

OCTOBER/DECEMBER  
2002

# PeaceWatch



Special Double Issue  
Vol. VIII, No. 6/Vol. IX, No. 1

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, DC



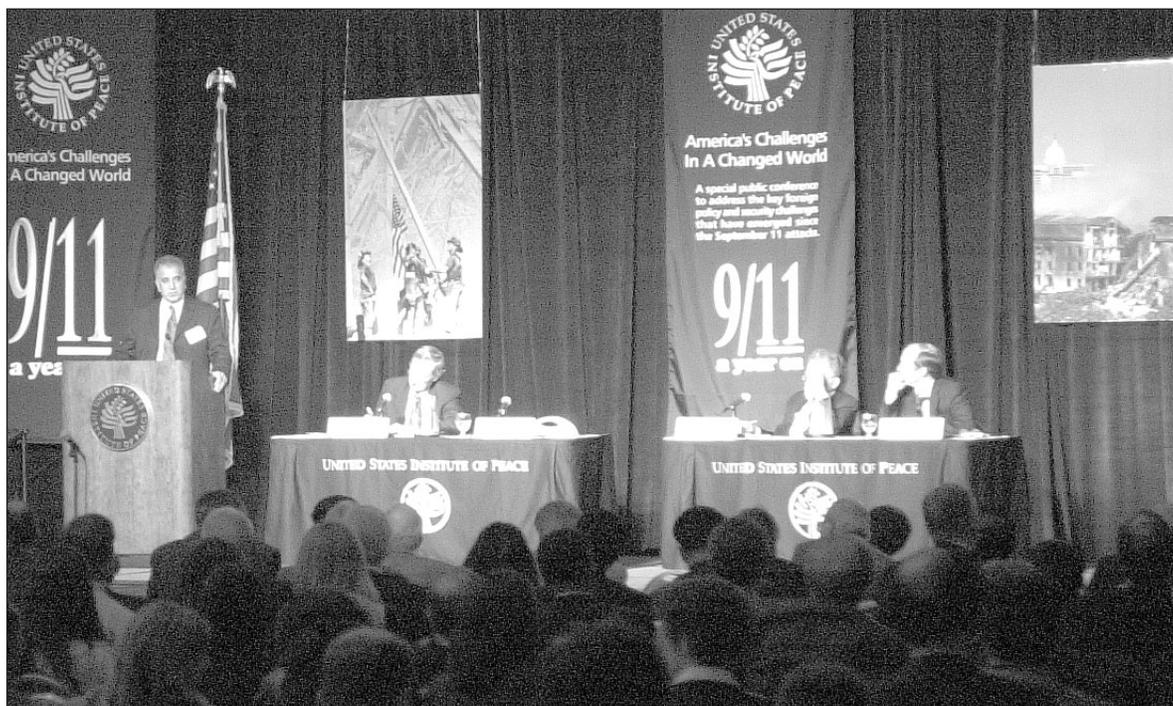
## America's Challenges in a Changed World

# 9.11

A YEAR ON

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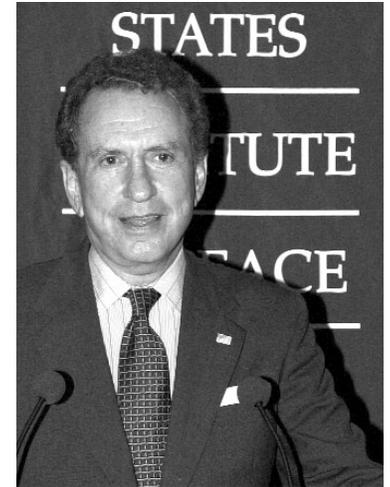


Foreign policy experts review the past year and preview the road ahead at a recent U.S. Institute of Peace conference.

*Top, left to right:* Richard Armitage, Christina Rocca, and Chuck Hagel.



# 9.11 A YEAR ON



Top: Cong. Nancy Pelosi, Sen. Arlen Specter.

Bottom, left to right: Firemen raise the American flag over the World Trade Center rubble; Arlen Specter, Chester Crocker, Harriet Hentges, and Richard Solomon; Marc Leland with conference participants; Nancy Pelosi, Marc Leland, and conference participant.

*“Our objective is to go beyond the specific issues of the day and look at the fundamental, long-term issues raised by the challenge of global terrorism.” With these words, Institute president Richard Solomon opened a day-long conference on September 5 to spark dialogue, debate, and brainstorming on policy development for the nation’s post-9/11 agenda.*

*The conference was organized by the Institute’s Research and Studies Program, led by director Paul Stares, with the support of the entire Institute. Its purpose was to further the Institute’s commitment “to encourage the evolution of foreign and security policies that deal with international conflict by political means,” continued Solomon.*

Chester Crocker, chairman of the Institute’s Board of Directors, emphasized these themes as he summed up the day.

■ “You need power to engage in diplomacy,” said Crocker. Diplomacy and force are not mutually exclusive. As Brent

Scowcroft remarked, “This is the hour for grand strategy.” Strategy includes isolating sectarian Islamic extremists from the wider mass of the Muslim world and developing leverage for diplomacy.

■ Developing strategy requires “strong and unapologetic American leadership,” noted Richard Armitage, but also “singular and concerted efforts of many nations.”

■ Endurance is one of the most important political attributes. Zalmay Khalilzad, speaking of Afghanistan as an example, said, “We are in it for the duration, for the long haul.”

■ Countering terrorism is about working in what Crocker called “zones of turbulence.” The struggle will go beyond Afghanistan and Iraq. Military action is but one element of the battle. Upgrading stability in zones of turbulence is a priority. The globalization paradigm requires better performance in the political arena, particularly as patterns of turbulence lead to exploitation by “bad actors.” Further, America’s role in combating terrorism goes beyond rooting out the terrorists and their supporters. As Samuel Berger noted, “Our future will be defined not by what we destroy but by what we build.”

■ Our engagement should be driven by a vision of hope for

prosperity and good governance. As Senator Chuck Hagel said, “Democratic reform is the only answer to the politics of hatred, radicalism, and violence.”

■ However we define terms such as “multilateralism,” “cooperation,” and “coalition,” these actions are a given, whether the United States acts more-or-less unilaterally with international support or as part of a group. Interdependence is real and recognized in the post-9/11 world. America discovered a sense of its vulnerability in September 2001. It also affirmed its leadership role in collective action against global terror and in galvanizing support for unilateral action.

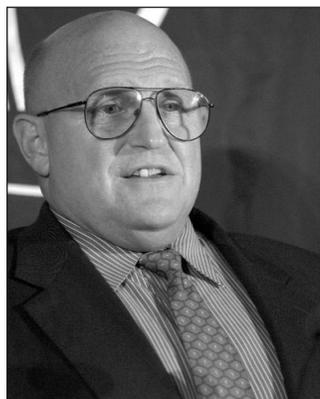
At a reception following the conference, Congresswoman Nancy Pelosi and Senator Arlen Specter emphasized the importance of addressing these long-term issues and cited the conference as an example of the Institute’s vital role in supporting policymakers in these difficult times.





# Turning Vulnerability into Strength

**Strong American leadership and the concerted efforts of many nations are the best ways to meet the challenges of the 21st century, says deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage.**



**H**ow should the United States harness its unprecedented power and influence to meet long-term challenges to peace and at the same time deal with the immediate and overwhelming threat of terrorism?

“With the right blend of leadership, cooperation, and forethought, we’ll not only win the war against terrorism, we will be placing this nation in a far better posture to meet every other challenge to our security in the 21st century,” said deputy secretary of state **Richard Armitage** in his address to the “9/11 a Year On” conference.

Armitage pointed out that the challenges for the State Department are the same as they were before September 11—violence in the Middle East; the spread of weapons of mass destruction; cultivation of China, Russia, and India

as partners rather than competitors; and extending the opportunities of globalization for all.

However, there has been a fundamental change in the way we view these challenges. Armitage described the change as “something of a conundrum”: American preeminence is unprecedented but American vulnerability is more palpable than ever before.

Armitage noted Secretary Powell’s comment that America may not be the world’s policeman, but 911 emergency calls are routed to the United States. The United States has the capacity to quickly mobilize an array of resources. American leadership is vital to the struggle against terrorism as well as its underlying causes.

