

Annual
Report 1998-99



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The Kroc Institute

The Kroc Institute is founded on the belief that peace requires the transformation of potentially violent conflicts and the promotion of social justice and equitable development. This comprehensive understanding of peace is rooted in Catholic social tradition and a broad ecumenical tradition of moral wisdom that stresses the necessity for justice in bringing about peace.

The Institute thus helps Notre Dame remain faithful to its mission of creating a sense of human solidarity and concern for the common good that will bear fruit as learning becomes service to justice.

The Institute builds on many outstanding resources at the University of Notre Dame. More than 30 faculty

fellows from a dozen University departments and schools create a network of peace scholars on campus. The University's strength and its broad interest in addressing value questions in all disciplines support the Institute's



emphasis on the normative dimensions of peace. As the most highly internationalized degree program in the University, the Kroc Institute contributes to Notre Dame's longstanding commitment to international education, which has led to the establishment of several international centers on campus and

expanding opportunities for overseas study.

The Institute is housed, along with the Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies, in the Hesburgh Center for International Studies. The name of the

Center reflects the vital contribution that Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., president emeritus of the University of Notre Dame, has made to

the development of both institutes. The Center includes three interconnected buildings: a conference area with auditorium, seminar rooms, and a restaurant; a three-story office building; and a 16-apartment residence for visiting faculty.

Annual *Report* 1998-99

- 2** FROM THE DIRECTOR
- 6** GRADUATE PROGRAM
- 8** UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAM
- 10** VISITING FELLOWS
- 12** RESEARCH ACTIVITIES
- 18** PUBLICATIONS
- 24** LECTURES
- 28** FINANCES
- 30** FACULTY AND STAFF



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FROM THE DIRECTOR

The Kroc Institute has just completed an especially rewarding year in which its faculty, students, and staff have registered solid successes in each of its three main activities: research, teaching, and public outreach. In the domain of scholarly research and teaching, the Institute earned a highly prized award from the Luce Foundation to establish a new professorship in religion, conflict, and peacebuilding, confirming the Institute's promise as an interdisciplinary research center.

The Foundation awarded the new professorship to the Institute after a national competition, open to any unit of any university, which included a visit by foundation officials to our campus for extensive conversations with faculty, peace studies students, and University administrators. The Institute will be selecting an accomplished scholar to

assume primary responsibility for conceiving and leading interdisciplinary, inter-religious exploration of the roles, whether constructive or destructive, of "lived religion" in deadly conflicts. He or she will be a catalyst in establishing a center of excellence through research and publication; new courses and inter-religious learning opportunities; a program of visiting fellows bringing scholars, religious leaders, and peacebuilding practitioners to campus; and conflict transformation workshops.



In addition to laying exciting plans for expanding work in the field of religion and peacebuilding, the Institute also conducted research in the following areas of continuing interest:

- the roles of international institutions and economic sanctions in both enforcing fundamental norms of peace

and human rights and empowering under-represented people;

- the dynamics of diverse conflicts throughout the world and efforts to aid war prevention and peacebuilding;
- the political and economic implications of globalization;
- international ethics and human rights.

As this report indicates, Institute faculty have published a large number of important research articles and books on the preceding topics.

In its educational activities, during the past year the Institute's faculty took several major steps toward strengthening its curriculum and pedagogy. We have recommended changes in the M.A. program with an eye toward expanding its depth, providing more options for research, writing, and faculty mentoring, and increasing opportunities for practical application of theoretical knowledge. The program continues to enrich the Notre Dame community by drawing outstanding students from all major cultural regions of the world, with

three-fourths coming from outside the United States. Our graduate alumni, numbering 270 people in 59 countries, are intensely engaged in an impressive array of vocations that range from teaching conflict reduction workshops in the Middle East and Africa to U.N. human rights monitoring in Asia to providing evidence and expert advice for the chief prosecutors at the international war crimes tribunals for both the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda. This year we activated an e-mail list that enables us to contact graduates immediately throughout the world and encourages them to communicate urgent concerns, obtain research help, inform other graduates of job opportunities, and receive moral support from one another when needed.

This past year our faculty in the undergraduate program, which has grown to its largest number ever and now serves approximately 100 concentrators, as well as

“The undergraduate program has grown to its largest number ever and now serves approximately 100 concentrators.”

many other students, conducted further curricular review and prepared plans for more course offerings and

senior seminar opportunities to move beyond a peace studies concentration to a second major. As a

vital part of the Institute's work, undergraduate peace studies education challenges some of the University's best undergraduates to develop international understanding aimed at making peace and building justice.

Policy recommendations that flow from fellows' research and from the concerns of students inspire the Institute's outreach activities. To give more visibility to the Institute's research findings, we initiated an exciting new series of policy briefs, with an issue appearing every 90 days, to convey the best thinking of Notre Dame faculty to government officials, journalists, citizens' groups, religious organizations, and the attentive public more

broadly. We also post both our policy briefs and occasional papers on the Institute's Web site. In other outreach activity, this year's student-led conference commemorating the 15th anniversary of the undergraduate peace studies program sparked lively dialogue on how personal beliefs and values affect strategies of peacemaking. A high-level scholarly conference discussed how to hold individuals (including government officials) accountable for honoring fundamental norms of peace and human rights, with important statements by a former prosecutor at the Nuremberg Tribunal, the current U.S. Ambassador at Large for War Crimes, and a dozen outstanding scholars. In the best-attended lecture the Institute has ever sponsored, Nobel prize-winner Oscar Arias called on governments and citizens to implement a code of international conduct in which no arms would be transferred to governments that are authoritarian or that grossly violate basic human rights.

Our visiting fellows program has gained rigor and is

being focused more carefully on the Institute's research agenda. Visiting fellows contribute to all our main activities: research, teaching, and outreach. The Kroc Institute has taken the lead to collaborate with the Keough Institute for Irish Studies to co-sponsor a one-semester visit by a well-known expert on ethnic conflict, John Darby, from the University of Ulster, who will teach a course for our graduate students while also conducting comparative conflict research. Our international collaborative work in South Asia has deepened with Jawaharlal Nehru University, the Fourth Freedom Forum, and the Ford Foundation, aimed at increasing our understanding of Indian-Pakistani security issues and developing peace studies throughout South Asia. A renewed Ford Foundation grant will facilitate additional faculty and graduate student exchanges and collaborative research and writing.

All of these achievements confirm the benefits of our interdisciplinary approach to understanding war and peace, not only because it pays intellectual dividends,

but also because it encourages an energized and dedicated faculty to work creatively together across departmental lines to affect other scholars, students, and policymakers. In addition, these achievements confirm the excellence of our teaching faculty and our graduate and undergraduate students, whose growth blossoms forth in close student-faculty interactions. Three of our many highly valued faculty — George A. Lopez, Ruthann K. Johansen, and Andrew J. Weigert—won the University's first Kaneb awards for excellence in teaching. I have no doubt that the quality of our faculty and students and the Institute's positive working relationships contributed directly to the Luce Foundation award; these factors also elicit the generosity of other donors who sense the dedication and competence of those engaged in the Institute's work. It is no accident that one recent gift from Mrs. Kroc is earmarked to support student learning and participation in public policy discourse by underwriting the entirely student-organized conference and other student

conferencing activity, and a second gift is designed to

“The past year also has brought into sharper focus three needs that the Institute must address.”

inject faculty policy recommendations into public policymaking. Moreover, I think that the past year's achievements also confirm the benefits of a philosophy of Institute decision making in which we have encouraged open communication, trustworthiness, and respect for the dignity of all staff, students, and faculty. Finally, the past year's achievements confirm the visionary wisdom of the founders of the Institute and the subsequently dedicated work of others, including Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., the ever-supportive president of Notre Dame at the time of the Institute's creation; our visionary first director, John J. Gilligan; faculty like John Howard Yoder, Kathleen Maas Weigert, and others who took the first initiatives; our former Institute director and

current senior fellow, Raimo Väyrynen; our longstanding director of Undergraduate Studies, George Lopez; and all other faculty and staff who have worked so hard to enable the Institute to succeed.

The past year also has brought into sharper focus three needs that the Institute must address: (1) to increase the number of faculty dedicated to its scholarly work, either through new joint appointments with University departments or expanded collaboration with faculty already at Notre Dame; (2) to obtain funds enabling us to lengthen our M.A. program and to sponsor a small number of doctoral students who seek an interdisciplinary peace subfield within Ph.D. studies in traditional disciplines and departments; and (3) to address with greater scholarly integrity and urgency several difficult ethical challenges posed for all the earth's inhabitants. These challenges arise in a world in which (a) the unconscionable, conflict-inducing gap between rich and poor continues to widen; (b) the human and material resources dedicated to military purposes vastly

outweigh the resources devoted to peacebuilding, even though the latter arguably have equivalent, if not more, potential for enhancing security for people throughout the world; (c) many people tend to limit their primary identity to only one segment of the human species and to behave indifferently or ruthlessly toward those with a different identity; and (d) the moral and political capacities for good governance, from the local to the global arena, are easily corrupted and slowly re-deemed. These challenges will engage the Kroc Institute's faculty, students, and staff (and presumably the larger peace research community as well) next year and thereafter in the foreseeable future.



Robert C. Johansen, acting John M. Regan Jr. director and professor of government and international studies

GRADUATE PROGRAM

Graduate work in peace studies at the Kroc Institute equips students with theoretical understanding and practical skills to prepare them for careers in research, teaching, public service, economic development, or social action. In a highly selective process, the Institute accepts 20 students annually in its intensive 11-month Master of Arts program. Approximately three-quarters are drawn from outside the United States. The Institute particularly seeks students from war-torn areas or regions where violence could erupt, and actively seeks to ensure cultural, religious, and socioeconomic diversity among participants.

