

# PeaceWatch

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## A SUMMIT ON YOUTH & PEACE

International youth engaged in peacemaking explore with Florida students how youth can contribute to furthering peace internationally.



**W**e had gotten up one morning and all of a sudden there were bullets and bombing and continuous gunfire,” explains **Kimie Weeks**, 18, formerly of Liberia. Fearing for their lives, he and his family fled to a refugee camp, where the ravages of war continued, he says. Weeks was one of five international youth engaged in peacemaking who discussed their experiences at a day-long Summit on Youth and Peace on December 7, held near Orlando, Fla. The event was presented by the Disney Institute in collaboration with the U.S. Institute of Peace and in cooperation with the University of Central Florida.

“In that camp,” Weeks continued, “I experienced for the first time the actual effects of war . . . [which before] I had only seen on TV. I caught the epidemics, felt the hunger . . . without hope of finding food. We went through that for one year, and when there was a cease-fire, I got back home and I decided that I wanted to end the war, even though I was 10 and unheard of and unknown. I said, ‘There will be a way that I can do something to end this war.’ And that is how I began.”

*Left:*  
Archbishop Desmond Tutu embraces Dilia Deniza Lozano Suarez at the Summit on Youth and Peace.

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Left to right: Nadja Halilbegovich, Hafsat Abiola, and Ylber Bajraktari.

Weeks went on to found two children's organizations to fight for children's rights in Liberia and a news service for youth. And in 1996, he launched the successful Children's Disarmament Campaign to get guns out of the hands of child soldiers. His accomplishments reflected those of other international youth participating in the summit.

The event was organized and moderated by **Tara Sonenshine**, senior adviser at the Institute of Peace, with help from **Pamela Aall**, director of the Education Program, **Jeffrey Helsing**, program officer, and **Heather Kerr-Stewart**, education specialist.

In addition to the young peacemakers from Bosnia, Colombia, Kosovo, Liberia, and Nigeria, participants included more than 100 students from high schools in central Florida taking international studies, debate, and social studies classes, and their teachers.

Institute of Peace president **Richard H. Solomon** delivered the opening presentation in which he conducted a "Global Tour of Conflict" in today's world, ranging from Africa, to the Middle East, to the Balkans, to the Korean Peninsula, and beyond. "Most who die or get wounded in these conflicts are not soldiers, but innocent civilians," he noted. Thus, it is essential that those seeking peace develop active programs that will take the initiative away from those who promote conflict and violence, he said.

In the sessions that followed, the international youth discussed their experiences with the American students. "We were not only denied the basic human rights, but we were also denied the right to a childhood and for many the right to a future," **Ylber Bajraktari**, 20, formerly of Kosovo, told the group.

"In my country, people take up weapons because there are different ways of thinking. . . . and they are

attacking civilians. This creates disastrous effects upon children," said **Dilia Deniza Lozano Suarez**, 15, of Colombia. **Hafsat Abiola**, 25, of Nigeria, daughter of M. K. O. Abiola and Kudirat Abiola, talked about losing her parents to political tyranny. Her father, who won the presidential election in Nigeria in 1993, served out his term in prison and died there. Her mother, a pro-democracy activist, was assassinated. "My father was trying to . . . reach out to the people," Hafsat Abiola said. "Finally he decided he should change the whole system of government in Nigeria, which is why he went into politics. He paid the ultimate price."

**Nadja Halilbegovich**, now 20, documented the war in Sarajevo, Bosnia, through a moving diary, written when she was 12 and later published as *Nadja's Diary*. At 13, she was wounded by shrapnel, some of which is still lodged in her legs. She told the American students that for 12 years of her life "I lived in such a wonderful world where I had everything and took for granted everything. Now I was facing the reality of people being killed on the street, children and women and innocent people being killed because they wanted a breath of fresh air or just to take a single step outside."

Following the discussion, participants attended a series of interactive workshops centered on the theme of reconciliation designed to give them an understanding of the role of media, leadership, and story telling in resolving civil and ethnic conflicts.



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Left: Kimmie Weeks (right) talks with Florida student.



Right: Olara A. Otunnu

Later, some of the participants put their new knowledge to the test in a hands-on peacemaking simulation exercise, written by Kerr-Stewart and directed by her and Helsing. The teachers attended a session on teaching about conflict in the classroom.

