace,” attracted a record attendance of over 120 participants. Over 40 students made presentations at the conference, and organizers had to add additional panels to accommodate the high level of interest.

Students came from colleges and universities from across the U.S. and abroad, including Notre Dame, Colgate, Monterey Institute of International Studies (California), Central European University (Hungary), College of St. Benedict and St. John’s University (Minnesota), Purdue University, University of Alberta, Indiana University (Bloomington), and Grand Valley State University (Michigan).



Priscilla Hayner

Priscilla Hayner, Program Director of the newly established International Center for Transitional Justice and author of *Unspeakable Truths: Confronting State Terror and Atrocities*, gave a challenging keynote address, “Stepping Out of the Box: Paving One’s Own Path as an Independent Writer on Human Rights.” Hayner’s address, which identified several lessons she had

learned in her career as an independent writer on peace issues, provoked an engaging discussion of the advantages and disadvantages of working for peace independently. Kroc Visiting Fellow Peter Wallenstein and George Lopez also led discussions relating to the practice of peacemaking.

One common theme running through several student presentations was a concern with how to teach peace and conflict resolution skills to children and youth, particularly those growing up in contexts of violence or war. One panel explored issues surrounding the recruitment and training of child soldiers and the complex dynamics resulting from the involvement of children in warfare in contexts such as Israel/Palestine, Colombia, Uganda, Cambodia, and Sri Lanka.

Panelists noted that children are lured into violent conflict through a variety of factors, including not only active recruitment by militant groups, but also peer pressure and cultural approval of violence. The participation of children in the conflict creates difficult dilemmas for security forces, who must decide whether to treat the children as militants or bystanders. Problems are complicated when militant groups take advantage of the children’s presence by using them as shields.

The conference also featured presentations by several middle school students. Students who had participated in the activities of the Peace Learning Center in Indianapolis gave presentations on peace and demonstrated peer mediation. Students from South Bend discussed the “Take Ten” program in several local schools.

Many participants in the conference presented research emerging from experiences while studying abroad or working in community organizations, where first-hand observation of injustice or exploitation sparked their interest in broader global issues.

A Notre Dame student who had visited Nepal presented research on child labor practices in the carpet and sex trafficking industries in Nepal after seeing how a young



Conference Planning Committee

Nepali apprentice was mistreated; others presented research resulting from experiences working with the homeless and refugees. Complementing these undergraduate presentations, several M.A. students from the Kroc Institute gave presentations related to their home countries.

Lauren Simmons, a senior in government and international studies, served as this year’s conference chairperson, and had excellent support from the conference planning committee. Siobhan McEvoy-Levy, Director of Undergraduate Studies at the Kroc Institute, was the faculty advisor.

| news briefs |



**Expansion Underway**

Construction on a new wing of the Hesburgh Center for International Studies began in May 2001. The new wing will house 24 offices and meeting rooms, and will be shared by the faculty and staff of the Kroc and Kellogg Institutes. Construction is expected to be completed in the summer of 2002.

**Awards**

**Raimo Väyrynen**, senior fellow at the Kroc Institute, was awarded the Cross of Freedom, First Class, by the President of Finland for his work for Finland's independence and security.

**Scott Appleby**, director of the Kroc Institute, was elected a Fellow of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences.

In addition, several Kroc faculty and students received university awards:

- Scott Appleby** — Reinhold Niebuhr Award
- A. James McAdams** — Thomas J. Madden Teaching Award
- Scott Mainwaring** — Presidential Award
- Dinah Shelton** — Reinhold Niebuhr Award
- Patrick Gaffney** — Kaneb Teaching Award
- Lauren Simmons** — Peter Yarrow Award (outstanding undergraduate peace student)

**Staff Notes**

**Catherine Odell** has joined the Institute as Coordinator of Academic Events, a new position at the Institute. Odell, who has a background as a free-lance writer, will coordinate lectures, conferences, and curricular events and will contribute articles to the Institute newsletter.

**Rashied Omar** (M.A. 2001) will provide administrative support to the Institute's Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP) and the Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC).

