

PeaceWatch

JUNE 2002

Vol. VIII, No. 4



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UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, DC

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Causes of Islamic Extremism

Experts describe why religious extremists mobilize and how they garner support.

What are the factors that give rise to political violence in Pakistan, Egypt, and the occupied Palestinian territories? How do *jihadi* (holy war) groups in Indonesia and Pakistan use Islam to mobilize support? What strategies have the militant groups Hamas, Hezbollah, and Islamic Jihad employed to attract, retain, and deploy recruits in the West Bank, Gaza, Egypt, and Lebanon, and what motivates their behavior?

These questions were addressed at a U.S. Institute of Peace Current Issues Briefing on April 17 that featured three current grantees of the Institute: **Mustapha Kamal Pasha** (American University), **Jessica Stern** (Harvard University), and **Muhammad Muslih** (Long Island University). The event, titled "Islamic Extremists: How Do They Mobilize Support?" presented findings from the panelists' grant-funded research and was moderated by Grant Program director **Judy Barsalou**.

There is no single cause of the rise of religious extremism in the Muslim world. It reflects, first of

See *Islamic Extremism*, page 2

Left: Supporters of the militant Islamic group Hezbollah march through the streets of Beirut.



Islamic Extremism

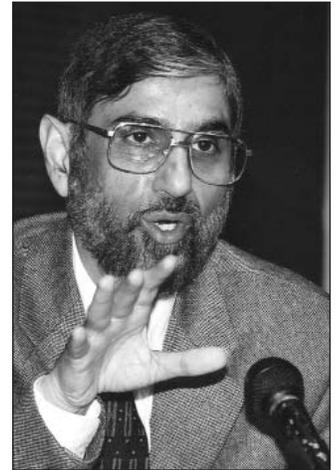
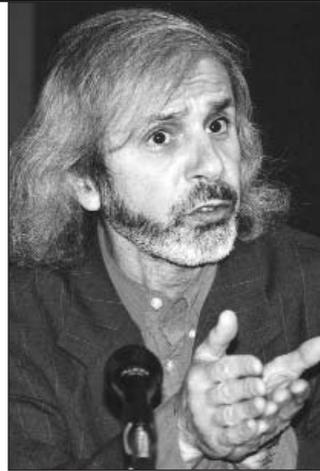
Continued from page 1

all, the failure of secular governments to promote good governance and economic advancement in most Muslim countries. All the speakers agreed that the struggle against extremism will not be won until the countries in which extremists thrive become truly democratic and offer hope of economic improvement. "Law and order approaches" to the problem of extremism generally are ineffectual because they offer no positive alternatives to the disaffected young who swell the ranks of extremist groups.

While many religious extremist groups in South Asia, Southeast Asia, and the Middle East share common organizational features, the circumstances that give rise to them and that motivate their actions vary widely from one setting to another. Among Palestinian groups, for example, the struggle against Israeli occupation is paramount. Although this opposition is "clothed in the garb of Islam," the motivation is more nationalistic than religious, Muslih said.

Egyptian groups, by contrast, are focused primarily on questions related to the internal governance of the country. Pakistani groups are motivated by a variety of goals, including the desire to control Kashmir. Achievement of these goals is likely to result in the further splintering and fracturing of the groups, and increased tension and competition among them.

Another prime factor in the rise of extremism, Pasha suggested, is the failure of many governments in the Muslim world to address the overwhelming challenges of development arising from rapid social, demographic, and economic changes over the last century. Many of the extremist groups in Pakistan, for example, are centered



in middle-sized towns, whose populations have grown exponentially because of rapid rural-to-urban migration in recent decades. Of the 140 million people living in Pakistan today, most are poor and susceptible at some level to the appeals of extremist groups, which claim to have answers to questions that their own government has unsuccessfully addressed or simply ignored. "The state increasingly has abandoned a large section of the populace," Pasha said. Throughout the Muslim world, extremist religious groups tend to be most influential in locations where local governments are least effective in addressing developmental challenges.

External forces have also played a significant role in creating extremist groups in the Middle East, South Asia, and Southeast Asia. Stern pointed to the role of funding from the United States and Saudi Arabia (especially in

See *Islamic Extremism*, page 14

Clockwise from top left: Muhammad Muslih, Judy Barsalou, Mustapha Kamal Pasha, and Jessica Stern.



Peace Watch (ISSN 1080-9864) is published six times a year by the United States Institute of Peace, an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by Congress to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. The views expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute or its board of directors.

To receive *Peace Watch*, write to the United States Institute of Peace, 1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20036-3011, call 202-457-1700, fax 202-429-6063, or e-mail: usip_requests@usip.org.

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The Future of Montenegro

President Milo Djukanovic has ambitious goals for Montenegro, including resolution of its status as a state and continued democratic and economic reform.



Left: Milo Djukanovic addresses a meeting of the Institute's Balkans Working Group.

negotiations, Djukanovic spoke on "The Future of Montenegro" in light of the Solana Agreement.

"I am a continuing advocate of the idea of independence," Djukanovic stated. At the start of the negotiations, Montenegro and Serbia were "diametrically opposed," he said. The resulting agreement is a "compromise" between Serbia's desire that the two republics stay in a federation and Montenegro's desire that the two be independent.

According to the Solana Agreement, the parliaments of the FRY, Serbia, and Montenegro will begin debating the terms of the new arrangement by June 2002. After their deliberations, the parliaments will delegate a commission to draft the new union's constitutional charter. The parliaments of Montenegro and Serbia and then the FRY's parliament must approve this charter. Once the charter has been ratified, elections will determine the composition of a unicameral parliament representing Montenegro and Serbia.

