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Secretary of State Colin Powell Addresses Institute

In a vigorous defense of the administration's Iraq policy, Powell calls for the U.S. to "defend, protect, and extend the peace."

Secretary of State **Colin Powell** addressed the Institute twice in recent months, painting an optimistic picture of the latest developments in Iraq while acknowledging that some of the information leading up to the war "wasn't as solid as we thought it was." In particular, said Powell, U.S. intelligence on Iraq's weapons of mass destruction turned out to have been exaggerated. Nevertheless, said Powell, "there was no error in the fact ... that Saddam Hussein had never given up the intention of having usable weapons of mass destruction."



Powell spoke in late May to a gathering of senior Iraqi officials attending an Institute training program in Washington, D.C. He spoke again in mid-July at an on-the-record meeting held at the Institute that received wide media coverage.

Powell's first Institute address, held in the Benjamin Franklin Room at the State Department, was intended as an inspirational talk to the Iraqi officials, whom he called "the vanguard of the future." He began his speech by congratulating the officials for completing their training, which ranged from

conflict resolution to computer simulations to learning what it is like to live in a nation with a free press. Such training would prove invaluable, Powell told the Iraqis, because they were "returning to a country in need, a country that has been wounded by decade after decade of the rule of the Ba'ath Party, a party that brought down destruction on your land and on your people, destruction of the body, destruction of the spirit, destruction of individual initiative, and destruction of community."

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◀ **Colin Powell** answers a question while Institute chairman **Chester Crocker** looks on.

Focus On





Powell

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That reign of destruction had now come to an end, said Powell, thanks to a coalition of forces that had wrested back sovereignty on behalf of the Iraqi people. President Bush, said Powell, had a clear goal from the beginning: “To see the Iraqi people in charge of Iraq for the first time in generations.”



Secretary of State Colin Powell spoke at the Institute in July.

Powell first spoke to the Institute at a moment when the “Brahimi Process”—the effort by the UN’s special envoy, Lakhdar Brahimi, to help in selecting an interim Iraqi government—was about to end. Powell indicated that the United States and its coalition partners would be working out arrangements with the new interim government regarding security arrangements. While coalition troops might be required for some time, said Powell, the process of reconstructing Iraq’s infrastructure and hastening the movement toward full democracy was proceeding rapidly. “With an interim government in place and reconstruction proceeding, Iraqis can then look forward to electing a national assembly at the end of the year, or no later than the end of January of next year; the formation of a transitional government; the drafting and ratification

of a new constitution; and then to a fully democratic national election at the end of 2005.”

Powell praised the bravery of the many Iraqis who had stepped forward to assume positions of leadership in all walks of life, despite the many dangers they faced. That courage showed itself not just in the number of high-ranking government officials who had sacrificed their lives to assassins’ bullets or suicide bombs, but

“With an interim government in place and reconstruction proceeding, Iraqis can then look forward to electing a national assembly.”

—Secretary of State Colin Powell

also in the “unsung heroes” such as the people of Karbala, who, said Powell, had stood up to thugs intent on intimidating them into a new servitude.

But courage was not enough, cautioned Powell. Now, more than ever, the Iraqis need to demonstrate leadership at every level. The Iraqis attending the Institute’s training program were a key part of that leadership, “the human infrastructure of what can be, and what we know will be, a democracy in the making.”

Powell’s second address, held at the Institute on July 15, gave a forceful justification of the necessity of the war, as well as a broad overview of the current situation on the ground. “I am a soldier,” said Powell, “I know a lot about war. I’ve been in war. I’ve lost many friends in war. I’ve sent men and women to their death. And so I have no love of war, and I believe that the obligation of all of us in senior foreign policy positions . . . is that we should do everything possible to avoid war. But if war comes, then let’s do it and let’s do it well, and that’s what happened in Iraq.” [For the full text and audio of this event, see www.usip.org/events/2004/0715_webiraq.html]

History changed decisively on 9/11, said Powell: “There was before 9/11 and after 9/11.” Struck by an enemy the United States knew was out there but had failed to take the full measure of, the administration acted quickly and forcefully. First, said Powell, the United States invaded Afghanistan, where the Taliban had given al Qaeda sanctuary. Today, less than three years after the invasion, Afghanistan is put-

ting itself on a firm path toward democracy. Regional relationships have also improved, Powell noted. The U.S. has developed close ties with both Pakistan and India and no longer needs to favor one at



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the expense of the other. In addition, the administration's decisive action in Iraq and Afghanistan has significantly diminished the threats posed by North Korea's and Libya's pursuit of nuclear weapons.

