

**APPLICATION CHECKLIST**  
**Research, Scholarship, and Creativity Grant**

Deadline February 12<sup>th</sup>

Please print and complete this checklist and attach it as the cover page of your grant application.

**Faculty information**

Name: Mimi Gerstbaver Dept: Political Science/Peace Studies  
Email: mgerstba@gac.edu Rank: Assoc. Prof

**Checklist**

☒ **Description of previous projects (and outcomes) funded by RSC grants**

☒ **Complete project description, including separate statements of:**

1. **Purpose.** What are the intellectual, conceptual, or artistic issues? How does your work fit into other endeavors being done in this field?
2. **Feasibility.** What qualifications do you bring to this project? What have you done/will you do to prepare for this project? What is the time period, i.e. summer, summer and academic year, academic year only? Is the work's scope commensurate with the time period of the project?
3. **Project Design.** This should include a specific description of the project design and activities, including location, staff, schedules or itineraries, and desired outcomes.

☒ **RSC Budget Proposal Form attached as last page of application**

☒ **Nine (9) copies of completed application and budget (including this checklist) to be submitted to the John S. Kendall Center for Engaged Learning (SSC 119)**

If successful, my proposal can be used as an example to assist future faculty applications. This decision will not in any way influence the evaluation of my application. Yes / No (please circle one)

## **Application for Research, Scholarship and Creativity Grant**

Mimi Gerstbauer  
Associate Professor, Political Science  
Director, Peace Studies

### **Previous Work supported by RSC grant:**

I received a Research, Scholarship, and Creativity Grant in 2002-2003. The goal of my project was to augment and revise some of my dissertation research on peacebuilding NGOs and to produce two articles that would be submitted for publication. The funds were used to purchase books and to hire a student research assistant during the academic year.

### **Outcomes:**

- 1) One article was published fairly soon after the grant period.  
"The New Conflict Managers: Peacebuilding NGOs and State Agendas" in Elke Krahmann, ed. *New Threats and New Actors in International Security*. Palgrave, 2005, pp. 23-44.
- 2) A conference paper was produced.  
"The Quality of Mercy" International Studies Association meetings. February 2003.
- 3) A third article went through more revisions over time and was finally published.  
"The Whole Story of NGO Mandate Change: The Peacebuilding Work of World Vision, Catholic Relief Services, and Mennonite Central Committee" *The Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*. (forthcoming – accepted a year ago)

### **2010-2011 COMPLETE PROJECT DESCRIPTION:**

#### **1. Purpose:**

For about five years now I have been interested in forgiveness in international relations, a topic I began to think about under the umbrella of "reconciliation" during graduate school. A wealth of recent material has developed which explores the limits and possibilities of forgiveness for the life of nation-states. These works come from fields of political science, religion, philosophy, and the interdisciplinary field of peace studies.

Within the field of political science, the small forgiveness literature is based in a broader literature on transitional justice, which examines the processes nation-states follow to bring and restore justice, peace, and reconciliation to states that have struggled through mass conflict. This literature includes work on truth commissions, war crimes tribunals, and other processes of "purging" and dealing with a past of war and atrocities. While truth and justice are old mainstays in the lives of nation-states, Walter Wink has noted that, "The extension of forgiveness, repentance, and reconciliation to whole nations is one of the great innovations in statecraft in our time" (1998:54). In *The Guilt of Nations* Elazar Barkan notes that "admitting responsibility and guilt for historical

injustices...has become a liberal marker of national political stability and strength rather than shame" (2000: xxix).

I have chosen to use the concept of 'forgiveness' to convey this movement among nation-states to deal with past wrongs. While not normally thought of in political contexts, forgiveness is starting to gain currency in international relations (see, e.g. Philpott; Amstutz; Christiansen and Hennemeyer). One of the first recent scholars to illustrate the political relevance of forgiveness was Donald Shriver, in his groundbreaking book published in 1995, *An Ethic for Enemies*:

"Slowly, over these years, I have arrived at the belief that the concept of forgiveness, so customarily relegated to the realms of religion and personal ethics, belongs to the heart of reflection about how groups of humans can move to repair the damages that they have suffered from their past conflicts with each other. Precisely because it attends at once to moral truth, history, and the human benefits that flow from the conquest of enmity, *forgiveness* is a word for a multi-dimensional process that is eminently political." (ix-x)

In Shriver's book, as well as others, forgiveness is not a speech act of "I forgive you"; rather, as in the quote above, it is a process and an ethic involving several interrelated components. Thus, I refer to an "ethic" of forgiveness.

My critique of the recent forgiveness literature is that while it claims to look at the role of forgiveness in international politics, it does not acknowledge that the cases examined are limited to intra-state processes. The "usual suspects" for cases are South Africa, Northern Ireland, Argentina, and Chile, and focus on domestic reconciliation. I argue that forgiveness between nation-states is possibly a whole different game.

Thus, I have sought to bring new case studies to the literature, beginning on my sabbatical two years ago, when I wrote a paper for the International Studies Association meetings on "The United States and War in Nicaragua: Lessons for Forgiveness in International Relations". In Summer 2009 I wrote a case study on Vietnam and the United States which will be presented at the 2010 International Studies Association meetings in February. I argue that these cases raise new variables especially applicable to the limits and possibilities of forgiveness in inter-state conflicts. These include: the superpower dynamic and Cold War politics; the impact of domestic forces, such as political division and solidarity movements, on interstate reconciliation; and the impact of economic relationships on forgiveness, such as dependence and need for aid. Thus, the papers move the literature on forgiveness in international relations beyond the "usual suspects" to examine new variables that may make forgiveness either less applicable or more difficult to pursue.

