



Policy Support in International Conflict Prevention and Management

A Policy Brief for the New Administration

**United States Institute of Peace
Washington, D.C.**

United States Institute of Peace

The United States Institute of Peace is an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by Congress to promote research, education, and training on the peaceful management and resolution of international conflicts. Established in 1984, the Institute meets its congressional mandate through an array of programs, including research grants, fellowships, professional training, education programs from high school through graduate school, conferences and workshops, library services, and publications. The Institute's Board of Directors is appointed by the President of the United States and confirmed by the Senate.

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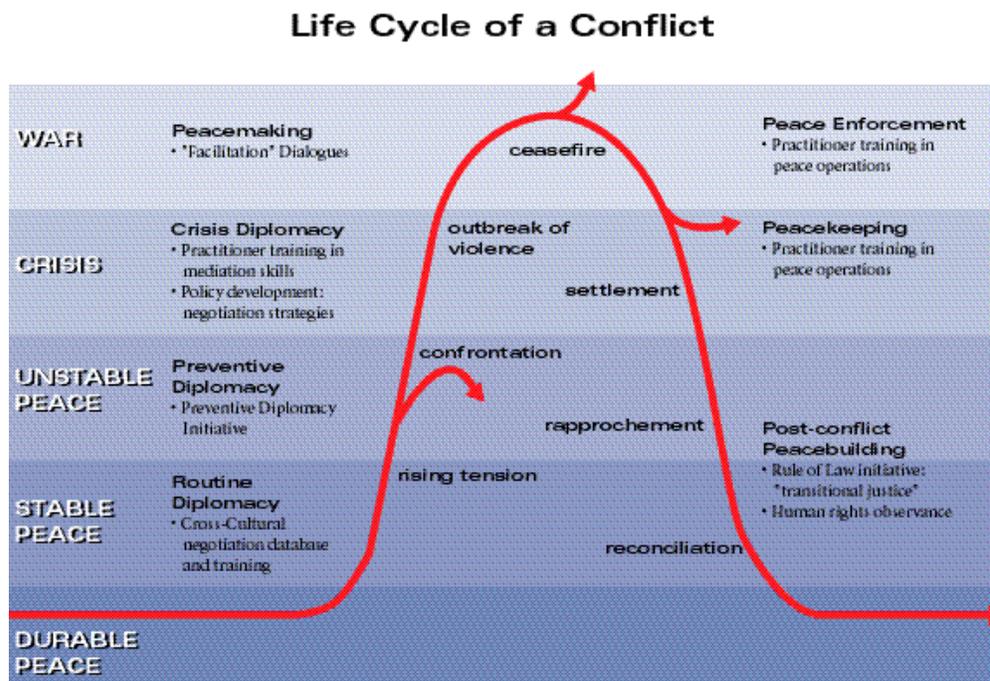
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THE INSTITUTE'S MISSION

The United States Institute of Peace was established by Congress in 1984 as an independent federal institution. Its mandate is to strengthen our nation's capabilities to deal with international conflict by political means. The Institute seeks to fulfill this mission through the development, transmission, and use of knowledge on ways of preventing and resolving international conflict.

Institute programs promote best practices of peaceful statecraft, support decision makers with independent policy assessments, train international affairs professionals in conflict management skills, and facilitate the resolution of international disputes through mediated dialogue.

The following sections provide six illustrations of how the Institute can assist the new Administration with respect to specific geographic conflicts (the Balkans, the Korean Peninsula, and the Middle East) and three instruments of peacemaking (civil-military relations, transitional justice, and facilitated dialogue). The selections chosen are only the most prominent examples of each category; the Institute is capable of offering help in many other areas.



From Preventing Violent Conflicts: A Strategy for Preventive Diplomacy, by Michael S. Lund (USIP Press, 1996).