In the afternoon session, organized as a “Town Hall Meeting,” the international and American youth exchanged ideas about how today’s youth can participate in building peace internationally. At the end of the discussion, **Olara A. Otunnu**, UN special representative for children and armed conflict, and 1984 Nobel Peace prizewinner Archbishop **Desmond Tutu** of South Africa shared their years of experience in peacemaking.

When the event was over, Solomon said that one of the most exciting aspects had been seeing the American students make the connection with youth their own ages who had had such extraordinary war-time experiences. The American students identified with those youths and tried to make sense out of what they had been through.

Sonenshine agreed. “The international youth shared their insights and experiences in a powerful and moving way,” she said. “The summit was unique not only because the students had a chance to gain hands-on experience in conflict resolution, but because they learned some of these skills and lessons from their peers who are working to bring peace in their communities from Colombia to Kosovo. The event was a wonderful extension of the Institute of Peace’s educational outreach efforts, particularly as they relate to high school students.”

The collaboration between the U.S. Institute of Peace and the Disney Institute was important in

marrying intellectual content and visual presentation, Sonenshine said. The Institute of Peace provided much of the substantive material, drawing on its years of research and training; the Disney Institute brought its special style and creativity and a keen sense of public programming to the event, producing sophisticated audio-visual presentations on global conflict.

The Youth and Peace Symposium was the first of the Disney Institute’s 15-month World and Community Symposium Series, created to examine some of the major issues facing the world. **Dianna Morgan**, the Disney Institute’s senior vice president for public affairs, said of the summit, “This was truly one of the most inspiring and thought-provoking days we have hosted. We are extremely grateful for the role that the United States Institute of Peace played in bringing this event together . . . and for helping to launch this initiative in such a significant way.”

Bottom, left to right: Archbishop Desmond Tutu, Tara Sonenshine, Hafsat Abiola, and Nadja Halilbegovich.



# Political Violence and the Media

The way the media cover terrorist organizations, their leaders, and acts of political violence may inadvertently further the goals of terrorist groups.



Left to right:  
Marvin Kalb,  
Mark Jurgens-  
meyer

Today, terrorist acts are intended as a public performance of violence, meant to engage the spectators in the drama of destruction, which most often produces mass casualties, not just public terror. The bombing of the federal building in Oklahoma and the release of deadly gas into the subway system in Japan represent a new kind of terrorism, notes **Mark Jurgensmeyer** of the University of California at Santa Barbara. "These acts are not meant to lead to negotiation or the furtherance of a group's political goals, as was often the case in previous attacks by terrorist groups."

Indeed, the message is the act itself: the government is the enemy, and the war has come home, Jurgensmeyer says. However, the message is ineffective without an audience. "Does the availability of the media help create the event?" he asks. "In a sense, it does." Media coverage of terrorist incidents inadvertently plays into the terrorists' hands by giving them a public voice and heightened visibility.

Jurgensmeyer was one of several experts who spoke at a meeting of the International Research Group on "The Media and Political Violence" held at the U.S. Institute of Peace on October 18. The research group is cosponsored by the Institute and the British-based Airey Neave Trust. Two additional meetings on political violence are planned. The October meeting was organized by **Jon Alterman**, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, and **Patrick Cronin**, program director.

Journalist **Marvin Kalb**, director of the Washington office of Harvard's Shorenstein Center and former chief diplomatic correspondent for CBS News and NBC News, pointed out that during the Cold War, many terrorist groups were fighting for a cause such as freeing political prisoners. They resorted to "terrorism with an advertiser's spin" to get their message out, he said. Then and now, the interests of terrorists and journalists often converge, in that journalists are

looking for dramatic stories and key sources, in part to advance their careers. Further, some terrorist organizations like the Palestine Liberation Organization transform into legitimate bodies, whose evolution needs to be reported on, he said.

**Bruce Hoffman** of the RAND Corporation pointed out that although terrorist groups may depend on the media to broadcast their message, it is wrong to conclude that if the media paid no attention, terrorism would end. For example, no group has yet claimed credit for one of the most notorious terrorist acts, the downing of Pan Am 103 over Scotland, he said.

