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Children, War and Peacebuilding

MICHAEL WESSELLS, JO BECKER
AND ED CAIRNS

U.S. Foreign Policy: Meeting the Challenges of Change

SEN. CHUCK HAGEL



The Ethical Challenges of Preventive War

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From the Editor

Contemporary wars have a devastating impact on children. By the last decade of the twentieth century, ninety percent of the casualties of war were civilians, nearly half of whom were children. While precision weapons can reduce the immediate casualties, the long-term impact on healthcare, education, and the environment can be just as lethal for children.

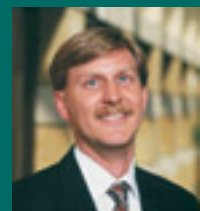
Children are also recruited into combat units, often forcibly, by governments or militant groups. In addition to the obvious dangers of active combat, child soldiers face difficult social, legal and political challenges as they are demobilized and reintegrated into society following a peace accord. Kroc M.A. student Vandy Kanyako experienced these issues first-hand and founded an organization addressing the needs of child combatants in his native Sierra Leone.

The international community has had difficulty keeping pace with such dramatic changes in the impact of warfare on children. International legal norms regarding child soldiering have only recently been established. Humanitarian NGOs, many of which were founded to address the plight of children in the aftermath of wars, are struggling just to keep the needs of children on national and international agendas.

The war in Iraq, which has compounded the problems of Iraq's already beleaguered children, has also drawn attention away from risks faced by children in Afghanistan. As Save the Children recently noted in its *State of the World's Mothers 2003* report, despite 18 months of significant development and reconstruction efforts, children in Afghanistan still face some of the most serious threats to survival of any country in the world. Moreover, while the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have each in turn dominated media attention, conflicts in Sudan, the Democratic Republic of the Congo, Colombia, Chechnya, and elsewhere have continued to take a massive toll on the world's children.

To examine the impact of contemporary wars on children, and to consider new approaches to address the needs of children, the Kroc Institute organized a series of lectures and films on "Children, War and Peacebuilding," with financial support from Notre Dame's Henkels Visiting Scholars series. Excerpts from three outstanding lectures in this series are featured in this issue, along with commentary and publications addressing the war in Iraq. Reports on several spring highlights, including the annual Hesburgh and Yoder lectures and our spring conferences, will be featured in our next issue.

HAL CULBERTSON
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR



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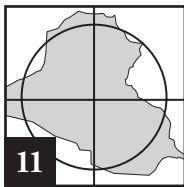
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Institute Welcomes Nine New Faculty Fellows

Nine Notre Dame faculty have been appointed fellows of the Kroc Institute during the spring semester of 2003. Fellows teach peace studies and cross-listed courses, conduct research in conjunction with Institute research initiatives, and serve on Institute committees. Fellows are appointed by the provost of the University for three year terms. These new appointments give greater interdisciplinary diversity and depth to the Kroc Institute's educational and research programs and strengthen opportunities for collaboration with departments and other institutes at Notre Dame. The new appointees are:



Paul Cobb (Assistant Professor, History) is a social and cultural historian of the pre-modern Middle East. By definition, his teaching and research are wide-ranging, with a special interest in medieval Muslim-Christian-Jewish relations. Cobb received a Ph.D. in Islamic history

from the University of Chicago in 1997. He is the author of *White Banners: Contention in Abbasid Syria* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2001), which examines the sources of socio-political unrest in Syria Palestine in the early Middle Ages, and he is currently at work on a second book about a Muslim family in the age of the Crusades.



Kathleen Collins (Assistant Professor, Political Science) specializes in the politics of the former Soviet Union, especially of Central Asia and the Caucasus. Collins also studies the politics of ethnic and Islamic identities, and the role that ethnicity and Islam play in civil conflict. She has

been conducting extensive research in Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan, and Russia. Her Ph.D. dissertation, which she completed at Stanford in 2000, was awarded the Seymour Martin Lipset Prize for the Best Comparative Politics Dissertation from the Society of Comparative Research in 1999-2000. Collins is finishing a book manuscript based on her dissertation, entitled *Clan Politics and Regime Transformation in Central Asia*.



Barbara Connolly (Assistant Professor, Political Science) studies international institutions and international environmental politics. After completing her Ph.D. in Political Science at Berkeley in 1997, Connolly was appointed a postdoctoral fellow (1997-98) and then a faculty fellow for four years at the John F. Kennedy School of Government's program in Global Environmental Assessment and Public Policy at Harvard University. There she conducted extensive research on the role of scientific assessment in international environmental policymaking. Connolly has published several chapters and articles, and was author or co-author of three chapters in *Institutions for Environmental Aid: Pitfalls and Promise*, edited by Robert O. Keohane and Marc A. Levy (Cambridge, MIT Press, 1996). She is currently completing a book manuscript, *Organizational Choice for International Cooperation: East-West European Cooperation on Regional Environmental Problem*.



Frances Hagopian (Associate Professor, Political Science) is the Michael P. Grace II Chair in Latin American Studies. She studies the comparative politics of Latin America, with emphasis on democratization and the political economy of economic reform in Brazil and the

Southern Cone. Hagopian is the author of *Traditional Politics and Regime Change in Brazil* (Cambridge University Press, 1996), which was named a Choice outstanding book in Comparative Politics. Her current research focuses on economic liberalization and political representation in Brazil, Argentina, Chile, and Mexico. Hagopian received her Ph.D. from MIT in 1986.



Paul V. Kollman, C.S.C. (Assistant Professor, History) has special interests in African Christianity and mission history. He has taught at Catholic Theological Union in Chicago and the Philosophy Centre in Jinja, Uganda. Kollman has held appointments at Notre Dame's

Erasmus Institute and as a Lilly Fellow for Theological Education at the University of Chicago, where he received his Ph.D. in 2001. He is also president of the Midwest Fellowship of Professors of Mission and book review editor for the journal *Mission Studies*. Kollman is currently preparing a manuscript on the evangelization of slaves in 19th-century eastern Africa.



Keir A. Lieber (Assistant Professor, Political Science) specializes in international relations theory, international conflict and security, and U.S. foreign policy. He is author of "Grasping the Technological Peace: The Offense-Defense Balance and International Security," in the journal

International Security (Summer 2000). Lieber is currently completing a book manuscript, *Technology and the Prospects for Peace*, which explores the relationship between technological change and military conflict while also working on an article examining U.S. national missile defense and a book-length manuscript analyzing U.S. nuclear policy during and after the Cold War. Lieber previously worked at the Henry L. Stimson Center, where his research focused on regional confidence-building measures and the control of chemical and nuclear arms proliferation. He received a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 2000.



Emily Osborn (Assistant Professor, History) examines colonial rule and its legacies in French West Africa. She is interested in the efforts made by French colonizers to import and impose gender codes on West African societies through the bureaucracy of the colonial state. Osborn's current

work focuses on a small Islamic state that is present day Guinea-Conakry, West Africa, and its incorporation into the French colonial order. She received her Ph.D. from Stanford in 2000.



Richard B. Pierce (Assistant Professor, History) specializes in African American, urban, and Civil Rights history, with a particular focus on social and political protest in urban environments. In July, 2002, he was appointed Associate Director of African and African American

Studies at Notre Dame, where he was the primary architect of the Erskine A. Peters Dissertation Fellowship Program. Pierce completed a Ph.D. at Indiana University in 1996. He has received several fellowships and awards, including a Ford-funded Fellowship at the Center for African American Urban Studies and the Economy (CAUSE) and Indiana's Delegate to Capital Hill (1998). As a member of the Urban Research and Development Initiative at Notre Dame, he is the lead researcher on a project that documents the impact of de-industrialization on minority communities. Currently, Pierce is completing a book on African American protest in Indianapolis.



Maura A. Ryan (Associate Professor, Christian Ethics) is Associate Provost at Notre Dame. Ryan's primary interests are in the areas of bioethics and health policy, feminist ethics, and fundamental moral theology. She co-edited a book on global stewardship with Todd

David Whitmore in 1997 and her *Ethics and Economics of Assisted Reproduction: The Cost of Longing* was published by Georgetown Press in 2001. She is on the Board of Directors for the Society of Christian Ethics and the editorial boards of the *Religious Studies Review* and *Ethics and Behavior*. Currently she is working on several projects, including the challenge of assisted suicide for feminist ethics, and the relationship between individual moral agency and the common good. She completed a Ph.D. at Yale University in 1993.

| f e a t u r e s |

Children, War and Peacebuilding

By the end of the 20th century, most wars had become protracted, intra-state or “civil” wars. Often provoked by ethnic discord, these conflicts brought war “home” — into local communities. As a result, children are victimized in new ways and in historically new proportions. Furthermore, issues of reconciliation, law, rights, re-education, citizenship and the likelihood that fragile peace settlements will succeed, are all deeply embedded in the multiple ways in which children and war mix.

