The World Speaks on Iraq
The Istanbul Session of the World Tribunal on Iraq, June 2005
Report and Commentary by Richard Falk

The World Tribunal on Iraq (WTI) held its final session in Istanbul June 24-27 - the last and most elaborate of sixteen condemnations of the Iraq War held worldwide in the last two years. The Istanbul session used the verdicts and some of the testimony from the earlier sessions; the cumulative nature of the sessions built interest among peace activists, resulting in this final session having by far the strongest international flavor.

This cumulative process, described by organizers as “the tribunal movement,” is unique in history. Never before has a war aroused this level of protest on a global scale - first to prevent it (the huge February 15, 2003, demonstrations in eighty countries) and then to condemn its inception and conduct. The WTI is one expression of the opposition of global civil society to the Iraq War, an initiative best understood as a contribution to “moral globalization.”

The WTI generated intense interest in Turkey, Europe, the Arab world, parts of Asia, and on the Internet but was ignored by the American mainstream media. In Istanbul, the WTI was treated for days as the number-one news story. There are several explanations for this, starting with near-unanimous opposition to the Iraq War in Turkey. More relevant were the vivid connections between Turkey and the war – physical proximity, an array of adverse effects, and – more dramatic – a contradictory government posture: in 2003, the Turkish Parliament refused to give in to US pressure to authorize an invasion of Iraq from Turkish territory, while the Prime Minister allowed continuing use of the huge US air base at Incirlik for strategic operations during and after the war.
Global Studies wishing Beverly McClintock all the best. From left: Jodi Cutler, Richard Appelbaum, Beverly McClintock, Mark Juergensmeyer, Joni Schwartz, Gurinder S. Mann, Chris Gregory, and Giles Gunn. Also present: Dominic Sachsenmaier, Regina Rivera.

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TRANSITIONS

Global & International Studies bid a sad farewell at the end of 2005 to our Program Manager, Beverly McClintock. Bev has served the Program with great devotion, energy, talent, and imagination for the last four years but has now decided to shift her professional life in a somewhat different direction.

Much as we lament her departure and remember with gratitude her immense contribution to our rapid development and expansion, we are extremely pleased to be able to welcome as her successor, Cori Montgomery. Cori has served in a variety of positions for UCSB’s Department of Religious Studies: as undergraduate and graduate advisor, financial officer, and frequent substitute for its Management Services Officer. She brings a wealth of experience and ability that will help us manage the transition to the next phase of our existence with a new Masters in Global & International Studies and a new alliance between the Orfalea Center for Global & International Studies and the Global & International Studies Program.

Cori will be joining the two other professionals we have recently added to our staff. The first is Regina Rivera, who came to us from the Department of Physics where she was the Development Assistant and webmaster. Regina is our new Web and Publications Coordinator and will be dividing her attention between the needs of the Program, the new Masters program, and the Orfalea Center for Global & International Studies. Johanna (Joni) Schwartz has returned to the University, where she formerly served as Assistant Director in Academic Personnel, and is now helping launch our Masters program as its new Graduate Advisor. Together with Jodi Cutler, our indispensable Undergraduate Advisor, and new staff we intend to add in the near future, we now have exceptional resources in place to meet the challenges and opportunities of the academic year ahead.

Chris Kollmeyer
Destination: Scotland

Since receiving his Ph.D. in sociology from UCSB in September of 2003, Chris has been teaching in the Global & International Studies Program as a Faculty Fellow, a position he achieved through a University of California system-wide competition.

January 2006, Chris assumed a permanent faculty position in the Sociology Department at the University of Aberdeen in Scotland. Founded in 1495, the University of Aberdeen is the fifth oldest university in the United Kingdom, and one of the leading centers for the sociological study of globalization in Europe. In addition to his post in the Sociology Department, Chris will serve as a Research Associate at the Centre for the Study of Globalization.

Currently, Chris is working on a book based on his dissertation research and a journal article about globalization’s role in the deindustrialization of the world’s most advanced economies.
G&IS Partners with Erasmus Mundus European Masters Program
by Dominic Sachsenmaier

UCSB has established a special partnership with “Erasmus Mundus,” a European Masters in Global Studies network. The European program is a joint endeavor of the London School of Economics; the University of Leipzig, Germany; the University of Vienna, Austria; and the University of Wroclaw, Poland. Students enrolled in the two-year European MA program usually divide their time between two of the participating institutions. Furthermore, they are required to attend a consortium-wide summer school and complete an MA thesis. English is the main language of instruction at all participating institutions, but students in Leipzig and Vienna also receive intensive language instruction in German.