This parliament will elect the union's president. In turn, the president will nominate and direct a Council of Ministers that will oversee five departments: foreign affairs, international economic relations, internal economic relations, the "protection of human and minority rights," and defense. The presidents of the confederation, Montenegro, and Serbia will constitute a Supreme Defense

Council that will command the union's army. Any military action will require a consensus among the three presidents. Djukanovic noted that he would like to see a streamlining of the army, as well as strengthened safeguards to keep it under civilian, democratic control.

The Solana Agreement specifies a democratic process of peaceably dissolving the confederation. After the union has been in effect for three years, Montenegro and Serbia may each hold a referendum to determine whether or not they will become independent. Among voters in Montenegro's April 2001 parliamentary elections, 55 percent favored Montenegrin independence.

Djukanovic emphasized that a desire for independence does not signify a desire to eliminate ethnic diversity. In fact, support for Montenegrin independence is especially strong among Montenegro's ethnic Albanians, who constitute about 7 percent of its population.

In Djukanovic's view, a union of Serbia and Montenegro encourages policies that are "inherently anti-reformist and anti-democratic." Nevertheless, he considers the Solana Agreement a framework within which Montenegro can continue to pursue its democratic and economic reforms. An advocate of multi-ethnic democracy, he affirmed Montenegro's commitment to giving ethnic Albanians greater

*See **Montenegro**, page 15*

Following negotiations sponsored by the European Union (EU) in March, the remaining Yugoslav republics of Serbia and Montenegro agreed to form a new confederation called Serbia-Montenegro and end the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia (FRY). Brokered by EU high representative Javier Solana, the "Solana Agreement" was signed by Yugoslav president Vojislav Kostunica, Yugoslav deputy prime minister Miroljub Labus, Serbian prime minister Zoran Djindjic, Montenegrin prime minister Filip Vujanovic, and Montenegrin president **Milo Djukanovic**.

While visiting the United States at the invitation of U.S. secretary of state Colin Powell, Djukanovic came to the U.S. Institute of Peace on April 30 to address a meeting of the Balkans Working Group moderated by the Institute's Balkans Initiative director, **Daniel Serwer**. Having led Montenegro's participation in the



Afghanistan and the international community are compiling Afghan laws and working in other ways to rebuild the country's legal system.

Prospects for Justice in Afghanistan



Left to right:
Neil Kritz, Lisa
Dickieson, Paul
Seils, and Qadir
Amiryar.



Seils stated that past abuses also should be addressed, and he weighed the role a truth commission might play in Afghanistan.

Since the Afghanistan war began last fall, the U.S. Institute of Peace has tried to apply the lessons of its rule-of-law work to the challenge of building a viable justice system in post-war Afghanistan. By mid-November, at the urging of the U.S. State Department, the Institute's Rule of Law Program assembled a group of experts to start developing contingency proposals for the administration of such a justice system. The group included former senior Afghan legal officials, experts on Afghanistan, experts on Islamic law (*Sharia*), Bush administration officials, UN representatives, and veterans of other peacekeeping missions who have experience in post-conflict legal rebuilding.

At the request of members of the UN negotiating team, the Institute produced a report, with recommendations, for use at the

December 2001 Bonn negotiations between Afghanistan's warring factions. These negotiations resulted in the "Bonn Agreement" that established the country's interim government. The provision that established a framework by which to reorganize Afghanistan's legal system through a Judicial Affairs Commission was based directly on the Institute's recommendations.

In recent months, the Institute has continued to contribute to efforts to rebuild Afghanistan's legal system. At the Institute on May 7, a panel addressed the topic "Afghanistan: Prospects for Justice." Moderated by **Neil Kritz**, director of the Institute's Rule of Law Program, the panel included George Washington University professor **Qadir Amiryar**; **Jamal Benomar**, a senior adviser at the UN Development Program; **Lisa Dickieson**, director of the Ameri-

can Bar Association's Asia Law Initiative; and **Paul Seils**, senior associate of the International Center for Transitional Justice. Although optimistic about Afghanistan's prospects for justice, panelists discussed a number of serious obstacles.

Benomar cited the absence of a clear strategy for reforming the justice sector. He also noted that Afghanistan's current judicial system is fragmented, with conflicts between such core institutions as the Ministry of Justice, Supreme Court, and attorney general's office. In addition, the judicial system's infrastructure has been destroyed; the absence of adequate court or ministry facilities, basic office furniture, and minimal supplies makes substantive progress difficult. Benomar also pointed to tensions between religious and secular legal training with regard to

Sustaining U.S.-Russia Dialogue

Recent agreements between Russia and the West represent a “new era” in U.S.-Russia relations.

appointments of new judicial personnel.

In keeping with the “light international footprint” advocated by the UN mission in Afghanistan, the panelists believe that Afghans themselves should decide on and implement reforms. At the same time, Dickieson commented that Afghans are willing to work with the international community, which she believes should do more to facilitate judicial rebuilding.

Seils stated that past abuses also should be addressed, and he weighed the role a truth commission might play in Afghanistan.

Amiryar pointed out that Afghans need security in order to adequately address questions of justice. For one thing, assuring a minimum level of human rights and the rule of law throughout Afghanistan will require that security be extended beyond Kabul.

Until Afghanistan’s new constitution is adopted, the Bonn Agreement states, the country’s basic legal framework will consist of its 1964 constitution and existing laws and regulations to the extent that they accord with the Bonn Agreement and with international treaties to which Afghanistan is a party. The Ministry of Justice is charged with compiling current Afghan laws and assessing their compatibility with international standards.

