

# peace • colloquy

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

Issue No. 9, Spring 2006



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**On the cover:** Elizabeth Serafin of Mexico (MA '06), center, connects with students at Al-Quds University in Palestine. She was in the Middle East to participate in the Kroc field experience. Story, page 4.

## Tallying the cost of an above-average experience



**Hal Culbertson**  
Associate Director

**H**ow does the cost of living in South Bend compare with, say, Kampala, Uganda? Such a comparison might not even arise in a course on global economics. But with the expansion of the Kroc Institute, questions like this have become daily fare for administrators.

Thanks to the generosity of Joan Kroc, the institute has been able to grow in many ways. It has enrolled more students, hired additional faculty and staff, and added a second year of study to its M.A. program. Perhaps the most ambitious component of this new endeavor is the incorporation of a five- to six-month field experience for graduate students.

The class of 2006 was the first to complete international field experiences. Associate Director Martha Merritt, who oversees field site development, debriefed the students upon their return. In this edition of *Peace Colloquy*, she gives a glimpse of what students accomplished during their internships, and what we at the institute learned about a program designed to test classroom peacebuilding knowledge on the ground.

As budget administrator, I have focused my attention on our stewardship of Joan Kroc's gift to the institute. What is the price tag on these field experiences? Estimating the cost of relocating 15 students around the globe and providing basic support for five months has its share of uncertainty.

Given the great diversity of field sites, we estimated the likely support costs for each location, based largely on input from our field site coordinators and internship hosts. This led to discussions only a budget administrator could love: How often will a student based in Cambodia commute to her office in Phnom Penh? How much would a student in Jakarta spend on food? Do students living in big cities have to eat out more?

Our students in South Bend receive a stipend of \$1,000 per month to cover living expenses. (The institute pays separately for their health insurance.) As I pored over internship program expenses, an interesting fact emerged. Seven students went to field sites with support costs lower than South Bend, while seven went to sites where it cost more to live. In other words, South Bend ended up right at the median of our world of field sites.

So where did Kampala fall? In fact, South Bend and Kampala had fairly similar support costs for a student, but Kampala came in slightly lower. The main difference: lower heating bills.

# Notes from the field experience

## Pioneering peace students return to Notre Dame

**MARTHA MERRITT**  
ASSOCIATE DIRECTOR

Brimming with stories and new understanding, 15 M.A. students in peace studies returned in January from their five-month field experiences in Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and the United States. Their activities ranged from interviewing refugees to studying reconciliation practices and testifying before parliament. Based on the students' reports, we are fine-tuning the field experience with the goal of bringing the insights of peace studies closer to the "field" of practice.

The institute's field experience differs in significant ways from those of other graduate programs. We intend for future students to return to the same locations and organizations in order to build a sustained Kroc presence and to gain deep familiarity with particular conflicts. The idea is that each group will bring greater expertise to their host organizations as they add to our collective knowledge. In integrating their first year of academic study with practice, students should come to see approaches to peacebuilding as an important part of navigating a new culture. Finally, in their last semester, students are responsible for a master's project incorporating research and revelation from their field experiences.

Our hope is that students will not only learn new cultures, but also *how* to learn new cultures. Host organizations accept students eight months in advance, which gives students the spring semester at Notre Dame to prepare for the field experience. Students study history, politics, culture and language as their interests and opportunities allow. We want them to construct personal "tool kits" that will be lifelong resources for informed and respectful entry into other cultures.

During their 2005 field experiences, students covered even more terrain than we anticipated. Zamira Yusufjonova interned at the Carter Center in Atlanta, Georgia, and was invited to be a member of an observation team for the November elections in Liberia. Within two weeks of Sarah Park's arrival at the Refugee Law Project in Kampala, she was at the Uganda-



Zamira Yusufjonova in Liberia, where she helped monitor elections as part of her internship with the Atlanta-based Carter Center.

Rwanda border, using her French language skills to interview refugees. From South Africa, Diana Batchelor documented reconciliation initiatives in four East African countries for a book being produced by her host organization, the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation. To assist future interns and other scholars, Diana also compiled collections of resources on traditional reconciliation systems in Sudan, Mozambique, Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, Burundi, and Uganda.

Part of the Kroc Institute's goal in having students enter or reenter the world of work is to stimulate their ability to integrate peace studies and pressing real-world problems. They learn how to gather information and craft solutions from what can be a hodgepodge of resources.

Few felt that tension more keenly than Burcu Münyas, who interned with Catholic Relief Services (CRS) in Phnom Penh, Cambodia. Shortly after her arrival, a partner organization needed to know what

youth in Cambodia — 69 percent of the population after the genocide of the 1970s — had learned about their country’s traumas. Burcu taught herself questionnaire design from the Internet and a hastily sent copy of David Gray’s book *Doing Research in the Real World*. She and her Cambodian partners surveyed or ran focus groups with a total of 202 young people in five provinces. Burcu thrived in managing the project and remarked that she “felt liberated to be conducting my own research outside of the university environment.” The paper that resulted, “Genocide in the Mind of the Cambodian Youth,” has been well-received by the Cambodian peacebuilding community and by prominent scholars. Burcu’s findings also led to the design of a workshop for young people on genocide education.

In Indonesia, the tsunami that ravaged much of South Asia had an impact on Sana Farid’s work with CRS in Jakarta. During her internship, Sana’s homeland of Pakistan also suffered a devastating earthquake, so her personal concerns converged with the challenges she faced as a peacebuilder. Sana emerged from both experiences with newfound confidence in her ability to adapt and to be a proactive peacebuilder. In the Middle East, Elizabeth Serafin found herself designing courses in conflict resolution and Spanish — an important language for communication with the Palestinian diaspora — as she matched her skills to evolving needs at Wi’am, an NGO in Bethlehem dedicated to building cordial relationships in the Palestinian community.

Interns’ assignments often reflected a growing recognition among peacebuilders that advocacy is a necessary part of successful practice. One of our staunchest regional partners, Myla Leguro of the Philippines, is among those convinced that grassroots peacebuilding must be paired with advocacy in order to address inequality and other forms of structural violence. Kroc student Sammy Mwiti Mbuthia joined Myla and her peacebuilding team just in time for a meeting of the Catholic Peacebuilding Network (CPN), held in Davao City last July. Mwiti has a strong journalism background, and within days of his arrival was coordinating media coverage of the meeting and serving as the kind of advocate the CRS program had long desired. He closed out his internship as editor-in-chief and writer for the newsletter *Mindanao PeaceLens*. Calling the issue “Charting New Frontiers in Mindanao Peacebuilding,” Mwiti addressed many of the themes raised at the CPN meeting.

Mica Cayton, an attorney, brought her legal experience to the Foundation for Human Rights Initiative in Kampala at a time when the Ugandan president was campaigning for a constitutionally prohibited third term in office. Mica testified before the Ugandan Parliament, among other advocacy work; she found herself reflecting on Nobel laureate Amartya Sen’s sugges-

tion that government should be measured by the capabilities of its citizens. Xiaomao Min worked for the Asia Society in New York City, where among other duties she helped to host Sri Lanka’s president in cooperation with the United Nations. Xiaomao was impressed when President Chandrika Bandaranaike Kumaratunga said that, though she had been unable to resist the lure of politics, she envies those with more opportunity for intellectual reflection.

Jonathan Smith, who before coming to Kroc spent two years in Palestine teaching conflict resolution, moved to an advocacy environment at the Catholic Parliamentary Liaison Office in Cape Town, South Africa. For his master’s project, Jonathan met with key religious figures and members of the African National Congress, as well as human rights advocates, in Cape Town, Pretoria, and Johannesburg. One of his research papers, on right relations between religious groups and the state in promoting peace and social justice, was featured on the front page of the South African Catholic weekly, *Southern Cross*.

Jonathan summed up his experience by saying he gained important interviewing skills and a broader perspective on promoting change.

Interns were encouraged to integrate past and present experience in their field journals. Here in South Bend, Nicholas Mambule Bisase of Uganda interned at Refugee and Immigration Services and could compare our city’s programs with his previous work in Kampala for the Uganda Human Rights Commission. Isaac Lappia, who for six years was director of Amnesty International in Sierra

Leone, worked at the Africa Peace Forum in Nairobi. He moved comfortably among diplomats and other prominent figures as he drew on his background in West Africa to analyze security challenges in East Africa. What he found uncomfortable, and surprising, was the lack of personal security for the homeless in Nairobi. Taras Mazyar, working at the US-Ukraine Foundation in Washington, D.C., found strong support for his research focus on democratization in his native Ukraine.

Deciding how to represent the field experience was in some ways as challenging as the living of it. Tom



Declan Hearne

Sammy Mwiti Mbuthia’s journalism background was valuable during his Catholic Relief Services internship, which included producing a newsletter. Here, he interviews Filipino environmental activist Marciano Ibanez.

Arendshorst, an ophthalmologist who interned with Nairobi Peace Initiative, launched a second career as a writer with his “Kroc o’ Peace” journal entries. A wide e-mail audience received 55 detailed accounts of work and other adventures as Tom and his wife Sharon grew to know and love East Africa. Damon Lynch maintained a photographic record of his geographic and spiritual journey wherever he went in Israel and Palestine. His pictures feature everything from a Jewish settler’s wedding to contested water sites, the latter relating to his Jerusalem-based internship with the Israel-Palestine Center for Research and Information. (You can view his photos at <http://pbase.com/dflynch>.)

Both the success of the field experience and the maintenance of a Kroc presence depend heavily on teamwork. The program’s field site coordinators for 2005 — Bob Dowd, Alan Dowty, Tom McDermott, Rashied Omar, and John Paul Lederach — gave a week’s on-site orientation and a great deal more. Tom was in residence in Kampala for the entire term and had a way of materializing on doorsteps in Uganda and Kenya when needed. Another who shared his time and energy was Kroc Faculty Fellow David Burrell in Jerusalem, who drew upon his decades of experience in the Middle East. From the Kroc Institute side, Justin Shelton, graduate program coordinator, offered logistical support and comfort that was particularly important during the early months for this first group in the field. Bill Hoye has been a steady partner in providing counsel from Notre Dame’s legal office.

