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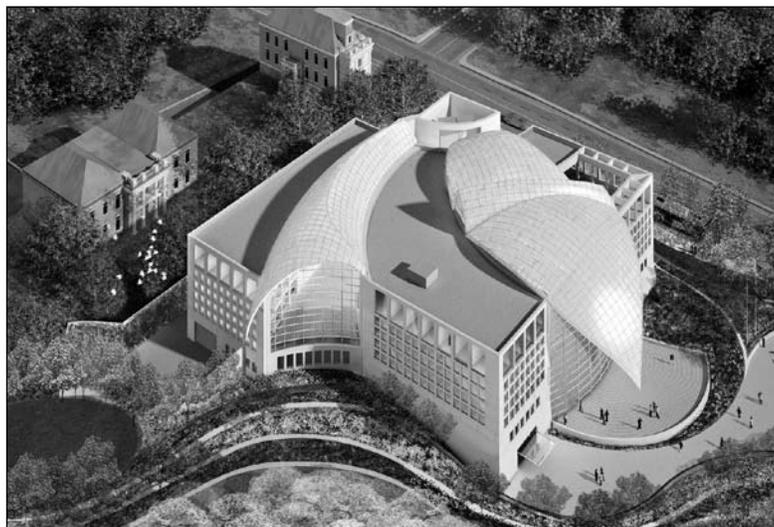
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USIP Expands Education and Training Center

Major Milestone in Professionalizing Conflict Management

Demand is high for the “test batch” of courses to be offered at the Institute’s new Education and Training Center (ETC). For a recent offering on conflict management, participants from Colombia, Bosnia, and Sudan paid their own way to Washington, D.C. Employees of several federal agencies also attended. “People flocked here,” said Pamela Aall, vice president for the ETC’s domestic programs.

The ETC was established in late 2007 to provide more targeted educational opportunities for professionals from all stakeholder groups involved in conflict management and peacebuilding. Its establishment marked a watershed in the Institute’s fulfillment of its mandate from Congress to provide “the widest possible range of education and training... to promote international peace and the



Artist’s rendering of USIP’s new headquarters facility, including the buildings for the Education and Training Center.

resolution of conflicts among the nations and people of the world.”

Course Offerings

Initially, 16 courses will be offered through the ETC. They will include a mix of theory and practice—with a heavy dose of applied exercises—including case studies, simulations, and practical and small group exercises. In addition, each course will include participants from a range of intellectual and professional backgrounds.

Four new ETC courses already have been piloted: Conflict Prevention; Peacemaking; Post-Conflict Stability Operations; and Combating Serious Crimes in Post-Conflict States.

An essential outreach vehicle for these courses will be distance learning via the Internet. In time, all ETC courses will have an online component to reach much broader domestic and overseas audiences. The course in conflict

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Education and Training Center

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“Billions of dollars are invested annually to sustain our warfare capacity. Why not a significant investment in peacefare? Improving conflict management skills is a good place to start.”

—Patricia Thomson

analysis is already offered in Arabic and will soon also be available in Russian, Chinese, Spanish, and Farsi.

Collaboration with Different Organizations

Recent experience in Afghanistan and Iraq has taught the U.S. hard lessons about countering unconventional security threats, the challenge of post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction, barriers to civil-military cooperation, and the gap between identifying and applying effective conflict management practices.

The U.S. military, ten civilian agencies, and dozens of non-governmental organizations (NGOs) are devoting staff and resources to post-conflict operations. These organizations

vary widely in the training they provide their personnel. No single entity offers joint training to reach the entire spectrum of practitioners that must collaborate in such missions, including NGOs and international organizations (IOs).

Experience also has taught that in addition to post-conflict work, the U.S. and the international community must work more effectively to staunch the outbreak of armed conflict and engage in effective crisis management and peacemaking when violence breaks out. Even less training exists for efforts in these areas.

According to Institute Executive Vice President Patricia Thomson, “A program was needed in which professionals from government, the military, NGOs, and IOs, as well as pre-professionals in the academic world, can come together and receive training on core conflict management skills, as well as best practices in conflict prevention, peacemaking, and state-building. That’s exactly the gap that we’ll be filling with the ETC.”

“There are a lot of agencies that are already interested in the types of courses we’re offering,” Aall added.

USIP has an established education and training program, and with the mobilization of the ETC, it will leverage 20 years of relevant experience, increase its portfolio of existing courses, and expand the number of students served.

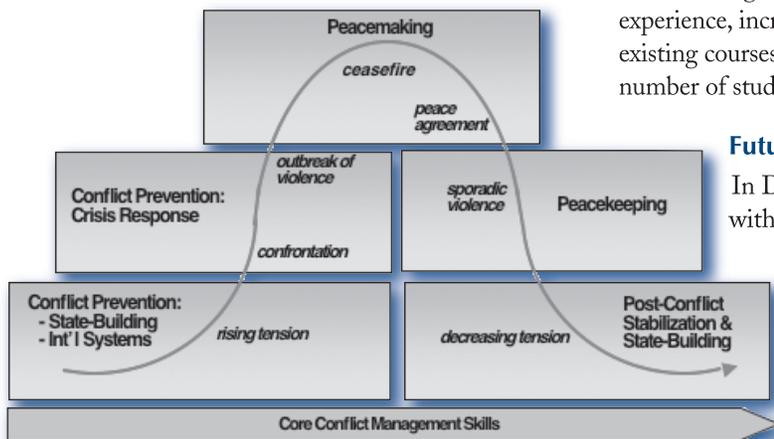
eventually house the education and professional training center. These structures are adjacent to the Institute’s future headquarters site at 23rd Street and Constitution Avenue. USIP is currently working with the Navy on move-in dates.

A major advantage of these buildings is their location, which is directly across the street from the State Department and easily accessible to the World Bank, the U.S. Agency for International Development, the Pentagon, and a number of NGOs and universities.

USIP’s Roots in Education and Professional Training

Since its founding, the Institute has always had a fundamental

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The courses offered at the Education and Training Center mirror the Institute’s mandate to work across all phases of conflict.

