

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

# PeaceWatch



“The chain reaction of evil—wars producing more wars—must be broken, or we shall be plunged into the dark abyss of annihilation.” —Martin Luther King Jr.

## INSIDE

- 3 Capacity Building with SENSE in Poland, Afghanistan and Tunisia
- 4 Police Initiative in Israel
- 5 Training to Build Peace in Darfur
- 6 In Afghanistan, Creating Effective Advisers for Times of Crisis
- 7 U.S. Unveils Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security
- 8 Peacebuilding Professionalized under 19 Years of Solomon's Leadership
- 10 The U.S. and China “Change the World”: Looking Back, Looking Ahead
- 11 USIP Supporting a Peaceful Transition in Libya
- 12 Ensuring Effective Peacebuilding
- 13 USIP Connects Teachers and Students with New Resources
- 14 Convening Power
- 16 People on the Move

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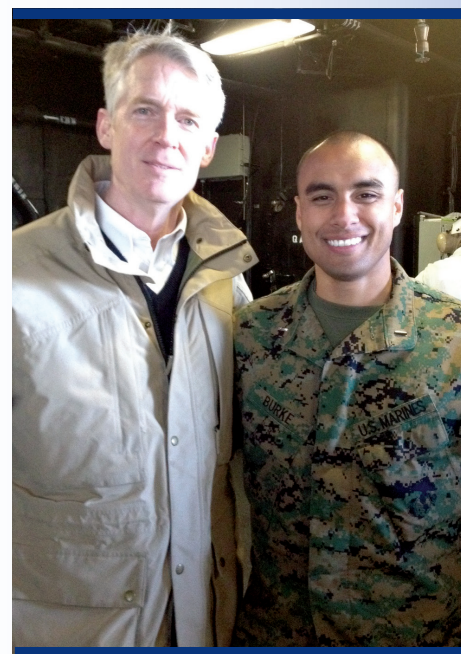
Spring 2012

## Strengthening Civ-Mil Cooperation for Peace Operations

Responding to today's conflicts and humanitarian crises requires planning and skills that are beyond the capacity of any single organization. Military and civilian personnel must have the ability to design and implement operations across institutional and national boundaries and work together in rapidly changing, insecure environments.

Recently, conflict management and peacebuilding experts from the U.S. Institute of Peace (USIP) participated in the Navy and Marine Corps' biggest amphibious exercise in a decade, Bold Alligator, as part of USIP's expansion of civilian-military cooperation and training. The exercise off North Carolina and Virginia in early February demonstrated how the capabilities of the Marine Expeditionary Brigade and the Navy's Expeditionary Strike Force are integrated. Experts inside and outside the military say that such exercises emphasize the need for strong cooperation between military and civilian agencies in humanitarian and disaster relief operations.

USIP Chief of Staff Paul Hughes, a retired Army colonel, led a USIP team that observed the exercise. Senior trainer Nadia Gerspacher, an instructor from USIP's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding who works extensively with the military, runs the USIP component of the Defense Department's Ministry of Defense Advisers



USIP Chief of Staff Col. Paul Hughes and First Lieutenant Lucas J. Burke participate in the Navy and Marine Corps' recent major amphibious exercise, Bold Alligator, off the coast of North Carolina and Virginia in early February. Photograph by USIP staff.

(MODA) program, which joins American institutional experts with counterparts in Afghanistan's ministries to help them become better partners. USIP's participation in the exercise underscored peacebuilding's support of national security, particularly through civ-mil relations and training. USIP's longstanding Working Group on Civilian-Military *continued next page >>*



USIP's Nadia Gerspacher on the aircraft carrier USS Wasp, observing the Bold Alligator exercise. Photo by USIP staff.

Relations in Non-Permissive Environments strengthens cooperation among the range of military, government, civilian and nongovernmental actors for these kinds of operations.

"The Marines invited USIP to participate in Bold Alligator to observe

first-hand the Navy and Marine Corps planning process," Hughes said. "With the increasing concern about the Asia-Pacific region, the Navy and Marines will be very active in the region dealing with ambiguous and complex situations that result from natural disasters or conflict. They will look to USIP for its great deal of expertise based on its long experience in the region, including its peace operations in the Philippines during the Moro Islamic Liberation Army insurgency in the early 1990s."

### Asia Pacific Activities

USIP continues to be active in the Asia Pacific region, especially Northeast Asia. The Institute leads the Track 1.5 dialogue on the Korean peninsula, supports the U.S.-China strategic relationship, and co-sponsors the nuclear dialogue between India and Pakistan. Emerging engagement with Burma includes activity in the rule of law and religion in preventing conflict. USIP has also worked in Nepal, Sri Lanka and Japan. In 2012, USIP also expanded its presence in Islamabad, Pakistan.

USIP's peacebuilding efforts, from strengthening the rule of law to creating new dialogue between various parties, have paid off in a number of ways. In Nepal, for instance, the country faced increasing violence in 2009. Nepal's national police asked USIP for help in establishing a dialogue to build trust between police and civil society.

The Institute responded by implementing Justice and Security Dialogues—essentially a series of facilitated

conversations between police officers, members of civil society and government officials. In the following months, there was a dramatic decrease of crime and violence. According to a senior Nepalese police official, the police reported improved relations between youth groups and the police in December 2010. During the 18 months preceding the dialogues, there were 278 kidnappings and 13 fatalities. In the 18-month period after, the police reported 67 kidnappings and one fatality, a 77 percent improvement.

More specifically in Asia and the Pacific region, USIP hosts a number of initiatives that convenes members of the political and policymaking communities to discuss vital security and economic issues in the region. These initiatives include the U.S.-China Project on Crisis Avoidance, a Trilateral Dialogue on Northeast Asia and the Korean Working Group.

As the Asia Pacific strategic environment develops, USIP will continue its work to help prevent destabilization of the region and to strengthen civilian-military relations and integrated training.