“Children, War and Peacebuilding,” a fall 2002 series of lectures and films focused on the victimization of children in modern wars around the world. Examining the multiple dimensions of victimization of children was intended as a platform to explore the deeper implications of these trends for peacebuilding, explained George A. Lopez, Director of Policy Studies at the Kroc Institute, who coordinated the series. Sponsored by a grant from the Henkels Visiting Scholars Series, the series featured presentation by three experts on children and violence and two award-winning films about children in war-zones — “Behind Closed Eyes” and “Children in War.” The following are excerpts from the three lectures in the series.

Excerpt from “Children and Armed Conflict: Implications for Peacebuilding”

M I C H A E L W E S S E L L S

Analyzing the impact of contemporary armed conflict on children is a complex challenge for many psychologists and other researchers. Those studying children in modern conflicts often place an excessive emphasis on direct wartime violence. In fact, much of the damage to children is done through structural violence. Certainly, lack of access to health care is a primary problem. In Angola, torn by forty years of civil war, one in three Angolan children died before reaching the age of five years.

A deeper problem is that all children in war-torn nations are emotionally affected in some way even if they

have not seen or witnessed someone die. The physical or psychological health of these children may appear to be undamaged but their sense of what the world is like has been profoundly affected. Often, children in these embattled arenas increasingly adopt the view that violence is normal.

Displaced children and children who have become refugees are also extremely vulnerable. If they have been separated from their parents and families during armed conflict, they run the risk of further trauma such as abduction or sexual violence. Besides the loss of loved ones,

home, livelihood and sources of social support, these youngsters lose opportunities for education, an important avenue of development.

Governments have often created orphanages to see to the needs of displaced or abandoned young people. But, in an impoverished environment, an under-staffed orphanage cannot fill the social, emotional and cognitive needs of children. Typically, these institutions fail to stimulate a sense of individual identity. Children can become isolated from the outside world and fail to develop a central understanding of social rules. In Rwanda or Angola, it is not uncommon to find a staff of three trying to assist some 400 children under the age of ten.

Another vulnerable group of children devastated by the new, protracted civil war are those victimized by sexual abuse or sexually transmitted diseases, especially HIV/AIDS. Tragically, mass rape is used now as an instrument of war worldwide. The end result is a health disaster



for children. Those not personally infected with the virus often have parents who are. These children must drop out of school and work to support their families. They are hungry, have no savings and no

secure future for themselves or their siblings. Often, young people are then led into prostitution, premature marriage and a host of other activities. Half of new HIV infections strike youth between the ages of 10 and 24 years.

In the face of such daunting challenges, our job as peacemakers is to help young people find meaning, voice, role and agency in new activities that recast them as peacemakers in our embattled world.



Michael Wessells, Professor of Psychology at Randolph Macon College at Ashland, Virginia, has served as a senior psycho-social consultant for the Christian Children's Fund, assisting children and families in Albania, Angola, Colombia, East Timor, Guatemala and in Afghanistan in the early months of 2002.

Excerpt from "Law, Human Rights and Children in Armed Conflict"

J O B E C K E R

Since 1994, the use of children as soldiers by more than thirty countries has been a major concern for Human Rights Watch. In particular, HRW has closely monitored the plight of children in Uganda, Sudan, Liberia, and Colombia. In these four countries alone, the findings were alarming.

In northern Uganda, in the last 15 years, over 10,000 children have been abducted to fight against the Ugandan government. In Colombia, children are used by paramilitaries and guerrilla forces to collect intelligence, make and deploy mines, and serve as advance troops in ambush attacks. In Burma, the world's largest user of child soldiers, boys as young as 11 are recruited as soldiers. There are an estimated 70,000 child soldiers in Burma.

As society breaks down in civil war zones, children are often the first to be separated from homes and families. Joining an armed group can seem like the best bet for survival for these disoriented youngsters.

There are several other major reasons why more and more children are serving as soldiers:

- Children are vulnerable, easy to manipulate and often do not realize the consequences of their actions.
- Advances in modern weapons technology have produced lightweight, inexpensive, easy-to use automatic weapons.
- Until 2000, international law did not ban the use of child soldiers under the age of 18.

When the Convention for the Rights of Children was adopted in 1989, 18 years was used as the age of adulthood for all provisions in the Convention except for the age for military recruitment. At the time the Convention was adopted, the United States and several other governments resisted raising the minimum age for military recruitment or participation in armed conflict from 15 to 18.

The United States historically accepted 17-year-olds as volunteers into the armed services, and sent them into combat. In some countries, the need for a minimum age for soldiers was even more crucial. In parts of the world where age documentation was not routine, commanders could recruit strong 12- or 13-year-olds, claiming that they were 15.

In 1994, efforts began to increase the age for soldiering to 18. A worldwide campaign, the “Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers” promoted the effort. By 2000, the coalition had succeeded. In May, 2000, the new protocol was signed by the United States and 110 other governments. It set 18 as the minimum age for participation in

armed conflict or for conscription but allowed voluntary recruitment of those under 18 as long as they were not sent into combat. Some progress has already been seen. In 2001, over 2500 children were demobilized from rebel groups in southern Sudan and over 7500 from groups in Sierra Leone. Human Rights Watch and other groups will continue to expose those who recruit children as soldiers.



Jo Becker, Director of the Children's Rights Project of Human Rights Watch, acts as spokesperson for Human Rights Watch and founded the International Coalition to Stop the Use of Child Soldiers.

Excerpt from

“Suffer the Little Children? The Psychological Impact of Political Violence”

E D C A I R N S

Psychologists concerned with the impact of political violence on children have been working primarily in areas related to mental health, attitudes and values, moral development and political socialization. Research in various aspects of mental health seems to dominate the field.

For instance, there is abundant evidence that experiencing political violence can lead to psychological illnesses. Often, these illnesses are referred to as Post-Traumatic Stress Disorders, though PTSD is still a contested diagnosis.

Many psychologists have also focused on the “damage vs. resilience” question. The “damage thesis” suggests that it is inevitable that exposure to political violence damages the mental health of children. The “resilience thesis” challenges this, suggesting that children are naturally resilient and that wartime psychological damage is not inevitable. This debate dates from the 1930s and 40s when psychologists and psychiatrists looked at children in England and Germany before and during World War II. Research findings in the “damage vs. resilience” area are still inconclusive.

Another study topic falls into the category of attitudes and values. These studies analyze children exposed to significant political aggression and violence. It was expected that these children would become more aggressive, for instance, with peers. While there is anecdotal evidence, there is no hard evidence to confirm this expectation.

Other scholars have focused more narrowly on children in Northern Ireland, South Africa or similar settings of protracted political violence. Researchers have posed many questions important for post-conflict peacebuilding: Will young people in these settings see political violence as an acceptable political tool? Does constant exposure to political violence alter the moral development of children?

Initial findings suggest that the moral development of children probably proceeds as normal — even in situations where political violence predominates. On the other hand, some emerging evidence points toward an accumulation of negative psychological consequences for children growing up near unremitting political violence. This damage may be due to stress and strain on family structures. During extended periods of political violence, there may be changes in child-rearing tactics. Parents may deal with children differently and may become more authoritarian.

These initial results of psychological research on children and violence have begun to influence peace education and peacebuilding efforts around the world, but much research remains to be done in this area.



Ed Cairns, Professor of Psychology and Communication Studies at the University of Ulster in Northern Ireland, conducted ground-breaking research on the impact of the “troubles” on Northern Ireland's children.

U.S. Foreign Policy: Meeting the Challenges of Change

S E N . C H U C K H A G E L (R - N E B .)

The world after September 11, 2001, is not just about America's commitment to defeating terrorism, its patrons and partners, but a larger realization that the 21st century is emerging with new challenges, just as the world has entered every new century. This will require expanded thinking about globalization and the ways and uses of power and politics.

The record of globalization in world affairs is a mixed one, with many parts of the world, including most of Africa and the Middle East, being left behind. Harvard University Professor Stanley Hoffman has written that, "in the realm of global society, much will depend on whether the United States will overcome its frequent indifference to the costs that globalization imposes on poorer countries." One can subscribe to that tenet or not. However, there are some startling facts that the world must deal with: Half the world, three billion people, live on \$2.00 or less per day. More than 800 million people go hungry every year. In 1999, GDP in all Arab countries was less than that of Spain (\$531 billion compared to \$595.5 billion). Sweden receives more foreign direct investment than all Arab countries combined.

A survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project, released in December 2002, found that the spread of disease is considered as the most pressing international challenge by citizens in a majority of the countries polled. More than 28 million of the approximately 40 million people infected with HIV/AIDS live in sub-Saharan Africa, and 9% of all sub-Saharans between the ages of 15 and 49 carry HIV. This is an historic tragedy, and not just in Africa. The projected growth rates and spread of this disease in China, India, and Russia signal an alarming trend for humanity at the beginning of this new century.

In the recent past, America's greatest threat was the Soviet empire, its global ambitions, nuclear arsenal, and ideological tyranny. Today, threats come not from a rival

nation or doctrine or coalition of nations, but from transnational cartels and networks of terrorists that undermine the world's security, societies and stability, as well as America's security, values and way of life. In addition to terrorism, Moses Naim, the editor and publisher of *Foreign Policy*, has written of the challenges of the five wars of globalization: the international trade in drugs, arms, intellectual property, people, and money. To meet these threats requires extensive international intelligence and law enforcement cooperation and alliances, cooperation and multi-national efforts and relationships like we have never before experienced.

Some of the most serious threats to American security today come not from rival powers or coalitions, but from failed and failing states. In 2002, Professor Robert Rotberg wrote in *Foreign Affairs* about the dangers to world security of failed states such as Afghanistan, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Angola, Burundi, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Liberia and Sudan. These countries exist on the edge of modernity and civilization, and are not only breeding grounds and potential exporters of terrorism, but sources of political and economic instability in their regions. We cannot allow this list to continue to grow. The peoples of these and other states on the brink of collapse deserve a future of hope and promise, not misery and despair. Helping prevent more failed states, especially in Africa, the Middle East and South and Central Asia, must be a priority in America's foreign policy . . . because it will determine the future of the world.



Sen. Hagel discusses U.S. foreign policy with a Notre Dame student as Kroc Fellow Martha Merritt listens in the background.

Working through the United Nations and regional alliances allows America to reinforce, not weaken, its power, principles and purpose. On the Korean peninsula, for example, our allies in South Korea and Japan continue to work shoulder-to-shoulder with the United States to get Kim Jong Il to give up his nuclear weapons program. They understand the threat from North Korea better than we do. They live with it every day. America gains by working with and empowering our allies to share leadership and initiative.

The challenges of economic development and political reform, to offer hope and a better way of life for those who have so far missed the benefits of globalization, requires a balance of American leadership and international support. We cannot solve completely the problem of world poverty, but we can do more to help build coalitions to eradicate world hunger and disease. America must establish programs of partnership with the peoples and governments of the developing world to break this cycle of inhumanity. We must do more to encourage private sector development, the rule of law, transparency, human rights, and trade-based growth in the Middle East and Central Asia, and throughout the developing world. And we must hold governments accountable for their actions. That is the intent of the Bush Administration's five billion dollar Millennium Challenge Account, which I support, as a creative initiative to meet the challenges of poverty and development across the globe.

America must guard against the hubris of great power at this critical time in its history. Our power is unsurpassed, but our security continues to rest on our alliances, our values and our strength. We must be patient and exercise a mature judgment in our decisions that will encourage others to follow and trust our leadership, rather than question and turn away from our initiatives. At this precarious juncture in American history, America needs more humility than hubris in the applications of American military power, and the recognition that our interests are best served through alliances and consensus.

This article was excerpted from an address by Sen. Chuck Hagel (R-Neb.) delivered at the University of Notre Dame on January 24, 2003. Sen. Hagel's visit to campus was co-sponsored by the Departments of History and Political Science, the First Year of Studies, and the Kroc and Kellogg Institutes.

“At this precarious juncture in American history, America needs more humility than hubris in the applications of American military power.”

The Ethical Challenges of Preventive War

H A L C U L B E R T S O N

As is well known, one of the main purposes articulated for launching the war against Iraq was to prevent Saddam Hussein from developing weapons of mass destruction. Iraq, having used chemical weapons in the war with Iran and against its own people, was prohibited from possessing chemical, biological and nuclear weapons by UN Security Council Resolution 687. Yet the Bush administration alleged that Saddam Hussein had significant stockpiles of chemical and biological weapons and was close to developing nuclear weapons, all of which violated the terms of the cease-fire and threatened global peace and security. The administration then claimed that nothing short of Saddam's abdication of power or a war to topple his regime would put an end to Iraq's development of these weapons.

Based as it was on a doctrine of prevention, the war against Iraq raised difficult ethical questions that will likely remain salient for years to come. Can the potential future threat posed by a weapons development program serve as an adequate basis for a war of self-defense? Is preventive war justified ethically on account of the destructive potential available in even one weapon of mass destruction? And what ethical obligations does a government have in amassing, interpreting, and publicizing the evidence of such a potential threat to its own people and the world?

Through a series of presentations and panels over the past several months, the Kroc Institute sought to engage such issues. (See page 15.) Several insights and policy implications emerged during this process.

An Analytical Prelude: Preemption vs. Prevention

Just war theorists often distinguish between preemptive and preventive war. The doctrine of preemption, a narrowly circumscribed corollary to the right of self-defense, permits a first strike when an attack is imminent. Preemptive war is thus a response to a threatening movement of troops, belligerent statements by the adversary, and other indicators that signal an attack is close at hand. Preventive war, on the other hand, occurs at an earlier stage and seeks to reduce the adversary's capacity to threaten before that capacity is mobilized.

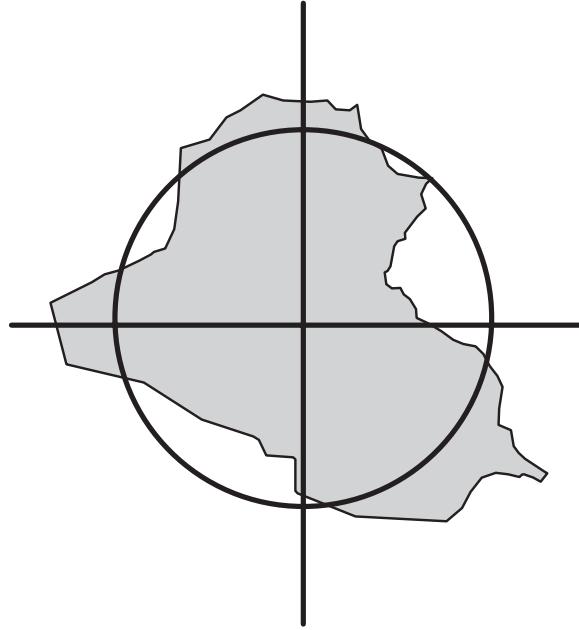
In articulating its case against Iraq, the Bush administration muddied the waters by characterizing the prospective war against Iraq, and its new national security strategy, as “preemptive,” rather than preventive. The administration argued that contemporary realities, particularly the confluence of weapons of mass destruction and terrorism, present new security challenges which require early preventive action.

The point cannot be easily dismissed. As Col. Mark Gehri, commander of the Air Force Reserve Officer Training Corps at Notre Dame pointed out during a regular Kroc-ROTC dialogue, the stakes are too high (i.e. the loss of a major metropolitan area) to wait until such a threat is imminent, and if terrorists become the delivery system, it will likely be too late to do anything about it by the time the threat becomes imminent.

However, in the events leading to the attack on Iraq, the administration did not make the case that such a conspiracy was actually underway or that Iraq manifested any intent to commit such an attack; its argument rested solely on Iraq’s suspected capability to launch such an attack in the future. As Kroc core faculty member and political scientist Dan Philpott put it, “Bush misspeaks” in calling the war preemptive. Little did we realize how prescient that comment was.

The Normative Critique of Preventive War

From a normative perspective, one of the main problems with preventive war is that it is based on speculation about what an adversary will do. As a result, preventive war runs afoul of many of the standard just war criteria and related international legal norms.



For example, preventive wars rarely constitute a last resort, because, by the nature of the situation, there is still an opportunity to use other diplomatic and legal means. Building on this point, the Kroc Institute’s Director of Policy Studies George Lopez and colleagues David Cortright and Alistair Millar incisively argued in their policy brief “Winning Without War” that “the resumption of effective UN weapons inspections and the strengthening of military containment and deterrence offer viable, robust options for assuring the disarmament of Iraq and preventing

Saddam Hussein from acquiring the ability to develop or use nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons.”

The speculative character of a preventive war also renders it difficult to establish just cause, which generally is predicated on self-defense in the face of aggressive or unlawful actions by the adversary. Iraq posed a difficult conundrum on this score, since Saddam Hussein had previously committed serious violations of the human rights of his own people, had undertaken two aggressive wars against Kuwait and Iran, and had violated the terms of the cease-fire following the first Gulf War. Thus, some, such as political scientist Keir Lieber, concluded that just cause existed in light of these past wrongs and current noncompliance, while others, such as German philosopher Vittorio Hösle, concluded that just cause existed when Iraq first violated the terms of Resolution 687 in 1991, but did not remain viable as a basis for just cause more than 10 years later.

