

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, D.C. ■ www.usip.org

USIP Receives \$10 Million for Headquarters Project

Great Hall to Be Named for George P. Shultz



Chevron CEO David O'Reilly (left); and J. Robinson West, USIP board chair, and Richard Solomon, USIP president, speak at a dinner celebrating Chevron's contribution to the Institute.

"Chevron's contribution is an investment in the global peacebuilding efforts of the Institute."

—David O'Reilly

"Having the Institute's Great Hall bear [Shultz's] name is an honor and a privilege."

—J. Robinson West

The U.S. Institute of Peace has received a \$10 million contribution from the Chevron Corporation to help construct its new permanent headquarters at the northwest corner of the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The headquarters will serve as a national center of innovation for research, education, training, and policy and program development

on international conflict prevention, management, and resolution.

The Institute plans to name the great hall at the new building the **George P. Shultz** Great Hall, in honor of the former U.S. secretary of state. The theater in the Public Education Center will be identified as the Chevron Theater. Speaking at a dinner at which those plans were announced, Institute president **Richard Solomon** affirmed, "Chevron's support for

the Institute's new headquarters project comes at a significant moment.... [The new building] will increase the Institute's capacity and our ability to reach out to the American public and the world."

He continued, "During the last two decades, we have worked to promote skills in international conflict management as an essential element of diplomacy and for-

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Honoree George Shultz and former secretary of state Henry Kissinger reminisce about their experiences in government.

Henry Kissinger praised Shultz as a “great leader.”

eign policy. The lack of stable societies and rule of law in many parts of the world increases the potential for armed conflicts.”

Solomon pointed out that preventive action can minimize the need for military interventions abroad.

J. Robinson West, the chair of the Institute’s board, addressed Secretary Shultz directly in his speech at the dinner. “Having the great hall of the Institute’s permanent headquarters bear your name is an honor and a privilege for the organization. It will serve as a lasting tribute to you on the National Mall for your many contributions in public service.”

Chevron chairman and CEO **David O’Reilly** lauded the Institute at the dinner. “Chevron’s contribution is an investment in the global peacebuilding efforts of the

U.S. Institute of Peace.” He noted that the Institute is making a difference around the world through conflict resolution efforts and post-conflict stability programs. “These initiatives are very much aligned with Chevron’s own approach, which is focused on building the human and institutional capacity of communities wherever we operate,” said O’Reilly. “I am also delighted that the Institute of Peace has taken this opportunity to honor George Shultz for his tireless efforts in the cause of international diplomacy.”

Numerous dignitaries praised Secretary Shultz at the dinner; among them were former secretary of state **Henry Kissinger** and former Institute board chairman **Max Kampelman**. National Security Adviser **Stephen Hadley** delivered an encomium on behalf of President **George W. Bush**, saying that Shultz “embodies the finest values of our country,” and that as secretary of state he demonstrated that “our nation’s strength makes our nation’s diplomacy more effective...and that freedom is the world’s most powerful force for promoting lasting peace and security.”

Institute president Richard Solomon read a letter of tribute to Shultz from Secretary of State **Condoleezza Rice**. “I think there could be no finer person, no American more deserving of the honor here tonight than George Shultz,” she wrote. “I have had the honor of knowing him for two

decades. He plays a continuous role in shaping the minds and the lives of those around him, including my own. He remains steadfast in his advocacy of freedom and peace around the world.”

Kissinger praised Shultz as a “great leader”—which he defined as someone who is able to take a society “where it has never been.” Kissinger further noted that when they worked together in government, he would never make a major decision without first trying to find out what Shultz thought about it.

Shultz served as secretary of labor and secretary of the treasury under President Nixon and as secretary of state under President Reagan. He was also president of Bechtel Corporation from 1974 to 1982. His tenure as secretary of state coincided with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Shultz has been widely praised for helping to successfully manage that transition. He is currently involved in an effort to create a world without nuclear weapons.

In his own speech, Shultz laid out a highly optimistic vision for the future, saying that we live “in a golden moment” when, for the first time in history, virtually every country in the world has learned how to grow its economy. The challenge now is to defend this golden moment by “getting people to raise their sights, and say we’re in this together, and we’ve got to figure out a way to deal with it together.”

Guests at the Shultz dinner included (from left) Representative David Dreier (R-CA), Senator John Warner (R-VA) and Henry Kissinger; former USIP board chair Chester Crocker and Chevron CEO David O’Reilly; former USIP board chair Max Kampelman and former senator Howard Baker; Senator Kit Bond (R-MO) with Singapore Ambassador Chan Heng Chee; Kit Bond and former senator Sam Nunn; Kiron K. Skinner and Chester Crocker; Charlotte Shultz, Howard Baker, former senator Nancy Kassebaum Baker, and Senator Dianne Feinstein (D-CA).





The following is a substantial excerpt from Shultz's speech

George Shultz Speech at the Institute Dinner: "A Golden Moment in History"

The Institute does important work—wonderful, instructive case studies, among other things. Your work isn't just an academic exercise. It points the way forward and outlines steps for how to get there. The Institute itself gets involved on the ground as well. It has become an important institution, and as far as I know, USIP is the only peace-building institute in the world that is funded in its operations entirely by the government but is free standing. It's not part of the executive branch, which gives it the ability to do things in some ways that other people in the government can't do....

I'm glad to see that it's going to have a wonderful new headquarters building. The kind of surroundings that you're creating will help attract a very high-powered staff, and that high-powered staff will further justify the institution. There will be a cumulative effect. I'm just delighted to see this and be part of it.

I thought with this group tonight I should say a little something about the world as I see it. I don't want to get mired down in some of the current things that are going on, but there's an obvious need for very strong diplomatic work in the Middle East in

particular. We need to conduct a global diplomacy. But tonight I thought I might draw back from the issues that are so consumptive of our attention right now and frame the situation.

I would say first that we have to remind ourselves that we are at a moment in the world that is unparalleled in its promise. Economies all over the world are expanding. The International Monetary Fund released a world economic report recently that included national growth rates over the last year or so, as well as near-term projections. There are no minus signs on that chart. Everything is moving in the right direction. This has practically never happened before. People have learned how to manage economies so that they move forward and are stable. When economies move forward in that manner, political openness takes place, not necessarily democracy as we think of it, but more open societies, more humane societies, develop, giving people more choices.

So when we look around the world, we have to say to ourselves, "This is a golden moment, a golden moment!" We've never had this kind of thing before. Poverty is being eliminated,

reduced, in great strides all the time.

So, what's our problem? Well, our problem is that we are in danger of disrupting this golden moment. The golden moment was built by a world consisting of sovereign states that interact together and economies that interact together. They were built on a certain concept of how the world works. Today we see ourselves confronted with elements in the Islamic arena that want to change that world and make it work differently, and they use terrorism as a weapon, as a tactic. If [weapons of mass destruction get] into their hands, they can cause the kind of violence that causes people and societies to withdraw into themselves. That can fundamentally destroy this golden moment. That's our problem.

There are all kinds of things that we need to do about it. But I think that one of the things we need to do is rally the world. This is not our problem alone. This is the world's problem. To protect this golden moment, we must all be in it together. We must at the same time raise people's sights about what we can do. Tonight Henry [Kissinger] and Max [Kampelman] referred to our joint effort to see if we couldn't create a world without nuclear weapons. When we proposed this to the world earlier this month, Howard Baker here wrote me a nice note to say, "Hurray, I'm in favor!"

There have been interesting positive reactions to this effort, all started in many ways with Max

"We've forgotten how devastating it could be if a nuclear weapon was dropped somewhere."
—George Shultz

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The Institute's work spans the world. From Nigeria and Sudan to Iraq, North Korea, and Turkey, Institute staff are working to defuse crises, reduce conflict, and help set countries on the path to post-conflict stability. This work, often conducted in dangerous conditions far from Washington, D.C., fulfills part of the Institute's mandate to engage directly in zones of conflict abroad. Presented below are summaries of a few of the Institute's recent initiatives abroad. The Institute's diverse partners in these projects range from government officials to religious leaders. They share an aspiration to expand the thin margin between peace and war—and the courage to pursue the purposes of peacebuilding.



