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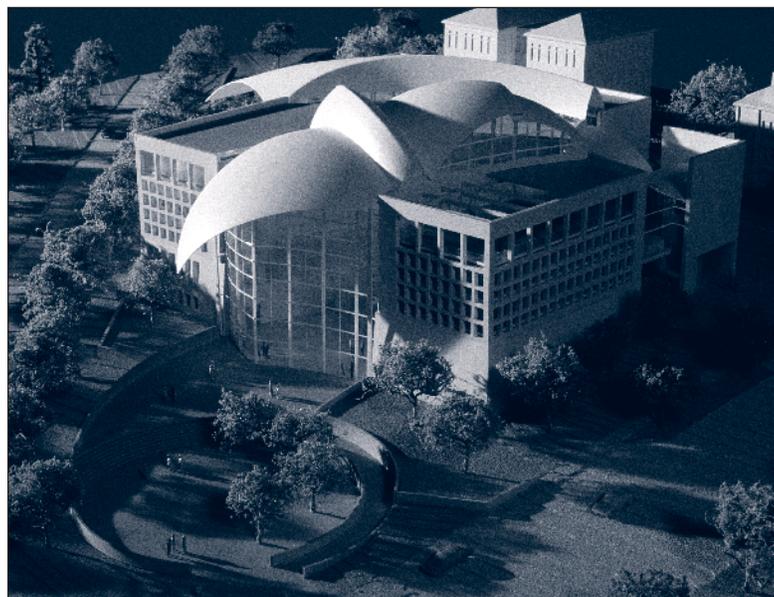
UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, DC ■ www.usip.org

Congress Appropriates \$100 Million to Build Institute Headquarters

The U.S. Institute of Peace received a special holiday present this year when Congress appropriated \$100 million for construction of a permanent headquarters facility for the Institute as part of the omnibus spending bill signed by President Bush in early December. The Institute's new home is envisioned as a national center for research, education, training, and policy development on issues of international conflict prevention and management.

The funding comes on the twentieth anniversary of the Institute's establishment, which the U.S. Senate has recognized with a resolution citing it as a "valued resource of innovative ideas and practical policy analysis on peacemaking in zones of conflict around the world."

The building will be located on a two-and-a-half-acre site at Constitution Avenue and 23rd Street,



NW., adjacent to the National Mall and overlooking the Lincoln Memorial. The building was designed by the architect Moshe Safdie. When completed, the facility will become one of Washington's "gateway structures," and the "end-point for a line of significant works of architecture on the north side of Constitution Avenue," according

to *Washington Post* architecture critic Benjamin Forgey.

The headquarters project is designed as a public-private partnership. The Institute will be seeking additional funding from the private sector to complete the project.

See insert within for more information about the project, or visit us online at www.usip.org/building.

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◀ Model of the Institute's permanent headquarters facility, south-east facade.



Sudan: Policy Options for Stopping the Genocide

Former diplomats express confidence that the North-South peace process can end Darfur's tragedy.



A Sudanese refugee cries after reaching Bahai on the Chad border, after fleeing political violence in Darfur, Sudan. At least 1.2 million black Africans have fled the Darfur region because mostly Arab militias have killed thousands of civilians in response to a rebellion.

Saying that “passion is great, but passion connected to a brain is better,” **Chester Crocker**, recently retired chairman of the board of the United States Institute of Peace, argued that the United States faces a difficult choice if it wants to stop the killing in Darfur. Darfur, a province in Sudan where ethnic cleansing and possibly genocide are taking place, has become a focus of international concern over the past year or so as evidence of atrocities has mounted.

Crocker's comments came during an Institute Current Issues Briefing held in mid-November to discuss policy options for halting the genocide. The other speakers were **Francis Deng**, co-director of the Brookings Institution–School of Advanced International Studies Project on Internal Dis-

placement, and **Richard Williamson**, a partner at Mayer, Brown, Rowe & Maw. The event was moderated by **George Ward**, director of the Institute's Professional Training Program.

Crocker argued that the only viable option to end the killing was to pursue and finalize the peace agreement being worked out between the Sudanese government and the main rebel group, the Sudan People's Liberation Army—an agreement that has since been signed—leading many to hope that a final resolution to the twenty-year conflict finally may be at hand. The alternative, said Crocker, would be to dispatch tens of thousands of highly trained troops into a hostile Muslim country—an option he thought unlikely to gather much traction.

Deng, a Sudanese scholar and former senior fellow at the Institute, opened the briefing with an overview of Sudan's complex history. Sudan's south, left behind under colonialism and a former poaching ground for slaves by northerners Arabist, rebelled soon after

independence in 1956. A peace agreement forged in 1972 promised greater equality between the north and the south, and a ten-year hiatus ensued between the end of the first civil war and the commencement of the second, in 1983. In the interim, oil was discovered in the south, adding complexity to the fragile relationship between the two regions. The war that began in 1983 has continued, with varying intensity, until the present day, costing between 1.5 and 2 million lives. Yet the paradox of Sudan's civil war is that while it is fueled by a fierce sense of regional identity, northerners and southerners are much more alike than they recognize. Many northerners, for example, are as African in appearance as anyone from the south, and many southerners are as devoutly Muslim as most northerners.

Williamson worked for the State Department for many years, most recently as the U.S. representative to the UN Commission on Human Rights. He argued that a “dynamic of consensus” in the United Nations often overrides concern about the situation on the ground. Reflecting that tendency, he said, was the recent decision to weaken the language of a UN resolution warning Sudan about Darfur in order to achieve a unanimous vote. It would have been preferable to propose a tough resolution and “call countries out” if they chose to vote against it.