"When Navy and Marine personnel deploy ashore in crises with medical and disaster supplies," Hughes said, "the degree to which the military and NGOs and civilians are coordinated and collaborate translates into lives saved and mission effectiveness. USIP's observer participation in Bold Alligator helped strengthen the dialogue with the services and increased understanding of the need for partner capacity in peace and security operations."

## PeaceWatch

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# Capacity Building with SENSE in Poland, Afghanistan and Tunisia

By Michael Lekson

As one of the most successful countries to transition from communism, Poland is now helping other countries consolidate their own transitions away from authoritarian governments and command economies. USIP has played a key role in empowering Poland to employ the sophisticated Strategic Economic Needs and Security Exercise (SENSE) simulation in this far-sighted endeavor. In October and December of 2011, Poland used SENSE with separate audiences of key figures from Afghanistan and Tunisia who are helping to lead their countries' transitions. In 2006, the Polish government asked USIP to train a cadre of Poles to conduct SENSE. USIP's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding conducted the training, and has maintained a relationship with the Polish SENSE program ever since.

SENSE, created by Richard White of the Institute for Defense Analyses, is a computer-facilitated simulation that focuses on negotiation, problem solving and decision making in a fictional country emerging from violent internal conflict or a revolutionary political situation. SENSE teaches participants to build teams and develop cooperative solutions, make difficult resource allocation decisions and interact constructively with the international entities—military and civilian—that are trying to help them.

SENSE's computer infrastructure "keeps the players honest," by reflecting the results and interrelationships of all their actions. Yet, while computer-facilitated, the primary point of the simulation is to engage participants in direct, face-to-face negotiations among a maximum of 60 players, who represent the local citizens, their government officials and members of the international community. Originally developed for Bosnia, it has since been upgraded and used in a number of environments. For example, the Institute has used it extensively with Iraqis. More than 1,500 Iraqis have participated in SENSE simula-



*Radoslaw Sikorski, Poland's minister of foreign affairs and former minister of defense, observes USIP training Poles to deliver SENSE. Photograph courtesy of the Polish Ministry of Defense.*

tions and the majority of simulations have been run by Iraqis trained by USIP.

Poland's original goal was to help its neighbors—countries that had been incorporated into or dominated by the Soviet Union—consolidate their democratic transitions and develop constructive relations with each other. To this end, they have brought to Warsaw government and civil society leaders from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine, as well as Serbia, to participate in SENSE. Poland has also extended the scope of its SENSE outreach to include Afghanistan, and has turned its attention to the Middle East following the region's revolutionary developments last year.

Last fall, Poland conducted three SENSE simulations: October 3–7 for a joint group from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia, Moldova and Ukraine; November 14–18 for Tunisia; and December 5–9 for Afghanistan.

USIP Senior Program Officer Allison Frendak originally led the effort to establish SENSE in Poland, and was present to monitor and evaluate the recent Afghanistan simulation. (Frendak also conducts the Academy's SENSE simulations for interagency audiences in the United States, in collaboration with the Office of the

Secretary of Defense and George Mason University.)

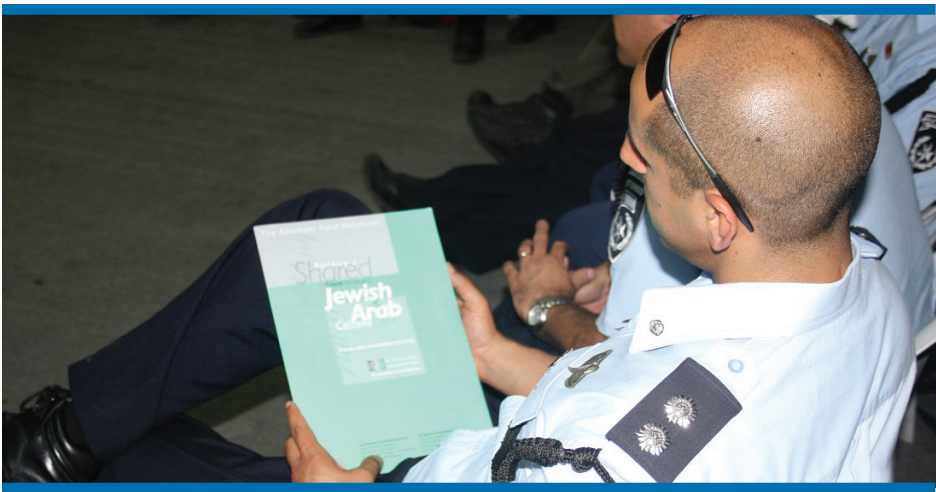
As Frendak reports, "The Polish team trained 45 high- and middle-ranking Afghan government officials and representatives of the private sector and nongovernmental organizations. The Polish team delivered the simulation with great skill and professionalism, and it made a real impact on the participants, who said they will take what they learned back to their country. By all accounts, the SENSE training for Tunisian leaders was equally successful."

To date, the Poles have used SENSE to train 581 government and civil society leaders. USIP's role, after the initial training, has been primarily to advise and, more recently, share with the Poles the Arabic-language SENSE material that USIP has developed for its program in Iraq.

Poland has conducted its trainings without funding from USIP, making this program an excellent example of the multiplier effect of USIP's train-the-trainers efforts on a modest budget.

The Poles are exploring the possibility of further use of SENSE in the Muslim world. In an era of growing international challenges and ever scarcer resources, this sort of collaborative effort is a win-win.

# Police Initiative in Israel: Building Communities



An Israeli police officer participates in one of the training sessions held by The Abraham Fund Initiative to help mend fractured relations. Photograph courtesy of The Abraham Fund Initiatives.

Effective and fair policing is fundamental not only to maintain law and order but to the health of democracy and social cohesion in modern states. Recognizing the centrality of improving relations between Arab society and Israeli police to the stability of Israeli society and safety of Arab communities, USIP grantee The Abraham Fund Initiatives embarked on the Arab Society Police Initiative, a growing national program aimed at improving the relationship between Israeli police and Arab society by enhancing the scope and quality of services provided to Israel’s Arab citizens, and by equipping the police with the multicultural skills and awareness required to serve a diverse society.