**Phyllis Oakley**, formerly of the U.S. Department of State, noted that both the media and the government impact the way a terrorist event is perceived by the public. The government carefully coordinates its response to terrorist acts in order to avoid releasing conflicting statements, she said, because "conflicting statements by different officials gives the impression that the government is in disarray, which meets the terrorist objectives." Now a task force is assembled immediately after a terrorist incident so that the government can respond with one voice.

Official briefings seek to define the context for talking about what has happened, and are used at times to send a message to the perpetrators, perhaps about the likelihood of retaliation as in the case of the bombings of the U.S. embassies in Africa.

**Edward Hull** of the State Department said that the department is focusing on the criminal aspect of terrorist acts. For example, government spokespersons refer to Saudi millionaire and terrorist leader Osama bin Laden as a criminal rather than a terrorist, he noted. This is important because in countries like Afghanistan and Pakistan bin Laden is viewed as a hero, with parents in large numbers naming their newborn sons Osama. News stories also contribute to bin Laden's lionization when they mistakenly focus on him as an individual instead of focusing on his organization, Hall said.

**Brian Jenkins**, a consultant, said that the government's main concern after a terrorist incident is the psychological impact it may have on the domestic audience. The overwhelming concern is to reduce alarm, discredit the terrorists, promise retribution, offer sympathy to the victims, and reassure those who might still be in danger.

The government is currently thinking through how to respond to a chemical or biological act of terrorism. "Such an attack could lead to national hysteria," he said, adding that the public would be desperate for information.

Jurgensmeyer noted that ABC's *Nightline* did a program recently on how the government might respond to the release of anthrax in a subway. While such a program may aim to prepare and educate the public, "there's almost certainly someone watching out there who is saying 'this looks great.'" The possibility of egging on some terrorist is an unintended outcome of any discussion of this kind of terrorism, he concluded. In sum, the dilemma of keeping the public informed without inciting further acts of terrorism remains a difficult balancing act.

## Balkans Report

Recent developments in Croatia, Macedonia, and Montenegro indicate strong winds are blowing in the direction of democracy, but real risks remain that entrenched ethnocentric and autocratic forces could still prevail, says **Daniel Serwer**, director of the Balkans Initiative at the U.S. Institute of Peace. "We in the United States need to recognize the importance of the upcoming Croatian elections to positive developments in the region," he says. Parliamentary elections are scheduled for January 3, and presidential elections are expected by mid-February.

As the newly appointed director of the Institute's Balkans Initiative, Serwer traveled through the region September 22 through October 2 with **Joseph Klaits**, director of the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, and **William Stuebner**, adviser to the Rule of Law Program. During the trip—which included stops in Zagreb, Banja Luka, Sarajevo, Podgorica, Pristina, and Skopje—the group met with major regional figures including Milo Djukanovic, president of Montenegro; Kiro Gligorov, Macedonia's outgoing president; Mustafa Ceric, leader of the Bosnian Islamic community; and Bernard Kouchner, UN special representative. They also met with prime ministers, foreign ministers, opposition leaders, and American ambassadors. In addition, Klaits met with representatives of nongovernmental organizations and scholars to discuss the Institute's fellowship and grant programs. The group was unable to visit Serbia, which indicated unwillingness to issue visas.

Travel in the region was entirely on the ground, as the group was interested in gauging the situation outside the capitals and had the opportunity to assess the extent of the war damage in Kosovo and the physical reconstruction in Bosnia.

Throughout the region there was strong interest in the Institute's programs, Klaits says. The Institute is widely known in the Balkans thanks to its extensive activities there since the Dayton accords. Except for Serbia, leaders at the highest level were eager to meet with the delegation and plan for continued contacts.