Life did not stop, of course, while the students were away from Notre Dame. Damon learned at the end of his internship that his mother’s cancer had returned and flew directly from Tel Aviv to New Zealand to be with her. We plan to welcome Damon back in spring 2007. Mica and her husband, Kroc alumnus Marco Garrido, will have their first child this summer. Conveniently due after Mica’s graduation in May, the baby will have an outstanding peacebuilding pedigree and, we hope, benefit from the collective wisdom of Mica and her classmates.

What will we do differently in future field experiences? Jaleh Dashti-Gibson, director of academic programs, has already drawn upon the first round to design a semester-long program to prepare students for the field experience. It incorporates research design, regional expertise, and health and safety issues. Jaleh and Larissa Fast, who teaches Kroc’s capstone seminar in which students complete their master’s projects, refined the writing assignments from the field to focus on how the internships capture challenges for peacebuilders. We

## Capstone course tops off graduate studies

L A R I S S A F A S T

As part of the expanded M.A. program, students in the class of 2006 are participating in a new capstone course during their fourth and final semester. Titled “Effective Peacebuilding,” this intensive seminar — designed with input from the entire Kroc faculty, and taught by me — has two primary goals. One is to synthesize the students’ first-year coursework and their fall-semester field internships; the other is to produce individual master’s projects. The capstone course explores the connections and gaps between theory and practice, and attempts to bridge the gaps using reflective scholarship and practice.

What does it mean to be a *reflective* scholar-practitioner? In the first few weeks of class, we explored that question through readings from various disciplinary perspectives and through processing of students’ experiences “in the field.” As a way of engaging in reflective practice, students gave presentations in which they ruminated on the themes, questions, puzzles, issues, or lessons in peacebuilding that they found particularly enlightening or challenging. Among common themes that emerged were the challenges of leadership, of transition, and of accountability in conducting research. We engaged in lively discussion about the uniqueness of, and similarities among, assignments in such disparate places as Jerusalem, Nairobi, and Atlanta.

The second half of the course will focus on reflective scholarship. Guest speakers and scholarly resources will help students make sense of the issues highlighted in the students’ field presentations. As I write this, a month into the class, the students are already working on their masters projects, many of which build upon original research they conducted during their internships. Most of the projects will take the form of a traditional research article. During the final weeks of the course, students will complete and then present their research to the Kroc community.

also have decided to tighten the program’s geographic focus. This first time we monitored 11 different locations, four in the United States alone. In 2006, the second group of students will bring back their stories and insights from six field sites: Kampala, Cape Town, Jerusalem/Bethlehem, Davao City, Phnom Penh, and Washington, DC.

# What's 'normal,' what's not

## Major study looks at interaction of family conflict, ethnic strife

JULIE TITONE

A 12-year-old boy walks from a segregated school past hate-filled graffiti and clusters of teenagers spoiling for a fight. Does the presence of social conflict in this child's life make him more likely to land in prison or the unemployment line? Does his future success depend on whether he is going home to comfort and cookies, or to parents who are arguing?

Kroc Institute Faculty Fellow E. Mark Cummings is poised to answer those questions. He is principal investigator for a \$1.4 million, four-year project in which a team of researchers will examine the impact of political, community, and family conflict. Their laboratory is Northern Ireland. Their study group will include 700 mothers, each of whom will be asked about her 10- to 15-year-old child. The children will also be interviewed.

The researchers want to know why some children struggle greatly in the presence of political violence, and others thrive.

"Children don't just live in a vacuum," noted co-investigator Ed Cairns of the University of Ulster. "Normal life goes on, parents still have rows, there's probably still gang warfare going on. We need to not only sort those factors out, but to look at the interaction between them."

Together, Cairns and Cummings sought federal funding for the major study, "Children and Political Violence in Northern Ireland." Cummings holds the Notre Dame Chair in Psychology, and is known inter-



Ethnic conflict shadows the lives of children in Northern Ireland.

AP Photo/Peter Morrison

nationally for his research on family dynamics. His recent research has delved into such subjects as the effects of marital conflict on children's functioning and adjustment, emotional security as a general theoretical model for children's development, and research-based prevention and parent-education programs.

Cummings compares children's difficulties to an iceberg: "You don't know what's going on underneath." The Northern Ireland study marks a change of direction for him, because it expands his study of conflict and families to include contexts of ethnic conflict, continuing a line of research beyond the United States, and allows him to step beyond the family threshold

to look at social influences on behavior. The project is also a significant change from the norm in conflict research. "Most research on conflict resolution is done at the political level. Then there's a fair amount of research on domestic/family conflict, the psychological level," Cummings said. "Our goal is to bring together the social ecology of political violence."

"I think the findings will be generalizable to other cultures," said John Darby, a former University of Ulster professor who has provided advice and contacts for Cummings. "This makes it all the more surprising that a major study of this sort has not been carried out before."



Professor Mark Cummings

Darby is now a professor of comparative ethnic studies at the Kroc Institute, where he directs the Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict. One of the initiative's areas of interest is young people, particularly their roles as peacemakers or troublemakers.

Darby is a co-investigator for the Northern Ireland project, as are Scott Maxwell of Notre Dame, Matthew A. Fitzsimon Chair in Psychology, and psychology professor Marcie Goeke-Morey of the

Catholic University of America.

The project's first year is being spent designing the best survey, which includes carrying out a series of focus groups involving some 60 mothers in different areas of Belfast. The researchers are reviewing research literature to find the best ways to measure marital conflict, parental experience with alcohol, childhood adjustments, and the like. They intend for their survey methods to be adaptable for use in other conflict areas. Cummings and Cairns may seek funding for a project in Israel.

Over the next two years, the research data will be collected in two sets of interviews — one primary, one follow-up — conducted by professional surveyors in the subjects' homes.

The project is a good example of the Kroc Institute's role in bringing together researchers from different disciplines. The research opportunity presented itself to Cummings in the context of his undergraduate teaching and mentoring. He became acquainted with Erin Lovell, a political science major with a concentration in peace studies, when she took his psychology course on conflict in families. After a year abroad in the Dublin program, she was interested in the impact of political conflict on families, particularly in Northern Ireland, where, in a long and often violent conflict known as "the Troubles," Catholics have sought, and sometimes fought for, jobs and educational opportunities enjoyed by the majority Protestants.

Cummings served as mentor for Lovell's University Honors Thesis on this topic. In 2001, he and Lovell co-authored a Kroc occasional paper titled *Conflict,*

*Conflict Resolution and the Children of Northern Ireland: Towards Understanding the Impact on Children and Families* (No. 21: OP 1). In it, they argued for multi-disciplinary research on the subject.

The paper is posted on the institute's web site, where it caught Cairns's attention. The Northern Irish psychologist has devoted his career to studying the impact of political violence, and is author of *Caught in Crossfire: Children and the Northern Ireland Conflict* (Appletree Press, 1987). He has been frustrated by the number of "academic tourists" who visit his country without seeing the big picture of children's lives in that culture. Too often researchers from other parts of the world are only interested in the conflict and forget that children in Northern Ireland have to face the same developmental hurdles that face all children: sibling rivalries, making friends, adjusting to new schools, marital breakups.

After hearing Cummings speak at the Kroc Institute, Cairns rendezvoused with him at an international conference and they agreed to collaborate on a research project, bringing together their common interests in child development, conflict process, and violence. Before and after that meeting, Cummings made three groundwork-laying trips to Northern Ireland. The initial trip was made possible through support from the Kroc Institute and Notre Dame's Keough Institute for Irish Studies.

Coincidentally, Cummings and Cairns became aware on the same day that the National Institute of Child Health and Human Development was calling for proposals to study children exposed to violence. After applying twice, they beat long odds and were awarded a grant in June 2005.

The research findings will be released as they become available, in journal articles and conference papers. Cummings expects the ultimate product will be a book.

"We're hoping for the widest possible impact, reaching people at the political level, sociologists, people interested in the well-being of children in war-torn areas," he said. "I want to take the next step and make this useful."

Armed with solid, research-based information, counselors, educators, and politicians may be better able to ensure that the Irish school child has the support system necessary to thrive despite the legacy of the Troubles.



# Emergency Peace Service proposal gains momentum

JULIE TITONE

Robert Johansen is known for coming up with ideas that are ahead of their time: proposals having to do with world order, international ethics, global governance, and the maintenance of peace and security. Thirty years ago, for example, he described the need for a United Nations rapid reaction force that could stop genocide and other crimes against humanity — an idea now getting traction on the world’s political landscape.

Johansen, a Kroc Institute senior fellow, is chief writer for a coalition of academic experts, former officials, and representatives of human rights organizations who are working to establish a United Nations Emergency Peace Service. This service, dubbed UNEPS, would be a permanent agency able to set off for an emergency zone within 24 hours after UN authorization. Because members of the service would be individually recruited among volunteers from many countries, Johansen notes, it would not face the usual reluctance of UN members to deploy their own national units. Because it would be an integrated service, including conflict-transformation specialists, civilian police, and judicial and military personnel, it would not suffer from lack of essential components or from confusion about the chain of command.

Such a law enforcement service could have stopped genocide in Rwanda in 1994, and is undeniably needed in places such as Sudan’s Darfur region, Johansen contends. “Everyone knows that at times innocent people are ruthlessly killed simply because of their national, ethnic, racial, or religious identities. We also know that such killings and other crimes against humanity are prohibited by existing international law,” says Johansen, a professor of political science and peace research. “The international community could prevent many of these crimes *if* it would act quickly and send a professional security force to enforce the law.”

If a peace service had been established years ago, he argues, it could have curtailed some of the atrocities that have killed hundreds of thousands of civilians, forced millions from their homes, destroyed entire



Julie Titone

Senior Fellow Robert Johansen envisions a UN Emergency Peace Service

economies, and wasted hundreds of billions of dollars. In recent years, concerned governments, several United Nations study groups, the UN secretary-general, and many independent experts have all stressed the need for more effective rapid-reaction capability. Yet, governments are not taking the lead.