Working in partnership with the Israel National Police and Arab society representatives, The Abraham Fund Initiatives has developed a comprehensive intervention strategy to revolutionize police training and practice by helping officers mend the fractured relations with Arab society and address problems of over- and

under-policing; develop models of participation, cooperation and partnership with Arab society founded on a community-based approach to policing; and undertake research and promote activities to strengthen the efforts of individuals working on the ground by gaining higher-level support.

Since May 2011, with the support of USIP, The Abraham Fund Initiatives has held more than 80 training sessions, with more than 2,000 police participants; created a station-community model that fosters direct communication between police station staff and Arab community members to address crime problems; developed training curricula for wide implementation; strengthened and diversified connections with Arab leadership to bolster the ability of the Arab community to express its needs and opinions regarding policing, public safety and quality of life in their communities; initiated work with professionals within the police and Arab society to improve official responses to instances

of domestic violence in Arab communities in Israel; advised the police commissioner on the police’s internal preparations for a potential wave of demonstrations and for shaping their image vis-a-vis policy toward Arab demonstrators.

## Community Policing

One police commander, who participated in an Abraham Fund Initiatives activity, noted “the importance of community policing is in creating a link to the community—they know everything that’s going on, [and] act as a bridge to influential individuals in the community. We have to change the approach to the job of the police—it is not only to deal with crime. We have to build trust with the community, have to relate to them outside of the context of crime.”

A participant from an Arab community group working with a local police station concluded, “We can feel a substantial change in the involvement and relations of the police . . . with the community. Their presence is felt more and there is a feeling of greater efficacy. I attribute this to the actions of The Abraham Fund Initiatives. I feel like we’re moving in the right direction.” (Names of participants in the Abraham Fund Initiatives activity were withheld for security reasons.)



An official from The Abraham Fund Initiatives holds a training session with a class of the Israel National Police. Photograph courtesy of The Abraham Fund Initiatives.

The Abraham Fund Initiatives embarked on the Arab Society Police Initiative, a growing national program aimed at improving the relationship between Israeli police and Arab society by enhancing the scope and quality of services provided to Israel’s Arab citizens, and by equipping the police with the multicultural skills and awareness required to serve a diverse society.

# On the Ground: Training to Build Peace in Darfur

Training for most militaries around the world requires good instruction, lots of practice and a large amount of remote territory. The 4th battalion of the Tanzanian military was no exception. For almost ten weeks in June, July and part of August, this battalion was stationed approximately 150 kilometers to the west of Dar es Salaam, the capital of Tanzania, to prepare for deployment as peacekeepers in the province of South Darfur in Sudan.

For three days of that training the officers, senior sergeants and warrant officers were instructed how to understand conflicts and resolve them peacefully, communicate effectively with people who have been traumatized by years of violence and protect civilians during times of war. The training was conducted by Jeff Helsing and Alison Milofsky of USIP's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding, as part of the U.S. State Department's Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program, which trains African military units deploying to African peacekeeping missions. Helsing and Milofsky provided the following account of their experience on the ground:

## At the Military Base

When we first arrived at the military base, most of the officers were already waiting for us and they were eager to get started. In fact, they were usually eager throughout the training. Most of the trainers are ex-military combat veterans who provide primarily military skills; we were there to provide peacebuilding and conflict management skills. There was very little peacekeeping experience among the soldiers in this battalion so they were anxious to acquire any skills that would make their jobs easier and enable them to find ways of managing conflicts and protecting civilians without resorting to the use of force. The USIP training sessions were a mix of lectures built around PowerPoint presentations, video clips, small group discussions, role plays and group problem solving. The

latter activities are really the most important because those sessions enabled the participants to practice the skills they were learning and also helped build team cohesion. This cohesion would be essential for the troops because they will have to work closely together during their deployment to Darfur. Also, working in small teams is valuable because they had a lot to learn from each other. Modeling a process that values input from all the officer corps while respecting a military chain of command will be useful when dealing with the many challenges in Darfur.

The soldiers were very professional, but many were apprehensive because they knew so little about Darfur.

## Facing the Challenges Ahead

The commanding officer talked informally with the USIP staff about the challenges his 4th Tanzanian battalion would face in Darfur. The first thing he discussed was the climate. The heat and dust would put a severe physical strain on everyone. He was confident in his forces but concerned that the challenging weather could undermine their effectiveness. His second concern was that very few of his troops had any peacekeeping experience. He noted that three or four of his officers had been part of a peacekeeping mission to Darfur and that six soldiers from a mechanized division had served as drivers in Darfur but otherwise this would be a new challenge to his soldiers. He also expressed concern that the independence of Southern Sudan would divert international and United Nations attention from Darfur and that the security situation could easily deteriorate. If so, it could put a great strain on protecting civilians, compounded by the fact that so many international NGOs had either left the area voluntarily or had been forced to leave by the government.

In addition, one of the difficulties peacekeepers in Darfur face is the shifting relationship between the government of Sudan, the Sudanese military and mili-



*Authors Jeff Helsing and Alison Milofsky are the dean of curriculum and a senior program officer respectively with USIP's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding. Academy staff regularly conducts on-the-ground trainings for African peacekeepers deploying to conflict zones in Africa. Photos by Bill Fitz-Patrick.*

tias loyal to the government. At times, the ties seem very close and at other times, there is a distance, enabling the government to deny responsibility for acts committed by the militias. Will the problems in South Sudan make the government more inclined to take a stronger stand against the rebels groups, thus escalating violence? These are among the many dilemmas he knew they would face. Still, he was hopeful that the skills and tools of conflict resolution, negotiations and communications provided by the USIP staff would be just as valuable as the enhanced military training they had received for their upcoming mission to protect villagers, herders and farmers from the terrible wages of war and secure the same peace that has taken root in Tanzania.

# In Afghanistan, Creating Effective Advisers for Times of Crisis

By Nadia Gerspacher



A young Shiite boy waits outside the police cordon at the site of an attack in Kabul, Afghanistan. Photo by the New York Times.