Although often operating under difficult conditions and numerous constraints, nongovernmental organizations promoting reconciliation, ethnic comity, and the rule of law are having an impact throughout the region, Klaits notes. These groups are beginning to form networks across political borders to promote tolerance and prevent further communal conflict. The growth of civil society is a hopeful sign that a new generation of citizens will feel empowered to act as agents of change in societies

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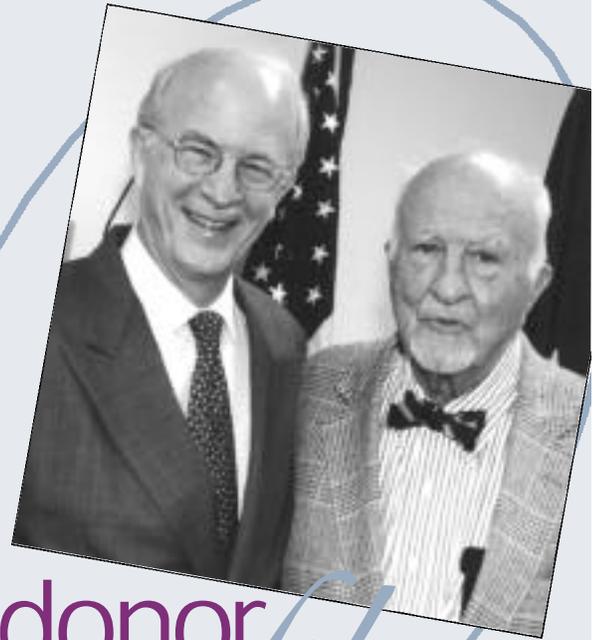


Above, left to right: Daniel Serwer, Svetlana Broz, President Tito's granddaughter, and William Stuebner.

Left: Kiro Gligorov.

Arthur M. Crocker—a generous supporter of the United States Institute of Peace—believes deeply in mankind’s ethical responsibility toward nature, politics, and world peace.

# An Ethical Responsibility to World Peace



donor  
profile

**A**rthur M. Crocker—a retired bank investment officer and gener-

ous donor to the U.S. Institute of Peace—remembers well the powerful influences that shaped his life commitments. As a young boy, he developed a love of nature, sailing a small boat in Long Island Sound, exploring the seashore near Oyster Bay where he lived with his family, and hiking in the Adirondacks where they vacationed, discovering the cool beauty of its lakes and streams, the wonder of the wildlife, the thrill of hooking a brook trout with a dry fly.

His family’s neighbors on Long Island included former secretary of war Col. Henry L. Stimson and former secretary of state John Foster Dulles, who

occasionally joined the family for dinner. At Princeton, Crocker studied history, politics, and constitutional law along with Latin, Greek, and philosophy. It was during a course in philosophy that he first read *The Ethical Basis of the State* by Norman Wilde, a classic text on political ethics that impressed him deeply. “The state has to be doing the right thing for the people it represents, whether in national defense, education, or environmental matters,” Crocker says. “Ethics is involved in all decisions related to those subjects.” The book led to his lifelong environmental activism.

His enthusiasm for philosophy and Wilde’s book was shared by his roommate John Gaillard, who later wrote the United Nations’ report on the territorial settlement on Palestine.

The inherent connection between Crocker’s commitment

to the ethical responsibilities of the state and the need for world peace and the preservation of democracy came together dramatically years later. In October 1939, one month after Germany’s invasion of Poland, Crocker read an article in *Foreign Affairs*, “Hitler Could Not Stop,” by Hermann Rauschnig, president of the senate of the Free City of Danzig in 1933–34. The article warned that Hitler’s National Socialism sought complete hegemony over Europe. Hitler would accept no compromise; he would accept only total success or total failure, Rauschnig wrote. The article proved to be prescient. From that time on, Crocker has watched international developments closely.

Today, Crocker’s commitments to nature, political ethics, and world peace remain a cornerstone of his life. Now living in

*Above right:*  
Chester and  
Arthur Crocker.



Florida, Crocker is trustee emeritus of the Association for the Protection of the Adirondacks, where for over 20 years he served as president and chairman. “You never win against developers,” he says. “They’re always back, pressing for more.” For inspiration Crocker still turns to the writings of naturalists John Muir and Aldo Leopold.

As an expression of his continuing support for world peace, last year Crocker—the father of Institute board chairman **Chester A. Crocker**, who served as assistant secretary of state for African affairs in 1981–89—pledged a \$180,000 challenge grant to the Institute’s Capital Campaign. The grant, which is being made by the Arthur and Barbara Crocker Charitable Trust, will help the Institute’s campaign to raise \$50 million for a new headquarters to be constructed at the northwest corner of the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The grant will match dollar for dollar gifts and contributions of up to \$25,000 each from individuals over the next two years. Crocker says he made the donation in that form because he is eager to encourage others to support the Institute’s campaign.

Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** notes that the Institute depends on the loyal support of friends like Crocker to further its mission of helping to manage and resolve international conflicts by peaceful means. “Arthur Crocker’s generous donation will enable visitors from around the country and the world to visit us on the National Mall to learn more about the growing profession of international conflict management and the possibilities for creating a more peaceful future. Once again, he has made a significant contribution to the future of this nation and to the future of our beautiful planet.”

## Hadley, Khalilzad, and Roy Join the Board of Directors

The U.S. Institute of Peace recently welcomed three new members to its board of directors: **Stephen J. Hadley**, a partner in the law firm of Shea & Gardner; **Zalmay Khalilzad**, who holds the corporate chair in international security at RAND and serves as director of Rand’s Strategy and Doctrine Program at Project AIR FORCE; and **J. Stapleton Roy**, assistant secretary of state for intelligence and research.

### Stephen J. Hadley

Hadley served as the assistant secretary of defense for international security policy in 1989–93. In that position he was responsible for policy toward NATO and Western Europe on nuclear weapons and ballistic missile defense, and for arms control. He also participated in policy issues involving export control and the use of space. Hadley served as Secretary of Defense Richard Cheney’s representative in talks with the former Soviet republics on political/military issues, including talks that resulted in the START I and START II treaties.



Previously, Hadley worked in a variety of other capacities in the defense and national security fields, including serving in 1986–87 as counsel to the special review board established by President Reagan to inquire into U.S. arms sales to Iran (the Tower Commission), in 1974–77 as a member of the National Security Council staff under President Ford, and in 1972–74 as an analyst for the comptroller of the Department of Defense.

Hadley is a member of the Department of Defense Policy Board, the National Security Advisory Panel to the director of central intelligence, and the board of trustees of Analytical Services, Inc. (ANSER). He is a principal in the Scowcroft Group, an international consulting firm. Hadley received a bachelor’s degree from Cornell University and a law degree from Yale Law School.

### Zalmay Khalilzad

Khalilzad was assistant deputy under secretary of defense for policy planning in 1991–92. In that position, he was responsible for the department’s long-range planning and advised the secretary of defense, the under secretary for policy, and other senior defense officials on the full range of issues affecting U.S. defense policy and strategy.



Khalilzad helped shape the Bush administration’s regional defense strategy for the post-Cold War era, and guided the drafting of the Defense Department’s report *Conduct of the Persian War*. For his services in the department, the secretary of defense awarded him the department’s

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# The Middle East in the 21st Century

Middle East leaders and intellectuals discuss the status of Palestinian refugees and the changing demographics of the region.

*Clockwise:*  
Adnan Abu-Odeh, Nabil Fahmy, and Zalman Shoval.



If there is to be a comprehensive peace in the Middle East, the peace process must address the issue of more than 2 million Palestinian refugees living throughout the region, says **Adnan Abu-Odeh**, political adviser to Jordan's King Abdullah II and senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace in 1997–98. Jordan is home to the majority of Palestinian refugees, an estimated 1.3 million who comprise over half of the country's population.

Abu-Odeh discussed "Jordan, the Palestinians, and Final Status" at a U.S. Institute of Peace current issues briefing on October 14. The event marked the

publication of his new book, *Jordanians, Palestinians, and the Hashemite Kingdom in the Middle East Peace Process*, published by the USIP Press.

Other speakers included **Malik Mufti** of Tufts University, **Asher Susser** of Tel Aviv University (by phone), and **Khalil Jahshan**, president of the National Association of Arab Americans. The event was moderated by **William Quandt** of the University of Virginia.

The briefing was one of several Institute events focused on the Middle East in recent months. **Zalman Shoval**, former Israeli ambassador to the United States, discussed the challenges and prospects for peace between Israel and its neighbors on November 2, and **Nabil Fahmy**, Egyptian ambassador to the United States, discussed "The Middle East in the Twenty-First Century" on October 25.