Future Location

In December 2007, with the backing of Congress, the U.S. Department of the Navy agreed to transfer to the Institute two buildings that will

Core Courses

- Introduction to Conflict Prevention Strategies and Operations
- Introduction to Peacemaking Strategies and Operations
- Introduction to Post-Conflict Strategies and Operations
- Sources of Conflict and Challenges to Global Security
- Negotiations, from Checkpoints to High Politics
- Third-Party Intervention and Mediation
- Peacebuilding Organizations and Institutions
- Cultural Adaptability in Peacebuilding Operations
- Management and Leadership in Peacebuilding Operations
- Building Local Capacity: Advising, Training, and Mentoring

Specialized Curricula

- Rule of Law
- Governance
- Economies and Peacebuilding
- Social Well-Being and Social Reform
- Religious, Ethnic, and Minority Engagement
- Building Safe and Secure Environments



Overcoming Rule of Law “Ad-hoc-cracy”

USIP’s International Network to Promote the Rule of Law (INPROL)



Some members of USIP’s INPROL team pose in front of the network’s server at USIP in Washington, DC: (l to r) Jill Parlett, Scott Worden, Mike Dzedzic, Leigh Toomey, Teuta Gashi and Josh Erdossy.

In early 2007, Sandra Day O’Connor made the first-ever posting on the “General Rule of Law” forum, the first Web space to be launched as part of the Institute’s International Network to Promote the Rule of Law (INPROL), which has quickly become one of the key efforts of USIP’s Rule of Law Center of Innovation. “Judges in transitional countries often face immense political and financial pressure to issue corrupt rulings,” she wrote. The former U.S. Supreme Court justice and INPROL Advisory Council member then asked her colleagues in the virtual community about measures available to safeguard against bribing judges.

The posting elicited a cluster of responses from around the world. A professor of law at Stockholm University stressed the need to examine the role of money laundering in this regard. Posting from Vietnam, the resident director of a grassroots legal development initiative pointed his colleagues to a Web-ready document on global best practices on the subject. From Islamabad, a specialist

in international development law commented that thorough disclosure of judges’ financial conduct is required in his region. And from Washington, D.C., a senior fellow at a legal organization directed fellow INPROL members to a host of links.

Overview

INPROL is distinct among Web-based initiatives centered on international policy. In many instances, Web sites and Web portals serve as virtual reflections of the institutions that they represent. In the case of INPROL, however, the USIP-sponsored and hosted Web portal is the institution.

The site features forums where members may send mission-related queries to expert facilitators from around the world who then develop responses based on input from INPROL members and documentary research. INPROL forums have been established for three intersecting communities: General Rule of Law, Police Commanders, and Stability Police. USIP facilitates responses for the General Rule of Law Forum,

while INPROL partners at the Pearson Peacekeeping Centre in Ottawa, Canada and the Center of Excellence for Stability Police Units in Vicenza, Italy, facilitate the other two communities. INPROL also includes a documents repository and a jobs board. The staff regularly circulates current issue alerts to members.

INPROL members represent 415 organizations from 75 countries. Members include judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, civilian police, stability police, corrections officials, legal advisers, judicial administrators, and academics. Membership is open to those who serve the field in a rule of law capacity, those who have previously served in the field, scholars, and others with relevant expertise. Applicants must be nominated by an INPROL member and can apply online.

Scott Worden, senior rule of law adviser and INPROL codirector, said, “The great thing about INPROL is that it’s a platform, but it’s also very flexible. It’s really a tool shaped by the members’ need.”

See *INPROL*, page 10



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Institute Mourns Elspeth Rostow

The U.S. Institute of Peace lost a great friend, strong supporter, and Board leader with the death on December 9, 2007, of Elspeth Davies Rostow. The former board member was the first woman appointed to the Institute's Board of Directors. She served as a board member from 1987 to 1995, as vice chair from 1989 to 1991, and as chair in 1991 and 1992.

Rostow, center, with board members Chester Crocker, left, and Father Ted Hesburgh, right, after a meeting of the board in 1991.



As a board member she was renowned for her ability to communicate relevant and penetrating analytical comments in remarkably few words. At the same time, she demonstrated a special sense of humor and was described by her daughter as "wickedly funny."

Colleagues' Tributes

John Norton Moore, first chair of the Institute's board, described

Rostow as "a great scholar and leader and in all regards a magnificent lady."

Ambassador Sam Lewis, president of USIP from 1987 to 1993, called Rostow "brilliant, wise, self-effacing, and delightful to be with. She brought to the Institute's Board much needed qualities during its early years, and to its chairmanship an extraordinary ability to harness big egos to their task of building this new, unique institution on a solid, enduring foundation. A fine scholar, outstanding teacher, and dedicated student of America's political culture, Elspeth made all those around her feel better about themselves and their nation. She leaves a very large hole in the sky."

Echoing Lewis's comments, Charles E. Nelson, the Institute's vice president and senior counselor, called Rostow "a very special friend—one with a tremendous sense of humor. You never knew when an unexpected punch line was going to come out."

Career

In addition to her service on the USIP board, Rostow had a distinguished career as an internationally renowned expert on foreign policy. She was dean of the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas from 1977 to 1983. Her career also included roles as the first woman faculty member at MIT; additional teaching at Barnard College, Sarah Lawrence College, Georgetown University, American University, and the University of Cambridge; and membership on both the President's Advisory Committee for Trade Negotiations and the President's Commission for



Rostow received the Texas Exes Distinguished Service Award at a 2005 University of Texas football game in front of a crowd of nearly 80,000.

(Photo: University of Texas/LBJ School of Public Affairs)

a National Agenda in the 1980s. In 1983–84, she lectured in 34 countries under the auspices of the Fulbright Program and the U.S. Information Agency.

Until her death, Rostow served as Stiles Professor Emerita in American Studies and Professor of Government at the LBJ School.

She served as board chair during a major part of the first Gulf War in 1991. In that role, she helped lead the way for Congress to substantially increase the Institute's funding in support of a special Middle East initiative. This was the first of such special Institute programs, with subsequent efforts in the Balkans, Iraq, and the Philippines.

In a 2006 interview, reflecting on the end of the Cold War, she said, "The destruction of the Berlin

See *Rostow*, page 10

Rostow remained a vibrant and committed scholar and educator until her passing.