As dramatic events unfold in Kabul, it is a reminder of how much of an impact good mentoring and training can have on the ability of advisers within the ministries to do their jobs, even when confronting the extraordinary. In late February, two American officers were shot dead inside the Ministry of Interior, allegedly by another employee of the Ministry after protests began over the burning of copies of the Koran by American military personnel. Shortly thereafter, two more Americans were shot by two Afghans, one reportedly posing as a member of the Afghan military.

No amount of advising can prevent this kind of violence. But USIP's knowledge can help advisers cope with such horrific incidents and mitigate their impact on the Afghan-U.S. relationship and strategy.

In its course for advisers and mentors, USIP teaches professionals who want to deploy as advisers how to develop a working relationship with their foreign counterpart, that can withstand difficult

challenges. The course teaches about the importance of developing a working relationship based on mutual respect between peers. Although both can contribute to a specific reform activity, outside advisers must learn to work in and have a positive contribution to a bureaucracy they will at least initially find works much differently than their own.

Indeed, the adviser lacks a cultural compass and needs guidance on which ideas represent viable and sustainable solutions that can be implemented and owned by local officials and their institutions. Such solutions simply cannot be seen as being forced on them from the Western world—nor should they be. But during events like the recent shootings in Afghanistan, the adviser may be seen as guilty by association and the work performed with his/her counterparts may be wasted. Or worse, the relationship could deteriorate and a lot of time, energy and sacrifice wasted.

USIP has taught advisers and mentors, including several currently serving

in Afghanistan in the Ministry of Defense Advisers (MoDA) program. The Institute has conducted training and other provincial capacity building missions that highlight how to build a relationship with a counterpart that inculcates in the advisers the need to understand Afghan culture and Afghan approaches to problem solving. USIP is currently looking at lessons learned that show how advisers who built strong, independent relationships are able to continue the work they have been doing with their foreign colleagues.

A positive relationship between adviser and counterpart requires strong communication skills. That should mean that the local adviser would feel comfortable enough to talk with his or her counterpart, and see that adviser as a resource for solutions. In logistics management reform, for example, the joint development of an inventory system for Army and police equipment is based on open communication and a common identification of problems so the ministry can address the issue. The key is getting to the point where a local ministry official is willing to admit problems within the government and be willing to discuss fixing them. It takes a secure bond between the two that arises out of sharing professional, tangible ideas and implementing them together.

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# U.S. Unveils Action Plan for Women, Peace and Security

By Thomas Omestad and Steven Ruder

In a historic change in how the U.S. government approaches peacebuilding in conflicts abroad, President Barack Obama on Dec. 19, 2011, signed an executive order creating a U.S. National Action Plan on Women, Peace and Security—an initiative that Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton described as “a comprehensive roadmap for accelerating and institutionalizing efforts across the United States government to advance women’s participation in making and keeping peace.”

The launch of the National Action Plan comes 11 years after the United Nations Security Council adopted resolution 1325 on women, peace and security. Along with four subsequent Security Council resolu-

tions, 1325 called on governments to take steps to ensure that women are included in conflict prevention, peacemaking and postconflict reconstruction, and that the rights and safety of women and girls in conflict are protected.

In 2010, USIP began a series of activities aimed at refocusing attention on UNSCR 1325 and the need for the U.S. government to move forward on an action plan on women and peacebuilding. USIP became the central organizing vehicle for a large number of civil society groups interested in providing information and perspectives to support the administration in developing the action plan.

In July 2010, USIP organized a working meeting “Women, Peace and Security: Fulfilling the Vision of 1325,” that brought together representatives from the U.S. government, U.N. and nongovernmental groups. In October 2010, Clinton announced that the United States would develop a strategy for the promotion of women, peace and security embodied in an action plan.

The following month, USIP organized a three-day conference that explored how the contours of resolution 1325 could be translated into U.S. policy. The event focused on the experiences of women in wartime and how to encourage the involvement of women in peace and security issues. The conference led USIP to convene the U.S. Civil Society Working Group on Women, Peace and Security. It became the key forum for nongovernmen-

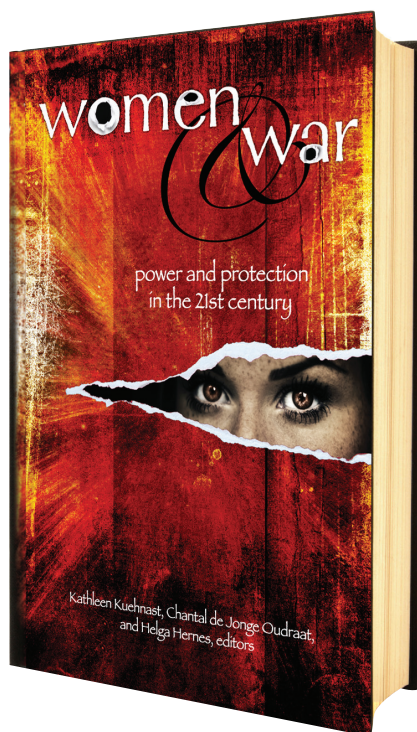
tal groups to consult with the U.S. officials who were developing the action plan.

In May 2011, USIP held a conference launching the book “Women and War: Power and Protection in the 21st Century,” a trans-Atlantic collaboration that highlighted innovative ways of ensuring greater participation of women at the negotiating table and elsewhere in security matters. Then, in November, the Civil Society Working Group released an Expert Statement on the action plan. Many of its recommendations are incorporated in the strategy unveiled on Dec. 19.

Kathleen Kuehnast, director of USIP’s Center for Gender and Peacebuilding, said Clinton’s announcement of the National Action Plan “represents a long and hard fought struggle to bring the concerns and strengths of women to the security agenda.

“President Obama’s executive order sets in motion not only a national commitment to inclusive approaches to promoting peace and security, but sends a message to the world that we are ‘walking our talk.’ Both actions together represent a huge leap forward for women in conflict and postconflict countries, as well as for the overall quality of peace that may be achieved.”

