

peace • colloquy

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Religion, Africa, conflict and peace

REPORTS FROM KROC'S CONFERENCE IN UGANDA

Who aids international aid
workers? — *pg. 18*

Real-time policy research
engages students — *pg. 22*

One congregation offers a lesson in peace

In April, I had the privilege of traveling to Uganda with University of Notre Dame faculty, staff, and administrators for a conference “in the field.” The idea of holding a conference in Africa was sparked by this year’s Rockefeller Visiting Fellows program, which focused on religion and conflict in Africa. But the conference also reflected the institute’s growing relationship with alumni and other peacebuilders in East Africa.

One of my most memorable experiences from the trip underscored how scholarship and local realities can interact in unexpected ways. Several of us attended Mass on Palm Sunday at a local parish near Jinja. The church building consisted of a large tin roof supported by rough-hewn beams. We learned that the structure had blown down in a storm, and the congregation had only recently restored it, this time using nails instead of twine to make it more stable.

While the facility was not ornate, it did ably fulfill its purpose: keeping off the rain. As the rain grew heavier throughout the morning, a throng of people — several hundred by my count — squeezed together under this roof to sing joyful, rhythmic songs of worship.



Ugandan dancers share their talent with parishioners and their guests

After the service the sun broke through the clouds, and the congregation reassembled beside the church. Accompanied by makeshift instruments, a group of mostly women appeared in the middle of the human circle and began a series of energetic dances. During one of the dances, the parish priest leaned over and said, “The dancers are from Gulu. Many members of the parish have taken them into their homes.” He didn’t need to say more.

In his keynote address at the conference, Archbishop John Baptist Odama from Gulu had described the devastating toll that conflict has taken on the people of Northern Uganda, particularly women and children who are abducted by

militant groups. Many have fled to overcrowded refugee camps for safety. Visiting Fellow Rosalind Hackett, who visited Gulu following the conference, observes that many children around Gulu flee their homes in the country every night to sleep in the relatively safer confines of the city (see page 13).

The priest’s comment shed new light on these issues. I realized that the dancers were also part of the growing number of Internally Displaced Persons, or IDPs, in Uganda. But their living conditions contrasted sharply with the dismal situation in the refugee camps. The congregation not only welcomed these “strangers” into their home, they also celebrated and honored them by allowing them to perform their traditional dances following the service.

The experience provided a concrete example of how religious groups can constructively respond to violent conflict. On that Palm Sunday morning, I saw how a congregation that obviously had great needs could nonetheless play a role in peacebuilding through ordinary acts of hospitality.



| c o n t e n t s |



Beside the Nile

The institute hosted a poignant and pleasant conference in Uganda, drawing academics and practitioners to discuss “Religion in African Conflicts and Peacebuilding Initiatives.”



Research for the U.N.

Notre Dame students were eager to help professors George Lopez and David Cortright with research aimed at improving United Nations counter-terrorism efforts.



From 9-11 to Addis Ababa

After a close call with World Trade Center terrorism, alumnus Martin Ewi applies Kroc Institute lessons to his security work at the African Union.

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On the cover: Girls at a mosque in Jinja. The future of Africa’s children loomed large at the Kroc Institute conference in Uganda.

Scholarship, stories flow at the Kroc Institute's historic conference

The Kroc Institute's spring conference in Jinja, Uganda, took place 7,800 miles from the University of Notre Dame. It featured 30 presenters — 18 of them from Africa, 13 of them women. There were two keynote speeches and eight academic panels. Scholars and practitioners came from 18 universities and 15 non-governmental organizations.

But numbers don't begin to describe the March 31-April 3 conference, "Religion in African Conflicts and Peacebuilding Initiatives: Problems and Prospects for a Globalizing Africa." Its essence was contained in scholarly perspective and in heart-rending stories.

Presentation topics ranged from indigenous revivalism to women's rights. There was discussion of magic and marginalization in the Congo; of grassroots peacebuilding in Sudan; of teachers in Tanzania offering basic education in exchange for the chance to evangelize. The ongoing agony involving the Lord's Resistance Army in Northern Uganda provided a focal point for exploring the ways in which religion can either foster conflict or work to end it.

The conference agenda is available at the institute web site, <http://kroc.nd.edu>, under "Religion, Conflict & Peacebuilding." Also posted there are excerpts from the summary comments given in the final session by Africa experts Charles Villa-Vicencio and Jean Comaroff.

Comaroff is Bernard E. & Ellen C. Sunny Distinguished Service Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago. She said the conference provided "evidence of the intensified impact on local African life of religious forces of world-wide scale, forces at once cultural and material."

She noted that Africa has long been the target of outside proselytizers, Christian and Muslim. "What is novel about current enterprises is both their source (they stem as much from the South and East as the North and West) and their methods (they rely heavily on electronic media)."

Villa-Vicencio is executive director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation, based in Cape Town, South Africa. After listening to the conference speakers,

he identified four models of religion that encompass the good and the bad: religion as a source of political power, as a vehicle of dissent, as a means and hindrance to nation building, and as a source of peacebuilding. He urged those present in Jinja to "seize the moment to make positive difference in a continent that continues to seethe under the yoke of suffering that is imposed both from without and from within."

Examples of suffering — as well as redemption and hope — poured forth as the Nile River flowed outside the red-roofed Jinja Nile Resort. Among the stories:

- A woman in Northern Uganda begged rebels to kill her instead of her three sons because she would not be able to raise her grandchildren alone, said Catholic Archbishop John Baptist Odama. They consented, trampling her in front of her children.
 - There was a time in Ethiopia when victors amputated the right hands and left feet of defeated soldiers. "The right hand is the sword hand, the left foot is for mounting a horse," said Valparaiso University researcher Chuck Schaefer, explaining the purpose of the restorative justice: The soldiers, while no longer fit for battle, could still return to society.
 - Attorney and consultant Virginia Davies told of a pastor who lost his arm in religiously fueled conflict in Northern Nigeria. On the opposing side, a Muslim imam lost two brothers and a teacher in the fighting. Introduced by a mutual friend, the two religious leaders decided that the cost of vengeance was too high. Their resolve and compassion led to the creation of the Muslim-Christian Dialogue Forum in Kaduna.
- Early in the conference, Deusdedit Nkurunziza of Makerere University used an African proverb to describe the best way to end conflict. "The crocodile must be led slowly, slowly to the river," he said. "Peace is a dynamic process that comes slowly. We are searching for an alternative paradigm, one that must be based in African culture and religion." Kroc Institute professor and renowned peacebuilder John Paul Lederach echoed that theme at the end of the conference. "Patience is hope practiced," he said. "We are committed to Africa, to East Africa."

Peacebuilding in a Globalizing Africa: The Roles of Religious Institutions and Leaders

H I Z K I A S A S S E F A

A keynote presentation at the conference on Religion in African Conflicts
and Peacebuilding Initiatives

Introduction

I would like to start my presentation by looking briefly at the state of conflict and peacebuilding in Africa and how both have been influenced by globalization. After discussing the role religious institutions and actors have played in the peacebuilding process as well as their potential to enhance peace in the continent, I will conclude by making some recommendations on how these potentials can be realized.

First, a few words about the focus of the presentation and definition of terms. My primary focus here will be on large scale armed conflicts such as wars of insurgency between governments and rebel groups, military takeover of state power, as well as violent communal conflicts. Secondly, I will use the term peacebuilding here in a rather broad sense to mean any initiative to manage, prevent or resolve armed conflicts whether it comes from high political and international level, the grassroots, or in between.



John Paul Lederach, left, shares a laugh with Hizkias Assefa, center, and Scott Appleby.

The state of armed conflicts in Africa

Since the 1960s, when most African countries became independent, the continent has been torn apart by armed conflicts. In the 1960s and 70s alone, almost all independent African countries, with the exception of Kenya, Senegal, and Cameroon, had regime changes by military takeover. By the 1980s, seventeen civil wars were raging in the continent. In 1994, one of the most brutal genocides in recent human history took place in Rwanda. Currently we still have about twelve armed conflicts at various stages going on in the continent. These conflicts have caused the death and displacement of millions and resulted in the serious impairment of

economic development in the continent. What has been the source of most of these armed conflicts?

As we all know, almost all African countries are colonial creations carved out purely on the basis of how much territory the colonizers were able to grab rather than on logic such as commonality of language and cultural affinity, economic synergy, history of peaceful coexistence among groups etc. After

the colonial era, the first task of the newly independent countries became the creation of a state that could exercise self-rule. Either by preference or because there was no alternative model in the international system of the time, all adopted the European model of the “sovereign state” as a social and political organization. Unfortunately, this exercise in state formation has not been easy and has been the cause of conflict, division and civil war to this day. Three major problems have plagued the process of state building: issues of identity, governance and development.

Regarding identity, deep division arose on questions such as: What would constitute the newly independent country’s shared identity of nationhood and “we-ness”, and who would be included and excluded? These disagreements gave birth to all sorts of secessionist and irredentist movements as well as interstate border disputes. Even among those ethnically homogeneous countries, such as Somalia, it was difficult for the population to identify with the new Western style state being forged because it was alien to their traditional culture and world view in terms of values, processes and aspirations.

Another set of problems revolved around how these new states would be governed. Issues of legitimacy of the new power elite, the meaning of politics and how it would be exercised, who would have access to power, succession of leadership, rights and privileges of citizenship, constraints to state power in the face of a weak state needing protection, etc. soon became contentious and that began to tear apart these newly independent countries. Moreover, the continued domination and manipulation of internal governance by former colonial masters (later replaced by the Cold War superpowers) added to the turmoil. Such powers sometimes overthrew regimes that were too independent or they sponsored internal conflicts in an attempt to weaken the societies they still wanted to continue to control, thus making a mockery of sovereignty in the new states.



Archbishop John Baptist Odama, left, and the Rt. Rev. Macleord Baker Ochala II work for peace in Uganda

The third aspect of state formation that created conflict was the role of the state in generating wealth and prosperity for its citizens. Some of the most contentious issues revolved around questions of how development resources were to be generated, the competence of state officials to lead such development processes, issues of corruption and mismanagement of resources in the hands of state leaders, the

economic model to be followed for rapid development (eg: centrally planned vs. market oriented systems), and also how benefits of development were to be distributed among the population. High expectations from the nascent national economies that were not performing according to global standards led to rising frustrations when they could not meet rising expectations, thereby generating spiraling revolutions, coups and counter-coups.

Of course these issues of identity, governance and development are not discrete issue categories. They are very interrelated. Those who controlled state power often made their ethnic identity the dominant identity of the state and used it to derive disproportionate benefits for themselves and their kin from the economic development process. Moreover, most of the mechanisms to deal with such problems came from models that were not indigenous. Africans had to bend themselves out of shape to fit into alien models even though it was clear that there was a great dissonance. This, in a way, perpetuated the psychic damage on the population that began with colonialism and even slavery.

Peacebuilding Responses and their Limitations

Two patterns of peacebuilding responses have developed to deal with the armed conflicts of the past forty years. One is post-conflict peacebuilding where initiatives have been undertaken after the end of the armed conflicts. The other pattern is where the peacebuilding initiatives have been undertaken with the aim of ending conflicts.

Regarding the first, a number of the continent's armed conflicts in the continent were brought to an end by the military victory of one side. Examples are the civil wars in Rwanda, Ethiopia, Nigeria, and Namibia. In those circumstances, the vanquished were either decimated, punished, or chased out. Peacebuilding responses, if any, seem to have come after the end of conflict in the form of forgiving the vanquished or giving them amnesty, pacifying some leaders from the defeated side by giving them official positions in government, and demobilizing and integrating the combatants into the power structure of the victors or into the society in general. In a few rare instances, some structural changes were made to respond to the grievances of the defeated groups.