(Photo: University of Texas/LBJ School of Public Affairs)





Dialogues of Peace in Islam

USIP Coordinates American Muslim Scholars' Visit to Iran

Mohammed Abu-Nimer highlighted the intricate layers of conversation with his Iranian hosts. “They see the American [side of us],” explained the USIP Jennings Randolph fellow, “and they don’t go beyond that. It takes about 15 minutes to tell them, ‘We’re not only American, but we’re also Muslim. We’re not only Muslim American, we’re also interested in peace and conflict resolution.’”

Abu-Nimer, along with USIP Senior Program Officer Qamar-ul Huda and a group of American Muslim scholars, made a ten-day visit to Iran in late 2007 to explore concepts of peacebuilding in the Islamic tradition. This delegation’s visit to Iran was organized by USIP’s Center of Innovation in Religion and Peacemaking. The visit also tied into the efforts of the Institute’s Iran Working Group.

The Americans discovered that beneath the prevailing frigidity of bilateral relations between the two countries, a wellspring of intellectual ferment and yearning to communicate with the West exists on the part of the Iranian intelligentsia. “We asked about the recipes of peace that exist within

their institutions,” Huda said. “I found it very interesting in their responses that religious scholars were advocates for preserving and securing the human rights of Iranian citizens.”

Huda highlighted a prevailing sense of national introspection in Iran that runs counter to stereotypes of that country in the U.S. “The discussions eclipsed and possibly countered the negative Western media images of mullahs dictating every thought and movement of Iranians. Rather, the delegation discovered an immense degree of self-criticism and reflection,” Huda said.

Ayse Kadayifci-Orellana, from American University, commented on her experience as the sole woman delegate. Recalling that she often covered up fully in public audiences, she told of her surprise that quite often she was the most covered, conservative-looking woman around in her “long Saudi outfit.” “It was surprising for me to see women very vocal,” she said. She mentioned the “very interesting dynamic” that a majority of students were women and emphasized her equal treatment as a woman throughout the trip.

Tehran

The delegation’s initial meeting was a conference at Tehran’s Shahid Beheshti University on “Dialogues of Peace in Islam.” The American delegates presented their work and activities on conflict resolution and peacemaking and their roots in the Islamic tradition.

According to Huda, who has worked as a professor of comparative religion, the student attendees, who spoke Western languages

“[T]he delegation discovered an immense degree of self-criticism and reflection.” —Qamar-ul Huda

with ease, were sophisticated and intellectually vigorous in their respective fields. Law, sociology, and history students—both undergraduate and graduate—shared their knowledge of Western authors and grasp of contemporary thought.

In a meeting with the Islamic Commission on Human Rights in Tehran, the group learned about its substantial ongoing activities to protect the human rights of Iranians, including children, women, laborers, and citizens.

“We learned a great deal from this commission and this unlikely aspect of civil society in Iran,” Huda recalled. “If there’s a fatwa that they feel is against some human rights issues, they have the ability to produce counter fatwas,” Kadayifci-Orellana observed, describing the commission’s roots in Islamic jurisprudence.

At the Academy of Sciences and Humanities in Tehran, the Americans met the “cream of the crop” of Tehran’s intelligentsia, Huda said. “We had a lively debate about peace and conflict resolution in terms of issues of individual rights and how governments treat their citizens.”

See *Iran*, page 12



Grand Ayatollah Yousef Sanei has been a longtime staunch critic of the Iranian government.

Delegation visit to the UNESCO Chair office at Shahid Beheshti University, Tehran.



Grand Ayatollah Mousavi Ardebili





SnapShots

Institute-Facilitated Islamabad Conference Develops Core Skills Among Current and Future Women Leaders

That's a man's job!" exclaimed the young Pakistani woman's parents when she told them her wish to become a civil engineer. They wanted her to be a doctor.

However, she pursued a different course of action. Instead of enrolling in medical school, which her parents thought she had done, the aspiring young professional passed the requisite exams and matriculated in the civil engineering college. She received excellent marks first semester. It was only then that she told her parents that she planned to be an engineer—and won their support.

This is just one story about successful Pakistani women that emerged in a recent USIP-facilitated seminar on women's leadership in Islamabad. The workshop focused on strengthening participants' leadership skills such as recognizing different conflict styles, how gender issues affect negotiation, and how female negotiators can maximize their effectiveness in Pakistani society. Another major discussion was on gender and conflict.

USIP partnered with Pakistan's Sustainable Development Policy Institute (SDPI) to bring about the event. This was the second such training session USIP has facilitated with SDPI. Another training is planned for May 2008.

This training and these skills are critical for Pakistani women



Participants outside of SDPI headquarters in Islamabad.

because they often come from disadvantaged backgrounds. Social stigmas have barred them from equal career opportunities with men. In Pakistan, literacy rates among women are less than half than those of men.

Overall Impressions

Approximately 30 women participated, ranging from their early twenties to early sixties, from cities across Pakistan. Their careers spanned academia, medicine, NGOs, civil service, media and other fields. All were leaders in their organizations and sought to improve skills to achieve their professional goals more effectively.

Age diversity was a key factor among the women. The older participants, who had pushed to get ahead in their careers, encouraged the younger ones. Another common theme of discussion was the "marriage versus education" dilemma, in which young women must postpone marriage in order to pursue an education.

As comfortable as they were inside the seminar, obstacles

loomed for the participants within greater Pakistani society. The women reflected on the differences between the open and accepting dynamic of the workshop where participants respected and supported each other, and the general disapproving attitude of the society toward women professionals.

Lasting Impact

This training has the potential to impact participants' lives in a number of areas. The participants can rely on each other for support networks in a traditionally male-dominated society. The workshop helps them to understand that, although they cannot control currents in society around them, they can control their responses to criticism. Older women who have faced challenges in Pakistani society can mentor younger participants. Exercises in the workshop showed that when people work collaboratively within teams, the results are more beneficial than just working on an individual basis. 🌐



A “Postmortem Long Overdue”

USIP Author Roy Gutman Reflects on Pre-9/11 U.S. Policy Failures in Afghanistan



Journalist Roy Gutman awaits incoming stories from around the world in his Washington, D.C., office.