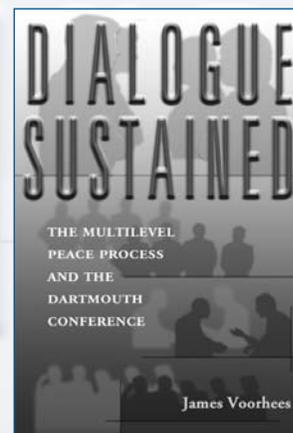
However, texts of Afghan laws are largely unavailable, even among attorneys, judges, law faculty, and government agencies such as the Ministry of Justice. While in power, the Taliban burned law books. “There is today no decent

In May, Russian president Vladimir Putin signed an accord with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization that allows Russia to participate in NATO deliberations on major security issues such as arms control and efforts to eliminate terrorism. British foreign secretary Jack Straw described the agreement as the Cold War’s “funeral.” Also in May, Putin and President George Bush signed a treaty that calls for Russia and the United States to dismantle two-thirds of their nuclear warheads over the next decade. In Bush’s words, the treaty represents a “new era of U.S.-Russian relationships” and will “liquidate the legacy of the Cold War.”

That legacy is discussed in **James Voorhees’** new book *Dialogue Sustained: The Multilevel Peace Process and the Dartmouth Conference*. Co-published by the U.S. Institute of Peace Press and the Kettering Foundation, *Dialogue Sustained* details the history of the Dartmouth Conference meetings, initiated in 1960 at Dartmouth College in an effort to prevent U.S.-Soviet nuclear conflict. Influential U.S. and Soviet citizens with no government positions gathered for dialogue to promote peace between their two nations. Until 1990, Dartmouth Conference plenary sessions continued as nearly annual events; today the work of conference task forces continues, most notably perhaps in the nine-year-old Inter-Tajik Dialogue. According to Voorhees, the Dartmouth Conference hastened the end of the Cold War—for example, by contributing to a 1963 partial ban on U.S. and Soviet nuclear testing.

What are the greatest threats to U.S.-Russia relations today? On May 6, this question was addressed at the Institute by Voorhees and six Dartmouth Conference veterans: **Landrum Bolling**, consultant to international humanitarian organizations; **William D. Rogers**, senior partner in the law firm of Arnold & Porter; **Sergei Rogov**, director of the Institute of USA and Canada Studies; session moderator **Harold Saunders**, director of international affairs at the Kettering Foundation; **Nikolai Shmelev**, director of the Institute of Europe; and **Vitaly Zhurkin**, founding director of the Institute of Europe.

The panel discussed U.S.-Russia disagreements with regard to Chechnya, weapons proliferation in Iran, U.S. and Russian missile defense, and the U.S. military presence in such former Soviet republics as Georgia and Uzbekistan. “Multilevel” dialogue that includes the kind of unofficial citizens’ interaction elaborated in *Dialogue Sustained* will help manage, if not resolve, such issues, panelists agreed.



law library in the country,” Benomar said. In Dickieson’s words, local police stations have “no sense of what the law is.” The Institute has taken steps to help correct this situation. During a trip to Afghanistan in May, Rule of Law program officer **Colette Rausch**, together with colleagues from the American Bar Association and International Resources

Group, delivered a compilation of major Afghan laws and worked with Afghan justice officials and the international peacekeeping force to arrange for its distribution nationwide. She also consulted a number of Afghan and international officials about projects through which the Institute will further assist Afghans to rebuild their justice system.

James Voorhees



“A World of Women for World Peace”

Women peace advocates seek a greater voice in preventing and resolving international conflicts.

Many of the world’s most prominent women peace advocates and a number of members of the Congressional Caucus for Women’s Issues gathered on May 9 at the Library of Congress for the conference “A World of Women for World Peace.” Part of a congressionally sponsored “National Day of Dialogue,” the event was organized by Congresswoman **Eddie Bernice Johnson** (D-Tex.).

In addition to political leaders such as Congresswoman **Nancy Pelosi** (D-Calif.), who is House Democratic whip, plenary-session speakers included such noted peace activists as **Maha Abu Dayyeh-Shamas**, founder and executive director of the Women’s Center for Legal Aid and Counseling, which is dedicated to improving the social and legal status of Palestinian women; **Terry Greenblatt**, director of the Israeli organization Bat Shalom (Daughter of Peace); and **Jody Williams**, founding coordinator of the International Campaign to Ban Landmines and 1997 Nobel Laureate for Peace. Following the plenary session, roundtables addressed the topics “Peace and Security,” “Protection of Women,” “Governance and Political Participation,” and “Civil Society and Peace Building.”

Harriet Hentges, executive vice president of the U.S. Institute of Peace, and **Deepa Ollapally**, program officer in the Institute’s Special Initiative on the Muslim World, were asked to serve as



Top, left to right: Congresswoman Eddie Bernice Johnson, Harriet Hentges, and Gay McDougall of the International Human Rights Law Group.

Bottom, left to right: Sanam Naraghi-Anderlini of Women Waging Peace, Deepa Ollapally, and Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi.



moderators of the Peace and Security roundtable, in addition to Harriet Babbitt, senior vice president of Hunt Alternatives. Roundtable participants explored three major themes: “HIV/AIDS as a Security Issue,” “Addressing Women’s Needs and Supporting Their Efforts in Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration,” and “Addressing the Role of International Peacekeepers in Providing a Safe and Secure Environment for Local Populations—Especially Women.”