USIP hosted the Washington premiere of *The Imam and the Pastor* at the Institute in November, 2006. From left, David Smock, Pastor James Wuye, Imam Mohammed Ishafa, and Alan Channer, director of the film.

Defusing the Electoral Time Bomb in Nigeria

Nigeria's presidential elections, held in mid-April, were supposed to mark a milestone in that country's history: the first time one elected leader succeeded another. But many observers feared—correctly, as it turned out—that the election would be marred by violence or compromised by fraud. As part of its mission to prevent the outbreak of violent conflict in potential global hot spots, the Institute had cosponsored a religious summit in Abuja, Nigeria, in February 2007 to promote interfaith dialogue as a way to encourage reconciliation and prevent violence. The Institute also cosponsored a workshop on the prevention of electoral violence.

Local partners and recent Institute visitors **Pastor James Wuye** and **Imam Mohammed Ishafa**, of the Interfaith Mediation Centre, hosted the religious summit. Their inspiring story of putting down arms to promote

reconciliation is the subject of the film *The Imam and the Pastor*. (The Institute hosted the Washington, D.C., premiere of the film in November 2006.)

At the summit, Institute vice president **David Smock** spoke about the contribution that communities of faith have made in peacemaking and conflict reduction in several global conflicts. He cited examples from Macedonia, Mozambique, Israel/Palestine, and Sudan, where faith-based peacemakers turned to their traditions as sources of conflict resolution techniques. The Institute's **Qamar ul-Huda** discussed various Islamic approaches to peacemaking and the ways in which various Muslim thinkers understand mediation. He emphasized the shared histories of Christianity and Islam, especially in the areas of mutual respect and tolerance, common values in theology and ethics, and critical areas of interfaith cooperation.

The summit culminated in the Abuja Declaration, issued by the leaders of the Nigerian faith communities, which was covered widely in the Nigerian press as a breakthrough declaration. The major points of the Abuja Declaration are that both Christian and Muslim faith communities—

- Affirm the dignity of every person and insist on respect for human rights;
- Affirm the need for lively debate and healthy disagreement in the democratic process;
- Agree that there is no place for threats, violence, acts of intimidation, and bribery;
- Call upon all members of Muslim and Christian communities of Nigeria to conduct themselves in a peaceful and civil manner regardless of the election results; and
- Establish a permanent joint committee to execute the declaration recommendations and engage with the political leadership.

"This groundbreaking event exemplifies ways in which faith communities can work together in areas of peacebuilding, conflict



Building Peace in Sudan

“This groundbreaking event exemplifies ways in which faith communities can work together in areas of peacebuilding and conflict prevention.” —David Smock

prevention, interfaith cooperation, and civic responsibilities in Nigeria’s young democracy,” said Smock. “The commitments in the Abuja Declaration demonstrate the seriousness in which religious communities view their roles in civil affairs and national politics.”

Also in February, other Institute staff convened a workshop on the prevention of electoral violence, cohosted by the Institute’s local partner, the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding. The thirty-one workshop participants came from civil society organizations representing all six of Nigeria’s geopolitical zones.

Helping to lead the workshop were Institute experts **Dorina Bekoe, Kelly Campbell, and Jacki Wilson**. The workshop had three interrelated goals. First, through analyses of both peaceful and troubled transitions in Africa, it sought to broaden the participants’ knowledge of the factors that trigger electoral violence and of the opportunities that exist for reducing tension during elections. Second, using exercises in conflict resolution, the workshop endeavored to strengthen the capacity of civil society to prevent conflict in Nigeria’s upcoming elections. Third, it aimed to strengthen a network of civil society representatives from across Nigeria that shares information on early warning signs of electoral violence and expertise on reducing tension.

Bekoe noted that the civil society representatives’ observations about the problems that could arise were prescient. “They emphasized the need to assure the electorate that their vote would be counted, to provide adequate security, and to work with the media,” she reported. “In the long run, many stressed the need to increase the political independence of national institutions and to start all forms of electoral violence programs early enough for better impact.”

As of this writing, the situation Nigeria’s newly elected government faces remains challenging. But the Institute’s work supports the efforts of democracy and peace activists within Nigeria. In doing so, it helps sustain the hopes of millions of ordinary Nigerians in the possibilities of democracy. 🌐

The Institute has conducted eight workshops on conflict resolution in Sudan since March 2005. The workshops, which have taken place in the capital city of Khartoum, in remote townships in the Nuba Mountains, in small cities in southern Darfur, and in various other critical regions of the country, have focused on training participants in skills useful for the peaceful resolution of conflict.

The Institute’s **Jacki Wilson** has led the training, usually accompanied by one or two other Institute staff members. In each case, the Institute paired with a local non-governmental organization (NGO) active in peacebuilding efforts.

Wilson explained that the Institute attempts to leverage local knowledge as much as possible: “We draw upon traditional conflict resolution techniques while providing training in alternative strategies to complement them.” At the end of each workshop, participants apply these methodologies to local problems in work groups facilitated by Institute trainers and the local NGO.

A secondary objective of the workshops has been to build relationships among parties who deal with the consequences of the civil war. One difficulty in achieving national reconciliation is the sheer size of Sudan. Many of the participants report that they have never before met someone from other geographic regions represented in the workshop. According to one participant, the most useful part of the program was “the relationships that have developed among the brothers who attended this workshop.”

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Sudan

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On more than one occasion, the seriousness of the workshops was underscored by local or regional violence. In August 2006, **Jacki Wilson** and **Keith Bowen** arrived to lead a workshop in Dilling mere days after a series of revenge killings had left more than a dozen of its inhabitants dead. In December 2006, several hundred people were killed in Upper Nile during the course of a workshop.

The Institute has been fortunate in its choice of local partners. The most recent workshops have been conducted in conjunction with the Badya Center for Integrated Development Services, a highly experienced local NGO partner and Institute grantee. With eight paid staff and more than fifty volunteers, the Badya Center has been involved in promoting peace and tolerance in the Nuba Mountains of Sudan for more than a decade. Its work includes documenting violence against women, publishing booklets on democracy and peaceful

coexistence, conducting training sessions in outlying communities, and mediating local disputes.

Institute executive vice president **Patricia Thomson** accompanied Wilson and Bowen on their visit in August. “The experience of working with Keith and Jacki in Sudan renewed my sense of hope about the importance of creating opportunities for individuals who have been on opposite sides of a conflict to interact and to build productive relationships,” she observed. 🌐

“Iraq and Its Neighbors” Dialogue Calls for Regional Collaboration

In late March, the Institute and Turkey’s Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies (ASAM) convened a high-level, Track II dialogue in Istanbul with leading for-

eign policy figures from Iraq and its six neighboring countries. The latest in the Institute’s “Iraq and Its Neighbors” dialogue series, the group released an action plan for proposed regional Iraqi stabilization efforts. The thirty-five-point “Marmara Declaration” has received wide media attention throughout the region.

As part of the declaration, the participants acknowledged their shared responsibility to support Iraqi reconciliation, a common objective that is inextricably linked to protecting their own national security interests. “We discussed the key challenges confronting Iraq and its neighbors in an extremely constructive manner,” reported Institute vice president **Paul Stares**. “The final declaration is testament to the positive attitude shown by all the participants and reflects broad consensus on the need to sustain a regional dialogue at a pivotal moment for Iraq.”