Roy Gutman leaned across his desk and peered over the rims of his glasses to emphasize his point. “Has anybody else ever written about Mullah Niyazi? There’s nothing about the guy!” exclaimed the vivacious foreign editor for the McClatchy newspaper service.

Surrounded with books, journals such as the *Harvard Law Review*, and special reports on Afghanistan and terrorism, Gutman’s thoughts were a world away from his Washington, D.C. office. “Mullah Niyazi is one of the most interesting criminals to escape the attention of the world that I’ve ever come across. He was a governor. He was a killer. He was a Taliban,” said Gutman, who wrote about Niyazi in *How We Missed the Story: Osama bin Laden, the Taliban, and*

the Hijacking of Afghanistan, which was published by USIP Press recently.

When the Taliban overran the northern Afghan city of Mazar-i-Sharif in 1998, Mullah Manon Niyazi, the Taliban-appointed governor of the city, presided over an episode of gruesome barbarism. Taliban soldiers ferociously attacked members of non-Pashtun ethnic groups in the city.

“They seized hospitals and shot the wounded. They set up roadblocks to prevent city dwellers from fleeing and bombed and strafed those who escaped. People who were trying to bury corpses were shot. And that was only the first day,” writes Gutman. On the second day of Niyazi’s governorship, he used radio stations and mosque pulpits to sanction the killing of

the Shia minority in the city. Gutman writes that Niyazi declared, “If you oppose us, think of the dead people in the street that you’ve seen. The same will happen to you.”

“I think the fact that nobody has ever really collected a dossier on Niyazi over ten years later is a real shame,” lamented Gutman. “He really deserves to be the target of capture.”

The story of Niyazi is one of many riveting episodes in Gutman’s new book. In a recent conversation with *PeaceWatch*, Gutman discussed the book’s origins, challenges in writing it, and the current challenging policy situation the U.S. faces.

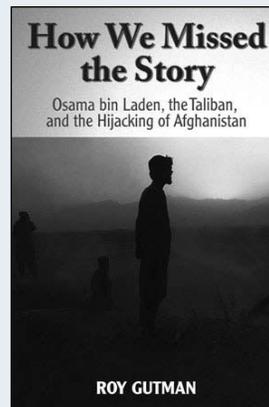
“I happened to have been fascinated by Afghanistan since the day the Russians invaded,” said Gutman, who wrote extensively about the country during the 1980s.

See *Gutman*, page 14

How We Missed the Story

Osama bin Laden, the Taliban, and the Hijacking of Afghanistan

Roy Gutman



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“I think the fact that nobody has ever really collected a dossier on Niyazi over ten years later is a real shame. He really deserves to be the target of capture.” —Roy Gutman



“The Sheikh of And Other Tales from USIP Civic

Today is not an electricity day,” the guesthouse guard said to Linda Bishai and Jacki Wilson. The announcement was a stark reminder to the two Education and Training Center specialists of the reality of life in the central Sudan city of Dilling. Bicycles and donkey carts outnumber cars in the town, which is eleven hours by car or bus from the bustling capital of Khartoum.

Although generators were available, they were used only sporadically in the heat of the afternoon. “With bright sun outside, we really didn’t need lights anyway,” Bishai explained.

Bishai and Wilson were in the Nuba Mountain town as part of a series of USIP citizenship and conflict resolution skills training programs throughout the country. Such education is critical in Sudan, where people have not voted since

“In Sudan, access to power now seems to come to those who wield the weapons, which causes concern to people who crave real democracy.” —Jacki Wilson

1986. The few elections the Sudanese have experienced resulted in unstable governments that were soon overcome by military coups. Thus, the Sudanese remain largely unfamiliar with constitutional transitions of power.

The legacy of the North-South conflict in the country, coupled with the continuing violence in Darfur, compound the situation. Sudan is burdened with more than six million internally displaced persons (IDPs), the largest number in any single country.

The transition to a democratic, representative government has been bedeviled by lingering complexities

in implementing the North-South peace accord. This situation also serves as a barrier for future peace agreements. “In Sudan, access to power now seems to come to those who wield the weapons, which causes concern to people who crave real democracy,” Wilson said.

Despite such obstacles, USIP has worked in Sudan for four years to build conflict resolution capacity and strengthen civil society initiatives. This most recent initiative focused on building civic participation and social cooperation through a variety of civic education workshops, theater sketches, and film screenings in Dilling, Khartoum, and Nyala (in Darfur). A key aspect of the trip was assessing citizens’ interest in reconciliation mechanisms practiced in other countries.

Civic Education Workshops

In Khartoum, Bishai and Wilson facilitated two workshops on strengthening citizenship skills among civil society and university students. The first session brought together a diverse audience of teachers, education administrators, civil society activists, and media experts, in addition to a brief session with primary school children from the Sudan Children’s Parliament. Students from area universities took part in the second session.

These workshops generated unintended discussions on a number of aspects of the troubled state of schools in the country. A particular

Noted dramatist Mohammed Sharif, the “Sheikh of Creativity,” participates in the civic education seminar with a young Sudanese woman.





Creativity”

Education Project in Sudan

challenge in this regard is the focus on Arab-Muslim identity. Students who do not come from this background are “taught from a curriculum that doesn’t seem to reflect their view of the world or generate hopes for the future. This has never been remedied,” Bishai said.

Furthermore, some Khartoum youth participants had classes of 60 or more students, but were squeezed into classrooms containing 15 seats. Bishai and Wilson were surprised to hear that such a situation could be found in the capital city where most of the nation’s resources and wealth are concentrated. “Although the university infrastructure in Khartoum presents challenges, it is world-class compared to what they have in other cities,” Bishai remarked.

One of the key methods in this training was to ask the students to practice decision making and discuss leadership, both elements of democracy they are eager to embrace. After the seminar, participants concurred that civic education should be relevant to daily life and should focus on creating a positive link between the government and its citizens.

The second workshop brought students together to learn conflict resolution and citizenship skills in preparation for the transition to democracy required under the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) between the North and the South.

The exercises included decision making, problem solving, and examination of conflict styles. Overall, the youth were “very engaged and easy to work with,” recalled Bishai, to the point that one student was so involved in a role-play exercise that his colleagues had to loudly and collectively speak to have their own voices heard.