The second pattern involved peacebuilding as a means of managing or settling armed conflicts through mechanisms such as peacekeeping, sanctions, mediation or arbitration. In fact, a substantial proportion of the armed conflicts in the continent (about 13 to date) have ended through such national, regional, continental or global (United Nations) efforts. At the present moment, about a dozen civil wars remain and most of them are in the middle of mediation processes. Aside from military takeovers or insurgency wars between governments and rebel groups, there have been many peacebuilding efforts to end communal ethnic and religious clashes in a number of countries such as Kenya, Nigeria, Ghana, Congo, Sudan etc. This, I would say, is a rather impressive record for peacemaking and peacebuilding in Africa.

However, most peacebuilding efforts have suffered from a major limitation. They are primarily aimed at stopping the armed conflicts rather than at also addressing the underlying root causes so that the conflicts do not erupt again. In most of these initiatives, leaders of the opposing groups are helped to come together and agree to finish the war, the officials of the adversary groups are somehow appeased, combatants are demobilized and reintegrated, and probably some changes in government policy are made here and there. But, the root causes still remain unaddressed. In most instances, the kind of transformation that is needed in the state system to create an inclusive sense of collective identity; a governance system that genuinely fosters a sense of justice, participation and solidarity among all citizens; and an economic systems that generates meaningful wellbeing and equitable development has not been established.

For example, a lot of peacebuilding effort went into bringing the brutal first Liberian civil war to an end. However, as soon as the war was over, and a new government was installed, things quickly reverted to the way they were before the war. Abuse of power, corruption, manipulation of ethnic division, abject poverty and alienation, oppression of a large sector of the population, and hopelessness of the youth were still rampant. In less than a decade a second civil war erupted. The Sudan civil war is another case. The first war was ended through a fascinating mediation effort, but after the war, significant efforts to transform the system and address root causes did not take place. In Somalia, now that the extreme violence in that society has abated somewhat, the international community and some Somali politicians are trying to recreate the very alien and predatory state that tore the society apart and plunged the country into civil war in the first place. I am afraid of what will happen in a few years if they succeed in recreating the kind of state that existed before. In Sierra Leone, the radical changes needed to ensure that country does not plunge into another round of civil war have not yet been made. People are enjoying the respite from the most atrocious violence but seem to be forgetting that unless the root causes are addressed they might go the route of Liberia. One could mention many other examples such as Ethiopia, Eritrea, Congo, Rwanda, Nigeria, Angola, and some say, even South Africa, where failure to address root causes might gain bring about armed conflict.

Of course addressing root causes is not easy and there are many reasons for not addressing them. It is usually very difficult, and requires a great deal of resources, political will and long-term commitment. As we will see later in our discussion of Globalization, there are external factors that frustrate whatever sincere attempts there might be to address root causes. Moreover, in cases where a war has been ended by the victory of one side, one is lulled into believing that the problems have gone away because the spokespeople of the opposition have been silenced. Ethiopia defeated Somalia twice over the ownership of the Ogaden region, but the problem still exists there. The Eritrean insurgency defeated the Ethiopian government over the issue of the Port of Assab. However, the underlying problem is still there and will keep returning to the extent that Ethiopia remains landlocked. In Rwanda Tutsis defeated Hutus, but the problem will come back to the extent that the Hutus continue to feel that they

have been subjugated. Nigeria defeated the Biafran insurgency, but the problem of Biafra is resurfacing. The trap of military victory is that it blinds the victors to the need of addressing the underlying problem. If the victors give in to their adversaries' demands after having defeated them, then it raises questions about why the war was fought and not handled through dialogue from the beginning. So the problems remain unaddressed thereby creating conditions for another round of armed confrontation when the vanquished restore their strength.

As a result, the continent finds itself in a rather unsettling situation — a sense of progress in ending armed conflicts, but fear that those old wars might return since the real root causes are left generally unaddressed, or that the attempts to address them are being frustrated.

Impact of globalization

One of the forces frustrating peacebuilding in Africa has been the globalization process especially since the end of the Cold War. As African economies become more integrated into the global economy, often against their will, states are losing the autonomy to determine their own economic policies in ways that could enhance their “nation-building” agenda. The requirements of Structural Adjustment being imposed on many African governments by global institutions like the IMF and World Bank in order to finance their economies are wreaking havoc by creating large scale public sector unemployment, as well as reduction of social spending on public goods such as education, health and social welfare. The fast liberalization and privatization of African economies being pushed by the new free market orthodoxy of the “Washington Consensus” has created economic polarization. The rich are getting richer and the poor are getting poorer. This has destroyed whatever little economic equity there might have been in those societies and pitted the poor against the rich as well as the poor against the poor. The inability of African states to influence global economic decision-making continues to diminish their terms of trade, to open up their economies, and destroy their production base without ensuring reciprocal concessions from the rich and powerful countries. The cumulative effect has been social unrest, riots, rampant crime, and even insurgencies like in Sierra Leone. These globalization processes are creating new conflicts in a number of African societies and are also frustrating badly needed systemic changes in

post-conflict societies thereby encouraging the resurgence of old conflicts.

In other words, it appears that as one is working to build peace in Africa, the forces of globalizations undermine the peace that is being built. A good case in point comes from my homeland, Ethiopia. In the late '60s and early '70s, there was a strong social upheaval. At that time, the inequality between rich and poor in the country was so appalling that students and other civil society actors began agitating for rapid social change. However, the social change process spun out of control and created a revolution that ultimately overthrew the government and ushered in a brutal Stalinist dictatorship. The dictatorship managed to bring some level of economic justice and equality. However, this process of change exacted a huge cost in terms of deaths and destruction and long term suffering. After seventeen years, with the collapse of the socialist systems in Eastern Europe, the system in Ethiopia also gave way. The succeeding regime was forced by the international community (IMF and World Bank) to adopt Structural Adjustment and Privatization as a remedy for the country's economic problems. Now, when I return home, I observe that once again the rich are getting richer while the poor are getting poorer. I see cruel history repeating itself. Sooner or later, I am afraid that those who are disenfranchised and excluded are going to hear the siren calls of political demagogues and predictably the whole cycle of agitation, unrest and violence will follow. When will this country be allowed to learn from the mistakes of its past? It is very tragic to see that outside imposition of economic policies could force the society to repeat the very mistake that it would like to leave behind.

The Role of Religious Institutions and Leaders: Reality and Potential

What roles have religious institutions and leaders played to respond to these armed conflicts? I would like to start by pointing out that although the emphasis of this presentation is on peacebuilding, the part that religious bodies and personalities have played in conflict generation should not be glossed over. The emerging competition between various religious institutions and leaders to expand their faiths and the resulting tensions and violent confrontations between their followers have caused some to worry whether religious rivalries might be replacing Cold War ideological rivalries in Africa. In many instances such movements are being pushed by



Conferees take a break between intense discussions

actors outside the continent. Some even argue that their motives are political than religious. In countries such as Nigeria, Ghana, Kenya, Ethiopia, Eritrea, and Tanzania (Zanzibar) mutual religious tolerance that had existed for many generations between Christians and Moslems is fast disappearing and being replaced by fear, tensions and sometimes violence. Recently, these tensions are being linked with the new global agenda of “The War on Terrorism”, and this fusion of global politics and religion is making these conflicts more expansive and dangerous. Interestingly, however, these tensions are not only across faiths, but also among different denominations of the same faith.

Focusing on the peacemaking and peacebuilding fronts, it cannot be denied that religious institutions and actors have played some very significant roles in the continent such as mediators; reconcilers; and activists for democracy, justice and human rights. One of their most remarkable achievements was the 2 year mediation effort ending the First Sudan Civil War in 1972. What was particularly impressive about that effort was that up to that time it was one of the very few civil wars in the world that had ended through mediation instead of by a military solution. Moreover, it was Christian actors from the Sudan Council of Churches, the All Africa Conference of Churches, and the World Council of

Churches, who successfully mediated an apparently Moslem — Christian conflict. That really indicates the degree of religious tolerance that existed at the time and also the nature of the strategies used by the mediators to transcend the religious division and focus everyone on the goals of the peacemaking process. Such an intervention by a single religion in a conflict of that nature would probably be unthinkable today. In fact, it was the inspiration that came from the Sudan experience which made me study the field of peacebuilding and encouraged me to come back to Africa so that I could work with religious leaders and institutions for peace and reconciliation in this war-torn continent.

Since the Sudan episode, there have been many peacemaking and peacebuilding efforts by religious actors. Examples are the active involvement of church or inter-religious bodies in Mozambique, Liberia and Sierra Leone in national mediation processes as well as in demobilization, reintegration and reconciliation exercises in their respective countries. There has also been the leadership role of religious leaders in ushering in a more peaceful democratic change in South Africa, Kenya, Congo, Benin and Malawi; and the grassroots mediation and reconciliation work facilitated by religious actors in Nigeria, Sudan, and Liberia.

Although these are encouraging examples, efforts still fall short of the huge potential of religious actors to play effective roles in peacebuilding in this continent. There are probably no other institutions that have as many advantages in terms of their ability to work on some deep root causes of conflicts as religious actors have. These advantages could fall into three categories — institutional legitimacy, available methodologies, and structures and networks.

1. Institutional legitimacy

Most often, analyses of social conflict and responses to it focus (sometimes exclusively) on political, economic and social structures and the external behaviour of the parties. Since these elements are visible, they are easier to notice and target. Unfortunately, however, there are also hidden aspects of the parties' behavior that are equally important in contributing to conflict. The internal mind-sets of the conflict parties such as their sense of superiority or inferiority, difficulty in entering into trusting relationships, deep-seated anxiety, excessive self-centeredness and greed, and extreme need for control underlie many social conflicts including the crises we observe in leadership and governance in the continent. Therefore, just as we can observe in a number of societies, external structures such as forms of government, laws and regulations, or economic systems may change but the same problems of conflict keep cropping up again and again because the internal attitudinal problems have not been addressed. Transformation of such mindsets is critical for the construction of durable peace. However, since these sentiments are usually hidden or denied, they are very difficult for the peacebuilder to work on.

One advantage religious peacebuilders have over secular bodies is that they could be allowed by the conflict parties to go into these inner dimensions since working on values, attitudes and motivations is considered to be a legitimate domain of religion. Parties are much more likely to open up, own up, and work on those sentiments and mind-sets if an initiative to help comes from religious actors than if it comes from politicians or other secular actors.

2. Methodology

A second advantage of religious actors lies in the methodology they can use to address and transform the root causes of conflict. Most secular processes for

handling social conflicts (such as adjudication, arbitration and what most people call negotiation) are adversarial and externally focused. In adversarial processes the conflict parties engage in competitive struggles to explain the conflict as an outcome of the other side's conduct and one's own behaviour as merely reactive. The implication is that the conflict will disappear if the adversary's behaviour is changed to one's liking. Therefore, the aim of each side is to change the adversary's behaviour, by whatever means, so that it becomes compatible with one's own objectives or preferences. These conflict-handling mechanisms do not have much room for self-reflection, for taking responsibility for what the parties themselves have done to create or contribute to the conflict, or how they themselves could change their own behaviour to become more compatible with the adversary.