In developing policy-relevant knowledge, the Institute seeks to understand the dynamics of war and peace in the various phases of conflict, and to develop operational approaches to conflict management. The above diagram provides a useful schematic to illustrate how Institute programs deal with the phases of the cycle of conflict.

INTERNATIONAL ZONES OF CONFLICT

The Institute of Peace is a valuable repository of knowledge about conflicts in every region of the globe. Thousands of former grantees and fellows, as well as permanent staff, comprise an exceptional assemblage of expertise on both general and specific issues relating to international conflict.

The Institute's Special Initiative on the Balkans, for example, has been a leading center of activity in the Washington community engaged in formulating policy-relevant concepts and conducting useful training, education, and mediation in Southeastern Europe (see page 6 for work that may assist the new Administration in grappling with the Balkans).

At the same time, the Institute continues to develop useful concepts and offer support for other regional conflicts, especially the Korean Peninsula (see page 7 for a description of the Institute's Korea Working Group and activities in support of policy) and the Middle East (page 9 identifies the Institute's Middle East efforts).

In addition to these and other geographically focused support activities, the Institute analyzes transnational threats to peace. One such activity is the Institute's International Research Group on Political Violence, which brings together leading experts to examine critical aspects of counterterrorism policy. Briefings on any of these "zones of conflict" are available on request.

The Institute has been engaged in a variety of efforts to deal with the world's major zones of conflict, many of which are highlighted on the map below:



The Balkans

1. Opportunities

With Milosevic out of power, we face the best opportunity since 1989 to resolve the Balkan conflicts. If a democratic transition and economic reforms can be promoted in Serbia, U.S. troops—whose deployment has been in response to Milosevic-precipitated wars—could be gradually withdrawn and residual peacekeeping responsibilities devolved to Europe. The Balkans exemplifies successful U.S./European military, political, and economic intervention—a deterrent to those who would disturb the peace and hope for those who face challenges from extreme nationalists.

2. Risks

The greatest risks to peace remain in Serbia itself, and in Kosovo, Montenegro, Bosnia, and Macedonia. Serbia needs to come to terms with its past and hold accountable those responsible for war crimes—in court, in the public mind, and in its history books. Kosovo's final status is far from settled, and democracy in Serbia will complicate the situation between Serbs and Albanians. The relationship between Montenegro and Serbia requires re-negotiation. Bosnia's division needs to be resolved before it becomes permanent, leading to partition. Macedonia faces similar problems unless the division between Macedonian Albanians and Slavs can be overcome.

3. Options

The Institute's Special Initiative on the Balkans and diverse set of other programs put it in a special position to support Administration efforts in this region in the following ways:

- ✓ *Helping Serbia come to terms with its past and reconcile with its previous enemies.* Serbs have begun to discuss creation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission. Textbook reform and careful historical research will also be needed.
- ✓ *Continuing to facilitate dialogue between Serbs and Albanians in Kosovo,* a process now in its second successful year. The "Airlie House process," initiated by the Institute in 1999, is expanding from Serb and Albanian province-level leaders to newly elected and appointed Serb and Albanian mayors. It is time to initiate, as well, a quiet dialogue between Belgrade Serbs and Kosovo Albanians.
- ✓ *Initiating efforts to overcome North/South polarization in Montenegro* and to re-negotiate the relationship between Montenegro and Serbia.
- ✓ *Enhancing Institute support to the Bosnian-organized Truth and Reconciliation Commission* to help guarantee success in that effort.
- ✓ *Supporting an intensive dialogue within Macedonia and among its sharply divided ethnic communities* to sustain successful conflict prevention.

- ✓ *Providing a political rapid-response capability to respond to future crises in the Balkans.*
The Institute could do so through a subsidiary U.S./Balkans Peace Institute located in the region and run by people able to respond with small grants to urgent needs.