In Dilling, Bishai and Wilson facilitated a conflict resolution workshop for local sheikhs, omdas (traditional leaders) and civil society members. Localized conflicts over water usage and other resource-based conflicts were the focus of the discussion. The 25 participants had traveled to Dilling from surrounding areas to participate in a “road to democracy exercise.” In this exercise, obstacles, wrong turns, and benefits to democracy were mapped out in small working groups and then discussed. Such challenges were placed in a Sudanese context, including illiteracy, ethnic intolerance, and military dictatorship. The participants charted their course with markers on large maps. Thorny public policy issues, such as proper allocation of resources, were also addressed.

In Nyala, Bishai and Wilson coordinated with the U.N. Mission in Sudan to offer a workshop for paralegals and legal professionals. The participants were drawn from the local legal community and the paralegal center working at the Kalma IDP camp. A key exercise



Children’s Parliament at the civic education seminar in Khartoum.



Voter education play at the civic education seminar in Khartoum.



The “democracy map” exercise in Nyala, Darfur.

for this group was a simulation of a chieftaincy dispute, in which participants took on a variety of roles in the community. The choice was between an established village elder and a younger candidate. In the end, the participants decided to create a two-track chieftaincy with the younger candidate being the executive and the older candidate serving as an adviser.

Dr. Abdel Mitaal Girshab, founder of the Institute for the Development of Civil Society, the
See *Sudan*, page 13

USIP Interactive



- View these and other photos of Wilson and Bishai’s trip: www.usip.org/pw2008/sudan
- Order “Confronting the Truth:” <http://bookstore.usip.org>



Rostow

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Wall in November 1989 followed by the implosion of the Soviet system in August 1991 were momentous events, the consequences of which were difficult to understand at the time.”

She recalled her anticipation that the Soviet Union might fall apart. “Thanks to conversations with [husband and prominent economist] Walt Rostow on the subject,” she said, “I recognized ... the [coming] collapse of the Soviet economy and the consequential impending collapse of the Soviet Union.”

The legacy of the Cold War again came to light during Rostow’s tenure on the USIP Board. In 1995, the Institute published the Novikov Telegram, a 1946 Soviet assessment of U.S. foreign policy that was considered a seminal document for the origins of the Cold War.

In the wake of this development, under Rostow’s leadership the Institute convened a conference that included Walt Rostow and prominent historian Arthur Schlesinger on the causes of the Cold War outside of Moscow. According to Rostow, a key result of the meeting was the opening up of Soviet archives to foreign scholars.

Rostow left an irreplaceable legacy to the Institute as a pioneer, visionary, and scholar. Her sage guidance and steady leadership will be missed. 🌐

INPROL

continued from page 3

Mike Dziedzic, senior program officer in the Center for Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations and INPROL codirector, emphasized that the network “really does reflect an international viewpoint, and not one national or parochial interest.”

Another cornerstone of the site, according to INPROL Rule of Law Facilitator and Iraq and Afghanistan Research Director Leigh Toomey, is the ability of members to communicate directly and privately on topics of common interest.

Interest in INPROL is growing rapidly. Membership more than doubled from less than 300 at INPROL’s launch in March 2007 to 780 in February 2008. The number of visitors per month jumped from 457 at the site’s launch to 850 in December. According to Worden, the group anticipates a membership of 2,000 to 3,000 practitioners in the future. “We certainly expect it to grow quite a bit more than where it currently is,” he said. “This is a fantastic and really unparalleled networking opportunity with rule of law specialists,” Toomey observed.

Origins

USIP developed INPROL for two primary reasons. First, in areas where international specialists were working to establish rule of law programs, there was a lack of retained institutional knowledge about such initiatives. Moreover, post-conflict areas such as Afghanistan were beset with high rates of turnover from international staff.

This turnover produced gaps in institutional memory and knowledge transfer. “Reinventing the flat tire” was commonplace since specialists lacked access to

the lessons that their predecessors had already learned. A second element driving the establishment of INPROL was the need to focus competent, trained rule of law specialists across various disciplines, including judges, prosecutors, and police, on pressing rule of law challenges in post-conflict countries.

Furthermore, the international community had no preexisting method to successfully capture lessons learned in the field. “It was totally ad hoc,” Dziedzic explained. “It’s the ‘ad-hoc-racy’ that INPROL is intended to correct.”

“It’s the ‘ad-hoc-racy’ that INPROL is intended to correct.”

—Mike Dziedzic

In 2001, Dziedzic proposed establishing a knowledge-sharing network to transfer lessons learned from one rule of law field mission to the next. USIP staff began by assisting the U.N.’s Department of Peacekeeping Operations in developing its own internal network. The Institute also contacted specialists from the World Bank, the European Union, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and other organizations with similar knowledge bases to gather background on how INPROL should function.

Successes

One strong example of INPROL’s networking power came when a legal specialist in Afghanistan posted that the country was in the early stages of creating a national legal training center. The practitioner wanted to know what other programs worldwide

“This is a fantastic and really unparalleled networking opportunity with rule of law specialists.” —Leigh Toomey

might offer lessons for such an undertaking.

After the initial query, the INPROL rule of law facilitator wrote to specialists worldwide soliciting documents, such as charters and regulations, that had been used in establishing such a training center. INPROL members responded enthusiastically, providing documentation and lessons learned from their experience working on similar issues.

In one response, a senior official in justice reform at the World Bank suggested that the experience of a legal training center in Mongolia could provide useful background information. A key figure at the USAID Mission in Kosovo suggested that his colleagues in Afghanistan look into the work of the Academy for Judicial and Prosecutorial Training in Macedonia. A representative of the legal branch of the U.N. mission in Liberia pointed out that the country was developing a similar legal Training entity.

When INPROL team members later met the staff in Kabul who had submitted the query, they mentioned how helpful the site had been, particularly in providing examples of how other legal training institutes had been established in a variety of countries at different stages of development.