The graduate program of the Kroc Institute provides two paths leading to the M.A. degree in Peace Studies: the Kroc Scholars Program and the Hesburgh Scholars Program. Kroc Scholars participate in a full-scholarship residential program designed to foster international community-building. Twelve to 14 graduate students from a diversity of cultures and academic disci-

plines spend a year studying and living together in International Peace House on campus, sharing their perspectives on critical questions of peace and justice. At the end of the year the group works together to produce a common statement outlining their preferred world, analyzing current obstacles and proposing shared recommendations for the future. Hesburgh Scholars follow the same academic work without the residential and community building requirements of the Kroc Scholars Program, allowing more time for individual research.

In 1998-99, the 12th year of the Kroc Institute's graduate program, 21 new students were enrolled, including two non-degree students, one an exchange student from the University of Innsbruck. Along with 11 Kroc Scholars and eight Hesburgh scholars, the full group included representatives from 18 countries (see list on next page). One student was the recipient of a Fulbright Scholarship.

Graduate course work and advising are offered by fellows from numerous disciplines and departments of

the University. In addition to the three required courses sponsored by the Institute (Peace and World Order Studies I & II and a conflict course, such as International Political Violence), some 40 crosslisted graduate courses were offered during the 1998-99 academic year.

Sharon O'Brien, associate professor of government and international studies and director of graduate studies during 1998-99, led the Peace Lab during May and June, in which all Kroc Scholars and others who chose to join wrote a common statement describing their preferred world. The participants produced an 82-page document titled "Fostering a Culture of Peace: Minimizing Intolerance."

Since graduating, students have embarked on a variety of paths in peace education and action. Several entered doctoral programs or further graduate work in anthropology, economics, political science, sociology, and law at Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, Emory University, Syracuse University, Indiana University, Pepperdine University, and Notre

Dame. A number have been awarded internships or fellowships for the summer or fall, including Sarah Mathis (USA) at the Carter Center in Atlanta; Kamar Yousuf (Somalia) at the African Centre for the Constructive Resolution of Disputes (ACCORD) in Durban, South Africa; Khalid Awad (Palestine) and Martine SongaSonga (Congo) at the Council for the Parliament of World Religions in Chicago; Rainer Hindsberg (Finland) at the Poynter Institute for Media Studies in St. Petersburg, Florida; Jennifer Stewart (USA) at the International Foundation for Election Systems in Washington, D.C.; Anna Busa (Latvia) at the Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peace-keeping Training Centre in Nova Scotia; and Wendy Lehman (USA) at the Washington Report on Middle East Affairs in Washington, D.C. Thai Cong Dan (Vietnam) has returned to his teaching position at Cantho University in the Mekong Delta.



Graduate Students 1998-99

KROC SCHOLARS:

Awal Abdulai	Bimbilla, Northern Region, Ghana
Khalid Awad	Beit Ommer, West Bank, Palestine
Anna Buša	Riga, Latvia
Shiva Hari Dahal.....	Kathmandu, Nepal
Rainer Hindsberg	Helsinki, Finland
Reham Lashin	Cairo, Egypt
David Ortiz	Mexico D.F., Mexico
Martine Kaswahile SongaSonga	Lumumbashi, D.R. of Congo
Jennifer Stewart	Little Rock, Arkansas, USA
Thái Công Dân	Cantho City, Vietnam
Fang, Zhang	Beijing, P.R. of China

HESBURGH SCHOLARS:

Sophie Gelashvili.....	Tbilisi, Georgia
Wendy Lehman	Kidron, Ohio, USA
Sarah Mathis	Berkeley, California, USA
Tove Cecilia Norlen	St. Anna, Sweden
Binnur Özkeçeci	Gaziantep, Turkey
Dana Potočková	Prague, Czech Republic
Adriana Quiñones	Bogotá, Colombia
Kamar Yousuf	Hargeisa, Somalia

NON-DEGREE STUDENTS:

Mirjam Michaela Mueller	Bregenz, Vorarlberg, Austria
Pilar Rueda	Bogotá, Colombia



UNDERGRADUATE PROGRAM

The Concentration in Peace Studies (CPS) is a 15-credit-hour multidisciplinary program available to undergraduates who want to complement their major field with courses focused on issues of peace, violence, justice, and human rights. Courses in the concentration aim to combine knowledge with relevant skills and are drawn from more than 15 university departments.

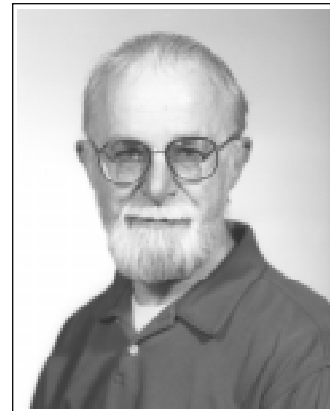
Highlights of this year included 60 students enrolling in the new undergraduate introductory course on conflict resolution skills and the largest senior seminar enrollment (16 students) in the history of the program. It also was a memorable year as the students in the concentration hosted a two-day confer-

ence March 26-27 titled "The Personal and the Political: Exploring Beliefs, Values, and Peacemaking" to commemorate the 15th anniversary of the concentration. Participants included several alumni of the program, students and faculty from area peace studies programs, and members of local community organizations. Sarah Shirey, a German major, and Kelly Smith, an English major, co-chaired the event.

The undergraduate program also organized a number of events to help students explore careers in peace and justice. These included a panel discussion, "Can Lawyers go to Heaven? The Legal Profession and the Pursuit of Peace and Justice" on September 22, with panelists Paolo Carozza,

William Kelley, and Elizabeth Schiltz, all associate professors at the Law School; a workshop on "Careers in Peace and Justice Organizations" on September 29, led by George Lopez, director of undergraduate studies, and a panel of faculty; and a panel discussion of "Getting into Grad Schools in International Affairs" on October 13, with admissions representatives from several major universities.

T. Nicholas Tyszka, a junior, and Kelly Smith, a senior, were named the 1999 winners of the Yarrow award at the awards convocation of the College of Arts and Letters held in May. Established in 1996 by Notre Dame alumna Leslie Anderson, the award is named in honor of entertainer and peace activist Peter Yarrow and is meant to



Ruthann Johansen, George Lopez, and Andrew Weigert, who teach courses in the Concentration in Peace Studies, were among the inaugural recipients of the Kaneb Teaching Award given by the University of Notre Dame for outstanding undergraduate teaching.

recognize students who combine academic achievement with a demonstrated commitment to service work for peace.

Smith co-organized the 15th anniversary conference for the CPS and held a distinguished service record at the highest level. She spent last summer working as an advanced planning person for the “people side” of trips taken by Hillary Rodham Clinton, and assisted with the first lady’s trip this past spring to the Dominican Republic.

Tyszka has the distinction of being the first Notre Dame student to be granted a “self-designed major” in peace studies within the College of Arts and Letters. In addition, he has demonstrated a strong service commitment, having worked for several South Bend organizations, including the Life Treatment Center and the Center for the Homeless. This summer, supported in part by the Yarrow award, he interned in Washington, D.C., at the Campaign for Human Development of the U.S. Catholic Conference.



Student Conference Commemorates 15th Anniversary

How can peacemaking be integrated into daily life after graduation? To explore this important issue, the students in the Concentration in Peace Studies (CPS) hosted a two-day conference March 26-27 titled “The Personal and the Political: Exploring Beliefs, Values, and Peacemaking.”

The conference’s emphasis on the integration of peace education with concrete personal and professional activities provided a fitting commemoration for the 15th anniversary of the concentration. Participants included several alumni of the program, students and faculty from area peace studies programs, and members of local community organizations.



Jennette Muñoz-Colón ('97), Coleman McMahon ('91), Amy Eckert ('92), and John Blakeley (L.L.M. '97) discuss life after peace studies.

The conference opened on Friday evening with a multicultural artistic performance titled “Celebrating Peace,” which featured Notre Dame student films, a dramatic reading of African-American poetry by Gladys Mohammed, associate director of the South Bend Heritage Foundation, a dance by Najla Moore, an African-American dancer from Earlham College, and poetry readings and music performed by students.

On Saturday, conference participants met in small groups for roundtable discussions of papers by students and guests on several topics, including:

- * Creating an Economy of Peace,
- * Preserving Human Rights,
- * Finding Peace in War,
- * Political Reformation and Recreating Peace,
- * Speaking Out for the Social and Culturally Marginalized, and
- * Providing a Personal Peace.

Saturday’s events also included an inspiring presentation by Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., on “Challenges to the Next Generation in Peace and Justice.” The conference closed with a discussion titled “Is there Life after Peace Studies?” Led by a panel of alumni, the session explored how all had integrated peace studies into their life and work.

Sarah Shirey, a German major, and Kelly Smith, an English major, co-chaired the event as their senior culminating project. After securing approval for the project from the Institute, they went on to obtain partial funding from the College of Liberal Arts. As they later noted, “As our culminating project, we wanted it to involve much of what we had become here at Notre Dame. Thus, we utilized the knowledge, the skills, the resources, and the people we have encountered here to carry out this project. In many ways, the organization of the conference made real many of the theories and ideas we had encountered in our courses.”

VISITING FELLOWS

Each year, the Kroc Institute hosts several scholars from the United States and abroad as visiting fellows. Visiting fellows bring international expertise and new perspectives to the educational and research programs of the Kroc Institute. This year the program hosted four visiting fellows:

Uma Balakrishnan taught the core graduate course on peace and world order studies during the spring semester. She also continued research on two projects: a book examining women leaders in international politics and another book focusing on international regimes on global warming.