The Institute's Balkans Initiative is designed to:

- promote peace and reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Kosovo, and Croatia, where violent conflicts have been ended by internationally supported peace agreements;
- prevent violent conflict and instability in other areas, including Serbia, Montenegro, Macedonia, and Albania;
- build consensus on Balkans policy in Washington, D.C. through discussion among administration, congressional, and nongovernmental players; and
- develop greater understanding among the American people of the U.S. role in preventing conflict and maintaining peace in the Balkans.

The Balkans Initiative, led by **Daniel Serwer** and advised by Institute executive vice president **Harriet Hentges**, has provided policy-relevant analysis; facilitated dialogues; provided training for conflict management among key governmental leaders, public security forces, and the international community operating in the region; and supported a Truth and Reconciliation Commission and inter-religious cooperation. The Institute's Grant Program has awarded over \$3 million in grants to support Balkans-related efforts since 1992. The Institute's Virtual Diplomacy Initiative, headed by Office of Communications director **Sheryl Brown** and Library director **Margarita Studemeister**, continues to explore ways of using new information and communication technologies to help prevent further conflict in the Balkans.

The Korean Peninsula

1. Opportunities

Economic duress, South Korea's "Sunshine Policy," and U.S. policies of deterrence, reassurance and engagement have led North Korea's previously reclusive leader, Kim Jong-il, to embark on his own brand of high-stakes international engagement. Unfortunately, no one can be sure yet whether he will open up and reform his system enough to bring about peaceful change, and whether he will engage in meaningful steps to reduce military tensions. The new Administration has an opportunity to test North Korea's intentions with respect to security arrangements, even while continuing to promote policies to open up the society through assistance, free-market economics, and information. At the same time, the new Administration may have an opportunity to initiate a new approach for managing historical rivalries in Northeast Asia by using the concrete example of North-South *rapprochement* as a basis for subregional cooperation. American leadership can positively influence not just the leadership in Pyongyang, but also those in Beijing, Tokyo, Seoul and Moscow.

2. Risks

The greatest risks to peace on the Korean Peninsula lie in expecting a swift progression toward reconciliation or in being unprepared for the possibility. Expecting too much too quickly could lead to a frenetic bidding war with our allies to curry favor with North Korea. Expecting too little could prevent the U.S. from seizing an opportunity for promoting change in North Korea and working in tandem with our South Korean and Japanese allies to preserve U.S. influence in Northeast Asia. The manner in which the United States exercises leadership, or fails to do so, could put at risk both the fragile peace on the peninsula and America's long-term regional alliances and influence.

3. Options

The Institute's seven-year effort on Korea policy, through the Korea Working Group in Washington, puts it in a strong position to help the new Administration gain support for its approach to Korea in the following ways:

- ✓ *Formulating a diplomatic game plan* for achieving concrete threat reductions in exchange for international assistance.
- ✓ *Inviting North and South Koreans to the Institute* for short fellowships in order to establish working relationships while engaging with Washington-based specialists on Korea.
- ✓ Engaging South Koreans and, subsequently, South and North Koreans, in *dynamic political-economic forecasting* simulations that offer new insights into shared interests and long-term plans for development on the peninsula.
- ✓ *Supporting small grants to fund specific projects aimed at expanding intellectual exchanges* with North Koreans and others from the region to advance thinking about the future of Northeast Asia after Korean reconciliation or reunification.
- ✓ Engaging North and South Korea, as well as others in the region, in *approaches to promoting reconciliation in a divided society*, to pass along lessons from other attempts to overcome historical enmities.
- ✓ *Facilitating dialogue* between North Koreans and Americans as the U.S.-North Korea diplomacy unfolds, seeking to create a larger cadre of North Koreans conversant with American institutions and ideas.
- ✓ *Educating North Koreans* about the requirements of economic reform.

The Institute established the Korea Working Group in 1993.