Another example of INPROL's success came in early 2007 when the U.N. was helping the government of South Sudan draft a law

to specify police powers. The legal specialist who was deployed to the region solicited help from INPROL. The responses to the post included recommendations on materials and experiences from Kosovo, East Timor, and neighboring African countries. The specialist later met INPROL staff in Afghanistan and said that INPROL had provided an essential service in assisting him to complete the task and that he hoped to use INPROL again in confronting challenges in his new post in Afghanistan.

Future Directions

INPROL staff have formed collaborative relationships with such leading international entities as the Folke Bernadotte Academy of Sweden, the International Bar Association, the International Corrections and Prisons Association, and the International Legal Assistance Consortium.

"The fact that they've agreed to work with INPROL is explicit recognition of the value of this service," Toomey said. Further agreements are currently being negotiated with other leading organizations in the rule of law area.

Dziedzic also reflected on the future of the network. "We anticipate working closely with the U.N. Department of Peacekeeping Operations and the new Assistant Secretary General for Rule of Law, Dmitry Titov, as well as continuing to develop our working relation-

ships with the EU, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and the African Union," he said. "Those will be our primary customers." 

Education and Training Center

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education and training mandate from Congress. In 1994–95, the Institute started its first active professional training program. A key initiative at the time was a capacity-building effort with Cambodians, whose country was emerging from decades of civil strife and training U.S. military personnel in peace operations.

Related efforts designed to attract students to careers in international affairs included the National Peace Essay Contest for high school students, and programs for high school teachers and university faculty. In the early 1990s, the Institute expanded its education and training work to include programs to train practitioners in conflict management skills.

In 1999, USIP President Richard Solomon made a request to then Board Chairman Chester Crocker to examine how USIP could better position itself in the larger education and training world. The result was the concept for a training center that would fulfill the vision of a national academy. Thomson and Aall took up the challenge of transforming concept to reality. Support from Congress for training civilians to complement the work of the military in places like Iraq and Afghanistan gave momentum to the effort. "Billions of dollars are invested annually to sustain our warfare capacity. Why not a significant investment in peacefare? Improving conflict management skills is a good place to start," Thomson said. 

USIP Interactive

Explore INPROL: www.inprol.org



The screenshot shows the INPROL website homepage. At the top, it says "INPROL INTERNATIONAL NETWORK TO PROMOTE THE RULE OF LAW". Below that, there are navigation links: Home, About INPROL, Jobs, Member List, Site Map, FAQ, Contact Us. The main content area features a "JOIN INPROL" button and a "Welcome to the International Network to Promote the Rule of Law!" message. The text describes the network's aim to assist international rule of law specialists and provides information on membership. A "Click here" button is located at the bottom of the page.



View of Isfahan and the surrounding landscape of central Iran.

Qom: An Iranian Intellectual Center

The delegation next traveled to Qom, a city known as a center of Shiite higher education for both theology and liberal arts.

At the al-Hauza al-Ilmiyya (The Seminary of Knowledge), one of the city’s preeminent theological institutions, Shia scholars presented to the Americans their perspective on just-war theory, and used textual sources, historical evidence, and religious ethics to stress the importance of engaging with all leaders in order to create a peaceful world.

Huda observed that these scholars view themselves as sustaining a rich intellectual tradition that respects others while being open to outside research and debate. Many of the theologians had already reached the status of ayatollahs, a rank attained through years of study. They held



Delegates at the courtyard of the Grand Mosque of Isfahan.

“They’re really seasoned into those two worlds: the Islamic Shiite world and the Western world.” —Mohammed Abu-Nimer

doctorates from Western universities and spoke two or three Western languages.

Abu-Nimer commented on the Iranians’ command of inter-religious subjects. “I was amazed at the level of command these scholars had of works from Christianity,” he said. “It was clear that they wanted American Muslim scholars to remember the extent of shared histories that exists between Islam and Christianity. They’re really seasoned into those two worlds: the Islamic Shiite world and the Western world.”

Mofid University in Qom offers a cosmopolitan “liberal arts education” for Iranians, Huda observed. It is also highly prestigious, as it receives over 25,000 applications for less than 1,600 slots annually.

The Mofid University Vice-Provost, Dr. Nasser Ghorbannia, opened a university symposium with the delegation stating, “There are accusations that peace, equality, and fairness are not compatible with the Islamic tradition. We must address these statements. However, as Muslims, we need to deal with these issues seriously and simultaneously engage in intrafaith dialogue to find common ground amongst ourselves. We need to recognize human dignity and equality.”

Huda noted that at Mofid University, students are deeply committed to using artistic expression, including film and poetry, to counter both “Islamophobia” outside of Iran and authoritarianism within their own country. The city’s long tradition of intellectual debate supports such vibrancy.

In Qom, the delegation also held personal meetings with Grand Ayatollahs Vahid Kho-

rasani, Mousavi Ardebili, and Yousef Sanei, who have held public office and remain influential in Iranian religious and political spheres. The three represented different positions across the political spectrum, from conservative to reformist.

Khorasani spoke to the Americans about the majestic presence of the divine in all living creatures. Grand Ayatollah Ardebili, the former head of the Iranian judicial system and founder of Mofid University in the 1980s, stressed the importance of not losing focus on establishing peace.

Sanei is a popular scholar, activist, jurist, and philosopher known as a staunch reformist. In his talk with the delegation, he vociferously stated his opposition to suicide bombing, religious extremism, terrorism, and fundamentalist movements. “Those who use religious texts to defend violence are abusers of the faith,” he declared.

These encounters, according to Huda, were in contrast with common notions in the U.S. of ayatollahs as “stern, unapproachable figures.” “They listened to each and every word of our questions, and responded very carefully. It wasn’t a monologue,” he said, “It was a real dialogue.”

Interactive



- View these and other photos of the Iran trip: www.usip.org/pw2008/iran
- Listen to a USIP event on the delegation in Iran: www.usip.org/events/2007/1120_iran_peace.html
- Read Dr. Huda’s complete trip report: www.usip.org/events/2007/huda_iranreport.pdf
- USIP’s Iran Policy Forum: www.usip.org/iran/



A mural commemorating the Iran-Iraq war.