Several of the group’s recommendations called for broad, ongoing U.S. and international involvement in the region, including the following:

- The United States must commit itself to a regionally supported peace process for Iraq. It should improve its relations with Syria and Iran, especially as they concern Iraq. These states should reciprocate in a constructive manner.
- The United States should commit to a comprehensive strategy for a responsible withdrawal consistent with Iraq’s security and stability, based on milestones and a general time horizon.
- The United States should reiterate that it seeks no permanent military bases in Iraq and will not maintain military forces in Iraq unless requested by the Iraqi government.

“The experience of working with Keith and Jacki in Sudan renewed my sense of hope.”
—*Patricia Thomson, Institute executive vice president*



A multi-role simulation in progress in southern Sudan. Conflict analysis and problem-solving frameworks were applied through working groups at the workshops.



- The international community should hold an urgently needed conference to reinforce Iraq's political process, including the Iraqi government's benchmarks and timetable.

The group also calls for a timetable for the government of Iraq to take full authority and responsibility in Iraq, including for security throughout the country.

"The most profound element of this meeting was that we were able to bring together key players from all the neighbors, including Iran, to engage in constructive dialogue with their counterparts from Iraq," said **Scott Lasensky**, a senior research associate at the Institute who leads the project.

"For some of the neighbors, it was the first time they met with leaders from post-Saddam Iraq, and for the Iraqis—who are extremely isolated—it was a unique and rare opportunity." 

"We discussed the key challenges confronting Iraq and its neighbors in an extremely constructive manner." —Paul Stares



Research about Iraq's relations with its neighbors can be downloaded from the U.S. Institute of Peace's website: www.usip.org.

USIP Teams with Bloomberg School of Public Health to Raise Profile of Conflict Management

The Education program at the Institute has paired with the Bloomberg School of Public Health at Johns Hopkins University to create a task force on public health and conflict. Its goal is to assist public health practitioners to better fulfill their objectives by equipping them with conflict management tools.

Public health professionals who have a better understanding of the larger political context of health crises will also have a better understanding of the political options available for addressing such crises. In turn, mediators, negotiators, and peacebuilders will enhance their ability to make broad and lasting peace when they consider the health implications of their policies and agreements.

Through a series of encounters among scholars, practitioners, and students, the task force is taking steps to raise the profile of conflict analysis and resolution in the field of public health education.

The first of these exercises took place in November 2006 and focused on the case of North Korea. It examined definitions of conflict in the context of a long-divided country and escalating tensions in the wake of North Korea's nuclear weapons test. Since so little direct information is available about the health impact of the conflict, speakers focused on the health of North Korean refugees crossing the border into China.

The second symposium, held in February 2007, focused on Afghanistan and the difficulties of rebuilding a health care system in a challenging terrain and an opium-based economy.

A third symposium, held in late March, examined current issues in Iraq from political, military, and social perspectives. Featured speakers included HRH **Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Hussein**, the Jordanian ambassador to the United States; and Ambassador **Feisal Al-Istrabadi**, Iraq's deputy permanent representative to the United Nations. The two ambassadors engaged in a frank discussion about political challenges in Iraq today. Other speakers focused on the responses of the U.S. military and on current conditions faced by the health community in Iraq.

Responding to suggestions from the Johns Hopkins campus, the task force also sponsored a workshop in Baltimore in late January on conflict resolution skills for public health professionals. Participants were a mix of students in the masters and doctoral programs at the school. Run by **Linda Bishai**, senior program officer in the Institute's Education program, and **Nina Sughrue**, senior program officer in its Training program, the workshop included sessions on conflict analysis, using the curve of conflict, and identifying and deploying different styles of negotiation.

The highlight of the workshop was a simulation of a humanitarian emergency in a post-conflict situation. Participants learned the difficulty of reaching agreement in situations where there are complicated and competing interests. One participant commented that the workshop revealed a dimension of public health she had not been familiar with

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School

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before. The response to this workshop was overwhelmingly positive and there are plans to repeat it and extend it to the faculty at the school as well.

The task force wrapped up its 2006–07 activities with a public event featuring **Dr. Christopher Murray** of Harvard University’s School of Public Health. A prominent physician and health economist, Murray addressed the relationship between armed conflict and public health. While conflict has obvious detrimental effects on health, less is known about the correlation between maintaining healthy populations and resolving or managing armed conflict. Murray examined current studies of conflict mortality and called for greater attention to conflict issues in the field of public health. He also suggested possible avenues for fruitful communication among the fields of public health, public policy, and conflict management. 🌐

Shultz Speech

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and some of his inspirational work. Sam Nunn has been very important to the effort as well. But I think we need to ask ourselves, “Can’t we aspire to something great that can help us avoid a calamity?” We’ve forgotten how devastating it could be if a nuclear weapon was dropped somewhere. It incinerates entire cities—just wipes them out. It’s like nothing you can imagine.

I think we need to raise our sights some way. I think we need to do a much better job in trying to understand the world of Islam and all its heterogeneity and be able to communicate with it effectively. You can’t communicate with people if you don’t understand them and understand their nuances and their variations. So we need to do a much better job of scholarly work on this subject.

We need to do a much better job of assuming a leadership position in the world on environmental matters, and we have all the ingredients in place to do it. We have people who are worried about the environment, and justifiably so. We have people worried about the national security implications of the entire world’s dependence on oil. We have people in economics who are tired of all the market volatility that comes along with it. We need to get after this, and the way is clear.

And I think the ingredients are there with the current Asia-Pacific initiative. We have to understand that if you say to China and India, “We want you to agree to a cap on your emissions,” they’re not going to buy it. If you

were them, you wouldn’t buy it. Because it’s like saying, “I’m going to agree to a cap on my economic growth.” And they just can’t do that. If I were them, I wouldn’t do that.

But that doesn’t mean you can’t engage them in the dialogue. They’re being suffocated by what they’re doing to themselves. So you can come at it in a different way. You can come at it by saying, “Let us work together and find things that we can do that will deal with this problem effectively and agree to them.” In instances where countries don’t have the wherewithal to do this, we’ll need a little pot of money to help them do it. It’s that kind of global cooperation that will get us where we want to go.

Exactly this kind of thing was confronted in the 1980s debates on the ozone layer, and the Montreal Protocol got worked out on this same concept. There was a man [here this evening] who provided the genius and the drive and the savvy who managed to make the whole thing happen. The treaty was negotiated, and the Senate ratified it on an overwhelming basis. This is the kind of assignment that John Negroponte ought to do all over again because he did it so brilliantly then. But it’s the same kind of problem. And it’s the kind of thing that goes back to the original proposition.

How do we defend the golden moment? We do that by getting people to raise their sights and say we’re in this together. We’ve got to figure out a way to deal with it together and work together to get us where we want to go.

Thank you all for a wonderful evening. 🌐



Fellowship Program Senior Scholars

Each year, the Jennings Randolph Fellowship program of the U.S. Institute of Peace convenes a series of roundtable discussions so that senior fellows can discuss their research projects with other interested scholars, policymakers, members of the press, and the public. The 2006–2007 class of senior fellows will present the findings of their research on topics ranging from mediation in Uganda to the lessons of the Cuban Missile Crisis.

Michael Johnson who was chief of prosecutions for the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, gave the first of this year's brown-bag lunch presentations. He focused on how to improve the complementary relationship between higher judicial bodies, such as the International Criminal Court, and national judicial institutions responsible for handling war crimes.

The speakers and topics for the other Jennings Randolph Fellowship presentations are described below.

ARAB SCHOLARSHIP ON ISRAEL: A CRITICAL ASSESSMENT

Hassan Barari, a prominent Jordanian expert on Middle East politics, offered a critical assessment of the state of Israeli studies in the Arab world.

THE CULTURAL KNOWLEDGE GAP & ITS CONSEQUENCES FOR NATIONAL SECURITY

Montgomery McFate, a cultural anthropologist, described her work on the importance of cultural knowledge in the formation of national security priorities, and planning for military options.