Interestingly, even in the mechanisms traditionally called negotiation, and in the mediation which facilitates these kinds of interactions, the protagonists' aim is to make the adversary give in to one's demand by using dialogue accompanied by subtle manipulation, pressure or intimidation. The assumption remains that the problem lies with the adversary and will disappear when the adversary makes accommodations. It is true that in modern conflict resolution literature, we have been talking about other approaches to negotiation and mediation such as "integrative", "problem solving" or "win-win" methodologies. But, amazingly, the application of these approaches has been very rare.

It is only with mechanisms like "reconciliation" that we have space for an inward focus and can ask questions such as: "What role have we, ourselves, played to create or exacerbate the conflict?" and "What do we need to do to alter our demands, behaviour and attitude in order to encourage the adversary to change?" These are the kinds of questions that are central to reconciliation processes known as acknowledgement (confession), contrition (repentance), and apology (asking for forgiveness). Since responsibility for conflict is usually not entirely on one side, reconciliation encourages the parties to look within themselves as well as at the other to explain the causes of the conflict and possible ways for resolving it.

The outward focus of our social science tools of peacemaking and peacebuilding might succeed in changing the adversary's outward behaviour but may not necessarily change their inner motivations and

attitude. One can silence adversaries through force, but that does not mean that they are converted. It may only be a matter of time for the problem to resurface when power relations have changed. This is one of the reasons why peacebuilding feels like a Sisyphean task, why conflicts that appear to have been resolved come back again, why we feel overwhelmed because we are dealing with the same phenomenon over and over again in different guises.

Religious peacebuilders are much more likely to lead conflict parties to reconciliation and internal transformation through the kind of introspective methodologies described above because they have the language, the concepts, and the legitimacy to talk about such processes than secular actors generally have.

3. Structures

Thirdly, religious peacebuilders have structures and networks of access to conflict parties that very few actors can match. There are not many organizations that can gather their followers on a weekly basis to tell them what they want to tell them. These channels could be very useful for mobilizing people for peacebuilding work. Moreover, religious bodies have wide-reaching networks that could be used effectively for the benefit of peacebuilding. For example, during the mediation of the First Sudan Civil War, the Sudan Council of Churches (SCC) was able to reach actors and mobilize resources at the national level, while its affiliate, the All Africa Conference of Churches could do the same at the continental level, and the affiliate of both of them, the World Council of Churches, could do the same at the global level. This is an asset unparalleled by many other organizations.

Realizing the potential

An important first step in realizing this peacebuilding potential is to make religious bodies aware of the potential and give them the kinds of skills and support to work on peacebuilding. However, this awareness entails the recognition and acceptance of at least the following fundamental principles:

1. Religion as a unifier rather than as a divider

I do not claim expertise in world religions, but I have not come across any great religion that does not profess justice, morality, integrity, harmony, compassion, respect and the importance of disciplining the impulses of selfishness and greed in human relationships. Although there are doctrinal differences and

differences in forms of worship, rituals, and legal codes, all great faiths of the world are preoccupied with helping human beings to aspire towards and be held accountable by these higher-order values. So, if faith institutions and leaders are to be true to what they claim they are they must uplift and amplify these values and make them central to the teachings and practice of their faith. They must revitalize them and teach about them in ways that are pertinent to the world we live in, and motivate their adherents to work towards them. In other words, religious actors must emphasize and focus on the profound spirituality of their faiths rather than just on the outward religiosity. This means going deeper into the intrinsic meaning of the doctrines, dogmas, rituals and worship practices and finding their essence rather than observing those rituals and doctrines as ends in themselves. When we do this, we see that the values of justice, compassion, harmony, and respect that we identified earlier as core elements of peace are also the prime elements of all great religions.

2. Leading by example

For religious actors to contribute significantly to peacebuilding they must be more than technical experts in conflict resolution. They must be examples of moral and ethical integrity, humility, tolerance, compassion, be a voice for the voiceless, and a refuge for those that are suffering. Peacemaking and reconciliation work is not just about doing but rather it is doing out of a certain manner of being. As much as there needs to be an emphasis on technical skills, probably even more than technical skills, peace and reconciliation work requires cultivation of character that embodies the values of genuine peace and reconciliation.

This point cannot be emphasized enough. I believe more and more that a major contributing factor to the wars and suffering in many societies in Africa, and for that matter, in the rest of the world, is because we are experiencing a deep moral crisis in addition to our political and economic problems. There is a void in the world that is crying to be filled by moral and ethical leadership. Sacrificing two million innocent lives in the on-going Sudan war for a political objective is no longer just a political matter. It is a deep moral issue. Stockpiling nuclear weapons on land, the oceans and even outer space for the sake of military supremacy, as the Superpowers of the world are doing, is not just a political matter. It is a deeply moral issue. For humanity to spend close to a trillion dollars a year on weapons of mutual annihilation while there is so much need and

suffering in the world that could be permanently relieved with just a fraction of that expenditure — this is not just a political or economic problem. It is a moral crisis.

There is a great need for leadership to save humanity from itself. Religious leaders have a unique opportunity to be the conscience of humanity and help in reestablishing sanity and healing in this broken world. So I believe that the most beneficial role religious actors and institutions can play in the contemporary world is to become the moral beacon to humanity, which is fast losing its sense of direction. This leadership, however, does not come just from preaching or being technical experts in peacemaking but from being living examples of moral and ethical integrity.

3. Inter-religious cooperation

For religious institutions and leaders to make a significant contribution to peacebuilding they must demonstrate respect and collaborate with other religious institutions and leaders. If they are trying to inculcate the values of tolerance, empathy, harmony and respect, which we said are intrinsic in all of the great religions of the world, then religious organizations and leaders should not only work together but should also be seen working together. Their public and visible cooperation could inspire their followers to break the artificial barriers that have fragmented humanity and created isolation, hatred, and demonization of each other. Especially when it comes to the common values identified earlier such as justice, peace, mutual respect, an ethical life, subordination of greed to humanity's greater purpose, they should be able to speak with one voice. They should advocate the incorporation of those values in public life. When they demonstrate these values in word and practice, they could not be easily dismissed as hypocrites. This would enhance their credibility and capacity to inspire when they begin to speak against the maladies of Africa and our troubled world and when they come up with proposals for how to deal with them.

They should develop common programmes that would operationalize those values — standing for the rights of the oppressed, being spokespeople for the voiceless, being the conscience of humanity, showing harmony by their solidarity and cooperation, showing their wisdom by providing enlightened alternatives to world situations and playing an active role to share this

wisdom, etc. All these would show that religious institutions and leaders are able to provide sound alternatives to the current leadership dominating the continent and the global order.

In sum, given the moral and spiritual crisis facing our world, delving into the depth of our faiths and demonstrating the values they stand for by living them could provide a strong antidote to the crises. Deep exploration of the spirituality of our faiths enables us to discover a very significant reality — our “common humanity” which, in my view, is the foundation of all peacemaking and peacebuilding.

Conclusion

Africa's history has been very cruel. The last 500 years of slavery, colonialism, and the turmoil of post independence would be enough to brutalize and dehumanize anyone. What astounds me about this continent is the realization of how much Africans have been survivors and how they have maintained their humanity against all odds. Despite all that has happened to them, Africans are forgiving people. The examples of post-Apartheid South Africa, post-Biafra Nigeria and post-independence Kenya are just a few outstanding examples. This is an incredible asset and a source of inspiration, not only to Africa but to the world, to humanity. The inner strength to resist oppression and the capacity to view the past with little bitterness are indeed rare qualities. We need to build on them. Forgiveness is an important foundation, but it is not enough. We have to create a new reality based on this strong foundation that would not allow the injustices and suffering of the past to be repeated. This is what I mean by addressing root causes. I hope that religious peacebuilders will take this as a challenge and find their proper niche in the creation of this new reality in Africa.

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Who goes to Gulu?

The Lord's Resistance Army and the 'forgotten war' in Northern Uganda

R O S A L I N D I . J . H A C K E T T

I saw quite a number of children killed. Most of them were killed with clubs. They would take five or six of the newly abducted children and make them kill those who had fallen or tried to escape. It was so painful to watch. Twice I had to help. And to do it was so bad, it was very bad to have to do.

— “Thomas,” age 14, as reported to Human Rights Watch

The war in Northern Uganda between the Lord's Resistance Army, led by Joseph Kony, and the Ugandan government, led by President Yoweri Museveni, is unbelievably in its eighteenth year. It has engendered such a massive humanitarian crisis that international relief workers and some Ugandan leaders now speak of “genocide” and “disaster.”

In April 2004 I was invited to visit Northern Uganda, in particular the town of Gulu, 220 miles (360kms) north of the capital Kampala, and center of military and humanitarian operations for the region. My mission was to speak to students at the new Gulu University, and to gain a deeper understanding of this ongoing human tragedy.

I was already aware of the crisis through media and human rights reports, and stories from my Ugandan friends and colleagues. Moreover, in the last year I had heard two heartrending addresses on the subject by one of the key peacebuilders in the conflict, Archbishop John Baptist Odama, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Gulu Diocese. He is renowned for bringing to international awareness the plight of the thousands of night commuter-children who still trek several kilometers each night to sleep in shelters in Gulu (and other towns in the region) to avoid being abducted and turned into child soldiers or sex slaves. That notwithstanding, the northern Ugandan conflict is referred to as the “forgotten war” or “the world's most underreported war.”

I could not keep count with the number of people who thanked me for having ventured up there to see for myself. For, as my host from that area noted, bus and taxi drivers in Kampala say to him, “Who goes to Gulu?” People are either afraid of the conflict, or have negative attitudes about the people to the north.

An outsider might be tempted to perceive this running battle between rebels, government troops and local communities as an ethnic or regional problem. Indeed the national press, in particular the state-run New Vision, conveys the tensions between Kampala and the northern part of the country frequently in this light. Yet Kony has his headquarters in Sudan. The harboring of Kony and the supply of arms from the Sudanese government in Khartoum, purportedly as a retaliation for Uganda's support for the Sudan People's Liberation Army SPLA in Southern Sudan, have heightened the geo-political significance of the war. Rumors of Kony's conversion to Islam only fuel suspicions about the machinations of Uganda's “fundamentalist” Muslim neighbors.

The religious element in this conflict is both intriguing and perplexing. The founder of the resistance movement was Alice Lakwena. Alice Auma, an Acholi healer and prophet, took the name Lakwena (meaning “messenger”), invoking the spirit or jok of an Italian army officer who had died near the source of the Nile during the First World War. She was given command of a

battalion of the Uganda People's Defense Army (UPDA), a coalition of rebel forces opposed to President Museveni. She evolved into a successful military leader because of her ability to unite the people with her rituals of purification and millenarian promises of peace and prosperity. The soldiers in her Holy Spirit Movement used only primitive weapons. They were also subject to strict prohibitions, and anointed with shea butter oil so that the bullets would be deflected from their bodies. After inflicting a number of embarrassing defeats on the National Resistance Army (NRA), modern weapons finally put an end to Lakwena's advance on Kampala in 1987. The remnants of the movement were taken over by her cousin, Joseph Kony in 1988, and renamed the Lord's Resistance Army (LRA).

While Lakwena taught that violence was justified in cleansing the Acholi of their evil ways and their enemies, the LRA under Kony has assumed an even more violent and destructive character. They cut off the lips of their own people, the Acholi, for informing the enemy. They plunder their land, destroy their camps and homesteads, rape their girls and women, and abduct their children for not collaborating with the LRA, or simply massacre them. These tactics intimidate not only those living in the villages and camps, but also the government troops. They seem to have contributed to the sensationalist, rather than serious, media treatment of the movement on an international scale.