To fill the leadership void, Johansen helped to create the independent Working Group for a United Nations Emergency Peace Service. As its rapporteur, Johansen authored “A United Nations Emergency Peace Service to Prevent Genocide and Crimes against Humanity,” a statement that grew from the coalition’s first meeting, in 2003, in Santa Barbara, California. Following a second meeting of experts in Cuenca, Spain, in 2005, plus many international conference calls, Johansen wrote another report that details the principles on which participants agreed. Titled “Discussion of the Proposal for a United Nations Emergency Peace Service: The Cuenca Report,” it also identifies questions for further research, including: How can the legitimate interests of

both the Global South and the North be advanced by UNEPS? How might UNEPS be authorized for deployment if the Security Council is deadlocked during a crisis? How might UNEPS and the International Criminal Court work together to implement human rights law? Should UNEPS address terrorist violence?

The Ford Foundation, which helped pay for the Cuenca conference, made a second grant in November 2005 in support of future study, with Johansen as research director. The Working Group will meet again in June 2006 in Vancouver, with financial help from the Ford Foundation and Simons Foundation, to discuss members' research and strategy for building worldwide support for the initiative.

Organizations that have shaped the UNEPS proposal and support it in principle include Human Rights Watch and the Union of Concerned Scientists. Juan Mendez, the UN secretary-general's special representative for genocide (and a former Kroc Institute faculty fellow), has endorsed the idea. So have individual legislators in national parliaments and congresses around the world.

The working group includes former Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy; Sir Bryan Urquhart, the former UN under-secretary-general for special political affairs, who has worked on UN peace operations with five different UN secretaries-general; Lt. General Satish Nambiar of the Indian Armed Forces, who commanded UN peacekeeping operations in Bosnia; Professor Hussein Solomon, director of the Centre for International Political Studies, University of Pretoria, South Africa; and Professor Alcides Costa Vaz, University of Brasilia, security expert and consultant to the Brazilian government. Some members, particularly William Pace, the convener of the Coalition for an International Criminal Court are drawing on experiences gained in the worldwide effort that succeeded in establishing the court.

In mid-1990s, when the discussions for the court began in earnest, no one would have predicted that the treaty for an international court could have been completed by 1998 and that it would be a reality by 2002, Johansen points out. With appropriate research, discussion, and coalition building, he believes that the United Nations Emergency Peace Service can be established in the foreseeable future.

*Links to Johansen's papers on this subject are available on his faculty web page, found at <http://kroc.nd.edu>.*

## 'No emergency telephone number to call'

*The following text is excerpted from a resolution introduced on March 17, 2005 to the U.S. House of Representatives by Albert Wynn, D-Maryland, in support of a U.N. Emergency Peace Service. The resolution was also introduced by Jim Leach, R-Iowa, and co-sponsored by eight other congressmen. It was referred to the House Committee on International Relations.*

Mr. Speaker, most Americans have the comfort of knowing that in the event of an emergency, police, fire, and emergency services are just a phone call away. Unfortunately, in too much of the world today, there is no emergency telephone number to call in the event of a humanitarian crisis.

Today, Congressman Leach and I are introducing a resolution to encourage the creation of an international emergency service for the world community — The United Nations Emergency Peace Service (UNEPS). The service would consist of 15,000 expertly trained and equipped professionals, ready to respond immediately in the early stages of a crisis, be it caused by violent conflict or natural disaster. The Emergency Peace Service ranks would be made up of military peacekeepers, civilian police, military, humanitarian and judicial professionals, and other emergency response and relief personnel. ... They could respond to crises within days or weeks, rather than months, thereby saving lives around the globe.

Mr. Speaker, despite this administration's current focus on Iraq and terrorism, the U.S. cannot solve our security problems alone. Increasingly, being safe at home means making others feel secure in their homes.

Failing states quickly become failed states. They provide breeding grounds for terrorism and international crime. It is, therefore, in the United States' security interests to prevent destabilizing events from causing the collapse of states.

The creation of an Emergency Peace Service is also in our financial interest. The fact is: It is much cheaper to prevent an emergency by intervening early in its development than it is to respond after an emergency has reached its tipping point. According to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, the international community could have saved nearly \$130 billion of the \$200 billion it spent on managing conflicts in the 1990's by focusing on prevention rather than reconstruction...

Rwanda, Haiti, Sierra Leone, Bosnia and Kosovo, Liberia, the Democratic Republic of Congo, and now Darfur; these are just a few of the places where the U.N. and its member states should have responded more rapidly and robustly. As a result, more people died, and more people suffer. The world can do better.

# Along with trials, Iraq needs truth

DANIEL PHILPOTT

*Editor's note: This commentary was first published in the Boston Globe on December 8, 2005.*

The trial of Saddam Hussein will likely result in his execution. Thus satisfied will be the Greek goddess of justice. Blind, with scales in her hand, she balances evil with justice, dollar for dollar, punishment equaling debts. It was her signature principle, retributive justice, that animated the trials of Nazi war criminals at Nuremberg, and trials following war, dictatorship, and genocide in Yugoslavia, East Germany, Greece, Argentina, and Rwanda. Only retribution for the ancient regime, claim the defenders of trials, can establish the rule of law in Iraq under its new Constitution.

But trials have their limitations. Politically, they often backfire. Erich Honecker, the deposed premier of communist East Germany, arrived at his trial in the newly unified Germany pumping his fist in the air, decrying victors' justice — and became more popular for it.

Trials rarely succeed in prosecuting more than a fraction of major perpetrators, even when they are lengthy and expensive. The International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda has spent more than \$1 billion over eight years to produce 20 convictions, out of 125,000 alleged *genocidaires* awaiting trial. Political pressures frequently undermine verdicts. Due process, legal procedures, and adversarial incentives often hinder the public revelation of the truth about past injustices. Under pressure for a speedy execution, Saddam's prosecutors may exclude from their case his colossal massacres of Shiites and Kurds, thus inhibiting the public exposure of these atrocities.

Most of all, trials will contribute little to the chief U.S. foreign policy goal of a stable, democratic regime. The persistent hindrance is hatred. Historical wounds fester between Sunnis and Shiites, Kurds and Arabs, Islamists and secularists, and now Iraqis and Americans, breaking out in continual attack, revenge, and counter-revenge. Steps forward — elections, rebuilt institutions, and a new Constitution — seem constantly checked by

steps backward, including assassinations, detonations, and proliferating jihadi factions.

Trials are unlikely to assuage these wounds. In fact, news reports indicate that Saddam's trial is already pitting his sympathizers against his avowed enemies, fostering yet another source of division.

What is needed is a dulcet voice in the din, a strong antidote to communal violence. Where might such medicine be found? One source of hope lies in a truth commission, a body charged by a state to investigate its past. Roughly 30 countries have turned to this solution in dealing with their own troubled histories.

Arising from the rhetoric of truth commissions is an ancient principle found in Jewish, Christian, and Muslim scriptures: reconciliation. Connoting the restoration of right relationship, reconciliation provides a blueprint for dealing with the past.

It begins by publicly acknowledging the suffering of thousands of victims of political violence. One of the remarkable themes to emerge from truth commissions in South Africa, Guatemala, El Salvador, and East Timor was victims finding healing through public testimony. Interviews with ordinary Iraqis find them welcoming just such an opportunity to speak publicly about the injustices that they and their loved ones have suffered at the hands of the state and to discover the truth about injustices that the state has hidden. The same exposure of deeds can foster accountability for perpetrators and assist trials.

Truth commissions even encourage apology and forgiveness. Following the publication of the final report of Chile's truth commission, President Patricio Aylwin called for nationwide repentance for injustices committed during the dictatorship of Augusto Pinochet. Enjoined by the Koran, apology and forgiveness might also be realized in Iraq.

For entire societies, truth commissions create a public historical record. The report of Argentina's truth commission, *Nunca Mas* ("Never Again"), became a

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## Iraq needs truth, continued

bestseller on the streets. Perpetrators are thereby denied the lies through which they vindicate and re-empower themselves, and new regimes are founded on truth and accountability.

To realist ears, reconciliation sounds remote from the necessities of sandbags, M-16s, and barbed wire. But to sound the principle is not to expect a utopian reconciliation of all with all. It is rather to urge a set of practices that can begin to heal the social divisions that now endanger a new regime. On this logic, many Iraqis have called for a truth commission, including a broad consensus of Iraqi citizens interviewed for a report by the International Center for Transitional Justice. As history's schisms roil on, the Iraqis' plea emerges not merely as an alternative concept of justice, but also as sound foreign policy.

**Daniel Philpott**, a Kroc Institute faculty member and associate professor of political science, is spending the 2005-06 academic year as a faculty fellow at the Edmond J. Safra Foundation Center for Ethics at Harvard University. In 2006-07, he will be an Alexander von Humboldt Foundation fellow, in residence at the Hertie School of Governance and the Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin, both in Berlin.

During his sabbatical, Philpott is writing a book tentatively titled *Just and Unjust Peace: A Political Ethic of Reconciliation*. Drawing upon Christian theology and political philosophy, it will develop a theory of reconciliation as a conception of justice for political orders that are facing past evils.

## Institute welcomes Class of '07

A Colombian lawyer-teacher who set up conflict-resolution programs; an American who designed programs to assist women survivors of war; an Ethiopian project officer focusing on governance and human rights. They are among the 16 peace studies graduate students enrolled in the fall of 2005. Members of the Class of 2007, whose biographies are posted on the Kroc web site (<http://kroc.nd.edu>), are:

**Tania Alahendra** of Sri Lanka  
**Yatman Cheng** of China  
**Silke Denker** of Germany  
**Mark Fetzko** of the United States  
**John Filson** of the United States  
**Hala Fleihan** of Lebanon  
**Lison Joseph** of India  
**Meedan Mekonnen** of Ethiopia  
**Lisa Nafziger** of Canada  
**Denis Okello** of Uganda  
**Ramesh Prakashvelu** of India  
**Tatyana Shin** of Uzbekistan  
**Alicia Simoni** of the United States  
**Patrick Tom** of Zimbabwe  
**Said Yakhyoev** of Tajikistan  
**María Lucía Zapata** of Colombia



Matt Cashore

Members of the Class of '07 will depart in summer 2006 for their field experiences.

| alumni features |

## Hannah Wu champions human rights

### L I S O N J O S E P H

Even after working for a decade for the United Nations Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights, Kroc Institute graduate Hannah Wu ('90) keeps asking herself: "Am I making any difference?"