Balakrishnan received her Ph.D. from the University of Notre Dame's government and international studies department in 1994. Since graduating, she has been an assistant professor in the government department at St.

John's University, teaching graduate courses in international law to U.N. diplomats, and undergraduate courses in international relations.

Rich Conroy, a 1988-89 alumnus of the Institute's graduate program, was a visiting fellow at the Kroc Institute this year while serving as a visiting assistant professor in the Department of Government and International Studies. Conroy taught undergraduate courses on U.S. foreign policy and introduction to international relations and a graduate course on the United Nations and the maintenance of international peace and security. He presented a paper on U.N. travel sanctions at a U.N. symposium, "Towards Smarter, More Effective United Nations Sanctions," organized by the sanctions project, and he has been researching African sanctions and arms embargoes cases

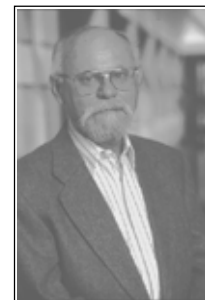


for a forthcoming study.

In addition to completing the Institute's graduate program in 1989, Conroy received a doctorate in government and international studies from Notre Dame in 1994. His research specialties include global arms control and international peacekeeping.

Menachem Friedman, a leading authority on ultra-orthodox Judaism, conducted research for a book on the messianic figure, Rabbi M.M. Schneersohn, the late Habad head, while a visiting fellow at Kroc Institute this

year. The book will examine how Schneersohn established his religious following and place him in the context of 20th century fundamentalist movements. Friedman also presented a lecture on "The Impact of 'Secularism by Default' on the Orthodox Jewish Way of Life in the Post-Modern Era" on April 22, which explored



sources of conflict between orthodox and non-orthodox Jews within Israel.

On sabbatical from his position as professor of sociology and anthropology at Bar Ilan University, Israel, Friedman is well known for his work on the relationship

between religious and non-religious segments of Israeli society. His book *Society and Religion: The Non-Zionist Orthodoxy in Eretz-Israel 1916-1936* (Jerusalem, Yad Ben-Zvi: 1982) (in Hebrew) has become a basic source book in the field, and he is beginning a new book that examines this relationship from 1948 to the present.

Patricia M. Mische brought her extensive knowledge and experience of peace and world order issues to the Institute this past year. She taught the core graduate course on peace and world order studies during the fall semester and a course on religion, peace, and world order in the spring. Her research and writing at the Institute focused on religion and world order, and she edited a forthcoming book on the subject. On May 6, she delivered a lecture titled "Religion, Social Justice, and a Culture of Peace," which



examined the 1989 People Power Revolt in the Philippines as a case study of how religious views of social justice shape cultural approaches to conflict.

Mische has taught in the Peace Education Program at Columbia University and is also a co-founder of Global Education Associates, a network of men and women in 90 countries who collaborate on research, writing, and educational programs. She has also been involved with a number of U.N. programs, including UNESCO's program on the Contribution of Religions to a Culture of Peace and UNICEF's Education for All program in Africa. Her current research is on relationships between ecology and peace, including case studies of environmental factors in conflict and cooperation in Japan, Malaysia, and the Philippines. She recently published *Ecological Security and the United Nations System: Past, Present, Future* (Global Education Associates, 1998) and previously published more than 100 articles and chapters in periodicals and books.



1998-99 VISITORS

David Cortright, research fellow; President, Fourth Freedom Forum, Goshen, Indiana

Uma Balakrishnan, visiting fellow; assistant professor, St. John's University, Jamaica, New York

Richard Conroy, visiting fellow; visiting assistant professor, University of Notre Dame

Menachem Friedman, visiting fellow; professor, Bal-Ilan University, Israel

Patricia Mische, visiting fellow; president, Global Education Associates, New York

Barbara McCrea, visiting scholar, University of Notre Dame

Basil O'Leary, visiting scholar, University of Notre Dame

RESEARCH ACTIVITIES

The Kroc Institute seeks to foster an interdisciplinary community of scholars whose diverse research enriches the understanding of several broad themes:

- the role of international norms and institutions in peacemaking;
- the impact of religious, philosophical, and cultural influences on peace;
- the dynamics of inter-group conflict and conflict transformation; and
- the promotion of human rights and social, economic, and environmental justice.

To further research in these areas, the Kroc Institute sponsors conferences, symposia, and guest lecturers; facilitates collaborative research endeavors; and assists fellows in disseminating research results to scholars, policymakers, and peace practitioners.

This past year, the Kroc Institute organized or co-organized three major confer-

ences, two symposia, and numerous guest lectures. Highlights of several major projects in areas of common interest are described below. A complete list of publications by Kroc fellows is provided in the “Publications” section.

RELIGION, CONFLICT, AND PEACEBUILDING

This interdisciplinary, inter-religious initiative by the Kroc Institute explores the complex roles of diverse religious traditions in contemporary conflicts. This past year, the Henry Luce Foundation selected the Kroc Institute for a Luce Profes-

sorship in Religion, Conflict, and Peacebuilding. The Luce Professor will join the core faculty of the Kroc Institute and will lead educational and research initiatives by Notre

Dame faculty and visiting fellows on religious human rights, inter- and intra-religious dialogue, and

religious peacebuilding. Scott Appleby and Hal Culbertson drafted the proposal, with helpful comments from Acting Director Robert C. Johansen; Rev. David Burrell, C.S.C.; Rev. Patrick Gaffney, C.S.C.; George A. Lopez; and Carolyn Nordstrom. Additional Notre Dame faculty, peace studies students, and University administrators, in a genuinely uplifting, transdisciplinary, cooperative effort, provided thoughtful suggestions for the new program during a site visit by representatives of the Luce Foundation and in planning thereafter.

ENFORCING NORMS OF PEACE

Several Kroc fellows study tools for enforcing international norms. During the past year, the Kroc Institute and the Center for Civil and Human Rights at the Notre Dame Law School organized a conference on the International Criminal Court to explore its potential impact on peace and human rights. (See sidebar.) Raimo Väyrynen edited *Globalization and Global Governance*, (Lanham: Rowman and



Littlefield, 1999), which examines the prospects for strengthening an institutional world order by encouraging and enforcing compliance with international norms. The book emerged from a U.S.-Canadian conference on global governance organized by the Kroc Institute in 1997; several Kroc faculty contributed chapters. Alan Dowty presented a proposal for a universal ban on the first use of weapons of mass destruction to the Non-Governmental Organizations Committee on Disarmament at the United Nations. In *The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Chad Alger (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 1998), 22 scholars, including Raimo Väyrynen, Robert Johansen, George A. Lopez, and Patricia Mische, comment on ways to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations and multilateral diplomacy in addressing future world problems.

The Permanent International Criminal Court: Will It Make A Difference for Peace and Human Rights?

March 19-20

In July 1998, 120 countries voted to adopt a treaty creating an International Criminal Court (ICC). To explore the impact of the ICC on peace and human rights, the Center for Civil and Human Rights at the Notre Dame Law School and the Kroc Institute co-sponsored a conference that assembled legal scholars, policymakers, and leaders of nongovernmental organizations.

Benjamin Ferencz, former Nuremberg prosecutor, opened the conference with vivid descriptions of the Nuremberg Tribunal. Conference panels on Friday then examined the International Criminal Tribunals in Rwanda and the Former Yugoslavia as precursors of the new court and various legal aspects of the ICC statute. On Saturday, panels considered the complex interaction of international criminal, humanitarian, and human rights law; gender issues in international criminal law; the relationship between truth commissions and the ICC; and victims' rights under the ICC statute.

Hon. David Scheffer, U.S. Ambassador at Large for War Crimes, who led the U.S. delegation at the Rome Conference, noted that the United States in principle supports the establishment of an International Criminal Court and is satisfied with major parts of the treaty, including provisions on complementarity and cooperation and the definitions of crimes against humanity and war crimes. However, the United States did not sign the final version because of concerns over prosecutions that might be brought against the United States and over the definition of aggression. "We need to find a definition of aggression that works for those who are prepared to use military force in defense of human rights and to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction," he stated. This was followed by an open forum on possible U.S. ratification.



The conference also featured a screening of the documentary film *Calling the Ghosts*, which included several interviews with victims of the human rights violations in Bosnia-Herzegovina. **Mandy Jacobsen**, director of the film, discussed its creation.

Dinah Shelton, professor of law at the Center for Civil and Human Rights and Kroc Institute fellow, is editing papers presented at the conference for a book to be published by Transnational Press.

ECONOMIC SANCTIONS

The sanctions project examines the effectiveness of sanctions, their humanitarian impact, the ethics of sanctions, and the ways in which sanctions might be improved, especially through the use of "smart" sanctions. The project is a partnership between the Institute and the nearby Fourth Freedom Forum of Goshen, Indiana. Principal co-investigators are George A. Lopez and David Cortright.

During 1998-99, Cortright and Lopez, with funding from the MacArthur Foundation and the United States Institute of Peace, organized a series of meetings with the diplomatic members of the United Nations and with members of the Secretariat and the seven major economic sanctions committees, focusing on the humanitarian impact of sanctions and the effectiveness of targeted financial sanctions. The most significant was in New York in early December, which produced papers that will result in a book. They also organized a symposium on the ethics of economic sanctions on November 5 featuring Joy Gordon, assistant professor of philosophy at Fairfield

University. Gordon's contribution to this symposium was published as an occasional paper (#15:OP:1). Lopez and Cortright also participated in meetings of diplomats and experts in Interlaken, Switzerland, on increasing the use of targeted financial sanctions. During the spring and summer of 1999, they were at work on a book, *The Sanctions Decade*, which examines the 11 major cases of U.N. economic sanctions in the 1990s. This effort was supported by a grant from the International Peace Academy.