**Hal Culbertson** (M.A. 1996) has been promoted to Associate Director of the Kroc Institute. In his new position, Culbertson has taken on responsibility for budget oversight and staff coordination.

**New Advisory Board Holds Inaugural Meeting**

The Kroc Institute's new Advisory Board held its first meeting on October 18-19. The board is chaired by Joseph A. Cari, Jr., a senior partner in the Chicago law firm of Ungaretti & Harris, and Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars.

The board discussed current research initiatives at the Kroc Institute and met with faculty and students in the Institute's M.A. and undergraduate programs. The meeting concluded with a discussion of future directions for the Institute and fund-raising priorities.

The new Advisory Board will focus on strategic planning and help establish fund-raising priorities for the Institute. It will also consult regularly with the International Advisory Board, established in 1986, whose members (drawn primarily from academic and diplomatic circles) continue to provide advice to the Institute on developments in international relations, peace and justice.

"The first meeting of the new Advisory Board was a great success," said Kroc Institute director Scott Appleby. "I am delighted and encouraged by the commitment of the new board members, their enthusiasm for our work, and their remarkable range of expertise and experience. Already we have benefitted from their wise counsel, and I look forward to a fruitful collaboration in the months and years ahead."



The Kroc Institute's new Advisory Board: (back row, from left) Richard G. Starmann, Robert P. McNeill, Phillip D. Brady, Patrick A. Salvi, Joseph A. Cari, Joyce Neu, Thomas D. McCloskey, John R. Mullen, Robert E. O'Grady; (front row) Michael Heisler, Scott Appleby.

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

**Institute Publications**

## Occasional Papers

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

**“Conflict, Conflict Resolution and the Children of Northern Ireland: Towards Understanding the Impact on Children and Families”**

Erin L. Lovell and E. Mark Cummings  
(*Kroc Institute Occasional Paper, 21:OP:1*).

Lovell and Cummings employ a multi-disciplinary approach to consider the effects of conflict and conflict processes on children in Northern Ireland. Based on a review of theory and research on dynamic processes known to underlie children's functioning in families and groups, they argue that child development and psychological processes in families are likely to be highly affected by the communal conflict setting in Northern Ireland, particularly in zones of high intensity conflict. They show that children do not merely react to the presence of conflict, but interpret the conflict and what it means to them personally, and to their families (or in a communal scenario, to their respective community). They conclude that it is critical to initiate and conduct research relative to the dynamic relationship between both familial and communal conflict to lay the groundwork for potential interventions for children and families in Northern Ireland.

**Erin Lovell** received her B.A. in Government and International Relations from the University of Notre Dame in 2001 and completed a concentration in peace studies.

**Mark Cummings** is Professor of Psychology at the University of Notre Dame.

**“Youth as Social and Political Agents: Issues in Post-Settlement Peace Building”**

Siobhan McEvoy-Levy (*Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #21:OP:2*)

McEvoy-Levy examines the role of youth in the post-agreement phase of conflict transformation. She makes the case for a focus on youth both as dependent and independent variable in peace processes and particularly in the post-agreement phase. She argues that youth frequently turn to socio-political violence when a peace process does not sufficiently integrate their interests and does not use their skills and experience. But this does not mean such youth are “lost” to society or irredeemably disaffected, as is often presumed. McEvoy-Levy develops scholarly findings on resilience and political engagement as crucial pointers in the search for ways to constructively engage youth in peacebuilding.

**Siobhan McEvoy-Levy** is co-director of the Kroc Institute's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC) and Visiting Assistant Professor of Political Science at Butler University, Indianapolis, Indiana.

**“The Guatemalan Peace Process: The Accords and Their Accomplishments”**

Luis Pásara (*Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #21:OP:3*)

Guatemala, one of the poorest countries in Latin America, suffered an internal armed conflict for 36 years. A long and difficult peace negotiation process ended

in 1996 by the signing of comprehensive and ambitious peace accords. Five years later, the accomplishments of the accords are limited. In this article, Pásara examines the social context in which the accords were negotiated and implemented, some of their accomplishments and shortcomings, and suggests lessons which can be learned from them.