Talking with those who know or who are related to Joseph Kony highlighted for me the spiritual interpretations of his power, as well as the aura of secrecy, mysticism and fear surrounding his activities. This aspect is well brought out by the Refugee Law Project report of February 2004 which talks of his "apocalyptic spiritualism." By "apocalyptic" the authors of the report seem to mean an increase in violent and destructive practices, rather than any belief in an imminent, violent world transformation. They do not view him as a "cult leader"

as such, in that most LRA members are not "brain-washed" into following Kony, but rather are drawn in by his divinatory and therapeutic skills. Ex-abductee and former wife of an LRA commander, Betty, spoke to us of having witnessed firsthand Kony's power to predict the movement of government troops in addition to manipulating the weather to thwart the activities of helicopter gunships. Kony is also reputed to have predicted the outbreak of the Ebola virus in Gulu in 2000.

Kony started out as a healer from a peasant family, and is also described as a "former altar boy." In the 1980s he recast himself as chosen to lead the Acholi out of subjugation using forms of "spiritual cleansing." Eclectic in his ritual strategies, he reportedly speaks in tongues and occasionally dresses in women's clothes. He prescribes prayer and strict discipline. Prayer warriors (mainly women) are deployed prior to military engagement. Leadership in the movement is recognized by the wearing of Christian and Muslim rosaries. Kony claims

to be led by spirits and biblical revelations. Yet he manipulates this prophetic vision and religious eclecticism to perpetuate a reign of terror.

In conducting research on such a movement, it was nigh impossible for me to claim any sort of defensive objectivity. Coming as I did as a fellow of the Joan B. Kroc Institute of International Peace Studies, people asked me for advice about how to end the conflict. Bearing both British and American identities I was asked for

appropriate steps about how to generate more diplomatic activity. Being a professor I was invited to speak to students in conflict management and development studies at the new Gulu University. Having an interest in the media, I was interviewed on a local community radio station which broadcasts to the camps. Being a woman with an interest in human rights, I was drawn into discussions with women political leaders expressing outrage at the exploitation and suffering of women. Claiming the label of anthropologist and scholar of religion, I was asked to comment on the stories of Kony's spiritual powers and ritual practices. Since I returned to



Rain pounds a displaced persons camp in Northern Uganda

the United States, my photos of the suffering people of Northern Uganda have been requested by Ugandan exiles and American politicians.

It was the visits to the IDP (Internally Displaced Persons) and night-commuter camps, and the meetings with escaped child soldiers, that will remain most deeply etched on my mind. On Good Friday, I walked through Palenga camp with Roman Catholic and Anglican church leaders. Pain and humiliation were written on the faces of both old and young, forced to live in crowded and unhealthy conditions.

The next day we raced along bush roads known for recent rebel activity, mercifully with a military escort. There was nervous laughter about the driver from Kampala who cowered in the back of the vehicle, too scared to drive. Our visit to Pabbo camp had a more political orientation, occasioned by the fact-finding mission of Honorable Betty Udongo, member of Parliament for Nebbi District. She was investigating deteriorating living conditions in the camps due to fires and rain damage. She attributed the rain, which fell heavily as we entered the camp, to God's intervention. It meant that she could now report back firsthand to Parliament and the Defense and Internal Affairs committee on the extreme measures that were required at the onset of the rainy season. We spoke briefly with staff from Médecins sans Frontières who were just completing a project on the rampant skin diseases in the camp. On the way back, this time minus the military escort, a woman in our vehicle pointed to some fields and said in a low voice that six women had been killed a few days previously while trying to harvest cassava. Not long after that we reached the outskirts of Gulu and passed Lacor Seminary, which lost more than forty of its seminarians one night in June 2003 when they were abducted by the rebels. Only about 20 have been accounted for.

Back in Gulu that Saturday evening, we visited one of the largest of the night-commuter camps for children, known as Noah's Ark. Accompanied by the spirited young Kenyan camp director, we visited the various tents and makeshift dormitories where more than 5,000 children come to sleep each night. Many have trekked more than 10 miles from their villages. Someone commented that the conditions were much improved compared to when the children slept in the streets of Gulu town last year. The most crowded section was the one for young boys, who are the prime targets of the rebels for abduction. Camp administrators are trying to organize creative activities and some medical care, but

are overwhelmed by the psychiatric trauma of many of the children.

On Easter Sunday, an intense conversation over breakfast with a Human Rights Watch reporter turned into a visit to the Child Protection Unit at the barracks. Lt. Col. Charles Otema-Awany, the chief military intelligence officer for the region, wanted us to meet the child soldiers who had been rescued from the bush the day before. The reporter tried to get some of the disheveled and malnourished boys to admit to being forced to commit atrocities, but they seemed too traumatized to admit to anything. There were also young women there who had been abducted many years ago to serve as "wives" to the rebel commanders. One said she wanted to return to the bush, saying life was better there. Perhaps like many other "defiled" young women, she knew that her future in her own community was grim.

One reason the conflict has lasted so long is its "low intensity" nature — marked by sporadic attacks and killings rather than large-scale massacres on a shorter time-scale, as in Rwanda. Another reason advanced is the inaction and lack of political will by state and international actors because the region is not economically or politically strategic. The inability to bring closure is also attributed to the failure of the LRA to articulate a clear political agenda. It has led to a variety of speculations about Kony's intentions, not least that he wants to impose his own version of a theocracy in Uganda based on strict adherence to the Ten Commandments.

While both parties call for dialogue, they also commit acts of sabotage and violence against local communities, undermining confidence in them. The optimism of late April and early May regarding moves to hold peace talks was dashed by brutal attacks in mid-May on camps near to Gulu, resulting in the loss of scores of lives and more displacements of thousands of people. United Nations representatives asking for \$128 million to cope with the 1.5 million displaced people in the region, more than half of whom are children. It is estimated that more than 20,000 children have been abducted during the war. When school children in the neighboring town of Kitgum were asked if they had ever been abducted by the LRA, 75 percent of those who had not been abducted replied by saying "not yet." The different religious readings of the LRA naturally engender different solutions to the problem. Those who subscribe to Pentecostalist deliverance interpretations of Kony's demonic activities believe that one cannot talk with a barbaric, satanic "religious cult." It needs to be

exterminated by military force, they say.

Others insist on the need to find a negotiated settlement to the conflict, and preferably one that draws upon traditional Acholi practices of forgiveness and reconciliation. This was well articulated to us by the Paramount Chief of the Acholi, Rwot David Onen Acana II, who has maintained contact with the rebels and performs rituals of reintegration for returning combatants. This relatively young but wise traditional leader has received conflict management training in South Africa and the United Kingdom. He is not alone among the community leaders who are pursuing further education in this area. Several of them, including even an ex-military officer, are taking advantage of the new Centre for Peace Studies and Conflict Management at Gulu University, under the guidance of its able director, and my jovial host, George Piwang-Jalobo.

If there is one web site that outsiders and insiders should frequently consult in connection with the war, it is that of the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative (www.acholipeace.org). Founded in 1998 as a consortium of Catholic, Anglican, Muslim, and Orthodox Christian religious leaders, and chaired by Archbishop Odama, they have not only been responsible for training hundreds of local leaders and students in peace-building, confidence-building, and conflict resolution, but also in spearheading the passage of the Amnesty Act in 1999. Its members have promoted dialogue rather than military operations and local militias, and criticized the potential prosecution of Kony by the International Criminal Court. Despite (or at times because of) winning prestigious international awards, they find themselves frequently under attack from government, rebels and local leaders for having become too political and proactive. Because of that, they have been advocating third-party mediation and diplomacy.

The Acholi religious leaders' efforts seem to be bearing fruits with the introduction in April of a bill by two U.S. senators (Lamar Alexander, Republican, Tennessee and Russ Feingold, Democrat, Wisconsin) calling for a report within six months from Secretary of State Colin Powell on the sources of support to the LRA, and the



Boys who were abducted or raised as soldiers by rebel forces

actions taken by the U.S. and Ugandan governments, as well as the international community, to protect civilians in the region.

While there have been criticisms of the government for not providing sufficient protection for the

embattled people of Northern Uganda, there seems to be little support for the "military solution" of trying to exterminate the rebel forces. This is in part because many of them are children abducted from local families. Also this approach has failed due to the incapacity and/or unwillingness of the Uganda forces. In fact, some would attribute the worsening situation in the last year or so to the government's Operation Iron Fist. The terrorist card played by Museveni is unpopular (the U.S. State Department listed the LRA as a "terrorist organization" in late 2001). It may boost anti-terrorism funds from the United States and may have served to help sever the links between the Sudanese government and the LRA, but it means that those who try to engage in dialogue with the rebels are reportedly subjected to arrest and harassment by the government.

As we drove back to Kampala that Monday, the contrast between the deserted roads in the north and the crowds of people further south celebrating in their Easter clothes was painfully evident. I tried vainly to process all that I experienced in a matter of days: the encounter with Alice Lawena's elderly, "born-again" mother, the smells of hundreds of children sleeping in close confinement, the political gossip over Ugandan native gin, the sight of children silently making their way at dusk into the shelters, the avoiding of traumatized people walking in the middle of the road, the roar of the helicopter gunship over my head as it returned from a mission. One African proverb kept resounding in my head, also cited by Archbishop Odama: When two elephants fight, it is the grass that gets trampled. The trampling of the people of Northern Uganda, notably the children, youth and women, is a blight upon the country, upon the continent, as well as our shared humanity.

Rosalind Hackett is a Distinguished Professor in the Humanities at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville, where she teaches religious studies and anthropology. She was a 2003-04 Rockefeller Visiting Fellow at the Kroc Institute.

Kroc leaders 'go to the people'

Lou Nanni

Vice President for University Relations,
University of Notre Dame
Kroc Institute M.A. Class of '88

It was with enormous pride that I sat in and observed the "Religion in African Conflicts and Peacebuilding Initiatives" conference sponsored by the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. Instead of hosting such an event within the comfort of our own campus, Kroc leaders chose to "go to the people," where daily struggles for peace are real and ongoing. The conference brought together a wonderful mix of



Lou Nanni

Africans, Europeans and Americans; of academics and practitioners. The dialogue was rich in diversity, yet unified by a culture of respect. Notre Dame's founder, Fr. Edward Sorin, C.S.C., envisioned not only an outstanding university but also one of the greatest forces for good in

society. Both dimensions of Sorin's vision are being advanced through the Kroc Institute. Scott Appleby and his team of faculty leaders are taking Notre Dame to places we have never been and desperately need to be, all for the cause of building a more just and peaceful world. Perhaps no university is better suited to address issues of religious conflict, which are preeminent in our world today.

My eyes were opened on this visit to Islam. Today there are 1.5 billion Christians and 1.2 billion Muslims (by far the two largest world religions). We need to seek understanding, to engage one another in dialogue and to assure that the voices of peace overshadow the cries for militancy. Kroc is positioning Notre Dame to play a significant role in advancing religious understanding and promoting peace in Africa and the world throughout. Father Sorin would be proud.

A chance for African-American solidarity — with Africans

Chandra Johnson

Assistant to the President, University of Notre Dame

My participation in the conference "Religion in African Conflicts and Peacebuilding Initiatives" marked my third trip to Uganda. This time, however, I went less as a tourist and more as a critical observer-activist. The gathering of scholars, social service and ministerial representatives provided a setting in which perspectives on Africa's political, religious and social structures could be openly expressed and critically discussed. For me — someone educated in the West as a Roman Catholic — this exposure to the strivings of the African and, in some cases, non-African educated elite, has deepened my reverence for education.

