

growth



2004 ANNUAL REPORT

THE JOAN B. KROC INSTITUTE FOR INTERNATIONAL PEACE STUDIES



Scott Appleby

FROM THE DIRECTOR

dynamic growth, responsible stewardship

The casual observer of the Kroc Institute in 2004

would have noticed an upturn in the pace of activity and rate of growth. If 2003 was healthy in this regard, 2004 was robust! The institute launched a new graduate program, expanded its undergraduate program, produced three scholarly volumes on the resolution of ethnic conflict, published a landmark book on strategic peacebuilding, contributed prominently to the debate over (the absence of) weapons of mass destruction in pre-war Iraq, weathered the storm over the controversial appointment of a Muslim intellectual to its faculty, held a successful international conference on religion and peacebuilding in Uganda, inaugurated a global alumni network, completed a major renovation of the workplace (including the addition of needed office space), and welcomed four new faculty and staff members. Otherwise, it was business as usual.

In May, the 18th and final commencement of the one-year M.A. program saw the graduation of 24 students from 17 nations; in August, we welcomed the first class of a two-year, "enriched" M.A. program. During this year of transition, Associate Director Martha Merritt and Graduate Studies Director Cynthia Mahmood, with the

able assistance of new arrival Justin Shelton, devoted countless hours to the expanded graduate program and to finalizing arrangements at several international field sites (including Jerusalem, Kampala, Nairobi, Cape Town and Davao City) where our students will serve in internships and conduct research on human rights, conflict resolution, inter-religious dialogue and the like. In fall 2004, the latest crop of M.A. candidates prepared for their upcoming field experience by taking courses designed as part of a five-track graduate curriculum. The new curriculum provides each student both a comprehensive introduction to peace studies and immersion in an area of specialization such as global politics and norms; conflict transformation; economics of sustainable development; and cultural and religious dimensions of conflict.

Not to be upstaged by the graduate program, Undergraduate Program Director Dan Philpott presided over impressive growth in student enrollment in the peace studies major and minor. Approximately 100 Notre Dame students now focus on peace and justice studies as part of their undergraduate education. That is a 50 percent expansion from the previous year, stimulated by

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On the cover: A dogwood blossoms outside of the Hesburgh Center for International Studies. The tree was a gift from the M.A. Peace Studies Class of 2004 in memory of Joan B. Kroc.

world events, the institute's campus-wide reputation for outstanding teaching and, not least, the excellent student advising provided by Dan and other faculty colleagues. Peace studies undergrads tend to be self-starters, as witnessed by events such as the student-led peace conference in March, which attracted students and faculty from across the United States and Canada.

Research and outreach momentum continued to build in 2004, following the successful international conference on post-accord peacebuilding in fall 2003 sponsored by the Kroc Institute's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict. In 2004, John Darby and colleagues prepared and sent to press volumes elaborating the conference themes of post-accord violence, the role of youth in the rebuilding of war-torn societies, and the importance of truth-telling as an element of transitional justice.

George Lopez and David Cortright, Kroc's internationally renowned experts on security and sanctions, spent the first part of the year writing, publishing and speaking about the war in Iraq. Policymakers in the United States and Europe, as well as officials of the United Nations, wanted to know more about the Lopez-Cortright research on Saddam Hussein's military arsenal — a series of studies published before the war, which had accurately concluded that Iraq was not in possession of weapons of mass destruction. In a series of smart interventions, crowned by an essay published in the influential journal Foreign Affairs, the duo made a compelling case that sanctions had, indeed, worked in Iraq. During the second half of 2004 Lopez and Cortright turned their attention to a new initiative on counter-terrorism sponsored by the United Nations.

Philpott, in addition to earning tenure at Notre Dame and participating in a major Harvard University study of religion and politics, edited a groundbreaking volume on reconciliation as a political instrument.

Kroc professor John Paul Lederach, the leading theorist and practitioner of strategic peacebuilding, completed an Oxford University Press book on *The Moral Imagination: The Art and Soul of Building Peace*.

It was a significant year for the Kroc Institute's Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding as well. The April conference on African religion and conflict was held in Jinja, Uganda, and organized by Kroc's own Rashied Omar, Father Tom McDermott, C.S.C., and Rockefeller visiting scholars Rosalind Hackett, Jim Smith, and Sakah Mahmud. It featured presentations and discussion by scholars and activists



Research team: David Cortright, left, and George Lopez

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from Africa, Europe and North America. The mix included Jean Comaroff, the distinguished anthropologist from the University of Chicago; Charles Villa-Vicencio, a leading light of South Africa's Truth and Reconciliation Commission; Penda Mbow, the Senegalese Islamic feminist; and Most. Rev. John Baptist Odama, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Gulu, site of the devastating conflict between the Ugandan government and the renegade Lord's Resistance Army. A report on the conference is found in the Summer 2004 issue of *Peace Colloquy*; the edited scholarly papers will be published as a book in the Kroc Institute series on religion and conflict.

The search for a Luce Professor of Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding seemed to end successfully in January 2004 with the appointment of Geneva-based scholar and public intellectual Tariq Ramadan, catalyst of intense debate regarding the public role of Islam in Europe. By December 2004, following the revocation of his visa, Ramadan had resigned the position. One need not consult *Peace Colloquy* to find ample reportage on this matter, although we hope you will read the upcoming issue for our recapping of events that surrounded the appointment. If you read the papers, however, you have already

formed an opinion and chosen one of the verdicts offered on Ramadan. His opponents called him a fundamentalist, an anti-Semite, a sympathizer to terrorists. His supporters, myself included, see him as an influential Muslim intellectual who rejects violence and anti-Semitism, embraces democracy and human rights, and demands internal reform of Islam along these lines. He attempts to advance these goals by speaking to, with, and from within those Muslim groups and communities that are bitterly critical of and wounded by certain Western policies and practices. Appeasing such groups and communities is not what we had in mind in inviting Ramadan into our own intellectual community, nor is it his mission. Engaging them in vigorous discussion, debate and dialogue, with the hope of promoting alternatives to violence, was and remains our goal.

That ambitious goal — promoting alternatives to violence and building collaborative relationships in the quest for justice — is realized, however modestly, through the ongoing work of my colleagues at this institute. One thinks, for example, of Larissa Fast and Gerard

Penda Mbow speaks at conference in Uganda



financial highlights

With the fall 2003 announcement of Joan B. Kroc's \$50 million gift, the institute faces unprecedented opportunities — and, along with those, the challenges of managing significant growth. Planning for the use of these new resources has been shaped by our strategic plan, which envisions an integrated program of research, education and policy outreach that is deeply engaged with field sites around the world. To that end, new core faculty and staff were hired during 2003-04 to implement our new two-year master's program, develop field sites, and strengthen our alumni network. The institute also developed programs to fund research by faculty and visiting fellows, which will be implemented as endowment income from Mrs. Kroc's gift becomes available in the coming years.

During the 2003-04 fiscal year, the institute had operating expenses of approximately \$2.1 million, not including tuition scholarships. Faculty and staff salaries and benefits together with graduate student stipends constituted approximately two-thirds of our overall expenditures. The remaining third was allocated for research and programs.

Complementing our endowment income, the institute continued to receive funds from the Rockefeller Foundation, which awarded a \$325,000 grant to support the Rockefeller Visiting Fellowships program from 2003-2007. In addition, faculty research projects were awarded \$276,000 in external grants.

Powers, the most recent additions to our faculty. Fast, an expert in conflict resolution and humanitarian intervention in crisis situations, teaches essential courses in these areas, advises students who seek expertise in conflict transformation and, not least, serves as a powerful personal example by her own life of service and commitment. Powers, our new director of policy studies, has 17 years of experience as a social ethicist and administrator for the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops. He has marshaled the intellectual resources of the institute in planning a major conference on the ethical challenges posed by the U.S. presence in Iraq. He also is giving structure and focus to the nascent Catholic Peacebuilding Network, an international fellowship dedicated to developing a theology of a just peace and to supporting the efforts of local Catholic peacebuilders around the world.

Fear of boasting (any further) restrains me from saying too much more about people such as Anne Hayner, who coordinated our graduate program for 18 years and now brings the same dedication to the task of encouraging and structuring the collaboration of 388 graduates of that program; Hal Culbertson, who runs things around here, and does so with uncommon good sense and fidelity to the highest administrative standards; Bob Johansen, whose latest research on the necessity of preventing genocide by early warning and peacekeeping forces reflects a career of reflection, scholarship and advocacy; or Julie Titone, our communications expert who keeps track of all of these activities and sharpens the Kroc Institute's public profile.

Thanks to the generosity of the late Joan B. Kroc, the Notre Dame institute that bears her name has been given the freedom to shape its future to a degree few other institutions enjoy. The responsibility of using resources wisely accompanies that freedom, however, and the experiences of 2004 have deepened our awareness of what responsible stewardship entails. We have identified some of the challenges that accompany rapid growth, learned lessons from our mistakes, and done a few things right.