In response to Congresswoman Johnson’s request for suggestions regarding ways to better promote international peace and increase women’s participation in that process, the roundtable produced the following recommendations:

■ “IN ORDER TO CHANGE THE NATURE OF PEACE SETTLEMENTS AND THEIR IMPLEMENTATION, THE DYNAMICS OF THE PEACE PROCESS NEED TO CHANGE. This means a change in what happens at the negotiating table and who is at the table. If you change what happens at the table, you will change the process, the impact of that process on the security situation that follows it, and ultimately the sustainability of the peace. The road map for these changes is UN Resolution 1325 [which stresses the importance of women’s ‘equal participation and full involvement in all efforts for the maintenance and promotion of peace and security, and the need to increase their role in decision-making with regard to conflict prevention and resolution’]. The United States should use its influence and power to ensure the implementation of UN Resolution 1325 and to include civil-society groups in the peace process.

See *Women for World Peace*, page 15

Bumpers & Rankin Featured in New Book

Betty Bumpers continues to “speak for peace”; Jeannette Rankin’s antiwar activism spanned decades.



Featured in the new book *Women Who Speak for Peace*, U.S. Institute of Peace board member **Betty Bumpers** recently told *Peace Watch* that she feels less safe now than at any other

time in her adult life. The reason is terrorism: a single individual can put a bomb into a suitcase and kill many people. In 1982, amid nuclear proliferation, Bumpers founded the grassroots organization Peace Links to increase awareness of, and opposition to, the nuclear arms race. (She continued as the organization’s president until the national office ceased operations in 2001.) Today, Bumpers considers terrorism a greater threat than nuclear weapons.

In Bumpers’ view, the U.S. response to the September 11 attacks has been misguided. Despite intensive military effort, coalition forces do not have control over much of Afghanistan, she commented. Instead of responding to violence with violence, Americans should focus on determining and solving the problems that underlie terrorism, Bumpers said. She believes that many people in other nations feel hostility toward the United States because Americans use such a massive, disproportionate amount of the world’s resources.

Related causes of terrorism are poverty and exploitation, especially of children, Bumpers emphasized; “abused and neglected” children become inclined to violence. Governments—including the U.S. government—are not doing enough to increase their citizens’ well-being, she stressed: “A country’s strength comes from its people being taken care of,” not “weapons, weapons, and more weapons.” Bumpers urges new priorities: basic health care for all people; decent living and working conditions (including a healthy environment); and good education that, from childhood on, encourages critical thinking.

In addition to a chapter on Bumpers’ use of myth and metaphor in her public presentations, *Women Who Speak for Peace* (Rowman & Littlefield, 2002; edited by Colleen E. Kelley and Anna L. Eblen) includes a chapter on the suffrage and antiwar activism of Jeannette Rankin. The first woman to serve in the U.S. Congress, Rankin was one of fifty congressional representatives who voted against entering World War I and the only congressional representative who voted against entering World War II. In 1968, she led a Washington, D.C. march against the Vietnam War. The Institute’s library bears Rankin’s name. Just as Bumpers continues to “speak for peace,” Rankin’s commitment to antiwar activism spanned decades.

“A country’s strength comes from its people being taken care of.”

—Betty Bumpers



Nigeria's Hopes for Democracy

Forthcoming elections pose a great challenge to Nigeria's Fourth Republic.



Left to right:
Richard Joseph,
Rotimi Suberu,
and Larry
Diamond.

Since Nigeria became independent of Great Britain in 1960, it has experienced more than twice as many years of military rule as civilian rule. The most repressive government was led by General Sani Abacha from 1993 until his sudden death in 1998. Although the 1999 presidential elections were sharply criticized for their many irregularities, the announced winner, Olusegun Obasanjo, became president with widespread support at home and abroad. In the past, elections conducted under the auspices of civilian governments have tended to weaken rather than strengthen the Nigerian polity, thereby facilitating military seizures of power. Consequently, high stakes are riding on the local elections scheduled for August 2002, to be followed by state and federal contests in 2003. Will these elections finally provide firm footing for Nigeria's Fourth Republic?

At a U.S. Institute of Peace Current Issues Briefing on May 20, **Larry Diamond**, senior fellow

at Stanford University's Hoover Institution; **Richard Joseph**, senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace; and **Rotimi Suberu**, senior lecturer in politics at the University of Ibadan, Nigeria, and former senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace, addressed the topic "Nigeria's Federal Democracy: Will It Survive?" With Joseph moderating, the three scholars explored the overlapping themes of Nigeria's democratic experiment and the country's centralized federal structure, as detailed in Suberu's book *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2001).

From 1984 to 1999, Nigeria suffered under military rule characterized by uncertainty, corruption, and excessive centralization of wealth and power. Diamond described this last military regime as "murderous" and "plundering"—"one of the most destructive military regimes, I think, anywhere." After a honeymoon period, the civilian government that took power in 1999 has

increasingly been criticized for mismanagement and corruption. Under this government, there has been a steady succession of ethnic, regional, and religious conflicts.

One of the world's most ethnically diverse countries, Nigeria has three major ethnic groups: Hausa-Fulani, Yoruba, and Igbo. There are deepening cleavages between these groups, between north and south, and between Muslims and Christians. In 1986, while under the rule of General Ibrahim Babangida, Nigeria joined (temporarily) the Organization of the Islamic Conference. Since then, political tensions between Muslims and Christians have increased and contributed to communal conflicts. A dozen states in Nigeria's north have extended Islamic law (*Sharia*) from civil to criminal matters. "Several floggings and a number of amputations have been carried out," Suberu stated in his Institute talk. This imposition of *Sharia* has exacerbated Muslim-Christian strife. Since the end of military rule in 1999, thousands of Nigerians have died in ethnic, regional, and religious fighting. The hope that the return to constitutional democracy would yield a "peace dividend" has therefore been unfulfilled.