Kuehnast said that USIP will be supporting the implementation of the action plan through its gender work in countries such as Afghanistan, Iraq, South Sudan and Libya. The Institute also plans to continue convening the civil society working group.



The book, “Women and War: Power and Protection in the 21st Century,” edited by Kathleen Kuehnast, Chantal de Jonge Oudraat, and Helga Hernes, was published by USIP Press in March 2011.

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# Peacebuilding Professionalized under 19 Years of Solomon's Leadership



USIP President Richard H. Solomon at the Institute's headquarters office. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

After nearly two decades of leading the United States Institute of Peace, Richard H. Solomon announced on January 26 that he will step down as president in September 2012.

Solomon told USIP's board of directors at its quarterly meeting, "It has been a privilege to have had the time to lead the Institute through a period of dramatic growth. The international challenges facing our country today require innovative approaches to conflict management and peacebuilding. I am grateful for the support I have had from our dedicated staff and board. It is gratifying that today USIP—now operating in its new building at the northwest corner of the National Mall—is making significant contributions to our nation's security and foreign relations."

Institute Board Chairman J. Robinson West said, "Dick Solomon has

"The international challenges facing our country today require innovative approaches to conflict management and peacebuilding. . . . It is gratifying that today USIP is making significant contributions to our nation's security and foreign relations." —Richard H. Solomon

transformed the Institute into an active and dynamic international problem solving organization. It is a model for how to deal with conflicts abroad. As our country faces continuing international challenges with fewer resources, the peacebuilding professionals of USIP are helping to resolve violent conflicts effectively and efficiently."

"The Institute today is considered a leading national center for the promotion of rule of law, religion and peacebuilding, civilian-military relations and the role of media in peacebuilding," said Ambassador George Moose, vice chairman of the Institute's board of directors. "Its professional training academy, gaming and simulation activities, applied research and innovation provide the tools for transitions from conflict to peace around the world."

Solomon has led the Institute since 1993, guiding its evolution from a small, Washington-based, academically focused organization into the nation's center for global conflict management and peacebuilding. Under Solomon's direction, USIP not only has increased its national reach and prominence, but it now sends staff to conflict zones around the world to teach and train local populations in the skills of conflict prevention, mitigation and reconciliation.

The Institute first operated on the ground during the Balkan crisis in 1995, helping to implement The Dayton Accords. Today, USIP manages peace and stability operations throughout the world, including full-time presences in Iraq, Afghanistan and Pakistan.

In Iraq, USIP has maintained an active presence since 2003. In 2007, the Institute helped the U.S. Army's 10th Mountain Division stabilize the restive province of Mahmoudiya through a historic reconciliation agreement between Sunni and Shia tribal leaders. The Institute's mediation effort established a new pattern of civilian-military cooperation for stabilizing a conflict area. General David H. Petraeus, then-commander of the Multi-National Force-Iraq (MNF-I), called the USIP operation "a striking success."

In Afghanistan, Institute personnel supported the State Department and the Army's 4th Infantry Division in helping to improve civil-military coordination among Afghan tribal leaders, government officials and American forces in the volatile eastern region. USIP is also currently training networks of local conflict mediators in provinces throughout Afghanistan who can resolve local disputes over land, property and family, giving Afghans an effective problem-solving alternative to violence.

Most recently, the Institute created a full-time presence in Pakistan as a sign of



Richard H. Solomon signing copies of his book, *American Negotiating Behavior*, on May 10, 2010. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

USIP's critical involvement and frontline role in supporting U.S. national security interests. Similar to its successful work in Afghanistan, USIP is building networks of facilitators in Pakistan to solve community-level disputes and promote a culture of nonviolence and accommodation.

The peacebuilding skills Solomon worked to professionalize during his tenure at the Institute have been the hallmark of his career. Prior to USIP, Solomon served as assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs (1989–1992), during which time he negotiated the Cambodian Peace Agreement through the United Nations Security Council. From 1992 to 1993, as ambassador to the Philippines, he coordinated the closure of U.S. naval bases and developed a framework for bilateral and regional security coop-

eration. In the late 1980s, he served as director of policy planning at the State Department, supporting the Reagan administration in its efforts to end the Cold War. And as a senior staff member of the National Security Council in the early 1970s he participated in the diplomacy that normalized relations with China.

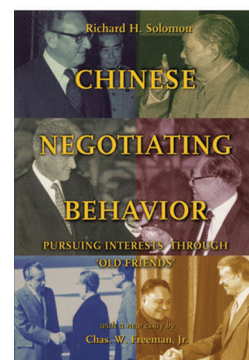
During Solomon's tenure at USIP, the Institute developed training programs that are professionalizing the role of conflict managers and peacebuilders. The Institute's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding counts among its students a wide spectrum of professionals from the Departments of Defense and State, nongovernmental organizations and academic institutions.

As Institute president, Solomon has also overseen the work of several blue-ribbon, bipartisan panels which assessed policy options on such issues as U.N. reform, genocide prevention, and approaches to ending the Iraq War. The Institute's convening power reflects, in part, Solomon's own success at cultivating an atmosphere of bipartisanship and practical problem solving.

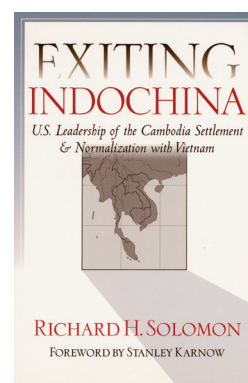
As the Institute begins the search for a new president, USIP will continue to operate under Solomon's leadership and guidance. As the United States faces the challenge of dealing with international conflicts with fewer resources, the Institute's low-cost but effective work will become all the more significant.

"As the nation's national security and foreign affairs agencies transition to a leaner, more strategic allocation of resources, the Institute, with its agile

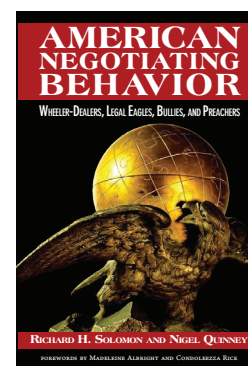
and innovative programs, is well-positioned to make even greater contributions," Solomon said.