Crocker, who was assistant secretary of state for African affairs in the Reagan administration, expressed considerable optimism about the recently signed agreement between the two sides of the civil war, and said that the only viable way forward on Darfur is to use the leverage of the north-south peace process to put mechanisms in place to protect the people of Darfur. In particular, he singled out the prospect—called for under the agreement—of rebel leader John Garang joining the government as the best hope of ending Darfur's tragedy. “Once he sits at that table,” said Crocker, “he's going to make a difference.” Ward, a former U.S. ambassador to Namibia, concurred with Crocker's assessment. He pointed out that the north-south negotiations encompass such issues as power-sharing, wealth-sharing, and other agreements that “will help resolve the crisis in Darfur, as well as . . . prevent further violence in other parts of Sudan.”

Video and audio tape of the event is available at www.usip.org/events/.



Former Institute Chair Chester Crocker (far right) listens as Sudanese scholar and former Institute fellow Frances Deng makes a point.



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President: Richard H. Solomon
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Publications Director: Mike Graham
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Muslim World *Initiative*

The Institute recruits distinguished scholars to help unravel the complexities of the Muslim world.

From Morocco to Mindanao (an island in the southern Philippines), the United States faces a host of policy challenges throughout the Muslim world—a lesson brought home with shocking clarity to every American on September 11, 2001. Yet too often, says **Abdeslam Maghraoui**, the new associate director of Research and Studies for the Muslim World Initiative at the United States Institute of Peace, policymakers lack the depth of knowledge that can inform effective policies from long-time students of the region. The Institute's Muslim World Initiative recently hired a team of experts to help bridge this gap and develop policy options that translate the insights of scholars and seasoned practitioners into practical advice for policymakers.

Abdeslam Maghraoui, formerly a lecturer and resident scholar at Princeton University, heads up the new initiative. He previously held appointments at Princeton and served as director of Al-Madina, a nonprofit organization dedicated to improving the capacity of other nonprofits in North Africa.

Maghraoui is joined by **Christine Fair**, who served as associate political scientist at the RAND Corporation, and **Scott Lasensky**, a former international relations professor at Mount Holyoke College. Fair specializes in security competition between India and Pakistan as well as U.S. strategic relations with those two nations. She is also an expert in the causes of terrorism. Lasensky focuses on issues relating to the Middle East and U.S. foreign policy toward the region. He was a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and the Brookings Institution and is a frequent commentator on major media outlets.

Middle East specialist **Mona Yacoubian** will serve as a consultant to the Initiative. Yacoubian has

worked on democratization, women's empowerment, and civil society promotion for the World Bank and the Department of State. From 1990 to 1997, she served as the North Africa analyst in the State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, where she focused on the crisis in Algeria.

"We are extremely pleased to have such accomplished and talented scholars join our staff. They promise to enrich the work of the Institute by examining the Muslim world at a time when our understanding of and engagement with Muslim communities around the world is critical to our national interest," said Institute president **Richard H. Solomon**.

The Muslim World Initiative was launched by the Institute in the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks to address the vital foreign policy and national security challenges associated with the Muslim world. It focuses on the threat of terrorism, religious extremism, and violent conflict in this diverse region. The initiative is constructed around three crosscutting themes:

- "Bridging the Divide," which explores and encourages efforts to diminish the sources of mistrust and misunderstanding that harm relations between the United States and parts of the Muslim world as well as within communities in the region.
- "Mobilizing the Moderates," which supports activities designed to help give voice to and empower those who advocate cooperation and nonviolent solutions to conflict.
- "Marginalizing the Militants," which promotes efforts to isolate and reduce the influence of the extremists who advocate intolerance and violence.

Maghraoui hopes to see the initiative issue an ongoing series of op-eds, articles, and books, as well as



The Institute has translated a number of its Special Reports into Arabic.



معهد السلام الأميركي
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SPECIAL REPORT

Promoting Middle East
Democracy: European Initiatives

الترويج للديمقراطية
في الشرق الأوسط
المبادرات الأوروبية

الاجتهاد

إعادة تفسير مبادئ الإسلام
للقرن الحادي والعشرين

Ijtihad: Reinterpreting Islamic
Principles for the Twenty-first
Century

Donor Activities and Civil
Society Potential in Iraq

أنشطة المانحين
وإمكانات بروز المجتمع
المدني في العراق

تأسيس المحكمة
العراقية الخاصة

دروس من تجارب في العدالة
الجنائية الدولية

Building the Iraqi Special
Tribunal: Lessons from
Experiences in International
Criminal Justice

Postconflict Iraq: A Race
for Stability, Reconstruction,
and Legitimacy

عراق ما بعد الحرب
سباق من أجل الاستقرار
وإعادة البناء والشرعية

الإسلام السياسي
في العراق بعد
صدام حسين

Islamist Politics in Iraq after
Saddam Hussein

to convene regular on- and off-the-record meetings with key policymakers and scholars. But, he says, there are already some essential lessons policymakers should learn: "First, we have to develop some greater coherence in our policies toward the countries of the region. We have to support democratic values throughout the Muslim world, even in countries whose governments we rely on in the fight against terrorism." Much of the unrest and discontent in the Middle East is ultimately attributable to repressive governments, Maghraoui contends. "It's simply not true that Muslims aren't interested in democracy and human rights," he said. "In fact, at least some of the extremism we see is the result of political and cultural aspirations being thwarted by authoritarian governments and taking the only path left to it—protest in the form of religious radicalism."

Second, he says, "we have to give diplomacy more of a chance—and I don't just mean diplomats holding summits, but student exchanges, economic aid, and so on." Finally, while public opinion toward the United States is currently at a nadir in the Muslim world, it need not remain so low, says Maghraoui. "We can use it to effect more change in policy," he said. "But this is not selling soap, this is not a public relations campaign. We must deal with the real issues and real concerns of Muslim people."

Maghraoui noted that even by Middle East standards this is an unusually challenging time. The death of Yasser Arafat, the imminent possibility of Iran's developing nuclear weapons, the prospect of instability and chaos throughout the region, the growth of extremism—all underline how important it is to understand the forces operating in the region. For Maghraoui, simple, mono-causal explanations are especially problematic: "The issues are deep, complex, and interact at different levels, from international policy decisions to local civil society programs."