Nigeria also is beset by economic problems, including a substantial national debt, high unemployment, double-digit inflation, and a lack of product diversification. About 80 percent of government revenues come from oil exports. Although the Niger Delta is Nigeria's oil-producing region, most of its residents are poor. "Living standards haven't



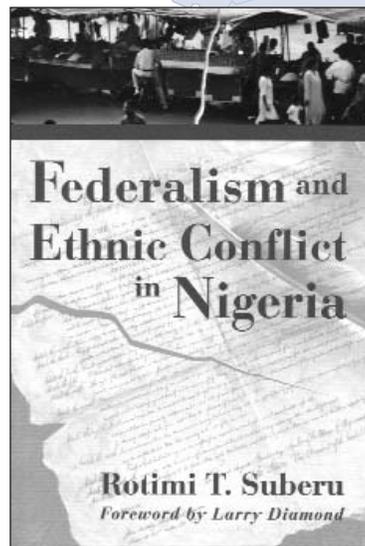
significantly improved” under the present government, Suberu commented. Much of Nigeria lacks “basic public social services.” In particular, the needs of ethnic minorities tend to be ignored. Nigeria’s public enterprises are “notoriously inefficient,” Suberu said. The government has spent “vast amounts” of money on projects that international financial institutions consider low-priority or unviable.

To a large extent, Nigeria’s problems are related to weak institutions, the panelists agreed. “Creating political institutions that work as intended is perhaps the fundamental issue in Africa today,” Joseph argued. Nigeria is in a state of “broad institutional ruination,” Suberu remarked. The panelists believe that financial resources are too concentrated in the federal government; state and local governments need more fiscal and political autonomy. Having virtually exclusive control over arms, the police, and elections, the federal government can “intervene in practically every matter of public importance,” Suberu states in *Federalism and Ethnic Conflict in Nigeria*. The panelists think that the judiciary, too, must be strengthened and afforded greater independence. Under civilian, as well as military, regimes, the country’s executive has controlled the funding of the judiciary and the appointment of judges.

Nigeria’s institutional problems stem partly from its constitution, which Diamond called “seriously inadequate.” In his book, Suberu proposes innovative constitutional reforms; he calls for a new consti-

tution to be drafted and, for the first time in Nigeria’s history, ratified in a popular referendum. He and Diamond advocate constitutional protections against overweening federal government. The constitution they envision would create a more independent, less politically partisan judiciary. It also would allocate more resources and power to Nigeria’s states, which would be empowered to create their own systems of local administration and to levy taxes (such as business and value-added taxes) that now are exclusively federal. Suberu recommends limiting federal power primarily to national matters such as citizenship laws, currency, macroeconomic management, customs, international relations, and defense.

As for Nigeria’s elections, they have been “corrupt, violent, and chaotic,” Suberu states in his book. “The endemic failure of the electoral process is perhaps the most urgent threat to the country’s federal democratic political development.” Nigeria never has had two consecutive elected governments. “In democracies, the system renews itself through the electoral process,” Joseph noted. This never has occurred in Nigeria. Under each of the preceding republics, elections have set the stage for the system’s collapse instead of bringing about its renewal. Nigeria’s forthcoming elections may determine the country’s form of government for many years to come. Diamond and Suberu urge international monitoring, improvements to the electoral machinery, and other safeguards.



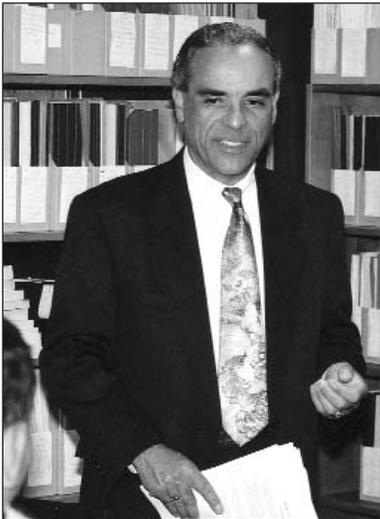
2001 ■ 208 pp. ■ 6 x 9
\$14.95 (paper) ■ 1-929223-28-5

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Seminar on International Conflict Management



The U.S. Institute of Peace gave a seminar on international conflict management at the Inter-American Defense College (IADC) on June 3–5. IADC is a postgraduate institution operated under the aegis of the Organization of American States. Many IADC graduates assume leadership positions



Top to bottom: Curtis Morris, workshop participants, and Anne Henderson.

diplomacy skills such as communication, negotiation, and mediation. Workshop participants included IADC's class of 2002 (58 senior civilian and military officials from Canada, the United States, and 18 other countries in the Americas) as well as 20 invited senior officials from Central America and the Caribbean.

in their respective countries. Some serve in international jobs such as peacekeeping. Traditionally, about a third of IADC graduates become generals or flag-rank military officers; a number of the civilians become ambassadors or cabinet-level officials within several years of graduating. Assisted by fellow Training Program officers **Anne Henderson** and **Gregory Noone**, **Curtis Morris** led the workshop, which focused on

InstitutePeople

TIMOTHY W. DOCKING, program officer in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, served on a National Democratic Institute election monitoring team in Mali in April–May. In Senegal in May, he presented a paper on “AIDS and Violent Conflict in Africa” at a conference of the Africa Center for Strategic Studies.