Widely recognized as Washington, D.C.'s most productive center of policy development on Korean issues, the group has provided a forum for experts from government and the private sector to examine aspects of the "Korea problem" in an off-the-record, unofficial setting. The working group has generated a series of Special Reports, covering:

- ❑ the nuclear crisis and Agreed Framework
- ❑ the North Korean famine
- ❑ major power cooperation
- ❑ the challenges of the peace process on the peninsula
- ❑ the dangers of miscalculating North Korean intentions regarding weapons of mass destruction and missiles

In addition, the Institute recently published former program officer Scott Snyder's groundbreaking study, *Negotiating on the Edge: North Korean Negotiating Behavior* (USIP Press, 1999). The working group and the Institute's work on Northeast Asian security and conflict resolution in general are led by **Patrick Cronin**, director of Research and Studies, and program officer **Bill Drennan**. With the addition of two new distinguished senior fellows (a former South Korea national security advisor and the most recent deputy chief of mission in the U.S. Embassy/Seoul), the Institute is well placed to assist the new Administration as it addresses Korean issues.

The Middle East

1. Challenges

While American interests in the Middle East have remained remarkably consistent over time—the security of Israel, energy security, and the stability of friendly regimes—threats to those interests are perennial in the region. The Middle East has been the staging area for several armed confrontations in the last decade and conflict threatens to continue through the early years of the new century. As a region with relatively high levels of interstate violence, proliferation threats, large numbers of guerrilla and terrorist groups, and a relatively large number of what used to be called "rogue states," the Middle East poses a broader array of threats to peace in the next four years than any other region.

2. Risks

The threats to American interests of an outbreak of violence are many. Open warfare in the Arab-Israeli arena would both endanger Israel's security and carry a heavy price for Washington in the rest of the region. Open warfare with Iraq could have a similar, broad effect, which must be balanced against the cost of doing nothing in the face of Iraqi aggression against its neighbors or continued proliferation efforts. Any conflict in the Gulf, with either Iran or Iraq, poses an energy security threat to the entire globe. And we must be alert to changing political patterns in the region as a consequence of information technology, which both challenges traditional modes of censorship and politicizes the Arab populace in a new way. Not only are Arab governments being pressured to take more "pan-Arab" stands, but also the newly swirling political forces may endanger the stability of America's allies in the region.

3. Options

The Institute of Peace has been active on many issues related to the Middle East, and is in a position to support the new Administration along the following lines:

Arab-Israeli Peace Process

- ✓ Reassessing the peace process and evaluating the efficacy of past programs and past approaches intended to promote Arab-Israeli reconciliation.
- ✓ Continuing to facilitate a working-level dialogue between Palestinian and Israeli attorneys, to develop the legal framework for peaceful interaction between the two societies.
- ✓ Broadening support for anti-incitement issues.
- ✓ Facilitating the training of mediators on both sides of the Green Line.
- ✓ Continuing to support Track II (unofficial) dialogues.

Iran

- ✓ Promoting more Track II dialogue with Iran.
- ✓ Continuing a series of meetings on Iranian political and economic developments.

Iraq

- ✓ Continuing working group meetings on U.S. policy options toward Iraq.
- ✓ Expanding quiet transatlantic dialogue on common approaches to Iraq.

Political Violence

- ✓ Continuing working group meetings to study ways to contain terrorism.

New Media

- ✓ Organizing a working group or conference on effects of new media on Middle East conflicts.

The Institute seeks to contribute to a lasting peace in the Middle East through a variety of working groups, technical assistance, public events, grants, fellowships, education activities, and training. Ongoing working groups, coordinated by Research and Studies program officer **Jon Alterman**, focus on both specific sources of tension and broad issues such as terrorism, coercive diplomacy and cross-cultural negotiation. Research and Studies works closely with Middle East specialists in other Institute programs, such as **Judy Barsalou**, director of the Grant Program, and program officers **Ted Feifer**, **Jeff Helsing**, and **Steve Riskin**. The Institute has published significant works that provide useful policy guidelines for promoting peace, including *Making Peace Among Arabs and Israelis: Lessons from Fifty Years of Negotiating Experience* (USIP, 1991), by Samuel Lewis et al. Over the last 15 years, the Institute has dispensed more than \$4 million in grants to more than 130 projects related to the Middle East. In addition, the Institute's Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program has gathered an impressive array of scholars and policymakers for extended periods of study, including: Adnan Abu-Odeh, Amatzia Baram, Tahseen Basheer, Avner Cohen, Elaine Sciolino, and Ehud Sprinzak. Current senior fellows focused on the Middle East include **Neil Hicks**, senior program coordinator of the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, and **S.N. Eisenstadt**, professor emeritus of Hebrew University of Jerusalem.