More information about the initiative is available at www.usip.org/muslimworld. Interested readers can also sign up to receive the Muslim World Initiative's monthly bulletin, Muslim World Insights.

These reports can be downloaded from our website at www.usip.org/pubs.
Print copies can be ordered online or you can call (202) 429-3832, fax (202) 429-6063, or write the Institute's Office of Public Outreach.



Filling the Ga

A new Institute project focuses on how to stabilize war-torn states.

As daily news from Iraq attests, the United States faces enormous challenges stabilizing countries emerging from conflict.

Yet Iraq is only the most recent and most prominent instance in a recurring pattern, says **Dan Serwer**, Peace and Stability Operations director for the United States Institute of Peace. From Somalia to Kosovo, from Haiti to Afghanistan, the United States has persistently faced the challenge of stabilizing and reconstructing states, and just as persistently failed to address some of the underlying problems that arise in such states.

To distill the lessons learned from such failures and to help policymakers develop more effective responses, the Institute has launched a series of working groups focusing on specific areas, including the following:

- Role of Women
- Mass Media
- Governance

- Natural Resources
- Civilian/Military Planning
- Measuring Progress
- Disarmament, Demobilization, and Reintegration
- Transitional Justice
- Reconciliation
- Successor Generations
- Telecommunications

For each of the focus areas, the Institute will convene a group of experts to assess the problems, analyze possible solutions, and recommend policy options. An Institute special report with a presentation of the main findings will be published following the conclusion of the work of each of the groups. Five groups have already begun working; six others remain to be established. The goal is to complete the work by April 2006, when the Institute will hold a public meeting to highlight the global findings of the eleven special reports and the broader lessons to be learned.

“The United States hasn’t had a lot of recent success re-establishing

stable, self-governing states in the aftermath of violent conflict,” says Serwer. “But as we’ve come to appreciate the transnational dangers posed by failed states, we’ve realized just how important it is to help countries get back on their feet. We hope that this project will help policymakers in this important task.”

The initiative is being overseen by Serwer and coordinated by **Beth DeGrasse**, who has worked on peace and stability operations from Somalia to Iraq. DeGrasse, who has served as a consultant for the Institute in the past, says that the popular term “postconflict” may be a bit of a misnomer. “Almost inevitably, there are pockets of resistance left. So it may be more accurate—if a bit less catchy—to say that we’re studying how to stabilize countries in the context of vestigial conflict.”

The Institute has already conducted a significant body of work on this topic. DeGrasse, **Bob**



POPS

Perito, and **Mike Diedzic** have studied how to establish public security and the rule of law in postconflict environments. Their work helped spur the creation of an office in the State Department whose task is to develop a rapidly deployable civilian capacity that would provide the full range of civilian functions—from governance to rule of law to economic reconstruction—to hasten the transition to a stable peace. In addition to DeGrasse's, Dziejdzic's and Perito's work, **Colonel Garland Williams**, a former U.S. Army fellow at the Institute, has written about how military engineering brigades accompanying peacekeeping contingents can restore vital infrastructure to postconflict societies.

DeGrasse says that in some instances of intervention, the lessons learned may not have been sufficiently incorporated into postwar planning. The academics and practitioners in the working group on the role of women noted

that it has long been known that women are integral to economic and social development. For example, when women control income, child survival rates go up dramatically; when they control agriculture, productivity rises; and when they enjoy property rights, domestic violence declines. "If women aren't incorporated into the solution, real peace is difficult or impossible to achieve," said one member of the working group. "We know these lessons; the question is why it is so hard to institute them."

In other cases, DeGrasse says, the lessons are far from clear. "If you take the media, for example, it's not at all clear how we can help establish indigenous media without undermining their position and credibility, nor is it clear how we can stand up our own media to effectively convey our message."

On one matter, however, DeGrasse is confident. Before coming to the Institute, she

studied the effect of peacekeeping operations on the military, in part under an Institute grant. "The conventional wisdom used to be that any military operation that was not strictly limited to war-fighting degraded morale and readiness. That turns out not to be true," she says. "My colleagues and I interviewed fifty senior commanders involved in peacekeeping operations, and they all but unanimously affirmed that these operations generally improved morale, increased retention rates, and taught the troops the very skills needed in the War on Terror." The military may find it has many new roles to play and many gaps to fill, says DeGrasse, but it is ready and prepared to do what is needed. Now it is time to build the same capacity on the civilian side.

More information about the project is available online at www.usip.org/peaceops/.



Condoleezza Rice

Visits the Institute

The new secretary of state says true fight in the War on Terror is against ideology of hatred and death.



Institute President Richard Solomon introduced then-National Security Adviser Condoleezza Rice at an Institute event.

Before becoming secretary of state, National Security Adviser **Condoleezza Rice** spoke on the War on Terror at the U.S. Institute of Peace. The global campaign, said Rice, is as much “a conflict of visions as a conflict of arms,” one in which “true victory will come not merely when the terrorists are defeated by force, but when the ideology of death and hatred is overcome by the appeal of life and hope.” Rice spoke to an overflow crowd at the Institute in mid-August. Her speech provided one of the most substantive overviews yet of the Bush administration’s plans to win that broader war, and is available in video and audio over the Institute’s web site (www.usip.org/events/).