Wu is a specialist in international human rights standards. Her long stint at the UN has dispelled any illusions she had about implementing human rights norms such as the right to liberty, freedom from torture, or protection from arbitrary arrest. Her work, which has taken her to some of the world's most troubled places, is difficult and often frustrating. Yet she disagrees with those who consider universal human rights to be a utopian notion.

The Kroc Institute honored Wu with its 2005 Distinguished Alumni Award. She returned to the institute in October to accept the award, and to address Kroc faculty and advisory council members and peace studies students. In her lecture, "A Journey to Human Rights," and in an interview afterward, she talked about the challenges of human rights work.

The human rights focus of the United Nations is shifting from formulating norms to putting them into practice, Wu said. "A strategic plan of action charting out the path for implementing human rights norms at the national level was unveiled during the 2005 UN Summit."

Wu does not depict the UN as flawless or efficient. It is one of the largest bureaucratic institutions on the international stage and its decision-making process can be tiresome and painstaking, she said. "Once you are able to put that in the context of the ultimate objectives of what you are doing — protection and empowerment of the most vulnerable sections of the population in different parts of the world — you can overcome the frustrations of dealing with the bureaucracy."

To implement human rights checks and balances effectively, the UN depends on support from member states, she added. "The UN will only be what its members would let it be," she said.

Wu has worked closely with civil society actors as well as government representatives, and has been among the privileged few to brief the UN Security Council.

The luxury of her office, with a panoramic view of Lake Geneva, does not lessen her focus on the challenges of human rights protection. In fact, the contrast between the comfort of life in Switzerland and the reality of the human rights situation worldwide constantly reminds her that there is a mission to be accomplished and that there is no time to be lost.

Wu's roots are a long way, in both distance and awareness, from Geneva. She still has trouble explaining the complexity of her work to her family in Shenyang, in northern China. Wu left China to study at Manchester College in Indiana, where she learned about the peace studies program at Notre Dame.

She recalled how her thought processes and beliefs were reshaped during her time at the Kroc Institute. In addition to a master's degree, she took away "an invaluable life experience." She particularly appreciates a number of her professors for instilling in her a vision of a better world, in which human rights are respected.

After graduating from Notre Dame, Wu taught at a high school in Washington, D.C. In 1991 she took up a year-long internship with the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom in Geneva and New York, followed by more than a year with the United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia. Since joining the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights in 1994, her work has taken her to countries around the world, including Cambodia, Nepal, Papua New Guinea, Tajikistan, Albania, and Macedonia.

For peace students interested in pursuing a United Nations career, Wu's advice is to be realistic about the restraints placed upon those who work in an international, bureaucratic organization. "The question is whether you have the patience and the perseverance to make it happen, given all the limitations," she said. "There is no lack of opportunities for those interested in the UN."

*Lison Joseph, a journalist from Kerala, India, is a member of the Kroc Institute's Master of Arts in Peace Studies program, class of 2007.*

Matt Cashore



Hannah Wu (MA '90) specializes in international human rights standards

## US and Palestinian alumni work together in inter-religious education

In November 2005, **Josh Vander Velde** ('04) co-led an "Encounter Tour" of more than 50 American, Canadian, and British rabbinical students and Jewish educators to Bethlehem, where they met with Palestinian peace activists, including Kroc alumni **Zoughbi Zoughbi** ('89) and **Yousef Al-Herimi** ('92). The trip participants, most of whom are studying in Israel for the year, met with Zoughbi at Wi'am, the Palestinian Conflict Resolution Center, which he directs. Zoughbi, a Christian, engaged the group in difficult questions, surprising them by beginning his presentation by asking what the word "Palestinian" brought up for them, getting stereotypes out on the table. He then took the group on a tour of the Israeli-built wall that surrounds Bethlehem, emphasizing its impact on daily Palestinian life. The Israeli government has argued that the Wall is necessary to prevent terrorist attacks. Palestinians and Israeli peace activists have countered that the Wall confiscates too much Palestinian land and makes Palestinian daily life impossible.

Later in the day, Yousef, who is Muslim, spoke to the group as part of a panel of Palestinian peace activists sharing their personal stories. He described how, even after the Israeli army demolished his house when he was a young man, he continued on a path of religious tolerance and dialogue. He emphasized how his personal relationships with Jews (such as with his dentist when he was younger) have contributed to his advocacy for peaceful coexistence.

Most of the trip participants chose to receive Palestinian home hospitality for the night, a first-time experience for virtually all of them. One rabbinical student commented, "The most powerful part of the trip was staying overnight at a Palestinian family's house... Here was a family that was removed from the rhetoric



Joshua Vander Velde (MA '04) looks on while Zoughbi Zoughbi (MA '89) leads a tour of the Israeli-built Separation Wall that surrounds Bethlehem

and politics, just living their lives 20 minutes from my own life. I heard their thoughts on daily life, the difficulties and the joys (a recent wedding, a new grandchild). I found myself connecting to their struggle, one human being relating to another. Returning to Jerusalem, I wondered: Is there any way to keep this family in mind in my prayers? How can I pray the traditional liturgy and think about a Palestinian family trying to make a life for themselves in Bethlehem?"

One outcome of the trip is that Josh and six other trip participants have begun studying Islam with Yousef once a month in Bethlehem. Josh, who is studying Hebrew and Jewish religion in Jerusalem, is leading similar groups of students to Bethlehem and Hebron this spring. Zoughbi notes, "Dialogue between open-minded people is a timely response to the terrible things happening in the world. The dialogue of religions and cultures is replacing the dialogue of ignorance."

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

**USA — Christine Matusik-Plas** ('89) is executive director of HM Housing Development Corporation in Lorain, Ohio, a non-profit organization offering support to homeless single-parent families with special needs. She is active in several local volunteer organizations providing advocacy and services for the homeless. E-mail: <christinefh@centurytel.net>

**CHILE — Alejandro Ferreiro** ('90) was named one of the 2006 Young Global Leaders by the World Economic Forum. This award identifies 200 people under age 40, out of 3,500 nominated worldwide, who have shown commitment and positive results in the effort to improve the state of the world. Alejandro is chairman of the Securities and Insurance Commission, Chile's national market regulator. He is a professor of finance at the Universidad del Desarrollo (Development University) and teaches economic law at Andrés Bello University and government and public administration at the University of Chile. E-mail: <aferreir@svs.cl>

**INDONESIA — Satoko Nakagawa** ('91), from Japan, is reports officer for the Office of United Nations Recovery Coordinator for Aceh and Nias in Banda Aceh, Indonesia. She previously was information manager for the ReliefWeb project at the UN Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs (OHCA) in New York. E-mail: <nakagawas@un.org>

**USA — Isis Nusair** ('94), a Palestinian from Nazareth, Israel, has been appointed assistant professor of women's studies and international studies at Denison University in Ohio. She earned her PhD in women's studies from Clark University in 2006 with a dissertation on the gendered politics of location of three generations of Palestinian women in Israel, 1948-1998. Isis teaches about feminism in the Middle East and North Africa, transnational feminism, nationalism, and militarism. She previously served as a researcher at Human Rights Watch and at the Euro-Mediterranean Human Rights Network. E-mail: <nusairi@denison.edu>

**RUSSIA — Larissa Deriglazova** ('95) has written *Conflicts in International Relations* (2005), a textbook designed to introduce Russian students to the field of conflict analysis. Larissa is associate professor of world politics at Tomsk State University in Siberia, where since 1997 she has taught conflict analysis, international humanitarian law, and sociology. She also coordinates

the Siberian Network of European Union Studies Centers, a Tempus/Tacis Project in which five Siberian and four European universities are cooperating. E-mail: <larisad@post.tomica.ru>

**CANADA — Radoslav Dimitrov** ('96), from Bulgaria, is the author of *Science and International Environmental Policy: Regimes and Non-Regimes in Global Governance* (Rowman and Littlefield, 2006). He is assistant professor of international relations at the University of Western Ontario in London, Ontario. Rado earned a doctoral degree from the University of Minnesota in 2002, and participates in environmental negotiations as an analyst for the United Nations and other global institutions. His research appears in *International Studies Quarterly*, *Global Environmental Politics*, and *The Journal of Environment and Development*. E-mail: <rdimitro@uwo.ca>



Radoslav Dimitrov

**USA — Patti Lynn** ('96) is campaigns director for Corporate Accountability International in Boston. "Corporate Accountability International is a membership organization that wages and wins campaigns challenging irresponsible and dangerous corporate actions around the world," she writes. "I've been here since 1998, and played a lead role in our work toward a global tobacco treaty — the World Health Organization Framework Convention on Tobacco Control. It is the first global health and corporate accountability treaty, and sets important precedents for challenging actions of other dangerous industries at the global level." Patti learned grassroots organizing from Green Corps, an environmental field school, from which she graduated in 1997. "Through my work I get to travel quite a bit — India, Finland, Portugal, Switzerland...It is exciting to combine grassroots organizing and corporate campaigning with working on international regulation of transnational corporations." E-mail: <PLynn@stopcorporateabuse.org>



Patti Lynn

**ROMANIA — Oana Cristina Popa** ('96) was appointed Romanian ambassador to Croatia in July 2005. She joined the Romanian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in



Oana Cristina Popa

2002, and served as deputy chief of mission at the Romanian Embassy in Zagreb for two years. Oana previously directed the Bucharest office of the Fulbright Commission for four years and earned a Ph.D. in history and international relations from Babes-Bolyai University. In 2001 she completed the Partnership for Peace fellowship of the NATO Defense College in Rome with research on regional cooperation in Southeast