These papers were written with a book project in mind. A brief outline of the proposed book follows:

TITLE: A Humbled Superpower: US Policy Towards Former Enemies and the Possibilities of Forgiveness in International Politics

Chapter 1: Introduce an ethic of forgiveness in international politics. *drafted*

Chapter 2: Cases involving the U.S. pre-Cold War and cases where ethic of forgiveness has been present: such as US/Germany, US/Japan and US/Rwanda.

CASE STUDIES: The Cold War and the War on Terror

Chapter 3: US/Vietnam (Asia; US as a Cold War "loser") *drafted*

Chapter 4: US/Nicaragua (Latin America; US as a Cold War "winner") *drafted*

Chapter 5: US/Iraq, US/Iran, and US/9/11 (Middle East and looking to the future)

Chapter 6: Conclusions

With three out of six chapters drafted, it is a good juncture to spend some time revising my first theoretical chapter to better fit the book project and to begin looking more closely at publishers such as *Rowman and Littlefield*, *Oxford*, *Lynne Rienner*, and *Kumarian*. The first two are more mainstream and each has published on forgiveness in international politics. The latter two publish extensively in peace studies.

Thus, the goal this summer is seeking out new literature, revision, and completion of a book prospectus.

## **2. Feasibility:**

### **Mimi Gerstbauer**

I joined the Gustavus faculty in the fall of 2001 in the Political Science department and took on the directorship of the Peace Studies program the following year. I received tenure in Fall 2006 and was on sabbatical from 2007-2008. My primary field is international relations and my secondary field is comparative politics, primarily Latin America. I also have an M.A. in Peace Studies. I have interests in NGOs, religion and politics, and peacebuilding.

My research has centered on issues of peacebuilding in international affairs. In addition to the forgiveness work, I research international NGOs engaged in international peacebuilding and am particularly interested in faith-based NGOs.

Before my sabbatical leave (2007-2008) I had written two conference papers related to international forgiveness – one on state apologies and forgiveness and one suggesting a framework for the relevance of forgiveness in international relations. These established a good grounding in this niche literature. The research on forgiveness fits well with my interest in the nexus of religion and international relations, since much of the literature stems from a faith perspective.

I have also described more of my current research (case chapters) in the project description section.

I hope to complete the book prospectus over the summer. Work on the book will, of course, continue beyond that.

### **3. Project Design:**

My request for this year's grant is for the purchase of books. The forgiveness literature has been growing like gangbusters in recent years (I refuse to use the work "burgeoning" like everyone else). And, it is interdisciplinary. There are several items I have identified for purchase for some time now. Some of these I have consulted before, via interlibrary loan. However, I have finally come to the conclusion that having the books in my possession (with the ability to mark on them, etc.) will be a huge benefit to my research. Some, like the Kritz volumes, are essential compilations of key literature that are harder to access. I should also state that I have purchased quite a bit of "forgiveness" literature with my own funds these past two years as well. The books below will be especially useful for working on the first two chapters of my book.

The outcome of the project is a book prospectus.

### **Request:**

(base) \$350

(Stipend) \$600

### **Bibliography and Expenses:**

Barkan, Elazar. *The Guilt of Nations: Restitution and Negotiating Historical Injustices*. New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 2000. \$15

Biggar, Nigel, ed.. *Burying the Past: Making Peace and Doing Justice after Civil Conflict*. Georgetown U. Press, 2003. \$30

Bole, William, Drew Christiansen, and Robert Hennemeyer. *Forgiveness in International Politics: An Alternative Road to Peace*. United States Conference of Catholic Bishop's Publishing, 2004. \$20

Daly, Erin and Jeremy Sarkin. *Reconciliation in Divided Societies: Finding Common Ground*. University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006. \$65

Kritz, Neil J. , ed. *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes*. United States Institute of Peace, 1995. 3 volumes. \$55 each volume = \$165.

Negash, Girma. *Apologia Politica: States and their Apologies by Proxy*. Rowman and Littlefield (Lexington Books), 2006. \$30

Payne, Leigh. *Unsettling Accounts: Neither Truth nor Reconciliation in Confessions of State Violence*. Durham: Duke U. Press, 2007 \$25

## Research, Scholarship, and Creativity Grant BUDGET INFORMATION

### Faculty Stipend

(\$500 professor; \$600 associate professor; \$700 assistant professor)

### Expenses

Faculty may apply for up to \$1500 to pay for the cost of equipment, materials, personnel, and travel associated with the project to be funded by the RSC Grant. All expenses must be necessitated by the project to be funded by the RSC Grant.

ITEM		AMOUNT
Equipment (e.g., transcription machine, camera, cassette recorder— but not to include computer hardware)		\$
1:	Cost:	
2:	Cost:	
3:	Cost:	
Materials (e.g., books, printing, software, lab supplies)		\$ 350
1: BOOKS	Cost:	
2:	Cost:	
3:	Cost:	
Personnel (e.g., typist, transcriptionist, student assistant)		\$
1:		
2:		
Travel Costs (cannot include conference travel, see <a href="http://gustavus.edu/finance/travel.php">http://gustavus.edu/finance/travel.php</a> for allowable travel expenses)		\$
Airfare:		
Mileage: Number of miles _____ @ \$0.55/mile		
Lodging:		
Meals:		
Other Expenses		\$
1:	Cost:	
2:	Cost:	
3:	Cost:	
		\$
TOTAL EXPENSES		\$ 350
STIPEND		600
AMOUNT REQUESTED (not to exceed \$1500 + stipend commensurate with rank)		\$ 950

Have you applied for, or received funding from, another source to help support this project? **NO**

Funding Source:

Amount:

Please explain how the RSC will be used in addition to the other funding.