## Palestinian Refugees

The issue of Palestinian refugees remains a festering wound in the

region, Shoval said. "In many Arab countries second and third generation Palestinian refugees living there can be thrown out overnight," he said, calling the situation "tragic." Now that peace seems near, the Arab world should launch a joint effort to guarantee Palestinian refugees permanent rights, Shoval said.

In Jordan, although Palestinian refugees have been granted citizenship, their integration into the political life of the country has not been smooth or complete. Jordan's Palestinians do not have proportional representation in the parliament, and a restrictive press law has silenced the more radical voices among them. Many of Jordan's Palestinians oppose the peace process and support militant groups such as Hamas, which has a significant presence in the country.

Abu-Odeh argued that, as part of a peace settlement, Jordan should democratically integrate its Palestinian refugees into Jordanian society as full citizens, with equal representation. Such integration would provide Jordan with a significant regional role, something Jordan seeks, he added.

Mufti cautioned, however, that while granting full democratic rights was in principle a good idea, the art of statesmanship is knowing when to promote democracy and when to downplay it, something that has saved Jordan's integrity as a country in the past. Democracy is "folly if it leads to a



# InstitutePeople

junta or civil war," he said. The region is still in flux, and it's too early to say which will be the best path to follow in the future.

## New Demographics, New Technology

Looking more broadly at the region and into the next century, Fahmy noted that the Middle East will change dramatically as a result of demographic changes and the information revolution. In a mere 20 years, 191 million individuals in the Middle East will be in the 15–39 age range, a group that will equal in number the same age population in the United States, Japan, Germany, the United Kingdom, and France combined.

The information revolution will change their social and political expectations, challenging traditional cultural concepts dramatically, Fahmy said. The region will have to undergo a fundamental reform, including greater transparency in political and business affairs.

"Political leaders will have to contend with a rising generation that is both politically aware and increasingly vocal in their desire for change, and their ambition for political and economic betterment. This generation will become more proactive, more empowered, and in turn demand more of their governments," Fahmy said. "They will expect their governments to participate in the international arena, not by following but by contributing to it. They will want their interests defended and expect a fair share of the rewards." He concluded by adding that the West "should not expect the Middle East to be complacent in the future."

**JON ALTERMAN**, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, discussed the information revolution in the Muslim world at a RAND conference on the global implications of the information revolution, held in Washington in November. Later in the month, he gave a similar talk at Wilton Park, a conference facility in the United Kingdom operated by the British Foreign Office.

**SALLY BLAIR**, program officer in the Jennings Randolph program, discussed "U.S.-Russian Relations at the End of the Twentieth Century" at the Washington Semester Program of American University in October.

**SHERYL BROWN**, director of the Office of Communications, participated in a panel discussing "The 33rd Square: Where Are We Going from Here?" at the Foreign Service Institute in October. The event was part of a course on Public Diplomacy in the Information Age.

**PATRICK CRONIN**, director of the Research and Studies Program, will serve for three years on the Editorial Advisory Board of *International Security Perspectives*, a new journal on international security education and policy published by the International Studies Association. Among many recent lectures, Cronin discussed "Terrorism: One 'ism' That Won't Go Away" at the Seventh Annual Public Affairs Lecture Series at Fairleigh Dickinson University, Madison, N.J., on October 4; and "Conflict Resolution, Peace Building and Maintenance" at the Biennial Conference of the International

Association of Black Professionals on October 29.

Executive vice president **HARRIET HENTGES** participated in the Experts meeting in Weimar, Germany, with the political directors of the Group of Eight (the leading industrial countries) to prepare them for the G-8 foreign ministers meeting in December, which will focus on conflict prevention. The same month she discussed "The Human Dimension of Peacemaking: Private Efforts on Behalf of Peace" at Meridian House.

**JEFFREY HELSING**, program officer in the Education Program, conducted a workshop on "Teaching War and Peace" on November 19 at the National Council for the Social Studies Annual Conference in Orlando, Fla.

**ABDUL SATTAR**, a fellow at the Institute in 1993–94, has been appointed to Gen. Musharraf's cabinet as Pakistan's new foreign minister, one of three civilian appointees to the new cabinet.