A final normative concern about the war was the troubling implications of wider acceptance of the administration’s doctrine of preventive war, particularly when coupled with the U.S. willingness to pursue the war unilaterally. Would the United States launch preventive wars against other nations, such as North Korea, which are thought to

have secret weapons programs or links with terrorists? And would the United States' use of preventive war give license to other nations, such as India or China, to launch preventive wars? According to Höfle, it was concerns such as these that provoked global outrage over the war, culminating in the unprecedented anti-war demonstrations around the world.

Whatever the future may hold, one thing seems clear — if the administration hoped to establish the legitimacy of preventive war in response to the new threats of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, Iraq was a bad foundation upon which to establish the new doctrine.

The Unexpected Epilogue: The Ethics of Handling Intelligence

With each day that passes since the fall of the Saddam Hussein regime, the failure to find any weapons of mass destruction or any substantial links to al Qaeda raises ethical questions of a more political kind. Concerns over the intelligence on which the case for war was founded emerged even before the war, as documents allegedly showing Iraq's intention to obtain materials needed for nuclear weapons were shown to be forged. But the failure to find any weapons of mass destruction, despite extensive searching and despite the swift and apparently uncoordinated disappearance of many Iraqi troops, takes the issue to a higher level. To what extent did officials ignore or manipulate intelligence reports in making their case for war? What kinds of disclosure regarding serious foreign policy decisions are required in a democratic society?

It is worth noting how normative concerns about preventive war are linked to these questions of political integrity. In the absence of an imminent attack, the case for war depends solely on speculation about the adversary's capabilities and intentions. As a result, "A strategy of preventive attack depends fundamentally on accurate intelligence and the proper use of that intelligence," observe Lopez, Cortright, Millar and Gerber in their policy brief "Unproven: The Controversy Over Justifying War in Iraq." Based on information that was publicly available before the war, the authors describe how the administration's analysis of the potential threat posed by Iraq was influenced by an unwillingness or inability to calculate accurately the combined effects of the first Gulf War and 12 years of punishing sanctions; a lack of interest in calculating the successful destruction of weapons and materials by UN inspectors from 1991-98; and an attempt to undermine the findings and experience of the UN's new inspectors in December 2002.

Whatever the future may hold, one thing seems clear — if the administration hoped to establish the legitimacy of preventive war in response to the new threats of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction, Iraq was a bad foundation upon which to establish the new doctrine. Indeed, the Iraq war could become a prime example of why preventive war is highly questionable, both ethically and politically.

Hal Culbertson is Associate Director of the Kroc Institute.

| r e c e n t h i g h l i g h t s |

Kroc Responds to the War in Iraq

long been the focus of Kroc Institute research. The U.S. willingness to go to war unilaterally prompts basic questions about the role of multilateral institutions in the enforcement of international norms. The preventive character of the war also raises concerns about whether the war satisfied the conditions of a just war or other standards of international justice. These issues set the tone for an extensive program of events, publications and media commentary by the Kroc Institute in recent months.

Several Institute faculty received national media coverage for their perspectives on the war. The Institute's Sanctions and Security Project, a joint initiative of the Institute and the Fourth Freedom Forum, published several policy briefs addressing the potential for international weapons inspections and proposing alternatives to military action for reducing the security threat posed by Iraq. (See page 23 for a complete list.) In addition to numerous radio interviews, George Lopez discussed the potential of UN weapons inspections in Iraq on the NewsHour with Jim Lehrer on January 15, 2003. The Institute's expertise on ethics and the use of force was the focus of an NBC Nightly News report, which featured interviews with Fr. Michael Baxter and George A. Lopez.

The U.S.-led war against Iraq raises issues of international politics and ethics that have

The Institute also spearheaded efforts on campus focusing on the war in Iraq. The Institute organized a series of lectures and panel discussions devoted to issues surrounding the war during the fall semester and during the buildup to war in the spring. With leadership from Kroc Institute Director Scott Appleby, "Peace and War in 2003: Debating the Issues" brought together a diverse array of over 20 faculty and students from across the university to present views and analysis of the political, economic, social, and religious dimensions of the situation in a series of five panel discussions.

During the buildup to war, Hal Culbertson created a webpage, "Alternatives to War with Iraq: Kroc Institute Resources on Policy and Ethics," <www.nd.edu/~krocinst/media/iraq.html>, which included extensive listings of research, publications, media appearances, and public events on the war. The page was listed in the Yahoo index. In the aftermath of the war, the Institute developed a new webpage which focuses on "Assessing the War in Iraq" at <www.nd.edu/~krocinst/media/iraqwar.html>.



George Lopez discussed whether an attack on Iraq would be just a war on NBC Nightly News, October 18, 2002.

Fall 2002 Events on the Iraq War

September 16

The Coming War with Iraq

George A. Lopez, Director of Policy Studies and Senior Fellow, Kroc Institute; David Cortright, President, Fourth Freedom Forum, Kroc Institute Research Fellow

October 15

Politics and Strategy of a War with Iraq

Kathleen Collins, Political Science; Keir Lieber, Political Science; Daniel Lindley, Political Science; Robert Johansen, Political Science

November 7

Iraq and Empire

Simon Harak, S.J., theologian and ethicist, spokesperson, Voices in the Wilderness
(Co-sponsored with Pax Christi of Notre Dame and the Catholic Peace Fellowship)

Peace and War in 2003: Debating the Issues

January 23

Report from Iraq: Pilgrimage to a Threatened Land

Michael Baxter, C.S.C., Theology; Daniel Philpott, Political Science; Teresa Hansen, Undergraduate student in the College of Arts and Letters

January 29

Has the Case for War Been Made? Would It Be a Just War?

Fred Dallmayr, Political Science; Vittorio Hösle, German and Russian Languages and Literatures; Keir Lieber, Political Science; Margaret Pfeil, Theology; Chris Rugar, Air Force ROTC cadet

February 4

A Pre-emptive Strike? Geopolitical, Legal and Foreign Policy Considerations

Alan Dowty, Political Science; Robert Johansen, Political Science; Daniel Lindley, Political Science; Martha Merritt, Political Science

February 12

A Strike Against Iraq: Impact on Islam and the Middle East

Vincent Cornell, Professor of History and Director of the King Fahd Center for Middle East and Islamic Studies, University of Arkansas; Alan Dowty, Political Science; Rashied Omar, Kroc Institute; James Sterba, Philosophy

March 6

War Talk and How We Answer It

Valerie Sayers, English; William O'Rourke, English; John Duffy, English; Kevin Ducey, Graduate Student in Creative Writing

Post-Accord Peacebuilding

RIREC Convenes Second Workshop

The Kroc Institute's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC) convened its second research workshop on September 26-28, 2002, at the University of Notre Dame. RIREC's international research team includes scholars from the disciplines of psychology, education, political science, anthropology and sociology and practitioners in the field of conflict transformation and peacebuilding. The two-day workshop provided participants with an invaluable opportunity to debate some of the project's key yet inherently contested terms such as "ethnicity," "reconciliation" and "peacebuilding."

At the workshop, participants presented twenty draft papers addressing the three RIREC themes: post-accord violence, youth reintegration, and truth telling and peacebuilding. It is envisaged that the revised papers will form part of three RIREC volumes that will focus on each of the research themes. The three RIREC co-directors, John Darby, Siobhan McEvoy-Levy and Tristan Ann Borer will each be editing one of the volumes and will also collaborate in producing a fourth volume that will be a synthesis of the findings of the research clusters. As Kroc Institute Director Scott Appleby points out, the rich collaboration between scholars from diverse disciplines and practitioners that has emerged during this phase of RIREC will be an enduring legacy of the project.

A highlight of the workshop was the keynote address delivered by the John Paul Lederach, Professor of International Peacebuilding at the Kroc Institute. In his lecture titled, "The Horizon of Peacebuilding: The Strategic Challenges of Post Agreement Change," Lederach proposed that, "the single greatest challenge of post-agreement change lies in creating a broadly shared sense that the change processes under way are authentic." (See page 17 for further discussion of this address.)

RIREC's second successful international workshop will be followed by an international conference to be convened from September 11-13, 2003, at the University of Notre Dame. Keynote speakers will include Nobel peace laureate and head of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission, Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Mphilo Tutu; the renowned Norwegian peace scholar, Professor Johan Galtung; and Professor William Zartman, director of the Conflict Management Program at Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies. A roundtable discussion between scholars and activists focusing on the successes and obstacles of the South African post-accord peacebuilding process will also form part of the conference. Further information about the conference is available on the Institute's website at <www.nd.edu/~krocinst/>.