THE CUBAN MISSILE CRISIS: LESSONS FOR THE WAR ON TERROR

Veteran *Washington Post* reporter **Michael Dobbs** drew lessons from his research on the interplay between the White House and on-the-ground events during the Cuban missile crisis to shed light on the pressures that confront a modern-day president facing a major foreign policy crisis.

MANAGING CRISIS AND SUSTAINING PEACE BETWEEN CHINA AND THE UNITED STATES

Xinbo Wu, associate dean of the School of International Relations and Public Affairs at Fudan University in Shanghai, identifies

ways to better manage crises in bilateral relations through an analysis of three recent crises in U.S.–China relations.

MULTILATERALISM, SOVEREIGNTY, AND THE POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF HUMANITARIAN INTERVENTION

Søren Jessen-Petersen, a prominent international civil servant, considers ethnic conflict and humanitarian intervention from the Balkan conflicts to Africa's Great Lakes region. He focuses on the human consequences of failed, delayed, and successful political initiatives as well as post-conflict reconstruction.

REMEMBERING WAR, COMMEMORATING COLONIALISM: WAR AND PEACE MUSEUMS IN JAPAN, CHINA, TAIWAN, AND SOUTH KOREA

History professor **Takashi Yoshida** examines the way war museums in various East Asian countries have remembered the Asia-Pacific War, and influenced the prospects for reconciliation in the region.

TURNING WAR INTO PEACE: AN INSIDER'S VIEW FROM NORTHERN UGANDA

Veteran peace negotiator **Betty Bigombe** describes her experiences mediating between the gov-

ernment of Uganda and the notorious Lord's Resistance Army, a rebel group in northern Uganda.

MAOIST CRISIS IN NEPAL: DIPLOMATIC STRATEGIES FOR RESOLUTION

Jaya Acharya, a former adviser and speechwriter for Nepali Prime Minister G. P. Koirala, assesses the prospects for lasting peace in light of the recent agreement between the government of Nepal and the Maoist rebels.

MANAGING FEDERAL-STATE CONFLICTS: THE ROLE OF NIGERIA'S SUPREME COURT

Rotimi Suberu, one of Nigeria's top political scientists, studies the precarious state of Nigeria's federalism.

PURSUING JUSTICE IN THE MIDST OF WAR: BOSNIA AND THE INTERNATIONAL CRIMINAL TRIBUNAL FOR THE FORMER YUGOSLAVIA (ICTY)

Joyce Neu, executive director of the Joan Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice, explores the efficacy of the ICTY, and the challenges of finding a balance between truth, justice, and peace

IRAQI SOCIAL GROUPS AND POLITICAL FORMATION, 2003–2005

Rend Al-Rahim Francke, executive director of the Iraq Foundation, focuses on the social transformations of Iraqi society since the overthrow of Saddam Hussein.

BUILDING DIALOGUE, BUILDING TRUST: CONVERSATIONS BETWEEN ARMED ACTORS AND CIVIL SOCIETY IN COLOMBIA

Jennifer Schirmer, senior researcher at the University of Oslo, discusses measures to engage ex-guerillas and military in a dialogue about peace in Columbia. 🌐



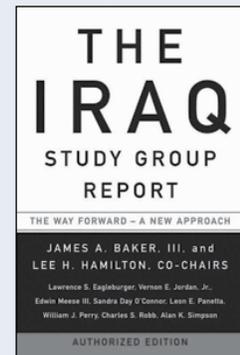
Iraq Still a Primary Focus of USIP's Work

Despite the many setbacks facing the U.S. effort in Iraq, the Institute's Iraq-related programs continue apace. In 2007, the Institute entered its fourth year of on-the-ground peacebuilding efforts in Iraq. It also acted as the facilitating organization for the bipartisan Iraq Study Group (ISG), cochaired by former secretary of state **James A. Baker III** and former congressman **Lee H. Hamilton**. The eight other members of ISG were **Lawrence S. Eagleburger**, **Vernon E. Jordan Jr.**, **Edwin Meese III**, **Sandra Day O'Connor**, **Leon E. Panetta**, **William J. Perry**, **Charles S. Robb**, and **Alan K. Simpson**. (**Robert M. Gates** was initially part of the study group but resigned when President **George W. Bush** named him secretary of defense.) The ISG released its groundbreaking report in December 2006. The report has been widely credited with significantly advancing the public debate on U.S. policy options in Iraq.

The Iraq Study Group

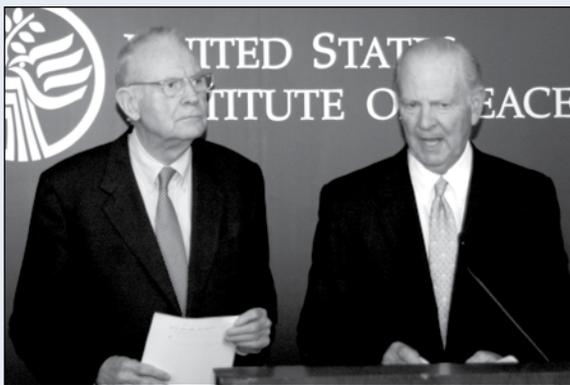
Congress assigned the ISG to conduct a forward-looking, independent assessment of the current and prospective situations on the ground in Iraq, the impact of those situations on the surrounding region, and their consequences for U.S. interests.

The Institute, as facilitator in collaboration with the Baker Center at Rice University, the Center for the Study of the Presidency, and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, provided scholarly and logistical support to the ISG. It maintained a management group headed by Institute vice presidents **Daniel Serwer** and **Paul Stares**, as well as by senior program officer **Paul Hughes** and director of special projects **Gary Matthews**. It organized external expert working groups that provided the ISG with the briefing papers and policy analyses that helped it reach its conclusions. It also coordinated the ISG's interviews with top U.S. and foreign officials and supported the group's trip to Iraq in the summer of 2006.



The Institute is the repository for the ISG's official report, titled *The Iraq Study Group Report: The Way Forward—A New Approach*, which was downloaded more than 1.5 million times from the Institute's website in the first two weeks after the launch of the report on December 6, 2006.

"The Institute's work in Iraq helped formulate options on the most pressing foreign policy question of our time," said Institute president **Richard Solomon**. "We are grateful to the many people who made our work possible, and to the Congress for entrusting us with this vital and delicate task." 🌐



Lee Hamilton, left, and James Baker explain the purpose of the Iraq Study Group to journalists at a press conference held at the Institute.

Focus On





Studying Iraq, the UN, and National Debate

By **J. Robinson West** and **Richard Solomon**

Every generation of Americans over the past century has confronted a major issue of war or peace that has roiled our national debate in the effort to build and sustain public support: whether to intervene in two world wars; how to deal with the Soviet challenge; the Vietnam war. Today, Iraq is such an issue. In the past, our national institutions of public policy formation—the electoral process, congressional debate, administration leadership, print and electronic media—have carried most of the burden of policy consideration and consensus building.

In the case of Iraq, over the past two years our formal public policy institutions became so polarized that efforts to build a national consensus deadlocked. It was in this situation that Congress asked the Institute of Peace to convene and facilitate a bipartisan and well-informed assessment of a way forward.

The Iraq Study Group was formally launched in mid-March 2006 at the urging of Congressman Frank Wolf (R-VA), chairman of the Institute's appropriating committee. As with his previous request that the Institute study the issue of reforming the United Nations (see *Peace Watch*, Vol. XI, No. 2), Wolf asked us to work with several other public policy institutions to support the deliberations of a bipartisan group of senior individuals with extensive experience and stature in national affairs. His mandate for the effort was to make a "fresh eyes," forward-looking assessment of how to deal with a challenging conflict with profound implications for American interests.