But leadership is not synonymous with unilateralism, cautioned Armitage. “We act and will continue to act in our own interests whenever necessary without asking for permission, but the fact is we rarely act alone. . . . Today, we would not be winning the war against terrorism without effective multilateral cooperation.” He noted that the profound international implications of the September 11 attacks were evident soon thereafter, as al Qaeda cells were nested in 60 countries and the victims included nationals of 90 countries.

In the short term, international military forces, diplomacy, finance, and policy came together, with 180 countries signing onto the coalition and contributing varied forms of cooperation. In the longer term, the anti-terror effort is leading to patterns of cooperation for facing down future global challenges.

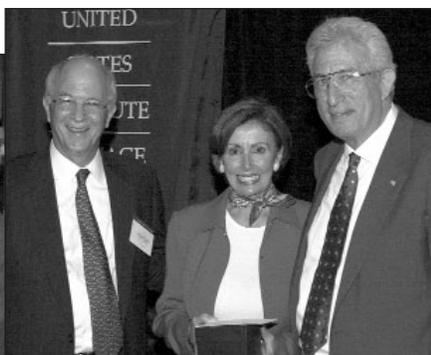
Patterns of cooperation will be necessary to secure lasting and peaceful prosperity, said Armitage. “It will take strong and unapologetic American leadership. But it will also take the singular and concerted efforts of many nations; and it will take global remedies for the underlying pathologies, such as poverty, disease, and tyranny that give rise to anger and to hopelessness and violence.”

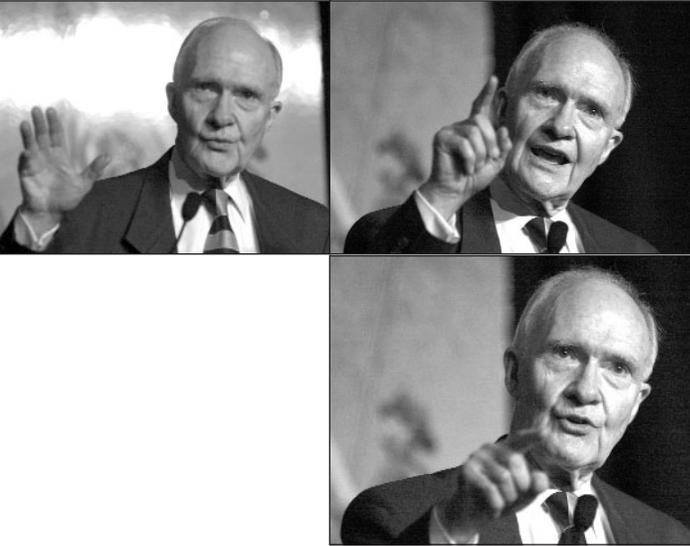
Looking forward, Armitage explained how building on shared values of security, family, and faith is the best long-term strategy. “We are building a baseline that might lead to richer bilateral engagement on a cross-section of issues, from economic development to human rights.

“It is better and cheaper—in terms of blood and money—to resolve some of the problems that can feed and sustain terrorism than to have military operations against it,” concluded Armitage.

*Top left:*  
**Richard Armitage.**

*Bottom, left to right:* Max Kampelman, Chester Crocker, and Samuel Berger; Arlen Specter and Charles Smith; Chester Crocker, Nancy Pelosi, and Richard Solomon; Paul Stares and Paul Pillar.





## How Deep Is the Change?

**Collective, global offense and cooperative, high-tech intelligence are required to break the back of terrorism, says former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft.**

“What has changed? How much of the change is in the world and how much is in us?” asked **Brent Scowcroft**, Forum for International Security and former national security adviser, opening the Institute’s “9/11 a Year On” conference.

Before the events of September 2001, a pair of contradictory but related phenomena was occurring. One was globalization. The other was a breaking down into ever more intolerant political entities, including groups “seeking purity against the onslaught of alien forces.” Scowcroft believes this combination of phenomena was an unexpected breeding ground for terrorism. “We didn’t see it, partly because we tended to see terrorism

as regional or a response to specific grievances.”

Scowcroft said the greatest change is in the United States itself. The attacks were unexpected and Americans felt an unfamiliar vulnerability. The attackers were not another state, which confused existing ideas about warfare and deterrence. The suicidal component in particular is horrific and difficult to combat. However, Americans rallied. Flags were waved rather than burned. Firemen and policemen replaced Wall street tycoons as national heroes.

After September 11, there was a great coming together in the United States and in the world. However, this response is waning: beyond the East Coast, “9/11” no longer has its previous galvanizing effect, trans-Atlantic drift is again apparent, and friction over ongoing problems in such regions as South Asia, Korea, and the Middle East is growing.

Scowcroft pointed out that the second phase of the war on terrorism requires dramatically upscaled intelligence—in both technology and human intelligence. It can only be won on the offensive, says Scowcroft. “Homeland security can reduce the impact of terrorism, but winning requires us to take the war to the terrorists.”

Scowcroft is confident that the war on terrorism can be won, in

*See **How Deep**, page 9*

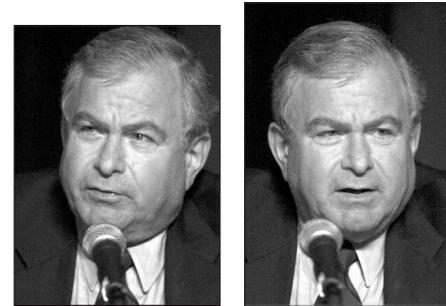
## The Purpose of Power

**September 11 taught important lessons about our vulnerability, resilience, and future challenges, says former national security adviser Samuel Berger.**

**W**hat are the lessons of the attacks and how do we apply them?

The first and most shocking lesson is that we are not invulnerable, said Samuel “Sandy” Berger, president of Stonebridge International and former national security adviser, in his speech at the “9/11 a Year On” conference. However, our response also built confidence in America’s resilience.

“In this war,” said Berger, “Our staying power will be



*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 202-429-3832, fax 202-429-6063, or e-mail [usip\\_requests@usip.org](mailto:usip_requests@usip.org).

*President:* Richard H. Solomon  
*Publications Director:* Dan Snodderly  
*Production Manager:* Marie Marr

*Executive Vice President:* Harriet Hentges  
*Editor:* Renee Y. Storteboom  
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as important as our firepower.”

The attacks also opened up a “home front” and a shift in the American security philosophy. This means shifting from “threat-based” defense to “vulnerability-based” defense: “Where can they hurt us the most? And how can we act now to lower the risks?”

The second lesson is the importance of interdependence. “We can’t walk away from the world, not least because the world will not walk away from us,” said Berger.

Berger then turned to the future, ruminating on the purpose of power. “Our power is a blessing, built on sweat and sacrifice. It helps to define us in the world, for better and for worse.” He reiterated the importance of pursuing American interests in a global context, adding that America must lead by building coalitions.

Finally, while terrorism must remain at the heart of the security agenda, according to Berger, it must not be the entire agenda.

Berger outlined five specific challenges and opportunities within a broad agenda for America.

- Stop the spread of the most dangerous weapons into volatile regions and irresponsible hands.

- Use American influence for peace-building in enduring

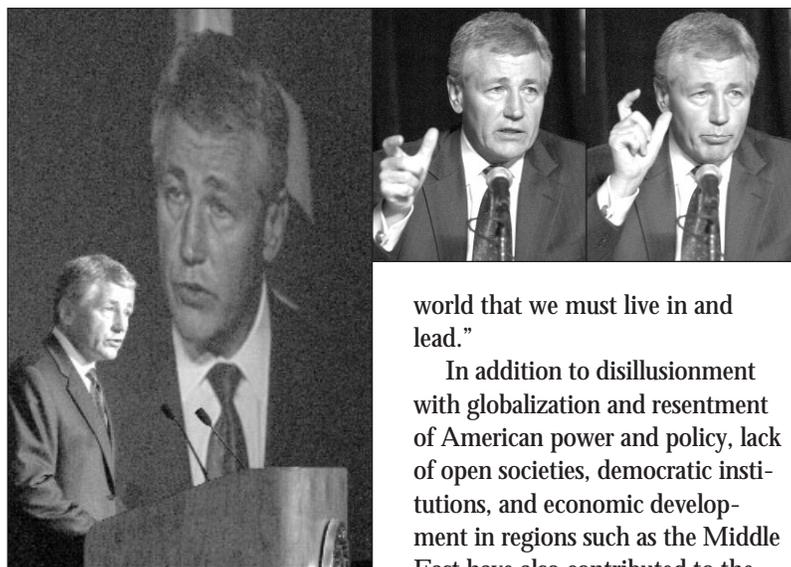
conflicts that often fuel the forces of terrorism. Berger cited the Balkans, South Asia, Korea, and the overriding challenge in the Middle East.