I am convinced more than ever that, if people are given the chance to develop a world view that supports the development of an equitable national identity, peacebuilding becomes an exercise in solidarity for the common good. This ideology becomes pervasive when education is used as a means of converging positive self- and national identity.

With this in mind, I returned from the conference with an idea for an initiative to assist in the ongoing educational development under way in the primary and secondary schools administrated by the Congregation of Holy Cross-Indiana Province in East Africa. The focus of the project is twofold: 1) To gather and expand the collective world view of the African-Americans who have graduated from the University of Notre Dame, to include East Africa and the richness inherent in her people and culture; and 2) to assist through fund raising the Holy Cross Mission Center in its efforts to ensure access to higher education for generation after generation of East Africans.

This summer, I return to Jinja with two videographers and a recent African-American Notre Dame graduate in an attempt to capture the essence of teaching, training and residential life that takes place in these schools. An informational DVD will be produced and sent to Notre Dame African-American alumni, most particularly those with whom I have become acquainted within the past eight years. The trip is being paid for by the Holy Cross Mission Center, University of Notre Dame and outside sources.

The project will invite alumni into a sustained dialogue about the effects of education on the religious and socio-political ideologies of Africans. Not only will this reunite African-American graduates from the University of Notre Dame from across the country in a dialogue of solidarity, it will extend this fraternal spirit to brothers and sisters across the Atlantic. This, I believe, is where peacebuilding begins.

| s p r i n g h i g h l i g h t s |

Kroc Institute hosts ‘Tending the Helper’s Fire’



An international worker, as seen by photojournalist and conference participant Karl Grobl

International aid workers are no longer just caught in the crossfire of conflicts; they are sometimes targets. Even outside of war zones, they can face emotional trauma, overwork, separation from families, questioning of values, burnout, and difficulty readjusting to life at home.

Who helps the helpers?

What kind of help do they need?

Those questions were the underpinning of the conference “Tending the Helper’s Fire: Mitigating Trauma and Stress in International Staff and Volunteers.” The Kroc Institute hosted the March 4-6 event at the Hesburgh Center for International Studies. Organized by Idealist.org, it attracted 80 participants from organizations large and small. An additional 25 Kroc students and alumni attended.

“To heal the world, we must heal and care for ourselves,” Michael Wessells said in opening remarks. Wessells, a senior child protection specialist with the Christian Children’s Fund, said that non-governmental organizations have too often taken a “stiff upper lip” approach to the problems of professionals and volunteers. He argued for policies and organizational structures to help those absorbing the responsibilities.

“There’s been an attitude of ‘If you’re going to be in this business, you’ve got to be tough,” he said. “Support for helpers cannot be an afterthought or a one-time reaction to an extraordinary event.”

The points at which organizations can and should provide help were addressed in three conference plenary sections. They were titled “Pre-deployment,” “In the

field,” and “Re-entry issues/transitions: Moving towards home.” Each plenary featured experts whose topics ranged from safety/security to unplanned terminations. Those auditorium sessions were followed by animated small group discussions.

Many speakers mentioned that international organizations should pay more attention to the needs of their national staffs — those working in their own countries.

“National staff is half as likely as international staff to receive safety and security training,” said Larissa Fast, who is joining the Kroc Institute faculty in the fall.

Michael O’Neill of Save the Children noted that 95 percent of that organization’s staff members are nationals. They represent hundreds of cultures. It’s important to know what kind of help will be valuable in each culture, he said. “The time of crisis is not the time to dig into the bag and say, ‘What will work here?’”

Regardless of culture, some problems are universal. Carolee Buckler of the International Institute for Sustainable Development noted the scope of problems she’s heard about in phone calls from the institute’s graduates. “I’ve had to deal with coups, armed riots, deaths in the family, volcanoes, marital problems....”

Said Martha Merritt, who has been establishing field sites for Kroc Institute peace studies students: “One of the most powerful messages for me from the conference was that students are statistically more likely to be victims of crime than of terrorism, and that we need to alert them to both.”

The conference included suggestions for resolving worker stress, including advice provided in a variety of formats (books, brochures, websites); better screening of professionals and volunteers to determine who might be more at risk; training that includes stressful scenarios; and improved orientation to the countries where international workers will be stationed.

Kroc Institute students in Hal Culbertson’s International NGO Management class created a conference report, available online at www.psychosocial.org.

Good self-care is the best and first line of defense, said Lynne Cripe of the U.S. Agency for International Development. Donors and organizations must be willing to invest time, money and personnel in the effort, she said. “We have a responsibility to provide support for the staff to take care of themselves.”

— Julie Titone

Hearts, minds, and sustainable peace in Kashmir

CYNTHIA KEPPLEY MAHMOOD

“If there is a heaven on earth,” a Mughal poet wrote of Kashmir, “It is this, it is this, it is this.” But the splendid terrain straddling India, Pakistan, and China is marred now with the blood of a conflict entering its sixth decade.

I had the privilege of accompanying Daniel Philpott, another Kroc faculty member, on a mission of faith-based reconciliation in Kashmir this March. Dan works closely with the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy based in Washington, D.C., and had been traveling to Kashmir for several years to facilitate a series of seminars in which Kashmiris would come together to discuss the moral, civil and spiritual transformation necessary for peace. ICRD had conducted more of these workshops on the Indian side of Kashmir’s contested Line of Control than on the Pakistani side; this time, we were coordinating what would be only the second meeting in Pakistani or, as they say, “free” (Azad) Kashmir.

A non-governmental organization called the Kashmir Institute for International Relations partnered with ICRD to invite people from all parts of Azad Kashmir to come for our conversations. Muslim women came in full burkhas (Islamic dress); professional men came in three-piece suits; students came in that universal student attire, denims. This motley and initially suspicious group was brought together through workshop activities. People were invited to talk about their grievances, express their hopes, and explore the ethical grounding for forgiveness and reconciliation in the Abrahamic traditions of Islam, Judaism, and Christianity.

It was this last area that proved most powerful. In a region where cycles of violence and counter-violence have conditioned thought for so long, we noted the sense of surprise with which participants greeted, meditated on, and eventually embraced, the concept of forgiveness. A moving moment came when one participant whose ancestors had been Hindu Dogras — held responsible for selling Kashmir to the British in 1846 — stood up and apologized. His words, emotion-laden, were received as epiphany.

People we met were clearly moved by the unexpected presence of Americans who cared enough to be in Kashmir, a place of travel advisories and danger. Dan and his ICRD colleague, Brian Cox, made up for dozens of U.S. blunders in the region by their presence. Working in partnership with Kashmiris to change hearts and minds, to create a more fertile grounding for peace, will not bring peace to South Asia. Peace will come when heads of state in New Delhi and Islamabad, and probably other capitals, are able to transcend strategic

interests to finally come to a compromise that will assure an end to this protracted conflict over territory, history, and national identities. But when those kinds of treaties are signed, the sustainability of the peace they may bring will surely depend upon hearts and minds in Kashmir not scarred by war, but healed by reconciliation.

Cynthia Keppley Mahmood is an associate professor of anthropology and director of graduate studies at the Kroc Institute.



Human rights leader: Iraq War failed humanitarian test

Because the Iraqi people did not face ongoing or imminent mass slaughter in 2003, the United States' invasion of that country could not be justified on humanitarian grounds, according to Kenneth Roth.

Roth, the executive director of Human Rights Watch, was guest speaker for the Tenth Annual Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C., Lectures in Ethics and Public Policy on April 20-21. In the first of two talks, he said the threat of genocide is the dominant factor when considering whether war is necessary for humanitarian reasons.

"This is a high bar, but I believe it is justified to set a bar of that height because we can't forget that war is about killing people even if you dress up war with the nice terminology of humanitarian intervention," he told an overflow audience in Hesburgh Center Auditorium. "At best, it means killing people in the other's military, but more than likely a good number of civilians will be killed as well."

Saddam Hussein was ruthless, Roth said, acknowledging that the U.S. administration was correct in thinking the Iraqis would be better off without the dictator in power. But humanitarian concerns were not the primary motivation behind the war, he said, and the invading forces did not strictly abide by humanitarian interventions law. For example, he said, the U.S. Army often used cluster munitions, which caused many civilian casualties, instead of using more easily targeted weapons.

"I am very fearful that the governments of the world are going to be much more reluctant to intervene militarily tomorrow because of this inappropriate justification of the Iraq war yesterday," Roth said. "In the future we are going to need humanitarian intervention as an option."

Roth's second lecture was titled "Counterterrorism: Are Human Rights an Obstacle or Part of the Solution?" In it, he criticized the U.S. government's unwillingness to hold itself to international standards. "When there has been a conflict between security and human rights, human rights loses time and again."

Human Rights Watch investigates, reports on, and seeks to curb abuses in some 70 countries. Roth has been executive director since 1993. In his opening remarks, he acknowledged the presence of the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, C.S.C., founder of the Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. "Father Ted really has been one of my heroes," Roth said. "Much of Human Rights Watch is modeled after his work here at Notre Dame."

Roth's first lecture is available as an occasional paper on the web at <http://kroc.nd.edu>.



Kenneth Roth with one of his heroes, "Father Ted" Hesburgh

Yoder lecturer delves into worlds of psyche, religion

Drawing on his own experiences, including a brutal police interrogation, Miroslav Volf lectured on "Memory and Reconciliation" on April 29 at the Hesburgh Center Auditorium. The occasion was the annual John Howard Yoder Dialogues on Non-violence, Religion and Peace."

The late Professor Yoder was a founding fellow of the Kroc Institute. Volf is Henry B. Wright Professor of Systematic Theology at Yale Divinity School. A native of Croatia, he regularly teaches and lectures in Central and Eastern Europe.



In his talk, Volf noted that traumatized people must not only remember their experiences, but integrate the memories into their life stories.

Miroslav Volf

"Salvation, understood as personal healing, is accomplished not so much by remembering as it is by interpreting memories, inscribing them into a larger pattern of meaning. As I remember the humiliation and pain of my military police interrogation, I can tell myself that the suffering made me a better person...that it has drawn me closer to God or made me more empathetic to the suffering of others. Or I can come to believe that it has contributed in some small way to exposing the injustice of the regime that sought to control its citizens by repressive means."

He also noted that memory can be destructive, as when the person who was tortured becomes a torturer. "What does it take to remember well?" Volf asked. "How can we help memory to be a bridge between enemies instead of a deep and dark ravine that separates them?"

As is customary, the Yoder lecture was followed by lunch and a spirited discussion with audience members.

Student effort pays off with enlightening conference

N A D I A S T E F K O

“In formal terms, it is a conference on peace that is organized and run entirely by students. Students come from many states to participate, they give presentations of very high quality on sundry peace oriented topics...it’s a great time for students committed to peace to come together. In less formal terms, this could be the Woodstock of your generation...”

Just hours before the conference started on March 26, I went back and re-read this first fateful e-mail sent by the Director of Undergraduate Studies on October 1, 2003 to recruit students to join the planning committee for the annual Student Peace Conference. Then I called my lawyer (who also happens to be my father).

“Dad,” I asked, “is it legal to withhold vital information in a document intended for public circulation?”

Where in that e-mail invitation, I wondered, was the disclaimer telling us that notes and hints from previous years’ conferences were few and far between? That precisely no one on the team would have had experience organizing a conference? Where was the notice forewarning me that when I agreed to co-chair the event, I was effectively agreeing to spend half of my final semester at Notre Dame on a schedule in which at least one of the three luxuries of time for homework, time with friends or time to sleep would be displaced on a daily basis by time to plan a peace conference?