Our experience, after two such policy reviews, is that strong, credible, and bipartisan cochairs can lead an assessment process that will gain public confidence. The Institute's report on reforming the United Nations benefited from the effective leadership of former speaker of the House Newt Gingrich and former Senate majority leader George Mitchell. In the case of the Iraq Study Group, the assessment proceeded under the experienced direction of former secretary of state James A. Baker III and former congressman Lee H. Hamilton.

Over nine months, the Institute and its collaborating organizations supported the deliberations of ten prominent former public officials of both parties with wide experience in the executive, judicial, and legislative branches. These study group principals, in turn, were informed by four groups of experts with a broad range of views and a panel of retired senior military officers. These expert groups and the work of the principals were supported by members of the Institute's senior staff. (For details, see the Iraq Study Group's final report and the article in *Peace Watch*, Vol. XII, No. 2) The Institute's facilitation also drew on its own experience of three years of work on the ground in Iraq.

Expectations for the study group's policy recommendations were very high. The final report, written by the principals themselves and published on December 6 after the fall elections, gained wide domestic and international attention. More than 35,000 paperback copies were sold in the first month of publication, and there were more than 1.5 million downloads of the report from the Institute's website (as of the end of December). The report has helped to catalyze a vigorous national debate on the most difficult issues of how to stabilize a society deeply wounded by years of repressive and violent dictatorship, warfare, and ethnic and religious conflict.

The outcome of this debate, as of the time of this writing, is unclear. The administration conducted its own internal review of Iraq policy that was stimulated, in part, by the Iraq Study Group effort. The new Congress is continuing to conduct its own assessments through hearings and legislative debates informed by the study group report and testimony by some of its participants.

The Institute, in convening the Iraq Study Group at the request of Congress and by facilitating its deliberations, has managed another well-received bipartisan assessment of a major national issue of war and peace—in further fulfillment of its congressional charter to promote public understanding of the challenges of international conflict management and peacebuilding.

There likely will be more to come. 🌐

The Study Group's mandate was to take a "fresh eyes," forward-looking assessment.

Focus On



The Institute in Iraq

The Institute continues to provide an array of grants, training, and technical expertise to support Iraq's fledgling democracy and conflict resolution efforts. The Institute has been working with Iraqis since early 2004 to reduce interethnic and interreligious violence, advance stabilization and democratization, and reduce the need for a U.S. presence in the country. This initiative, which was made possible through a \$10 million appropriation from Congress in late 2003 and \$2.85 million in transfers from the State Department in 2005, draws upon the collective resources and integrated efforts of the Institute's research, education, and professional training programs.

As part of this initiative, the Institute developed a field office in Baghdad, which provides essential input and guidance to program development, as well as support for the implementation of these programs. The office also began the first series of Arabic translations of the Institute's publications.

The Institute has been involved in an array of other Iraq-related activities as well. In the field of preventing interethnic and interreligious violence, the Institute has trained a cadre of Iraqi government officials and civil society representatives who represent all of Iraq's major ethnic and religious groups to facilitate interethnic dialogues. The Institute has also targeted grants to promote and improve interethnic cooperation at the community level; for example, by developing educational materials and training programs that advance ethnic and religious understanding and tolerance [see Box]. Staff recently returned from facilitated workshops and conflict resolution training for more than 250 representatives of Kirkuk's four main ethnic communities.

Bringing Peace, One Neighborhood at a Time

On the ground in Baghdad, an Institute-trained and -funded facilitator and his organization intervened to reduce the escalating sectarian tensions among residents, who include Arab Shi'a, Arab Sunnis, Kurds, Christians, and Turkmen. Using techniques developed by the Institute in other conflict zones, the facilitator and his team are bringing together key groups, including commanders of the Mahdi Army, sheikhs from Shi'a and Sunni tribes, imams from local mosques, tribal chieftains, militia leaders, and government officials.

After lengthy debate and concerted mediation, the parties have agreed on a host of initiatives to reduce the threat of confessional or sectarian attacks. Almost immediately, these efforts resulted in a notable decrease in sectarian violence in the area. Surveys conducted by security officials in the neighborhood in the two months preceding the intervention recorded 67 kidnappings and 43 armed assaults on inhabitants leading to the death of the victims. Forty-five days later, security officials reported that there had been only four cases of kidnapping, two of which had failed. No armed attacks had been reported during this period, and twenty-seven terrorists had been arrested.

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Focus On



Institute

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The Institute has trained a cadre of government officials and civil society representatives representing all of Iraq's major ethnic and religious groups to facilitate interethnic dialogues.

The Institute has also worked extensively on **the Iraqi constitution**. In conjunction with the Iraqi parliament's Constitutional Committee, Iraqi civil society groups, community leaders, government officials, and the United Nations, the Institute has labored to maximize transparency and broaden public participation in Iraq's constitutional process. The Institute has placed a major focus on participation and empowerment of marginal and disadvantaged groups, including the disabled, women, and minorities. It has brought together representatives of such groups to press for constitutional human rights protections and to discuss their participation in the process.

The Institute has sought to promote **understanding and the practice of democracy** in Iraq at the community, regional, and national levels by supporting research, training, and educational projects in such areas as institution building. Recent grants have supported the development of Iraq's first women's radio station and have established a television program aimed at nurturing youth

participation in discussions about Iraq's political future.

To further support its efforts on democracy promotion, the Institute has worked aggressively in **colleges and universities**. It supports a broad transformation in the teaching of conflict resolution in higher education throughout Iraq; translates reports, books, and articles on conflict resolution into Arabic; and supports public education initiatives at Iraqi universities. In addition, it has conducted a series of faculty workshops to assist Iraqi educators in developing the knowledge base needed for the creation of democratic institutions and a healthy civil society.

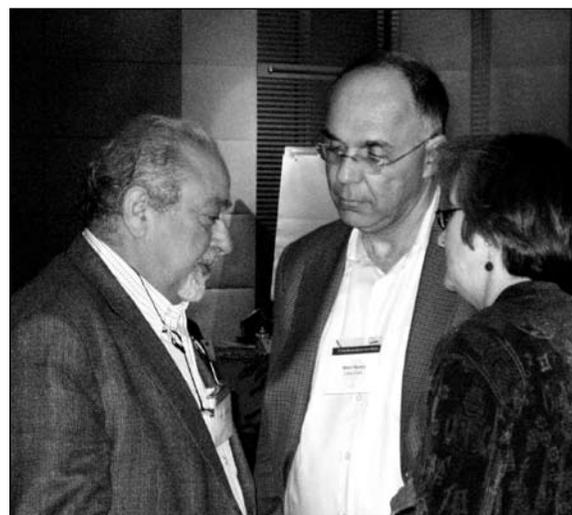
Just as important, the Institute has also focused on the national security officials responsible for providing professional continuity in the ministries of the new Iraqi government. Among the **senior officials** the Institute has trained are the Iraqi government spokesman and the judge who presided over Saddam Hussein's arraignment. Much of this training has involved use of the sophisticated computer-supported SENSE simulation, which teaches about how to build a strong and prosperous democracy following a bitter conflict. The Institute has enabled select Iraqi trainers to deliver SENSE and other training to their fellow citizens.

With the understanding that **Iraq's neighbors** will play a major role in determining its future, the Institute and Turkey's Center for Eurasian Strategic Studies convened a panel of high-level policymakers and leading foreign policy figures from Iraq and its six neighboring countries. (See "Iraq and its Neighbors," page 6 for more infor-

mation on the Marmara Declaration.)

Finally, the Institute has been working actively to inform the global public and policymakers about the challenges that face U.S. efforts in Iraq. It regularly convenes government and non-government officials, congressional staff, think-tank specialists, academics, and journalists to discuss key developments and policy issues in Iraq. Recent working group sessions have included expert panels on the Iraqi constitutional process, Kirkuk, the insurgency, and lessons learned from the Coalition Provisional Authority's experiences with security, governance, and reconstruction. 

The Institute supports a broad transformation in the teaching of conflict resolution in higher education throughout Iraq.