On to 2005!

— Scott Appleby

research



PRCP focuses on Africa

This year's Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding explored the complex role of religion in civil strife and peace efforts in Africa, where warfare fueled by religious and ethnic tensions has claimed the lives of millions in recent years.

The centerpiece of 2003-04 PRCP activities was the institute's first conference in Africa, held in Jinja, Uganda, from March 31 through April 3, 2004. Titled "Religions in African Conflicts and Peacebuilding Initiatives: Prospects for a Globalizing Africa," the conference assembled scholars from Europe, Africa, and the United States, along with African religious leaders engaged in peace efforts. Peacebuilding practitioners from non-governmental organizations, including several alumni of the Kroc Institute's M.A. program, also attended. The conference was organized by Rashied Omar, PRCP coordinator, with the assistance of Thomas McDermott, C.S.C., who has more than 20 years experience working in Uganda.

Keynote speakers were Dr. Hizkias Assefa, founder of the Africa Peacebuilding & Reconciliation Resources in Nairobi; Hon. Professor Mondo Kagonyera, Office of the Prime Minister of Uganda; Archbishop John Baptist Odama, Chairman of the Acholi Religious Leaders Peace Initiative in Gulu, Uganda; and the Rt. Rev. Macleord Baker Ochola II, retired Bishop (Anglican) of Kitgum Diocese, Northern Uganda. Two distinguished scholars closed the conference.

Charles Villa-Vicencio, director of the Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in South Africa, and Jean Comaroff, Sunny Distinguished Service Professor of Anthropology at the University of Chicago, synthesized the findings of the conference and its contribution to wider discussions of the issues. The institute will publish a volume of conference papers, edited by the 2003-04 Rockefeller Visiting Fellows.

The visiting fellows, each of whom gave public lectures at the institute, were: Rosalind I. J. Hackett, Distinguished Professor in the Humanities at the University of Tennessee, Knoxville. Hackett expanded her research on the growing links between media liberalization and religious conflict in Africa, and explored the peacebuilding potential of the media. Sakah Saidu Mahmud, associate professor of political science at Transylvania University in Lexington, Kentucky. While at the institute, he conducted research for a comparative study examining how and why Islamic activism has produced civic peace in Senegal in contrast to Nigeria, where activism often leads to conflict. James Smith, a social-cultural anthropologist who completed a Ph.D. from the University of Chicago in 2002. He examined the conflict over cultural revivalism and new religious movements in East Africa.

Kroc faculty continued to conduct research and write about the religious dimensions of conflict. For example, Daniel Philpott's article, "The Catholic Wave," published in *The Journal of Democracy* (April 2004), examined the role the church has played when predominantly Catholic countries made the transition to democracy. Rashied Omar wrote about "Opportunities & Challenges for Islamic Peacebuilding After September 11" in *Interreligious Insight* (October 2003).

During 2003-04, the PRCP prepared to welcome Tariq Ramadan, a renowned Swiss scholar of Islam, who accepted an appointment as the Henry R. Luce Professor of Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding. The United States government approved Professor Ramadan's work visa, but revoked the visa without explanation shortly before his August departure for the United States. Ramadan resigned from the position in December 2004.

The program's focus during the 2004-05 academic year is inter-religious encounters. The visiting fellowships are funded with a \$325,000 grant from the Rockefeller Foundation, which extends this program from 2004-2007.

RIREC explores ways to maintain peace

A rousing speech by a Nobel Prize winner launched the third year of the Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict.

Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu spoke to a crowd that spilled into hallways and other rooms at the University of Notre Dame's McKenna Hall during the RIREC conference, "Peacebuilding After Peace Accords." Tutu shared lessons of hope and reconciliation from the experiences of his native South Africa, which overcame the racist doctrine of apartheid a decade ago. The event was aptly described by The Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, founder of the Kroc Institute, as "a Notre Dame Moment."

Johan Galtung, a founding figure in peace research, delivered a second keynote address at the Sept. 11-13, 2003, conference. More than 60 scholars delivered papers in 18 parallel academic panels, which revolved around the main RIREC research themes of post-accord violence, young

people, and truth-telling. In a roundtable discussion, panelists examined in detail the contemporary peace process in South Africa. Another panel featured young people who work on peacebuilding projects in several post-accord contexts. The Kroc Institute sponsored the conference with assistance from the Henkels Visiting Scholars series at Notre Dame, the United States Institute of Peace, and the Fulbright Occasional Lectures Program.

RIREC's work continued throughout the academic year, under the leadership of project co-directors John Darby, Siobhan McEvoy-Levy and Tristan Ann Borer. All three directors are editing books on RIREC research themes, and have submitted manuscripts to the Notre Dame Press. The three volumes are expected to be published in 2005. RIREC also plans to produce a fourth volume, bringing together its research themes.

RIREC research: imagine the matrix

John Darby Professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies

Imagine you are a negotiator in a peace process, dealing with opponents you fear and distrust. Imagine trying to find ways out of the inevitable disputes about prisoners, policing reform, constitutional and political arrangements, territory and violence. Imagine confronting the problem of how to deal with past atrocities. Where could you seek guidance and advice?

Now for another type of imagining. Imagine freely available information about how these issues have been tackled during other peace processes; which approaches have worked and which have failed; how peace agreements were reached, and what they contained. Imagine all recent peace negotiations presented as a matrix in a database. The vertical lines describe each individual peace processes, allowing comparison between them. The horizontal lines describe how the vast variety of problems were approached in a way that allows comparisons among different approaches.

This is the aim of the Kroc Institute's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict (RIREC). We plan to set up just such a



matrix, available to negotiators, to scholars, to students, to all those interested in peacemaking.

When completed, the matrix will enable people to explore these issues at different levels of complexity. The first level will amount to the electronic equivalent of a Table of Contents on peace agreements. Having been established, it will then be possible to enter the matrix at a more sophisticated level, to explore how a particular theme (such as policing reform, demilitarization or constitutional arrangements) was treated in each accord, and to what extent it has been implemented. The full text of the agreements will be made available.

We calculate that the two principal constituencies for the matrix will be academics (scholars, students) and practitioners (those engaged in negotiations and in peacebuilding). There is considerable overlap of interest between these constituencies, but it is also intended that parts of the matrix may be developed in ways appropriate to each constituency. For example, it will provide an opportunity to set up an internet message board or forum to exchange views on a number of difficult definitions which exercises academic minds but has less import for practitioners. For negotiators, practitioners and others involved in peacemaking, it may be more appropriate to encourage web site discussions on problems, approaches and suggestions about peacebuilding.

What is the present condition of the matrix? A basic version already exists, thanks to work by five graduate students over the last two years — Brian McQuinn (2002-03), Oldrich Bures, Andreas Fischer, Mirak Raheem and Maureen

Research Fellow David Cortright, fourth from right, with colleagues in Copenhagen

Wynne (2003-04). This needs substantial refining, and developing its potential for computer-based presentation. The 2004-05 students will help carry out these tasks as part of my course. Their job will be to check out and refine the structure, to add data at the deeper levels of the matrix, to update the post-accord processes on the matrix, to initiate work on emerging peace processes, and to make all of this as user-friendly as possible.

In the longer run the possibilities are considerable. We may:

- add material on existing and emerging peace accords, and new material on new ones.
- add back-up articles and other material about each peace process.
- encourage and facilitate web discussions about the text.

counter-terrorism: recommendations for the UN

A series of recommendations to the United Nations

emerged from an April 19-20 seminar conducted by the Kroc Institute-Fourth Freedom Forum counter-terrorism assessment project.

The seminar, held in Copenhagen and attended by Kroc Research Fellow David Cortright, brought together 25 counter-terrorism experts from every continent. They conferred with Danish colleagues in developing specific policy options for enhancing the work of the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC). The draft Action Program report that emerged from those discussions was later presented to the CTC directorate and members of the UN Security Council. The final report will be presented to United States government officials and members of Congress early in 2005. It is available on the Kroc Institute web site, http://kroc.nd.edu.

The Action Program includes the following recommendations:

Establish standards and priorities for compliance. Create criteria for implementation as a prerequisite of compliance and establish priorities for technical assistance and regional coordination. Cooperate with states, organizations, and international agencies to support states as they work to achieve compliance.



Facilitate coordinated delivery of technical assistance. Recommend joint assessment missions, facilitate cooperation among assistance providers, encourage recipients to create inter-ministerial committees, promote the integration of technical assistance and development aid programs, and establish a technical assistance trust fund.

Improve International Cooperation. Enhance coordination within the UN system, designate staff contacts for liaison with regional organizations and international agencies, and enhance coordination with major international agencies outside the UN.

Enhance Public Communications. Publish the CTC matrix as a database. Provide summaries of country reports and best practices. Produce reports that offer examples of success stories. Expand the number of publications available in other UN languages.