The Horizons of Peacebuilding: The Strategic Challenges of Post Agreement Change

Lederach Delivers Keynote at RIREC Workshop

In his keynote address, Lederach explored “the significance, promise and challenge posed by the image and metaphor of ‘agreement.’” Although often portrayed by contending parties and the media as solutions to a conflict, peace agreements usually focus on immediate concerns, such as ending hostilities, and defer negotiation of deeper economic, social, and political issues to a later time. Thus, peace agreements are better understood as the beginning of a process that has potential to redefine relationships.

The first strategic challenge Lederach explored was to create a dynamic platform capable of generating solutions to on-going episodes of conflict. Such a platform could consist of a network of relationships or society-wide institutions which could be mobilized to address new issues arising in the future. This strategic challenge requires peacebuilders to look beyond the implementation of the agreement and consider how new modes of interaction developed in the post-agreement period can be linked to broader processes of change. Agreements must also be recognized for what they are: temporary solutions to serious social problems that alleviate the immediate symptoms and create an opportunity to pursue deeper change.

The second strategic challenge concerns post-agreement engagement of civil society, especially in contexts where there has been no significant pre-agreement engagement. Lederach hypothesized that “the most significant weakness to sustainable platforms for genuine change has been the lack of authentic engagement of the public sphere.” He surmised that the quality of the public sphere before, during and after an agreement is perhaps the most significant determinant of whether peace processes create significant and sustained social change. He then challenged the peacebuilding field to further engage individuals and communities in the peace process in ways which create a sense of ownership, participation and genuine commitment.



In engaging the public, peacebuilders face the difficult challenge of creating a shared sense that the change processes under way are authentic. Lederach observed that fostering such authenticity requires sustained activity of the “moral imagination,” which looks beyond the present patterns of violence to imagine different relationships with the other in both the personal and public spheres. Moral imagination is needed for communities to recognize common needs in the face of strong tendencies toward polarization. In Liberia and Sierra Leone, for example, communities joined together to develop new processes of restoration to address the pressing needs of both victims and child soldiers. Moral imagination is also required for leaders to openly explore their personal fears or publicly suspend the fear of another leader. As Mandela, De Klerk, and Bishop Tutu demonstrated in South Africa, personal examples can provide models for others to follow.

“Perhaps the greatest mystery of peace is that authenticity of change is not located in what can be quantified and controlled,” Lederach concluded. “It is rooted in the courage of people and communities to be and live vulnerably in the face of fear and threat . . . Human security is not tied primarily to the quantity or size of weapons, nor to power of imposition or control, but to the nature and quality of relationships developed with those most feared.”

Reconciliation in Bosnia

Conference in Croatia explores religious peacebuilding



How can religious traditions contribute to peacebuilding in Bosnia, a region torn by inter-ethnic conflict? To explore this question, the Kroc Institute, in collaboration with Notre Dame's

Erasmus Institute and the Institute for Theology and Peace in Hamburg, Germany, organized an international conference in Dubrovnik, Croatia, on September 11-13, 2002. The conference sought to foster dialogue not only between scholars from different religious traditions in Bosnia, but also between scholars and practitioners who were developing and implementing projects designed to promote reconciliation between religious groups.

To contextualize the discussion of reconciliation, the conference featured contributions from several NGOs working on issues of religious reconciliation in Bosnia. Participants learned about the work of the Center for Religious Dialogue and Abraham, both located in Sarajevo. These organizations seek to foster greater tolerance and understanding between religious traditions through publications, school curricula, and inter-religious development and reconstruction projects. Presentations also addressed resettlement efforts by Pax Christi in Banja Luka and Zenica, as well as efforts to strengthen civil society by the Center for Peace, Nonviolence and Human Rights in Osijek.

Attention then turned to the meaning of reconciliation in Catholic, Orthodox, and Islamic traditions. Drawing on the recent work of both Catholic and Protestant theologians, which has converged on several themes, Kroc Institute Director Scott Appleby described a theology of reconciliation rooted in the way of the cross, emphasizing the role of suffering as a basis for social ethics. In addition to theology, he emphasized how spiritual practices within the tradition — such as hospitality, listening, and pastoral care — can play a role in reconciliation.

Vladimir Zelinskij, an Orthodox theologian currently working in Italy, stressed how “seeing Christ in others” forms a ground for reconciliation with God, neighbors, and oneself. While ethics is part of orthodox theology, he said that this kind of spiritual understanding plays a more central role in its understanding of reconciliation.

Mahmut Aydin of the University of Ondokuz, Turkey, explored the general teachings of the Koran about the “other,” particularly focusing on Koranic passages dealing with non-believers. He commented on the Koran's prohibition on imposing one's faith on another, and concluded that the Koran places an obligation on Muslims to be generous toward others in their daily life.

Religious leaders from Bosnia noted the difficult questions they face in building a multi-religious society. Mate Zovkic, from the Catholic Theological School in Sarajevo, noted the struggles of Croatians Catholics in Bosnia who wonder whether to consider Bosnia or Croatia their “homeland.” Adnan Silajdzic, from the Islamic Theological School in Sarajevo, observed how the political and moral crisis on the global level is hindering the development of Bosnia.



The conference fostered dialogue between scholars, religious leaders, and practitioners of religious peacebuilding.

| n e w s b r i e f s |

Joan Kroc Establishes Hesburgh Scholarship Fund

The Kroc Institute has received a \$5 million gift from Mrs. Joan B. Kroc to establish the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., International Scholarship Fund for Peace and Justice. The Fund will provide scholarships for students in the Kroc Institute's graduate program in peace studies.

The gift honors Fr. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., President Emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, whose vision of gathering students from around the world to study peacemaking while building cross-cultural understanding among themselves continues to guide the Institute.



Joan Kroc and Fr. Hesburgh breaking ground for the Hesburgh Center in 1988 (file photo).

“It’s a great honor for me to be a part of the hope for peace and I can think of no better way to share this hope than to create the Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., International Scholarship Fund for Peace and Justice,” said Mrs. Kroc.

“The Hesburgh Scholarship Fund will enable more students from around the world, especially those from impoverished backgrounds and countries, to be educated and trained in our Master’s program,” said Scott Appleby, John M. Regan, Jr. Director of the Kroc Institute. The Institute is currently expanding its graduate program from one to two years and adding a one-semester fieldwork component to better prepare students for the challenges they will face as peacebuilders.

The Institute was established in 1986 with a \$6 million gift from Mrs. Kroc, who shared Father Hesburgh’s commitment to ending the nuclear arms race and promoting peace, social justice and human rights. Mrs. Kroc gave an additional \$6 million in 1988 to build Notre Dame’s Hesburgh Center for International Studies, which now houses the Kroc Institute and the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies.

Rockefeller Foundation Renews Resident Fellowships Award

The Rockefeller Foundation has designated the Kroc Institute as a host site for Rockefeller Resident Fellowships in the Humanities and the Study of Culture. The \$350,000 award will enable the Institute to continue offering Rockefeller Visiting Fellowships in the Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding (PRCP) from 2004-07.

“Since its establishment in 2000, the Rockefeller Visiting Fellows program has become a vital part of the intellectual life of the Kroc Institute, and we are delighted that the Rockefeller Foundation will continue to support this initiative,” said Kroc Institute Director Scott Appleby.

The PRCP explores the phenomenon of “lived religion” by examining how religious traditions move from sacred scripture or traditional norm to the practical principles which guide specific decisions and actions taken in the context of contemporary conflicts. Visiting Fellows conduct research focusing on three dimensions of this process: comparative religious ethics, intolerance, and human rights; inter-religious and intra-religious differences and dialogue; and post-conflict peacebuilding. The one-year fellowships are open to scholars in the humanities and social sciences of any nationality.

In the aftermath of September 11, the 2001-02 Rockefeller Fellows, who each specialize in Islam in a different part of the world, assisted the PRCP in planning a conference held at Notre Dame in April, 2002 entitled “In Multiple Voices: Challenges and Opportunities for Islamic Peacebuilding after September 11.” Several of the revised papers from the conference, along with three specially commissioned essays on the theme, are forthcoming in Spring 2004 from the University of Notre Dame Press.

In April 2003, a second conference entitled “Women and the Contested State: Religion, Violence and Agency in South Asia,” featured research by the 2002-03 Rockefeller Visiting Fellows. The Institute plans to publish a volume, edited by Rockefeller Fellows Monique Skidmore and Patricia Lawrence, based on the scholarly papers presented at the conference. Encouraged by the success of these conferences, the Institute plans to organize similar events in collaboration with future Rockefeller Fellows.

Further information about Rockefeller Fellowships and application forms are available on the Kroc Institute website, <http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/visiting_fellows/>.