SOUTH ASIAN ACADEMIC EXCHANGE

This joint endeavor seeks to encourage the growth and academic excellence of peace research and education through academic exchanges of scholars and collaborative research by the Kroc Institute and South Asian scholars. The project co-directors are Amitabh Mattoo, associate professor of international studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in Delhi, and David Cortright, Kroc fellow and president of the Fourth Freedom Forum.

During 1998-99, the Kroc Institute, the Fourth Freedom Forum, and the School for International Studies at JNU organized a conference on security issues in South Asia. (See Sidebar.) Samina Ahmed and David Cortright also published the edited volume *Pakistan and the Bomb: Public Opinion and Nuclear Options*, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), which evaluates the results of an in-depth public opinion survey conducted in the months leading up to Pakistan's 1998 nuclear tests. The Ford Foundation (India) agreed to renew its grant to enable faculty exchange and a small number of doctoral students from India to study at the Kroc Institute.



A Special Report on South Asian security is available from the Institute and online at: www.nd.edu/~krocinst/KROC_Reports2.html

The Challenge of Cooperation: South Asia And Beyond December 11-13

This conference convened leading scholars and experts from South Asia to explore ways to expand substantive policy initiatives and enhance peace and conflict prevention throughout the region. Jointly organized by the Kroc Institute, Fourth Freedom Forum, and the School of International Studies at Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in Delhi, India, the conference was held in Kathmandu, Nepal.

Hon. Gareth Evans, Q.C., former foreign minister of Australia and member of the Canberra Commission on the Elimination of Nuclear Weapons, contributed the keynote address, "The Challenge of Disarmament in South Asia and the World." In his address Evans proposed a sustained program of confidence-building measures between India and Pakistan. He suggested that this process must begin with serious and comprehensive negotiations for eliminating nuclear weapons by the world's five original nuclear states—the United States, Britain, France, Russia, and China—under the terms of the Nuclear Proliferation Treaty (NPT).

Ambassador Arundhati Ghose, India's former permanent representative at Geneva and ambassador to the Conference on Disarmament, contributed a keynote



presentation on U.S. policy toward the region. She addressed how the United States and India can work toward accommodation and mutual cooperation after India's and Pakistan's nuclear tests and subsequent U.S. economic sanctions. Ghose criticized the role of U.S.-imposed sanctions as being discriminatory and counterproductive, and questioned the legitimacy of sanctioning a democratically elected government for acting legally and in its own national security interest.

Much of the discussion focused on the recent nuclear weapons tests of India and Pakistan and how these tests have altered the

security environment in South Asia. Panels also addressed the spread of small arms and illicit drug trade, refugees and population displacement, ethnic and

religious nationalism, and environmental problems and resource scarcity. The conference included an evaluation of the initial results of the Kroc Institute-JNU academic exchange program.

Before the Kathmandu meetings, Acting Director Robert Johansen lectured on normative analysis in

international relations and peace studies at universities in Delhi and Mumbai.

Papers presented in Kathmandu are available on the Kroc Institute's Web site at www.nd.edu/~krocinst and on the Fourth Freedom Forum's Web site at www.fourthfreedom.org. A collection of the papers is being published in a forthcoming volume published by Notre Dame Press. Coeditors of the volume will be David Cortright and Amitabh Mattoo. A special report on South Asian security highlighting activities of this project is available from the Kroc Institute.

THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF CONFLICT

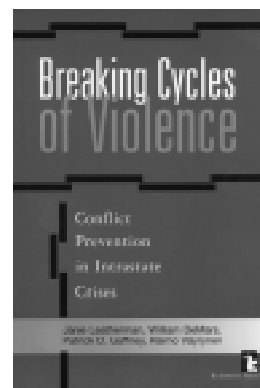
Research by several Kroc Institute fellows emphasizes the impact of political violence on civilian populations. During the past year, Janie Leatherman, William DeMars, Patrick D. Gaffney, and Raimo Väyrynen published *Breaking Cycles of Violence: Conflict Prevention in Intrastate Crises* (West Hartford, Conn.:Kumarian, 1999), a groundbreaking study of conflict early warning and preventive diplomacy which includes a comprehensive conceptual framework, case studies of Macedonia and Burundi, and practical policy guidelines. In other work, Carolyn Nordstrom conducted field research on war orphans in Angola and presented several invited lectures on her research. Raimo Väyrynen continued co-editing three books on humanitarian emergencies under the aegis of the World Institute of Development Economics Research (WIDER), affiliated with the United Nations University. Gil Loescher continued research on "The Office of the United Nations High

Commissioner for Refugees: Its Role in International Peace and Cooperation," under a grant from the U.S. Institute of Peace. Mark Cummings continued his ongoing psychological study of the impact of marital conflict on children's functioning and adjustment and jointly received grants exceeding \$2 million to continue his research on children and marital conflict.

THE NATURE AND IMPACT OF GLOBALIZATION

Research by Raimo Väyrynen and several other Kroc Institute fellows focuses on the conceptual, practical, and ethical aspects of globalization. During 1998-99, Patrick Gaffney organized a conference on the "The Crisis of Development in Africa," which explored the impact of recent political and economic changes in Sub-Saharan Africa. (See sidebar.) The Institute organized a one-week distinguished lecture-ship (November 16-20) by Michael Zürn, professor of international and transnational relations and co-director of the Institute for

Intercultural and International Studies at the University of Bremen, Germany, sponsored by the German-American Academic Council. Zürn presented a series of lectures based on pioneering research on the impact of globalization on national, regional, and global governance. Raimo Väyrynen spent the academic year 1998-99 on a sabbatical at the Weatherhead Center for International Affairs at Harvard University, where he worked on a historical and theoretical study on the relationship between capitalism, war, and peace. Fred Dallmayr presented keynote addresses on globalization in Japan and the United States. Denis Goulet presented a number of lectures and workshops on issues related to the ethics of development, including the keynote address at the Primero Congreso Internacional de Economía Ética y Valores, held at the Universidad Santo Tomás, Bogotá, Colombia, October 22-24.



The Crisis of Development in Africa: Contexts, Connections, and Consequences of International Aid and NGOs

March 5-6

Organized by Prof. Patrick Gaffney, C.S.C., with funding from the Paul M. and Barbara Henkels Visiting Scholars Series, this conference brought together scholars, NGO leaders, and representatives from international aid agencies to examine relationships between state, civil society, and development strategies in sub-Saharan Africa.

Robert Fatton Jr., professor and chair of the Department of Government and Foreign Affairs at the University of Virginia, opened the conference with a keynote address exploring recent political developments in Africa, titled "Civil Society Revisited: Africa in the New Millennium." He offered a sobering assessment of the large gap between the needs for

addressing volatile political realities in Africa and the externally supported responses, including structural adjustment programs, feeble efforts to foster civil society, and the poorly funded NGO initiatives.

The Saturday morning session examined economic changes, with particular focus on the impact of international

trade, investment, and aid. Kwan S. Kim, professor in the Department of Economics at Notre Dame, presented a paper titled "Africa at the Crossroads in the Age of Globalization," and Callisto E. Madavo, vice president, Africa Region, The World Bank, Washington, D.C., spoke on "Rethinking the Role of the World Bank in Africa."

The afternoon session focused on the impact of these factors on initiatives seeking to provide assistance and to promote substantial change in Africa, especially on the part of international nongovernmental agencies. Ian Linden, director of the Catholic Institute for International Relations in London, England, spoke first on "The Role of International Nongovernmental Organizations in Rwanda 1990-1998." Raymond C. Offenheiser, president of Oxfam/America, then discussed "Devising and Applying Strategies to Reach the Grassroots in Africa." Carolyn Nordstrom of the Kroc Institute provided reflections on the civilian victims of sustained violence in Africa.

The papers given at the conference will be available in a special publication of the Kroc Institute.



Robert Fatton Jr.

PUBLICATIONS

THE KROC INSTITUTE PUBLISHES A SEMI-ANNUAL NEWSLETTER (THE REPORT), A SERIES OF OCCASIONAL PAPERS, AND A SERIES OF POLICY BRIEFS. IN ADDITION, THE FELLOWS OF THE INSTITUTE PUBLISH MANY BOOKS, ARTICLES, AND CHAPTERS ON PEACE ISSUES. INFORMATION ABOUT ALL OF THESE PUBLICATIONS TOGETHER WITH ADDITIONAL INFORMATION ABOUT INSTITUTE PROGRAMS AND ACTIVITIES IS AVAILABLE ON THE KROC INSTITUTE'S WEB SITE AT WWW.ND.EDU/~KROCINST.

INSTITUTE PUBLICATIONS

The Institute published eight papers by outstanding international scholars and peacemakers in its Occasional Paper Series, including original work by Oscar Arias, Martha Nussbaum, Michael Zürn, Joy Gordon, Richard Garfield, P. Sahadevan, and Carolyn Nordstrom. All papers are available online at www.nd.edu/~krocinst/Occasional_All.html.

The Kroc Institute published one regular and one special issue of the *REPORT*, the Institute's semi-annual newsletter, which has a national and international circulation of approximately 2,500 copies, distributed free of charge. The *REPORT* publication schedule was altered so that readers will now receive issues in September and February. The *SPECIAL REPORT* on South Asian Security highlighted recent work resulting from collaboration between the

Kroc Institute, Fourth Freedom Forum, and Jawaharlal Nehru University in Delhi.

The Institute continued improving its Web site this year. A new publications section contains topical and regional indexes, which provide easy access to abstracts and bibliographic information on more than 200 books, articles, and chapters by Institute fellows. The number of visitors to the Institute's Web site more than doubled from the previous year, with an average of 800 requests for pages per week coming from more than 200 hosts.