Rice underscored President Bush’s vision of an America not merely taking sides in a geopolitical battle but taking up the cause—as the president said in his first State of the Union speech—for a “just and peaceful world.” Critical to the success of this fight, Rice said, is confronting the long-term challenge of replacing the hopelessness and lack of opportunity that currently

prevail in the Middle East with a “forward strategy for freedom.” As Rice explained, that strategy so far consists of several elements:

- Supporting the people of Afghanistan and Iraq as they fight terrorism and extremism and work to build democratic governments.
- Working with NATO and our Group of Eight allies to create jobs, increase access to capital, improve literacy and education, protect human rights, and make progress toward democracy.
- Launching a Middle East Partnership initiative and working to establish a U.S.–Middle East free trade area.
- Broadcasting more extensively throughout the Middle East and launching a new Arabic radio service called “Alhurra,” Arabic for “the free one.”

But more needs to be done, Rice acknowledged, and the administration’s focus in the future will be on dispelling negative myths about American society and U.S. policy and on encouraging voices of moderation and tolerance in the Muslim world. Rice noted how important it is to disaggregate



the small number of Muslims who truly hate the United States—and who express that hatred through terrorism—from the vast majority of the one billion people in the world who practice the Islamic faith. Toward the first, said Rice, there can be only one response: “We must find them and defeat them.”

The vast majority of Muslims, on the other hand, hold more ambivalent, albeit still negative, feelings about the United States—and it is they who must be reached, said Rice. Dispelling the myths that underlie these attitudes and instilling trust in U.S. goals and intentions is bound to be a difficult and long-range proposition. Nor must it be forgotten, said Rice, that some of those attitudes stem from real historic and political grievances. For sixty years, Rice explained, the United States and its allies have practiced a realpolitik that countenanced Middle East dictatorships, hoping, as President Bush has said, to “purchase stability at the price of liberty.” The inevitable result, said Rice, “is that we got neither.”

But it is also true, said Rice, that “America’s more recent relations with the Muslim world is a story of friendship and partnership”—a story that has been insufficiently appreciated. She ticked off a list of recent U.S. policies that have had a positive impact on the Muslim world, from the incorporation of Turkey into NATO to the long-standing U.S. commitment to find a lasting solution to the conflict between Israelis and Palestinians. Rice reiterated President Bush’s call for a Palestinian state built on a just and democratic order. And she urged Israel to meet its respon-

sibilities under the “roadmap for peace” and help create conditions for a democratic Palestinian state to emerge. Finally, she pointed out that America’s last five wars have all been waged for the protection or liberation of Muslim people, from the first Gulf War, which liberated Kuwait, to the military actions undertaken to stop the killing in Bosnia and Kosovo, to its most recent campaigns against Afghanistan’s Taliban and Iraq’s Saddam Hussein. “These are stories that need to be told and need to be heard,” said Rice.

In addition, the Muslim world needs to learn more about the United States. It needs to learn that despite its sometimes insensitive exterior the country is deeply religious and deeply attached to its own communities and families. It needs to learn that the separation between church and state allows all Americans to practice their faith, that “there is no conflict between being a good citizen and being a good Jew or Christian . . . or Muslim.”

The challenge, said Rice, is to find ways to promote voices of moderation and tolerance without provoking a counterreaction, to provide help without delegitimizing those we would help. And that effort, she said, would require the work not just of the government, but of American citizens as well.

Above all, said Rice, that effort must proceed from a simple proposition: “that America is taking the side of the millions of people in the Muslim world who long for freedom, who cherish learning and progress, and who seek economic opportunity for themselves and their children.” If history has taught us anything, said Rice, it is that “these aspirations are, indeed,

universal. Their realization can be delayed by tyranny or corruption or stagnation—but they cannot be indefinitely denied.”

During a lengthy question-and-answer session, Rice took on some of the criticisms that have been leveled against the administration’s policies. On U.S. relations with Europe, Rice quipped that concerns over the transatlantic relationship remind her of Mark Twain’s characterization of Wagner’s music: “It’s better than it sounds.” “The transatlantic relationship is actually in very good shape,” she said, “and it’s in very good shape because we have had to confront, once again, the fact that we are an alliance of values.” On Iran, for example, the United States and the Europeans are working closely to try to reduce the risk that Iran might develop its own nuclear weapon, though—as Rice admitted—Iran had thus far been recalcitrant. On Darfur, too, the United States and Europe worked well together to craft a UN Security Council resolution and remain in constant discussions about how to support the African Union’s efforts there.

Rice was asked about the administration’s apparent tilt toward Israel and if that was having a negative impact on perceptions of the United States in the Muslim world. Rice took the opportunity to emphasize that the administration is asking a great deal from both sides of the conflict. “The Israelis have obligations and the Israelis need to act on those obligations because they need to end the occupation that began in 1967,” said Rice. “But the Palestinians have got to give them somebody to work with. And they’ve got

See *Rice*, page 14



InstitutePeople

Institute president **RICHARD SOLOMON** gave a presentation with **SHERYL BROWN**, chief technology officer, at the United States Institute of Peace/UNISYS conference on “Crisis Management and Information Technology” in Nice, France. The title of the talk was “Securing Crisis Recovery: In the Beginning Was Communications.” He also gave presentations to the National Defense University’s regional centers, at the Institute’s senior fellows’ retreat, at the School for Advanced International Studies’ Swiss Foundation for World Affairs (on “Sports as a Tool for Peace Building and Diplomacy”), and at a Korean Economic Institute Opinion Leaders Seminar. He also gave remarks at a press conference with Representative Sam Farr (D-California) to celebrate the opening of the Naval Postgraduate School’s Center for Post conflict Reconstruction.

In late September, Education Program director **PAMELA AALL** spoke on the topic of peacemaking in protracted conflicts at Ohio University’s Center for International Studies. The talk drew on the results of the Institute’s two-year study of mediation in intractable conflicts and was part of a workshop organized by **ALAN TIDWELL** on “Beyond Violence: Transforming Intractable Conflicts.” In late October, Aall participated in a seminar on “The State of the Art in Peace and Conflict Studies,” hosted by the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice at the University of San Diego. Her remarks centered around the substantive issues the field of peace and conflict studies addresses, the challenges facing the field, and the job prospects for students graduating with a degree in peace studies or conflict resolution.