Ghassan Attiyah, Henri Barkey, and Judy Barsalou (USIP) at the Institute's "Iraq and its Neighbors" dialogue in Istanbul.



Oil, Profits, and Peace

In early March the Institute held a public discussion on the political economy of natural resources to launch a new book by former U.S. Institute of Peace senior fellow **Jill Shankleman**. *Oil, Profits, and Peace: Does Business Have a Role in Peacemaking?* examines how oil companies can contribute to the reduction of conflicts arising from resource extraction. The discussion, moderated by Institute Chair **J. Robinson West**, featured representatives from several sectors, including oil companies, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), and the U.S. Treasury.

Until recently, oil companies considered the socioeconomic consequences of their operations in developing countries to be beyond their control. But local conflicts complicate a company's relationship with local communities and present high risks of disruption to production. With the spiraling costs of conflict in production areas, growing interest in "corporate social responsibility," and mounting activist pressure at home, the oil industry must increasingly consider the impact of its operations on local conflicts

A consensus has emerged that oil companies need to be more transparent in their dealings with local and national governments.

and avoid practices that aggravate social or ethnic tensions.

Shankleman began her presentation by observing that little has been done systematically to collect and organize records of the experiences of Western oil companies operating in unstable regions. How does the oil industry work? What are the connections between oil and peacemaking? In the lead-up to the Iraqi War, for example, there was considerable discussion of the idea that the country's oil would bring almost immediate wealth and help underwrite its post-Saddam reconstruction. Yet very few developing countries have successfully managed their natural resources; the so-called "resource curse" means that many countries have seen corruption and mismanagement siphon off the riches while exacerbating local and ethno-regional conflicts.

A consensus has emerged that companies need to be more transparent in their dealings with local and national governments. The notion is that by making information about what they have paid and to whom publicly available, companies will give citizens of Third World countries the knowledge they need to hold their governments accountable.

Shankleman outlined a four-point proposal for companies seeking to do more:

- 1) Take responsibility for human rights and the environment.
- 2) Recognize the risks and take proactive efforts to prevent conflicts from emerging.
- 3) Involve other actors, such as the World Bank, the United Nations Development Programme, and NGOs.

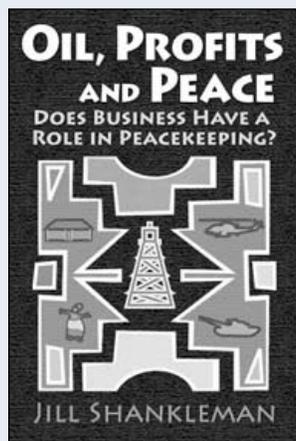
- 4) Go beyond risk management and become managers of the development process.

West argued that oil companies are constrained in what they can do. "There are more players," he said, "and they have less leverage than they used to." And while the big companies have some responsibility, the banking industry has so far escaped scrutiny. "The financial institutions have much more power," he continued, "and constituencies in Western nations and NGOs should work to crack open the books and get them to more effectively monitor corrupt dictators."

USIP Launches International Network to Promote Rule of Law

Saying that, "We need to stop reinventing the flat tire," senior program officer **Michael Dziejdzic** helped launch the International Network to Promote the Rule of Law (INPROL) at the Institute in March. INPROL is a consortium of practitioners promoting the rule of law in countries transitioning from war to peace. INPROL has two objectives, said Dziejdzic. "We are seeking to take lessons learned the hard way and turn them into lessons applied by practitioners in the field." The second objective "is to develop holistic solutions that span the many professions involved in sustaining the rule of law."

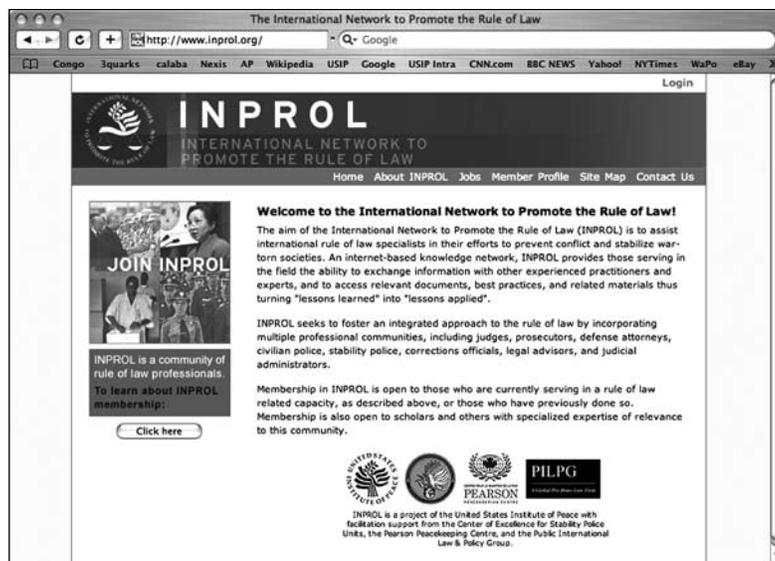
As an Internet-based network, INPROL enables those serving in the field to exchange information with other experienced practitioners and to access relevant documents, best practices, and related



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The INPROL site enables practitioners from around the world to share information about best practices in fostering the rule of law in countries emerging from conflict.

materials. **Alex Thier**, a senior adviser in the Rule of Law program who codirects INPROL at the Institute, noted, “I was one of those people sitting in an office (in Kabul) trying to figure out how to develop and codify rules of law. Bringing all this experience together on one network will be tremendously helpful.”

The network seeks to foster a holistic and integrated approach to the rule of law by incorporating all of the relevant professional communities, including judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, senior police officials, stability police commanders, corrections officials, legal advisers and monitors, and judicial administrators.

The INPROL website features sophisticated tools for compiling and disseminating relevant information. As a community of experts, it will provide forums to help INPROL members communicate directly with each other. “The focus is on creating a practitioner network,” said Thier.

INPROL has already provided its first proof of use. A young prosecutor seconded to the UN mission in Sudan was tasked with

drafting a Sudanese police act. “He queried us,” reported Thier, “and we were able to send him a consolidated response, with good and bad examples of laws drawn from Kosovo and elsewhere.”

Young People in War and Peace

Zlata Filipovich, who reluctantly achieved fame in 1994 as the author of the international best seller *Zlata's Diary: A Child's Life in Wartime Sarajevo*, spoke at the Institute in late January. Cohosted by the Institute and the International Crisis Group (ICG), the event focused on the roles youth can play in peacemaking and preventing conflict. The occasion featured Filipovich and **Melanie Challenger**, coeditors of *Stolen Voices: Young People's War Diaries, from World War I to Iraq*.

Ambassador **Donald Steinberg**—currently with ICG and a former Institute senior fellow—set the stage by painting a broad picture of how youth are experiencing war today across the globe. One million children worldwide have been orphaned by recent wars, he said. An additional two million children have died because

of war. Six million have been permanently physically maimed; ten million have been psychologically traumatized. As many as twenty million children have been displaced by war and now live far from home. And some three hundred thousand children actively participate as soldiers in wars raging in such places as Sri Lanka, Colombia, and Congo.

Behind these numbers, said Steinberg, are the faces. For him, many of those faces were Angolan, since he had served in Angola as ambassador in the 1990s. He recounted hearing a pretty, seemingly joyful ditty from a classroom of seven-year-old girls; the song, he later learned, was a mnemonic device to remind the girls never to step off a known path.

The United States, he reminded the audience, is one of only two nations that have refused to sign the Convention on the Rights of the Child; the other exception is Somalia. Nevertheless, Americans should engage in efforts to support the central concerns of children and mainstream them into the human rights dialogue.

Zlata and Melanie's presentations focused on the act of writing as a way of breaking down borders and engaging in the experiences of others. Said Zlata, “It was only

See *Short Takes*, page 16

“Young people can be a driving force pushing for freedom.”