The weekend that resulted from that effort was both enlightened and enlightening. More than 100 students from our own campus and from colleges and universities across the U.S. and Canada joined our planning team of 19 women and one man to witness the fruits of our several months of peace-scheming.

Mariclaire Acosta, a visiting fellow with the Kellogg Institute for International Studies, opened the conference on Friday night with candid reflections on her career as a human rights defender. On Saturday afternoon, Honduran peasant leader and land reform advocate Elvia Alvarado shared her story with a standing room only crowd gathered in the Hesburgh Center Auditorium. In closing the conference on Saturday evening, Notre Dame Law School professor Juan Mendez encouraged the students present to always be mindful of the conflicts that may arise when the desire for peace collides with the need for justice in a society.

It was, however, what transpired in the space between these three impassioned speeches that gave the conference its unique student essence. In breakout sessions, students presented papers, participated in panel discussions and attended interactive workshops on topics ranging from conflict mediation to political economy. In the evenings, our assembly of co-conspirators for peace gathered for food, drink, discourse...and samba dancing.

Two months and one college degree later, as I take my first tentative steps into the “real world” beyond Notre Dame, I am aware of yet another paragraph that was conspicuously absent from that first e-mail. It is the paragraph that counsels its reader not to leave the Kroc Institute undergraduate program without taking advantage of this unique opportunity to work and learn among a community of similarly bewildered yet invariably accepting fellow-organizers. It is the paragraph that forewarns of the friendships that will be forged during late night sessions of brainstorming for a common goal. This paragraph intimates that this conference is perhaps the university’s best not-for-credit course in creative thinking, decision-making, self-confidence and leadership by consensus.

Nadia Stefko, a 2004 graduate of Notre Dame, is an intern with the RFK Memorial Center for Human Rights in Baltimore.



Student Matt Lashlee takes notes at the peace conference



Chance to help with U.N. research engages students

Professor George Lopez wasn't without trepidation when, swamped with various research needs, he decided to offer a research seminar for undergraduates this spring. The stakes were high. He would be counting on inexperienced students to contribute to research aimed at revitalizing the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC).

Lopez, Kroc Institute senior fellow, and David Cortright, a Kroc research fellow, had funding for the project from the Danish government and the U.S. Institute of Peace.

Cortright described counter-terrorism as a red-hot issue that could not be more relevant to peace students and international relations. He was pleased to involve students, both for their research contributions and as an audience that would stimulate the professors' thinking.

But would enough qualified students be interested? Lopez had modest expectations given that the spring course registration period had long since passed.

"I hoped to get five or six students," he said. "I put out the word about what I wanted to do and I was stunned to receive more than 30 applications. We chose 20 and called them to a high level of performance, making the case that we were a working think tank."

The experiment paid off, both in research findings and enthusiasm. Students liked the practical knowledge and research skills they obtained, which could help them find work. One student declared the seminar to be "the best class I have taken at Notre Dame." One of the few criticisms was that the professors hadn't been critical enough of their work.

The students signed up despite the seminar's late hour: Monday evenings, from 8 to 10:30 p.m. They were required to produce papers on topics of their own choosing, as long as they were relevant to the task at hand. Leslie Deveraux, a senior political science major, researched a hotly debated issue: What is terrorism? Without a solid definition, she said, the CTC isn't as effective as it could be.

The seminar met Deveraux's expectations and then some.

"Professors Lopez and Cortright respected our work as if we were experts in our area. You felt like your work actually served a greater purpose other than gaining a better grade."

The CTC project is funded with \$50,000 from the U.S. Institute of Peace and \$150,000 from the Danish government. The researchers' assignment was not only to evaluate the work of the Counter-Terrorism Committee, but also develop policy recommendations for enhancing UN counter-terrorism efforts. They have interviewed experts on issues that are either an integral part of the CTC's work (terrorist financing; regional and sub-regional organizations; and legislation and other national capacities), or that have not been addressed in as much detail by the committee (travel restrictions; border security; cooperative law enforcement; the relationship between development and technical assistance, and human rights).

Sophomores Julia Fitzpatrick and Jessica Heringer researched efforts to stop terrorist financing by freezing assets. Fitzpatrick was grateful for the effort that her professors put into making sure the students were kept up-to-date on the workings of the United Nations committee.

"What impressed me most about the course was the highly relevant topic and rigorous method of research and analytical thought about the CTC and the overall counterterrorism effort," she said.

What impressed Cortright most was the quality of the students' work.

"The research findings and the insights of the students greatly aided our own research. To give an example, when I interviewed the senior staff person for the Financial Action Task Force in Paris, I was fortified with the latest information, thanks to a research paper on FATF by one of our students (Kate Lewall) ... In return, I shared with her the answers and notes from my interview, which she incorporated into her final paper."

The students' excitement was palpable and infectious, Cortright said. He'd love to repeat the seminar experience — though possibly at an earlier hour.

Stephanie Ahern, who delved into counterterrorism practices of the European Union, was one of four graduate students in the course. She said her classmates really wanted to make a difference with their work. She's not alone in wondering how much of that effort will show up in the final report.

— *Julie Titone*

Class of '04 moves on

The 24 members of the Kroc Institute M.A. peace studies class of 2003-04 graduated on June 30. Six of them have received Kroc support for internships immediately following graduation.

Josh Vander Velde will be living in Jerusalem for a year, working with the Israeli Committee Against House Demolitions. He will also be studying Judaism and human rights in a program offered by the Yakar Center for Tradition and Creativity.

Munah Hyde will do a six-month internship with the Victim Witness Support section of the International Criminal Tribunal for Rwanda in Arusha, Tanzania.

Mark Canavera will be in Uganda, working for AVSI (Associazione Volontari per il Servizio Internazionale). He will analyze data collected on former child soldiers, and assist reintegration centers working with child/adolescent soldiers.

Deniz Ugur will begin an internship at the Association for Liberal Thinking in Turkey. He will edit publications and assist with the organization of an interfaith conference in November.

Others with Kroc-funded internships are **Nid Poonyarat**, Nonviolence International South East Asia, Thailand; and **Mirak Raheem**, Center for Conflict Management, Rwanda.

Also, **Irene Zirimwabagabo** received Kroc Funding to continue writing her book, "How We Made Rwanda Our Home Again." Her primary funding is a grant from the Rwandan government's Ministry of Youth, Sports and Culture.

Plans of the other graduates include:

Camlus Omogo has a six-month Fulbright internship to work in the Washington office of International Crisis Group. He will assist with research on counter-terrorism and small arms proliferation in the Horn of Africa, as well as Africa land reforms, and will attend Congressional hearings.

Brenda Fitzpatrick will have a 10-week internship in the Conflict Resolution Department at the Carter Center in Atlanta, funded by Carter Center. In early October, she will head to the Philippines for a Kroc-funded internship with Catholic Relief Services in Mindanao.

Rebecca Steinmann will do research and writing as an intern in the peacebuilding and advocacy department of World Vision Canada.

Ann-Sofie Nyman will return to the International Helsinki Federation for Human Rights, where she will work as a researcher and editor.



Some of the M.A. peace studies graduates took part in the University of Notre Dame graduation in May. Shown with Kroc Institute Director Scott Appleby are, from left, Camlus Ouma Omogo, Deniz Ugur, Blanche Munah Hyde, Lidia Zubystska and Elias Omondi Opongo.

Kroc alum at African Union focuses on roots of terrorism

Martin Ewi picked a good day to oversleep.

It didn't seem so at the time. Having missed the 8 a.m. train into New York City, he was worried about being late for a meeting of African ambassadors at the United Nations headquarters, for which he'd been assigned to take notes. There would certainly be no time to buy his favorite muffin at the World Trade Center, where he changed trains.

It was Sept. 11, 2001. As the 9 a.m. train left Newark, New Jersey, smoke was rising from the World Trade Center. Ewi and other passengers were told that a plane had accidentally hit one tower. From their windows they saw a second hijacked plane slam into its target. The train stopped short of its destination.

Terrorism came within three minutes of possibly ending Ewi's life. It also has influenced the trajectory of his career. The dramatic attacks led to increased international attention to terrorism, which resulted in a job offer for the 2001 graduate of the Kroc Institute peace studies program. Ewi is now an anti-terrorism analyst in the African Union's Peace and Security Directorate.

"Terrorism was something I always thought was very distant from me," said Ewi, a native of Cameroon. "What I learned from those traumatic bombings of the Twin Towers was that the collateral effects of terrorism are far more than what we think, and that everybody is a potential victim of terrorism."

Ewi reflected on his career in Jinja, Uganda, when some African alumni gathered after the institute's April conference there. The event, focusing on the role of religion in African conflict and peacebuilding, pleased Ewi immensely. It was organized by his former Kroc classmate, Rashied Omar.

Omar, a Kroc Institute staff member, teased Ewi: "You are a big man now."

At age 29, Ewi is certainly well-placed to watch history up close and, through policy recommendations,

influence the future of his home continent. Based in the Conflict Management Centre of the Peace and Security Directorate, he works at the African Union's headquarters in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia.

Ewi primed himself for such a career. As an undergraduate at Juniata College in Pennsylvania, he studied the Organization of African States, which stood by as citizens of its member states died in civil wars and even genocide. The post-colonial OAS was replaced in 1999 by the African Union. The new union is committed to intervene if necessary in the internal affairs of members.

In fall of 2001, Ewi was on a Kroc Institute-funded internship with the African Union in New York. His assignment was to follow the proceedings of the UN Security Council that dealt with African conflict. After 16 months in New York, he returned to Africa to work for the AU.

The Kroc Institute master's program was very helpful in preparing him for his job, he said. Courses in humanitarian law, theories of international relations, human rights and conflict resolution — while not dealing specifically with terrorism — addressed the human dimensions of security.

"By having people like me in the field, we have been able to emphasize unconventional methods for combating terrorism, such as the need to address social factors that lead to terrorism,"

he said. "Our goal has been to go beyond the traditional security and military approach to understanding the issue and to addressing the root causes."

Ewi's job is challenging. While Africa has a history of terrorism, he said, dealing with it has never been considered a priority there.

"Also, dealing with 53 countries that are very diverse makes it even more difficult to achieve common policy objectives," he said. "This demands a lot of patience and diplomacy — which is an art I learn every day."