INSTRUMENTS OF PEACEMAKING

The U.S. Institute of Peace is becoming the nation's leading knowledge-based resource and analytical arm for understanding best practices of international conflict prevention, management, and resolution. Among the wide array of instruments that the new Administration may find useful in different contexts are the following:

Refining civil-military planning: to improve integrated strategic planning between military and civilian officials, in the short- and long-term, at both the national and international level (*see page 12*).

Developing cross-cultural negotiation skills: to overcome historical, institutional, and cultural differences in negotiations with foreign interlocutors, and develop more effective negotiating strategies in pursuit of specific objectives.

Implementing human rights policies: to develop more effective policy approaches to incorporating human rights objectives into U.S. foreign policies.

Advancing the rule of law and transitional justice: to enlarge the range of shared international norms and to hold war criminals accountable (*see page 14*).

Training governmental and nongovernmental professionals in conflict management skills: to develop new understanding and abilities for securing peaceful outcomes to conflicts.

Facilitating dialogues among parties in conflict: to support the prevention or resolution of international disputes through Track II processes (*see page 15*).

Distilling the lessons of mediation: to broker peace and stem conflict.

Creating new approaches to conflict prevention: to enhance the ability of institutions to anticipate potential conflict and prevent its occurrence.

Developing the techniques of coercive diplomacy: to integrate a broad array of positive and negative inducements—coordinating our national political, military, and economic resources—to influence recalcitrant regimes.

Understanding strategic nonviolent action and conflict: to consider how local democratic forces use nonviolent means in the struggle to resist tyrannical regimes.

Using information technologies: to support statecraft and conflict management processes.

Training in the skills of peace operations: to instill military and civilian practitioners with the lessons from recent experiences and develop international capabilities.

Negotiating and implementing peace accords: to advise and explain how to foster an environment in which a durable peace can take root.

Reconciling former adversaries: to overcome deep-seated enmities and prevent renewed conflicts through developing an understanding of the lessons from successful reconciliation efforts.

Integrated Civil-Military Planning

1. Opportunities

Integrated policy planning among the civilian and military components of the U.S. Government has become more complex, yet more essential, in dealing with today's humanitarian emergencies and intrastate conflicts. The growing number of intrastate conflicts, the changing nature of international norms regarding intervention, the addition of new governmental and nongovernmental players, and the desire for more emphasis on prevention than on reaction, have all placed a premium on carefully integrated planning. Some of the lessons learned from early post-Cold War responses have been incorporated into Presidential Decision Directives, but those directives have not yet become standard operating procedures. The new Administration has an opportunity to set out consistent and coherent guidance for improving the quality, timeliness, and thoroughness of integrated civil-military planning within the U.S. Government.

2. Risks

Guidelines for civil-military planning set during the four decades of the Cold War are inconsistent with, and insufficient for, present-day challenges. The failure to improve integrated civil-military planning carries a number of dangers. The principal danger is that the United States will respond ineffectively to a crisis or fail to predict a looming crisis. Another danger is that the United States responds with only a single instrument of power, instead of utilizing a full range of policy instruments to bring about more effective, long-term results. A third danger is that the United States responds in a manner that fails to help allies, coalition partners, and the private sector shoulder many of the burdens of conflict management. The Institute has helped to establish basic guidelines for more effective

civil-military coordination, and we can help the new Administration establish and implement more detailed and effective procedures for strategic planning.