- Offer American leadership to emerging countries in economic crisis, beginning in the western hemisphere. “America cannot be safe in a world where the gap between rich and poor is growing wider,” noted Berger.

See *The Purpose of Power*, page 9

# Meeting the Challenges of Global Leadership

**We have an historic opportunity to build a better world through strong partnerships of common interests, says Senator Chuck Hagel**



world that we must live in and lead.”

In addition to disillusionment with globalization and resentment of American power and policy, lack of open societies, democratic institutions, and economic development in regions such as the Middle East have also contributed to the rise of such groups as al Qaeda.

Terrorism and weapons of mass destruction are our greatest dangers, shared with most of the rest of the world. As common interests, these dangers should not cause division among allies. “America cannot defeat these threats alone,” said Hagel.

The responsibilities and consequences of American leadership have widened since September 11, Hagel noted. America’s role is “inescapable and irreplaceable” in shaping global politics.

“The war on terrorism is a long-term endeavor which will require deep and wide levels of cooperation with many nations over many years in many areas: diplomatic, humanitarian, economic, trade, law enforcement, intelligence, and military force,” continued Hagel.

See *Global Leadership*, page 9

**F**or Senator **Chuck Hagel** the September 2001 attacks “brought home the depth and complexities of the challenges of global American leadership.”

Suddenly, there was new urgency to American leadership beyond its borders. “During the previous decade, American leadership relied on riding the waves of the American economic miracle, maintaining alliances, and managing regional conflicts that never touched our shores. It was more management than leadership,” Hagel explained at the “9/11 a Year On” conference.

Taking a broader perspective reveals that “in many ways the benefits of globalization may reach only those who read *The Economist*,” said Hagel. “Current economic and demographic indicators are a sobering reminder of the

*For the full text of conference speeches and panel presentations, see our website: [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org)*





## Looking Back on a Year of War

A panel of experts reviews the accomplishments and challenges of the war on terrorism.

Much has been accomplished, much needs to be done. This was the consensus of the panel discussion on “The War on Terrorism: A Year On” at the Institute’s “9/11 a Year On” conference.

The Institute’s Research and Studies Program director, **Paul Stares**, chaired the panel, which included **Paul Pillar**, National Intelligence Council, **Brian Jenkins**, RAND, and **Paul Bremer**, Marsh and McLennan Companies.

Stares set the agenda with four questions: Where are we? What have we accomplished? What are the challenges of the next phase? Are we “winning” or at least on the right trajectory?

Pillar emphasized, “The net effect on how well we do in this effort rests first of all on the depth of commitment of the American public and how that commitment gets expressed in Congress and elsewhere in our government.” The United States must use all available tools in the coming phase, be aware of the contributions and activities of other countries in the effort, and sustain public interest and commitment.

Jenkins reminded listeners that al Qaeda remains a formidable threat in spite of the Taliban’s ouster from

Afghanistan through military means and a weakening of the communication and financial resources of the terror network. He defined terrorism as an “enterprise”—a system or process—rather than an organization that can be defeated. Disrupting operations and growth of al Qaeda’s enterprise must remain the primary objective of the war on terror.

Both Jenkins and Bremer said that there are new elements to the most threatening of the terrorist groups. Jenkins noted a stated willingness to go beyond previously self-imposed limits against using weapons of mass destruction. Bremer agreed, adding that the importance of religious extremism

*See Looking Back, page 9*

## Securing Afghanistan’s Future

As the political and economic rehabilitation of Afghanistan continues, the international community needs to give more attention to security issues.

Security is the top priority. A panel on “Afghanistan and the Future of Post-Conflict Reconstruction” at the Institute’s “9/11 a Year On” conference agreed that rehabilitation will not move forward without basic secu-

urity. Proving the point, a foiled attack on Afghan president Hamid Karzai and two bomb blasts rocked Kabul that same day.

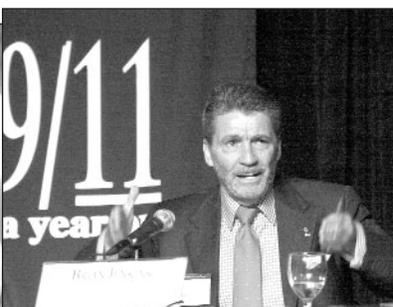
**Richard Kauzlarich**, director of the Institute’s Special Initiative on the Muslim World, moderated the panel, which included **Barnett Rubin**, New York University, **Michael Sheehan**, UN assistant secretary general, and **Zalmay Khalilzad**, U.S. special envoy to Afghanistan.

Rubin began by categorizing Afghanistan not as a post-conflict state but rather as one of “disorder and violence.” He pointed to three key issues that hinder Afghanistan’s recovery: breakdown of order, lack of policing, and a void of security. Rubin also provided reasons for optimism, notably the return of refugees, the establishment of a government in Kabul, an emerging media, good relations with neighboring states, and the United States’ pledge to continue to support the international security assistance force (ISAF) and consider its expansion beyond the capital.

“A swamp of terrorism” is how Sheehan described Afghanistan. He cited several conditions leading to this status before September 2001. Afghanistan is geographically isolated, without adequate communication systems and a central authority. The Taliban welcomed and supported al Qaeda, allowing them to operate with impunity. Sheehan, in agreement with Rubin, emphasized the impor-

*See Afghanistan, page 16*

Bottom, left to right: Geoffrey Kemp; Brian Jenkins; Deepa Ollapally listens to Christina Rocca; Paul Pillar; Paul Bremer.





## Prospects for Peace in the Middle East

**Peace in the region is possible, but much work needs to be done and the United States must take a lead role.**

In the midst of continuing violence, donor fatigue, and numerous other impediments, hope for peace in the Middle East is still alive, says a panel of experts. **Rita Hauser** of the Hauser Foundation moderated the panel at the Institute's "9/11 a Year On" conference. The panel included **Martin Indyk** of the Brookings Institution, **Shibley Telhami** of the University of Maryland, and **Geoffrey Kemp** of the Nixon Center.

Indyk cited four reasons for hope in spite of the seemingly hopeless situation between the Israelis and Palestinians. First, there is a sense of exhaustion and war-weariness on the part of the Palestinians. Second, this battle fatigue is shared by Israelis, as citizens express a growing willingness to make painful compromises to achieve peace and security. Third, Israeli prime minister Ariel Sharon has political reasons for seeking peace to build a solid platform for re-election. Finally, the United States began more active engagement, shifting to what President Bush called a

vision of a democratic Palestinian state living in peace alongside Israel.

While he agrees with Indyk on a number of issues, Telhami is less optimistic about the possibility of peace. He acknowledges a near-term opportunity for peaceful progress on some issues. However, he contends that the combination of past experience and present practicalities make real progress on most issues unlikely. Ongoing violence, perpetrated by both sides; poor Palestinian living conditions; and the psychological impacts of the conflict make peace an unfathomable concept to many.

Telhami stated that breakthroughs in peace processes occur  
*See Middle East, page 16*

## Prospects for Peace in South Asia

**Paradoxically, the events of 9/11 may have thrown a much-needed spotlight on a region rife with conflict and a dangerous level of arms.**

"Throughout South Asia, the search for prosperity and democracy is too often overshadowed by the specter of war," said **Christina Rocca**, assistant secretary of state for South Asian affairs, at a panel during the Institute's "9/11 a Year On" conference.

**Deepa Ollapally**, program officer in the Institute's Special Initiative on the Muslim World, moderated the panel, which included Rocca as well as **Strobe Talbott**, president of the Brookings Institution, and **Nayan Chanda** of Yale University.

Rocca described recent administration interactions with Pakistan and India, noting that both sides have reaffirmed their desire for a peaceful political solution to their conflict. Kashmir is now firmly on the international agenda, as is encouraging continued India-Pakistan dialogue.