Turning again to Iraq, Powell said that from the beginning President Bush's goal was not only to defeat an enemy, but also to give strength to a friend, a free representative government resting on a solid foundation of democracy, human rights, and human freedom. And that, said Powell, is "precisely what is happening now." The Coalition Provisional Authority, led by L. Paul Bremer, had departed three weeks before Powell's second talk. In its place was an interim Iraqi government under the leadership of Prime Minister Ayad Allawi. Plans were well under way to move toward a national election by January 2005.

The depth of the changes taking place in Iraq should not be underestimated, said Powell. The Transitional Administrative Law that now governs Iraq is, he said, a "revolutionary document for this part of the world. It talks about human rights. It talks about the rights of women. It talks about a representative form of government. It talks about civilian control of the military. It talks about an independent judiciary—all the values that we believe are important and we believe are universal, not just unique to the United States or Western democracies."

Powell condemned the forces who continue to attack coalition troops as well as the new Iraqi leadership. But he stressed that these "terrorists" amounted to only "a few thousand" in a population of 25 million, and he insisted that ultimately they would be defeated. He made note of the enormous progress that he argued had already been made, from the restoration of oil production and



Secretary of State Powell, at the Benjamin Franklin Room at the State Department, addressed a gathering of senior Iraqi officials attending an Institute training program.

"This is a noble purpose and we should be proud that we are the nation that history and destiny has called upon to lead this campaign."

—Secretary of State Colin Powell

the electric grid to the rehabilitation of thousands of schools and the distribution of eight million textbooks.

Finally, Powell turned to the question that has been raised repeatedly since weapons inspectors concluded that Iraq probably had not stockpiled weapons of mass destruction, despite the fact that this was the administration's main rationale for going to war. "The question that always comes up, of course, is: Did we do the right thing?" Powell's answer was a forceful affirmative: The Hussein regime had ignored the resolutions of the United Nations for 12 years, dissembling and lying about weapons of mass destruction. That made it imperative to act "while it was still a problem there and not a problem here," said Powell.

The result is that a "terrible regime is gone, never to come back again ... and the challenge before us is to bring democracy to this part of the world, thereby fundamentally ... reshaping his-

tory for the twenty-first century." The War on Terror will not be over once Iraq has been stabilized, acknowledged Powell, but the U.S. will use all the elements of national power: its military when necessary, its intelligence and law enforcement more often, its diplomatic and political efforts more often still. But above all, said Powell, the United States would use its most powerful weapon: a "value system that says that democracy works and it is not restricted to Western cultures or to the United States."

President Bush, said Powell, is determined to do just what he said: to protect the peace, to defend the peace, and to extend that peace, thereby extending the blessings of democracy and respect for human rights to nations throughout the world. Powell concluded, "This is a noble purpose and we should be proud that we are the nation that history and destiny has called upon to lead this campaign."





Despite Security Challenges, Institute Moves Forward in Iraq

USIP establishes presence in Iraq, proceeds with training, grants, and peace center.

Despite the near-daily bombings, assassinations, attacks, and kidnappings that continue to disrupt the reconstruction of Iraq, the Institute has established a firm foothold in Baghdad, opening an office and residence, hiring local staff, training several contingents of high-level Iraqi civil servants, and beginning to disburse grants to local nongovernmental organizations. "Given the hazardous conditions and the recent transition to Iraqi sovereignty, we're pleased to

have initiated our programs and kept them on a fast track. We have now trained over 200 Iraqis and made over \$800,000 in grants concerned with Iraq," said **Dan Serwer**, Peace and Stability Operations director, who is coordinating the Institute's activities in Iraq. In addition, he said, "we've established an excellent

working relationship with the U.S. embassy, with many ministries of the interim Iraqi government, with Iraqi civil society, and with other international organizations working in Iraq."