Uphold Human Rights. Cooperate with the Office of the UN High Commissioner for Human Rights and continue to encourage compliance with Resolution 1456 (a 2003 declaration on combating of terrorism).

sanctions and security project: focus on the UN

George A. Lopez Senior Fellow

David Cortright Research Fellow

In 2003-04, three major research initiatives dominated the Sanctions and Security Project, which we co-chaired.

The first initiative stemmed from our intense involvement with the United Nations regarding Iraq. Having for more than a decade conducted extensive research related to arms inspections and the impact of economic sanctions against the Saddam Hussein's regime, we concluded — contrary to conventional wisdom — that those seeking weapons of mass destruction in Iraq were likely to find only remnants. Our findings proved to be correct, and as a result we became the subjects of more than 200 media interviews and appearances to discuss our work. Sanctions and Security Project writings and public commentary extended to the future role of the United Nations in Iraq, and the prospect for success of the U.S. venture in Iraq. Our findings were mentioned in Disarming Iraq, a book by weapons inspector Hans Blix. And our article, "Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked" was published in the influential journal Foreign Affairs (July/August 2004).

The project's second major undertaking has been to analyze the effectiveness of the United Nations in forming and implementing counterterrorism policy. In September 2001, the UN Security Council created a Counter-Terrorism Committee (CTC) charged with gathering information, advising states, and monitoring compliance with anti-terrorism treaties and lock-down legislation of terrorist finances. In addition, the CTC was to ensure that smart financial sanctions and specialized travel sanctions be imposed on designated terrorist individuals and organizations.

Thanks to a \$150,000 grant from the Danish Government and a \$50,000 grant from the United States Institute of Peace, our research team, which includes Alistair Millar and Linda Gerber of the Fourth Freedom Forum, was able to interview dozens of counter-terrorism and money-laundering experts. The team also examined hundreds of documents and reports regarding the effectiveness of national institutions, such as central banks, in capturing terrorist assets. Critical to the research was the participation of Notre Dame students who completed a springsemester seminar that we taught. The research also was aided greatly by a consultation held in Copenhagen in April, which tested the preliminary results of the research with financial control and terrorism experts. Our CTC research team completed an Action Agenda report in the fall of

Finally, the Sanctions and Security Project continued engagement in mainstream sanctions research. We wrote two chapters, one on the prospects for developing a coordinator of sanctions affairs within the UN Secretariat, and the second on the role of regional organizations in the implementation of sanctions. Both chapters will appear in a volume edited by Peter Wallensteen of Uppsala University, Sweden, a former Kroc Institute visiting fellow.

Working with research associates Benjamin Rooney and then Olda Bures, George has been researching the effectiveness of arms embargos in the 1990s. This is a joint project with Michael Broska of the Bonn International Center for Conversion, one of Europe's top research institutes for examination of arms issues. Publication of the book from this project should occur in early 2006.

academic programs

graduate program:

blending scholarship and service

Cynthia Mahmood Director of Graduate Studies

Twenty-four students comprised the final class of the one-year master's program in peace studies. They proved to be among the most academically motivated of our graduate students, yet also devoted themselves to community building with passion. When the class of 2003-04 graduated June 30, its members promised each other and the Kroc faculty to continue their enthusiasm as they join the growing alumni network.

The year started with a remarkable visit by Archbishop Desmond Tutu, followed by peace studies pioneer Professor Johann Galtung. Both were on campus for the "Peacebuilding After Peace Accords" conference organized by Kroc's Research Initiative on the Resolution of Ethnic Conflict. Both met privately with our peace students. Up until the year's end, marked by a Hesburgh Lecture given by Human Rights Watch Director Kenneth Roth, a stellar succession of guests enhanced the classroom education of the M.A. students.

A three-day field trip to Chicago in the spring brought the group to the MacArthur Foundation, the Bulletin of Atomic Scientists, Christian Peacemaker Teams, and other relevant organizations. Students discussed issues ranging from grantmaking to nonviolent confrontation. They stayed at a downtown hostel that is home to nonprofit agencies. There, they rubbed shoulders with activists, social workers and others in the Chicago service community.

Students actively participated in special events at the institute, including the annual peace

conference led by the undergraduates, a conference on mitigating trauma and stress faced by international aid workers, and the first major Catholic Peacebuilding Network conference. Others made use of the institute's student travel stipends to go to symposia, conferences, and similar functions in cities around North America.

This year's class displayed noteworthy initiative. On the ten-year anniversary of the Rwandan genocide, some members of the group put together an excellent public event of commemoration. Students organized their own end-of-year retreat, and some held weekly reflective sessions on spiritual growth. Two are writing books. Several chose post-M.A. internships in areas that extend their range of expertise.

A year-long class on Conflict Transformation and Strategic Peacebuilding, co-taught by John Paul Lederach and Cynthia Mahmood, provided a forum for intensive small-group work on global conflicts and possible avenues toward peace. Students also took courses from Bob Johansen (on international politics and peacebuilding) and George Lopez (on political economy and peacebuilding) as part of the required curriculum. Many enjoyed elective courses from John Darby, Scott Appleby, and others within and outside of the Kroc Institute.

The year's most poignant moment came with the death of Mrs. Joan Kroc, in whose memory the class of 2004 planted a tree outside the Hesburgh Center. They honored her for a lifetime of generosity and service that contributed significantly to positive social change and intellectual growth, aspiring to live up to the model she provided. With Father Theodore Hesburgh, students celebrated Mrs. Kroc's life and mourned her passing.

Service to the South Bend community was of particular moment to the M.A. class of 2003-04. Students served as interns at St. Margaret's House (a women's day shelter), the Center for the Homeless, and in new positions in mediation and conflict resolution. Other students worked with faculty as teaching or research assistants. Graduate student Brenda Fitzpatrick received an award from the University of Notre Dame for assisting with the Introduction to Peace Studies class. Students did primary research with faculty on ethnic conflict, religious militancy, sovereignty and self-determination, and other academic topics.

If there was a theme for the year, it was "How to be a scholar-practitioner." This is a phrase used frequently at the Kroc Institute, but it became a serious focus of discussion and thought for the 2003-04 program. Making the institute's pedagogical motto a reality is the challenge these students faced as they prepared themselves for a lifetime of peace studies and peacebuilding.

The year saw a significant change in graduate program personnel, with Justin Shelton joining the staff as graduate program coordinator at midyear. As Justin moved fully into the position, Anne Hayner began focusing on alumni, eventually assuming her new job as director of alumni affairs.

Having completed my first year as graduate studies director, and I greatly look forward to the challenge of the expanded M.A. program.



Some members of the class of '04 take a break from serious discussions during a spring field trip to Chicago.

field sites: finding partners for peace

Martha Merritt Associate Director

The Kroc Institute seeks to "build a better internship" for the newly expanded two-year M.A. program in part because our relationship with host organizations is about more than student placement. As the institute moves toward a working model for the integration of theory and practice in peacebuilding, our graduate program offers a premier opportunity for the synthesis of grassroots work and academic analysis.

Factors in selecting international internship locations included a University of Notre Dame presence that we could reinforce and build upon, Kroc Institute faculty and alumni strength, the relevance of human rights and conflict resolution issues, and the use of English language. For 2005, our internships will be in Jerusalem/Bethlehem; Kampala, Uganda; Nairobi, Kenya; and Cape Town, South Africa. In addition, using a model based on a network rather than a geographic center, we developed opportunities in Southeast Asia in partnership with Catholic Relief Services and with the support of the Kroc Professor for International Peacebuilding, John Paul Lederach.

We sought partners for peace at our international sites and were willing to hit the road to find them. I made seven trips to the Middle East, Southeast Asia, and Africa. Director of Graduate Studies Cynthia Mahmood and John Paul Lederach traveled to Nairobi to build partnerships there. Other faculty joined me in their areas of expertise, including Kroc research program coordinator Rashied Omar in Cape Town and Kroc faculty fellow Alan Dowty and his wife, Gail, in Jerusalem. Before travel we gathered recommendations from regional and thematic experts who are familiar with our needs. Our alumni network also yielded excellent contacts and, in some cases, potential host organizations founded or staffed by our graduates.

After looking over facilities and meeting the people who make an organization tick, a range of questions served to illustrate whether an organization might be an effective host. Are there staff members with clear responsibilities for interns? What are some examples of intern projects in the past? Catholic Relief Services in Davao City, the

Philippines, for example, presented an excellent and actively used conflict analysis written by an intern. This conflict map is one of the best guides I have seen to the weave of religious, economic, territorial and political tensions on the island of Mindanao and is now a resource for our master's students who will go to the region. The Institute for Justice and Reconciliation in Cape Town is another example of a partner organization with a robust research agenda, grassroots experience, and strong record of mentoring.