Williams Heads South Africa's Global Compact Network

Since January, 2003, Rev. Oliver Williams, C.S.C., Associate Professor of Management and Director of Notre Dame's Center for Ethics and Religious Values in Business, has been in Cape Town, South Africa promoting the United Nations Global Compact to a nation participating in the global economy.

The United Nations Global Compact, developed at the Davos World Economic Forum in 2000, consists of nine principles of global economic development that are related to human rights, labor rights and environmental protection. Several principles ask national and multi-national corporations to support international human rights wherever they do business. Others solicit businesses to uphold the right to collective bargaining while supporting the elimination of forced, compulsory or child labor. Three principles affirm corporate backing for greater environmental responsibility. (See www.unglobalcompact.org) Virtually all industry sectors on every continent are represented in the over 700 multinational company signatories world-wide.

Williams, a Kroc Faculty Fellow, was asked by UN officials to assist in founding the South African Global Compact Network, making South Africa one of the first nations in the world to participate in this UN initiative. The appointment followed a successful global compact conference Williams organized for the UN at Notre Dame in April, 2002.



Oliver Williams

Williams is also beginning a long-term academic commitment in South Africa. "I was given a joint appointment at the Graduate School (of Business) at the University

of Cape Town and at Stellenbosch University," he explained. "They asked me to develop programs in ethics and corporate governance." Williams finds that his teaching responsibilities and the promotion of a groundbreaking global compact to companies and business leaders in South Africa have an obvious overlap.

Getting the UN assignment has been especially exciting and encouraging. "When Kofi Annan started discussions about the Global Compact with some of the world's business leaders, he saw that if the United Nations is to be relevant today, it must draw in the major power brokers of the world. This is no longer just nation-states; it also includes multi-national companies." Already, major NGO's, including Amnesty International, Oxfam, Human Rights Watch, World Conservation Union, World Wildlife Fund, and Transparency International have joined and are participating in the deliberations of the Compact. The International Confederation of Free Trade Unions, Business Associations, and Academic and Public Policy Institutions have joined as well. Companies view the Compact deliberations as a potentially significant contribution to the shaping of societal expectations for business.

Companies in South Africa could usefully start by addressing the nation's 30% unemployment rate, Williams contends. Many of the unemployed are Black and do not have marketable skills. "I think that the human rights principle (of the Global Compact) would impel some of the multi-nationals to be more pro-active in trying to raise job skills and trying to create jobs." What is needed is a "way to level the playing fields" among the nations of the world, observes Williams. "I'm optimistic that in the long run, the Global Compact or something like it will succeed."

"I think that the human rights principle (of the Global Compact) would impel some of the multi-nationals to be more pro-active in trying to raise job skills and trying to create jobs."

| student and alumni activities |

Weaving a New Future in Myanmar (Burma) MA Student's Project Wins Social Venture Award

Mai Ni Ni Aung insisted that she was completely surprised. But scarcely any of her fellow MA students at the Kroc Institute or her fellow competitors in the 2003 Social Venture Plan Award competition were amazed at all.

Ni Ni's plan to market beautiful traditional weavings from her native Myanmar (Burma) was one of five finalists in a competition annually sponsored by the Gigot Center for Entrepreneurial Studies at the Mendoza College of Business. As a finalist, she received project guidance from an MBA alumnus and an undergraduate business student during the spring.

After the first prize winner in the competition was announced in April, Ni Ni received the "Against All Odds Award," an award created this year to acknowledge her exceptional efforts and any similar efforts by future would-be entrepreneurs. She also received private donations for her project amounting to several thousand dollars in conjunction with the award.

Ni Ni brought something quite unique to the competition that typically draws undergraduate or graduate business students. She had no business education or background but made up for that with great persistence. "When she mentioned that she was writing this plan in her fourth language, we realized what great determination she had," explained Gigot Faculty member Jim Falkiner, an obvious fan of Ni Ni Aung.



Ni Ni's plan grew out of her passion to save cultural traditions of the Chin people, one of Myanmar's eight major ethnic groups. Ni Ni particularly focused on the dying art of backstrap weaving. Using grant monies initially from the Open Society Institute, and later from the British Embassy in Burma, Ni Ni established the Sone Tu Cultural Preservation Project in 2002. This project seeks to pass on traditional Chin weaving skills, create stable jobs for Chin women, and generate income to send Chin youth to high school. Ni Ni recruited thirty-five older women who were skilled weavers. Once the multi-colored silk and cotton weavings were selling and returning income to their impover-

ished Chin villages, fifteen younger women joined the project as apprentices.

The weavings, which feature traditional Chin designs, sold well in Rangoon, Myanmar's capital. When Ni Ni arrived at Notre Dame to begin peace studies in August, 2002, she brought weavings along. With help from the Kroc Institute, Ni Ni found new buyers throughout the school year, and sales and donations to her enterprise exceeded \$11,000.

Ni Ni envisions a bright future for the Song-Tu weavings and their Chin weavers. She is setting up a website and will investigate marketing the weavings at fair trade organizations and museum shops in the United States. "I made a commitment to help these people," repeats Ni Ni Aung who seamlessly weaves sophisticated international product marketing into her larger peacebuilding vision. After post-graduate research on a peace education manual for her native country, Ni Ni plans to return to Myanmar.

Alumni News

Lou Nanni ('88), from the U.S., has been named Vice President for University Relations at the University of Notre Dame. In this capacity he will direct the University's development operation, the Notre Dame Alumni Association, and the offices of special events and international advancement. Prior to this appointment Lou served one year as vice president for public affairs and communication at Notre Dame and eight years as director of South Bend's Center for the Homeless, which he established as a national model in addressing the complex issues of homelessness. E-mail: <Lou.Nanni.3@nd.edu>.

Emil Bolongaita ('89) has returned to his native Philippines, where he will serve as Group Manager for Governance and Anti-Corruption with the AGILE program (Accelerating Growth Investment and Liberalization with Equity) of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). After earning his PhD in Government from Notre Dame, Emil worked on the faculty of the Asian Institute of Management in Manila and Xavier University in Mindanao and since 1998 has taught in the Master in Public Policy Programme at the National University of Singapore. E-mail: <Emil_Bolongaita@dai.com>

Thomas Schuster ('90), from Germany, has been appointed Associate Professor of Journalism at Leipzig University. From 1994 to 1999 he was Assistant Professor of Sociology at the University of the Federal Armed Forces in Munich and served as a consultant in telecommunications with Roland Berger & Associates, Germany's top management consulting firm. Thomas earned his Ph.D. in political science in 1994 from the Free University of Berlin and has received a Fulbright scholarship and two fellowships from the DAAD (German Academic Exchange Service). He has published three books and numerous articles for leading German newspapers. More information on Thomas may be found at <www.tom-schuster.de>.

Jasmin Nario-Galace ('92), from the Philippines, has completed her term as Registrar of Miriam College in Manila, but continues as Program Officer of the Center for Peace Education while working on her doctoral degree. "Our office is in the Global Advisory Board of the Hague Appeal for Peace. The past year has taken me to the different major islands of the Philippines to train school administrators on peace education. We are making the rounds of the country in partnership with the Catholic Education Association of the Philippines and the Office of the Philippine President for the Peace Process." Her dissertation focuses on the effects of peace education in reducing prejudice. E-mail: <jnariogalace@yahoo.com>.

Catherine Byrne ('95), from South Africa, completed her Ph.D. in Social Psychology at the University of Nevada, Reno in 2002. Her dissertation was entitled "Responses of Victims to Perpetrators' Justifications, Excuses and Apologies: Accounts in the Context of the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission." In March 2003 she will begin a post-doctoral position at the Solomon Asch Center for Study of Ethnopolitical Conflict at the University of Pennsylvania.

Larissa Fast ('95), from Canada, was awarded a Ph.D. from the Institute for Conflict Analysis & Resolution at George Mason University in 2002, with the dissertation "Context Matters: Identifying Micro- and Macro-Level Factors Contributing to NGO Insecurity." She is now Assistant Professor of Peace and Conflict Studies at Conrad Grebel College, University of Waterloo, and also Program Associate for Project Ploughshares, an ecumenical peace and justice organization in Canada. Larissa has an article entitled "Is It Safe? Lessons from the Humanitarian Aid Community" in John Paul Lederach's new book *Into the Eye of the Storm: A Handbook of International Peacebuilding*. E-mail: <lfast@uwaterloo.ca>.

Ojong (Princewill) Odidi ('00), from Nigeria, interned at the Carter Center after graduation in 2000, worked for an NGO in Chicago, and has now founded and directs Georgia Inter-Generational Project, Inc. in Atlanta, which works to create relationships between the elderly and school age children. In 2002 Princewill received a major grant from the Ford Foundation to conduct a Peace Education program in schools in Northern Georgia, and with strong support from the State of Georgia and local companies, his NGO now has 23 staff members and 67 volunteers, as well as paid interns and Americorps volunteers. Visit their web site at <www.georgiaprojects.com>.