In the future, the European Union will provide significant funding and sponsor semester-abroad study programs, visiting professorships, and other exchange programs between Global & International Studies and Erasmus Mundus. Each year, Erasmus Mundus will offer between four and six scholarships for recent UCSB Global Studies graduates. The scholarships cover all tuition fees, travel costs and provide a tax-free monthly stipend of 1600 Euros (approximately $2000 USD) for 20 months. Furthermore, several students will be offered a special package, which includes housing arrangements and special tuition fees.

Seven students are enrolled in the program in Leipzig and Ryan Bushek is enrolled in London. Prof. Dominic Sachsenmaier initiated the partnership between UCSB and Erasmus Mundus. Before regular instruction commenced, he met the seven UCSB graduates in Leipzig at “Auerbach’s Keller,” a sixteenth-century tavern that plays an important role in the drama Faust by Johann W. von Goethe.

As a whole, the European consortium is slightly slanted towards historical aspects of globalization than the UCSB program. The student body is more international. Katrina Clapp observes:

“In this program are students from around the world: students from Kazakhstan, Kenya, Malaysia, South Africa, China, India, and of course Santa Barbara. Sitting in a room on the first day of class that was full of intelligent young students from all over the world was definitely a high point in my life. Knowing that we were all here to learn more about our interconnected globe was for me very inspiring!”

Tiffany Johnson adds about the city of Leipzig, where she will be staying until summer 2006:

“Leipzig really didn’t seem so far from home. In fact, Leipzig seems to have an identical replica of the chaotic biking system as UCSB. Also, the night life here has no curfew, therefore it never sleeps – home sweet Del Playa. In addition to a similar atmosphere, the people here are surprisingly friendly. One of the most striking attributes of Leipzig is that it is so international. Any given day, time, hour, or place it is easy to bump into people from all over the world and all walks of life. It is also this characteristic of Leipzig that makes it the ideal location to have the Erasmus Mundus Program.”

Additional information about the program is available online at http://www.uni-leipzig.de/zhs/erasmus_mundus.
abreast of global issues and help to provide leadership for the future. His concerns were echoed by Ronald Rogowski, the dean of UCLA’s International Institute; Anand Yang, the Director of the Henry M. Jackson School of International Studies at the University of Washington; and David Jacobson, the Director of the School of Global Studies at Arizona State University.

Other UCSB administrators who made comments at the event included Gene Lucas, Executive Vice Chancellor; John Wiemann, Vice Chancellor for Institutional Advancement; Melvin Oliver, Dean of Social Sciences; and David Marshall, Dean of Humanities and Fine Arts.

Numerous UCSB department chairs were also in attendance, including Catherine Albanese, Religious Studies; Kenneth Mouré, History; Wade Clark Roof, Director of the Capps Center; Constance Penley, Director of the Center for Film, Television and New Media; Keith Clarke, Geography; Peter Kuhn, Economics; Verta Taylor, Sociology; Michael Stohl, Communications; Mayfair Yang, Director of the East Asia Center; William Warner, English; John Woolley, Political Science; Walter Yuen, Chair of the Academic Senate; Richard Hebdige, Director of the Interdisciplinary Humanities Center; and Leila Rupp, Chair of Women’s Studies.

An overview of the new Master of Arts in Global and International Studies was provided by its director, Richard Appelbaum. Giles Gunn, chair of G&IS, expressed appreciation on behalf of the G&IS program. Other G&IS faculty participating were Gurinder Singh Mann, Dominic Sachsenmaier, Hilal Elver, Richard Falk and Marguerite Bouraad-Nash.

Locals Recall Kinko’s Start With Plaque
by Linda Grant
Excerpted from the Daily Nexus, Friday, October 7, 2005

A company with many copycats has its roots in Isla Vista, local officials and residents gathered [on October 6, 2005] to dedicate a plaque at the site of the first Kinko’s Copy Center, which opened 35 years ago in I.V.

The ceremony, held at 6521 Pardall Rd. on the same sidewalk where the company got its start, honored Kinko’s founder Paul Orfalea with a commemorative plaque donated by the Orfalea Family Foundation. Orfalea, who is also a visiting professor in UCSB’s Global & International Studies Program, spoke in front of a crowd of approximately 40 people that included UCSB Chancellor Henry Yang, 3rd District Supervisor Brooks Firestone, and Lois Mitchell, executive director of the Orfalea Family Foundation.