Rocca reminded listeners of conflicts in Sri Lanka and Nepal. While there is hope for a cessation of hostilities in Sri Lanka, Rocca is less optimistic about events in Nepal. She said that the administration hopes to play a productive role in assisting these nations to settle their differences, "not as a meddler nor as a mediator, but as somebody whose good offices can help bring people to the table."

Talbott zeroed in on arms control in the region, specifically the nuclear programs of feuding India and Pakistan. He listed five "benchmark issues" of past dialogue between the United States and both India and Pakistan.

- Getting India and Pakistan to sign the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty;
- Breathing new life into the Fissile Material Cutoff Treaty;
- Engaging both countries on the export controls on dangerous technology and nuclear know-how;
- Encouraging strategic restraint to bring the danger of fall-out

*See South Asia, page 16*

*Bottom, left to right: Barnett Rubin; Martin Indyk and Shibley Telhami; Zalmay Khalilzad; Zalmay Khalilzad, Barnett Rubin, and Michael Sheehan; Rita Hauser.*





# Another Main Chance for American Leadership

CHESTER A. CROCKER AND RICHARD H. SOLOMON



The terrorist attack of a year ago had much the same effect on our country as the attack on Pearl Harbor of December 7, 1941. Overnight it exposed our national security vulnerabilities, galvanized the American people to embrace a new defense agenda, and laid the basis for global U.S. leadership. What is not clear today is whether the administration, Congress, and the American people can come together around a comprehensive, long-term strategy for international leadership designed to create the conditions for global security as well as economic and political progress in the 21st century.

One year into the war on terrorism, we are demonstrating again the capacity to deal, alone if need be, coercively with immediate enemy targets. But, as professional soldiers are the first to recognize, successful military actions create brief windows of opportunity, not

lasting political results. To have enduring strategic impact, a successful military campaign should be viewed as buying time for constructing political solutions and institutional frameworks to cope with challenges and threats.

No nation has more at stake than the United States in making a success of the war on terrorism, and no nation has more to lose if we waste today's unique opportunity to galvanize international

cooperation. A comprehensive national security strategy must knit together responses to the terrorist threat with anti-proliferation measures, the global war on the drug trade and other criminal business networks (which finance much terrorist activity), a program of post-conflict reconstruction and economic reform for failed and failing states, and promotion of democracy, rule of law, and human rights.

The war on terrorism, thus far, has achieved some remarkable successes. But these victories could be short-lived unless we prosecute this war in a robust political context, and implement a broad-based strategy to shape surrounding regions. That means using the panoply of our security-related tools: alliances and military assistance programs to bolster friends and train local forces; our lead role in international and regional security organizations, such as the United Nations and NATO, to

build workable restraints on weapons proliferation and to share the costs and burdens of peace operations and conflict management; negotiation and mediation resources; and public diplomacy tools and media and educational resources.

President Bush has successfully galvanized a major national effort focusing on the immediate perpetrators of September 11. As he and the American people weigh the next set of momentous decisions, we will do well to focus, first, on how to make the post-conflict phase succeed in Afghanistan. Allies in Europe, the Middle East, and Central Asia want to know if we have the will to see this enterprise through to some acceptable conclusion.

The more fundamental challenge—working with those in the Islamic world who share our values and goals as we confront the extremists—is likely to be a generation-long struggle. We have a profound, long-term commitment to achieving a satisfactory Middle East settlement. We must continue to do so, basing our approach on the merits of the situation, not on the timing and tactics of possible U.S.-led efforts at regime change in Iraq. By the same token, a possible U.S. decision to overturn the regime of Saddam Hussein cannot be based on an Arab-Israeli calculus. It should flow from a strategic assessment of how best to bring about a positive



realignment of political forces in the Persian Gulf/Arabian Peninsula. Removing Saddam Hussein is only one potential stroke on a wider canvas—are we going to occupy and run this region directly, for how long, with what instruments, and with what companions?

Similar choices confront Americans and our allies on a range of related issues. Can we develop the ideas and instruments for a serious, long-term conversation about change, modernization, and democracy with the varied societies of the Islamic world? How can we best engage the Pakistans, Indonesias, Irans, and Nigerias? In how many situations—apart from the Middle East—should the U.S. play a lead role as peacemaker? In Sudan? In Kashmir?

Underlying these questions are strategic choices for preventing the emergence of evil regimes and dealing with those which are already with us. We have only begun the post-September 11 debate on issues of engagement versus containment and isolation, deterrence versus preemption and regime change. This debate needs to be grounded in a sense of what is politically and strategically sustainable in the context of each case and of the broader network of global relations at the center of which we stand as a superpower.

In sum, there is no quick and dirty military solution to the terrorism and turmoil brought home to us on September 11. Fifty years ago this country responded to a direct attack on American territory by mobilizing for a long-term struggle. Today, in a very different world, we have another unique opportunity to build upon our recent military success by developing a comprehensive strategy for mobilizing domestic resources and a global coalition in support of a more stable and secure international system.

## How Deep Is the Change?

*continued from page 4*

the same way the war on organized crime can be won. “There will not be a treaty signed aboard the battleship Missouri, but we can break its back so that it is only a horrible nuisance and not a paralyzing influence on our societies.”

But winning the war is not enough. We have to try to find new ways to reach out to those people who have not benefited from globalization. “We must learn to walk and chew gum at the same time.”

## The Purpose of Power

*continued from page 5*

- Continue to integrate former adversaries Russia and China into the international community.
- Bring a greater sense of urgency to the environment that we are leaving to future generations.

Concluding, Berger reminded listeners of these words, spoken by President Franklin Roosevelt in 1940 and inscribed on the Capitol: “We defend and we build a way of life, not for America alone, but for all mankind.”

## Global Leadership

*continued from page 5*

The relationships, collective security agreements, and multinational organizations that, along with American power, have maintained international stability since World War II must continue to be nourished and strengthened, according to Hagel. “These associations and institutions have represented common denominator self-interests through coalitions of common interests.”

Hagel averred that the world is

ready to work with the United States when the cause is clear and just. He cited the Cold War, the Gulf War, and Afghanistan as examples. “Very few questioned our right to wage war against the Taliban and al Qaeda. It was not only our right, it was the responsibility of the United States to end that regime and the use of Afghanistan as a base for global terrorism.”

Hagel called for engagement driven by more than cold security calculations, but also by a vision offering hope for prosperity and good governance. “This is especially critical in the Middle East, where democratic reform is the only answer to the politics of hatred, radicalism, and violence,” he said.

Hagel concluded, “The challenges before us are great. But so is the potential for progress and an historic opportunity to help build a better world. This potential will not be fulfilled without American coalition-building and strong partnerships of common interests.”

## Looking Back

*continued from page 6*

—as in the case of al Qaeda—represents a shift in motives.

Bremer added that the real questions might be “Has anything really changed? Have we really learned a lesson?” He pointed to a need for improved domestic intelligence and for being prepared to take bold—even preemptive—steps.

In sum, terrorist groups have been put on notice, and on the most-wanted list. All agreed that the initial military phase had been a success. Both international and domestic mobilization against terrorism contributed to that success and remain important for the next phase. As a result, Afghanistan is a less hospitable place for terrorists and sees a brighter future.



# Building Regional Cooperation in the Balkans



Young political and civic leaders from Serbia and Kosovo build partnerships for peace through dialogue facilitated by the Institute.

The Institute brought 30 young leaders from Serbia and Kosovo together last September in Washington, D.C., for a week of team-building exercises, skills training, and dialogue on regional cooperation as well as appointments with government and non-governmental leaders. The group included leaders of the high-profile Kosovo nongovernmental organization The Forum and the Serbian organization Otpor (“Resistance”), which played a key role in bringing down Slobodan Milosevic.

The young leaders have met privately since July 2001 as part of a continuing program called Partnerships for Peace (PFP), sponsored by the Department of State and the Institute and overseen by its founder, Institute consultant **Albert Cevallos**. PFP aims include building regional cooperation by strengthening communication and dialogue, encouraging identification of common inter-

ests, and facilitating the development of habits of collaboration and compromise.

Participants first devoted a day in the northern Virginia countryside for team-building exercises in which mutual trust and collaborative effort were essential to overcome a variety of physical obstacles. These activities built on previous interaction among the participants under the auspices of the PFP program, and served to strengthen ties within this diverse group.