Europe. E-mail: <oana\_cristina.popa@zg.t\_com.hr>

**AUSTRALIA — Bina D'Costa** ('97), from Bangladesh, has been appointed a lecturer in security analysis with the Faculty of Asian Studies, the Australian National University (ANU), Canberra. She was previously the



Bina D'Costa

post-doctoral research fellow on poverty, inequality, and development in post-conflict states at the University of Otago in Dunedin, New Zealand, and the John Vincent Fellow in the Department of International Relations of the Research School of Asian and Pacific Studies at ANU, where she earned her Ph.D. in 2003. Bina is working with NGOs in Bangladesh and India to develop strategies that civil society

can use to address historical injustices. This action-oriented research informs her forthcoming book *'Burden' of the State: Gendering War Crimes and National Identity Politics in Postcolonial South Asia*. In 2005 she co-authored an ANU working paper, "Transnational Feminism: Political Strategies and Theoretical Resources." E-mail: <bina.dcosta@anu.edu.au>

**CHINA — Jason Subler** ('98), from the United States, is a correspondent for Reuters in Beijing, covering China's economy. Jason has lived in China since 2000, during which time he has worked for various media outlets as an editor and reporter. E-mail: <jsubler@yahoo.com>

**USA — Shiva Hari Dahal** ('99) of Nepal writes that, after graduating from Notre Dame, "I returned home to realize that a violent conflict was waiting for an intervention by peace activists. In consultation with like-minded colleagues, we founded the National Peace Campaign in 2000, and began our work for peace and conflict resolution in the country." The campaign has engaged senior political leaders in a cross-party approach to conflict resolution and democracy building, and has led trainings and workshops on conflict resolution and peacebuilding for members of civil society in Nepal. In the fall of 2005, Shiva began a PhD program at George Mason University's Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution. E-mail: <shivaharidahal@gmail.com>

**USA — Jennifer Stewart** ('99)

works in Washington, DC as director of business development for Chemonics International (<http://chemonics.com>), a global consulting firm, where she is responsible for democracy and governance initiatives in the Middle East. She also directs a \$30-million civil society program in West Bank and Gaza for the U.S. Agency for International Development. Chemonics works in more than 50 countries, offering management services, technical assistance, research, training, and special expertise. E-mail: <jenniferastewart@hotmail.com>



Jennifer Stewart

**RUSSIA — Anastasia Kushleyko** ('01) has been promoted to legal advisor to the Russian Federation's regional delegation of the International Committee of the Red Cross in Moscow. She covers issues of international humanitarian law in Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, the Russian Federation, and Ukraine. Inspired by her work with Juan Méndez at Notre Dame, she earned a B.A. in law from the Institute of International Law and Economics in Moscow in 2004, while working full time with the Red Cross. E-mail: <nastasiak@gmail.com>



**USA — Karana Dharma** (Stanley Olivier) ('02) has been appointed program officer for Africa at the National Endowment for Democracy in Washington, DC. The NED, a publicly funded nonprofit, makes hundreds of grants each year to support groups in Africa, Asia, Central and Eastern Europe, Latin America, the Middle East, and the former Soviet Union. Karana previously worked as a field supervisor with CARE International in Ituri, Democratic Republic of Congo, where he coordinated a peacebuilding program in Eastern Congo. He also teaches a graduate course on post-conflict reconstruction and peacebuilding at Syracuse University. E-mail: <Karanad@cs.com>

**EAST TIMOR — Mica Barreto-Soares** ('03) is working for the United Nations Development Program in East Timor, the only female national program officer and the only Timorese in the governance unit among six internationals. She also teaches sociology at Dili University as part of an effort to contribute to nation building. After Notre Dame, Mica worked for five months as junior advisor to East Timor's ambassador to the United Nations in New York, where she attended meetings of the Security Council, General Assembly, Asian Group, and Non-Aligned Movement. E-mail: barreto\_mica@hotmail.com

**CZECH REPUBLIC — Oldrich Bures** ('04) earned his Ph.D. in political science from Palacky University, Czech Republic, in December 2005, with a dissertation titled "United Nations Peacekeeping in the 21st Century: Bridging the Capabilities-Expectations Gap." He is a senior lecturer in the Department of Politics and European Studies at Palacky University and also continues research with the Counter-Terrorism Evaluation Project of the Kroc Institute and the Fourth Freedom Forum. Olda's recent publications include "Private Military Companies: A Second-Best Peacekeeping Option?" in *International Peacekeeping* (Winter 2005) and "EU Counterterrorism Policy: A Paper Tiger?" in *Terrorism and Political Violence* (Spring 2006). E-mail: <lboro\_1999@yahoo.com>

**SIERRA LEONE — Munah Hyde** ('04) is a community development project officer with the German Technical Cooperation, a partner of the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) in Sierra Leone. In 2005, UNHCR funded 297 community empowerment projects, designed to resettle and reintegrate returnees and refugee populations of war-ravaged communities in the south and eastern regions in Sierra Leone. The projects address the construction and rehabilitation of social infrastructure, agriculture, income generation, the elimination of gender-based violence, and capacity-building. Munah writes, "My tasks include project management and implementation, supervision and coaching of field staff, and management of the Development Training Unit." E-mail: <munahyde@yahoo.com>

**KENYA — Camlus Omogo** ('04) is a researcher and trainer in conflict transformation and small arms issues with the Security Research and Information Centre in Nairobi. He is also secretary to the 35-organization Kenya Action Network on Small Arms (KANSA). KANSA conducts a national campaign as part of the Global Week of Action Against Small Arms, which is usually marked in July. E-mail: <camomogo@yahoo.com>

**SRI LANKA — Mirak Raheem** ('04) is a researcher in the Conflict and Peace Analysis Unit of the Centre for Policy Alternatives (CPA) in Colombo. He coordinates a project, "Monitoring Factors Affecting the Sri Lankan Peace Process," which examines aspects of peace talks, politics, economics, relief and reconstruction, and social perceptions of the process in order to inform donor decision-making. He also advocates for human rights and Muslim inclusion in the peace process, and teaches a diploma course on conflict resolution for public servants, military personnel, and politicians. At Mirak's invitation, Kroc Professor John Darby spoke at a July 2005 conference Mirak organized in Colombo on the "International Dimensions of the Sri Lankan Peace Process." E-mail: <mirakraheem@yahoo.com>

## | k r o c   n e w s |

## Experts at faith forum decry those with “all the answers”

Kroc Institute Director Scott Appleby chaired the organizing committee for the first Notre Dame Forum, titled “Why God? Understanding Religion and Enacting Faith in a Plural World.” The forum, which drew 3,000 audience members to the Joyce Center on September 22, was among events marking the inauguration of Rev. John Jenkins, C.S.C., as president of the university. The forum was moderated by former NBC Nightly News anchor Tom Brokaw.

Panelists addressed a range of topics, including the role of women in religion and society, human rights, and economic development. But they spoke at greatest length about extreme religious fundamentalism, which all rejected.

“Fundamentalists think they have all the answers to all the questions, and that terrifies me, and it should terrify all of us,” said Naomi Chazan, a professor at Hebrew University in Jerusalem and a former member of the Israeli Knesset.

“The loudest religious voices today are the people who advocate divisiveness and conflict,” said John C. Danforth, former U.S. senator, former U.S. ambassador to the United Nations, and an Episcopal priest. “Those who advocate otherwise have been strangely quiet, and it’s time for them to speak out.”

Other panelists were Cardinal Oscar Andrés Rodríguez Maradiaga, S.D.B., archbishop of Tegucigalpa, Honduras, and Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf, chief executive officer of the American Society for Muslim Advancement and imam of New York City’s largest mosque.

The second half of the forum featured four additional panelists. They were Notre Dame faculty members Asma Afsaruddin, associate professor of Arabic and Islamic studies and a Kroc Institute faculty fellow, and Lawrence E. Sullivan, professor of world religions in the theology and anthropology departments; and students Kathleen Fox, a junior theology and philosophy major, and Denis Okello, a Kroc Institute graduate student.

Afsaruddin discussed Western perceptions of Islamic women, which she believes too often focus on the wearing of headscarves. “In the West, we assume this knee-jerk reaction that the headscarf is a symbol of oppression, whereas many Muslim women are adopting the headscarf of their own free will. Many women see it very much as a symbol of liberation, and an expression of their identity.”

Okello, a journalist from Uganda, said he believes that reporters can take a more proactive role in promoting peace without losing their credibility. He noted Danforth’s comment that only the strident, extremist religious voices are being heard, and wondered why that was so. As the final commenter, he ended the forum with a question to focus further discussion: “What are the most practical, concrete responses we can make to extremist religions?”

To view a video of the forum on the Internet, go to <http://streaming.nd.edu/n&ci/inaugural/forum.wmv>.



Matt Cashore

Denis Okello (MA '07) speaks at the Notre Dame Forum

## Kroc organizes bishops' colloquium on ethics of war

Is the doctrine of preemptive war that has been used to justify the Iraq intervention compatible with Catholic social teaching? Does the global terrorist threat require a rethinking of the just war tradition? These were among the topics discussed on November 11 at the Colloquium on Ethics of War after 9/11 and Iraq, for which the Kroc Institute served as a principal organizer. It was held at Georgetown University in Washington, D.C.

The purpose of the colloquium “was not to rehearse past debates, but rather to reflect on future moral challenges in light of what we have learned from recent experience,” explained Bishop John Ricard, the outgoing chairman of the Bishops’ International Policy Committee.

Taking part in the invitation-only event were the bishops and their staff, military and policy experts, leaders of Catholic organizations, and academics representing a variety of perspectives. In addition to terrorism and preventive war, the colloquium had sessions on arms control, disarmament, and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction; preventive peace and alternatives to war; and the role of the Church in addressing these issues.