3. Options

- ✓ Convening a meeting of transition team members and select experts from the Institute's working group on civil-military coordination to discuss the recommendations of the Integrated Civilian-Military Planning Working Group.
- ✓ Developing recommendations for improving U.S. Government coordination with international, regional, and nongovernmental organizations.
- ✓ Assessing how information technologies can facilitate coordination between the United States Government and nongovernmental organizations.
- ✓ Expanding training programs for international affairs practitioners to promote cooperation in the event of various contingencies.
- ✓ Producing additional handbooks for educating members of the international community to work effectively with U.S. military and civilian officials in zones of conflict.

During the year 2000, Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** and Ambassador **Robert B. Oakley** of the National Defense University served as co-chairs of an Integrated Civilian-Military Planning Working Group. Transcripts of the working group meetings and a memorandum summarizing conclusions and recommendations are available. In brief, the recommendations of the working group focused on the following points:

- ❑ Providing the President carefully considered operational plans coordinating civilian and military operations;
- ❑ Setting criteria for considering the use of force;
- ❑ Anticipating different outcomes, risks, and costs;
- ❑ Improving consultation with Congress and members of the international community;
- ❑ Employing the National Security Council as the interagency policy manager;
- ❑ Increasing planning between the Defense and State Departments;
- ❑ Maintaining senior official oversight while delegating operational details to deputies;
- ❑ Preserving a standing interagency working group for potential crises and early warning;
- ❑ Establishing contingency-specific interagency working groups;
- ❑ Weighing political constraints on potential military operations;
- ❑ Strengthening civilian capacities for civil affairs and humanitarian relief;
- ❑ Enhancing civil-military interaction and
- ❑ Augmenting non-military civilian instruments of policy.

Transitional Justice

1. Opportunities

For countries making the transition from war to peace or from repressive regimes to democracy, the legacy of past abuses can be a heavy burden on post-conflict reconciliation and the stabilization of a peaceful environment. The United States has an opportunity to use its primacy to help these nations deal effectively with the challenges of promoting justice and reconciliation. The need to establish accountability for past abuses; prevent the adoption of conflicting versions of history by opposing ethnic, religious or political groups by ensuring the acceptance of a common, shared history; provide redress for victims of past abuses; remove those culpable for atrocities from sensitive positions; restructure the security forces; effectively re-integrate both victims and perpetrators into society; and establish the rule of law are all elements of the problem of transitional justice. The correct approach to the problem varies from one country to the next. The Institute's Rule of Law Program can assist the new Administration to mitigate or curtail violent conflict by developing and implementing transitional justice concepts and programs worldwide.

2. Challenges

How to deal with the legacy of past abuses will be a source of tension affecting the course and stability of the transitions in a number of nations. Countries where the challenges of justice and reconciliation will continue to be a volatile issue or can be expected in the near-term to emerge as one include Indonesia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, Colombia, Bosnia, Serbia, Croatia, Burundi, Congo, Sri Lanka, and Nigeria. More than 10 years after the democratic transitions in Latin America, demands to re-open the question of past abuses continue to periodically re-surface, as they recently have in Chile, Uruguay, and Argentina. Failing to address this issue in an effective manner may risk a return to violence or a setback to the process of democratization.

3. Options

The Institute is ready to assist the Administration in the area of post-conflict reconciliation processes, including:

- ✓ Educating foreign officials about the lessons learned from other nations' efforts at achieving justice and reconciliation in the aftermath of massive violence.
- ✓ Developing and vetting recommendations for specific war crimes tribunals and truth commissions.
- ✓ Providing direct technical assistance to foreign governments in designing an effective program for transitional justice.
- ✓ Developing the capacity of U.S. officials to deal with these issues in the field.
- ✓ Facilitating exchanges between officials of current and former countries in transition for constructive exchanges on respective approaches.