We are also developing partnerships in the United States. Some of our students are already "abroad" when they come to Notre Dame and may wish to experience the challenges for building peace in this country. As our graduate program expands and the Kroc Institute's capacity grows, we hope to deepen our presence in selected domestic and international sites. Whatever the location, the graduate experience focuses on academic preparation and skill-building for students before the internship, purposeful reflection during the six-month work experience, and intensive faculty and peer facilitation with master's projects in the final semester.

Our aspirations are represented well by "Tantur," the Arabic word for hilltop, and the name of the ecumenical institute that will house our students in Jerusalem. From Tantur's rooftop one can see the contours of struggle in the Middle East: contrasting neighborhoods in Old City Jerusalem, settlements, Bethlehem on the far side of a checkpoint, superhighways and dirt roads, even the wall under construction. We hope that our students will move between grassroots work and the overall view with alacrity.

Kroc core faculty and faculty fellows are also welcome to engage with any of these sites in their research and teaching. In March 2004 the Kroc Institute hosted a conference in Uganda on religion and conflict in Africa, and we will continue to link sites with the Kroc Institute through workshops and conferences. This is all part of building relationships that, not incidentally, benefit our students as they integrate theory and practice in peacebuilding.

undergraduates: a leap in growth

Daniel Philpott
Director of Undergraduate Studies

The academic year 2003-04 was one of dramatic growth and rich activities in the undergraduate program.

In April 2004, 95 undergraduates were registered as supplementary majors and minors, as compared with 60 undergraduates registered only one year earlier, in April 2003 — a growth rate of more than 50 percent in a single year! The interest was no doubt stimulated by concern over the ongoing war in Iraq, but also perhaps by the excitement surrounding the growth in the faculty and resources of the institute as well as increased efforts at publicizing the undergraduate programs to the Notre Dame student body.

This growth in participation corresponded with several new developments in the program: First, a new advising system was instituted, ensuring that every peace studies student meets with a faculty member in his or her area of interest on a regular basis to discuss the student's course selections. Through this regular consultation, close mentoring relationships have begun to develop.

Second, the first "community meeting" of majors and minors was held on March 26, a chance for majors and minors to discuss common issues as well as to meet and hear the stories of Kroc master of arts students.

Third, for the first time in several years, a recruitment meeting was held for prospective students to learn about the program. At that March 23 meeting, professors Scott Appleby and Cynthia Mahmood, and sophomore peace studies major Peter Quaranto spoke to some 35 students about their research, studies, travels, and activism related to peace.

The highlight of the year was the annual student peace conference, organized and led by Notre Dame peace students and attended by peace students from around the United States. The March 26-27 conference began with an insightful keynote address by Mariclaire Acosta, a prominent activist from Mexico who spoke about developments and challenges in human rights. The next day, conferees were addressed by Elvia Alvarado, a peasant leader from Honduras who is widely known for her struggles for land reform and against the ill effects of globalization on the world's poor.

The peace conference also featured many student panels with topics as diverse as the justice of war, the war on terrorism, peace education, religion and human rights, the experience of women in conflict, non-violent movements in America, and the International Criminal Court. The conference closed with musical performances.

At the end of the school year, peace students prepared to depart for summer peacebuilding and service work in locales such as Cambodia, Calcutta, El Salvador, Uganda and, in the United States, the cities of Phoenix, Washington and New York. In many cases, their efforts occurred under the auspices of the campus Center for Social Concerns.



Photo by Julie Titone

Kroc Institute founder the Rev. Theodore Hesburgh with Kevin McCormick ('04) and his parents, Peggy and Steve, at a reception for peace studies undergraduates

outreach

alumni:

cultivating a global network

Anne Hayner Director of Alumni Affairs

The networking potential of Kroc Institute alumni showed itself in the spring, when a Kroc graduate working at the Carter Center in Atlanta posted an urgent request from the Carter Center for Spanish-speaking observers for the upcoming election in Venezuela. Within days, five alumni from Mexico, Peru, Chile, and the U.S. had volunteered to join the mission. The Carter Center was thrilled with the response and promised to work with Kroc again when similar needs arise. The volunteer opportunity in Venezuela was just one highlight in a year filled with good news and initiatives in alumni affairs.

In February, Justin Shelton was hired as graduate program coordinator, bringing extensive experience in international education, particularly in administration of study abroad programs. Justin's position was created to allow me to devote more attention to the alumni network. He quickly learned the responsibilities of the position and, in July, I became director of alumni affairs.

While much of my time in spring of 2004 was taken up with transition of responsibilities, significant progress was made in alumni activities.

Kroc alumni and staff reunited in various locations. In March, several alumni gathered at Notre Dame to take part in the conference "Tending the Helper's Fire: International Fieldwork and Reentry," co-sponsored by Action

Without Borders/Idealist.org and the Kroc Institute. That same month, six alumni met with Professor Bob Johansen in Toronto at the International Studies Association annual meeting.

In May, I met with a dozen alumni in Washington D.C. and Baltimore while I was attending the annual conference of NAFSA: Association of International Educators. In April, the Kroc Institute's conference on "Religion in African Conflicts and Peacebuilding Initiatives," held in Uganda, provided the first occasion to gather with alumni outside of the United States. A dozen of our graduates from across Africa participated in the conference and in a post-conference discussion of Kroc initiatives on the continent. Kroc staff also met with alumni in London during a layover en route to Uganda.

With their copies of the spring edition of Peace Colloquy, our alumni received a sevenminute DVD about the Kroc Institute graduate program. The video provided a closer look at current students and the evolving mission of the institute.

The alumni listsery proved a valuable tool for informing and strengthening the alumni network throughout the year. Many of those messages related to two sad events. Gil Loescher, a former Notre Dame professor and fellow of the Kroc Institute, was critically injured in the bombing of the UN offices in Baghdad on August 19, 2003. Gil, an expert on humanitarian relief and



refugees and a popular teacher, was the only person in that section of the building to survive the blast that killed UN envoy Sergio Vieira de Mello and 21 others. Alumni shared information and messages of concern in the days following the blast and, in the following months, Kroc alumni from all over the world posted messages to Gil on the website that carried updates of his progress.

When Joan Kroc died in October 2003, alumni reacted with an outpouring of appreciation for her spirit and vision, and calls to follow her example of generosity. A booklet containing the memorial messages from dozens of alumni was compiled and presented to Mrs. Kroc's family at her memorial service.

With the graduation of the Class of 2004, there are now 388 Kroc alumni in 68 countries. A priority goal for alumni development is to continue gathering information on where our graduates are working or studying. That will help keep them in touch with each other and with the institute. In addition to improvement of the database and website, we can look forward to more reunions, conferences, e-mails and other opportunities for networking.

http://kroc.nd.edu/alumni

The alumni section of the Kroc Institute web site provides a page for each class in the 17 years of the graduate program. Individual alumni profiles give titles and contact information for each person. More profiles are added regularly, providing news of jobs, advanced degrees, research projects and publications. Other pages feature alumni gatherings and news.



international consultations: from colombia to kashmir

Continuing to enhance his collection of frequent flier miles, Professor of International Peacebuilding John Paul Lederach logged three trips to both Tajikistan and Colombia in academic year 2003-04. He also traveled to Nepal, Northern Ireland, Venezuela and Burma.

In Tajikistan, Lederach completed his involvement in a four-year training program for professors. He also helped to finalize a curriculum and textbook that will be used to teach conflict studies and peacebuilding at seven Tajik universities. Co-edited by Lederach and Randa Slim, the text will be the first on the subject produced in the Tajiki language. It includes chapters written by



Kroc Institute faculty members Scott Appleby, Martha Merritt and Larissa Fast. The training and textbook creation were part of a peace studies initiative conducted cooperatively with the Minister of Education, the Public Committee for Democratic Processes and the International Institute for Sustained Dialogue. The

text will be available by May 2005, with the first courses offered nationwide in the following year.

While the Tajikistan collaboration was winding down, a peacebuilding initiative was beginning in Nepal. On behalf of the Kroc Institute, Lederach has made three assessment visits there to support McConnell Foundation efforts to end the war and build a wide social infrastructure for peace. Early stages of the process have involved searching for international support for mediation in the Maoist insurgency; training of key people and groups in peacebuilding approaches; and development of a 10-year peace program.

"This is the first time that the Kroc Institute has developed a partnership with key constituencies and foundations for such an extended period," Lederach said. Other countries benefiting from Lederach's expertise include:

- Colombia, where he continues to work with the Social Pastorate Outreach program of the Catholic Bishop's Conference;
- Venezuela, where he taught members of civil society groups how to think about peacebuilding at times of extreme polarization. The training was a small part of an ongoing project sponsored by the Carter Center. Lederach also traveled twice to the Carter Center's headquarters in Atlanta to facilitate discussions with about 30 Cubans interested in conflict resolution.
- Northern Ireland, where he attended a major conference sponsored by the Community Foundation of Northern Ireland. The foundation works with families of people who were imprisoned during the period of ethnic conflict known as the Troubles. He has also met with activists in the Community Relations Council, which helps activists cross the Protestant/Catholic divide.