MICHAEL DZIEDZIC, program officer in the Balkans Initiative, was a guest speaker at several institutions and conferences in April and May. He spoke at George Mason University on peace implementation, the University of Maryland on revolution and liberation theology in El Salvador, the Joint Analysis Center in England on the feasibility of multi-ethnic states, the Pearson Peacekeeping Center in Canada on peace implementation and the rule of law, and the Army War College (Carlisle, Penn.) on the military's role in promoting the rule of law.

A report by **RICHARD KAUZLARICH**, director of the Muslim World Initiative, was published in December 2001 by the Century Foundation: “Time for Change? U.S. Policy in the Transcaucasus.”

MICHAEL MATHESON, senior fellow in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, spoke on “Prosecuting Terrorists” at a Duke University Law School conference in April.

Canadian Peacekeeping Press published a book by **ROBERT PERITO**, senior fellow in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, in March. *The American Experience with Police in Peace Operations* examines the history of U.S. involvement with foreign police forces and recommends ways to improve future police missions.

Rule of Law program officer **COLETTE RAUSCH** addressed a visiting delegation of Kosovar prosecutors and defense attorneys in April at the U.S. Department of Justice. She discussed prosecutors' use of the media and community relations to promote the rule of law in post-conflict societies.

ERIC SCHWARTZ, senior fellow in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, spoke at a variety of April events: a Migration Policy Institute conference on Haitian migration; a meeting of "UN on the Ground" working groups; the Summit on Human Rights and Disability, sponsored by the U.S. National Council on Disability; a Geneva Center for Security conference, where he discussed U.S. peacekeeping policy; and Amnesty International's annual meeting of the executive director's Leadership Council.

"Afghan Chaos Isn't Inevitable," an op-ed by **DANIEL SERWER**, director of the Balkans Initiative, appeared in the *International Herald Tribune* on April 12. In Athens in May, Serwer addressed the workshop "Security in the Balkans After the 11th of September," sponsored by the Hellenic Foundation for European and Foreign Affairs. Also in May, he spoke on events in the Balkans at the U.S. State Department's National Foreign Affairs Training Center.

HAZEL SMITH, senior fellow in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, gave presentations on North Korean marketization at the University of Cambridge and the University of Wisconsin, Madison, in April. Her book *European Union Foreign Policy: What It Is and What It Does* (Pluto Press) was published in May.

The North Korean Famine

According to some estimates, as many as three million people died in the North Korean famine of the mid-1990s.

The North Korean famine of the mid-1990s was perhaps the worst humanitarian disaster of that decade, says former U.S. Institute of Peace fellow **Andrew P. Natsios**. Currently administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development, Natsios has studied famines for more than a decade. On April 30 at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, he discussed the North Korean famine and some of its foreign policy implications. This famine is the subject of his book *The Great North Korean Famine: Famine, Politics, and Foreign Policy* (U.S. Institute of Peace Press, 2001).

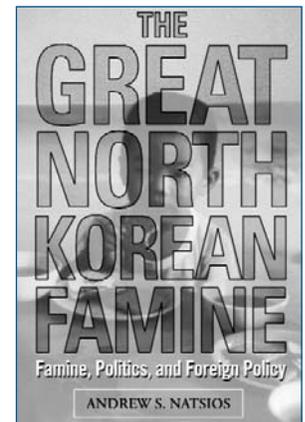
Natsios' book has "played a prominent role" in bringing the North Korean famine to the world's attention and has helped us "focus on rendering policy choices," Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** stated in his introductory remarks.

"How do you balance moral values against political, diplomatic, and geostrategic interests? How do you deal with a situation of deciding, as a president or prime minister or secretary of state, whether you should send food to hungry people living under the control of a hostile state?"

Faced with a massive food shortage, the North Korean government "made a choice," Natsios said. Making the regime's survival its top priority, the government decided that food would go to the country's elite and its military forces. Most citizens, especially those who lived in regions or worked in industries that the government deemed "unproductive," were considered expendable. As many as three million people may have died.

Before the famine, North Korea relied on food and oil subsidies, mostly from the former Soviet Union. When that aid declined and a series of natural disasters occurred, the North Korean government cut food rations to farmers. Many people started hoarding and stealing. The system collapsed. In Natsios' view, North Koreans lost faith in the state.

The international community, too, failed to take sufficient humanitarian action, Natsios believes. Wilson Center director **Lee H. Hamilton** commented, "This is a troubling book both because of the human misery it describes and because, in the author's judgment, the response to the catastrophe by the international community, including the United States, was woefully, and perhaps deliberately, inadequate."





Preventive Diplomacy Workshop in Hanoi

In partnership with the Council on Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP), the U.S. Institute of Peace presented the workshop “Preventive Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region” on April 24–28 in Hanoi. **Gregory Noone**, program officer in the Institute’s Training Program, and **George Ward**, the Institute’s Director of Training, led the workshop. Thirty-seven CSCAP delegates from around the Pacific

ment conducted one of its semi-annual workshops on the challenges facing nongovernmental organizations (NGOs). Program officers **Ray Caldwell** and **Anne Henderson** taught the sessions to 30 government officials and members of humanitarian NGOs. Participants included representatives from such international groups as CARE, the International Committee of the Red Cross, and the World Food Program, as well as from local NGOs in Burundi, Cameroon, India,

tion exercises and heard presentations on cross-cultural communication, regional security in South Asia, and the peace process in Africa’s Great Lakes region.