Speaking to the role of the Church, Cardinal Theodore McCarrick, Archbishop of Washington, noted the difficulties in bringing ethics into the debate: “There is frequently a risk that pragmatic or strategic considerations will eclipse moral ones, especially in the life and death decisions of war and peace. Likewise, partisan and ideological agendas can overwhelm ethical considerations.”

John Langan, S.J., a noted ethicist at Georgetown’s School of Foreign Service, argued that the “concept of a war on terrorism contributes to blurring the questions which moral analysts should be asking.” The right to wage a “war on terrorists,” he maintained, “does not establish a right to wage preventive or even preemptive war against states.”



Gerard F. Powers

Cardinal Theodore McCarrick speaks at the Georgetown colloquium

In addition to Cardinal McCarrick and Fr. Langan, speakers included Catherine Kelleher of the Naval War College, Maryann Cusimano Love of the Catholic University of America, Keith Pavlischek of the U.S. Marine Corps Reserve, Albert C. Pierce of the U.S. Naval Academy, Douglas Roche of the Holy See’s Delegation to the UN General Assembly, Daniel Philpott of the Kroc Institute, and a number of other prominent specialists.

The colloquium was sponsored by the Committee on International Policy of the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops in conjunction with the Kroc Institute and Georgetown University’s Edmund A. Walsh School of Foreign Service, Mortara Center for International Studies, and Initiative on Religion, Politics and Peace.

While the discussions were off-the-record, the agenda and written presentations of speakers can be found under “past events” at the Kroc Institute web site (<http://kroc.nd.edu>).

## Researchers advise UN on counter-terrorism efforts

Nearly 100 United Nations diplomats and staff members gathered on November 27 in New York to hear Research Fellow David Cortright explain how the UN can combat terrorism more effectively.

Cortright summarized the latest report of the Sanctions and Security Project, a joint venture of the Kroc Institute and Fourth Freedom Forum. Senior Fellow George A. Lopez, the other principal researcher, was also present at the UN meeting.

“What we conclude is simple, though perhaps not easy: that member nations staffs and their computer networks start communicating better, and that they establish a list of priorities,” Lopez said. “At the top of the list should be UN support for countries needing to improve their ability to monitor terrorists within their borders. There was much nodding of heads as David laid out our ideas.”

The report, based on a nine-month study, was commissioned by the Japanese government. Its primary recommendations are that the UN’s Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) find more creative ways to collect,

assess, and share information about the capacity of member nations to fight terrorism; and that the CTC facilitate the provision of technical assistance by potential donors in a timely and sustainable manner.

Specific recommendations include prioritizing committee tasks, conducting regional workshops, and developing a more accessible and user-friendly assistance database.

The report was well-received, Cortright agreed. “The response of the UN officials was very encouraging. They pointed to a number of continuing policy challenges that our research project will address in the coming months.”

Besides Cortright and Lopez, co-authors on the report were Alistair Millar, Jason Ipe, Tona Boyd, and Linda Gerber. “Recommendations for Improving the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee’s Assessment and Assistance Coordination Function” is available on the Sanctions project page at the Kroc Institute web site (<http://kroc.nd.edu>).



International Peace Academy

Research Fellow David Cortright, second from right, summarized the counter-terrorism report in November at the Japanese Mission to the United Nations. With him, from left, are Lauro L. Baja, permanent representative of the Republic of the Philippines to the UN; Kenzo Oshima, permanent representative of Japan to the UN; John Hirsch, vice president of the International Peace Academy; and Ambassador Javier Ruperez, executive director of the Counter-Terrorism Executive Directorate.

## Lebanese ballplayers net lessons at Notre Dame

“Basketball is to Lebanon what football is to Notre Dame,” says Hala Fleihan, a peace studies graduate student who holds dual Lebanese-U.S. citizenship. As co-founder of the Center for Conflict Resolution and Peace-Building in Beirut, she sees the value of harnessing the Lebanese passion for basketball and using it to defuse tension in a country where religious differences often lead to conflict. Before coming to Notre Dame to join the M.A. Class of '07, Fleihan and center Director Christine Crumrine wrote a proposal to involve Lebanon in the Unity Through Sport program. Known as USPORT, the program is funded by the U.S. State Department to promote healthy lifestyles, tolerance, and leadership among the youth in the Middle East.

As a result, twelve high school basketball players and two coaches from Lebanon came to the Kroc Institute on November 9 for lessons in religious tolerance. Joining them as an observer from the Jordanian Basketball Board was a coach who may propose USPORT participation for his country.

The November session wrapped up the athletes' three-week visit to the United States. The visit was organized by the Indiana Center for Cultural Exchange, a partnership that includes Notre Dame, Indiana University, and Purdue University.

Rashied Omar, coordinator of Kroc's Program on Religion, Conflict, and Peacebuilding, has been active in USPORT. Omar taught one of the November sessions for the basketball players and coaches. “What was most memorable about our discussions was the frankness and uninhibited manner in which the high school students spoke about the difficult challenge of religious tolerance in Lebanon,” he recalled.

The discussions continue in Lebanon, thanks to the coaches who conduct training sessions to share with colleagues and athletes what they learned from participating in the exchange.

## Student activist wins Marshall Scholarship

Peter Quaranto, a senior majoring in peace studies and political science, is one of 43 U.S. scholars awarded Marshall Scholarships for graduate school at British universities in 2006. He will attend the University of Bradford for an M.A. in international politics and security studies.

After studying in Uganda in 2004-05, Quaranto cofounded the Uganda Conflict Action Network, a campaign to end the two-decades-old war in that country. He earlier spent time in Cambodia, where he organized youth peacebuilding workshops. At Notre Dame, he has been a leader in social justice campaigns, a Big Brother, and a political columnist for the student newspaper.

The Marshall Scholarship program was established by the British government in gratitude for American assistance in rebuilding Europe after World War II. Quaranto was chosen from among 800 applicants this year, according to Roberta Jordan, University of Notre Dame fellowships coordinator.



Peter Quaranto

Julie Titone

“We are thrilled for Peter personally — that he received this recognition for his work in and for Uganda; that he will receive a phenomenal graduate education at Bradford; and that he will be introduced to and be a part of a network of other amazing people who are destined to do great things,” Jordan said. “We are also pleased for the ND departments and centers that supported and inspired Peter.”

Quaranto gives special credit to the Kroc Institute. “My peace studies major has given me the tools, insights, and confidence to actively engage the world, naming conflicts and eliciting peaceful solutions,” he said.

In April, the University of Notre Dame Alumni Association will honor Quaranto with its 25th annual Distinguished Student Award.

## RIREC book series explores post-accord peacebuilding

During the 1990s, a new type of peace process emerged, one primarily driven by internal negotiators and by optimism that international violence was in decline. In 1991 and 1992 the number of interstate and intrastate armed conflicts exceeded 50. This had diminished to 30 or fewer in 2003 and 2004. In many of these cases, war was succeeded not by peace but by a stalemate, harried by intermittent violence, economic struggle, crime, persistent suspicion, and public dissatisfaction. Agreements signed in Israel-Palestine (1994), Colombia (1999), Eritrea-Ethiopia (2000) and elsewhere have collapsed into violent confrontation. Even in South Africa, Guatemala and El Salvador, often regarded as among the most enduring peace agreements, post-war recovery has been undermined by high crime and low economic growth, themselves partly the consequences of the war.

This disappointing record of post-accord reconstruction is the backdrop to the three books emerging from the Kroc Institute's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC). Published by Notre Dame Press ([www.undpress.nd.edu](http://www.undpress.nd.edu)), the books identify and explore three aspects of the post-war landscape: truth-telling, youth, and violence. The editors are John Darby, Kroc director of research and professor of comparative ethnic studies at Notre Dame; Tristan Anne Borer, associate professor of government at

Connecticut College; and Siobhán McEvoy-Levy, assistant professor of political science at Butler University.

Among the major findings of the series:

**If societies coming out of periods of violent conflict do not publicly deal with their legacies of violence, history is likely to repeat itself — and the very act of uncovering the truth about the past can deter political violence in the future.** So conclude contributors to Borer's *Telling the Truths: Truth Telling and Peace Building in Post-Conflict Societies*. These experts from the fields of political science, law, anthropology, psychology, philosophy, and theology examine how

truth telling contributes to the elements needed for sustainable peace: reconciliation, human rights, gender equity, restorative justice, the rule of law, the mitigation of violence, and the healing of trauma.

**Youth are the victims of violence as often as they are the perpetrators, both during and after wars.** McEvoy-Levy's book,

*Troublemakers or Peacemakers? Youth and Post-Accord Peace Building*, explores the attitudes, needs, lived experiences, and social and political roles of young people in periods of transition in internal armed conflicts. Contributing authors develop theories and policy recommendations based on research in Sierra Leone, Rwanda, Guatemala, Colombia, Angola, Northern Ireland, Bosnia, and Israel/Palestine. They conclude that greater and more imaginative involvement of youth through participatory, inclusive processes of reconstruction can reduce the effects of violence and enhance post-war stability.

**Despite common preconceptions to the contrary, post-war violence is more often strategic than spontaneous.** That necessitates a nuanced understanding of the motives and methods used by the state and its opponents, if peace is to prevail. Darby's book, *Violence and Reconstruction*, adopts a four-part analysis, examining in turn violence emanating from the state, from militants, from destabilized societies, and from the challenge of implementing a range of policies including demobilization, disarmament, and policing. Contributing scholars draw attention to the increased willingness of the state to turn to militias in order to carry on violence by proxy; to the importance of distinguishing between the stated aims and actions of different militant groups; to a post-war rise in violent conventional crime; and to the importance of the restoration of civil society.



**Troublemakers or Peacemakers**, edited by Siobhán McEvoy-Levy

Contributors are Siobhán McEvoy-Levy, Michael Wessells, Davidson Jonah, Victoria Sanford, Marc Sommers, Carolyn Nordstrom, Ed Cairns, Frances McLernon, Wendy Moore, Ilse Hakvoort, Jaco Cilliers, Jeff Helsing, Namik Kirlic, Neil McMaster, Nir Sonnenschein, Sami Adwan, Dan Bar-On, Jessica Senehi, Sean Byrne, and Johan Galtung.