**DAVID SMOCK**, director of the Grant Program, made a presentation to Peace Corps staff in November on conflict in Africa and possible roles that Peace Corps volunteers might play to promote post-conflict reconciliation and reconstruction.

**WILLIAM STUEBNER**, adviser to the Rule of Law Program, discussed "U.S. Intervention in the Balkans: Failure of Will or Failure of Wisdom?" at the 16th Annual Frank Church Conference on Public Affairs at Boise State University in Idaho, on November 11.

## Report on Customer Service Survey

In an ongoing effort to increase customer satisfaction, the U.S. Institute of Peace initiated an annual survey in 1996 to evaluate its performance and to assess how well it met its published performance standards. Readers of *Peace Watch* rated the Institute's performance for 1998 in relation to these standards on a survey response card included in the February 1999 issue. Those responses and comments provided the basis for the Institute's second annual customer service report, which follows.

The overall assessment of the Institute's performance in 1998 in four key areas—timeliness of response, clarity of information and applications, accessibility of publications, and overall performance—was positive. Of 456 responses, 58 percent indicated that the Institute's overall performance was excellent, 22 percent said it was above average, and 8 percent rated it as average.

The Institute believes that an 88 percent satisfaction rate among its customers and clients indicates strong appreciation for the way we serve our constituents. Thank you for your continuing interest in the Institute's work and in its commitment to serving you.

We invite you to evaluate our customer service performance during 1999 on the form that will be included with the February issue of *Peace Watch*.

### Balkans Report

*Continued from page 5*

coping with post-Communist transition and the aftermath of violent conflict, Klaitz says.

Serwer notes that the mood of the opposition in Croatia is optimistic, despite severe economic problems in the country. In Macedonia, for the first time in a former Yugoslav republic, a president will take office after a peaceful election, and in Montenegro, which with Serbia comprises what is left of Yugoslavia, citizens are forward-looking and optimistic and democracy is the clear choice of President Djukanovic. "These are promising developments for the people and the region," Serwer says. Nevertheless, the move toward independence in Montenegro creates a real potential for conflict with Serbia, which could try to thwart the independence movement with force.

In Bosnia and Kosovo, difficult post-conflict situations continue to prevail, despite massive international intervention, Serwer says. In Bosnia, the continuing

presence of three separate armies and political domination by nationalist parties, division of the country into two "entities," and failure to capture important war criminals have prevented reconciliation, even though large numbers of displaced persons are eager to return to their homes in enclaves controlled by other ethnic groups. In Kosovo, continued political fragmentation, ethnic violence, and the spread of crime against Serbs and other groups mar prospects for the near future. Serwer concludes that in Bosnia and Kosovo, "Full transitions to democracy will be difficult and lengthy, and not necessarily peaceful."

### Board of Directors

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Medal for Outstanding Public Service.

Khalilzad has extensive experience in international security affairs as a scholar and as a government official. In the mid-1980s, he served as a member of the State Department's Policy

Planning Staff, and then as special adviser to the under secretary of state for political affairs. As an academic, he has held appointments at Columbia University, where he was also a member of the Institute for War and Peace Studies, and at the University of California at San Diego. He is the author of several books and more than 70 articles and research bulletins on security issues. Khalilzad is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and the International Institute for Strategic Studies. He holds a doctorate from the University of Chicago.

### J. Stapleton Roy

Roy assumed the position of assistant secretary of state for intelligence and research in November 1999. Since joining the Foreign Service in 1956, he has held three ambassadorial posts: to Indonesia in 1996–99, to the People's Republic of China in 1991–95, and to Singapore in 1984. In 1986 he served as deputy assistant secretary for East Asian and Pacific affairs, following which he served two years as executive secretary of the State Department and special assistant to the secretary of state.

Before that, he was deputy chief of mission in Bangkok, Thailand, and in the People's Republic of China mission when the United States established diplomatic relations with China in 1979. He became deputy director of the Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs in 1975. Earlier in his career, he served in Thailand, Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Moscow.

Roy received a bachelor's degree from Princeton University in 1956 and spent one year in postgraduate studies at the University of Washington in Seattle in 1964–65.