To enhance its outreach to the international policy-making community, the Institute launched a new series of policy briefs this year, funded by a generous endowment provided by Mrs. Joan B. Kroc. Based on pioneering research by experts at the Kroc Institute and the larger community of

peace researchers, each brief will analyze a current issue in international affairs and recommend strategies for peacemaking in a concise four- to eight-page format. The Institute plans to publish one briefing paper every 90 days. The first brief in this series, "The Israeli Elections: Another Turning Point?" by Alan Dowty was published electronically and is available on the Institute's Web site at www.nd.edu/~krocinst/policybrief1.html.

PUBLICATIONS BY FELLOWS

In 1998-99, two new titles were added to the Notre Dame Studies on International Peace series with the University of Notre Dame Press. In *New Wine and Old Bottles: International Politics and Ethical Discourse* (Notre Dame: University of Notre



Dame Press, 1998), which emerged from Jean Elshtain's Hesburgh Lectures on Ethics and Public Policy, Elshtain explores the complex relationship between the political and the ethical in Western political thinking about sovereignty and nationalism. The book contains responses by Fred Dallmayr and Martha Merritt and a foreword by Raimo Väyrynen. In *Pakistan and the Bomb: Public Opinion and Nuclear Options*, ed. Samina Ahmed and David Cortright (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), the authors evaluate the results of an in-depth public opinion survey conducted in the months leading up to Pakistan's 1998 nuclear tests.

In addition to eight new books, Kroc Institute faculty fellows published 46 pieces of research in academic journals and edited volumes. Further information about all of these publications is available on the Institute's Web site at www.nd.edu/~krocinst/KROC_Reports.html.



Occasional Papers

Peace in the New Millennium: Combating Poverty, Inequality, and Militarism

Oscar Arias

Morbidity and Mortality among Iraqi Children from 1990 through 1998: Assessing the Impact of the Gulf War and Economic Sanctions

(published jointly with Fourth Freedom Forum)

Richard Garfield

Using a Pick-Ax for Brain Surgery: The Ethics of Economic Sanctions and Their Predictable Consequences

Joy Gordon

Shadow Sovereigns

Carolyn Nordstrom

In Defense of Universal Values

Martha Nussbaum

Religion and Sex Equality

Martha Nussbaum

Ethnic Conflict and Militarism in South Asia

P. Sahadevan

The Effects of Denationalization on Security in the OECD World

Bernhard Zangl and

Michael Zürn



All of these Occasional Papers are available at www.nd.edu/~krocinst/Occasional_All.html

BOOKS

Samina Ahmed and **David Cortright**, ed.
Pakistan and the Bomb: Public Opinion and Nuclear Options (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 176 pages.

Fred. R. Dallmayr and Ganesh Devy, ed.
Between Tradition And Modernity: India's Search For Identity (Delhi: Sage, 1998), 374 pages.

Jean Bethke Elshtain, with contributions by **Fred Dallmayr, Martha Merritt, and Raimo Väyrynen**
New Wine and Old Bottles: International Politics and Ethical Discourse (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 81 pages.

Janie Leatherman, William DeMars, **Patrick D. Gaffney, and Raimo Väyrynen**
Breaking Cycles of Violence: Conflict Prevention in Intrastate Crises (West Hartford, Conn.: Kumarian, 1999), 256 pages.

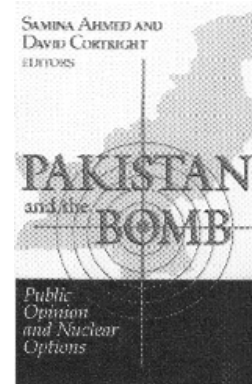
Patricia Vawter Klein, Arthur W. Helweg, and **Barbara P. McCrea**, ed.

Struggling with the Communist Legacy: Studies of Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland and Czechoslovakia (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1998; distributed by Columbia University Press), 256 pages.

Timothy Sisk and **Andrew Reynolds**, ed.
Elections and Conflict Management in Africa (Washington, D.C.: United States Institute of Peace Press, 1998), 224 pages.

Raimo Väyrynen, ed.
Globalization and Global Governance (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), 285 pages.

Rev. Oliver F. Williams, C.S.C., ed.
The Moral Imagination: How Literature and Films Can Stimulate (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), 210 pages.



New books in the Notre Dame Studies on International Peace Series with the University of Notre Dame Press.

ARTICLES AND CHAPTERS BY KROC FELLOWS

David Cortright, "An Unexpected Calling: An Interview with General George Lee Butler," *Sojourners* (Vol. 28, No. 1, January/February 1999), pp. 16-20.

Samina Ahmed and **David Cortright**, "Going Nuclear: The Weaponization Option," in *Pakistan and the Bomb*, ed. Samina Ahmed and David Cortright, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), pp. 89-107.

—, "Pakistani Public Opinion and Nuclear Weapons Policy," in *Pakistan and the Bomb*, ed. Samina Ahmed and David Cortright, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), pp. 3-27.

—, "Sanctions: Modify 'em," *The Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists* (Vol. 54, No. 5, September/October 1998), pp. 22-24 [full-text available at <http://www.fourthfreedom.org/sanctionsmodifyem.html>].

Samina Ahmed, **David Cortright** and Amitabh Mattoo, "Public Opinion and Nuclear Options for South Asia," *Asian Survey* (Vol. 38, No. 8, August 1998), pp. 727-744 [available in full-text at <http://fourthfreedom.org/southasia/southasiaart.html>].

David Cortright and George Lopez, "Are Sanctions Just? The Problematic Case of Iraq," *Journal of International Affairs* (Vol. 52, No. 2, Spring 1999), pp. 735-755 [available in full-text at <http://fourthfreedom.org/sanctions/jiaarticle.html>].

—, "Sanctions and Incentives as Tools of Economic Statecraft," in *Globalization and Global Governance*, ed. Raimo Väyrynen (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), pp. 105-126.

Fred Dallmayr, "Ethics and the Limits of Politics: Comments on Elshstain," in *New Wine and Old Bottles: International Politics and Ethical Discourse*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshstain, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), pp. 53-71.

Alan Dowty, "Building an International Relations Course Around the *New York Times*," in *Using National Newspapers in the College Classroom: Resources to Improve Teaching and Learning*, ed. Steven R. Knowlton and Betsy O. Barefoot, (Columbia, S.C.: University of South Carolina Press, 1999), pp. 82-83.

—, "Israeli Foreign Policy and the Jewish Question," *Middle East Review of International Affairs* (Vol. 3, No. 1, March, 1999), pp. 1-13.

—, "Zionism's Greatest Conceit," *Israel Studies* (Vol. 3, No. 1, Spring 1998), pp. 1-23.

Alan Dowty and Gil Loescher, "Changing Norms in International Responses to Domestic Disorder," in *Globalization and Global Governance*, ed. Raimo Väyrynen (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), pp. 199-222.

Denis Goulet, "El Desarrollo Humano: La verdadera riqueza y la eficiencia económica real (Human Development: Genuine Wealth and True Economic Efficiency)," in *Ética, Democracia Y Desarrollo Humano*, ed. Cristián G. Parker (Santiago, Chile: CERC Centro de Estudios, LOM Ediciones, 1998), pp. 203-221.

—, "Ethics, Culture and Development: Livestock, Poverty, and the Quality of Rural Life," in the proceedings of the Special Symposium & Plenary Sessions (The 8th World Conference on Animal Production, Seoul National University: Seoul, Korea, June 28-July 4, 1998), pp. 46-61.

—, "Tareas y Métodos de la Ética del Desarrollo," in *Educación, Ética Y Economía en América Latina*, Centro Lindavista, ed., Mexico, D.F.: Editorial JUS, 1998, 183-210.

—, "La Verdadera Riqueza y la Productividad Real," in *Educación, Ética Y Economía en América Latina*, Centro

Lindavista, ed., Mexico, D.F.: Editorial JUS, 1998, 211-226.

—, “Une sagesse pour encadrer nos sciences,” in *L'Économie Humaine Et La Dynamique Du Développement A L'heure De La Mondialisation*, Centre L.-J. Lebre, eds., (Paris: UNESCO, 1998), 38-42.

—, “¿Que es el desarrollo después del posmodernismo?” In *Revista De Ciencias Sociales, Nueva Época*, 6, Enero de 1999, 42-62.

Robert Johansen, “Enforcement without Military Combat; Toward an International Civilian Police,” in *Globalization and Global Governance*, ed. Raimo Väyrynen (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), pp. 173-196.

—, “Enhancing United Nations Peacekeeping,” in *The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Chad Alger for the International Peace Research Association (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 1998), pp. 89-126.

George A. Lopez, “The Sanctions Dilemma: Hype Doesn't Help,” *Commonweal* (September 11, 1998), pp. 10-12.

Clair Apodaca, **George A. Lopez**, and Michael Stohl, “Moving Norms to Political

Reality: Institutionalizing Human Rights Standards through the United Nations System,” in *The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Chad Alger for the International Peace Research Association (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 1998), pp. 185-220.

Barbara P. McCrea, “The Role of the Titoist System in the Destruction of Yugoslavia,” in *Struggling with the Communist Legacy: Studies of Yugoslavia, Romania, Poland and Czechoslovakia*, ed. Patricia Vawter Klein, Arthur W. Helweg, Barbara P. McCrea (Boulder, Colo.: East European Monographs, 1998; distributed by Columbia University Press), pp. 27-50.

Martha Merritt, “Forgiveness, Despite the Pressures of Sovereignty and Nationalism,” in *New Wine and Old Bottles: International Politics and Ethical Discourse*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), pp. 72-81.