**Luis Pásara** is a sociologist of law and political analyst. He served as legal advisor to the United Nations Mission in Guatemala from 1996-2000. He was a visiting fellow at the Kroc Institute during the Spring semester of 2001.

**“The Growing Peace Research Agenda”**

Peter Wallensteen (*Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #21:OP:4*)

How has the agenda of peace research changed over time? What issues should peace research focus on today? Peter Wallensteen, who has played a prominent role in the development of the field, examines how the peace research agenda emerged out of both the traumatic and the hopeful experiences of the 20th century. He then considers the evolution of methodological approaches in the field and delineates the diverse means by which peace research has an impact on society.

**Peter Wallensteen** was a Visiting Fellow at the Kroc Institute during spring semester 2001, through a grant from the American-Scandinavian Foundation, which named him the first ASF Visiting Lecturer from Sweden. He is Dag Hammarskjöld Professor of Peace and Conflict Research at Uppsala University.

## Policy Briefs

(All Kroc Institute Policy Briefs are available on the web at <[www.nd.edu/~krocinst/polbriefs/](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/polbriefs/)>.)

**Kashmir and the War on Terrorism**, Policy Brief #8 (November 2001), by Cynthia Mahmood

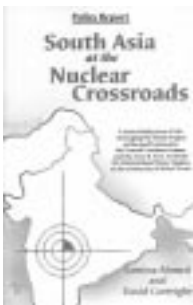
**U.S. Opposition to the International Criminal Court: Unfounded Fears**, Policy Brief #7 (June 2001), by Robert C. Johansen

**Israel under Sharon: The Tunnel at the End of the Light**, Policy Brief #6 (June 2001), by Alan Dowty

**Toward Smart Sanctions on Iraq**, Policy Brief #5 (April 2001), by George A. Lopez

## Other Policy Publications

**South Asia at the Nuclear Crossroads, U.S. Policy Options Toward South Asian Nuclear Proliferation: The Role of Sanctions and Incentives**



David Cortright with Samina Ahmed (jointly published by The Fourth Freedom Forum, the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, and the

Managing of the Atom Project at Harvard University, April 2001).

[Available on the web at <[www.nd.edu/~krocinst/research/crossroad.pdf](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/research/crossroad.pdf)>. Hard copies available on request.]

## Smart Sanctions: Restructuring UN Policy in Iraq



David Cortright, George A. Lopez, Alistair Millar, with Linda Gerber, contributing editor (a joint policy report published by the Fourth Freedom Forum and the Joan

B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies, April 2001).

[Available on the web at <[www.nd.edu/~krocinst/research/econsanc.html](http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/research/econsanc.html)>. Hard copies available on request.]

**A Hard Look at Iraq Sanctions**, David Cortright, *The Nation*, December 3, 2001

**Proposed: A More Effective and Just Response to Terrorism**, David Cortright, *USA Today Magazine*, January 2002

**The Winter Soldiers Movement: GI's and Veterans Against the Vietnam War**, David Cortright, *Peace and Change* 27, no. 1 (January 2002): 118-124

## Faculty Publications

### Books

#### The Effects of Violence on Peace Processes

John Darby (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace, 2001)

Violence, especially ethnic violence, is exceptionally hard to extinguish. As John Darby argues in this original, holistic, and comparative treatment of the subject, “even when political violence is ended by a cease-fire, it reappears in other forms to threaten the evolving peace process.”

Unlike many other treatments of the topic, Darby focuses on peace processes that have involved actors other than the United Nations.

He analyzes the nature and impact of four interrelated kinds of violence: violence by the state, violence by militants, violence in the community, and the emergence of new violence-related issues during negotiations. In-depth profiles of the five featured cases (Northern Ireland, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Israel-Palestine, and the Basque country) provide ample background and enrich understanding.