Jaszer Bauton, a senior Global Studies major who attended the ceremony, [and who] is one of Orfalea’s students, said Orfalea brings many of the qualities that serve him well in business to the classroom.

“His class is in a very informal setting,” Bauton said. “For our first assignment, for example, we had to write down questions [about global issues] on the back of an envelope. [Orfalea] discourages note-taking, and doesn’t like having papers everywhere. He also knows how to handle people very well, and he’s very charismatic. He always makes us think outside the box.”
Faculty on the Move

GILES GUNN has just co-edited a new book with Carl Gutierrez-Jones, Professor of English, UCSB, entitled *War Narratives and American Culture*. Responding to America’s difficulty over the years in recognizing itself as a warrior nation, this volume focuses on how, from the Pequot War of 1637 to the Iraq war of 2003, the country’s emerging sense of nationhood has developed around the preparation for, fighting of, or memory of war. The essays included in the volume reflect the special importance of war to the interpretive gestures of the field of American Studies itself, a discipline crucially shaped in the decades spanning World War II and the Vietnam War and long invested in arguments about the use of violence in the name of national interests and their regeneration. This is the first volume produced by the Department of English’s American Cultures and Global Contexts Center, of which Professor Gunn was the founder and first Director, Professor Gutierrez-Jones the present Director.

MARK JUERGENSMeyer is editor of *Religion in Global Civil Society*, a new book published by Oxford University Press. The book is the product of a two-year project directed by Prof. Juergensmeyer involving a dozen scholars who have focused on the role that religion plays – both helpful and destructive – in contemporary global society.

KUM-KUM BHAVNANI made her film writing and directorial debut at the 21st Annual Santa Barbara International Film Festival, in February 2006. Narrated by Academy Award-Winning Actress Susan Sarandon, *The Shape of Water* takes audiences to Brazil’s Amazonian rainforest where women tap trees for rubber; Senegal where women are fighting female genital cutting; Jerusalem where Women in Black have created a peace vigil to end years of Israeli occupation of Palestine; and India where the Self-Employed Women’s Association has empowered poor women to rise up from poverty and live with dignity as vegetable sellers and kite makers. The documentary depicts how women are inciting change one person at a time, one group at a time. Their focus is sharp, their actions are compelling, their stories are inspiring. Prof. Bhavnani will continue to share this inspiration, having been invited to show the documentary at film festivals nationwide.

MARK JUERGENSMeyer HONOURED WITH A DISTINGUISHED FACULTY AWARD

Global Studies is pleased to announce Professor Mark Juergensmeyer was honored with the 2005-2006 Distinguished Faculty Award at a reception on March 6, 2006. Conferred by the Academic Senate, the awards are given annually to professors who have demonstrated a superior and dedicated approach to teaching while making significant contributions to their fields through research and publication.

Professor Juergensmeyer is Director of the Orfalea Center for Global & International Studies, and a Professor of Global Studies and Sociology. He has authored numerous articles and books, including the widely read *Terror in the Mind of God: The Global Rise of Religious Violence*. Through his tireless energy, good humor, and vision, Professor Juergensmeyer inspires countless numbers of students each year and is an invaluable asset to academic excellence at UCSB.

CHRISt KOLLMEYER has won this year’s prestigious Terence K. Hopkins Dissertation Award from the Political Economy of the World-System (PEWS) section of the American Sociological Association. The award is given every two years to the most outstanding dissertation in global or comparative-international sociology completed during the most recent three year period. Dr. Kollmeyer was recognized by PEWS during the annual meetings of the American Sociological Association:

“Kollmeyer engages key debates on whether globalization has weakened political arrangements that seek to reduce inequality in what he calls advanced capitalist economies. Through careful modelling, and constructing some original data, he finds that global market integration has had a very small effect on class compromise, and that, instead, previous political trajectories have been of greater significance in shaping current political paths.”
Students in Action: International Convention on Human Rights

Student Group
by Jessica W. Chen

The International Convention on Human Rights (ICHR), previously known as the International Bill of Rights Project (IBOR), is sponsoring a student group on campus.

The mission of ICHR is to educate people about existing human rights documents, including their own bill of rights, and to provide a process to draft an international convention on human rights, in a single document, enforceable in the local courts of all countries.

The purpose of the student group is to promote activism among university students. Students gave input towards the Human Rights curriculum ICHR presented on December 10 (Human Rights Day) to California high schools. The curriculum consisted of a 10-minute film on the historical background of human rights and also an interactive curriculum.