Patricia M. Mische and Mauricio Andres Ribeiro, “Ecological Security and the U.N. System,” in *The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Chad Alger for the International Peace Research

Association (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 1998), pp. 315-356.

Carolyn Nordstrom, “Girls and War Zones,” in *Engendering Forced Migration*, ed. D. Indra (Oxford, UK: Berghahn Books, 1999), pp. 63-82.

—, “Imagining the Next 100 Years of War,” *Life and Peace Institute* (Uppsala, Sweden: May 1998).

—, “Requiem for the Rational War, in Deadly Developments: Capitalism, States, and War,” ed. S. Reyna (*War & Society Series*, Amsterdam: Gordon and Breach, 1999), pp. 153-175.

—, “A War Dossier,” *Public Culture* (Vol. 10, No. 2, Winter 1998) [available at <http://www2.uchicago.edu/jnl-pub-cult/photo/photoessay.html>].

Andrew Reynolds, “Elections and Electoral Systems: Implications for Conflict Management,” in *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa*, ed. Timothy D. Sisk and Andrew Reynolds, (United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, D.C., 1998), pp. 11-36.

—, “Elections in Southern Africa: The Case for Proportionality, A Rebuttal,” in *Elections and Conflict Management in Africa*,

ed. Timothy D. Sisk and Andrew Reynolds, (United States Institute of Peace Press, Washington, D.C., 1998), pp. 71-80.

Lee A. Tavis, "Private Enterprise: A Critical Dimension of Development," *Grassroots Development: Journal of the Inter-American Foundation* (Vol.21, No. 2, 1998), pp. 44-46.

Georges Enderle and **Lee A. Tavis**, "A Balanced Concept of the Firm and the Measurement of Its Long-term Planning and Performance," *Journal of Business Ethics* (Vol. 17, No. 11, August 1998), pp. 1129-1144.

William P. Glade and **Lee A. Tavis**, "Actualizing the Developmental Response of Multinational Corporations: The Case of Agribusiness in the Mexican Countryside," *Journal of International Economic Law* (Vol. 18, No.4, Winter 1997), pp. 1211-1234.

Raimo Väyrynen, "Enforcement and Humanitarian Intervention: Two Faces of Collective Actions by the United Nations," in *The Future of the United Nations System: Potential for the Twenty-first Century*, ed. Chad Alger for the International Peace Research Association (Tokyo: The United Nations University Press, 1998), pp. 54-88.

—, "Environmental Security and Conflicts: Concepts and Policies," *International Studies* (Vol. 35, No. 1 1998), pp. 3-21.

—, "Environmental Security in a Conflict Zone: The Case of the Korean Peninsula," in *Peace Studies in the Post-Cold War Era* (Seoul: The Korean National Commission for UNESCO, 1999), pp. 11-40 (also in Korean).

—, "Foreword: Sovereignty and Nationalism in a New Key," in *New Wine and Old Bottles: International Politics and Ethical Discourse*, ed. Jean Bethke Elshtain, (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), pp. xi-xviii.

—, "Global Interdependence or the European Fortress: Technology Policies in Perspective," *Research Policy* (Vol. 27, No. 4, 1998), pp. 1-11.

—, "More Questions Than Answers: Dilemmas in Humanitarian Action," *Peace and Change* (Blackwell, Vol. 24, No. 2, 1999), pp. 171-96.

—, "Multilateral Security: Common, Cooperative, or Collective?" in *Future Multilateralism: The Political and Social Framework*, ed. Michael Schechter (New York: Macmillan, 1998), pp. 42-65.

—, "Norms, Compliance, and Enforcement in Global Governance," in *Globalization and Global Governance*, ed. Raimo Väyrynen (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 1999), pp. 25-46.

—, "Reflections on Sovereignty and Nationalism," in *Knowledge, Power and World Politics. Scripta in honorem professoris Osmo Apunen sexagesimum annum complentis*, ed. Olavi Borg et al. (Tampere, Finland: Studia Politica Tamperensis 1998), pp. 155-67.

—, "Security of Baltic Countries: Co-operation and Defection," in *Stability and Security in the Baltic Region: Russian, Nordic and European Aspects*, ed. Olav Knudsen (London: Frank Cass 1999), pp. 204-21.

Peter Walshe, "The Role of Christianity in the Transition to Majority Rule in South Africa." In *Africa's Second Wave of Freedom*, ed. Lyn Graybill and Kenneth W. Thompson (Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1998).

Oliver F. Williams, "Other People's Money: A Study in Self Deception," in *The Moral Imagination: How Literature and Films Can Stimulate Ethical Reflection in the Business World*, ed. Oliver Williams (Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 1998), pp. 71-82.

LECTURES

This year's Kroc Institute lecture series brought several distinguished scholars, policymakers, and peace practitioners to Notre Dame to interact with faculty, students and members of the local community.

Oscar Arias, former President of Costa Rica and winner of the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize, called for a reduction in global military spending and the establishment of an International Code of Conduct on Arms Transfers in an inspiring address titled "Peace in the New Millennium: Combating Poverty, Inequality, and Militarism" presented on April 16. (The text of this address is available as an occasional

paper at www.nd.edu/~krocinst/Occasional_All.html.) In addition to his public lecture before approximately 400 students, faculty, and local residents, Arias met informally with several students, faculty and University administrators. Arias' visit

was co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute and the Office of the Provost.

Martha Nussbaum, the Ernst Freund Professor of Law and Ethics at the University of Chicago, examined "Women and Human Development" in the Fifth Annual Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Lectures on Ethics and Public Policy, presented February 25-26. In her first lecture, Nussbaum defended



Oscar Arias

a form of universalism based on the human capabilities approach developed by the economist Amartya Sen, which emphasizes the opportunities available, rather than the level of satisfaction or quantity of resources possessed by an individual. In her second lecture, she

addressed difficult dilemmas arising when religious norms or practices conflict with issues of sex equality. The text of these lectures is available as two occasional papers at www.nd.edu/~krocinst/Occasional_All.html.

Michael Zürn, professor of international and transnational relations and co-director of the Institute for Intercultural and International Studies at the University of Bremen, Germany, completed a one-week lectureship visit to the Kroc Institute November 16-20, sponsored by the German-American Academic Council. Zürn presented a series of lectures based on his pioneering research on the impact of

globalization on global governance. "The Effects of Denationalization on Security in the OECD World," by Bernard Zangl and Michael Zürn, is available as an occasional paper at www.nd.edu/~krocinst/Occasional_All.html.

Additional highlights included presentations by former Senator **Bill Bradley**, visiting professor of public



Martha Nussbaum, Denis Goulet, and Mark Roche

affairs at Notre Dame and currently a U.S. Presidential candidate; **Philip Gourevitch**, author of the highly acclaimed book *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed With Our Families* (Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 1998); **Rajmohan Gandhi**, grandson of Mahatma Gandhi; **Dennis McNamara**, director of the Department of International Protection, United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR); **Avner Cohen**, author of *Israel and the Bomb* (Columbia University Press, 1998); and **Miroslav Volf**, professor

of systematic theology at Yale Divinity School.

The Institute also organized several current affairs roundtables in cooperation with the Kellogg Institute that responded to the U.S. bombing of Sudan and Afghanistan, the deteriorating political and

economic situation in Russia, and the Kosovo crisis. The Kosovo roundtable was featured in a report on NPR's *All Things Considered* on April 7, 1999.

The graduate students at the Kroc Institute initiated a Peace and Conflict Colloquium, which provided a forum for young scholars at the Kroc Institute to share their diverse experiences and perspectives on peace and conflict with the Notre Dame and local communities. Wendy Lehman and Jennifer Stewart gave presentations in the colloquium series.



LECTURES—FALL 1998

September 3

“U.S. Bombing in Sudan and Afghanistan: An Antidote to Terrorism?” A roundtable discussion with **Alan Dowty**, professor of government and international studies and fellow of the Kroc Institute; **Robert Fishman**, professor of sociology; and **Carolyn Nordstrom**, associate professor of anthropology and fellow of the Kroc Institute.

September 28

“Russia in Crisis: The Political and Economic Dimensions” **Martha Merritt**, assistant professor of government and international studies and fellow of the Kroc Institute; **Archie Brown** and **Gabor Toka**, visiting fellows of the Kellogg Institute. Co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute for International Studies.

October 2

“The United States in the Post-Cold War World.” **William Bradley**, former U.S. Senator from New Jersey. Co-sponsored by The Kellogg Institute and The Hesburgh Program in Public Service.

October 8

“Radical Religion: The Israeli Case.” **Gideon Aran**, professor of sociology and anthropology at the Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

LECTURES—CONTINUED

October 27

"The Philosophical Roots of Collective Security."

Gerhard Beestermöller, deputy director of the Institute for Theology and Peace, Hamburg, Germany. Co-sponsored by the Erasmus Institute.

November 5-6

Nobel Peace Laureates Conference, University of Virginia (live via satellite).

November 10

"The Catholic Church in China."

Most Rev. Aloysius Jin, S.J., bishop of Shanghai. Co-sponsored by the Office of the Provost Emeritus.

November 12

"Israel and the Bomb." **Avner**

Cohen, senior research fellow at the National Security Archive, George Washington University.

November 12

"The Social Meaning of Reconciliation: What Theology Can Contribute to the Peace Process in Bosnia."

Miroslav Volf, professor of systematic theology at Yale Divinity School. Co-sponsored by the Erasmus Institute and the Department of Theology.

November 17

"The Effects of Globalization on Security."

Michael Zürn, professor of international and transnational relations, University of Bremen.

November 18

"Globalization and the Democratic Deficit in the E.U."

Michael Zürn, professor of international and transnational relations, University of Bremen. Co-sponsored by the Nanovic Institute.