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With Senator Jeanne Shaheen at the Progress in Afghanistan meeting held in September 2011. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



# The U.S. and China “Change the World”: Looking Back, Looking Ahead at a Critical National Security Relationship

By Richard H. Solomon, President of the U.S. Institute of Peace

In a historic gathering of the leading officials who have built and managed the U.S.-China relationship, policymakers from both sides of the political aisle assembled at USIP on March 7 to assess the history, current state and future prospects for this critical relationship. The occasion was the 40th anniversary of President Nixon’s breakthrough trip to Beijing in February 1972 as it was called at the time, “the week that changed the world.”

In a sweeping review of the history of the relationship—the architects of the opening with China—Henry Kissinger, Brent Scowcroft and Zbigniew Brzezinski—met with other former officials and China specialists and conducted a day-long assessment looking ahead at the political, economic, cultural and strategic issues that define the U.S.-China relationship. The day ended with Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton delivering a powerful speech outlining the challenges to further developing a constructive partnership between the two nations.

The event was co-hosted by USIP and the Nixon Foundation, with the support

of the Kissinger Institute on China and the United States and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars.

The U.S.-China relationship has evolved over 40 years. Chinese foreign minister Yang Jiechi, who provided the keynote address at the start of the day via a high definition video link, characterized the relationship as a “cooperative partnership” with two countries respecting each other and treating each other as “equals,” saying that China-U.S. relations have moved forward and that this can be a win-win and not a zero-sum situation.

While many experts talked about the difficulties in dealing with China, Kissinger said that competition with a rising China is inevitable, but both countries have to avoid the temptation to see things in the short term as if “books are balanced at the end of every month.” Brzezinski echoed those thoughts in defining President Carter’s approach to building upon the Nixon breakthrough to strengthen cooperation with China.

Filling in historical blanks, Kissinger took the audience behind the scenes of



In her remarks at “The Week that Changed the World” conference at USIP, U.S. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton called on China to play a more constructive role in the international system. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

the Nixon trip with dramatic revelations about the secret talks that led up to the Nixon visit. Kissinger revealed that the White House had considered a separate summit with the Russians prior to the Nixon trip to China, to head off a potential backlash from the Kremlin. In the end, that idea was abandoned and the Russian response to the Nixon trip had short-term benefits—opening the way for long-stalled agreements between Moscow and Washington, including the Berlin Agreement and progress on avoiding an accidental nuclear war.

Recognizing that a different China has emerged four decades after the historic Nixon trip, Kissinger talked about how a new generation has to re-adjust now to new political thinking in China. Later in the day the secretary of state echoed those sentiments with references to the many Americans in China who speak Chinese and the growing interest of Chinese in

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Former National Security Adviser Henry Kissinger discusses the historic Nixon trip with NBC News’ Tom Brokaw. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



Former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski discussed the strategic priorities for the U.S.–China relationship. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

understanding America. Experts agreed that the issue of Taiwan's future is far from resolved and can always pose tensions in the relationship, and that conflicting territorial claims in the South China Sea always risk controversy if not confrontation.

Economists, former trade officials and current Undersecretary of State Robert Hormats debated the economic challenges posed by a rapidly growing China, stressing the need to continue pressing China on issues like intellectual property rights protection and market access. Many experts warned that China's economic development strategy, which currently stresses export-led growth managed by large state owned enterprises, will not be sustainable in the long run. Thus, China's future growth requires structural reforms that are likely to be resisted by entrenched interests. Leading media figures—including Ted Koppel, Tom Brokaw and Margaret Warner—also participated in the conference.

The events of March 7, 2012, and the cast of characters assembled reflect the enormous convening authority of the Institute and the ability to place historic issues in contemporary contexts in ways that help shape and define approach to global conflict and national security.

Learn more about “The Week that Changed the World” conference at <http://www.usip.org/media-kit-TWTCTW>

## USIP Supporting a Peaceful Transition in Libya

During the past few months, USIP's Manal Omar has traveled to Libya several times as part of the Institute's engagement and support of the country's ongoing transition. Omar is director of USIP's Iraq, Iran, and North Africa Program.

As an adviser to the Libya Stabilization Team (LST), a team of committees formulated during the National Transitional Council's struggle to oust former president Muammar Gadhafi, Omar worked to ensure the role of civil society in the nation building process. The LST's objective was to merge the committees into appropriate ministries within 30 days of Gadhafi's departure. As a result, Omar worked closely with the Ministry of Culture and Civil Society and with the Ministry of Capacity Building as the primary government counterparts for supporting the emerging Libyan civil society groups.

In addition to assisting the transitional government, USIP has been working closely to support the development of an alliance of facilitators that could respond rapidly to local and community conflicts that may emerge during the time of transition. In November, USIP was among the sponsors of the first international conference on women's issues that was organized by the Voice of Libyan Women. Mustafa Abdel Jalil, the Chairman of the National



USIP's Manal Omar discusses key constitution-making steps to help support a peaceful transition in Libya. Photograph by USIP staff.

Transitional Council, and Libyan Prime Minister Abdurrahim el-Keib attended the conference which included high level international speakers.

For more information about USIP's ongoing efforts in Libya, visit <http://www.usip.org/countries-continents/africa/libya>



A Libyan girl flashes a peaceful gesture outside an abandoned military base in Benghazi, Libya. Photograph by the New York Times.

# Ensuring Effective Peacebuilding

How do you know whether bringing together key figures in a community did indeed prevent violence in a strategically located Afghan village? More broadly, how do you measure the success of peacebuilding initiatives, especially when there are many variables that go into conflict prevention and management?

Those are just two of the difficult questions that USIP's Andrew Blum seeks to answer this year.

## Accountability Matters

Named in December 2011 as the Institute's first director of learning and evaluation, Blum is charged with enhancing the Institute's monitoring, evaluation and learning systems. The new position comes in part as a response to the desire of USIP's board of directors and staff to build from successes, and understand the reasons behind those successes. In doing so, Blum will ensure that USIP's programs and projects are fulfilling their goals and help the Institute as a whole learn from its well-earned successes as well as its mistakes.