The Institute's Rule of Law Program remains at the cutting edge of transitional justice and other legal concepts in support of stemming conflict. Program director **Neil J. Kritz** produced the pathbreaking three-volume publication, *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes* (USIP Press, 1995). Since then, the Institute has responded to requests for assistance on this topic from over 20 countries, including South Africa, Russia, Rwanda, Cambodia, Indonesia, and the Czech Republic. The Institute has also convened policy-related roundtables on justice, accountability and reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Rwanda, and Indonesia. At the request of the Israeli and Palestinian ministers of justice, the Rule of Law Program has organized a special initiative that seeks to build professional relationships between the two legal communities. The Institute is also currently studying issues pertaining to the creation of the permanent International Criminal Court and has established a Working Group on International Humanitarian Law.

Facilitated Dialogue

1. Opportunities

The next Administration can utilize closely managed Track II discussions among select officials and experts to advance important policy goals. By drawing on the Institute's unique convening power as an independent federal institution and a leading source of expertise in facilitated dialogue, the Administration can help adversaries find common ground, create a road map for a peace process, break stalemates, float trial balloons, or simply gain a better understanding of the obstacles to peace. The Institute has created both conceptual and practical expertise in Track II facilitations, working with Albanian and Serb leaders from Kosovo; enabling quiet discussions among officials and experts from China and Taiwan; conducting repeated dialogues among leading officials involved in the conflict over Kashmir; bringing together key officials and experts in the Congo and throughout Central Africa; and supporting efforts at facilitated dialogue in Colombia.

2. Risks

As Winston Churchill put it: "Jaw, jaw is better than war, war." But not even talk is free of risks and costs. In the information age, multiple channels of communication erode the power of governments to maintain quiet exploratory discussions, and a plethora of unofficial Track II mechanisms can sometimes create problems for policymakers. The answer is not to ignore this helpful instrument, but rather to employ it judiciously to help break open more productive official discussions.

3. Options

As a leading semi-official institution in facilitated dialogue, the Institute is ready to assist the new Administration by replicating the successful experiences from previous efforts, including the following:

- ✓ Conducting an in-depth "workshop on coexistence" among Albanian and Serb leaders from Kosovo at Airlie House in Virginia in July 2000. The meeting produced a plan for a campaign against violence, reduction of the power of extremists on

both sides, return of displaced people and refugees, and procedures for choosing municipal councils.

- ✓ Supporting, through grant support and direct substantive support, a retreat among leading specialists and officials from Taiwan and the China Mainland and Hong Kong to create an agenda of common interests between Beijing and the new administration in Taipei.
- ✓ Assembling Indonesian officials and nongovernmental leaders to explore issues of accountability, justice, and reconciliation in an effort to come to terms with the recent violence in their country. The meeting brought together not only three cabinet-level officials from Indonesia, but also leading officials from Argentina, Chile, El Salvador, South Korea, and South Africa for comparative discussions.
- ✓ Facilitating sustained dialogue among multiple parties involved in the ongoing conflict over Kashmir to help fashion ways to reduce violence and initiate a durable peace in that South Asian flashpoint.

The Institute's work on facilitated dialogue cuts across its many programs and highlights the fact that the Institute provides a comprehensive understanding of international conflict management through education, training, research, and technical support. One of the Institute's most recent studies, *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World* (USIP Press, 1999), edited by Board chairman **Chester Crocker**, **Fen Osler Hampson**, and **Pamela Aall**, director of the Institute's Education Program, provides in-depth case studies and practical lessons from numerous mediators. At the same time, the Institute's Training Program, directed by **George Ward**, is able to facilitate a broad variety of meetings, from delicate dialogues among disputants, to simulations that encourage feuding groups to think about achieving a better future. The Institute also trains U.S. international affairs professionals in a variety of instruments of diplomacy and conflict resolution.