As a trustee of the Council for a Parliament of the World's Religions (CPWR), **A. Rashied Omar** co-chaired a task force responsible for organizing the Assembly of 400 Religious Leaders, which met in Montserrat, Spain, from July 4-7. At the assembly, he delivered a keynote address titled "Overcoming Religiously Motivated Violence." From there he went

to Barcelona for the July 7-13 Parliament of the World's Religions, where he delivered papers on three different themes, "The Significance of the Holy Land in our Sacred Stories," "Fundamentalism: The Final Frontier for Interreligious Dialogue" and "A Muslim Response to HIV/AIDS." He was also a key participant in a sympo-



sium that formed part of the Barcelona Parliament, titled "The Dialogue of Civilizations: Islam and the West in Quest of a Just and Peaceful World." The gathering was attended by more than 8,000 religious leaders and activists from 85 countries.

Omar, a Muslim imam began his involvement with the CPWR with the 1999 Cape Town Parliament of the World's Religions, for which he served as co-chair of the South African host committee. He is coordinator of two research programs for the Kroc Institute.

John Darby, Professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies, was one of 30 scholars selected from among 180 applicants to participate in the 2003 Fulbright New Century Scholars Program. The subject of the 2003 program was "Addressing Sectarian, Ethnic and Cultural Conflict within and across National Borders."

He was also commissioned by Northern Ireland's First and Deputy First Ministers to write a consultation paper following public hearings on community relations in Northern Ireland. This resulted in the publication of "A Shared Future": A Consultation Paper on Improving Community Relations in Northern Ireland" with Colin Knox, and a conference in



January to consider the report. He was a keynote speaker there, and at the UNHCR (United Nations High Commission on Human Rights) conference on "Conflicts: Prevention, Resolution, Reconciliation" in Barcelona in June. Since January 2003, Darby has joined the international advisory board of the *African*

Journal of Peace and Conflict Studies, published by the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies (CEPACS), University of Ibadan, Nigeria; and the editorial board of the journal Global Society, at the University of Kent in England. Anthropologist **Cynthia Mahmood**, Director of Graduate Studies, completed participation in a three-year project called "Religion and Ethnicity

in Canada." Drawing on scholars from across Canada, the project published *Religion and Ethnicity in Canada*, ed. David Seljak and Paul Bramadat (Toronto, Pearson, 2004). It is the first volume of what will be a three-volume set of books on the intersection of these two key areas in Canada's multicultural mosaic. As the only non-Canadian



involved in the project, she was responsible for contributing the chapter on the Sikhs of Canada. Because Canada's Sikh minority has played a key role in the shaping that nation, she has been called upon to offer expertise in many academic and government venues there.

Mahmood's other activities in Canada in 2003-04 included serving as a keynote speaker at two symposia: "Border Myths: Immigration, Security and Terrorism" in Edmonton, and "Clash of Civilizations or Social Capital" in Ottawa. She served as a consultant to Privy Council, Defence, Justice and Royal Canadian Mounted Police personnel on Canadian security and the war on terrorism. She also consulted with the Immigration and Refugee Board of Canada, and was an expert witness in the Toronto case of a Sikh asylum seeker allegedly involved in militant activities.

In 2003, Mahmood received the Centennial Award for Excellence from the Canadian Sikh community for her service. She is interviewed frequently by Canadian journalists, with regard to Sikhs as well as broader contemporary questions of religion, culture, violence, and security. In 2003-04, the interviews included ones broadcast on Vision TV Canada, Omni TV Canada, and ATV Edmonton.

Also in 2003, Mahmood delivered the Teresa Dease Memorial Lecture on "Terrorists and Martyrs" at both the University of Waterloo and the University of Toronto.

"In our modern world of transnational communities and cross-cutting allegiances, it is not surprising that a specialization in one country (India) can lead to a career niche in a second (Canada)," Mahmood said.

Photo by David Snyder for CRS

Daniel Philpott, faculty fellow and associate professor of political science, continued his work in faith-based reconciliation in Kashmir, working on both the Indian and the Pakistani sides of the line of control. As senior associate of the International Center for Religion and Diplomacy (ICRD), he has made seven trips to the region since September 2000.

In March, 2004, he co-led a three-and-a-half day seminar on faith-based reconciliation in Islamabad, Pakistan for 70 political and civil



society leaders from the Pakistani side of Kashmir. The response to the seminar was positive. One participant declared that ICRD represents the "face of American compassion" in a region where hostility to U.S. foreign policy runs wide and deep. Another commented: "Religion is often blamed for conflicts. This is a whole new

concept. Reconciliation is in the religious texts. We can study that and bring reconciliation to this place."

In July 2004, Philpott returned to Kashmir, where he helped conduct faith-based diplomacy among high level political leaders in New Delhi, Islamabad, and on both sides of the Kashmir conflict, as well as consultation sessions with leaders of the ongoing movement of faith-based reconciliation connected with the ICRD.

As part of the Sanctions and Security project, **George A. Lopez** has been researching and writing about internationally imposed arms embargoes. The project is co-chaired by Lopez and Michael Brzoska of the Bonn International Center for



Conversion; researchers working under their direction are in South Asia, Europe, Canada and the United States. The comparative study should be finished in early 2005. In November 2003, Lopez gave the address titled "Beyond the Iraq Fatigue: Fully Assessing the Ethical Dilemmas of Economic Sanctions" at a University of Montreal conference, "Which ethics should guide international interventions?"

In November and December, at the request of the Human Security Project of the Lui Centre for Human Security, University of British Columbia, Lopez provided a comprehensive summary statement of United Nations economic sanctions for the Centre's Human Security Report.

A girl in Jenin, West Bank, makes a peace sign



catholic relief services: a deepening partnership

In keeping with its emphasis on scholarship and grassroots peacebuilding, the Kroc Institute has continued to deepen its partnership with Catholic

Relief Services. Kroc's collaboration with CRS — through formal institutional arrangements and through the individual consulting and training by several faculty — has placed Kroc at the heart of the U.S. Catholic community's engagement with the peacebuilding work of the church around the world.

From June 20-28, 2004, Kroc hosted the fourth annual Summer Institute on Peacebuilding. It brought together some 35 senior CRS field staff and administrators, along with Catholic bishops and other local leaders from war-torn regions. This intensive program trains participants in conflict analysis and resolution, deepens their understanding of Catholic social

teaching, and provides an opportunity for a vigorous exchange of ideas, experiences, and strategies. It has become an integral part of the effort of CRS to develop its capacity to promote peacebuilding as part of its relief and development work. The next Summer Institute will be held in May 2005.

In addition, several peace studies graduate students will be interns at CRS programs overseas, and individual Kroc faculty continue to contribute to the development of the CRS peace-building programs. In May, John Paul Lederach and Scott Appleby spent several days with the Burundi Bishops' Peacebuilding Commission to assist with the development of a major pastoral strategy for peacebuilding in that African country. Lederach continued his training seminars for CRS headquarters staff, as well as for CRS staff and other church personnel in Colombia, Peru, Bolivia and Southeast Asia.

kroc in the news

The war in Iraq, the U.S. presidential campaign and ethnic conflict around the world were among the topics that led the media to Kroc Institute experts in 2003-04. Below is a roundup of selected news stories that quoted, and articles that were written by, Kroc faculty experts.

Articles and interviews

"Compassion in Conflict: The Geneva Conventions hold nations accountable for treating those out of the fight fairly," the *South Bend Tribune*, May 31, 2004. Quotes Research Fellow David Cortright.

"Kerry Feeling for Footing on Country's Role in Iraq," *The New York Times*, May 18, 2004. Quotes Research Fellow David Cortright.

"Hot opinions can put a chill on friendly conversation," *Houston Chronicle*, May 17, 2004. Visiting fellow Angeliki Kanavou adds perspective to a story about how people with conflicting opinions can get along.

"Ethnic strife halts polio war," *Atlanta Journal-Constitution*, May 15, 2004, quotes Sakah Mahmud, a Rockefeller Visiting Fellow and specialist on Nigerian Islamic activism.

"The Rise of Global Fundamentalism," *National Catholic Reporter,* May 7, 2004. Article quotes Director Scott Appleby.

"Kerry and the Catholic Vote," National Public Radio, April 30, 2004. News feature quotes Scott Appleby.

"A Conversation with Kenneth Roth, Human Rights Watch," WVPE radio interview with Hesburgh Lectures guest, April 22, 2004.

"Some wondering if Saddam was duped about WMD," by Tom Mashberg, *Boston Herald*, February 16, 2004, quotes George A. Lopez.

"The US discovers Brazil (ever so slowly)," by Phillip Wagner, *Brazil Magazine*, December, 2003. (Includes interviews with Rev. Theodore Hesburgh, Kroc visiting fellow Charles Reilly, Kroc faculty fellow Denis Goulet, and Chris Welna, administrative director of the Kellogg Institute.)