—Yll Bajraktari



From left: Zlata Filipovich, Melanie Challenger, and Yll Bajraktari speak at an Institute-sponsored event on youth in zones of conflict.



Short Takes

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after I became famous that I realized the power that writing has. My story connected to someone else's story. This is an incredibly powerful way to connect to and empathize with other beings."

Melanie added, "We have a century of conflict behind us, and that is a long trail of narrative. Our book begins with the diary of a young girl as she begins to consider her girlhood in summer of 1914, unaware of the horrors that would shortly engulf the entire continent. It ends in 1918 with a plea that no one ever be forced to endure what unimaginable horrors she has had to—'never again,' she says."

The Institute's **Yli Bajraktari** concluded the discussion by emphasizing the possibilities that youth offer, rather than their tendency to be victims in such conflicts. "Young people can be a driving force pushing for freedom," he asserted. The challenge is to channel all this energy so that when a crisis erupts, the possibility is there to rally the forces and turn them away from violence.

The capacity crowd consisted of a large number of high school and college students from the Washington, D.C., area, as well as individuals involved in educational efforts. **David J. Smith**, of the Institute's Education program, moderated the event.

Nation Building: A Recipe Book

No budding political scientist who came of age in the late 1990s could complain about the lack of opportunities to study the likelihood of success in societies emerging from conflict. A recent Institute book, *The Beginner's Guide to Nation Building*, includes pieces by such heavyweights as **James Dobbins** and Representative **Sam Farr**. Drawing on practi-

cal experience, the panel emphasized that the success of future nation-building exercises depends on acquiring support from policymakers in Congress and the administration, applying lessons learned in the past, using common frameworks and doctrine for the future, and increasing civilian capacity, which remains sorely lacking.

In addition to objectives, successful missions require appropriate levels of resource commitments from the relevant agencies. Dobbins pointed out that missions often fail when "there is a discrepancy between the scale of one's ambitions and the scale of one's commitments." The United Nations is the default mechanism for most nation-building exercises because of its low cost structure, high success rate, and international legitimacy.

Several elements are standard to any nation-building mission. Success depends in large part on redirecting the energies of former combatants away from violent activities and integrating them within the newly formed structures. The mission must empower locals from day one. Otherwise, they will seek to compete for wealth and power through alternative mechanisms that can undermine the international community's stated goals.

The literature on nation building is overwhelmingly negative—it is largely about what not to do. As **Beth Cole**, a senior program officer in the Institute's Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations, stated, "The nuggets—the best practices—are hidden in a pile of debris. The search for best practices is akin to looking for that diamond ring that got trucked to a voluminous landfill." The Institute's framework will be used as the basis for a website that will promulgate lessons learned and best practices; it will also pro-

vide a basis for developing doctrine and a training curriculum.

Cole concluded the session on a high note: "If we have some kind of system for collecting lessons on an ongoing basis, a standardized framework, and an increase in capability seen with the civilian reserve.... I think we are almost there...and if we can put all those pieces together with adequate resources we are really on our way to mission success."

Bangladesh: Ignoring the Warning Signs?

Bangladesh has rarely drawn sustained international attention, argues Institute South Asia expert **Christine Fair**. Until 2005, few saw the country as a source of the Islamist militancy that has riven the South Asian region. But recent events are pushing that nation into the forefront of international attention, as Fair explained in a recent "On the Issues" feature on USIP's website.

Bangladesh has continued its steady slide away from democratic governance and toward increasing military rule. The current crisis began to unfold in late January 2007, when the head of the caretaker government, **Iajuddin Ahmed**, suddenly declared a state of emergency, postponed the scheduled January 22 elections, and then resigned. **Fakhruddin Ahmed**, a former World Bank official, replaced Iajuddin Ahmed as the head of the interim government and reconstituted the ten-person governing body. He pledged to hold elections as soon as possible but ordered the army to remain on the streets "in aid of the civilian administration" for as long as necessary during the emergency.

In the weeks after Fakhruddin Ahmed's assumption of power, it became clear that the Bangladeshi army was behind the change of government. "The army continues

“The bottom line is that no one—especially most Bangladeshis—wants to see Bangladesh become a place where Islamist militants can take refuge and act with impunity.”



A Bangladesh military guard checks his rifle during a street patrol in Dhaka, Bangladesh in April, 2004.

to dominate the political scene,” says Fair, “increasingly eroding both the appearance and the reality of democracy in Bangladesh.”

In January, some sixty thousand troops deployed throughout the country, ostensibly to maintain order. Since being deployed, the army has led a crackdown against ordinary criminals, criminal syndicates, and Islamist terrorists and their patrons. It has also arrested 139,000 people, including 160 senior politicians—16 of whom were former ministers—and businessmen under charges of corruption. The arrested politicians are affiliated with mainstream parties and the Islamist party, Jamaat Islami. Human rights advocates continue to express concern about the diminished rule of law, the prolonged emergency under which civil rights are suspended, mass arrests, expedited executions, and extrajudicial killings. Since the January 11 state of emergency was declared, seventy detainees have died in custody.

Attentive observers of Bangladeshi politics, however, have not

been surprised at recent developments, commented Fair. Today’s problems arise out of deep structural weaknesses in the Bangladeshi political structure. The leaders of the two political parties are both women—widows and daughters of former Bangladeshi leaders—and both have seen atrocities committed against their family members.

“There has been no history of healing, no reconciliation,” laments Fair. Politics has become a zero-sum game, with enormous wealth and power accruing to the winner. And with neither party able to gain a clear victory, Islamist parties have emerged as kingmakers. In fact, the Bangladesh National Party (BNP) came to power in 2001 because of its alliance with key Islamist parties. This was a powerful blow to Bangladesh’s commitment to secular democracy and disturbed some of its stalwart supporters.

Fair believes that most governments have been overly hopeful that the army will succeed in its stated objectives—to create an

independent electoral commission and anticorruption commission, reassert the independence of the judiciary, and promulgate a reasonably accurate voters’ list. In other words, they believe that the ends that the armed forces will achieve will justify the means—the abrogation of Bangladesh’s democracy. Those hopes may be misplaced. “Unfortunately, it is becoming increasingly clear that the army does not have a strategy for remedying the country’s political problems or for achieving an orderly exit from the political arena for itself.”

Special Report: Women in Stabilization and Reconstruction

It is widely recognized that women and young people are the primary victims of conflict. During war, women are displaced, subjected to sexual violence and HIV/AIDS by fighting forces, and must assume the caretaking role for children and the elderly. They are vulnerable to exploitation, abuse, sexual slavery, disease, and forced recruitment into armed groups. Yet, as the survivors of violent conflict, women must also bear the burden of reconstruction. They return to destroyed communities and begin rebuilding infrastructure; restoring and developing traditions, laws, and customs; and repairing relationships.

In recent months, the U.S. Institute of Peace, Women in International Security, the **Joan B. Kroc** Institute for Peace & Justice, and the Initiative for Inclusive Security have engaged a variety of stakeholders to promote the role of women in various stages of the peace process.

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Short Takes

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The Role of Women in Stabilization and Reconstruction is an outcome of that process. This U.S. Institute of Peace Special Report is based on a series of working group meetings held in 2005 and 2006. The publication presents a comprehensive list of recommendations to the U.S. government and highlights several critical action areas with the potential to significantly impact the protection and participation of women in postwar situations.

The working group urged the U.S. government to recognize the importance of women's inclusion in stabilization and reconstruction operations. Although advances have been made, initiatives, funding, and projects remain ad hoc; research and best practices have not been consolidated; and much depends on the individual knowledge, commitment, and insight of relevant staff at headquarters and in the field.