Project Report on Macedonian-Albanian Conflict

Brenda Pearson, senior fellow in the Institute’s Jennings Randolph fellowship program, presented a project report at the Institute in May: “The Macedonian-Albanian Conflict: A Violent Peace.” She provided historical background on political and military conflicts between Macedonia’s ethnic Slav Macedonian majority (largely Christian) and its ethnic Albanian minority (primarily Muslim). Demanding greater economic and political power, some of the country’s ethnic Albanians waged armed rebellion in March 2001 under the banner of the National Liberation Army. Even before the rebellion, many ethnic Macedonians viewed ethnic Albanians as a political and cultural threat. Because ethnic Albanians have a higher birthrate than ethnic Macedonians and recently have immigrated to Macedonia from Kosovo in large numbers, Macedonia’s percentage



Above: Workshop participants.

Rim and 12 Vietnamese observers participated. CSCAP works closely with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations Regional Forum (ARF) in promoting security cooperation in the Asia Pacific. The workshop, which built on four previous preventive diplomacy workshops that the Institute has given for CSCAP and ARF, included panel discussions, presentation of a case study in preventive diplomacy, and problem-solving exercises on negotiation and mediation.

Pakistan, Sri Lanka, and the United States. Workshop attendees participated in problem-solving, negotiation, and media-

Right: Participants in the conflict-management workshop.

Conflict-Management Skills Useful to Nongovernmental Organizations

At the Airlie Conference Center on May 20–23, the Institute’s Training Depart-





of ethnic Macedonians is decreasing, Pearson noted.

Macedonia's First Interreligious Conference

Last summer, Macedonian president Boris Trajkovski requested that the Institute sponsor an interfaith dialogue in Macedonia. Aimed at easing tensions between Macedonia's various religious communities—especially Christian-Muslim tensions generated by Macedonia's 2001 civil war—"Confidence Building Between



the Churches and Religious Communities in Macedonia Through Dialogue" took place in Skopje, Macedonia on May 10–14. The Institute and the U.S. Agency for International Development were the primary sponsors of the conference, which was organized by Paul Mojzes and Leonard Swidler of International Scholars Annual Trialogue. Approximately a hundred Christian, Muslim, and Jewish leaders and scholars participated. Among others, plenary speakers included Trajkovski; Gospodin Stephan, Archbishop of Ohrid and Macedonia; and Hafis Arif Emini, president of the Islamic Union in Macedonia.

David Smock, director of the Institute's Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, reports that overt animosity between Christian and Muslim attendees decreased as the conference progressed. By the end, Christians and Muslims had found significant common ground—a shared interest in promoting religion and religious freedom in Macedonia.

As a result of the conference, representatives of Macedonia's five major religious communities—Macedonian Orthodox, Muslim, Methodist, Catholic, and Jewish—agreed to form Macedonia's first Interreligious Council and hold council meetings every three months. In addition, Macedonia's Orthodox Theological University and Muslim Theological University agreed to create joint programs for the first time.

Roundtable on Justice Efforts in Sierra Leone

In Sierra Leone, plans are moving forward to establish a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) and install a concurrent special court for war crimes. As a member of a UN Group of Experts, Rule of Law Program director **Neil Kritz** helped to develop guidelines for the relationship between the TRC and the special court. These guidelines were incorporated into a recent UN report.

At the Institute on May 13, **David Crane**, newly appointed prosecutor for the Sierra Leone Special Court, spoke at a roundtable moderated by Kritz and attended by a range of legal experts, veterans of international tribunals, and leaders of non-governmental organizations. Crane shared his plans and discussed the relationship between

the TRC and the special court. Former Institute fellow **William Schabas** participated in the roundtable; the same day, Sierra Leone president Ahmad Tejan Kabbah named Schabas one of three international commissioners on the TRC.



Above: Niel Kritz and David Crane.

Left: Gospodin Stephan and David Smock.

Islamic Extremism

Continued from page 2
 response to the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan), as well as logistical support from Pakistan's Inter-Service Intelligence agency, in the rise of extremist groups in Pakistan and Afghanistan. It is no accident, according to Muslih,

ble of helping their own people. All the speakers agreed that religious extremist groups in the Islamic world are deeply divided along ideological and sectarian lines. Stereotyped images of Islam as a monolithic religion predisposed to violence fail to recognize the complex, multi-faceted phenomenon of religious

Successful extremist groups have clear missions, rely on a division of labor between relatively young, uneducated "foot soldiers" and better-educated elite operatives, and have developed a variety of fundraising techniques. Many of the groups rely heavily on the Internet to raise funds, as well as on funds from foreign governments.

The ability of extremist groups to meet their goals depends on four additional factors: access to weapons; mastery of the art of public relations, including the use of the media to promote their causes; access to intelligence sources and the development of counter-intelligence techniques; and the establishment of a "corporate" headquarters, either in a physical area or virtually, via the Internet.

While religious schools (*madaris*) have played a role in training *jihadi* militants in Pakistan, there do not seem to be similar institutions operating in Lebanon, the Palestinian territories, or Egypt. And not all *madaris* in Pakistan are "factories of terrorism," as commonly depicted in the Western press. Many of the older *madaris* are long-established centers of learning that have produced serious Islamic scholars, while others are providing important educational and social welfare services not available to Pakistan's poor from the government.

Throughout the Islamic world, the primary cause of terrorism is repression, Muslih believes: "The greater the repression, the greater the degree of *jihadi* and violent activity." Countries with largely Muslim populations need democratic governments committed to social and economic reform, he stressed. The West, he said, should foster democracy and economic development in these countries and stop supporting oppressive regimes.



Above: A Palestinian boy rides past graffiti depicting rockets made by members of Hamas.

that the "literate class" in the Arab world largely blames the United States for supporting oppressive Arab states. And external forces still play a large role. A member of one Pakistani group told Stern that 60 percent of the group's funds come from outside Pakistan, mostly from wealthy contributors on the Arabian peninsula and from travelers to Mecca who hear the group's representatives speak during the annual Islamic pilgrimage.