Jennings Randolph Fellowship program officer **GINNY BOUVIER** presented a paper on “A Reluctant Diaspora? The Case of Colombia” for an authors’ conference on “Diasporas in Conflict,” September 20–21, 2004, in Macau, co-sponsored by the Institute and the United Nations University. In early October, she participated in the congressional launching of her report “Women and Global Leadership: Report of the Women’s Leadership Conference of the Americas.” Members of Congress attending the luncheon were Senator Mary Landrieu (D-Louisiana), Representative Jim Leach (R-Iowa), Representative Xavier Becerra (D-California), Representative Hilda Solis (D-California), and Representative Nita Lowey (D-New York). Later that month, she organized and chaired a panel at the Latin American Studies Association’s International Congress in Las Vegas, Nevada, on “Local and National Initiatives for Peace in Colombia.” Panelists included several former Institute grantees.

KEITH BOWEN, instructional designer in the Professional Training Program, worked with Bob Perito and George Ward to develop a DVD for U.S. government employees and contractors assigned to work in Iraq. The “Iraq Experience DVD” has won two Aurora Awards from a national panel of production professionals. Bowen has also designed a Certificate Course in Conflict Analysis for anyone interested in conflict management studies. The Internet-based course is available anytime, anywhere, free-of-charge, and uses a variety of audio and visual resources to make the training engaging and memorable.

C. CHRISTINE FAIR, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, has had several articles published, including “Militant Recruitment in Pakistan: Implications for Al-Qa’ida and Other Organizations,” *Studies in Conflict and Terrorism*; “Learning to Think the Unthinkable: Lessons from India’s Nuclear Test,” forthcoming in *India Review*; “Disarming Development,” by Julie DaVanzo, Clifford Grammich, Brian Nichiporuk, and C. Christine Fair, in the October 2004 issue of *Peace and Conflict Studies*; “Domestic Disputes: Pakistani Internal Security,” C. Christine Fair and Peter Chalk, *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs*. In addition, she has two books forthcoming from RAND: *Urban Battlefields of South Asia: Lessons Learned from Sri Lanka, India and Pakistan*, and *The Counterterrorism Coalitions: Cooperation with Pakistan and India*.

Professional Training Program officer **TED FEIFER** participated in an Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) conference on recruitment and training in Vienna in November,



Ted Feifer

and briefed participants on the Institute’s REACT Online training course for U.S. candidates for employment with the OSCE. Afterward, he led a workshop on negotiation and diplomatic skills for the OSCE Presence in Albania in Tirana, later that month.

JEFF HELSING of the Education Program wrote an article titled “The Regionalization, Internationalization, and the Perpetuation of Conflict in the Middle East” in *Ethnic Conflict and International Politics: Explaining Diffusion and Escalation* (edited by Steven E. Lobell and Philip Mauceri, published by Palgrave Macmillan, 2004). This book took shape at a faculty workshop on ethnic conflict and human rights put together and sponsored by the Institute’s Education Program at the University of Northern Iowa in 2001.

ABDESLAM MAGHRAOUI, associate director of Research and Studies for the Muslim World Initiative, launched a study on the question of political authority in contemporary Muslim societies. The purpose of the study is to understand why and how some Muslim societies undertake successful democratic reforms while others hesitate or altogether resist change. The study will establish whether regime change and continuity within the Muslim world depends on the rulers’ unwillingness to give up power or on some general cultural and religious attitudes about political authority. The case studies include Turkey, Indonesia, Iran, Morocco, Libya, and Saudi Arabia. The centerpieces of the study are an edited volume to be published by the Institute and a public event to present the study’s findings. Maghraoui will edit the volume and write the conceptual chapter. The principal authors of the study convened a workshop in November at the Institute.

COLETTE RAUSCH, program officer with the Rule of Law Program, along with Vivienne O’Connor of the Irish Centre for Human Rights, National University of Ireland, Galway, traveled to Beijing to present the “Model Transitional Codes for Postconflict Criminal Justice” at the International Corrections and



Colette Rausch attended a conference in Beijing on post-conflict criminal justice.

Prisons Association’s Annual General Meeting and Conference. This meeting assembled a wide range of international experts to discuss the theme of “Development: Helping One Another to Improve—What Works, Where, and How?” Rausch and O’Connor also organized and ran a roundtable in early November in Bangkok, Thailand, where the draft codes were discussed. Representatives were present from Bangladesh, China, Fiji, Malaysia, Nepal, Pakistan, the Philippines, Sri Lanka, and Thailand.

DANIEL SERWER, director of the Balkans Initiative and Peace and Stability Operations, recently traveled to Europe to attend two conferences on the future of Kosovo. He participated in the German Parliamentary Society’s discussion “Kosovo in 2005: A Year of Decision?” in Berlin, then went to Brussels to address the EU Council on the Western Balkans on the topic of Kosovo. In late October, Serwer submitted a paper titled “Kosovo Won’t Wait” to be jointly published by the Centre for European Policy Studies and the International Institute for Strategic Studies.

Grants Program Officer **TAYLOR SEYBOLT** and Daniel Byman published “Humanitarian Intervention and Communal Civil Wars: Problems and Alternative Approaches” in *Security Studies*. The article reviews military intervention techniques used to resolve violent communal conflict and finds that all

have their problems and costs. If the U.S. military is to implement them, however, it will require both operational and political changes.

In October, Professional Training Program Director **GEORGE WARD** addressed the 2004 Parliamentary Hearing of the Interparliamentary Union at the United Nations on an integrated approach to postconflict peacebuilding. He focused on the challenges of civil-military cooperation and the need for interethnic and interreligious dialogue in the aftermath of conflict.