Leading the evaluation process is not his first experience in ensuring programmatic effectiveness and efficiency.



*As director of learning and evaluation, Andrew Blum will bolster USIP's existing mechanisms to ensure programmatic effectiveness and efficiency. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.*

**"[A]s a federally funded organization, USIP must be held accountable and ensure transparent reporting of both successes and challenges in programming."**

Most recently, Blum was a senior program officer in the USIP Grant Program and the Centers of Innovation. In that role, he oversaw the Sudan North-South Border Initiative and the Communication for Peacebuilding Priority Grant Program. Blum also partnered with the Alliance for Peacebuilding and launched the "Peacebuilding Evaluation Project: A Forum of Donors and Implementers" to improve evaluation practice in the field overall.

## Improving Existing Mechanisms

While USIP's programs already have monitoring and evaluation mechanisms in place, Blum's challenge is to improve existing tools, and synthesize information into broader, institute-wide "lessons learned" and overall assessments.

He will be assessing the efficiency, effectiveness and the relevance of programs—and thus, how well taxpayer dollars are spent.

Blum will ask each USIP program: How is progress being measured on the ground? He will also appraise whether current projects are serving a real need—or if the need has been made obsolete by the context. For example, he monitors a project in Iraq focused on civic education to help the USIP project team understand whether their efforts with education officials and teachers are effective, sustainable and scalable throughout Iraq.

He also supports USIP's Center of Innovation for Sustainable Economies in its efforts to assess whether a program designed to support responsible mining practices in Afghanistan succeeds in reducing conflict and instability. The project will use community-based monitoring and data collection, including in compari-

son communities where no project activities are taking place. In other words, the local population will interview others in the community, and document various aspects of their community, from levels of violence and pollution to new economic and job opportunities. If the project is successful, the program will serve as an important model for Afghanistan's booming mining industry.

As this field is relatively young, Blum will also act as USIP's representative to the community of practice for knowledge and information exchanges. As such, Blum must also communicate externally the results of USIP's evaluation initiatives—focusing on evidence-based reporting of USIP's hits and misses.

Blum takes this assignment seriously, noting that as a federally funded organization, USIP must be held accountable and ensure transparent reporting of both successes and challenges in programming.

The challenges ahead for Blum are significant. As the USIP board stated in a memo announcing the position: "We clearly recognize that peacebuilding is fraught with complexities and intangibles which in the past have been used as excuses for not conducting rigorous evaluations. However, with the creation of this position, the Institute will create the capability to implement an effective system for ensuring projects receive proper monitoring and evaluation."

Ultimately, this endeavor will better advance the Institute's goals of enhancing national security, enable the U.S. government to manage conflicts before they escalate, reduce government costs and, in the long run save lives of both American personnel and local populations in zones of conflict.

# USIP Connects Teachers and Students with New Resources

As part of its mission to educate key audiences about peacebuilding and conflict management, USIP activated a virtual Global Peacebuilding Center (GPC) in February, providing younger audiences and educators with substantial peacebuilding resources and activities.

The website—[www.buildingpeace.org](http://www.buildingpeace.org)—is the digital arm of USIP's onsite Global Peacebuilding Center, a public education space which extends USIP's educational work to new audiences through multimedia exhibits and educational programs.

The new website features educational materials, a Virtual Passport experience and many ways for young people to learn about the work of USIP and the importance of peacebuilding.

Through the site's interactive features, students can share their own stories about peacebuilding experiences, participate in discussions and ask questions of USIP experts. The Virtual Passport section provides an avenue for all users to connect with the wider world by earning "stamps" as they complete activities and learn more about conflict management and peacebuilding along the way.

The website also includes a section designed for educators, offering activities and resources to help teachers bring peacebuilding into the classroom. The centerpiece of these teacher resources and activities is the "Peacebuilding Toolkit for Educators," a new curriculum guide with lessons developed by and for middle school and high school teachers. The activities focus on practical skills in conflict management, which are applied in a range of contexts to encourage students to think about how they can contribute to peacebuilding in a global context. As part of the broader goals of the Institute, the Toolkit is intended to help engage and empower the next generation of peacebuilders. It is available for free download at <http://www.buildingpeace.org>.

In February, USIP shared the Peacebuilding Toolkit for Educators with more



*The Global Peacebuilding Center's website provides younger audiences and educators with substantial peacebuilding resources and activities. Photograph by USIP staff.*

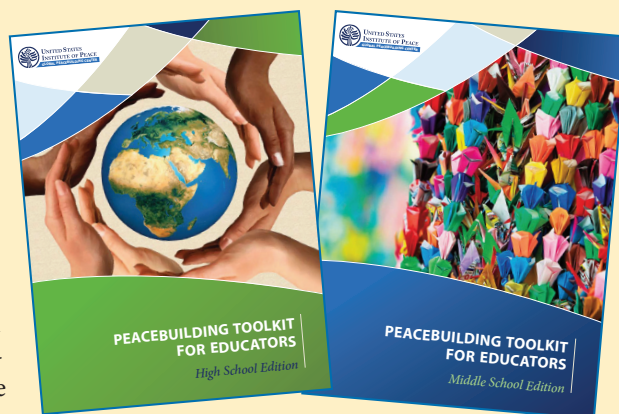
than 50 educators from across the U.S. who were visiting USIP for a co-sponsored program with the National Education Association Foundation and the Pearson Foundation. The afternoon program, entitled "Bringing Peacebuilding into the Classroom," introduced educators to the Toolkit as a resource, as well as to the GPC's multimedia exhibits.

The teachers received an introduction to USIP's lessons and activities for middle school and high school educators, and explored the meaning of conflict and peacebuilding in everyday life and in global terms.

"What we do here at USIP is very transferrable," USIP's Alison Milofsky told the group. Peace is not an end state, Milofsky said, and is more of an ongoing process. "It's something that is active, and that requires working toward it."