#### Judging the Past in Unified Germany

A. James McAdams (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001)

In recent years, no modern democracy has taken more aggressive steps to come to terms with a legacy of dictatorship than has the Federal Republic of Germany with the crimes and injustices of Communist East Germany. In this book, A. James McAdams provides a comprehensive and engaging examina-

tion of the four most prominent instances of this policy: criminal trials for the killings at the Berlin Wall; the disqualification of administrative personnel for secret-police ties; parliamentary truth-telling commissions; and private property restitution. On the basis of extensive interviews in Bonn and Berlin over the 1990s, McAdams gives new insight into the difficulties German politicians, judges, bureaucrats, and public officials faced sitting in judgment on the affairs of another state. He argues provocatively that the success of their policies must be measured in terms of the way they used East German history to justify their actions.

### **American Exceptionalism and U.S. Foreign Policy: Public Diplomacy at the End of the Cold War**

Siobhan McEvoy-Levy (New York: Palgrave, 2001)

McEvoy-Levy examines a critical time and place in recent world history—the end of the Cold War—and the strategies and values employed in the public diplomacy of the Bush and Clinton Administrations to build domestic and international consensus. This book provides insight into the uses of presidential power and provides a model and an illustration for how rhetoric may be used in the study of United States foreign policy.

### **Toward a Global Civilization? The Contribution of Religions**

ed. Patricia M. Mische and Melissa Merklind (New York: Peter Lang, 2001)

Creating a peaceful and sustainable global future is as much an ethical and spiritual matter as an economic, social, and legal one. To respond to the challenges resulting from today's global economic and ecological interdependence, twenty-one distinguished scholars from the world's major religions describe their tradition's contributions to the



development of a shared global ethic. Contributors from Hindu, Jain, Buddhist, Confucian, Jewish, Christian, Islamic, Baha'i, and traditional African perspectives consider their tradition's respect for national, cultural, and religious diversity, and its applications in humane and effective global governance structures and systems. They show how each tradition frames comprehensive values for human society, contains seeds of world systems thinking, and approaches multireligious initiatives. Patricia Mische completed work on this volume during a visiting fellowship at the Kroc Institute in 1998-99.

### **Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations**

Daniel Philpott (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2001)

How did the world come to be organized into sovereign states? Philpott argues that two historical revolutions in ideas are responsible. First, the Protestant Reformation ended medieval Christendom and brought a system of sovereign states in Europe, culminating at the Peace of Westphalia in 1648. Second, ideas of equality and colonial nationalism brought a sweeping end to colonial empires around 1960, spreading the sovereign states system to the rest of the globe. In both cases, revolutions in ideas about legitimate political authority profoundly altered the "constitution" that establishes basic authority in the international system. Bringing new theoretical and historical depth to the study of international relations, Philpott demonstrates that while shifts in military, economic, and other forms of material power cannot be overlooked, only ideas can explain how the world came to be organized into a system of sovereign states.

### **Economic Imperatives and Ethical Values in Global Business: The South African Experience and International Codes Today**

Oliver F. Williams, C.S.C and S. Prakash Sethi, (Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001) (Published in hardbound in 2000 by Kluwer Academic Press, Cambridge, MA)

Williams and Sethi offer an in-depth and systematic analysis of the workings of the Sullivan Principles, a code of conduct created in 1977 by civil rights leader Rev. Leon Sullivan for U.S. companies operating in South Africa. The authors examine the impact of the Sullivan Principles on the interactions of foreign corporations with South Africa. They also consider how the experience of the Sullivan Principles might instruct the process of developing codes of ethics as large multinational corporations cope with issues of human rights, living and working conditions of workers, environmental protection, and sustainable growth in their overseas manufacturing operations.