A fourth factor in the rise of extremist groups relates to a crisis within Islam. The decline of the established tradition of *ijtihad*—interpretation of the Koran by Muslim clerics to apply Koranic law to changing circumstances—has led to rigid and narrow interpretations of religious precepts. To deal with this crisis, Muslim societies must grapple with complicated questions of why they have failed to build stable religious and other institutions capa-

ble of helping their own people. All the speakers agreed that religious extremist groups in the Middle East and South Asia display a diversity of motives and methods of operation, reflecting the widely varying circumstances in which they have arisen and operate.

Individuals join extremist groups for a number of reasons, including the desire to achieve specific political goals, as well as a variety of financial, spiritual, and emotional incentives and rewards. A mid-level member of one group told Stern that he earns seven times as much as he would if he left the group and that financial incentives for top leaders are substantially greater. Families of *jihadis* often receive financial and material rewards such as better housing. The groups also attract individuals who, regardless of their social class or economic background, feel they have been humiliated and treated as "second class" by the authorities.



Montenegro

Continued from page 3

government representation, protecting the rights of Montenegro's minorities, and assisting the Hague tribunal in bringing war criminals to justice.

Djukanovic responded to tough questions regarding Montenegro's Albanian minority, freedom of the press, and organized crime. "Ten years ago we had a one-party system and a communist model of government," he said. Pressed on Albanian representation in parliament and in the public administration, he pledged respect and safeguards for the Albanian minority, including a guaranteed number of seats in parliament. He admitted that the Montenegrin press remains largely state-controlled and heavily influenced by partisan politics. However, Montenegro is drafting laws to combat the problem, such as a law to end state ownership of television networks.

To some extent, organized crime is another "byproduct" of the former communist system, Djukanovic commented. While pointing out that the trafficking of weapons and drugs is uncommon in Montenegro, he noted that the parliament recently enacted anti-corruption legislation aimed at reducing the influence of organized crime.

Djukanovic sees a free-market economy as a powerful force for political and social reform. The Solana Agreement calls for Montenegro and Serbia to have a common market but allows each state economic sovereignty. Djukanovic remarked that Montenegro and Serbia have different economic systems, with different currencies, central banks, customs authorities, taxes, tariffs, and foreign-trade systems. The agreement directs both states to bring

their economic systems into harmony with that of the European Union—an approach that Djukanovic strongly favors. Seeking continued economic restructuring based on European and American models, he favors increased privatization, ecologically sustainable development, and a strategic partnership between Montenegro and the United States. In his Institute address, Djukanovic expressed gratitude for ongoing U.S. financial and political support, which he says has been crucial to Montenegro's recent "strides in economic reform, democratization, and respect for minority rights."

Women for World Peace

Continued from page 7

■ "AN IMMEDIATE AND RELEVANT OPPORTUNITY EXISTS FOR THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY TO MAKE CONCRETE THE OBJECTIVES AND REALITY OF RESOLUTION 1325 IN THE UPCOMING CONFERENCE ON THE ISRAELI-PALESTINIAN CONFLICT. The United States should use its influence and power to ensure the implementation of Resolution 1325 in the Israeli-Palestinian conference so that women and civil-society groups have a place at the table in every phase of the discussions. The Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues could make special efforts to pressure this with the 'quartet' (likely to be the European Union, Saudi Arabia, the United Kingdom, and the United States).

■ "THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY CANNOT EXPECT TO BREAK THE CYCLE OF VIOLENCE UNTIL IT ADDRESSES THE ISSUES WOMEN ARE DISCUSSING AND FOR WHICH, IN MANY CASES, THEY BEAR A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY: SECURITY GAPS, HEALTH,

EDUCATION, AND HUMAN RIGHTS. National security should be seen as more than military security, and the issues of human security should be integrated into considerations of national security. The prevention and elimination of AIDS needs to be seen as a security challenge. AIDS has a disproportionate impact on women; this will have significant impact on the nature of a society, affect a government's ability to govern, create orphans who are recruited as mercenaries and child soldiers, and prevent children from receiving an education. The Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues should work to create a Congressional Caucus on National Security that would redefine national security to include broad issues of human security, including those related to sustainable peace. One of the efforts of this caucus could be to organize an exchange of parliamentarians on the broad issues of human security and to create a consensus on this within the groups that can influence these issues most directly.

■ "IF SUSTAINABLE PEACE IS TO BECOME A REALITY AND MORE WOMEN ARE TO BE BROUGHT INTO THE PEACE PROCESS, THE AMOUNT OF RESOURCES DEVOTED TO ACHIEVING THIS NEEDS TO INCREASE. This includes investing in people. The U.S. Congress should take the model of Title IX, which had such dramatic impact on women's participation in sports, and apply this model to an increased participation of women in the peace process."

Congresswoman Johnson organized "A World of Women for World Peace" to jump-start congressional efforts to increase women's role in preventing and resolving international conflicts. The Institute's expertise can help advance these efforts.

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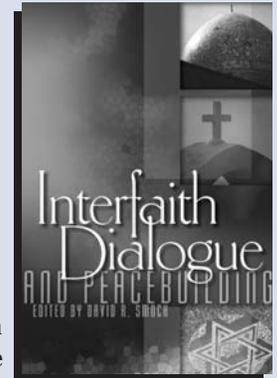
Interfaith Dialogue and Peacebuilding

David R. Smock, editor

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