Martin Ewi ('01), from Cameroon, has been appointed to head a new terrorism unit of the African Union, based in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. He spent the previous year as an intern with the African Union Mission to the UN in New York City.

Jean-Paul Bigirindavyi ('02), from Burundi, himself a survivor of a landmine explosion while fleeing war, has been appointed International Research Coordinator in the Washington, DC office of the Center for International Rehabilitation, where he works on landmine issues and disability issues within the framework of human rights. He continues to develop plans and seek funding for a center in Nairobi to promote peacebuilding skills among youth in the Great Lakes region of Africa. E-mail: <jpbuju@hotmail.com>.

| 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/>.

**A War Against the Turks?
Erasmus on War and Peace**

by Fred Dallmayr (*Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #23:OP:1*)

Drawing parallels between the sixteenth century and the present, Dallmayr explores the views of the great humanist Erasmus (1469-1536), particularly focusing on his critique of common attitudes toward warfare. He examines Erasmus' views on the brewing conflict between Europe and the Ottoman Empire (or between Western Christianity and the Muslim world). He then expands the scope of discussion by reviewing Erasmus's more general thoughts on war and peace, using as chief reference point his famous adage "War is sweet to the inexperienced." Dallmayr then concludes by turning to Erasmus' perhaps most famous and most eloquent anti-war tract: *Querela pacis* or *Complaint of Peace*.

Fred Dallmayr is Packey J. Dee Professor of Political Science and a Fellow of the Kroc Institute, University of Notre Dame.

What Shall We Build?

by Daniel R. Lynch (*Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #23:OP:2*)

In a provocative article aimed at stimulating discussion, Lynch argues that new developments are needed within the engineering profession if it is to serve the historical moment. He asserts that the Industrial Revolution will run to completion, irreversibly and worldwide, in the coming 50 years, but current approaches to technological development do not adequately consider the global implications of this change. The engineering profession, itself defined by the Industrial Revolution, thus must take greater responsibility for the outcomes of globalization. Lynch calls for a cooperative dialogue involving all parts of the engineering profession — education, research, practice, professional societies, corporations, and agencies — to develop an agenda for action which incorporates norms of international justice. He then explores how human rights standards and Catholic Social Thought might influence such an agenda for action.

Daniel R. Lynch is MacLean Professor of Engineering, Dartmouth College, Hanover, New Hampshire. He conducted research on this article as Visiting Melchor Professor in the Department of Civil Engineering and Geological Sciences, University of Notre Dame.

Policy Briefs

"End Game? Removing Sanctions in Iraq,"

by David Cortright, Linda Gerber, Alistair Millar, and George A. Lopez, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F11 (May 2003).

"Contested Case: Do the Facts Justify the Case for War in Iraq?"

by David Cortright, Alistair Millar, George A. Lopez, and Linda Gerber, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F8 (February 2003).

"The Progress of UN Disarmament in Iraq: An Assessment Report,"

by David Cortright, Alistair Millar, George A. Lopez and Linda Gerber, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F7 (February 2003).

"UN Weapons Inspections in Iraq: A Progress Report,"

by David Cortright, Alistair Millar, George A. Lopez, and Linda Gerber, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F6, (January 2003).

"Winning Without War: Sensible Security Options for Dealing with Iraq,"

by David Cortright, George A. Lopez and Alistair Millar, Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F5 (October 2002).

Other Policy Publications

Our new webpage, **“Assessing the War in Iraq,”** <<http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/media/iraqwar.html>>, features recent publications and commentary by Kroc Institute scholars on the impact of the war in Iraq.

“Let the UN Decide,” George A. Lopez, *USA Today* (May 7, 2003).

“What We Do Now,” David Cortright, *The Nation* (April 21, 2003)

“Why Not Attack Iraq,” David Cortright, *Sojourners*, 31, no. 4 (July-August 2002): 15

“War Against Iraq: A Dangerous Bet,” Daniel Lindley, *Chicago Tribune* (October 27, 2002).

Faculty Publications

Books

Nonviolence and Peace Building in Islam: Theory and Practice

Mohammed Abu-Nimer (University Press of Florida, 2003).

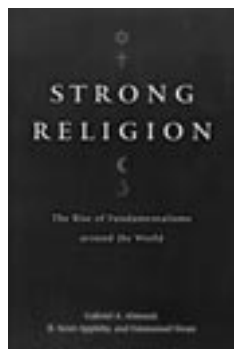
Based on research completed while a Rockefeller Visiting Fellow at the Kroc Institute, Mohammed Abu-Nimer examines the largely unexplored theme of nonviolence and peace building in the Islamic religion, tradition, and culture. After comprehensively reviewing the existing studies on this topic, Abu-Nimer presents solid evidence for the existence of principles and values in the Qur’an, Hadith, and Islamic tradition that support the application of nonviolence and peace building

strategies in resolving disputes. He addresses the challenges that face the utilization of peace building and non-violent strategies in an Islamic context and explores these challenges on both local and global levels. The book concludes by applying these principles to three case studies: the first Palestinian Intifada, traditional Arab dispute resolution practices such as Sulha, and the challenges facing professional conflict resolution trainers in the Islamic world.

Strong Religion: The Rise of Fundamentalisms around the World

Gabriel A. Almod, R. Scott Appleby, and Emmanuel Sivan (University of Chicago, 2003).

Why do fundamentalist movements turn violent? Are fundamentalisms a global threat to human rights, security, and democratic forms of government? What is the future of fundamentalism? To answer questions like these, this book draws on the results of the Fundamentalism Project, a decade-long interdisciplinary study of antimodernist, antiseccular militant religious movements on five continents and within seven world religious traditions. The authors analyze the various social structures, cultural contexts, and political environments in which fundamentalist movements have emerged around the world. Through a vividly detailed portrait of the cultures that nourish such movements, the authors open a window onto different modes of fundamentalism and identify the kinds of historical events that can trigger them.



Peacebuilding: A Caritas Training Manual

Jaco Cilliers, Larissa Fast, John Paul Lederach, Reina Neufeldt, et. al. (Rome: Caritas Internationalis, 2002).

This manual on peacebuilding was a collaborative effort among the various sections of Caritas Internationalis facilitated by the peacebuilding team at Catholic Relief Services. The manual and the exercises are oriented toward a wide audience and will be produced in at least three languages. With a significant portion of the manual drawing from the Lederach peacebuilding framework, many of the exercises and conceptual proposals were tested in the CRS/Kroc Institute Summer Institute for Peacebuilding that has brought CRS personnel from all over the world to campus in June of the past three years. Plans are for a widespread, five continent training program using this manual. Teams are already formed and beginning their work. Copies of the manual can be obtained through the Caritas website <www.caritas.org>.

Into The Eye Of The Storm: A Handbook Of International Peacebuilding

John Paul Lederach and Jan Moomaw Jenner (eds.) (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 2002).

The *Handbook* offers a critical, step-by-step guide for dealing with difficult and potentially dangerous conflicts in other nations for conflict resolution professionals working in, or planning to work in settings of protracted conflict. Lederach and Jenner have gathered some of the most experienced practitioners in the world to answer a series of key questions that conflict resolution practitioners face as new initiatives emerge. The book is filled with guidelines, pragmatic approaches and constructive advice for the advanced or novice practitioner.

Masking Terror: How Women Contain Terror In Southern Sri Lanka

Alex Argenti-Pillen (University of Pennsylvania Press, 2002).

This book, volume 6 in the series on The Ethnography of Political Violence directed by Cynthia Mahmood, describes the social fabric of a rural community that has become a breeding ground of soldiers for the Sri Lankan state. Argenti-Pillen focuses on the attempts by women of the community to contain the further spread of violence, showing particularly how the intrusion of international aid agencies disrupts the culture-specific mechanisms that have evolved to limit violence.

Buried Secrets: Truth and Human Rights in Guatemala

Victoria Sanford (New York: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2003).

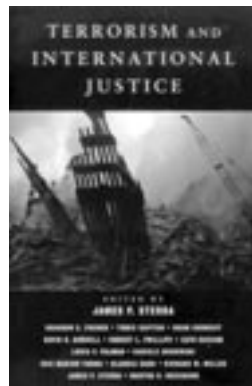
Between the late 1970s and the mid-1980s, Guatemala was torn by mass terror and extreme violence in a genocidal campaign against the Maya, which became known as “La Violencia.” More than 600 massacres occurred, one and a half million people were displaced, and more than 200,000 civilians were murdered, most of them Maya. Sanford brings these chilling statistics to life as she chronicles the journey of Maya survivors seeking truth, justice, and community healing, and demonstrates that the Guatemalan army carried out a systematic and intentional genocide against the Maya. The book is based on exhaustive research, including more than 400 testimonies from massacre survivors and interviews with members of the forensic team, human rights leaders, high-ranking military officers, guerrilla combatants, and government officials. *Buried Secrets* traces

truth-telling and political change from isolated Maya villages to national political events and provides a unique look into the experiences of Maya survivors as they struggle to rebuild their communities.