Martin Ewi, Class of '01, works for the African Union

— Julie Titone

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

Yan Yanfang ('89), from the Peoples Republic of China, has been a senior equity portfolio manager with Banc of America Capital Management since 2001. She previously worked at Putnam Investments as a vice president. Yanfang completed her PhD in finance at Boston College in 1996. E-mail: <convertpm01@yahoo.com>

Frank Castillo ('90), from the United States, directs the Department of Family Practice at Erie Family Health Center in Chicago, where he takes pride in being a role model for Latino medical students. When he attended the Kroc Institute, he had finished medical school. After graduation he did clinical medical training at the University of Wisconsin, continuing his peace activism with travels to Latin America. His medical practice has taken him to northern New Mexico and to South Bend, where he worked on behalf of the underserved Latino population. He has also been active internationally in Physicians for Social Responsibility. E-mail: <fmcastillo@pol.net>

Yousef Al-Herimi ('92), from Bethlehem, is teaching at Al-Quds University (Islam, world civilization, and logical thinking) and working with the Issam Sartawi Center for Peace Studies, which he directed from 1998-2002, as well as teaching religion at Bethlehem University. His work in promoting Jewish-Christian-Muslim relations throughout the area was featured in a report titled *Healing the Holy Land: Interreligious Peacebuilding in Israel/Palestine* by Yehezkel Landau, published by the United States Institute of Peace, September 2003. Yousef earned his MTS from Harvard Divinity School in 1997. E-mail: <Yousefalherimi@hotmail.com>

Cristián Correa ('92), from Chile, is executive secretary of the National Commission for Political Torture and Imprisonment in Santiago, which was appointed by the president to report on torture and political imprisonment in Chile during the Pinochet dictatorship. After interviewing more than 30,000 survivors in six months, the commission must research evidence for their cases and write a report, including recommendations for reparation and prevention, which will be presented to the president in August. Previously Cristián served as national director for the Juridical Assistance Program in the Ministry of Justice of Chile, which developed innovative ways to increase underprivileged people's access to justice, including mediation, people's empowerment, and interdisciplinary approaches from social work, psychology and law. E-mail: <ccorream@cpt.gov.cl>

Anna Snyder ('92), from the United States, has published *Setting the Agenda for Global Peace: Conflict and Consensus Building* (Ashgate, 2003). "The book is based on my dissertation research on conflict among NGOs, particularly women's peace organizations that were working towards building a transnational network during the fourth UN World Conference on Women. I concluded that they used conflict constructively to build the social infrastructure of their network." Anna is assistant professor of conflict resolution studies at Menno Simmons College of the University of Winnipeg. Anna received her PhD in social science from Syracuse University in 1998, followed by a post-doctoral fellowship at the University of Missouri-St. Louis with the Lentz Post-Doctoral Fellowship in Peace and Conflict Resolution Research. E-mail: <a.snyder@uwinnipeg.ca>



M.A. program alumni were well-represented at the Kroc Institute's conference held this spring in Uganda. Pictured, left to right: Fr. Peter Gichure ('02), Rosette Muzigo-Morrison ('93), Lou Nanni ('88), Rashied Omar ('01), Hal Culbertson ('96), Riziki (Mama-Nassir) Shahari ('03), George Wachira ('91), Christine Birabwa Nsubuga ('03), Charles Muwunga ('00), Dina Badri ('01)

Jasmin Habib ('93), from Canada, is assistant professor of global studies and Canadian studies at Wilfrid Laurier University in Waterloo, Ontario, Canada, where she is teaching in the Peace and Conflict stream as part of a very small (mostly new) faculty in the fastest growing program on campus. Her book, *Israel, Diaspora and the Routes of National Belonging* was published by the University of Toronto Press in 2004. Jasmin earned her PhD in Cultural Anthropology from McMaster University in 2000, and taught peace studies at McMaster. Her interests include the study of violence, militarism and the cultures of nationalism, transnationalism and diaspora relationships particularly to Israel and Palestine. E-mail: <jhabib@wlu.ca>

Xabi Aguirre ('95), from the Basque Country of Spain, began working for the Office of the Prosecutor of the International Criminal Court in The Hague in February 2004, after six years with the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia. "I feel very glad and proud to be one of the first staff members of the ICC Office of the Prosecutor, and in these days I have often recalled my time in ND. It is clear to me that I would have never been here if not for what I learned in Notre Dame, and for this I am and I will always be grateful." E-mail: <ktz@wxs.nl>

Anne Monaghan ('98), from Northern Ireland, is community relations manager for the University of Ulster, where she manages the conflict resolution/management program within the University, liaising with students, local communities, off-campus landlords and other community and voluntary organizations. Anne is also an associate mediator with Mediation Northern Ireland and sits on the board of Mediation UK, as well as a member of Belfasts' District Policing Partnership.

Kamar Yousuf ('99), from Somalia, is based in Amman, Jordan, as regional finance manager for Air Serv International, a relief and development organization which provides air transport, communication and information technology to all humanitarian organizations working in Iraq. She earned her MBA from the Monterey Institute of International Studies in California in 2000, after which she spent two years in the Africa Department of the World Bank as a management consultant. Email: <k_yousuf@lycos.com>

Rocio Campos ('00), from Mexico, serves as communications manager for the International Budget Project of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities in Washington, DC, as well as internship program coordinator for the Center. The goal of the International Budget Project (IBP) is to make budget processes and institutions more responsive to the needs of society and more transparent and accountable to the public. Rocio facilitates communication among civil society organizations analyzing public budgets in developing countries by editing a bimonthly newsletter distributed in three languages in more than 100 countries and maintaining the IBP website <<http://www.internationalbudget.org>>. Rocío also works as a volunteer for the International Child Art Foundation, where she has designed, coordinated, and facilitated conflict prevention workshops and exercises for youth in conflict zones. The Washington Times recently highlighted her work with a group of Greek and Turkish Cypriot teenagers. E-mail: <campos@cbpp.org>

Karim Kahwaji ('01), from Lebanon, earned a masters in clinical psychology from Santa Clara University in 2002 and is a psychologist with Alliance For Community Care in San Jose, California, a non-profit mental health agency. He provides psychotherapy and rehabilitation for the mentally ill, specializing in work with gay youth and refugees. "It is a very rewarding job. I get to combine both my MA in International Peace Studies skills with clinical psychology skills especially in conflict resolution. I have patients who walk in initially very ill and after a few months, they walk out healthy, ready to function again in the community. There is still a lot of stigma and ignorance about mental illness but at the same time there is lots of progress especially in the last couple of years." E-mail: <k_kahwaji@hotmail.com>

Phak Por ('01), from Cambodia, is working at the Australian Embassy Liaison Office in Phnom Penh, as an investigative assistant with the Australian Federal Police, focusing on transnational crimes such as trafficking in women, children and drugs. E-mail: <Phak.Por@afp.gov.au>

| faculty news |

R. Scott Appleby, the John M. Regan, Jr. Director of the Kroc Institute, was named Alumnus of the Year of the University of Chicago Divinity School. Appleby graduated with distinction with a Ph.D. in 1985. Appleby, a professor of history, also received an honorary doctorate from Fordham University in May. He previously had received an honorary degree from the University of Scranton in 1998.

J. Douglas Archer, peace studies librarian at the Hesburgh Library, has received the 2004 Intellectual Freedom Award from the Indiana Library Foundation. The award recognizes his longtime advocacy for intellectual freedom and support for local control of library policies, in opposition to last year's Supreme Court ruling that public libraries must have filters on their computers to block out potentially offensive web sites. In May, Archer also received The Rev. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C., Award, given annually to a library faculty member who has contributed significantly to library service, the Notre Dame community, or the library profession.

Faculty fellow **Paolo G. Carozza**, an associate professor of law at the University of Notre Dame Law School, has received a Fulbright grant to teach comparative human rights law at the University of Milan in Italy during the 2004 fall semester. Carozza joined the Notre Dame faculty and the University's Center for Civil and Human Rights in 1996. Also a fellow of the Kellogg Institute for International Studies and the Nanovic Institute for European Studies, he teaches and writes on international law, international human rights, European and Latin American legal systems, comparative law and jurisprudence.

Alan Dowty, professor of political science and Kroc Institute faculty fellow, marked his retirement from Notre Dame with a spring lecture titled "Is Objectivity Possible?" Dowty will continue his association with Kroc, having been appointed to help with the Jerusalem internship site that will be part of the institute's newly expanded master of arts program. He will orient students who go to Jerusalem in 2005, and will teach a basic course on the Arab-Israel conflict. In addition, Dowty has been appointed to the Kahanoff Chair in Israel Studies at the University of Calgary. He will teach and do research at the Canadian school for one semester during each of the next two academic years.

Faculty fellow **Teresa Ghilarducci** received the Reinhold Niebuhr Award this spring. The award recognizes a faculty member, student or administrator whose life and teachings promote or exemplify the theological and philosophical concerns of Niebuhr, the late Protestant theologian and author. Ghilarducci is an associate professor of economics and policy studies. According to her award citation, she "has written books and articles, testified before Congress, advised foreign governments, worked with trade unions, directed the Higgins Labor Research Center, and championed the rights of Notre Dame secretaries — all with an eye to emphasizing the inherent dignity of work and workers."



Teresa Ghilarducci

Faculty and staff of both the Kroc Institute and the Kellogg Institute for International Studies were on hand at a retirement luncheon honoring **Denis Goulet**, longtime faculty fellow for both institutes. Kroc Director Scott Appleby announced plans for a lecture to be given in the upcoming academic year in honor of Goulet, a pioneer in the interdisciplinary study of development ethics. Among those giving testimonials was faculty fellow Peter Walshe, who said that Goulet has "bound the academic community with a sense of the common good." He added: "As a result of Denis's teaching, we have a counterpoint to the disintegration of the culture ... He's actually giving us hope." Goulet served at Notre Dame for 25 years as O'Neill Professor in Education for Justice, in the Department of Economics. Goulet will remain a faculty fellow. He is compiling an anthology of writings tentatively titled "Development Ethics at Work: Explorations — 1960-2002."



Denis Goulet

At its commencement ceremony on May 23, Manchester College awarded **Robert C. Johansen**, Senior Fellow at the Kroc Institute and professor of



Bob Johansen

political science, the honorary degree, Doctor of Humane Letters, for his scholarly achievements as “one of the nation’s leaders on matters of international ethics, global governance, and peace and world order.” Johansen, who also holds a bachelor of arts degree with distinction from Manchester College, was cited for his strong “commitment to peace, global justice, and international security [which] is part of what keeps us from the abyss of intolerance and hatred.” In his commencement address, Johansen called on graduates to develop a “moral calculus to separate the truly important in life from what other people may think or tell us is important.”

George A. Lopez, Kroc senior fellow and professor of political science, was among eight University of Notre Dame faculty members named as faculty fellows for 2004-05 by the University’s Kaneb Center for Teaching and Learning. The fellows will share their teaching abilities and experiences through workshops, discussion groups, research and individual consultations.

Dan Philpott, director of undergraduate studies at the Kroc Institute, was promoted to associate professor of political science. In 2001, Philpott published his first book, *Revolutions in Sovereignty: How Ideas Shaped Modern International Relations* (Princeton University Press), a historical account of how new ideas about justice and legitimate authority fashioned the global sovereign states system. His current research revolves around the topic of reconciliation. In particular, he is looking at transitional justice — the question of how societies address past injustices, seeking to balance truth, justice, reconciliation, and stability.

A. Peter Walshe, professor of political science and a Kroc Institute faculty fellow, received the 2004 Sheedy Award for excellence in teaching. The award has been given annually since 1970 in memory of Rev. Charles C. Sheedy, C.S.C., former dean of the college. Walshe focuses on sub-Saharan Africa, specializing in

the political history of South Africa, political movements and church-state relations. His publications include *The Rise of African Nationalism in South Africa*, *Church versus State in South Africa* and *Prophetic Christianity and the Liberation Movement in South Africa*. He joined the Notre Dame faculty in 1966.

In memoriam: Retired professor **Basil O’Leary**, an adjunct faculty member of the Kroc Institute in the late 1980s, died on March 25 and was honored on June 12 at graveside services at Notre Dame’s Cedar Grove Cemetery. After joining the Christian Brothers as a young man, he taught at St. Mary’s College, Minnesota, from 1950-1979. He earned his Ph.D. at Notre Dame, where, from 1970 to 1980, he directed the Program on Non-Violence, which evolved into the Joan B. Kroc Institute for International Peace Studies. O’Leary was an expert on Gandhi. He is remembered as an activist who once spent a year in prison for anti-war protests during the Vietnam era.