The Institute's efforts in Iraq are being funded by a special \$10 million congressional appropriation included in the Emergency Supplemental Appropriations Act for Defense and for the Reconstruction of Iraq and Afghanistan 2004, otherwise known as the Iraq Supplemental, signed by President Bush in November 2003. The Institute is using the appropriation to prevent and reduce interethnic and interreligious violence, speed up stabilization and democratization, and reduce the need for a continuing large-scale U.S. presence in Iraq.

Among the Institute's first activities in Baghdad was a weeklong training workshop organized by the Professional Training Program's **Anne Henderson** and facilitated by Serwer and **Sloan Mann**, of the Peace and Stability Program. Part of a two-year intergroup exercise, its goal is to promote greater understanding and

cooperation among Iraqi ethnic and religious groups. The second phase will be two "train-the-trainer" workshops, in which Iraqi leaders will be taught to conduct facilitation workshops. The Institute plans to support these efforts with both funding and mentoring. "These Iraqis are people of proven stature in their communities who have an interest in the peaceful resolution of conflict," said Henderson. "Eventually, with our support and funding, they'll act as mediators and facilitators in their home regions." The Institute is targeting regions like Kirkuk, Mosul, and other regions where intergroup tensions are high.

The Institute's Grant Program, led by **Judy Barsalou**, has already begun distributing grants to international and indigenous institutions carrying out projects in or relating to Iraq. One grant, to the Conflict Management Group, will help 30 Kurdish professors at three universities in northern Iraq to co-design and implement a conflict resolution curriculum through a multidisciplinary approach including law, social science, psychology, and journalism. Another grant, this one to the Iraq Foundation, will initiate dialogue among leading members of Iraq's Sunni and Shi'a communities to diminish the likelihood of conflict in the post-Ba'ath period.

Following the signing of the Baghdad Religious Accord in February 2004 by prominent religious leaders from all faiths, these same leaders founded the Iraqi Centre for Dialogue, Reconciliation, and Peace, recently renamed the Iraq Institute of Peace (IIP). Coventry Cathedral facilitated the creation of the IIP with financial support from the Institute's Religion and Peace-making Initiative, led by **David Smock**. IIP has secured the release of seven hostages to date, condemned political violence, organized religious dialogue between

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Dan Serwer, Peace and Stability Operations director at the Institute, coordinates the Institute's activities in Iraq.



Judy Barsalou, director of the Grant Program, which has issued over \$800,000 in grants to Iraq.



Foreign Assistance and the Fight Against Terror

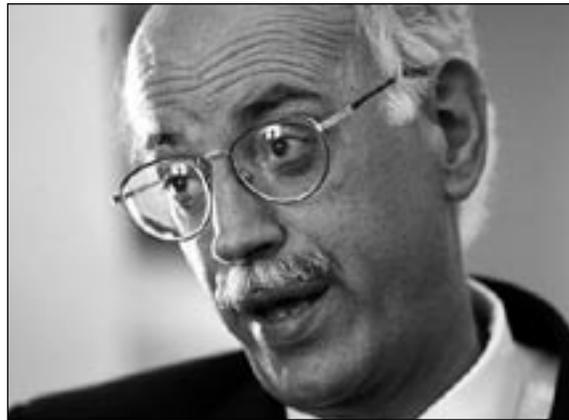
USAID administrator and former Institute fellow Andrew Natsios outlined a new vision for foreign assistance.

In a speech cosponsored by the Institute in late April, U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) administrator **Andrew Natsios** outlined a new vision for the agency—one rooted in President Bush’s declaration that fighting terrorism is the country’s number one foreign policy objective. The terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, brought the most fundamental changes to U.S. security policy since the Cold War, said Natsios, and heightened USAID’s importance as an instrument in the War on Terror.