LECTURES—SPRING 1998

January 26

"Controlling Weapons of Mass Destruction: A Modest Proposal."

Alan Dowty, professor of government and international studies and fellow of the Kroc Institute.

February 4

"Nonviolent Peacemaking in Conflict Zone."

Cliff Kindy, Christian Peacemaker Teams.

February 10

"Rwanda: Genocide and Its Continuing Aftermath."

Philip Gourevitch, staff writer at *The New Yorker*.

February 11

Peace and Conflict Colloquium,

"The Role of Christian Peacemaker Teams in Reopening Hebron University."

Wendy Lehman, graduate student in peace studies, Kroc Institute.

February 15

"Inter-religious Dialogue and the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict."

Ben Mollov, lecturer in political science, Bar-Ilan University.

February 16

"The Role of the International Community in Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Reconciliation."

Patricia Weiss-Fagen, Inter-American Development Bank.

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

February 22

“Resolving International Environmental Disputes: Pros and Cons of Litigation.” **Alexander Kiss**, director of the Center for Environmental Law, Robert Schuman University, Strasbourg, France.

“Women and Human Development.” The Fifth Annual Hesburgh Lectures on Ethics and Public Policy. **Martha Nussbaum**, Ernst Freund Professor of Law and Ethics, University of Chicago.

February 25

“In Defense of Universal Values”

February 26

“Religion and Sex Equality”

March 2

Peace and Conflict Colloquium
“Framing Peace Process Benchmarks for Creating Sustainable Outcomes in Internal Conflicts.”

Jennifer Stewart, graduate student in peace studies, Kroc Institute.

March 3

“Human Rights and the Protection of Refugees.” **Dennis McNamara**, United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR).

March 18

“Should the Truth Always Be Told? Cultural Challenges to Truth Commissions.” **Priscilla Hayner**, independent writer and researcher.

March 23

“The Living Legacy of Gandhi.”

Rajmohan Gandhi, research professor, Center for Policy Research, Delhi, and grandson of Mahatma Gandhi. Co-sponsored by Fourth Freedom Forum, Goshen, Indiana.

April 7

“The ABC’s of the Kosovo Crisis: What’s Going On; What Should the World Community Do?”

A roundtable discussion with panelists **Gil Loescher**, professor of government and international studies and fellow of the Kroc Institute; **Alan Dowty**, professor of government and international studies and fellow of the Kroc Institute; and **Martha Merritt**, assistant professor of government and international studies and fellow of the Kroc Institute. Co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute.

April 9

“The Challenge of Political Islam.”

John Esposito, director of the Center for Muslim-Christian Understanding, Georgetown University. Co-sponsored by the Muslim Students Association, the Mediterranean/Middle East Studies Program, and the Kellogg Institute.

April 16

“Peace in the New Millennium: Combating Poverty, Inequality, and Militarism.” **Oscar Arias**, former President of Costa Rica and winner of the 1987 Nobel Peace Prize. Co-sponsored by the Kellogg Institute and the Office of the Provost.

April 22

“The Impact of ‘Secularism by Default’ on the Orthodox Jewish Way of Life in the Post-Modern Era.” **Menachem Friedman**, professor of sociology and anthropology, Bar Ilan University, Israel; visiting fellow, Kroc Institute.

April 27

“Sovereignty, Human Rights, and the Challenge of Religious Pluralism.” **Daniel Philpott**, assistant professor of political science at the University of California, Santa Barbara; junior fellow, Erasmus Institute, University of Notre Dame.

May 6

“Religion, Social Justice, and a Culture of Peace.” **Patricia Mische**, visiting fellow, Kroc Institute.

FINANCES

The Institute pays for all of its activities (other than tuition scholarships) out of its endowment income and current giving, rather than from other University budgets, so fundraising is essential for conducting new research and sponsoring conferences and for expanding teaching, student assistance, and outreach. The Institute's original endowment of \$6 million came from a generous contribution by Mrs. Joan B. Kroc.

Thanks to a large award from the Luce Foundation, an additional donation from Mrs. Kroc, and several other gifts in 1999, the Institute has enjoyed its greatest fundraising success in many years. The Luce Professor in Religion, Conflict, and Peacebuilding will catalyze new research, teaching, visiting fellows, and conferences that will both benefit from the Institute's strong financial position and, hopefully, generate new gifts in this important area. Mrs. Kroc's 1999 gift will ensure immediate efforts to (1) place policy recommendations in the hands of decision makers,

journalists, educators, and students; and (2) encourage student leadership in public policy discourse. The Institute's educational program and student financial aid have also benefited from the generosity of other donors, especially Peter M. Wege, William E. Ferguson, Andrew and Bonnie Polich, Thomas D. McCloskey, Ray L. Holden, and Msgr. Francis L. Sampson. Ms. Leslie Anderson has provided the funds for the annual Peter

courses he taught, titled *Voices of Nonviolence and Religious Roots of Nonviolence*, and his many long-standing contributions to all aspects of the Institute's work.

A gift from Ann Landers will make possible the beginning of a modest internship program for M.A. students. We hope to raise additional money to expand this program in future years.

The U.S. Institute of Peace has supported several



Joan Kroc and Ann Landers met with students at the Institute

economic sanctions, conducted collaboratively with the Fourth Freedom Forum and the Kroc Institute. In a related study, the Canadian Foreign Ministry provided substantial funds to the International Peace Academy for a book on the impact of sanctions written by Cortright and Lopez.

The Ford Foundation renewed support for the exchange program in peace studies between the Kroc Institute and Jawaharlal Nehru University in New Delhi, India. The new grant will support visits by faculty from India and other South Asian countries to the Kroc Institute, as well as bring one or two Indian doctoral students per year to the Kroc Institute. The preceding grant enabled a meeting of scholars from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and the United States in Kathmandu, Nepal, in December 1998, to discuss the nuclear arms competition between India and Pakistan, as well as other South Asian security questions. The Ford Grant also supported collaborative efforts between Notre Dame and Nehru University

for promoting peace studies in South Asia, co-authorship of a peace studies reader, and visiting lectures by Acting Director Robert C. Johansen in Delhi and Mumbai.

The German-American Academic Council provided a grant for a week-long visit by Michael Zürn, professor of international and transnational relations and co-director of the Institute for Intercultural and International Studies at the University of Bremen.

The total budget of the Kroc Institute in the fiscal year 1998-99 amounted to roughly \$900,000. Expenditures cover faculty and staff salaries, graduate student scholarships, lecture fees, and various research, publication, and outreach activities.



FACULTY AND STAFF

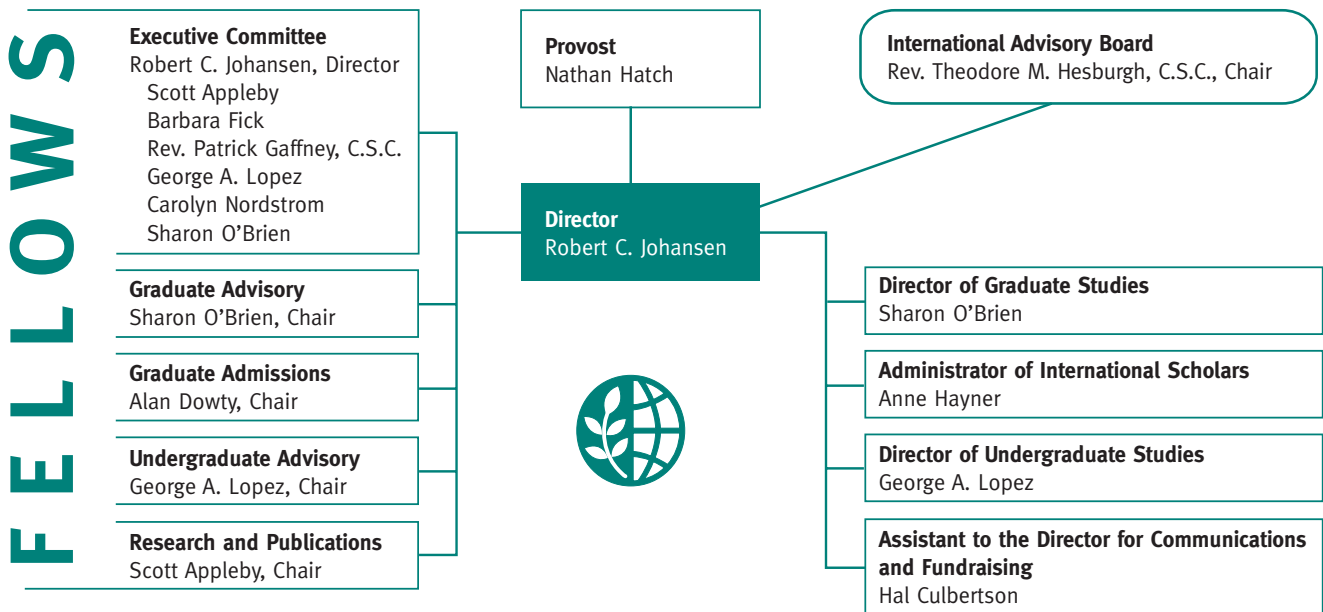
ADMINISTRATION

The Kroc Institute distinctively contributes to the University's commitment to academic excellence by transcending traditional departmental and disciplinary boundaries to bring the best minds and scholarship to bear on understanding political violence and implementing opportunities for achieving peace with justice. The Institute is led by its chief administrative officer, the John M. Regan Jr. director, who acts after full and regular consultation with the Kroc Executive Committee, which in turns represents its nearly three dozen faculty fellows. The director reports directly to the provost, thereby enabling close

communication with the University's administration and integration of the Institute's agenda with the University's overall mission. The Executive Committee meets at least once and often twice each month during the school year to discuss governance of the Institute, including decisions regarding expenditures, fundraising, selection of visiting fellows and other appointments, and overall priorities of the Institute. The fellows meet in plenary sessions once or twice each term, with more frequent interactions occurring in smaller gatherings in the Institute's committees (which also participate in Institute governance), working groups, and the lecture series.