## Chapters

Alan Dowty, "**Jewish Political Culture and Zionist Foreign Policy,**" in *Global Politics: Essays in Honour of Professor David Vital* ed. Abraham Ben-Zvi and Aharon Klieman (London: Frank Cass, 2001, 309-326)

The imprints of interests and ideology on Zionism and Israeli foreign policy have been better delineated than the impact of traditional political culture. But even a convinced "realist" must appreciate how Jewish political culture colors both internal and external relations. Two themes dominate in this discourse: 1) the focus on security, which is rooted in a historically-conditioned sense of foreboding, an emphasis on personal safety, a tendency to defer to strong leadership, and multi-



ple interpretations of external hostility; and 2) the sense of separateness, which encompasses distrust of external actors, a tendency to secrecy and backstage diplomacy, a high priority on relations with Jews elsewhere, and a strong tradition of self-reliance.

Denis Goulet, **“The Evolving Nature of Development in the Light of Globalization,”** in *The Social Dimensions of Globalization*, ed. Louis Sabourin (Vatican City: Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, 2000, 26-46)

As the UNDP notes, economic development is a means to a broader end: qualitative human development. Pursuing economic development as an end leads to serious distortions. Correction requires using market competition as a social mechanism, not as an operating principle. Globalization produces good and bad effects. The entry into arenas of development decision-making of new actors — NGOs and other agents of civil society — re-frames the terms of development debates. There are growing demands from affected populations and institutional actors in civil society to define their own development. This challenges elite decision-making of dominant international financial institutions, great power governments, and large international business firms.

Robert C. Johansen, **“Enforcing Norms and Normalizing Enforcement for Humane Governance,”** in *Principled World Politics: The Challenge of Normative International Relations*, ed. Paul Wapner and Lester Edwin J. Ruiz (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2000)

Because all people at this stage of human history now live within permeable territorial boundaries, human security can no longer be achieved without ensuring that people everywhere obey at least a

few fundamental rules prohibiting severely threatening actions, whether of a military, migratory, environmental or despotic nature. Peace and security can be substantially enhanced only by taking steps to domesticate the international system. One significant measure would be to increase the international community’s capacity to hold individuals, including government officials, accountable to fundamental international norms of peace and human rights and, in particular, to strengthen United Nations capabilities for employing legal instruments of individualized enforcement, including highly trained UN civilian police and police trainers, conflict experts, internationally sponsored or monitored judicial proceedings, and “smart” economic sanctions.

Raimo Väyrynen, **“Post-Hegemonic and Post-Socialist Regionalisms: A Comparison of East Asia and Central Europe,”** in *Regionalisms. Implications for Global Development*, ed. Björn Hettne, Andrs Inotai & Osvaldo Sunkel (London & New York: Palgrave 2001, 132-86).

Väyrynen explores the impact of the changing international political and economic system on regional integration in East Asia and Central Europe. Rather than have a zero-sum relationship, globalization and regionalization of economic activities have progressed in tandem. In Europe, regionalism is much more organized than in East Asia and, therefore, the decline of the great-power hegemony, especially the Soviet/Russian influence, has permitted the spread of integration to Central Europe. The absence of effective hegemony has prompted the East Asian countries to explore new ties, but they have remained much more informal and are still challenged by political suspicions. However, over the long term, the functional, networked nature of the East

Asian regionalism may turn out to be economically more effective than the institutional and often protectionist integration strategies prevalent in Europe.

## Articles

R. Scott Appleby and Martin E. Marty, **“Think Again: Fundamentalism,”** *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2002): 16-22.

For all the current focus on fiery Islamic extremists, religious fundamentalists are not confined to any particular faith or country, nor to the poor and uneducated. Instead, they are likely to spring up anywhere people perceive the need to fight a godless, secular culture — even if they have to depart from the orthodoxy of their traditions to do it. In fact, what fundamentalists everywhere have in common is the ability to craft their messages to fit the times.

David B. Burrell, **“Roots of Israeli-Palestinian Violence,”** *Commonweal* 20 (April 2001): 9-10.

An attempt to disentangle the situation in Israel/Palestine, by understanding its origins to be in the two “contradictions” latent in Israeli society: that the homecoming of one people entailed the home-wrecking of another — something obscured by official Israeli mythical history until the archives were recently opened and the “new historians” have exposed the events of 1948. The other being the prolonged occupation, since 1967 — something unbecoming a “Jewish state” according to such notable authorities (at the time) as Yesheyahu Leibowitz. The importance of such “contradictions” can be traced to Rene Girard, who argues that a society will break out in violence to the extent that it is founded on a contradiction; those in American society were explicit, and

resulted in our civil war; those in many societies are more implicit, but the results will out.