Institute president **Richard Solomon** introduced Natsios, observing that the administrator was a former senior fellow at the Institute in 1998–99. During his tenure at the Institute, Natsios wrote a book on the famine in North Korea during the mid-1990s, which Solomon called “a compelling account of a state sacrificing at least 20 percent of its population.” Now, said Solomon, the United States is seized with the challenge of stabilizing societies—such as Afghanistan and Iraq—torn apart by decades of mismanagement, dictatorship, and warfare. How well USAID responds to these challenges will help determine the security landscape of the future.

Natsios began his speech by underlining one of the central points in President Bush’s *National Security Strategy of the United States*, presented to Congress in 2002, which outlines the security strategy of the administration in the wake of 9/11. Its preamble notes that, “Enemies in the past needed great armies and great industrial capabilities to endanger America. Now, shadowy networks of individuals can bring great chaos and suffering to our shores for less than it costs to purchase a single tank.” The recognition that weak and failed states—which can both harbor terrorist networks and create a breeding ground for new terrorists—pose a greater danger to the United States than militarily powerful states has significantly raised USAID’s profile as an instrument of U.S. foreign policy, and has led to a near doubling of the agency’s budget since the Bush administration came to office.

To confront the challenges of this new era, Natsios called for the “most thoroughgoing reassessment of



Andrew Natsios

the country’s development mission since the Second World War.” The resulting white paper—still a work in progress at the time—identifies five central objectives in U.S. foreign assistance:

- Promoting transformational development.
- Strengthening fragile states.
- Providing humanitarian relief.
- Supporting U.S. geostrategic interests.
- Mitigating global and transnational ills.

Natsios acknowledged that none of these objectives directly addresses terrorism, but he insisted that all five were interwoven into the War on Terror. “It is no accident that al Qaeda based its operations successively in three weak or failed states—Somalia, Sudan, and Afghanistan,” he said. Furthermore, he argued, the job of diminishing the underlying conditions that give rise to terrorism—one of President Bush’s main foreign policy objectives—falls squarely under USAID’s mandate. Natsios identified four conditions in particular that can breed terrorism: isolation, the absence of economic opportunity, weak or corrupt institutions, and the absence of transparency. All four are being addressed by USAID projects.

In Afghanistan, for example, the United States is refurbishing the airport it built in the early 1960s and the hospital it built in 1973. It is also rebuilding a dam from that era in order to double the production of electricity and provide irrigation water for thousands of farmers. Most notably, the United States has recently completed a major highway system that knits together vast areas of the country. It has also

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NATIONAL PEACE ESSAY CONTEST

Contest focused on reconstructing societies after conflict.



The Institute brought forty-nine of the fifty-two state and regional winners of the annual National Peace Essay Contest to Washington, D.C. this July for five days of intensive discussions on peacemaking, introductions to senior policymakers and diplomats, and visits to some of Washington’s landmarks, including the Smithsonian Institution, the U.S. Holocaust Memorial Museum, and the Kennedy Center for the Performing Arts. In addition, many of the students got to visit with their state representative or senator. The program culminated in a banquet held at the Ronald Reagan Building, at which **Vivek Viswanathan**, of New Hyde Park, N.Y. was awarded first prize for his essay on “Establishing Peaceful and Stable Postwar Societies through Effective Rebuilding Strategy.” A student at Hericks High School, Viswanathan received a \$10,000 college scholarship for his essay.

According to **Alison Milofsky**, program officer in charge of the essay contest, more than 4,000 students from high schools across the United States and in U.S. territories and abroad participated in this year’s contest, writing on the topic of rebuilding societies after conflict.

David Leimbach of Jenks High School in Tulsa, Oklahoma was awarded a \$5,000 scholarship for his second-place essay on “Attempts at Sustainable Progress Following Conflict:



State winners gather outside the Capital for a day of meetings with their senators and representatives.

Students weigh options and engage in a formal negotiation during the Sudan simulation exercise.



Right: **John-Caleb A. “Gus” O’Malley**, from A. J. Dimond High School in Anchorage, was the Alaska state winner.



Above: **Ashley Price**, a junior at Notre Dame de Sion in Kansas City, was the Missouri state winner.