**Violence and Reconstruction**, edited by John Darby

Contributors are John Darby, Kristine Höglund, I. William Zartman, Marie-Joëlle Zahar, Virginia Gamba, Dominic Murray, Robert MacGinty, and Timothy D. Sisk.



**Telling the Truths**, edited by Tristan Anne Borer

Contributors are Tristan Anne Borer, Charles Villa-Vicencio, Jennifer J. Llewellyn, Juan E. Méndez, Debra L. DeLaet, Pablo De Greiff, Brandon Hamber, David Becker, and Shari Eppel.

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

**Books**

**Fred Dallmayr**, *Small Wonder: Global Power and Its Discontents* (Lanham, New Jersey and New York: Lexington Books, 2005).

As a corollary of globalization, human aspirations as well as human follies and vices are being magnified and globalized, leading to global superpowers, mammoth accumulations of wealth, and huge military-industrial complexes. Unrestrained by ethical and political barriers, this drive to bigness is accompanied by big disasters, from holocausts to terror wars. That the one should lead to the other, Faculty Fellow Fred Dallmayr contends, is really unsurprising and “small wonder” — in one of the senses this phrase is used in the title. Against the big self-images or self-deceptions of our age, this book marshals an array of critical intellectuals, from Theodor Adorno and Maurice Merleau-Ponty to Edward Said and Arundhati Roy. Their critiques reveal that today goodness and truth can only survive in smallness, in the “small wonder” of everyday life that cannot be co-opted by big power.

Elie Podeh and **Asher Kaufman**, eds., *Arab-Jewish Relations: From Conflict to Reconciliation?* (Brighton, U.K.: Sussex Academic Press, 2005).

This book, co-edited by Kroc faculty member and Assistant Professor of History Asher Kaufman, reviews the protracted history of the Arab-Israeli conflict and the different attempts at reaching its peaceful resolution. The contributors illustrate the shades of gray of the conflict by shedding light

not only on its territorial dimension but also on its emotional and psychological levels. Without addressing those dimensions, they argue, no lasting resolution can be reached.

**Scott Mainwaring** and **Frances Hagopian**, eds., *The Third Wave of Democratization in Latin America: Advances and Setbacks* (Cambridge, U.K. and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

This volume, edited by two faculty fellows, offers an ambitious and comprehensive overview of the unprecedented advances as well as the setbacks in the post-1978 wave of democratization. It explains the sea change from a region dominated by authoritarian regimes to one in which openly authoritarian regimes are the rare exception, and it analyzes why some countries have achieved striking gains in democratization while others have experienced erosions. The book presents general theoretical arguments about what causes and sustains democracy and analyzes nine theoretically compelling country cases.

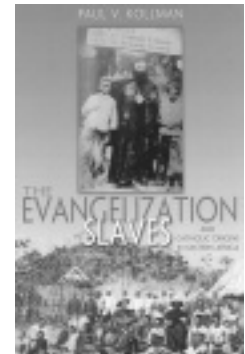
**Paul V. Kollman**, *The Evangelization of Slaves And Catholic Origins in Eastern Africa* (Maryknoll, New York: Orbis Books, 2005).

This book by a Kroc faculty fellow describes the evangelization of slaves by the Congregation of the Holy Ghost, a central feature of the missionary strategy on the coast of eastern Africa from 1860 until the late 1880s. Close attention to archival records shows how the today-burgeoning Catholic Church began in

this region, and discloses the intricacies of both missionary actions and African responses. Kollman contends that, like the Africans they evangelized, these Catholic missionaries differed from today’s missionaries — and from others missionaries of the 19th century — in important ways often overlooked. African responses did not follow missionary expectations, and helped constitute the contemporary church.

**Keir A. Lieber**, *War and the Engineers: The Primacy of Politics over Technology* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 2005).

In *War and the Engineers*, the first book systematically to test the logical and empirical validity of offense-defense theory, Faculty Fellow Keir A. Lieber examines the relationships among politics, technology, and the causes of war. Lieber’s cases explore the military and political implications of the spread of railroads, the emergence of rifled small arms and artillery, the introduction of battle tanks, and the nuclear revolution. Incorporating the new historiography of World War I, which draws on archival materials that only recently have become available, Lieber



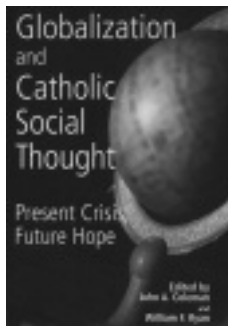
challenges many common beliefs about the conflict. His central conclusion is that technology is neither a cause of international conflict nor a panacea; instead, power politics remains paramount.

Mary H. Moran, *Liberia: The Violence of Democracy*, Ethnography of Political Violence Series, **Cynthia Mahmood**, ed. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005).

This book, the latest in a series edited by Senior Fellow Cynthia Mahmood, argues that democracy is not a foreign import into Africa. Rather, author Mary Moran, associate professor of anthropology at Colgate University contends that essential aspects of what people in the West consider democratic values are part of the indigenous African traditions of legitimacy and political process. In Liberia, these democratic traditions include local, institutionalized checks and balances that allow for the voices of women and younger men to be heard. Moran argues that the violence and state collapse that have beset Liberia and other West African countries in recent decades cannot be attributed to ancient tribal hatreds or leaders who are modern versions of traditional chiefs. Rather, democracy and violence are intersecting themes in Liberian history that have manifested themselves in many contexts.

## Chapters

**R. Scott Appleby**, “Global Civil Society and the Catholic Social Tradition,” in John A. Coleman and William F. Ryan, eds., *Globalization and Catholic Social Thought: Present Crisis, Future Hope* (Ottawa, Novalis, 2005), pp. 130-40.



From the perspective of Catholic Social Teaching, a globalized civil society must foster the thick web of associational

ties shared by people rooted in a particular place and time who are responsible for that place and time, writes Kroc Institute Director and Professor of History Scott Appleby. Place and time are precisely the conditions that globalization seeks to overcome or to render irrelevant; but they are, Appleby argues, the binding glue of civil society. In this chapter, he defines the conditions under which a global civil society might flourish, and explores ways in which Catholics are increasingly involved in creating those conditions.

**Asma Afsaruddin**, “Patience is Beautiful: Qur’anic Ethics in Said Nursi’s Risale-i Nur,” in Ian Markham and Ibrahim Ozdemir, eds., *Globalization, Ethics and Islam: The Case of Bediuzzaman Said Nursi* (Aldershot, U.K.: Ashgate Publishing, 2005), pp. 79-88.

Globalization has been criticized for promoting uneven economic development and rank profiteering on the part of transnational corporations without due regard for human rights

and alternate socioeconomic systems. Faculty Fellow Asma Afsaruddin suggests that the injection of traditional religious virtues such as humility and patience into corporate cultures has the potential to humanize globalization. Conscious inculcation of such virtues may promote, for example, a concern for the equitable sharing of global resources as their humble custodians rather than as their rapacious consumers. The author draws on the Qur’an as well as the exegetical and ethical literature of Islam, including the writings of the Turkish Sufi thinker Said Nursi, to explore Muslim ethical responses to the social and economic consequences of globalization and modernity.

**Fred Dallmayr**, “Dialogue among Civilizations,” in Hermann-Josef Scheidgen, Norbert Hintersteiner and Yoshiro Nakamura, eds., *Philosophie, Gesellschaft und Bildung in Zeiten der Globalisierung* (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2005), pp. 68-84.

This essay argues in favor of intensified cross-cultural interactions as an antidote to the “clash of civilizations” and unending terror wars.

**Fred Dallmayr**, “Empire or Cosmopolis: Civilization at the Crossroads,” in Raul Fornet-Betancourt, ed., *New Colonialisms in North-South Relations* (Frankfurt/London: IKO Verlag fuer Interkulturelle Kommunikation, 2005), pp. 45-70.

The author argues that modern civilization stands at a parting of the ways: moving in the direction either of a global Leviathan or a peaceful cosmopolitan community.



K. C. MacKinnon and **Agustin Fuentes**, “Reassessing male aggression and dominance: The evidence from primatology,” in Susan McKinnon and Sydel Silverman, eds., *Complexities: Beyond Nature and Nurture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2005), pp. 83-105.

The evidence for the diversity and complexity of nonhuman primate behavior has complicated generalizations from primate to human behavior. Yet, at the same time, certain reductionist accounts — stemming primarily from sociobiology and evolutionary psychology — have found their way into popular narratives that rely on analogies between primate and human behavior that have little basis in the evidence of primatology. This chapter, co-authored by Faculty Fellow Agustin Fuentes, focuses on the tension between these trends in the uses of primatology, particularly as they relate to discussions of male aggression and male dominance. The authors examine the representation of sex roles and aggression in nonhuman primate species and consider how the resulting constructs intersect with notions of gender behavior and aggression in humans.

**Denis Goulet**, “On Culture, Religion, and Development,” in *Reclaiming Democracy: The Social Justice and Political Economy of Gregory Baum and Kari Polanyi Levitt*, Marguerite Mendell, ed. (Montreal: McGill-Queen’s University Press, 2005), pp. 21-32.

“Development” — an image of secure affluence and fulfilling lives for all — is the most potent political myth of the 20th century and the first years of the 21st, contends Faculty Fellow Denis Goulet. Yet

despite its promise of secular salvation via technological rationality, development has not eliminated religion. This essay explores the question, why not?

### Articles

**Asma Afsaruddin**, “Muslim Views on Education: Parameters, Purview, and Possibilities,” *Journal of Catholic Legal Studies*, vol. 44 (2005): 143-178.

This essay is part of a paper symposium titled “Religious Education and the Liberal State,” in which Faculty Fellow Asma Afsaruddin traces the development of Islamic educational systems from the medieval to the contemporary. She calls for a revival of the philosophy of classical Islamic education with its holistic emphasis on the religious and secular disciplines and its ethos inclusive of women and religious minorities. Such a revival would serve as an antidote to the militancy that has afflicted a minority of reactionary religious schools in South Asia, for example. Afsaruddin concludes by advocating a healthy marriage between religious values and universal liberal principles, which could breathe new life into faith-based schools in the Islamic heartlands and in diaspora.