Appointments

Martha Merritt has been appointed associate director for faculty relations and international development at the Kroc Institute. Merritt will oversee the development and operation of the institute’s field sites around the world and relations with faculty fellows and other Notre Dame faculty. She will also coordinate the visiting fellows program.

Anne Hayner has been appointed director of alumni affairs. She will develop networking and career resources, coordinate alumni gatherings, and maintain communications with the more than 380 alumni of the M.A. program. Hayner was the longtime coordinator of the graduate studies program.

Justin Shelton has been named coordinator of the institute’s graduate program. He will manage student services, facilitate recruitment and admissions, and assist in arranging field internships. He joined the Kroc staff in February as graduate program assistant.

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

Faculty Publications

Books

David Cortright, *A Peaceful Superpower: The Movement against War in Iraq* (Goshen, Indiana: Fourth Freedom Forum, 2004).

On February 15, 2003, over ten million people participated worldwide in demonstrations against war on Iraq. Author David Cortright writes as an engaged activist who was intimately involved in organizing many of the protest actions occurring worldwide. He helped create the Win Without War coalition, wrote articles and reports challenging the justification for war, and participated in numerous efforts to oppose the war. This is the story of that movement.

Chapters

Scott Appleby, "The Unholy Uses of the Apocalyptic Imagination: Twentieth Century Patterns," in *Apocalypse and Violence*, Abbas Amanat and John J. Collins, eds. (The Yale Center for International Area Studies, The Council on Middle East Studies: 2004), pp. 69-87.

How do radical groups such as Al-Qaeda justify violence against innocents, which bursts the seams of "just war" or the rules of Jihad? The author examines what might be called the fundamentalist apocalyptic imagination as it is built upon, and shaped by, distinctive readings and reconstructions of the past. Along the way, he examines the link between the violence perpetrated by religious extremists and their apocalyptic visions of time and time beyond time.

Oliver Williams, C.S.C., "AIDS and Life-Saving Medicine: Responsibilities," in *Case Studies in Business Ethics*, Al Gini, ed., (Upper Saddle River, NJ: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2004), pp. 268-277.

This case study discusses how people have increasing expectations of the role of business in society. In developing countries where HIV/AIDS is a major problem, large multinational firms have often assumed the role of providing medicines and care to those suffering from the disease. What should small- and medium-sized businesses do that may not have sufficient resources to provide such assistance?

Articles

Scott Appleby, "In Truth, Justice, Charity, and Liberty': Contesting *Pacem in Terris* in Our Time," *Journal of Catholic Social Thought* (Winter, 2004): 35-48.

The papal encyclical *Pacem in Terris* has weathered the passage of time, but it is also a child of its historical era. Events since 1963 in Catholic social teaching, including the emergence of "Catholic peacebuilding," were in some ways anticipated by John XXIII. But no one living in the 1960s could have foreseen certain new realities, including the global contexts within which Catholics today work for peace.

David Cortright, "Civil Society: the 'Other Superpower,'" *Disarmament Diplomacy*, Issue No. 76, (March/April 2004): 40-42.

Disregarding the unprecedented scale and scope of the antiwar movement, evidenced by the largest worldwide demonstrations in history, the Bush administration rolled ahead with its planned invasion of Iraq in March 2003. The unavoidable fact, as Jonathan Schell observed, was that "the candles in windows did not stop the cruise missiles." The antiwar movement nonetheless had significant political impact, as it forced the administration to take its case to the United Nations. Once the United Nations debate began, France, Russia, and other members of the Security Council were successful in forcing substantial changes in the first draft resolution submitted by the United States and United Kingdom in October. Security Council Resolution 1441, which was adopted in November, lacked the explicit authorization for military action that Washington and London had sought.

Alan Dowty, "Impact of the Aqsa Intifada on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Israel Studies Forum*, Volume 19, No. 2 (Spring, 2004): 9-28.

The outbreak of the Al Aqsa intifada in September 2000 was clearly a severe blow to conflict resolution efforts on the Israeli-Palestinian front. But how severe was it? Close analysis of Palestinian and Israeli thinking before and after the beginning of the intifada reveals an

immense gap between the basic conceptions of the peace process on the two sides. On the other hand, close analysis of public opinion data since then shows that the gap on “final status” issues has not increased, and in some respects has even narrowed. The impact of the intifada may be limited, therefore, if the cycle of violence can be broken, the differing conceptions of the peace process reconciled, and negotiations resumed between representatives of majority opinion on both sides.



George A. Lopez and **David Cortright**, “Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked,” *Foreign Affairs*, Volume 83, No. 4 (July/August 2004): 1-14.

Rather than analyzing what went wrong with American intelligence that should have shown only remnants of weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, the authors argue the need to examine what went right with U.S. policy toward Iraq between 1990 and 2003. By disregarding the success of international inspections and sanctions against Iraq, they say, Washington discarded an effective system of containment and deterrence. On the basis of such faulty

intelligence and wrong assumptions, the administration launched an avoidable war.

Daniel Philpott, “The Catholic Wave,” *The Journal of Democracy*, Volume 15, No. 2 (April 2004): 32-46.

In the “Third Wave” of democratizations over the past 30 years or so, approximately three-fourths of democratic transitions have occurred in predominantly Catholic states. The church played a very important role in bringing about these transitions, due in large part to the evolution of its political theology towards an acceptance of democracy and human rights, especially religious freedom, culminating in the Second Vatican Council. But the Church’s influence varied. In countries such as Poland and the Philippines, it led inspiring revolutions; in others, like Argentina, it did little to effect democratization. In general, the church was most effective as a democratizer where it was most differentiated in its role and function from the state, and

where its theology of democracy and human rights was most widely and deeply rooted.

Oliver Williams, C.S.C., “Shaping a High Trust Society,” *Business Ethics Quarterly* Volume 14, (2004): 337-343.

After the likes of Enron, Tyco, and Global Crossing, the world of business will never be quite the same. With good reason, many people are skeptical of what business leaders say and they are cynical about statements that business really wants to be a good corporate citizen. This erosion of trust leads towards more laws and regulations, and higher transaction costs. How can we begin to restore trust? Prakash Sethi has written an important book that elaborates on one way to move from a low-trust society to a high-trust one. In this article, Williams discusses that book, “Setting Global Standards: Guidelines for Creating Codes of Conduct in Multinational Corporations,” and offers some critical commentary.

Call for applications: Visiting fellowships

The Kroc Institute invites applications for the 2005-06 academic year. Housing is provided in the Hesburgh Center’s residential quarters. Further information is available under “Visiting Fellowships” on our website, <http://kroc.nd.edu>.

Kroc Institute Visiting Fellows conduct research in peace studies. Themes include the peacemaking role of international norms, policies, and institutions; the psychology of violence; and the quest for social, economic and environmental justice. In connection with the focus of our Rockefeller Fellows program in 2005-06, the institute also welcomes applications from scholars who specialize in the Middle East. Applications at the pre-doctoral, post-doctoral, and senior scholar level will be considered. Stipends range from \$20,000 to \$40,000 per semester (depending upon salary).

Rockefeller Visiting Fellows explore the complex role of religion in contemporary conflicts. For the 2005-06 academic year, the institute encourages proposals addressing program themes in the context of the Middle East. Rockefeller Fellowships are open to senior and junior scholars in the humanities and social sciences, as well as religious leaders and peacebuilding practitioners. Stipends begin at \$35,000 per year.

Choosing our students: “This is excruciating!”



Julie Titone
Director of Communications

It's one of the first questions I asked about the Kroc Institute, and one that I hear frequently: How do you decide who will be admitted to a graduate degree program that is both free and priceless?

I'm not involved in the culling. That's done by a half-dozen faculty members. But I do know that the admissions process can be agonizing. In the words of longtime Kroc professor George Lopez, “We didn't get into this business to say 'no' to people.” And these applicants are really good people. Not only good at heart — as evidenced by their thirst for peace — but excellent academically and brimming with life experience. The number of applicants hovers around 200. Half of those meet the basic qualifications.

This spring's admissions decisions were more difficult than usual. There were slots for only 15 graduate students instead of the usual 20. That's because the program is expanding from one to two years. In order to accommodate 30 students in both classes when the second year rolls around, the initial class size had to be reduced. (The number will slowly be increased in future years, as more housing becomes available and the logistics of the two-year program are perfected.)

I observed some admissions committee meetings, and found myself comparing their complex work to a chess game in which multiple boards are stacked on top of each other.

In addition to considering test scores, references, academic records and work/volunteer experience, the committee must gauge, without hearing them speak, the applicants' ability to communicate in English. Another big question: How does the applicant plan to use this education? There is no “right” answer. Our alumni take many different paths after their detour to South Bend. But admission committee members are eager to know if potential students are likely to join the international corps of peacebuilders envisioned by institute founder, Father Ted Hesburgh.

The institute strives for nearly equal numbers of male and female students, even though more women apply. Geography also looms large. The greatest number of applicants is from North America, but it wouldn't do to favor one continent. As the applicant list is whittled down, more questions arise: Have we chosen too many from Africa? Too few from Asia?

Despite the serious business at hand, admissions meetings are not brooding affairs. There is more than a bit of the gallows humor, as committee members lobby to keep their favorite candidates in the running. Some sample exchanges:

“His statement was kind of vague.”

“I thought it was very literary!”

“She's absolutely at the top of the peacemaking effort in her country.”

“I think her grades are prohibitive.”

“She has her heart in the right place. Given her academic record, I don't see how we can leave her out.”

“I put him among the 'free radicals' — very hard to predict.”

“She reminds me of students we've had who've done tremendously.”

“I'm ready to drop that person.”

“No way!”

“They're both fabulous and they both didn't make it.”

“This is excruciating!”

The latest admissions fracas ended with nine women and six men chosen for the class of 2004-06. Their average age is 28. Their average caliber of achievements, on an Olympic 10-point scale, is about 9.9.

The envelope, please.....

Thomas Arendhorst, USA; Diana Batchelor, United Kingdom; Maria Clayton, Philippines; Sana Rizwan Farid, Pakistan; Simonida Kacarska, Macedonia; Isaac S.D. Lappia, Sierra Leone; Damon Lynch, New Zealand; Nicholas Bisase Mambule, Uganda; Sammy Mwiti Mbuthia, Kenya; Min Xiaomao, China; Burcu Munyas, Turkey; Sarah Park, USA; Elizabeth Serafin, Mexico; Jonathan Smith, USA; Zamira Yusufjanova, Tajikistan.

We'll tell you about them on our web site this fall.



Members of the M.A. Peace Studies Class of 2004 gather in the Hesburgh Center courtyard on the evening of their June 30 graduation ceremony. They were the last students to complete the institute's one-year program. This fall, the Class of 2006 launches the Kroc Institute's two-year master's program. From left to right, the newest alumni are (standing, back row) Anne-Sophie Nyman, Blanche Munah Hyde, Deniz Ugur, Mirak Raheem, Camlus Ouma Omogo, Josh Moore, Biljana Radonic, Oldrich Bures, Jean-Marie Kamatali, Zafer Mohammad; (standing, center row) Chayanit Poonyarat, Lidia Zubytska, Brenda Fitzpatrick, Marissa de Guzman, Elizabeth Jordan, Irene Zirimwabagabo, Lola Ibragimova; (seated) Rebecca Steinmann, Elias Omondi Opongo, Mark Canavera, Raouf Ahanger, Joshua Vander Velde, Zo Sai Kunga, Anna Arroyo.



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