These intense outdoor activities were followed by a day-long problem-solving and negotiation skills workshop led by **George Ward** and **Curtis Morris** of the Institute’s Training Program. This workshop set the stage and prepared participants for a complex three-day, computer-based exercise simulating the resource allocation challenges confronting national and international decision-makers in a post-conflict situation. This innovative role-play,

“The Strategic Economic Needs and Security Simulation Exercise” (SENSE), was created by **Richard White** of the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA), in collaboration with the Institute, and was made possible by the support of the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). SENSE models the conditions in an imaginary (but eerily familiar) post-conflict country. Players representing government officials, private firms, and international donors are challenged to identify and coordinate economic, social, and political policies aimed at bringing about recovery and reconstruction.

For the simulation, the young Serbs and Kosovars were joined by an additional 19 participants from USAID. Some participants played international roles and the rest were divided into three competing and mutually suspicious ethnic groups. The conflict-seasoned Balkan participants and experienced USAID officials applied their real world experiences to the



simulation with enthusiasm, sophistication, and creativity, noted one of the facilitators, Training program officer **Ray Caldwell**. They showed great skill in overcoming differences and finding collaborative solutions to problems, even as they played particular roles and wrestled with ethnic histories and identities.

Members of the group rounded out the week in an open meeting of the Institute's Balkans Working Group. The young leaders detailed plans for a regional anti-corruption campaign and a get-out-the-vote drive specifically targeting Serbs in Kosovo and Albanians in southern Serbia. They pledged to help facilitate inter-ethnic dialogue. Their long-term goals include strengthening government institutions, improving human rights, and assisting the return of displaced persons. The participants completed their stay in Washington by meeting with members of the National Security Council, the U.S. Department of State, and other governmental and international organizations to discuss the challenges they all face in the Balkans.

PFPP's work continues and will remain a peace-building resource in the region. PFPP participants now constitute a growing network of activists contributing to the effort to find non-violent and just solutions to the many problems confronting the people of Serbia and Kosovo.

## Election Season in the Balkans

### Balkan-watchers review autumn elections in Bosnia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Montenegro, and Serbia.

**D**uring the recent election season, a strong protest vote hurt moderates in Bosnia and Serbia, helped them in Macedonia and failed to unseat them in Montenegro. The voters seem to be protesting the lack of economic progress rather than returning to virulent nationalism.

A Balkans Working Group meeting on September 6 focused on "The Balkans Election Season: Intractable Problems, Persistent Nationalism." That meeting and subsequent post-election discussions yielded the following conclusions. The fact that these elections occurred under relatively free and fair conditions sends a hopeful signal. In much of the region, however, nationalists hold the upper hand despite the declining threat of violence and increased attention to economic issues. Unfulfilled expectations fuel voter apathy and hostility to reform.

- In Bosnia, economic concerns surpass ethnic identification and nationalism, although the Bosnian Croat community still dreams of its own entity and nationalists remain dominant in Republika Srpska. Nationalist parties did better than Prime Minister **Zlatko Lagumdžija** predicted in a July appearance at the Institute, but a return to violence is not expected.
- Kosovo enjoyed some of the best-implemented elections in the region, marred by the post-election murder of **Uke Bytygi**, a mayor who had participated in Institute activities. The municipal institutions those elections are supposed to empower remain weak.
- The elections in Macedonia were deemed a success. They were "free and fair." Moderate Macedonian parties will govern with an Albanian party led by a former guerrilla leader. Challenges remain in meeting requirements of the peace agreement and responding to social and economic troubles.
- Having survived his decision to keep Montenegro at least temporarily within a common governing structure with Serbia, President Djukanovic's pro-independence coalition won an absolute majority in Parliament, where it will face major economic challenges.
- Many of Serbia's voters (approximately 25 percent of the population) are disheartened with politics, leading to an invalid presidential election because more than 50 percent of registered voters did not go to the polls.

See *Balkans*, page 16

*Opposite: A Partnerships for Peace participant places himself in the hands of other participants in a trust-building exercise.*

*Bottom: Partnerships for Peace and USAID participants in the SENSE training.*





# Teaching Peace *in a* Changing World

Summer Institute for Secondary School Teachers connects global drama to local classrooms.

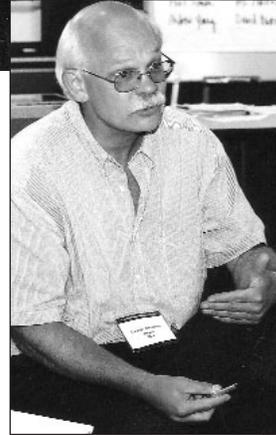
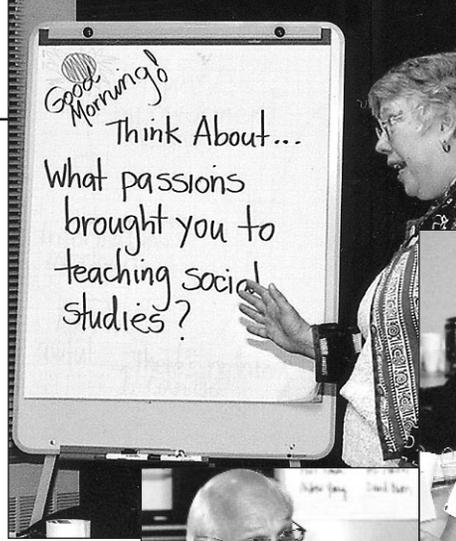
*Clockwise from top:* Presenter Carol Miller Lieber; teachers Diane Koury and Barbara Carvalho; teachers Betty Braun Kleinfeld and Wellesley Clayton; teacher George Thornton.

*Bottom:* Participants and organizers of the 2002 Summer Institute for Secondary School Teachers.

**M**y passion for teaching is to make the deeper connections by asking why history matters,” says **Esther Adams**, of the Walworth Barbour American School in Israel, a 2002 Summer Institute participant.

The eleventh Summer Institute was the first one after the events of September 11, 2001 and echoes of related issues were felt during the 2002 seminar. Twenty-seven teachers from seventeen states, Israel, and Canada gathered for the Summer Institute for Secondary School Teachers on July 28–August 2 to learn about international conflict issues and integrating those issues into the classroom.

**Julie Hansen**, a founder of the Stevens School of Peacham (Vermont), said that her rural students had not understood how global events touch their lives before the terrorist attack. This has changed. “It has brought them closer to adulthood in a way. It is clear they are needed in the world. They are eager to learn and know it is important to understand. In my classroom I constantly try to remind myself and reinforce to the students that we can be constructive and not destructive.”



The teachers spent the week engaging with educational and political experts from the Institute and Washington’s policy community, sharing techniques and experiences, and learning about new information technologies and tools.

*The intensive seminar included both teaching methods and content:*

- **John Rossi** of the School of Education, Virginia Commonwealth University, demonstrated “scored discussion”—a technique whereby students score the quality of their discussions—as one of a number of teaching techniques presented that would engage students in critical debate on current global issues.
- International affairs experts on various regions and policymakers briefed the teachers on current events, conflicts, and global problems. One session focused specifically on terrorism. Among others were conflict and the environment, the ethics of military intervention, and peace and conflict in Africa.
- Several participants appeared on Voice of America’s *Talk to America* to discuss how global issues impact their various school settings, from public, urban schools to small, private schools.
- Sessions on new library and information technologies demonstrated tools for connecting students to a broader world. Hansen commented, “I don’t want kids to feel powerless; they’re not. We can get information to question why things are and what seems wrong.”
- Institute executive vice president **Harriet Hentges**

See *Teaching Peace*, page 14



# Free Voices in Afghanistan

**Media in Afghanistan needs infrastructure, bureaucratic cooperation, and political will to aid in the country's reconstruction.**

**T**here is nothing to read in Afghanistan," says **Ahmed Rashid**. With a dearth of radio and TV stations, an illiteracy rate of some eighty percent, and a nation decimated by war, Afghans ignore media development at their peril.

Rashid, a Pakistani journalist and best-selling author, described the prospects for free and independent media in Afghanistan at a Current Issues Briefing, organized with Internews, at the Institute on September 24. **Richard Kauzlarich**, director of the Institute's Special Initiative on the Muslim World, moderated the discussion.

"There are two conflicting needs for media," says Rashid. First, the central government needs to send out its messages of peace, reconciliation, and reconstruction. However, the government is hampered by the lack of necessary infrastructure. Second, a parallel effort is needed to promote independent media: radio and TV stations, newspapers, and so on. Rashid says progress has been slow and it is very difficult to find Afghan groups willing and able to set up radio stations and other media outlets.