# Education and Training on Three Continents

## Teaching Human Rights

The Education Program held a faculty workshop on teaching human rights as a component of international peace and conflict studies in Honolulu, Hawaii, November 4–6 in partnership with Hawaii Pacific University. Program officer Jeffrey Helsing developed the program and facilitated workshop sessions in conjunction with a number of prominent academics and practitioners in the field, including Mike Jendrzejczyk, Washington director of Human Rights Watch Asia; Maryam Elahi, director of the Human Rights Program at Trinity College in Hartford, Conn.; and Elizabeth Spiro Clark, fellow at the International Forum for Democratic Studies, on leave from the Department of State.

The sessions ranged from a gathering of over 300 students and faculty to a small interactive teaching workshop with faculty from a wide variety of disciplines. Helsing and four of the workshop presenters also spoke at a public forum attended by 150 members of the greater Honolulu community, a session with high school teachers and students, and a small meeting with some of the staff of the new Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, which is affiliated with the Department of Defense.

## Training for Southeastern Europe

The Institute's Training Program, in cooperation with the Hellenic Foundation, presented a seminar on "Recovery and Reconstruction

in Southeastern Europe" to 38 senior leaders from 11 Balkan and Southeastern European countries. Institute trainers at the workshop—held November 12–17 in Greece—included Harriet Hentges, executive vice president; George Ward, director of the Training Program; Barbara Wien, program officer; and Daniel Serwer, director of the Balkans Initiative.

Ambassador Ralph Johnson, principal deputy high representative for Bosnia-Herzegovina, addressed the group. Participants were drawn from governments of southeastern Europe, the United Nations, the European Union, other international organizations, and nongovernmental organizations. They spent much of their time in working groups focused on civil society and human rights, security and political affairs, and economic development. Each working group began by looking into the future five to ten years to envision the kind of society members desired. On the basis of this vision, each group then designed action plans for achieving its goals. Participants also participated in a multi-role simulation, which helped prepare them for the facilitated group discussions that followed on conflict resolution and negotiation strategies.

## Cote d'Ivoire

In late September, Ward, Wien, and David Smock, director of the Grant Program and Africa specialist, presented a seminar on "Difficult Negotiations in Humanitarian Operations" to a group of field officers with the

United Nations High Commissioner on Refugees in Abidjan, Cote d'Ivoire. Seminar participants work among refugees who have fled from the internal conflicts in Liberia and Sierra Leone. In addition to lecture presentations and group discussions, the seminar featured small-group exercises during which participants told of their own experiences with conflict and conflict resolution and engaged in a role-play exercise.

## The Great Lakes

In November, the entire staff of the Training Department joined with the State Department's special envoy for the African Great Lakes conflict, Howard Wolpe, and Chester Rogers of Western Michigan University in presenting a three-day seminar on "Conflict and Conflict Management" to the State Department Senior Seminar, a course for senior national-security managers. The seminar included role-play exercises and a day-long simulation.

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- ✓ *Contributions to the Study of Peacemaking*, vol. 6, *A Summary of Projects Completed by Grantees and Fellows, 1997-99* (December 1999)
- ✓ *Training U.S. Army Officers for Peace Operations: Lessons from Bosnia*, by Howard Olsen and John Davis (Special Report, October 1999)
- ✓ *Angola's Deadly War: Dealing with Savimbi's Hell on Earth*, by John Prendergast (Special Report, October 1999)
- ✓ *Building Security in Post-Cold War Eurasia: The OSCE and U.S. Foreign Policy*, by P. Terrence Hopmann (Peaceworks no. 31, September 1999)
- ✓ *De-Balkanizing the Balkans: Security and Stability in Southeastern Europe*, by Andrew J. Pierre (Special Report, September 1999)
- ✓ *Postgenocidal Reconciliation: Building Peace in Rwanda and Burundi*, by John Prendergast and David Smock (Special Report, September 1999)
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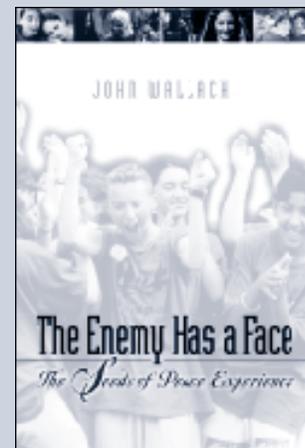
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