The Muslim World Initiative (part of the Research and Studies Program) is cosponsoring a one-day workshop in Brussels to explore the potential for greater transatlantic cooperation on democracy promotion in the Middle East. The workshop, an outgrowth of a recently published USIP special report authored by **MONA YACoubIAN** titled “Middle East Democracy Promotion: European Initiative,” will bring together roughly 25 American and European analysts and policymakers to brainstorm and develop concrete policy options for progressing transatlantic cooperation in this area. They will produce a short (four- to five-page) paper outlining the policy options generated from the workshop.

In addition, the following Institute people made news:

The Canadian Broadcasting Corporation featured an interview with **JUDY BARSALOU** about the Palestinian succession crisis (November 6).

CNN Live International interviewed **CHRISTINE FAIR** about the Indo-Pakistani peace process (September 5). She analyzed the new Osama bin Laden tape on National Public Radio in Los Angeles (November 1).

See *Institute People*, page 14



The Future of Israeli Settlements—the Internal Israeli Divide

Just as the Israeli government is preparing to implement its “disengagement plan,” which involves evacuating all Jewish settlements in the Gaza Strip and four settlements in the northern West Bank, the Institute has joined with the Project on Negotiation at the Harvard Law School to study the future of Israeli settlements. The Harvard Law School team, led by Professor Robert Mnookin, is examining ways to prevent civil conflict in Israel—where settlements remain one of the most politically divisive subjects. The project, which involves a dialogue component as well as academic research, relies on both traditional conflict resolution strategies and comparative-based expertise on compensation models.

In early December, Mnookin and his colleague Ehud Eiran presented preliminary findings at an Institute roundtable. An international conference, cosponsored by the United States Institute of Peace, was held at Harvard Law School in mid-October. The Institute brought together a distinguished panel of experts to assess the role of the United States, the international community, and third parties. Samuel Lewis, former Institute president and a former ambassador to Israel, and Robert Malley, a former National Security Council director for Arab-Israeli relations, were among the participants. Findings from the conference will be published in early 2005 in *Negotiation Journal*. The Institute’s work on Israeli-Palestinian issues is directed by **Scott Lasensky** of the Research and Studies program.

Buyoya Visits

Calling him one of the “most underrated and courageous leaders in Africa,” Ambassador Johnnie Carson introduced Burundi president Pierre Buyoya at an Institute meeting in late September. Buyoya is a Tutsi military officer who has twice led coups d’etat and twice ceded power to democratic forces in that ethnically volatile country. He ceded power to a Hutu transitional government in April 2003 under the terms of a peace agreement that was supposed to lead to national elections in October 2004. (Those elections have recently been put off for six months.)

Buyoya praised the African-led peace talks held in Arusha, Tanzania, that culminated in the power-sharing agreement and the establishment of a timetable for national elections. Arusha, he said, was a “school of dialogue” that created a climate of freedom of expression and ultimately yielded very important compromises. However, there were still several obstacles to completion of the political transition. The constitutional provisions protecting minority Tutsi rights and prerogatives remained subject to debate. The organization of the anticipated free and fair elections presented real challenges. The reform of the military and police, and the demobilization and reintegration of 40,000 soldiers, was dauntingly incomplete. And while the national economy was in shambles, the population held perhaps overly high expectations that the democratically elected government would be able to quickly remedy the situation. Buyoya called on the international community to lend its support to address all of these problems.

Beijing Conference

Under the leadership of Research and Studies Program Director Paul Stares, the Institute cosponsored a special two-part conference in February 2004 to compare Chinese and U.S. perceptions and concerns regard-



Paul Stares (3rd from right, back row), attended a conference in Beijing on failed states and transnational threats.

ing weak and failed states in the Asia-Pacific region. The conference brought together security and area experts from the United States and China as well as other nations and has resulted in a number of publications. In September 2004, the Institute published a related special report titled *U.S.-China Cooperation on the Problem of Failing States and Transnational Threats*. Written by Banning Garrett and Jonathan Adam, the report examines Chinese and U.S. attitudes and explores the prospects of greater cooperation in dealing with these challenges.

Aid during Conflict

One of the greatest challenges facing humanitarians is how to deliver aid in conflict situations—or, as they are often termed, complex humanitarian-assistance operations. Too often, the aid can end up facilitating or prolonging the conflict. Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan eventually may be seen as a turning point: from the perspective of both humanitarian aid provid-

ers and the military, the first postconflict year in Afghanistan was generally considered successful. A humanitarian disaster was averted, refugee flows were handled effectively, and assistance helped stabilize the country. Yet there were points of friction in the cooperation between civilian and military programs. To pull out some of the lessons learned from the Afghanistan experience, the Institute's Research and Studies Program, in collaboration with the RAND Corporation, undertook a multiyear research project on civilian-military cooperation in postconflict environments. The subsequent report, published by RAND, assesses relief, reconstruction, and humanitarian aid delivery in Afghanistan and provides recommendations based on the lessons learned.

Rule of Law Network

Neil Kritz, director of the Rule of Law Program, and **Mike Dzedzic**, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, are collaborating with the Virtual Diplomacy Initiative under director **Sheryl Brown** on the development of an International Network to Promote the Rule of Law (INPROL). The aim of INPROL is to develop a community of rule of law practitioners and experts to share information and enhance the effectiveness of rule of law missions in postconflict situations. This will be an Internet-based forum linking rule of law practitioners in the field with experienced practitioners and other experts to create a database of rule of law documents and define a governance and organizational structure for INPROL.

In support of this work, the Institute is also funding the development of an online thesaurus

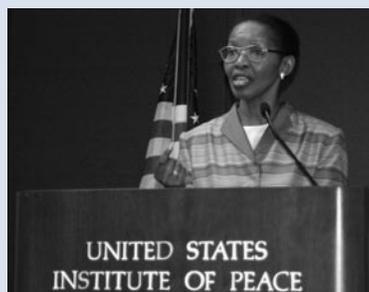
of rule of law terms, which will greatly enhance the ability to categorize and search documents. In addition, the Institute is assisting the UN Department of Peacekeeping Operations in establishing an internal knowledge network for rule of law field officers, which will be linked to INPROL.