Terrorism and International Justice

ed. James Sterba (Oxford University Press, 2003).

This collection of new essays on terrorism and international justice focuses on three central questions: What is the nature and rhetoric of terrorism? Who are the terrorists and why do they hate? and What is a morally justified



response to terrorism? Prominent philosophers and political thinkers — including Shannon E. French, Tomis Kapitan, Noam Chomsky, David B. Burrell, Robert L. Phillips, Zayn Kassam, Louis P. Pojman, Daniele Archibugi, Iris Marion Young, Claudia Card, Richard W. Miller, Martha C. Nussbaum, and editor James Sterba — provide diverse perspectives on these and other related questions in the first post-9/11 collection of primarily philosophical articles on the topic.

Chapters

Fred Dallmayr, “**What is Swaraj? Lessons from Gandhi,**” in *Gandhi, Freedom and Self-rule*, ed. A. J. Patel (New Delhi: Vistaar Publications, 2002).

Dallmayr begins with a basic review of swaraj (self-rule) which according to Gandhi was more than simply removing the British from Indian soil. Gandhi blamed Indians for allowing the British to dominate the subcontinent as Indians had become hypnotized by the comforts of modern (western) civilization. By learning how to exercise the power of self-control, Indians (or anyone else) could learn the true meaning of freedom according to Gandhi. Dallmayr explores Gandhi’s critique of modern civilization as well as the practical possibility of moral swaraj. His basic point is that Gandhi used swaraj to address British colonialism, untouchability, violence, and modernization. Dallmayr examines the compatibility/incompatibility of Gandhi’s swaraj with western ethical and political thought (via Kant and Hanna Arendt) while emphasizing the Indian foundation of Gandhi’s ideas by placing Gandhi’s thought into the context of the Bhagavad Gita.

Denis Goulet, “Inequalities in the Light of Globalization,”

in *Globalization and Inequalities*, ed. Louis Sabourin (Vatican City: Pontifical Academy of Social Sciences, 2002), pp. 3-29.

Great inequalities have risen alongside increasing globalization in recent years, giving rise to the question: what is the relation between the two? Inequalities have always existed, and are not caused directly by globalization, which serves as the vehicle of flawed development. Calls for “another globalization,” as

recently heard at the Porto Alegre (Brazil) World Social Forum, therefore require “another development” prizing equity over economic growth and participation over elite decision-making. Inequalities previously accepted were delegitimized by historical forces — European colonization, the Industrial Revolution, development’s promise of technological deliverance from poverty; globalization is the latest destructuring and destabilizing historical force. Anti-globalization movements have moved beyond negative protest to build alternative solutions. Under certain (difficult) conditions, it may become possible to negotiate “another globalization.” An earlier version of this article was published as Kroc Institute Occasional Paper #22:OP:2.

John Paul Lederach, “Making our way back to humanity: Beyond September 11” in *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia*, ed. Monique Mekenkamp, Paul van Tongeren, and Hans van de Veen (Boulder, CO: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2002).

Continuing a widely acclaimed series, *Searching for Peace in Central and South Asia* provides critical background information and up-to-date surveys of the violent conflicts in Afghanistan, Bangladesh, the Ferghana Valley, India, Nepal, Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and Tajikistan, and a directory of more than 150 organizations working in the field of conflict prevention and peacebuilding in the region. The book includes detailed, objective descriptions of ongoing activities, as well as assessments of future prospects for conflict resolution, focusing on efforts to make civil society an integral part of any peace process. Lederach’s opening article for the book contains reflections about the significance and impact of the events of September 11, 2001 for

the world of peacebuilding a year after they transpired.

Raimo Väyrynen, “Reforming the World Order: Multi- and Plurilateral Approaches,” in *Global Governance in the 21st Century: Alternative Perspectives on World Order*, ed. Björn Hettne & Bertil Odén (Stockholm: Almqvist & Wiksell International, 2002), pp. 106-46.

Multi- and plurilateralism are catchwords that depict a variety of approaches to the governance of globalization. Väyrynen’s paper makes a distinction between market liberalism, reformism, and the critical approach. It suggests that the reformist approach focuses on three specific problems of global governance: the management of negative externalities, the collective action dilemma, and the contextual problems that cannot be divided between individual actors. Väyrynen argues that while poverty is largely an actor-specific problem, inequality is a contextual issue that needs to be addressed as such. In that context, the article discusses in some detail the indebtedness problem and the implementation of the Millennium Declaration by the UN General Assembly. It also argues that the role of private actors and, as a result of that, various hybrid forms of governance are becoming more important.

Articles

Asma Afsaruddin, **“Muslim Responses to America’s ‘New War,’”** *Journal of South Asian and Middle Eastern Studies*, vol. 26 (2002): 17-26.

Afsaruddin discusses the range of responses among American and Middle Eastern Muslims to the September 11 attacks and to America’s ensuing “New War” on terrorism. The survey documents the widespread denunciation of the attacks by prominent and rank-and-file Muslims, both in the United States, Arab, and other Muslim countries, a fact that tended to be under-reported in the American media. The ostensible objectives and effectiveness of the “New War,” however, continue to be widely questioned.

Asma Afsaruddin, **“The Role of Islam in Inter-Faith Dialogue,”** *Bulletin of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists*, 3/2 (2002):13-14.

The inclusivist Qur’anic view of righteous Jews and Christians forming a religious commonwealth with righteous Muslims paves the way towards dialogic encounters today among the three Abrahamic faiths. Qur’anic emphasis on civil discourse among these three faith communities and on a shared commitment to upholding the principle of goodness while resisting wrong-doing establishes a protocol for inter-faith dialogue. Afsaruddin points to concrete examples of dialogic encounters through time spurred by this scripture-based vision.

Asma Afsaruddin, **“‘Civil’ & ‘Democratic’ Polity According to a 9th Century Treatise,”** *Newsletter of the Institute for the Study of Islam in the Modern World* (Leiden: the Netherlands, December, 2002): 25.

This article discusses a political treatise by famed Arab litterateur of the ninth century, al-Jahiz. In this important work, al-Jahiz describes the early Muslim polity as one in which political authority emanated from the people, and in which candidates for positions of leadership had to prove their eligibility before the public. Al-Jahiz thus depicts the political milieu of the first generation of Muslims as being remarkably hospitable to the concepts of consultative government and citizenship of the individual.

Denis Goulet, **A Natureza Evolutiva do Desenvolvimento à Luz da Globalização,** *Cadernos de Estudos Sociais*, vol. 18, no. 1 (Jan/June 2002): 35-51.

Development was long viewed in reductionist economic terms. Critical assessment of performance eventually led to making development debates multi-dimensional and multi-disciplinary. It was belatedly recognized that development is a value-laden issue demanding explicitly ethical analysis. Ethically based development calls for a reversal of the inversion of means and ends by development actors. As the UNDP notes, economic development is a means to a broader end: qualitative human development. 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.

Victoria Sanford, **“Peacebuilding in the War Zone: the Case of Colombian Peace Communities,”** *International Journal of Peacekeeping*, vol 10, no. 2 (2003).

This eyewitness account chronicles a humanitarian mission accompanying a village of nine families fleeing the combat zone in the northern jungle of Colombia and their journey to the safety of the Peace Community of Costa de Oro.

Victoria Sanford, **“The ‘Gray Zone’ of Justice: NGOs and Rule of Law in Post-War Guatemala,”** *The International Journal of Human Rights*, vol. 2, no. 3 (2003).

This article explores impunity, truth and justice as it follows the 1999 prosecution of three civil patrollers sentenced to death for their participation in a 1982 massacre of 100 children and 70 women.

u p c o m i n g e v e n t s

Tutu and Galtung to Keynote Conference on Post-Accord Peacebuilding



Desmond Tutu

On September 11-13, 2003, the Kroc Institute's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC) is organizing an international conference entitled "Peacebuilding After Peace Accords." The conference will feature keynote addresses by Nobel laureate Archbishop Desmond Tutu from South Africa and Johan Galtung, one of the founding figures in peace research. In addition to several presentations by RIREC scholars and practitioners, the conference will include a panel discussion by young people working for peace around the world and a concluding panel exploring the peace process in South Africa, featuring experts from the World Bank and the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Further information about the conference is available on the Kroc Institute's website at <<http://www.nd.edu/~krocinst/>>.



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