Isfahan

In Isfahan, the delegates presented at a three-hour panel on peace discourse in Islam. More than 400 students, lawyers, and community members packed the auditorium. Huda explained that many expressed their desire to know more about American culture, Muslims in America, and ways to diffuse the current crisis in relations between the two countries. “They told us that such a conversation has not existed at university. They loved to hear an interdisciplinary approach based in Islamic tradition.”

Huda and Abu-Nimer headed the delegation, sponsored by USIP and Salam Institute for Peace and Justice, in Washington, D.C. The other delegates were Kadayifci-Orellana; Karim Douglas Crow, a research scholar based in Singapore; Abd al-Hayy Michael Weinman, professor of psychology and peacemaking at the University of New Mexico; and his wife Latifa Weinman, researcher and public health specialist. Professor Reza Eslami Somea, UNESCO Chair in Human Rights at the Faculty of Law at Shahid Beheshti University in Tehran, hosted the Americans. 🌐

Sudan

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Institute’s local partner for these programs, facilitated and served as cotrainer in the Khartoum workshops.

Theater

One of the most effective tools for working on CPA issues in Sudan has been a voter education play, which Bishai commissioned. Noted Sudanese dramatist Mohammed Sharif, known to his friends as the “sheikh of creativity,” wrote and acted in the play. Sharif was a critical component in the success of the

Khartoum workshops. His dynamic and engaging personality animated the participants, especially the students. “He’s a performer, right to the bone. But he also really believes in democratic transformation. He has a hopeful message,” Bishai observed.

One of the themes in the play was about free choice in the upcoming elections. One sketch featured a local mayor threatening to use force against a popular and upstanding opposing candidate. The actors in the play decided to vote with their conscience and reject the threats of the entrenched official, which resulted in their own candidate winning.

In the discussion after the play, one observer expressed fear that the Sudanese cannot really vote their conscience as the reactions of those in power can bring serious consequences. “Who will protect us?” the audience asked Sharif. He replied that you have to do what you believe in, to have hope for the future.

“Confronting the Truth” Screening

In Khartoum and Nyala, Wilson and Bishai showed the USIP-sponsored film *Confronting the Truth*, which focuses on truth commissions in four different countries. The film provoked differing responses. After the Khartoum screening, the audience denied that such human rights violations could take place in Sudan. Later, it became clear to them that Northern and Southern Sudanese could benefit from some reconciliation initiatives. In Nyala, one of the participants started crying during the film. Viewers also requested more information about truth commissions generally and discussed the appropriateness of such a process for Darfur or Sudan.

Reflections

Obstacles to travel challenged Bishai and Wilson in the country. The reliability of flight times was

questionable, and travel by car or bus was impractical. Permission to travel to various areas was uncertain, and red tape further hindered movement.

Yet the opportunity to assist the Sudanese with civic participation was uplifting. “They crave the knowledge that someone is thinking about them, trying to help them,” reflected Bishai.

Added Wilson, “Sudanese local civil society members inspire you because of their commitment to democracy. They are so anxious to learn and experience the full spectrum of democracy.”

Wilson and Bishai provided some overall perspectives on their experience in Sudan. One is the unfamiliarity of democracy for most people. “Democracy is a concept to them something like feudalism is to us,” Bishai said. “They understand it intellectually, but they honestly don’t know what it feels like.”

Wilson reflected on the dynamic between citizens and national leaders and the maturing of civil society. “The key to a democratic society is a two-way relationship between citizens and leaders. If citizens don’t understand their role or play their role actively, the government can operate without the necessary guidance from its citizens. The responsibility of civil society is critical to a functioning democracy,” she said. 🌐

Mohammed Sharif with Bishai (l), Wilson (r), and local Sudanese partner.





Gutman

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Throughout his reporting career, Gutman has tried to keep tabs on so-called small wars which often grow into bigger wars or conceal the seeds for humanitarian disaster, ethnic cleansing, and genocide. As a journalist, he covered the series of small wars that accompanied the breakup of Yugoslavia in the 1990s.

Subsequently, Gutman edited the book *Crimes of War*, which thoroughly covered the Geneva conventions and similar international agreements. Part of this effort was coverage of a number of small conflicts.

However, Afghanistan was not included in this book. In 1997, regional experts viewed the conflict there as a localized one with no wider significance. The conflict was overlooked in policy circles in Washington.

But 9/11, which had been incubated in Afghanistan, caught the media, the U.S. government, and other specialists off balance. “The ignorance about what had proceeded 9/11 was staggering. I myself was ignorant,” reflected Gutman. “I took it personally because I missed an opportunity at least to look at Afghanistan four years earlier.”

“Even the 9/11 Commission, which did a creditable job in reconstructing the warnings before the attacks and the lack of preparedness by many agencies, really didn’t look at Afghanistan as a foreign policy debacle,” he observed.

In 2003 Gutman accepted a Jennings Randolph senior fellowship at USIP. While at the Institute, he focused his research on the study of

small wars in which neither party observes the standard rules of war.

A major component of this research examined the “war crimes nobody had accused anybody of.” He discovered that the Taliban record from 1997 “got worse and worse and worse. It was never put under the spotlight.” This is a unique aspect of the book. “I think that’s the one element—the conduct of conflict—that’s missing in most reporters’ war coverage.”

The bigger deficiency Gutman examined was the lack of general reporting about the internal war in Afghanistan, which provided the platform for the emergence of al-Qaida as a source of political power in the country. “That’s where bin Laden got his spurs,” Gutman said.

The result was the book that Gutman calls a “postmortem long overdue” of U.S. policy failures in the buildup to 9/11.

The book’s title originates with the work of American journalist William Shirer, who covered the rise of Nazi Germany prior to the Second World War. In his book *The Nightmare Years: 1930–1940*, which Gutman says should be “required reading” for journalists, Shirer confesses to missing the “big picture” about the rise of the Nazis.

“What I found so fascinating about [Shirer’s book] was that he said that he missed the story....” Gutman reflected. “He went back through his own things and decided ‘I really didn’t do this right. I didn’t ring the alarm bell well enough.’”

The First Taliban, Al-Qaida, and the “Pakistani Taliban”

A major facet of Gutman’s work is exploration of the relationship between the Taliban and al-Qaida.