Hamid Karzai's new central government has committed itself to free expression and free press. Bureaucratic support for starting newspapers and radio stations is limited but there is open encouragement for Afghans to become involved in media. "The trend certainly is very correct," says Rashid. "That now has to be exploited by Afghans and donors to the maximum."

Rashid described several challenges. A concept of independent journalism must be agreed on and inculcated in the culture. Also, the central government must be pressured to keep its promises on open media by enshrining freedom of expression and of the press in the constitution as it is being drafted.

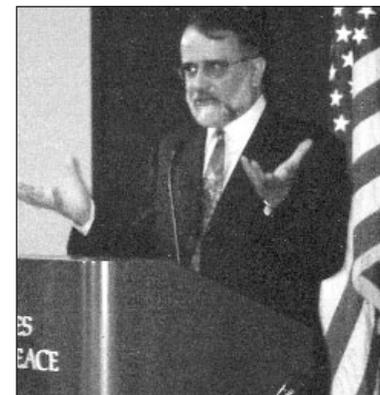
Further, infrastructure requires huge investment. Everything from electricity to tape recorders to printing presses is needed. Reliable roads and transport are needed to build distribution networks. Rashid noted that in Kandahar and Mazar, cities of more than a million people each, there is not a single press. "How are you going to be able to influence people there if

*"There are two conflicting needs for media," says Rashid.*

*First, the central government needs to send out its messages*

*of peace, reconciliation, and reconstruction. . . . Second, a parallel effort is needed to promote independent media: radio and TV stations, newspapers, and so on.*

—Ahmed Rashid



you are not going to have media, including some sort of print media?" asked Rashid.

There is also a political challenge in the form of conflict within the central government over factional control of government media. Karzai cannot tackle this challenge alone. Rashid says American pressure is needed to "allow a genuine central government-run TV and radio to project the view of the central government rather than the views of one faction.

"Extending the writ of the central government across the country needs media," added Rashid. Media plays an integral role in building peace and dealing with warlordism, ethnicity, and tribalism. Indeed, everything the Afghans and the international community are trying to do to rebuild Afghanistan requires media—literacy, elections, a new constitution, reconstruction, education, and healthcare.

Some progress has been made. Rashid himself founded the Open Media Fund for Afghanistan (OMFA), a small fund to promote print media. They are funding publications for children, women, and multiple language constituencies. OMFA funded the first satirical magazine in Afghanistan. "It's annoyed all the warlords," said Rashid, smiling.

Rashid believes that the development of a free and independent media in Afghanistan would have a large impact in the broader Muslim world, and especially in the Central Asia region, by setting a precedent for others to follow.



### The “Odd Jobs” Corps

*Special Police Units fill peace-keeping security niche in Kosovo.*

A semblance of civil administration was beginning to develop in Kosovo by the time the Special Police Units (SPUs) deployed to the area between 2000 and 2002. Nonetheless, the SPUs—a constabulary force that was part of the UN police—landed among hostile forces, suspicious citizens, and doubtful colleagues. Trained primarily for public disorder management, the SPUs ultimately became a kind of “odd jobs” corps among peacekeeping actors in Kosovo, who also included the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) and the interna-

refugees; border patrol; and arresting organized crime figures.

When it came to fulfilling their original mandate, the SPUs faced serious obstacles, including logistical challenges, miscommunication with KFOR, and an ever-changing scene on the ground. These problems caused misunderstandings, impacted cooperation and preparedness, and ultimately caused casualties, Perito said.

As the area stabilizes, the services of the SPUs and other peacekeepers are giving way to a nascent local administration. The SPUs will be replaced by similar units of the Kosovo Police Service (KPS).

tary support for “peace stabilization” to peacekeepers in Afghanistan. Further, American support for the international security assistance force (ISAF) in Afghanistan and consideration of its expansion beyond the capital “signal substantial U.S. engagement.” This bolstered his description of a new-found consensus that “these issues can often be of critical importance to U.S. national security.”

### Education and Peace for Mindanao

The Institute’s Education Program joined the Asian Institute of Management in Manila in September for a certificate course on the role of peace education in response to conflict in Mindanao, Philippines. Education program officer **Alan Tidwell** and program director **Pamela Aall** facilitated the seminar. Former Institute fellow **Amina Rasul-Bernardo** also participated in the seminar.

Representatives from four universities, mostly based in Mindanao, took part in the meeting. Four tangible outcomes resulted:

### Humanitarian Tools of Engagement

Senior fellow **Eric Schwartz** presented a project report on September 24 on “Tools of Engagement: Saving Lives, Restoring Community, and the Challenge of Humanitarian Response.”

Do failed states really matter? asked Schwartz. They do matter, he said, but which ones and how to respond remain open questions among policymakers.

Schwartz reviewed policy from the Clinton administration, with which he served, and the Bush administration—particularly since September 11, 2001. He said that the American response in Afghanistan suggests some important changes in doctrine, if not in practice.

Schwartz bemoaned the fact that the international community has been slow to make good on their pledges for Afghan reconstruction. He said that only 30 percent of promised assistance had actually come through.

The Bush administration, though reluctant to commit American troops to international peacekeeping, has provided mili-



**Above: Robert Perito, third from the left, in Kosovo.**

tional security force known as KFOR.

Senior fellow **Robert Perito**, recently returned from Kosovo, described the original plans for and the eventual reality of the SPUs at a July 25 meeting at the Institute.

The ten units of 115 officers each from eight countries were trained in their own countries, as complete units, for crowd control in the face of public demonstrations and violence. Their actual responsibilities included static guard duty at events, prisons, factories, and UN facilities; escorting

### Teaching Peace

*Continued from page 12*  
and Institute president **Richard Solomon** sought input from the teachers, as frontline educators, into the plans for the Institute’s future new headquarters.

The Summer Institute is an annual opportunity to make global and local connections, to learn from the past, and to help teachers prepare their students for the changing world they will inherit.

*The deadline for applications for the 2003 Summer Institute is February 2003. For a free brochure, please contact the Education Program at [education@usip.org](mailto:education@usip.org) or call 202-429-3854.*



- a rapporteur's report describing the highlights of the meeting;
- an additional meeting among the heads and representatives of five universities to talk about possible next steps including establishment of a peace education network, a regional or national peace institute, and a peace education program in Mindanao;
- a listserv of all participants that remains active; and
- keen interest from the vice governor of the Autonomous Region of Muslim Mindanao, who is also the secretary of education, in setting up a peace education program for high school principals in Mindanao who could then train their high school teachers.

### Naoto Kan Discusses Japanese Foreign Policy

An effective Japanese foreign and security policy needs informed, active citizens and a successful relationship with the United States, according to **Naoto Kan**, secretary general of the Democratic Party of Japan (DPJ) and seven-term member of the House of Representatives.

Kan spoke at an August 14 briefing with Washington-area Asia experts co-hosted by the Institute's Research and Studies Program with the Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs. Kan was accompanied by **Motohisa Ikeda**, also a DPJ member of the House of Representatives.

The DPJ was originally established by Kan in 1996 and the "new" DPJ was formed in April 1998, unifying four existing parties.

Kan emphasized that the success of the U.S.-Japanese relationship is a central priority of the DPJ's foreign policy agenda. He explained that his vision for the future includes increasing the capacity of Japanese citizens to make responsible and informed

## On the Hill

Planning, commitment, and cash are vital to American contributions to post-conflict reconstruction. This was the consensus of panelists at an October 7 briefing, "The Challenges and Lessons of Post-Conflict Reconstruction." The Institute organized the briefing to present and discuss potential responsibilities in Iraq, current commitments in Afghanistan, and ongoing efforts in the Balkans to congressional foreign policy staff. Senators **Tom Harkin** and **Arlen Specter** sponsored the meeting.

Panelists included **George Joulwan**, former commander in chief of the United States European Command and the 11th supreme Allied commander for Europe, **Frederick Barton**, former United Nations deputy high commissioner for refugees and a founder of the U.S. Agency for International Development's Office of Transition Initiatives, and **Daniel Serwer**, director of the Institute's Balkans Initiative. Serwer subsequently published an opinion article in the October 28 *Los Angeles Times*. Institute president **Richard Solomon** moderated the panel.