David Cortright, **“Powers of Persuasion: Sanctions and Incentives in the Shaping of International Society,”** *International Studies* (New Delhi) 38, no. 2 (2001): 113-125

Cortright examines Hedley Bull’s theory of international society, which seeks to avoid the pitfalls of both realist and idealist theories. Building on Bull’s framework, he then considers how theories of economic statecraft would fit into Bull’s theory of international society. He argues that sanctions and incentives can be effective tools for shaping the rules and norms that govern international society. This article was based on the Hedley Bull Memorial Lecture 2000, which Cortright delivered at Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi on March 9, 2000.

Alan Dowty, **“Making ‘No First Use’ Work: Bring All WMD Inside the Tent,”** *The Non-proliferation Review* 8 (Spring 2001): 79-85

Despite impressive progress in the delegitimization of chemical and biological weapons, success in eliminating them clearly depends on parallel progress in delegitimizing nuclear weapons. Arms control negotiations will have to take into account the linkages that exist between the different categories of weapons of mass destruction. One obvious first step would be agreement on no first use of any weapon of mass destruction, enabling the United States to maintain a nuclear deterrent against chemical or biological attack while abandoning the increasingly dubious option of nuclear response to conventional attack.

Alan Dowty, **“A Question That Outweighs All Others: Yitzhak Epstein and Zionist Recognition of the Arab Issue,”** *Israel Studies* 8 (Spring 2001): 34-54

Yitzhak Epstein, an early Zionist settler and teacher, published in 1907 an article entitled “A Hidden Question,” which is often regarded as the first serious Zionist analysis of the question of relations with the Arab population in Palestine. This article, translated into English here for the first time, does indeed appear upon closer examination to be a more sensitive analysis of the issue than any previous Zionist writings; it also projects the final dimensions of the conflict decades before they took shape and was a provocative statement that was instrumental in framing the subsequent debate within the movement.

Alan Dowty and Michelle Gawerc, **“The Al-Aqsa Intifada: Revealing the Chasm,”** *Middle East Review of International Affairs* 5, No. 3 (September, 2001), available at <[www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besal/meria.html](http://www.biu.ac.il/SOC/besal/meria.html)>.

Dowty and Gawerc (Kroc M.A., ’01) analyze the outbreak of a new Palestinian uprising (intifada) in September 2000 by examining Palestinian perceptions and activities. They discuss the causes of this development, analyze Palestinian strategy, and explore differing Palestinian and Israeli views on the course of the peace process. They also consider the standpoints of leaders and of public opinion toward these events.

Fred Dallmayr, **“Dialogue of Civilizations: A Gadamerian Perspective,”** *Global Dialogue* Vol. 3 (2001): 64-75

The essay seeks to make a contribution to Year 2001 which has been officially designated by the United Nations as the “Year of Dialogue among Civilizations.” The essay first discusses the meaning of “civilization,” differentiating the term from counter terms like nature and the divine. Next, the essay discusses specifically the character and development of Western civilization. Finally, relying on the work of Hans-Georg Gadamer, the essay explores the possibility of a dialogue among civilizations arguing that it has to be a multidimensional and ethically sensitive dialogue.

Robert Johansen, **“To Test or Not to Test: That is the Question (of Faith),”** *Bulletin of the Peace Studies Institute*, Manchester College, Vol. 30 (Fall 2000): 7-12

A careful examination of arguments raised by leading U.S. Senators who refused to ratify the treaty that would have banned nuclear weapons tests reveals more about Senators’ faith than about U.S. national interests. Senators opposing the treaty demonstrate more faith in allowing testing than in legal constraints and treaty-mandated international verification systems. Nonetheless, the security consequences of ratifying the treaty and implementing its inspections provisions, although never capable of providing ironclad assurances against treaty violations, would be far more likely to protect U.S. security and discourage the spread of nuclear weapons than rejecting the treaty.