"Historian in Demand: Appleby takes low-key approach to explosive religious issues," by Margo Patterson, National Catholic Reporter, December 26, 2003.

"Putting a face on the enemy; U.S. response to terrorists will lead to total war, prof. contends," by Mirdo Petricevic and Naomi Powell, *The Record* (Kitchener-Waterloo, Ontario), November 22, 2003. Features Cynthia Mahmood, Director of Graduate Studies.

"International Flashpoint? I'm on My Way," by Dominic Casciani, BBC News, October 24, 2003. Profile of John Paul Lederach, Professor of International Peacebuilding.

"Pair Try to Pull Apart Feuding Muslims, Hindus," by Dave Newbart, Chicago Sun-Times, October 23, 2003. Features Dan Philpott, Director of Undergraduate Studies.

"Peacemakers," CBS, October 12, 2003. A religion special about the people who work to stop wars, including Professor John Paul Lederach.

"Perils of Bush's Pre-emptive War Doctrine," editorial by George A. Lopez, *Indianapolis Star*, Friday, October 3, 2003.

"The Lives Left Behind," cover story, *Newsweek*, September 15, 2003. Article quotes faculty fellow James Sterba.

Commentaries by Kroc faculty

"Bush's New Iraq: Rhetoric vs. Reality," by David Cortright and George A. Lopez in the *Chicago Tribune*, May 26, 2004.

"Just? Unjust? The morality of preemptive war," by George A. Lopez, Sojourner Magazine, May 2004.

"The Value of Making an Apology" by Kroc visiting fellow Glen Harold Stassen in the *Chicago Tribune*, April 18, 2004.

"GUERRA EN IRAK: Un aniversario con ansiedad," "War in Iraq: An Anxious Anniversary," by George A. Lopez in *La Opinion,* March 21, 2004.

"The Real Failure in Intelligence on Iraq" by George A. Lopez and David Cortright in *The Boston Globe*, March 11, 2004.

"Move Past Preemption," by George A. Lopez in *USA Today,* January 11, 2004.

"Who Should Be Next?: In search of a pope who will embrace science, reject globalization, and forge an alliance with Islam," by Scott Appleby in *Foreign Policy* magazine, January/February 2004.

""War on Terror' or Real Security?: A just and viable alternative to the Bush doctrine," by David Cortright and George A. Lopez, Sojourner Magazine, January 2004.

"Extremist gains slow momentum of Good Friday Accords," by John Darby in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, December 12, 2003.

"Eduard Shevardnadze and the Politics of Sheer Tenacity," by Martha Merritt in *Chicago Tribune*, November 28, 2003.

"US Repeats Past Mistakes," by George A. Lopez in *USA Today,* November 7, 2003.

"DEFENSA: Los peligros de la doctrina Bush," by George A. Lopez, *La Opinion*, October 19, 2003.

"U.S. Must Accept Outside Help to Secure Iraq," by George A. Lopez in the *Chicago Sun-Times*, Wednesday, August 27, 2003.

"artisans of peace"

Gerard Powers
Director of Policy Studies

Since the Spring of 2002, the Kroc Institute has played a formative role in developing the Catholic Peacebuilding Network (CPN), a voluntary network of practitioners, academics, clergy and laity from around the world who seek to enhance the study and practice of Catholic peacebuilding, especially at the local level.

The CPN grows out of a recognition that the Catholic Church is blessed with many "artisans of peace" who work to prevent conflicts from breaking out, resolve conflicts once started, and reconcile and rebuild divided societies after conflicts have ended.

The CPN aims to serve and complement these peacebuilding efforts by responding to several needs. First is a need to build and deepen relationships of solidarity among peacebuilders. Second, the CPN seeks to stimulate a more systematic mapping and analysis of the "best practices" of Catholic peacebuilding around the world. Third, the CPN seeks to help build capacity by linking peacebuilders to those who can provide the training, strategic planning, or other resources necessary for the Catholic community to be an effective force for peace in an area of conflict. Finally, the CPN hopes to stimulate further development of peacebuilding as a conceptually coherent, theologically accurate, spiritually enlivening and practically effective contribution to the Church's broader reflection on and action for justice and peace.

While it is a Catholic network, its participants believe that effective Catholic peacebuilding involves dialogue and collaboration with those of other religious traditions and all those committed to building a more just and peaceful world.

The CPN moved toward a new and exciting stage of its development in 2004, beginning initiatives in four main areas:

- Convenings. The first major CPN conference, held at the University of Notre Dame from May 17-19, brought together 40 people from a dozen countries to examine Catholic peacebuilding initiatives in the Philippines, Rwanda, Colombia, Uganda, South Africa and the Democratic Republic of the Congo. Planning began for a second international conference, hosted by Catholic Relief Services, which will be held in Mindanao, the Philippines, from July 11-15, 2005.
- Clearinghouse. The CPN is poised to launch a web page and listserv that will serve as a clearinghouse for information on Catholic peacebuilding activities, resources and research.
- Research and Publishing. The CPN has begun planning a series of consultations that would lead to a major volume on the development of a spirituality, theology, ethics and praxis of a just peace.
- Training and Support. As the CPN grows, it will try to support the work of Catholic peace-builders in conflict situations through training programs, collaboration on strategies for pastoral and policy initiatives, and assistance in accessing needed resources.

Gerard Powers joined the Kroc Institute in August 2004. He coordinates the CPN in close collaboration with specialists from Catholic Relief Services, Maryknoll, the United States Conference of Catholic Bishops, the Southern African Bishops Conference, the Catholic University of America, and the Sant'Egidio Community in the United States.

publications

Institute Publications

(Available on-line at http://kroc.nd.edu)

Policy Brief No. 14: Toward a More Secure America: Grounding U.S. Policy in Global Realities by David Cortright, Alistair Millar, George A. Lopez, and Linda Gerber Kroc Institute/Fourth Freedom Forum Policy Brief F14

November 2003

Occasional Paper #24:0P:1: The Dignity of Difference: A Salute to Jonathan Sacks by Fred Dallmayr

Occasional Paper #25:0P:1: The War in Iraq: Justified as Humanitarian Intervention? by Kenneth Roth

Occasional Paper #25:0P:2: Peace-building and Development in Guatemala and Northern Ireland by Charles A. Reilly

"Nowhere Else but Notre Dame: The Joan B. Kroc Institute," sevenminute DVD focusing on the Master of Peace Studies program, released spring 2004.

Faculty Publications

Books

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

Denis Goulet, *The Uncertain Promise: Value Conflicts in Technology Transfer.* Chinese edition, in Mandarin (Beijing: Academy of Social Science, 2004).

Denis Goulet, *Development Ethics: A Guide to Theory and Practice,* Chinese edition, in Mandarin (Beijing: Social Sciences Documentation Publishing House, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences, 2003).

John Paul Lederach, *Tejiendo Relaciones: Procesos de Dialogo y Negociación en Contextos de Conflicto Armado* (Bogota, Colombia: Ediciones Clara. 2003).

Alan Dowty, ed., Critical Issues in Israeli Society (Westport, Connecticut, Praeger, 2004). Includes Alan Dowty, "Introduction: The Tribalization of Israel?," pp. 1-6, and Alan Dowty, "A Question That Outweighs All Others: Israel and the Palestinians in Broad Perspective," pp. 169-194.

Luis Pásara, *Paz, Ilusión y Cambio en Guatemala* (Guatemala: Universidad Rafael Landívar, 2003). Pásara conducted research for the volume while a visiting fellow at the Kroc Institute.

Chapters

Scott Appleby, "A Moment of Opportunity? The Promise of Religious Peacebuilding in an Era of Religious and Ethnic Conflict," in *Religion and Peacebuilding,* Harold Coward and Gordon S. Smith, eds. (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2004).

Scott Appleby, "Religion and Conflict Transformation," in Liberating Faith: Religious Voices for Justice, Peace, and Ecological Wisdom, Roger S. Gottlieb, ed. (Lanham, New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2003), pp. 435-440.

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.

Fred Dallmayr, "A Global Spiritual Resurgence?: On Christian and Islamic Spiritualities," in *Religion in International Relations*, Fabio Petito and Pavlos Hatzopoulos, eds. (Hampshire, England: Palgrave/Macmillan, 2003), pp. 209-236.

Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "Exploring Theories of Religious Violence: Nigeria's Maitatsine Phenomenon," in *A Festschrift in Honor of E. Thomas Lawson*, Timothy Light and Brian Wilson, eds. (The Hague: E. J. Brill, 2003).

Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "Managing or Manipulating Religious Conflict in the Nigerian Media," in *Mediating Religion: Conversations in Media, Religion and Culture,* Jolyon Mitchell and Sophia Marriage, eds. (Edinburgh: T & T Clark, 2003).

Rosalind I. J. Hackett, "Prophets, 'False Prophets,' and the African State: Current Issues of Religious Freedom and Conflict," in *New Religious Movements in the 21st Century,* Philip Lucas and Thomas Robbins, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2003).