*The panel drew on experience in Bosnia and Afghanistan for lessons to apply in a post-conflict scenario in Iraq, as well as more generally.*

- Power after war grows from the barrel of a gun. The burden of administration, however, should be lifted from the military and handed over to civilian actors as soon as feasible. This requires careful civilian-military cooperation and scheduling.
- Who do you work with on the ground? How do you undo having backed the warlords or others for expediency?
- Conflict prevention remains a priority for managing competing ethnic groups and building security.
- Civilian police should be on the ground at the same time as the military. "Rule of law cannot wait," said Serwer. It is important to preempt the growth of organized crime and corruption.

Barton summed up the four pillars of reconstruction that are simultaneously vital: security, governance, economics, and the rule of law.

decisions regarding their country's foreign and security policies.

### Virtual Diplomacy Directors Contribute to Security Conference

In July 2002, Virtual Diplomacy Initiative co-directors **Sheryl Brown** and **Margarita Studemeister** helped develop themes for the 2002 Dwight D. Eisenhower National Security Conference, entitled "National Security for the 21st Century: Anticipating Challenges, Seizing Opportu-

nities, Building Capabilities," held in September in Washington, D.C. The conference was co-sponsored by the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, the Conference Board, the Peter F. Drucker Foundation for Non-Profit Management, the Lexington Institute, the United States Army, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense (Net Assessment).

*Planning, commitment, and cash are vital to American contributions to post-conflict reconstruction.*



## Afghanistan

*continued from page 6*

tance of security, noting that the assistance mission will remain a step behind in the reconstruction process until security is established.

The United States' three main goals in Afghanistan, according to Khalilzad, were to root out al Qaeda, remove the Taliban from power, and ensure that conditions fostering terrorism do not resume. He noted that these objectives had been largely accomplished in addition to providing an opening for the people of Afghanistan to participate in government.

Khalilzad is concerned that the complicated process of moving from total instability to transitional government, Loya Jirga, and election of a new government has gone too quickly. On the other hand, he is frustrated by the slow pace of improving economic conditions, establishing an indigenous police force, and building a functioning judicial system. He called for the international community to come through on the aid promises made in Tokyo.

In addition to the vital issues of security and rebuilding Afghan forces and institutions, Khalilzad noted two key areas to be addressed: isolation and capacity. To respond to isolation, trade and economic development between Afghanistan and other countries in the region require improvement. Direct financial assistance to the central government is necessary to build the capacity of the new government. He also said we need to diligently pursue the remnants of al Qaeda.

Finally, Khalilzad focused on the political track that Afghanistan is currently taking. He is encouraged that the Bonn Agreement and transitional government were successful. He cautioned that the United States must remain com-

mitted in the long-term to seeing success in Afghanistan. "The success of Afghanistan is the success of the United States."

## Middle East

*continued from page 7*

most often due to courageous leadership rather than the fact that parties have learned from the past. He is not confident that the current leadership can or will make such a breakthrough, unless the United States gets involved.

The panel also considered the regional implications of this conflict. Kemp argued that Iraq and Iran have a vested interest in destroying the Arab-Israeli peace process, while the opposite is true for Saudi Arabia. Asked about war in Iraq, he said that a quick decisive campaign would not change the situation between Israel and the Palestinians but if the war goes badly it could destabilize the region, particularly Jordan.

All the panelists agreed that there is much work to be done to lay and re-lay the groundwork for peace. Trust between belligerents must be built before there is progress. The United States can play a role in building trust, as neither Sharon nor Palestinian leader Yasir Arafat can gain the trust of the other side alone. Also, the United States must recognize and prepare for the effect its actions in other parts of the region have on the peace process. Finally, the United States must pursue its relations in the region with caution and a careful strategy, being aware that even small mistakes can have large and negative implications.

## South Asia

*continued from page 7*

under control; and

- Promoting continued India-Pakistan dialogue, to diffuse the conflict.

Talbott said it was sobering to see how little progress had been made on these benchmark issues, with the exception of export controls and India-Pakistan dialogue.

Chanda called September 11 a bolt of lightning that illuminated the key issues in South Asia. He specifically cited the new alliance forged between Pakistan and the United States and the fact that this has brought much-needed attention to the Kashmir issue. As for steps toward peace, Chanda said Pakistan needed to continue its efforts to stop infiltration and control militants in Kashmir, and India needed to ensure an impartial environment for elections in Kashmir.

## Balkans

*continued from page 11*

President Kostunica's appeal to national continuity and stability proved more reassuring to many voters than the plans of reformers, which have not produced visible gains in the short time since their implementation.

*To help secure the still fragile peace in the Balkans, the international community can:*

- Re-emphasize engagement and transition rather than exit strategies;
- Improve the rule of law, breaking nationalists' link to illegal sources of revenue and ending immunity for reformers;
- Strengthen self-governance, making elections a means of building up indigenous institutions with real power over policies that affect citizens' lives; and
- Encourage responsible, independent investigative journalism.

# InstitutePeople

Research and Studies program officer **TIM DOCKING** appeared on National Public Radio's (NPR) *All Things Considered*, speaking about the Bush administration's policy toward Africa on August 25. On August 30, he spoke on NPR's *Tavis Smiley Show* about the World Summit on Sustainable Development in Johannesburg. On the September 20 *Africa Journal*, a Voice of America television show, he was interviewed about Sharia law in northern Nigeria. Finally, Radio France International interviewed Docking on October 3 about ECOWAS's role in mediating between the rebels and government forces in the Ivory Coast.

**ANNE HENDERSON**, program officer in the Institute's Training Program, presented a talk on women's leadership and peacebuilding at the Center for Development and Population Activities in Washington, D.C., on September 23.

**DEEPA OLLAPALLY**, program officer in the Muslim World Initiative, published an article, "Pathways to Security," in a special issue, "Securing South Asia," of the New Delhi journal *Seminar*, published in September 2002.

Senior fellow **ROBERT PERITO** briefed a bipartisan working group of congressional staff on September 9 on "Policing the Peace: Lessons Learned and Weapons Required." The discussion focused on the special requirements of American peacekeeping and policing operations, including appropriate tools.

On August 6, senior fellow **ERIC SCHWARTZ** gave a presentation at

the Center for Strategic and International Studies on the Bush administration's approach toward peacekeeping. On September 16, he gave a presentation at the Army War College on the National Security Council and foreign policy decision-making.

Grants program officer **TAYLOR SEYBOLT** presented a paper entitled "Transnational Conflict Contagion: Alternative Theories on the Spread of War" at the American Political Science Association annual meeting in Boston on August 31. He also chaired and participated as a discussant on a panel called "Can External Intervention Control Intra-State Conflict?"

Director of the Religion and Peacemaking Initiative **DAVID SMOCK** addressed a gathering of 350 religious leaders from around the world in Palermo, Sicily, on September 2. The Community of Sant'Egidio organized the conference. He gave the keynote at a meeting of the Association of Muslim Social Scientists in Dallas on September 28. His address was titled "Clash of Civilizations or Opportunity for Dialogue?"

On September 17, Institute president **RICHARD SOLOMON** contributed remarks to the Politics Subcommittee of the Council on Foreign Relations' Task Force on Chinese Military Power. On September 26, he taped a testimonial to the life and accomplishments of Landrum Bolling, a longtime Institute supporter and foreign policy community icon. The testimonial is to be used at the dedication of a center named in honor of Bolling at Earlham College in Richmond, Ind.

Education program officer **ALAN TIDWELL** gave a public address at the Centre for Peace and Conflict Studies, University of Sydney, Australia entitled "Ruminating on a Big Mac: Globalization and Conflict" on September 18. On September 23 and 24 he participated in a seminar entitled "Conflict and Post Conflict: Asia Pacific Dimensions," and gave the keynote address on "Conflict Analysis and Peacebuilding."

## IN MEMORIAM

### Ehud Sprinzak

**F**ormer Jennings Randolph senior fellow Ehud Sprinzak died of cancer near Tel Aviv, Israel on November 8. He was 62 years old.

Sprinzak was a 1997-98 fellow at the Institute, focusing on "The Dynamics of Political Terrorism: Toward an Evolutionary Theory."

He was an expert on terrorism, religious radicalism, and the far right in Israel. He served as an adviser to the late Israeli prime minister Yitzhak Rabin.