Kenyan Trainers in Dispute Resolution Visit the Institute

A group of Alternative Dispute Resolution (ADR) trainers from Kenya visited the Institute in early October. The trainers were sponsored by the California State University and the Sacramento Center for African Peace and Conflict Resolution (CAPCR), in collaboration with the Sacramento County Bar Association and the International Association of Female Lawyers (FIDA) in Kenya, with a grant from the U.S. Department of State's Office of Citizen Exchanges. The purpose of the program is to strengthen internal capacity for institutionalization of ADR in the Kenyan judicial system and legal community.

South African Author

Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela, the critically acclaimed author of *A Human Being Died That Night: A Story of Forgiveness*, a personal



South African author and former grant recipient Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela spoke about her experiences of forgiving at an Institute event.

account of forgiveness and reconciliation in the new South Africa, and a former Institute grantee, spoke at the Institute in late September.

Women in Iraq

Also in late September, Her Excellency **Narmin Othman**, the Iraqi minister of state for women's affairs, spoke at the Institute about the challenges she faces heading a nascent ministry in the interim Iraqi government. With only thirteen employees and a \$1,000 monthly budget, the constraints she faces are challenging indeed. Nevertheless, she was optimistic about the future of her country and the role that women will play in the new dispensation.

Libraries on the Web

Web users of Google and Yahoo! search engines can now use a new search feature to find information about the Institute library's unique book collection. The feature enables users to search a database containing millions of records of library-owned materials. If a search phrase entered in a Google or Yahoo! search matches a title owned by one of the libraries, the search results will return a "Find in a Library" link; users can enter a geographic designation (ZIP code, state, province, country) to help them locate a library that owns the item. The Institute library (<http://www.usip.org/library/>), while open to the public, does not lend materials to outside users directly, but does make its resources available on-site and through library-to-library resource sharing.



Hentges Resigns

Executive Vice President Harriet Hentges resigned in January after ten years at the Institute. Among her many achievements, Hentges initiated and directed the Institute's pathbreaking work in post-conflict stabilization in the Balkans and Iraq and restructured the Institute's financial management system to position it for further growth. She says her tenure was at once an "intellectual feast" and a grappling with the myriad and "unsexy" details involved in managing a complex, ever-evolving, growing institution. All aspects of the job gave her personal and professional enjoyment: "It's satisfying to look back at many of the things that have taken place at the Institute and realize that I've been fortunate to have had a hand in creating them," she says. But the greatest pleasure of the job has been the people: "It's a wonderful group of people—hard-headed, clear-thinking people who are serious but don't take themselves too seriously."

Richard Solomon, president of the Institute, praised Hentges for her many years of extraordinary service: "She's given this Institute the benefit of her experience, her wisdom, and her example, and we are all better off for it," he said at a farewell party held in her honor. Former and current Institute board chairmen Chester Crocker and J. Robinson West also praised Hentges' dedication and personality.

Hentges came to the Institute after an unusually varied career in profit and nonprofit organizations. She was the chief operating officer for the League of Women Voters—but thereafter held positions in investment banking and financial services. She holds a doctorate in international economics from Johns Hopkins, but began her career as a nun in the order of the Sisters of St. Joseph of Carondelet.

She arrived at the Institute at an opportune moment. The Cold War had ended five years earlier, and the Institute was developing a solid reputation in the research, analytic, and educational spheres. "We were sitting on a wealth of lessons learned on what makes peace agreements stick," recalls Hentges. "When the Dayton Peace Accords were signed bringing the war in the former Yugoslavia to an end, the board of directors urged us to consider how we could bring this wealth of knowledge to bear to this particular challenge. When I sent a note to staff requesting ideas on how the Institute might contribute, over half of the Institute showed up at a meeting to brainstorm and plan. It led to a fact-finding mission to Bosnia-Herzegovina and was the beginning of our ambitious work on post-conflict stabilization that led the Institute to efforts in Serbia, Kosovo, Macedonia, Afghanistan, Iraq and elsewhere."



Rice

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to embrace a leadership that does not believe that terrorism is a means to an end."

Rice also fielded a question about how well U.S. public diplomacy efforts are succeeding in the region. Why is it, the questioner asked, that no senior official has given "this kind of a speech"—that is, the kind that Rice had just delivered—in a major Muslim nation? Rice admitted that the question was a good one and elaborated on the need to develop further public diplomacy efforts. "I'm a student of the Cold War," said Rice. "I'm a Cold War baby. . . . And I know that Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty . . . and Voice of America played an extraordinarily important part in making sure that clear and truthful messages could get out, and that people on the other side of the Iron Curtain hung on to those messages." The government is looking hard at what new resources are needed to wage this public campaign, said Rice. "But so should this country be looking." She urged universities to encourage student exchanges, cities to foster "sister-city" programs, and professional organizations to reach out to their colleagues in the Muslim world.

Rice concluded her talk by noting that while skeptics continue to express doubt about the viability of the future Iraqi state and criticize some of the decisions the new government has made, none of those mistakes compare with the early mistakes made in the formative years of the United States. "To this point, I have not yet seen the Iraqis make a compromise as bad as the one that in 1789 made my ancestors three-fifths of a man," she said.

InstitutePeople

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SCOTT LASENSKY and **PHEBE MARR** published an op-ed in the *San Diego Union-Tribune* titled "A Chance for Iraq and Its Neighbors" that focused on the Sharm el-Sheikh conference (November 20).

SLOAN MANN and **DAN SERWER** appeared on National Public Radio's *All Things Considered* to address the high cost of security in Iraq and how it affects reconstruction (September 28). Mann also published an op-ed, "Time to Focus on Building Iraq's Human Capital," in the *Christian Science Monitor* (October 8). He was interviewed by Fox News about the discovery of a mass grave in Iraq (October 15) and appeared on CNN International to

discuss the situation in Iraq (October 23). Serwer was also interviewed on NPR about elections in Iraq (October 22).