David Cortright, Alistair Millar and **George A. Lopez,** "Sanctions, Inspections and Containment: Viable Policy Options in Iraq," in *Iraq: Threat and Response,* David Little and Gerhard Beestermöller, eds. (Hamberg: LitVerlag Publishers, 2003), pp. 127-149.

George A. Lopez and **David Cortright**, "Learning, Adaptation, and Reform in Security Council Sanctions," in *The UN Security Council in the Post-Cold War Era*, David M. Malone, ed. (Boulder, Colorado: Lynne Reinner Publishers, 2004), pp. 167-180.

John Paul Lederach, "The 'Wow Factor' and a Non-Theory of Change," in *Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding*, Cynthia Sampson, Mohammed Abu-Nimer, Claudia Liebler and Diana Whitney, eds. (Washington D.C.: Pact Publications, 2003).

John Paul Lederach, "The Journey Toward Reconciliation," in Liberating Faith: Religious Voices for Justice, Peace and Ecological Wisdom (Oxford: Rowman and Littlefield. 2003).

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.

Articles

Scott Appleby, "Who Should Be Next?," *Foreign Policy* (January/February 2004): 58-63.

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

David Cortright, "Civil Society: the 'Other Superpower,' " *Disarmament Diplomacy*, 76 (March/April 2004): 40-42.

George A. Lopez and **David Cortright,** "War on Terror or Real Security," *Sojourners Magazine,* 33 (January, 2004): 30-34.

George A. Lopez and **David Cortright**, "Containing Iraq: Sanctions Worked," *Foreign Affairs*, 83 (July/August 2004): 1-14.

Fred Dallmayr, "Cosmopolitanism: Moral and Political," *Political Theory*, 31 (2003), 421-442.

Alan Dowty, "Impact of the Aqsa Intifada on the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict," *Israel Studies Forum,* 19 (Spring, 2004): 9-28.

Pamela E. Oliver and Daniel J. Myers, "The Co-evolution of Social Movements," *Mobilization*, 8 (2003): 1-24.

Anthony D. Perez, Daniel J. Myers, and **Kimberly M. Berg,** "Police and Riots, 1967-1969," *Journal of Black Studies,* 34 (2003): 153-182

Daniel Philpott, "The Catholic Wave," *The Journal of Democracy,* 15 (April 2004): 32-46.

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

2003-04 events

(Sponsored, co-sponsored or hosted by the Kroc Institute)

September 11-13

RIREC Conference: "Peacebuilding After Peace Accords" (see page 5)

Lecture series: "Environmental Justice: Grassroots Voices"

September 17: "Gary Dumps, Environmental Justice and the Catholic Worker Movement"

Jose Bustos, Service Employees International Union in Chicago, chairman of Coalition for a Clean Environment

September 17: "Environmental Injustice in Northwest Indiana" Betty Balanoff, distinguished labor historian, local community environmental activist and resident of Hammond, Indiana.

October 1: "Legal Obstacles to Environmental Justice"
Bryan Bullock, activist for Gary and the northwest Indiana region.

October 8: "Water Security and Public Health"

Joan Rose, Homer Nowlin Chair in Water Research, Michigan State
University

Series co-sponsored by O'Neill Family Chair, Science, Technology and Values Program, Kroc Institute, African and African-American Studies Program, and Departments of Anthropology, Biological Sciences, and Civil Engineering and Geological Sciences.

September 23

Lecture: "Iraq War II: A Blatantly Unjust War"
James Sterba, Professor of Philosophy, University of Notre Dame

Lecture Series: Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding Africa Seminar featuring Rockefeller Visiting Fellows

October 9: "Media Liberalization in Africa: Raising the Stakes of Religious and Ethnic Conflict"
Rosalind Hackett, Distinguished Professor in Humanities, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

October 30: "Of Secular Snakes and Spiritual Serpents: Indigenous Revivalism, Ethnic Nationalism, and National Consciousness in Post-Moi Kenya"

James Smith, social-cultural anthropologist (Ph.D., University of Chicago, 2002)

November 13: "Prospects for Islamic Peacebuilding in Sub-Saharan Africa"

Sakah Mahmud, Associate Professor of Political Science, Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky

October 29

Lecture: "Being a Muslim in Christian Philippines"
Princess Emraida Kiram, born the daughter of Sultan Kiram and
Sultana Bai Labi Laila Kiram in Mindanao, Philippines
Organized by Filipino-American Student Organization, with support
from the Kellogg Institute and the Kroc Institute

October 3

Lecture: "Reconciliation and Peace Efforts in Palestine"
The Rev. Elias Chacour, Melkite Catholic priest working for peace in
the Holy Land

Co-sponsored by Center for Social Concerns, Kroc Institute, and Notre Dame/Saint Mary's Peace Coalition

November 3

Lectures: "The World's Forgotten Wars and the Witness of the Community of Sant'Egidio" and "The Christian Gospel and Friendship with the Poor: The Witness of the Community of Sant'Egidio," Paolo Mancinelli, Rome, Italy, Community of Sant'Egidio

Co-sponsored by Community of Sant'Egidio, Notre Dame Campus Ministry, Center for Social Concerns, the Justice Education Program at Saint Mary's College, and the Kroc Institute

November 4

Lecture: "Peacebuilding and Development in Guatemala and Ireland," Charles Reilly, former Director of the Peace Corps in Guatemala, Kroc Institute visiting fellow

February 12

Lecture: "Just War Thinking in a New Age"
Peter Temes, author of The Just War: An American Reflection on the
Morality of War

Co-sponsored by the Program in Liberal Studies

February 24

Lecture: "It's Not All Sex and Violence: Anthropological and Evolutionary Reflections on the Role of Cooperation, Social Complexity, and Peace in Humans," Agustin Fuentes, Associate Professor of Anthropology

March 2

Panel discussion: "Iraq One Year Later: What Have We Learned?" with panelists

Keir Lieber, Assistant Professor, Political Science; Daniel Lindley, Assistant Professor, Political Science; George Lopez, Director of Policy Studies, Kroc Institute; Martha Merritt, Director of Strategic and International Development, Kroc Institute

March 3

Film: Dr. Strangelove, with introduction by Daniel Lindley, Assistant Professor of Political Science

March 4-6

Conference: "Tending the Helper's Fire: Mitigating Trauma and Stress in International Staff and Volunteers" Sponsored by Idealist.org, hosted by the Kroc Institute

March 15

Lecture: "Ten Trends in Religion and Conflict between 1945 and 2001," Jonathan Fox, Lecturer in Political Science, Bar Ilan University

March 18

Lecture: "Religious War and the Cultural Politics of Peace," Wayne te Brake, Professor of History, Purchase College, State University of New York

Co-sponsored with Department of History and the McAnaney Chair

March 23

Lecture: "Just Peacemaking Theory: A Better Approach to Terrorism?," Glen Stassen, Lewis B. Smedes Professor of Christian Ethics, Fuller Theological Seminary, Kroc Institute visiting fellow

March 25

Photo by Julie Titone

Lecture: "Spiritual Politics and Social Healing in an Age of Culture Wars and Terror," Michael Lerner, Editor, Tikkun Magazine Co-sponsored with the Center for Social Concerns, the Abrams Chair of Jewish Thought and Culture in the Department of Theology, the Jewish Federation of St. Joseph Valley, the American Studies Department, the Center for Ethics and Culture, Amnesty International, the Children's Defense Fund, Catholic Peace Fellowship, and Lyons Hall.



March 26-28

Student Peace Conference: "Freedom from Fear: The Freedom of Peace"

March 31-April 3

PRCP conference: "Religion in African Conflicts and Peacebuilding Initiatives: Problems and Prospects for a Globalizing Africa" (see page 4)

Sponsored by the Kroc Institute Program in Religion, Conflict and Peacebuilding in Jinja, Uganda

April 5

Film: "The Triumph of Evil," Remembering Rwanda: 10 Years After Genocide

April 7

Program: "In Rwanda we say...the family that does not speak, dies." Remembering Rwanda: 10 Years After Genocide Organized by Rwandan students at Notre Dame

April 8

Lecture: "Cyprus (1959-1974) and Northern Ireland (1968-2003): Reluctant Polities in Comparative Perspective," Angeliki Kanavou, Kroc Institute visiting fellow

April 13-14

Lectures: "The Real Japan: The Cult of Authenticity" and "Remarks on the Israel/Palestine Conflict," Ian Buruma, Luce Professor of Democracy, Human Rights and New-Media at Bard College Presented by College of Arts & Letters and Asian Studies Advisory Group

Co-sponsored with the Center for Asian Studies, the Graduate School, the Institute for Scholarship in the Liberal Arts, the W.M. Scholl Chair, the Kellogg Institute