The program included a special preview of the two multimedia exhibits in the GPC, which show the

challenges and importance of peacebuilding and underscore that there are many ways to be a peacebuilder in today's world. The Global Peacebuilding Center is offering pilot programs for middle school and high school students and educators, drawing on these multimedia exhibits and online resources, as it extends USIP's public education work to new audiences. For more information, see [www.buildingpeace.org](http://www.buildingpeace.org).



# Convening Power: Finding Innovative Solutions to Difficult Problems



The Embassy of Finland and USIP on Feb. 16 hosted a panel discussion titled “Women, Peace and Security in Afghanistan: Prospects on the Way Forward.” Pictured here, left to right: Kathleen Kuehnast, director of USIP’s Center for Gender and Peacebuilding; Ambassador Donald Steinberg, deputy administrator of U.S. Agency for International Development; Samira Hamidi, Afghanistan Country Director of the Afghan Women Network; Dr. Erkki Tuomioja, Finland’s minister for foreign affairs; Ambassador Eklil Ahmad Hakimi of Afghanistan; Ambassador Melanne Verwee, U.S. ambassador-at-large for Global Women’s Issues; Eva Biaude, Finland’s ombudsman for minorities. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



On Feb. 15, USIP was honored to host Pakistan’s ambassador to the U.S., Sherry Rehman, for her first public speaking engagement since becoming her country’s envoy to Washington. Before a packed house, she discussed the state of the U.S.-Pakistan relationship, why Pakistan felt a “reset” of the relationship under a different set of conditions was necessary and Pakistan’s role in the region going forward. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



In October, USIP hosted a special briefing for NATO’s Supreme Allied Commander Europe and the head of U.S. European Command, Adm. James Stavridis, long an advocate of “smart power” and strong interagency collaboration. As SACEUR and EUCOM commander, Stavridis is responsible for a number of areas of conflict and operations, including Afghanistan and Libya, two countries where USIP is at work in the field. He is pictured here with USIP President Richard H. Solomon. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



Then-Undersecretary of State for Arms Control and International Security Affairs Ellen Tauscher spoke to students in a nuclear nonproliferation and arms control course given by USIP’s Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding last fall. In addition to the Academy’s courses, the Institute in 2008–2009 also facilitated the Congressional Commission on the Strategic Posture of the United States, which took a comprehensive look at the U.S. national nuclear security strategy, the nuclear infrastructure and deterrent force posture. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



USIP and the Institute for the Study of War co-hosted a panel discussion on the U.S. police assistance program in Iraq. Panelists pictured left to right: Ginger Cruz, former deputy inspector general with the Office of the Special Inspector General for Iraq Reconstruction; General Jim Dubik, senior fellow at the Institute for the Study of War and former commander of the Multi-National Security Transition Command–Iraq; and Robert Perito, director of USIP's Security Sector Governance Center and author of "The Iraq Federal Police: U.S. Police Building under Fire." Austin Long, assistant professor at Columbia University School of International and Public Affairs, also participated but is not pictured here. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



To examine the significance of the Arab Awakening, USIP launched a monthly breakfast briefing series in partnership with the Defense Education Forum of the Reserve Officers Association. The first event, held in January, featured former Jordan foreign minister Marwan Muasher, former National Security Adviser Stephen Hadley, senior adviser for international affairs at USIP and Steven Heydemann, USIP's senior adviser for Middle East Initiatives (pictured left to right). Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



Top: USIP's Steven Heydemann welcomes the audience to the March 9 briefing, "Who Owns the Syria Revolution," which was co-sponsored with United for a Free Syria and the Syrian Emergency Task Force.

Below: Panelist Farah Al Atassi, executive director of the American Arab Communication & Translation Center and the founder and president of the Arab Information and Resource Center, is interviewed by a member of the media. Photographs by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

USIP's Abiodun Williams (left) moderated a Q&A with Assistant Secretary of State for Political-Military Affairs Andrew Shapiro that followed his speech on promoting U.S. global interests through international peace-keeping on Feb. 27. Photograph by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

## People on the Move



*Tara Sonenshine*

Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



*Marcia K. Wong*

Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



*Robert Loftis*

Photo courtesy of the  
U.S. State Department.



*Ibrahim Shaqir*

Photo courtesy of the  
U.S. Department of Agriculture.

USIP executive vice president **Tara Sonenshine** was confirmed as undersecretary of state for public diplomacy and public affairs in March 2012. She was also named a 2012 Tufts Alumni Award Honoree by the Tufts University Alumni Association.

USIP has appointed **Marcia K. Wong** as the director for intergovernmental affairs. Wong will play a leadership role in ensuring effective USIP institutional relations and interaction with the federal government, especially the Departments of Defense, State and Homeland Security, and USAID and the Peace Corps. Before joining the Institute, Wong was a senior foreign service officer with the U.S. Department of State. Her last assignment in the State Department was as the associate dean at the Foreign Service Institute, where she oversaw training for U.S. government personnel being deployed to Iraq, Afghanistan and other complex operations.

As part of its new interagency professional in residence (IPR) program, USIP welcomed in March Ambassador **Robert Loftis**, currently Office in Charge for the new Bureau of Conflict and Stability Operations at the U.S. State Department, for a six-month detail. Loftis, who has served in a variety of roles at the State Department, is working with the Institute's intergovernmental affairs office to assist USIP in its efforts to enhance civilian-military cooperation and knowledge sharing across the government.

Also joining USIP's IPR program is **Ibrahim Shaqir**, the director of international research programs with the Agricultural Research Service at the U.S. Department of Agriculture. For the next four months, Shaqir will bring his expertise on scientific diplomacy in the Middle East to the Institute's Center of Innovation for Science, Technology and Peacebuilding. He and Center staff will be working on a National Academy-USIP Roundtable project to adapt agricultural extension systems to peacebuilding and conflict management. Shaqir is also a trainee in the USDA-Senior Executive Service (SES) Candidate Development Program, and this detail is intended to satisfy his requirement of a SES-CDP Development Assignment.