In the last several years, Sprinzak was founder and dean of the Lauder School of Government Policy and Diplomacy at the Interdisciplinary Center in Herzliya, Israel.

"He was trusted by the Israeli right for his willingness to understand the Likud perspective and that of the religious settler communities on the fringe of Israeli political life," said Institute president Richard Solomon.





## New Grant Awards

In June and September, the Institute's Board of Directors approved the following new grants.

**BROOKINGS INSTITUTION**, Martin S. Indyk, Washington, D.C. "South Asia Conference: U.S. Policy Towards the Islamic World." (\$30,000)

**BROWN UNIVERSITY**, Susan Graseck, Providence, R.I. "Choices for the 21st Century Education Program: Curriculum and Professional Development for High School." (\$20,000)

**CARE**, D. Paul O'Brien, Atlanta, Ga. "Promoting Human Rights and Peacebuilding in Afghanistan." (\$32,754)

**CATHOLIC RELIEF SERVICES**, Andrew Rosauer, Baltimore, Md. "Peacebuilding Training for Social Change in Mitrovica, Kosovo." (\$40,000)

**CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY STUDIES**, Lewis Rasmussen, Washington, D.C. "Kashmir Conflict Transformation Workshop." (\$35,000)

**CENTER ON INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION**, Teresa Whitfield, Brooklyn, N.Y. "Friends Indeed: The UN Group of Friends and the Resolution of Conflict." (\$40,000)

**CENTRE FOR POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEVELOPMENT**, Gideon E. D. Omuta, Benin City, Nigeria. "Training for Community-Based Conflict Management in Nigeria's Niger Delta Region." (\$38,000)

**CLAREMONT GRADUATE UNIVERSITY**, Elazar Barkan, Claremont, Calif. "Disputed Histories: The Role of Historians' Commissions in Conflict Management." (\$42,000)

**COBBAN, HELENA**, Charlottesville, Va. "Violence and Its Legacies: Challenges for Global Policy." (\$34,400)

**COMMISSION FOR RECEPTION**, Truth and Reconciliation, Aniceto Guterres Lopes, Deli, East Timor. "Support for Research on the Nature of Past Human Rights Violations and Recommendations for Reform in East Timor." (\$40,000)

**CONFLICT MANAGEMENT GROUP**, Elizabeth McClintock, Cambridge, Mass. "Enhancing the Conflict Resolution Capacity of Universities in Northern Iraq: A Curriculum Development Project." (\$35,000)

**DUQUESNE UNIVERSITY**, Clifford Bob, Pittsburgh, Pa. "The Marketing of Non-Violence: Movements, Media, and International Support." (\$35,000)

**EASTERN MENNONITE UNIVERSITY**, Vernon Jantzi, Harrisonburg, Va. "Towards Understanding Jirga in Afghanistan and Pakistan." (\$39,904)

**FOUNDATION OF INDEPENDENT RADIO BROADCASTING**, Andrei Allakhverdov, Moscow, Russia. "Raising Public Awareness on the Problems of Ethnic Tolerance and Peaceful Solution of Conflicts." (\$45,000)

**FROWICK, ROBERT H.**, Santa Rosa, Calif. "Mission to Bosnia: An OSCE Quest for Peace with Justice." (\$30,000)

**HARVARD UNIVERSITY**, Herbert C. Kelman, Cambridge, Mass. "Rebuilding Israeli-Palestinian Trust in the Availability of a Negotiating Partner." (\$38,000)

**HELVEY, ROBERT L.**, South Charleston, W.Va. "Waging Strategic Non-Violent Conflict." (\$23,800)

**INSTITUTE OF PEACE AND CONFLICT STUDIES**, P. R. Chari, New Delhi, India. "Limited War Between India and Pakistan Under the Nuclear Shadow." (\$40,000)

**INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP**, **ROBERT MALLEY**, Washington, D.C. "Israel/Palestinian Territories Project." (\$30,000)

**INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP**, Gaston Chillier, Washington, D.C. "Enhancing Civil Society Advocacy in the Inter-American System of Human Rights." (\$36,900)

**INTERNATIONAL MONITOR INSTITUTE**, Anne K. Harringer, Los Angeles, Calif. "Archives for Peace in the Balkans." (\$40,000)

**INTERNATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY**, David M. Malone, New York, N.Y. "The UN Security Council in the Post-Cold War Era: Boom or Bust?" (\$40,000)

**IVAN, OROZCO ABAD**, Notre Dame, Ind. "Transition to Peace in Colombia: Between Justice and Reconciliation." (\$40,000)

**JOHNS HOPKINS UNIVERSITY**, I. William Zartman, Washington, D.C. "Improving African Boundaries." (\$32,900)

**KETTERING FOUNDATION**, Harold H.

Saunders, Washington, D.C. "University Text/Curriculum: Resolving Conflict, Building Peace—Tajikistan." (\$50,000)

**MAGHRAOUI**, Abdeslam E., Princeton, N.J. "Giving Politics a Chance in the Muslim World." (\$38,000)

**MCGILL UNIVERSITY**, Middle East Program in Civil Society and Peace Building, Jim L. Torczyner, Outremount, Quebec, Canada. "Maintaining Civil Society and Building Peace Relationships in Times of Warfare." (\$40,000)

**NATIONAL BUREAU OF ASIAN RESEARCH**, Donald K. Emmerson, Stanford, Calif. "Uncivil Islam? Muslims, Politics, and Violence in Indonesia." (\$43,000)

**PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW AND POLICY GROUP**, Paul Williams and James Hooper, Arlington, Va. "Negotiation Simulations for Kosovo Final Status Talks: Part Two." (\$38,150)

**RADIO KAMELEON FOUNDATION**, Zlatko Berbic, Tuzla, Bosnia and Herzegovina. "Democratic Dialogue: A Step into the Future." (\$38,000)

**RUTGERS UNIVERSITY**, Kurt Schock, Newark, N.J. "Struggling to Reform." (\$40,000)

**SMYSER, WILLIAM RICHARD**, Washington, D.C. "The Refugee Crisis." (\$39,500)

**STIFTUNG WISSENSCHAFT UND POLITIK**, Volker Perthes, Berlin, Germany. "Elite Change in the Arab World." (\$38,000)

**THEIDON, KIMBERLY S.**, Syracuse, N.Y. "Geographies of Justice: Memory, Truth, and Reconciliation." (\$30,000)

**THURSTON, ANNE F.**, Alexandria, Va. "The Dilemma of Political Reform in China: Democracy versus Stability." (\$40,000)

**UNION WOMEN OF THE DON REGION**, Valentina I. Cherevatenko, Rostov Region, Russia. "Post-Conflict Peacebuilding." (\$40,000)

**UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS**, Lorraine Bayard de Volo, Lawrence, Kans. "Women's Non-Violent Action in Latin America." (\$35,000)

**UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME**, Cindy Bergeman and Joseph Buttigieg, Notre Dame, Ind. "Teachers as Scholars Program." (\$42,866)



WALDNER, DAVID A., Charlottesville, Va. "Democracy and Dictatorship in the Middle East." (\$28,000)

## Senior Fellows, 2002–2003

**The Institute's Board of Directors has selected the 2002–2003 senior fellows (resident awards) and peace scholars (non-resident dissertation awards) in the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace.**

**MAJ. GEN. DIPANKAR BANERJEE** (Indian Army, ret.), Executive Director, Center for Strategic Studies, Colombo, Sri Lanka, "Countering Internal Conflict: Lessons from the Indian Army's Experience," in residence through July 2003.

**FRANCIS DENG**, UN Secretary General Special Representative for Internally Displaced Persons, "Dilemmas of Self-Determination: A Challenge to African Constitutionalism," in residence through July 2003.

**ROY GUTMAN**, Diplomatic Correspondent, *Newsweek*, "International Humanitarian Law and the Media: The Case of Afghanistan," in residence through July 2003.

**VIVIEN HART**, Professor of English and American Studies, University of Sussex, "Making Constitutions, Seeking Peace," in residence through July 2003.

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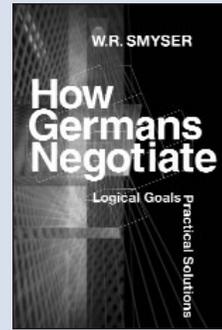
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