The report provides a comprehensive list of recommendations to the U.S. government and highlights several critical action areas. Among the recommendations are the following:

- Institutionalize an ongoing, at-the-ready capability within the U.S. government to enhance and protect the role of women in stabilization and reconstruction operations.
- Provide military and police forces and civilian staff with specialized training on gender sensitivity in advance of their deployment.
- Require all actors in a given stabilization and reconstruction operation to submit plans to ensure that women are part of the reconstruction process.

"We are not sitting back now, just because we have a woman president."
—Juanita Jarrett



The Institute's Dorina Bekoe (far left) moderates discussion about women and politics in Liberia with Lehmah Roberta Gbowee and Juanita Jarrett.

- Ensure women's participation and the adoption of a gender perspective in international interventions; cease-fire and peace negotiations; disarmament, demobilization, and reintegration (DDR); and security sector reform.

In a related recent event, women from Liberia and elsewhere discussed their experiences working toward peace in their war-ravaged nations. Among the speakers were **Leymah Roberta Gbowee**, Women Peace and Security Network Africa; **Juanita Jarrett**, Mano River Women's Peace Network; and **Waafas Ofosu-Amaah**, the World Bank. The Institute's **Dorina Bekoe** and **Carla Koppell**, of the Initiative for Inclusive Security, acted as joint moderators.

Liberian President **Ellen Johnson Sirleaf** has made it a priority to include women in Liberia's reconstruction. Women head the ministries of commerce, justice, finance, and youth and sports, as well as the Ministry of Gender and Development. They also are five of the fifteen county superintendents. Women were crucial in

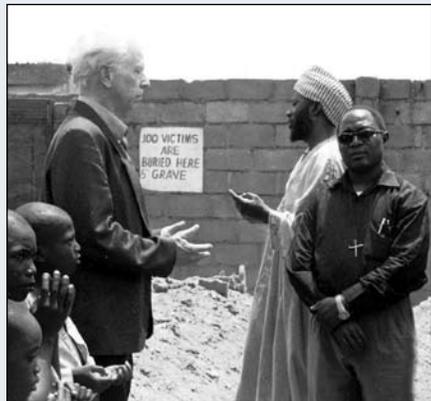
bringing peace to Liberia and are eager to aid the rebuilding effort.

The women at the panel spoke of the extraordinary work required to finally achieve "a seat at the table." It required mass mobilization, with women getting out on the streets with placards. Women broke into meetings held by generals and demanded to be heard. And it required "conscientization": that is, helping ordinary women realize that since they had a stake in their country—they had lost children, they had been raped, they suffered from AIDS—they deserved to have their voices heard.

Yet it is clear that much remains to be done. "We are not sitting back now, just because we have a woman president," said Juanita Jarrett. And indeed, it seemed clear that these formidable women were not likely to be stopped until a genuine and just peace obtains in Liberia—not only among the warring parties but also between the sexes. 🌐

Letter from Nigeria A Moment of Truth in Kwang Delima

By **Paul Wee**, Program Officer, Religion and Peacemaking



Paul Wee speaks with religious leaders in Nigeria, near the site of a mass grave.

Under a blazing-hot sun the people came from all directions, making their way laboriously through a wasteland of destroyed homes and stores, mosques and churches. They slowed as they came to a pile of charred wood that was once a market and stood quietly before the yellow banks of clay that contained the bones of hundreds of relatives and friends.

In spite of the somber surroundings, this was a colorful gathering: Muslim women in traditional dress, babies wrapped across their backs; Christians in bright scarves; village elders in turbans; teens in blue jeans; and groups of school-children with bright eyes, running about and talking.

I was slightly apprehensive as I walked among the crowd that had now assembled at the center of what was once the village of Kwang Delima, located in the barren countryside outside of Jos, the capital city of Nigeria's Plateau State. At the same time, I had a feeling of confidence because I was in the company of two people who were well known in this community: **Rev. James Wuye** and **Imam Muhammad Ashafa**, codirectors of the Interfaith Mediation Centre in Kaduna.

The centre had been established in 1995 after Wuye and Ashafa, once mortal enemies during the sectarian warfare in the early 1990s, were reconciled to each other. They decided to tap the resources in the

Muslim and Christian traditions for the work of peacemaking in Nigeria. Here in Kwang Delima—as well as in a growing number of communities that had felt the impact of their remarkable program—they had become known affectionately as “the pastor and the imam.”

The confidence I felt in their presence was short lived, however, when Imam Ashafa asked me to address the crowd on behalf of the U.S. Institute of Peace. Before I could respond, he handed me a microphone. There was little time to be nervous, but more than enough to lose my sense of confidence at the suggestion of speaking extemporaneously before such a disparate group. I remember regretting that, between conversation and stops for bananas and bottled water on the road from Abuja, I had not considered that such a moment might come.

After a long pause, I finally spoke the Arabic greeting often used by my Muslim colleague at the Institute, **Dr. Qamar-ul Huda**: “*Aslaam Alaikum*.” I repeated it in English: “The peace of God be with you.” Sensing acknowledgment from the crowd, I risked a question. “Could we say a prayer together?” I’m not exactly sure what I prayed for, but I felt lifted by a surge of hope amid this landscape of carnage and death.

When I had finished, something quite unexpected happened. A Muslim woman carrying a baby made her way toward me through the crowd. I remember her deep, penetrating eyes. Without a word, she handed her child to me. I was stunned by this gesture and pulled the child close, cradling it in my arms. For a split second I felt a sense of elation at what seemed to be a sign of trust.

But then the baby began to cry. Perhaps *scream* would be more accurate. The baby filled the marketplace with piercing cries, stretching its little arms desperately in the direction of its mother.

The people began to laugh. Soon the whole crowd was taken up in this little drama and was thrown into uproarious laughter: the children, the elderly men and

women, the Christians, the Muslims, the village elders and politicians, even the imam and the pastor. Relief came—for the baby and for me—when the mother reached out to take her baby back into her arms.

It was in this more relaxed atmosphere that I felt confident enough to tell a short story from the life of the Prophet Muhammad. I recalled that precarious moment in the early life of the movement when the Prophet’s followers were threatened with extinction at the hands of his enemies in the city of Mecca. Muhammad decided to send all his followers to Abyssinia, to be placed under the care and protection of the Christian king. When the danger passed, his followers returned to Mecca, there to form the nucleus of a people that vowed submission to Allah and to the mission of justice and peace. Muhammad expressed his profound gratitude for the hospitality afforded by the Christian king and encouraged his followers to live forever in harmony with the “children of the book”—Jews and Christians.

Later in the day the village elders met for three hours with the leaders of the women and the youth. They arrived at a momentous decision: The village of Kwang Delima would be rebuilt, beginning with the market. This time, however, there would not be two markets—one for Muslims, the other for Christians—but a single market that would serve the needs of the entire village. I was privileged to help carry the timber and raise the tin for the roof.

In the evening a meal was prepared; a Muslim elder and a Christian elder prayed; there was music and dancing. A public word of gratitude was expressed to the Interfaith Mediation Center of Kaduna and to the U.S. Institute of Peace of Washington, D.C. A tribute was also paid to the Institute’s vice president, **Dr. David Smock**, who had come to Kwang Delima two years earlier in the aftermath of the massacres to lend support to the successful efforts of the pastor and the imam in brokering a peace agreement. 🌍

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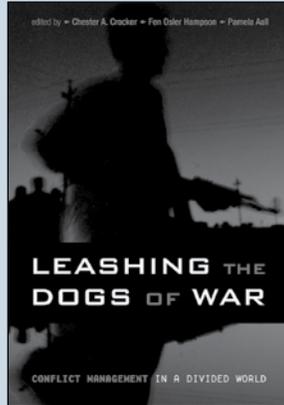
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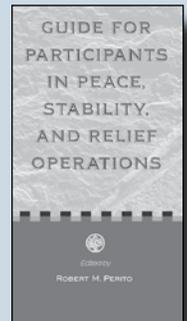
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