In 1998-99, the Institute operated with four advisory committees made up of fellows and staff members: Graduate Advisory Committee, Sharon O'Brien (chair); Graduate Admissions Committee, Alan Dowty (chair); Research and Publications Committee, Scott Appleby (chair); and Undergraduate Advisory Committee, George Lopez (chair). The committee members are appointed by the director with the approval of the Kroc executive committee, which has four members elected by the fellows and three ex officio members.

The administrative organization of the Kroc Institute can be summarized in the chart below.



FELLOWS

**ADMINISTRATIVE
AND CORE FACULTY**

Robert C. Johansen served as acting director during 1998-99. He is a professor of government and international studies and a senior fellow at the Kroc Institute. Author of *The National Interest* and *The Human Interest: An Analysis of U.S. Foreign Policy*, he has served as director of graduate studies at the Kroc Institute since its founding. Before coming to Notre Dame, Johansen served as the president of the World Policy Institute in New York and was the founding editor-in-chief of the *World Policy Journal*.



Raimo Väyrynen, senior fellow and one of the core faculty of the Institute, is professor of government and international studies. He has served as director of the Tampere Peace Research Institute (Finland), secretary-general of the International Peace Research Association, dean of social sciences at the University of Helsinki, and director of the Kroc Institute



from 1993 to 1998. In 1997, he was appointed by the Danish Ministry of Research and Technology to chair the board of the Copenhagen Peace Research Institute. He is the author and editor of several books, including, *Global Transformation: Economics, Politics, and Culture* (Finnish National Fund for Research and Development, 1997).

George A. Lopez, director of undergraduate studies, is a professor of government and international studies. He has published eight edited collections on economic sanctions,



state violence, and repression, including *Political Gain and Civilian Pain: Humanitarian Impacts of Economic Sanctions* (Rowman & Littlefield, 1997), with Thomas Weiss, David Cortright, and Larry Minear. He chairs the board of directors of *The Bulletin of Atomic Scientists* and has served as interim executive director of the Educational Foundation for Nuclear Science in Chicago.

Sharon O'Brien served as acting director of graduate studies during 1998-99. She is an associate professor of government and international studies and has been a consultant for various American Indian tribes and organizations; her work has appeared in major law reviews and collections on Indian affairs. She is the author of *American Indian Tribal Governments* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1989).



Carolyn Nordstrom, a fellow and member of the core faculty, is an associate professor of anthropology. For two decades, she has conducted field research in war zones around the world and published her findings in books and articles, including *A Different Kind of War Story* (University of Pennsylvania Press, 1997). She serves on the advisory board of the Ethnography of Political Violence Series at the University of Pennsylvania Press.



FELLOWS

The Provost of the University has appointed the fellows of the Institute for the period 1996-99. The fellows represent a wide variety of disciplines and departments of the University. The 1998-99 fellows were as follows:

***R. Scott Appleby**, Associate Professor, History; Director, Cushwa Center for the Study of American Catholicism

Jeffrey H. Bergstrand, Associate Professor, Finance and Business Economics

Rev. David B. Burrell, C.S.C., The Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., Chair and Professor, Theology and Philosophy

E. Mark Cummings, Professor, Psychology

Fred R. Dallmayr, The Packey J. Dee Chair and Professor, Government and International Studies

Alan K. Dowty, Professor, Government and International Studies

***Barbara J. Fick**, Associate Professor, Law School

Michael J. Francis, Assistant Provost for International Studies; Professor, Government and International Studies

***Rev. Patrick D. Gaffney**, C.S.C., Associate Professor and Department Chair, Anthropology

Denis A. Goulet, The William and Dorothy O'Neill Chair in Education for Justice and Professor, Economics

George S. Howard, Professor, Psychology

Ruthann K. Johansen, Associate Professional Specialist, Assistant Director and Concurrent Associate Professor, Arts and Letters Core Course.

Gilbert D. Loescher, Professor, Government and International Studies

A. James McAdams, Professor and Department Chair, Government and International Studies

Martha L. Merritt, Assistant Professor, Government and International Studies

Sharon O'Brien, Associate Professor, Government and International Studies

Rev. Robert S. Pelton, C.S.C., Concurrent Professor, Theology

Andrew Reynolds, Assistant Professor, Government and International Studies

Dinah L. Shelton, Professor, Law School and Center for Civil and Human Rights

James Sterba, Professor, Philosophy

Lee A. Tavis, The C. R. Smith Chair and Professor, Finance

Raimo V. Väyrynen, Professor, Government and International Studies

A. Peter Walshe, Professor, Government and International Studies; Director, African Studies Program

J. Robert Wegs, Professor, History; Director, Nanovic Center for European Studies

Andrew J. Weigert, Professor, Sociology

Kathleen Maas Weigert, Associate Director, Academic Affairs and Research, Center for Social Concerns; Concurrent Associate Professor, American Studies

Todd D. Whitmore, Associate Professor, Theology

Charles K. Wilber, Professor, Economics

Rev. Oliver Williams, C.S.C., Associate Professor, Management

*Members of the Kroc Institute Executive Committee during 1998-99.

INSTITUTE STAFF

Hal Culbertson, assistant to the director for communications and fundraising

Anne E. Hayner, administrator of international scholars programs

Rosemarie R. Green, admissions coordinator and registrar

Linda Brady, administrative assistant

Diane P. Hagens, secretary

Marguerite E. Holleman, secretary/receptionist



Anne Hayner, Rosemarie Green, Hal Culbertson, Linda Brady,
Diane Hagens, Marguerite Holleman



INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY BOARD

In spring 1996, the Institute established a new International Advisory Board to advise on the future directions and priorities of its activities. The Board, chaired by Rev. Theodore M. Hesburgh, C.S.C., president emeritus, University of Notre Dame, includes scholars and policymakers from both the United States and abroad. The Board has the following members:

Dr. Alexei Arbatov, Member of the State Duma, Director, Center for Geopolitical Forecasts, Russia.

Dr. Landrum Bolling, Conflict Management Group, USA and former President of Earlham College, USA.

Prof. Dr. Ernst-Otto Czempiel, Co-director, Peace Research Institute, Frankfurt, Germany.

Prof. Lori Fisler Damrosch, Columbia University School of Law, USA.

Ambassador Jan Eliasson, Permanent Under Secretary at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden.

Ms. Randall Forsberg, Executive Director, Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies, USA.

Prof. Alexander George, Department of Political Science, Stanford University, USA.

Prof. (Rev.) J. Bryan Hehir, Divinity School and The Weatherhead Center for International Affairs, Harvard University, USA.

Dr. Jane E. Holl, Executive Director, Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, USA.

Dr. Spurgeon Keeny, President, Arms Control Association, USA.

Ambassador Celso Lafer, Brazilian Ambassador to the United Nations, Geneva.

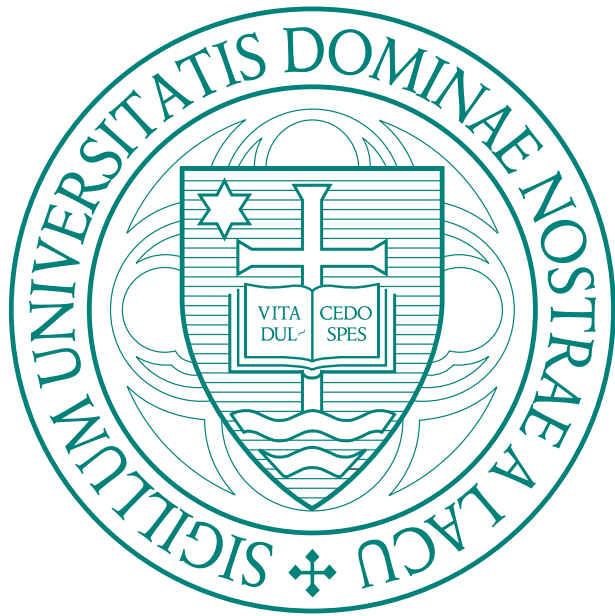
Prof. Liang Yufan, President, Shanghai Institute for International Strategic Studies, China.

Dr. James E. Muller, Professor of Medicine, Chief, Division of Cardiology, University of Kentucky, USA.

Dr. Sadago Ogata, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, Japan.

Dr. Victor Rabinowitch, Senior Vice President, The MacArthur Foundation, USA.





Design and editing by Publications
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University of Notre Dame

The University of Notre Dame

Founded in 1842, the University of Notre Dame is an independent, national Catholic university located in Notre Dame, Indiana, adjacent to the city of South Bend. The natural beauty of Notre Dame's 1,250-

acre wooded campus with two lakes is enhanced by extensive recreational facilities and cultural activities. The diverse attractions of a larger city can easily be found in Chicago, only 90 miles west

of Notre Dame. Michigan's lakeshore, just 45 minutes north, offers sandy beaches, orchards, and vineyards. Over the last two decades, Notre Dame has made dramatic advances in building a distinguished faculty, adding more than 100 new faculty and establishing in excess of 60 endowed chairs

since 1982. With a total student population of approximately 10,000, Notre Dame offers highly competitive undergraduate programs and small but superb graduate level programs in an intimate environment that



addresses questions of value and meaning. The University has made the development of international programs a top priority, increasing the opportunities for study abroad and establishing centers of excellence emphasizing international research and education.



The Kroc Institute
FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE STUDIES