Layna Mosley, **“Room to Move: International Financial Markets and The Welfare State,”** *International Organization* 54:4 (Fall 2000)

This article examines the extent to which international capital mobility limits government policy choices. Mosely evaluates the relationship between international financial markets and government policy outcomes, with a focus on the government bond market in developed democracies. Evidence includes interviews with financial market participants and a cross-sectional time series analysis of the determinants of interest rates. This evaluation suggests that governments of developed democracies face strong but narrowly-defined financial market pressures. Financial market participants are concerned with a few macro-policy indicators, including inflation rates and government deficit/G.P. ratios, but are not concerned with more micro-policy indicators, such as the distribution of government spending across functional categories. In these micro-policy areas, governments retain policy-making autonomy.

Kristin Shrader-Frechette and Lars Persson, **“Ethical Problems in Radiation Protection,”** *Swedish Radiation Protection Society Reports* 11 (2001) [full-text available at <http://www.ssi.se/english/index.htm>]

In this report the authors survey existing international radiation-protection recommendations and standards of the International Radiological Protections Commission (ICRP), the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), and the International Labor Organization (ILO). After outlining previous work on the ethics of radiation protection, professional ethics, and the ethics of human radiation experiments, the authors review ethical thinking on seven key issues related to radiation protection and ethics.

They formulate each of these seven issues in terms of alternative ethical stances: 1) equity versus efficiency, 2) health versus economics, 3) individual rights versus societal benefits, 4) due process versus necessary sacrifice, 5) uniform versus double standards, 6) stakeholder consent versus management decisions, and 7) environmental stewardship versus anthropocentric standards.

Raimo Väyrynen, **“Funding Dilemmas in Refugee Assistance: Political Interests and Institutional Reforms in UNHCR,”** *International Migration Review* 35, no. 1 (2001): 143-67

UNHCR has constant economic problems as practically all of its funding comes from voluntary contributions. The growing problem with refugees and internally displaced persons has brought the system to a breaking point. In the beginning of the 1990s funds made available to UNHCR expanded significantly, but most of this growth went to special funds that the donors could earmark to projects of their liking. This has curtailed the agency's freedom of action and resulted in a less than rational pattern of operation for which the agency is itself partially guilty. A budgetary reform implemented in 1999 combined the special and general funds with the purpose of increasing the flexibility of refugee operations. With the decline of the contributions by the European Union, however, the future of UNHCR looks somewhat bleak and it will need additional reforms to operate effectively.

Raimo Väyrynen, **“Environment, Violence, and Political Change,”** *Notre Dame Journal of Law Ethics and Public Policy* 15, no. 2 (2001): 593-620

The concept of environmental security should be defined in rather narrow terms to include only those ecological risks that an actor has caused with the intention to

harm others and whose effects are significant and divisible. Such “competitive” threats should be distinguished from “contextual” threats, such as global warming, which are largely indivisible and unintentional in terms of security risks. The third type of threat is “contamination” resulting from air- and water-borne pollution which may produce security risks, but is seldom politically intentional. The empirical focus is on resource conflicts whose security implications are, over a short and medium term, considered limited. Problems are due more to the rivalry over valuable, marketable resources, such as oil and diamonds, than to the scarcity of resources.

Raimo Väyrynen, **“Sovereignty, Globalization and Transnational Social Movements,”** *International Relations of the Asia-Pacific* 1, no. 2 (2001): 227-46

Economic globalization has eroded the divide between national and international systems and fostered the dispersal of power in social networks. As a result, one cannot define state sovereignty as a counterpose to the global system, as these phenomena have become mutually embedded. The internal dimension of state sovereignty has been transformed more thoroughly than the external one. This is, in part due to the proliferation of transnational social movements, which have gained power in national societies. Therefore, the anti-globalization movement, although unable to halt the process of economic integration, has been able to redefine the terms of the globalization debate and influence national responses and international financial institutions.

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