The Taliban were implacable in their desire to establish control over the entire country, but they were incompetent as a fighting force, relying on untrained conscripts and their conviction of divine support for their cause. Bin Laden assisted them enormously in this effort by providing trained and motivated fighters who, unlike the Taliban, were prepared to die.

With the al-Qaida assassination of Northern Alliance leader Ahmad Shah Massoud two days prior to 9/11, bin Laden did Mullah Omar a great favor. Bin Laden had successfully eliminated a significant political barrier to complete political control over Afghanistan.

“Bin Laden got the Taliban to write enormous IOUs to al-Qaida,” Gutman said. The al-Qaida leader “got the keys to the front gate. He was taking huge advantage of them.” Hence, the demand that the Taliban expel bin Laden from Afghanistan, the cornerstone of Washington’s policy aims at the time, was an objective most unlikely to be fulfilled.

In the assault on Afghanistan after 9/11, Gutman argued that the U.S. and Pakistan missed an opportunity to learn about and exploit the differences between the Taliban and al-Qaida. Though they were allies, a chance was missed to play the two sides against each other. All were cast as terrorists. As both the Taliban and al-Qaida fled to the tribal areas of Pakistan, the U.S. government demanded that the Pakistani armed forces use military rather than the classic political means of divide and rule.

Such policies “have unintentionally driven the two groups into each other’s arms,” Gutman observed. They have fused to form the new group of the Pakistani Taliban, which did not exist prior to 9/11. Today, they are a major threat to Pakistani security.

“What I found so fascinating about [Shirer’s book] was that he said that he missed the story.... He went back through his own things and decided, ‘I really didn’t do this right. I didn’t ring the alarm bell well enough.’” —Roy Gutman



“Small wars are not small wars anymore in this era. They’re precursors to much bigger things.” —Roy Gutman

Role of U.N., Media, and Government

Gutman gives a mixed review of the U.N.’s performance in the Afghan crisis. To the credit of the international body, successive special rapporteurs for human rights in Afghanistan undertook some of the only reporting on the deteriorating human rights situation in Afghanistan. The U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) raised the flag concerning the Mazar-i-Sharif massacre in 1998, interviewed refugees from the city, and sought heroically to convince reporters to look into the atrocities.

Yet over the course of his reporting, Gutman came across signs that the UNHCR violated its own rules and accepted the forced repatriation of Afghan civilians from Iran.

Moreover, Gutman faulted the UNHCR for not reaching out to stakeholders in Washington and other capitals and urge them to focus their attention on atrocities. “That’s my problem with the whole of the coverage,” of what was then the world’s worst humanitarian disaster, recounted Gutman in hindsight. “At the time you had four million refugees, about two million internally displaced. You had other huge problems. Almost nothing was being written about them.”

But Gutman faulted the news media in its own right for not doing the most basic reporting on the human tragedy—failing, with rare exceptions, to interview refugees to better document the crisis.

After 9/11, the lack of knowledge about Afghanistan impeded the media’s ability to critically report on the Bush

administration’s policies, especially in the runup to the Iraq war, according to Gutman.

During the conversation with *PeaceWatch*, an emailed story came to Gutman from a correspondent in Gaza. Gutman declared, “Gaza. That’s where we [American journalists] should be. We should be in the places where there are vacuums of attention, where there is no American policy working. And, of course, we should also be in the places where American policy *is* working, to see how it’s working, to be the watchdogs.”

Gutman also faulted presidential administrations for the tendency to blame a subordinate agency when something goes wrong. The CIA is a common target in this regard, he opined. “You can’t just blame an intelligence agency. What was your policy in the region? Did it reflect reality? These are White House decisions.”

Lessons for U.S. Policy

Gutman was asked whether his book contains a message about the potential consequences of a U.S. withdrawal from Iraq. He explained, “The last thing that this country should want to do anywhere is create a vacuum while there’s a war going on.”

Indeed, the book contains strong implications for multilateral diplomacy. In the case of Afghanistan, the U.S. deferred to the “Six Plus Two Group” (a U.N.-organized advisory body of Afghanistan’s neighbors, as well as the U.S. and Russia). However, the U.S. deferred excessively to this group, in the absence of formulating effective policy in Afghanistan.

Moments such as the 1989 collapse of communism in Eastern

Europe or 9/11 constitute a “shift in tectonic plates” that occurs “very, very rarely,” Gutman said. He continued to explain that in such a moment, “Very few presidents in our time have enough interest in and grasp of history to realize that this is not simply a political plus for them in the short term but it is an existential shift of reality.” In the case of Afghanistan, both the Clinton and first Bush administrations made too little effort to understand the complexities of the country.

Another lesson from the book is the centrality of U.S. foreign aid in Afghanistan, which was cut off in 1994. This was a major factor in the rise of the Taliban. “We ceded the field to the radicals. I mean not providing schoolbooks and food, not supporting these impoverished villages and not encouraging and supporting Afghans who could help Afghans help themselves,” Gutman explained, “We basically created a vacuum, and it got filled. They always do.”

A prominent view among some in Congress in the early 1990s was that the U.S. should do “absolutely nothing” with respect to foreign aid. When Congress does not provide such aid, it is a “symptom of a bigger vacuum—a policy vacuum—rather than a cause in its own right,” Gutman said.

“Small wars are not small wars anymore in this era. They’re precursors to much bigger things,” Gutman said. Often times, such smaller conflicts breed terrorism and war crimes, as happened during the case of Afghanistan. As a result, the significance of these conflicts is magnified beyond the specific region where they occur.

When major powers do not feel that they have a stake in such conflicts, according to Gutman, “that’s exactly where people like bin Laden see their chance.” 🌐

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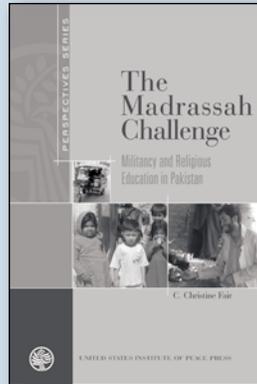
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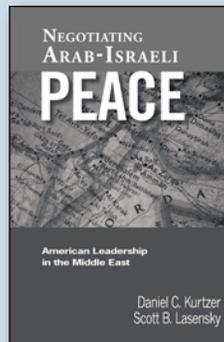
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