April 20-21

Hesburgh Lectures: "The War in Iraq: Justified as Humanitarian Intervention?" and "Counter Terrorism: Are Human Rights an Obstacle or Part of the Solution?," Kenneth Roth, Executive Director, Human Rights Watch

Tenth Annual Hesburgh Lectures in Ethics and Public Policy

April 22

Lecture: "The Israeli Anti-Terrorist Fence," Samantha Rollinger, Director of Academic Affairs, Israel Consulate, Chicago

April 22

Forum: "The Kashmir Conflict: Implications for South Asia and the World," featuring Cynthia Mahmood, Kroc Institute Director of Graduate Studies, Kroc Institute and Associate Professor of Anthropology; and Raouf Ahanger, Kroc graduate student Co-sponsored with the Indian Association of Notre Dame

Anril 23

Lecture: "Terrorism and the Unconscious," Daniel Sibony, Professor of Mathematics, Universite Paris-VIII

Co-sponsored with the Program in French and Francophone Studies, Nanovic Institute for European Studies, Kellogg Institute, Philosophy and Literature Colloquium, and Center for Social Concerns

April 29

Yoder Lecture: "Memory and Reconciliation," Miroslav Volf, Henry B. Wright Professor of Systematic Theology, Yale Divinity School Annual John Howard Yoder Dialogues on Nonviolence, Religion and Peace

May 7

Lecture: "The Arab Conflict: Is Objectivity Possible?," by Kroc Institute faculty fellow Alan Dowty; a farewell upon his retirement from the Department of Political Science

June 30

Graduation: M.A. Peace Studies Class of 2004

Director Scott Appleby with, from left, Camlus Omogo, Deniz Ugur, Munah Hyde, Lidia Zubytska and Omondi Opongo



noto by Julie Titone

people



From left: Rosemarie Green, registrar; Diane King, programs assistant; Midge Holleman, receptionist; and Cynthia Mahmood, graduate studies director

2003-04 Faculty, Staff and Students

Core faculty

Scott Appleby, John M. Regan, Jr. Director
David Cortright, Research Fellow
John Darby, Professor of Comparative Ethnic Studies
Robert C. Johansen, Senior Fellow
John Paul Lederach, Professor of International Peacebuilding
George A. Lopez, Senior Fellow; Director of Policy Studies
Cynthia Mahmood, Director of Graduate Studies
Martha Merritt, Director of Strategic and International
Development

A. Rashied Omar, Program Coordinator, PRCP and RIREC Daniel Philpott, Director of Undergraduate Studies

Faculty fellows

Anthropology

Rev. Patrick D. Gaffney, C.S.C., Associate Professor

Business

Lee A. Tavis, C. R. Smith Professor of Business Administration; Director, Program on Multinational Managers and Developing Country Concern

Rev. Oliver F. Williams, C.S.C., Associate Professor of Management; Academic Director, Center for Ethics and Religious Values in Business Classics/Middle East Studies
Asma Afsaruddin, Associate Professor

Economics

Mary Beckman, Associate Director, Academic Affairs & Research, Center for Social Concerns

Amitava Dutt, Professor

Teresa Ghilarducci, Associate Professor; Director of the Higgins Labor Research Center

Denis A. Goulet, William and Dorothy O'Neill Professor of Economics

Charles K. Wilber, Emeritus Professor

History

Doris L. Bergen, Associate Professor Paul M. Cobb, Assistant Professor Emily L. Osborn, Assistant Professor Richard B. Pierce, Assistant Professor

Law

Paolo G. Carozza, Associate Professor Barbara J. Fick, Associate Professor

Liberal Studies

Ruthann K. Johansen, Visiting Associate Professor

Philosophy

Kristin Shrader-Frechette, O'Neill Professor of Philosophy; Concurrent Professor of Biological Sciences

James Sterba, Professor

Political Science

Kathleen A. Collins, Assistant Professor

Barbara M. Connolly, Assistant Professor

Fred R. Dallmayr, Packey J. Dee Professor

Alan K. Dowty, Professor

Michael J. Francis, Professor

Frances Hagopian, Associate Professor

Keir A. Lieber, Assistant Professor

Daniel A. Lindley III, Assistant Professor

Scott P. Mainwaring, Eugene and Helen Conley Professor, Director, Helen Kellogg Institute for International Studies

A. Peter Walshe. Professor

Psychology

E. Mark Cummings, Professor

George S. Howard, Professor

Donald Pope-Davis, Professor

Sociology

Daniel J. Myers, Professor

Andrew J. Weigert, Professor

Theology

Rev. Michael J. Baxter, C.S.C., Assistant Professor

Rev. David B. Burrell, C.S.C., Theodore M. Hesburgh C.S.C.

Professor

Rev. Paul V. Kollman, C.S.C., Assistant Professor

Maura A. Ryan, Associate Professor, Associate Provost

Todd D. Whitmore, Associate Professor; Director, Program in Catholic Social Tradition

Visiting fellows

Rosalind I. J. Hackett, Distinguished Professor in the Humanities, University of Tennessee, Knoxville

Angeliki A. Kanavou, International Relations/Communications, University of Southern California (Ph.D., 2003); Assistant Professor, Chapman University

Sakah S. Mahmud, Associate Professor of Political Science, Transylvania University, Lexington, Kentucky

Charles Reilly, former director of Peace Corps in Guatemala; former teacher at Georgetown and the University of California, San Diego, and Universidad Rafael Landivar

James H. Smith, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago (Ph.D., 2002), formerly visiting faculty at University of California, Santa Cruz

Glen Harold Stassen, Lewis B. Smedes Professor of Christian Ethics at Fuller Theological Seminary

Institute staff

Hal Culbertson, Associate Director

Rosemarie R. Green, Admissions Coordinator and Registrar

Anne E. Hayner, Director of Graduate Program and Alumni Affairs

Marguerite E. Holleman, Secretary/Receptionist

Diane P. King, Alumni and Academic Programs Assistant

Barbara Lockwood, Assistant to the Director

Andre Ratasepp, Senior Technical Analyst/Consultant

Justin Shelton, Graduate Program Assistant Coordinator

Julie Titone, Director of Communications

Linda K. White, Administrative Assistant

M.A. students

Raouf Ahanger, India

Anna Arroyo, Mexico/USA

Oldrich Bures, Czech Republic

Mark Canavera, USA

Marissa (Pay) De Guzman, Philippines

Brenda Fitzpatrick, Canada

Munah Hyde, Sierra Leone

Lola Ibragimova, Kyrgyzstan

Elizabeth Jordan, USA

Jean-Marie Kamatali, Rwanda

Zo Sai Kunga, Burma

Zafer Mohammed, Palestinian Authority

Josh Moore, USA

Ann-Sofie Nyman, Finland

Camlus Ouma Omogo, Kenya

Elias Omondi Opongo, Kenya

Chayanit (Nid) Poonyarat, Thailand

Bijana Radonic, Serbia and Montenegro

Mirak Raheem, Sri Lanka

Rebecca Steinmann, Canada

Deniz Ugur, Turkey

Josh Vander Velde, USA

Irene Zirimwabagabo, Rwanda

Lidia Zubytska, Ukraine

Advisory Council

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J. Patrick Danahy, senior partner, Hahn International, LLC

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Division of General Internal Medicine; and Vice-chair for Clinical
Affairs, Department of Medicine at the Morehouse School of
Medicine

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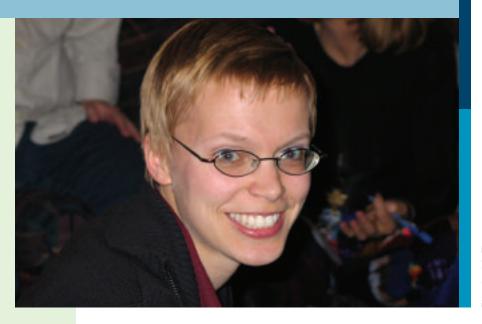
John R. Mullen, Director of Corporate Relations, Johnson & Johnson **Joyce Neu,** Director, Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice

Robert E. O'Grady, Vice President and Underwriting Manager, Sun Alliance USA. Inc.

Anna Eleanor Roosevelt, Director of Community and Education Relations, Boeing World Headquarters

Richard G. Starmann, crisis management consultant, longtime McDonald's Corp. executive

facts



Ann-Sophie Nyman of Finland, one of 24 students in the M.A. Class of 2004

hoto by Julie Titone

2003-04 facts about peace studies students at notre dame

Undergraduates

2003-04 enrollment: 95 students (supplementary majors and minors)

All but 10 came from the College of Arts and Letters

Peace Studies was most popular as a minor or second major among political science majors, with 35 enrolled. Anthropology majors comprised the second largest group, and history majors, the third. Engineering, science, math and accounting majors were among others represented.

Graduate students

24 students from 18 countries

Students ranged from 22 to 36 years old; the average age was about 27

199 people applied to the program

Of the 27 applicants offered a spot, 88% accepted

4 came to Kroc with full scholarships from other sources



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