JONATHAN MORROW was interviewed about the current conditions in Afghanistan on Voice of America's *Point of View* (September 15).

ROBERT PERITO was interviewed on BBC TV about the upcoming Iraqi elections (September 28).

DAVID SMOCK, as well as another member of the panel that produced the Institute's special report on *Ijtihad*, participated in a roundtable discussion of the report on Voice of America's *On the Line* (October 20).

Amid Conflict, A Chance for Peace

Institute Religion and Peacemaking director David Smock sees firsthand how peace can break through even the most seemingly intransigent conflicts.

Bloody religious battles in Nigeria have killed tens of thousands of people in the past five years, many in the scenic Plateau state. There, in central Nigeria, Muslims, who tend to predominate in the northern regions of the country, confront a Christian majority population of small-scale farmers. Traditionally traders and cattle owners, most of the Muslims are wealthier than their Christian neighbors, and class and land ownership issues generate conflicts that divide communities along religious lines. Mob violence and revenge killings claimed 53,000 lives between 2001 and 2004, according to a recent government report, and although outsiders generally put the casualty figures lower, there is no visible prospect of an end to the conflict.

But Institute Religion and Peacemaking director **David Smock**, who has lived and worked in Nigeria intermittently for nearly forty years, recently experienced one of those extraordinary moments that shine hope on even the bleakest situation. The story begins with two young men, Pastor James Wuye and Imam Mohammed Ashafa, who fought on opposite sides in a religious clash in the township of Zongon Katak in 1992, and endured heartbreaking losses—in one case, of an arm, and in the other, of two brothers. Reflecting on their pain and realizing the warrant for peace in their two faiths, they established the Interfaith Mediation Centre and committed themselves to work collaboratively to promote interfaith reconciliation. In 1999, they coauthored a book titled *The Pastor and the Imam: Responding to Conflict*, which describes their experiences and sets out the Biblical and Quranic mandates for peace. With help from the United States Institute of Peace—and with the credibility that comes from personally knowing the anger that leads to violence and the grief and futility that comes of it—they trained countless youth in the art of peacemaking and helped bring peace to the troubled city of Kaduna.

Smock visited them in November 2004, when they set out for the troubled city of Yelwa-Nshar, where nearly 1,000 people were killed last May. Smock witnessed several mass graves for Muslims and one for Christians. The two leaders brought together key community leaders for five days of sharing and negotiation, using a combination of preaching and conflict resolution techniques (some taught to them by the Institute). “For me, the most remarkable feature of the process was the

frequent quotes from the Quran by the pastor and from the Bible by the imam,” says Smock.

The atmosphere at the outset of the talks was tense and confrontational, and for a while it looked as if little progress would be made. By the end of the third day, the two sides had reached an agreement on what the core issues were that had provoked the killing—hardly a major breakthrough. With two days left, it seemed unlikely that they would be able to resolve their differences, and there were fears that the stalemate might even generate further antipathy. The fourth day began with Smock pessimistic about the outcome. The first issue to be addressed was the Christian complaint that the Muslims, who had moved into the area from northern Nigeria, failed to respect local traditions and leaders. The Christians leveled several specific charges against their Muslim neighbors.

To Smock’s surprise—and to the surprise of most of the attendants—a Muslim leader agreed that these charges were all valid, and that the behavior of his brethren had been unacceptable. He apologized and begged forgiveness.

This was the emotional breakthrough the conference needed. The Christians in turn apologized for their unacceptable and un-Christian behavior toward the Muslims. The anger and grievances that each side had brought to the table dissolved as they both realized that their own side was partly at fault and had behaved in a manner inconsistent with the dictates of their religion.

On the final day of the conference the two sides worked through the remaining issues, agreeing either on a resolution acceptable to both sides or on a process to find a resolution. They drafted and signed a peace declaration and made plans for a peace ceremony.

Only time will tell if the peace will hold, but the two sides had experienced an emotion that they will not soon forget: a recognition of mutual humanity that transcends the barriers of class and religion, and with it, a sense of hope—without which peace has little chance. “The experience at Yelwa-Nshar demonstrates that even the bloodiest conflicts in Nigeria can be addressed creatively,” says Smock. “The combination of religious exhortation and well-tested conflict resolution techniques brought reconciliation where few might have imagined it possible.”



David Smock

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- *Rethinking Truth and Reconciliation Commissions: Lessons from Sierra Leone*, by Rosalind Shaw (Special Report 130, February 2005)
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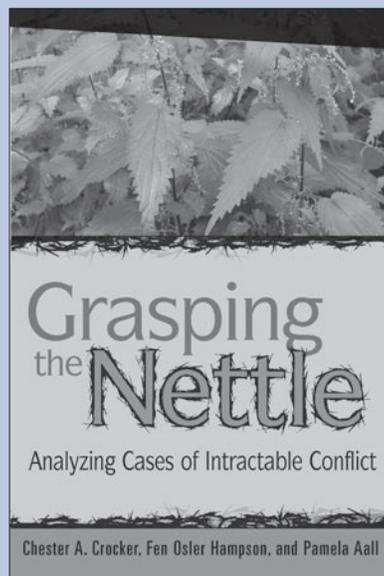
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Grasping the Nettle

Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict



Chester A. Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, editors

Some conflicts seem destined never to end. What lessons—aside from the apparent futility of mediation—can such dismal situations offer? As the distinguished contributors to *Grasping the Nettle* make plain, this is not nearly a rhetorical question. Unyielding conflicts offer numerous insights—not only about the sources of intractability but also about such facets of mediation and conflict management as how to gain leverage, when to engage and disengage, how to balance competing goals, and who to enlist to play supporting roles.

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