**Asma Afsaruddin**, “Of Jihad, Terrorism, and Pacifism: Scripting Islam in the Transnational Sphere,” *Global Dialogue*, vol. 7 (Summer/Autumn 2005): 120-133

In this essay, the author considers the various ways in which Islam has been scripted and staged after September 11, bringing to the forefront key concepts such as jihad, terrorism, and pacifism that are often linked

with it by diverse commentators.

The article deals with the semantic and cognitive purview of these concepts and of related notions, such as martyrdom, over a broad span of time and indicates how these terms are being interrogated and deployed by Muslims and non-Muslims. Afsaruddin concludes by reflecting on whether these evocative concepts can continue to serve as useful springboards for meaningful discussions on the future of Islam and Muslims, and to what uncharted territory they point as arenas of fruitful engagement.

Haya Shamir, **E. Mark Cummings**, Patrick T. Davies, and Marcie C. Goeke-Morey, “Children’s Reactions to Marital Conflict in Israel and in the U.S.,” *Parenting: Science and Practice*, vol. 5, no. 4 (2005): 371-386.

Gaps in cross-cultural study limit understanding of whether effects of marital discord are culture specific or culture universal. Kroc Institute Faculty Fellow Mark Cummings and his fellow researchers studied 79 Israeli and 215 U.S. kindergartners, who responded to analog presentations of resolved and unresolved marital conflicts. Both groups reacted more positively to resolved conflicts. However, U.S. children reported more happiness for resolved conflicts, and more distressed emotions (anger, sadness) and coping responses (mediation) to unresolved conflicts. Moreover, only the expectations of U.S. children about future marital relations (anger, happiness) were affected by resolution of the conflicts. Alternative explanations for these cross-cultural differences include differences in collectivistic

values, the role of extended family, and conflict resolution in geopolitical context.

**Fred Dallmayr**, "On the Natural Theology of the Chinese: A Tribute to Henry Rosemont, Jr.," *Ex/Change* (Centre for Cross-Cultural Studies, City University of Hong Kong), no. 13 (July 2005): 67-84.

The essay pays tribute to Henry Rosemont, who in turn paid tribute to the philosopher Leibniz, who followed Matteo Ricci in pleading for an accommodation between Western and Asian theologies.

**Larissa Fast** and Reina Neufeldt. 2005. "Building Blocks for Peacebuilding Impact Evaluation," *Journal of Peacebuilding and Development*, vol. 2, no. 2 (2005): 24-41.

Development agencies wishing to evaluate their peacebuilding programs are challenged by political, social and economic changes; by intangible changes in attitudes and relationships; and by the need to take a long-term perspective. Authors Larissa Fast, visiting assistant professor of sociology, and Reina Neufeldt, advisor for peacebuilding for Catholic Relief Services in Southeast Asia, provide an analytical framework for evaluation that also can be used in program design and planning stages. Their article presents strategic and comprehensive frameworks, drawing upon the work of scholars and practitioners in development and/or peacebuilding.

**Denis Goulet**, "Global Governance, Dam Conflicts, and Participation," *Human Rights Quarterly*, vol. 27 (2005): 881-907.

Large dams, long viewed as beneficial and essential to development, have become sites of major social conflict. Participatory decision making by "affected" populations in macro sectors of development is viewed by many as impossible, notwithstanding its advocacy by the World Commission on Dams on the basis of its "rights and risks" approach. Yet such participation is feasible, writes Faculty Fellow Denis Goulet, using Brazilian initiatives to make his case. Lessons yielded by dam conflicts in Northeast Brazil suggest how authentic participation can occur in water/dam policymaking and other arenas of globalization.

**Jackie Smith** and Dawn Wiest, "The Uneven Geography of Global Civil Society: Explaining Participation in Transnational Social Movement Organizations," *Social Forces*, vol. 84, no. 2 (December 2005): 621-652.

The world has witnessed an explosion in transnational citizen activism, and more analysts and scholars acknowledge the expansion of what they call "global civil society." But participation varies widely. Associate Professor of Sociology and Kroc faculty member Jackie Smith and her co-author ask what factors influence who takes part in transnational civil society. Contrary to popular assumptions, the state remains important while global economic integration has little role in determining which countries' citizens participate in transnational associations. Rich countries' citizens are more active transnationally, but low-income countries with strong ties to the global polity are also more tied to global activist networks. This sug-

gests that transnational social movement organizations do not simply reproduce world-system stratification, but help sow the seeds for its transformation.

**Jackie Smith**, "Building Bridges or Building Walls? Explaining Regionalization among Transnational Social Movement Organizations," *Mobilization*, vol. 10, no. 2 (Spring 2005): 251-270.

Before the mid-1980s, most transnational social movement organizations (TSMOs) organized across the North-South divide. However, since the mid-1980s data show that more TSMOs are organized exclusively within either the global North or South. These researchers found that groups in the global South were more likely than their Northern counterparts to maintain cross-regional ties while Northern groups were significantly more likely to report only regional ties. At the same time, environmental and women's organizations were the most likely to maintain only regional ties while economic justice and human rights organizations were the most likely to report cross-regional ties.

**Jackie Smith**, "Response to Immanuel Wallerstein: The Struggle for Global Society in a World System," *Social Forces*, vol. 83 (March 2005): 1279-1285. [http://socialforces.unc.edu/epub/pub\\_soc/socialforcesessay3.pdf](http://socialforces.unc.edu/epub/pub_soc/socialforcesessay3.pdf)

What does contemporary global justice activism have to say about appropriate strategies for addressing persistent global inequality? This short essay contributes to Social Forces's "public sociology" forum, where prominent scholars discuss what social science can add to policy debates. The author proposes ways in which scholars can contribute to social change activism.

## Peace warriors and other verbal ironies



**Julie Titone**  
Director of Communications

It's hard to avoid the language of war, even at an institute with "peace" in its name. There is inevitable talk of fighting for what's right and combating injustice. When our alumni director, Anne Hayner, contemplated creating a web-site report called "Dispatches," she even wondered if that word was too military sounding.

This verbal irony came to mind again last spring, when I read e-mail exchanges among our grad students. They addressed each other as peace warriors. I imagined them marching off as a poly-ethnic platoon to begin the internships that would give them practical experience in peacebuilding.

That construction metaphor — building peace — is a powerful and increasingly common alternative to battle language. Linguist M. J. Hardman of the University of Florida, who delves into this issue of language and violence, favors the carpentry motif. She would change the sentence "This is a battle over principles" to "This discussion is built on principles." She also offers metaphors from weaving ("a discussion woven on principles"), art ("a discussion drawn upon principles"), and travel ("a discussion mapped out of principles"). While such placid domestic phrases are useful in many situations, in others they are — to use that favorite scholarly adjective — insufficiently robust.

David Cortright, who is both an anti-war activist and Army veteran of the Vietnam conflict, won't be deleting "fighting" from his vocabulary. The Kroc research fellow likes to quote abolitionist Frederick Douglass, who proclaimed: "If there is no struggle, there is no progress; those who profess to favor freedom and yet deprecate agitation are men who want crops without ploughing the ground; they want rain without thunder and lightning." David notes that Gandhi, who organized an ambulance corps for the British Army in South Africa's Boer War, probably would be quite comfortable being called a peace warrior.

Damon Lynch, a Kroc student whose internship was in Jerusalem, heard about a U.S. Special Forces veteran who, to Damon's mind, deserves the "peace warrior" label. This storied fellow traveled to the Middle East on his own to carry a message of peace to both Israeli and Palestinian soldiers, and to American forces

in Iraq. I learned his name, Kainoa Li, and tracked him via e-mail to his native Hawaii. He told me he had been a combat paramedic as well as martial arts trainer. He wrote: "A strong sense of faith, in my case Catholic, reinforces the sanctity of life and realization that the true aim of every soldier is in fact peace." Some folks might argue with that last insight, although I doubt they would want to go *mano a mano* with someone who taught hand-to-hand combat to Green Berets.

Our friend Damon thinks that anyone who regularly or dramatically puts body or reputation on the line for the sake of peace deserves to be called a warrior. He adds: "Could I? A skinny-arsed white guy who knows how to use a word processor but not a gun? I don't think so!"

Not so fast. On the battlefield of public opinion, words are more effective than bullets. George Lakoff, a University of California linguist, points out how politicians sell wars by using the language of business (lives lost are "costs"), fairy tales (heroes, victims, villains) and even medicine (bomb raids as "surgical strikes").

The promoters of peace might take a lesson from the people who turned the Department of War into the Department of Defense. We can't eliminate aggressive words from our vocabulary. What we can do is co-opt and transform them by eliminating their connotations of violence. Some day, maybe the old taunt "Them's fightin' words!" won't conjure up clenched fists, but simply strength, struggle, and action.

**Kudos for a word warrior:** Few people brandish words in the cause of peace as forcefully, and often, as Senior Fellow George Lopez. Kroc aficionados may not be aware of the extent of George's commentaries, which go well beyond his articles in publications such as *Foreign Policy* and *Arms Control Today*. They're unlikely to hear the interviews he gives to radio hosts in such far-flung places as the Florida Keys, or to read his monthly columns in *La Opinión*, the largest Spanish-language daily in the United States. But George's contributions do not go unnoticed by the folks at the Notre Dame Office of News and Information. That is why they honored George with their 2005 Media Legend Award, given annually to the faculty member whose contributions to the media have most enhanced the university's reputation. George also won two awards last year for outstanding teaching, and kept up with research involving travel and tight deadlines. Imagine what he would accomplish if he did not, at least occasionally, have to sleep.



Tamba Lahai

Munah Hyde (MA '04), at center in red, is a community development project officer who works with refugees in her native Sierra Leone. She poses here with villagers in Mano Kpendeh, where her agency, the German Technical Cooperation, built a school. See Alumni News, page 17.



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