This year, students will also have the opportunity to travel to the United Nations Annual Commission on Human Rights (UNCIHR) in Geneva, Switzerland and the World Social Forum in Venezuela. Last year, three UCSB Global Studies students, Jennifer Brown, Jessica W. Chen, and Christina Kaspar, represented ICHR in Geneva along with Executive Director of ICHR and former Global Studies professor at UCSB, Dr. Kirk Boyd, Esq. and another student from UC Berkeley.

Meetings are held every Tuesday at 6pm in the Philosophy Conference Room on the 5th Floor of South Hall. There are many opportunities for students to get involved and gain the experience of working for a non-profit non-governmental organization (NGO). For more information, contact Jessica W. Chen, President of ICHR student group, at jessica@ibor.org.

Greetings from the EPU, Austria
by Brandi Andrews

Just wanted to say hello from the European University for Peace Studies in Austria (EPU). I am in the Peace Studies Master’s program with about fifty other students from all over the world. In addition to attending courses together, we live in “Haus International” where our education continues in a community setting. Professors from all over the world come to EPU and lecture on their area of specialty and also spend time with us outside of the classroom. I have taken a variety of courses already; two of my favorites have been “Nonviolence: from Philosophy to Practical Tool” and “Peace and Ethics.”

When I am not reading, participating in cultural events or attending class, I am travelling as much as possible. Last weekend, I went to Budapest (beautiful!) and a few weeks ago I took a night train to Berlin to attend a debate between Samuel Huntington and Johan Galtung. While in Germany, I also went to the Berlin Wall and spent a couple of hours in the Checkpoint Charlie Museum which has an extensive exhibition of worldwide, non-violent struggles for human rights. Next weekend, I will be going with some of my classmates to visit the U.N. in Vienna.

Academically, I have been challenged everyday. However, I didn’t expect the intense emotional and spiritual challenges I have encountered. During my second week at EPU, we visited the Mauthausen Concentration Camp near Linz, Austria. The few hours I spent at Mauthausen alone could sustain my study of peace and conflict transformation for the rest of my life. Also, hearing about the lives of the other students and the experiences they’ve had in their part of the world are powerful and inspiring.

I feel the transition from the Global Studies Program at UCSB to the program at EPU has been smooth. The hills are alive in Austria, but they’re landlocked and cold! Auf Wiedersehen.
The WTI was loosely inspired by the Bertrand Russell tribunal held in Copenhagen and Stockholm in 1967 to protest the Vietnam War, which documented with extensive testimony the allegations of criminality associated with the American role in Vietnam. The Russell tribunal featured the participation of Jean-Paul Sartre, Simone de Beauvoir and other notable European intellectuals. It relied on international law and morality to condemn the war but made no pretension of being a legal body, and its jury contained no international law experts.

Of course, a tribunal of this sort is immediately criticized on one hand as a kangaroo court that ignores the pro-war legal and political argument and, on the other, is treated as a meaningless use of a courtroom format since there is neither an adversary process nor enforcement powers. In my view, these criticisms reveal a misunderstanding of the undertaking. To be sure, the WTI is not an organ of the state and cannot count on its judgments being implemented by such state institutions as police or prisons. Rather, the WTI is self-consciously an organ of civil society, with its own potential enforcement by way of economic boycotts, civil disobedience and political campaigns. On the substantive issues of legality, it is designed to confirm the truth of the widely held allegations about the Iraq War, not to discover the truth by way of political, legal and moral inquiry and debate. It proceeds from a presumption that the allegations of illegality and criminality are valid and that its job is to reinforce that conclusion as persuasively and vividly as possible. The motivations of citizens to organize such a tribunal do not arise from uncertainty about issues of legality and morality but from a conviction that the official institutions of the state, including the United Nations, have failed to act to protect a vulnerable people against such Nuremberg crimes as aggression, violations of the laws of war, and crimes against humanity. It is only because of such institutional failures in the face of ongoing suffering and abuse like that in Iraq that individuals and institutions made the immense organizational effort to put together this kind of transnational civic tribunal.

We should also recall that the Nuremberg Tribunal’s enduring contribution was not finding out whether the Nazi regime had committed the crimes alleged but documenting its criminality.

The decision of the WTI was rendered by a fifteen-member Jury of Conscience, chaired by Indian novelist Arundhati Roy, and composed of prominent activists from around the world. Two Americans, David Krieger, president of the Nuclear Age Peace Foundation, and Eve Ensler, of Vagina Monologues fame, were jury members. The jury also included Chandra Muzaffar, Malaysia’s leading human rights advocate and noted author, as well as two internationally respected Turkish intellectual personalities, Murat Belge and Ayse Erzan.

A Panel of Advocates - coordinated by Turgut Tarhanli, dean of the Bilgi Law School in Istanbul, and myself - organized the fifty-four presentations offered to the jury. The advocates came from a wide range of backgrounds, and the presentations included some incisive analyses of international law issues by such respected world experts as Christine Chinkin of the London School of Economics; Amy Bartholomew of Carleton University, Ottawa; Barbara Olshansky, Assistant Legal Director of the Center for Constitutional Rights, who made a gripping presentation of the gruesome record of abuse of detainees and prisoners held by the US Government since 9/11; two former assistant secretary generals of the UN (Denis Halliday & Hans von Sponeck), both of whom had resigned in the 1990s to protest the genocidal effects of UN sanctions in Iraq. There were accounts of the devastation and cruelty of the occupation by several seemingly credible eye-witnesses who had held important non-government jobs in pre-invasion Iraq; a moving presentation of why he turned against the Iraq War by Tim Goodrich, a former American soldier and co-founder of Iraq Veterans Against the War; and overall assessments of how the Iraq War fits into American ambitions for global empire by such renowned intellectuals as Samir Amin, Johan Galtung, and Walden Bello. Their presentations combined an acute explanation of the strains on world order arising from predatory forms of economic globalization with the view that the US response to 9/11 was mainly motivated by regional and global strategic aims and only incidentally, if at all, by antiterrorism.

After compromise and debate, the jury reached a unanimous verdict that combined findings with recommendations for action. Its core conclusion condemned the Iraq War as a war of aggression in violation of the UN Charter and international law, and determined that those responsible for planning and waging it should be held criminally responsible. George W. Bush, Tony Blair, Donald Rumsfeld, Dick Cheney, Colin Powell and Paul Wolfowitz were listed in the jury verdict by name. Less predictably, the UN was faulted for failing to fulfill its responsibilities to protect member states against aggression.

One recommendation supported the rights of the Iraqi people to resist an illegal occupation, to the extent authorized by international law. Further recommendations specified that US media be held responsible for contributing to the war of aggression, that American and British products associated with corporations doing business in Iraq - like Halliburton, British Petroleum, and Bechtel - be boycotted, and that peace movement activists around the world urge the withdrawal of all foreign forces from Iraq. The verdict was framed as a moral and political assessment of the Iraq War, and relied on the guidelines of international law to lend legal weight to its essentially political and moral conclusions. The jury’s view of international law accords with a nearly unanimous consensus of international law experts outside the United States and Britain.

Arundhati Roy imparted the prevailing spirit of civic dedication and moral leadership in a press statement at the end of the final session. Her words summarize the experience for many of us: the WTI “places its faith in the consciences of millions of people across the world who do not wish to stand by and watch while the people of Iraq are being slaughtered, subjugated and humiliated.”
We are proud to announce the first round of admissions for the Master of Arts Program in Global & International Studies has attracted 70 applicants. The new cohort of students represents a very diverse pool, 51 of whom are female, 10 international applicants, and a high proportion of ethnic minorities. Thirty-three offers of admission for the 2006-07 academic year have been extended. Reception plans are in the works to welcome our first Master of Arts students. It will certainly be an exciting, ground-breaking event.

These students will embark on a rigorous program to deepen their understanding of globalization with a focus on intellectual and practical challenges facing “third sector” non-profit, non-governmental organizations. The two-year program combines courses from the social sciences and humanities, with practical training through internships, workshops, seminars, and real-world experience.

Among the attractive features of the new MA program are the internship and study abroad experiences each student will undertake. However, this requires funding beyond the limited fellowship support generously provided by the Orfalea funds and University allocations that have helped to establish the program.

If you’re interested in getting involved by providing funding support for worthy students in one of these ways, please contact Rich Appelbaum (appelbaum@global.ucsb.edu), Director of the MA program, or Mark Juergensmeyer (juergens@global.ucsb.edu), Director of the Orfalea Center.

Get Involved With the New Global & International Studies Master of Arts Program!

Consider supporting the MA students in one of the following ways:

- contribute to the general fellowship fund
- provide a full fellowship for one or more students
- contribute to students going to your favorite country
- support students working for particular agencies and issues