WINNERS ANNOUNCED

East Timor and Cambodia.” **Kevin Schaeffer**, a student at the Canterbury School in Fort Wayne, Indiana, won the third-place award of \$2,500 toward his college education for his essay on “Political Reconstruction: Planting Democracy and Stability for the Next Generation.”

This year’s program focused on challenges to peace in the Sudan. The students participated in a comprehensive three-day simulation of the conflict in Sudan, in which each assumed roles as diplomats, government officials, and representatives from nongovernmental organizations. The purpose of the exercise was to encourage the participants to closely examine the process of postconflict reconstruction. The students received briefings on the conflict from several experts, including the Institute’s Religion and Peacemaking Initiative director, **David Smock**. The Sudanese ambassador and a representative from the main rebel group provided their perspectives as well.

Chester Crocker, Institute board chairman and former assistant secretary of state for Africa, also talked to the students about Sudan and gave the program’s keynote address on “What It Takes to Be a Peacemaker.” A copy of this address and the national first-place essay are posted on the Education page of the Institute’s website at www.usip.org.

First-place winner Viswanathan found the week particularly valuable: “The Awards Week provided an intricate window into the rebuilding of stable societies in the aftermath of conflict from the vantage point of actual international actors. The presence of competing interests in our donor conference to rebuild Sudan contributed to especially vigorous discussions and negotiations, making the simulation all the more intellectually stimulating.” The Awards Week, he said, furthered his interest in international affairs and conflict resolution, subjects that he now definitely hopes to study in greater depth during college. (For more information on the peace essay contest, including next year’s topic, go to www.usip.org/ed/npec/.)



Above: National Award winners David Leimbach, Vivek Viswanathan, and Kevin Schaeffer, flanked by Chester Crocker and Pamela Aall on the left and Richard Solomon on the right.



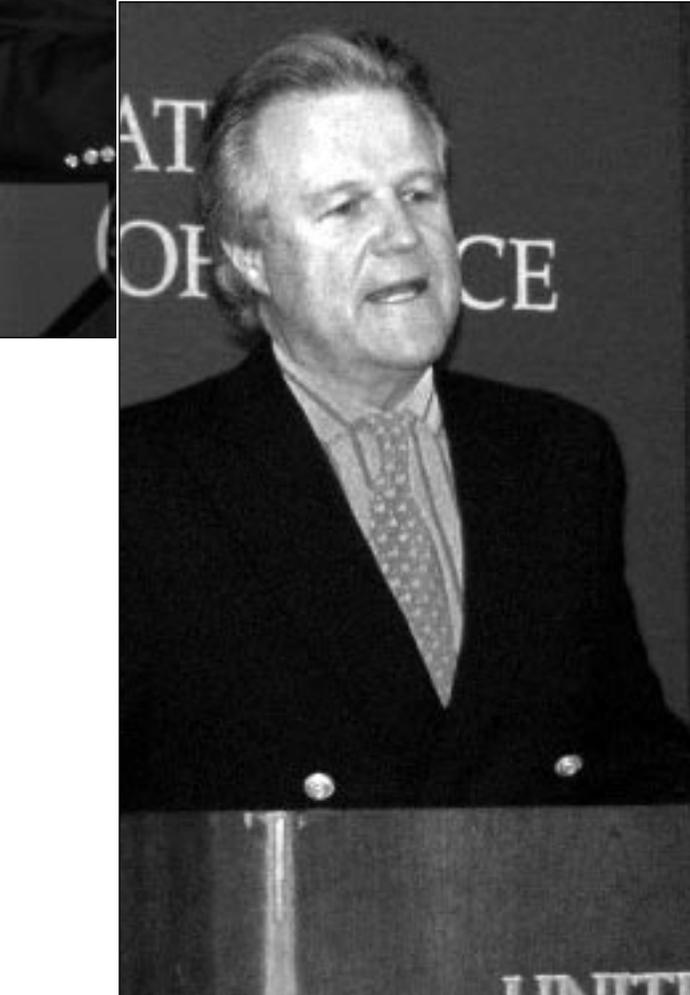
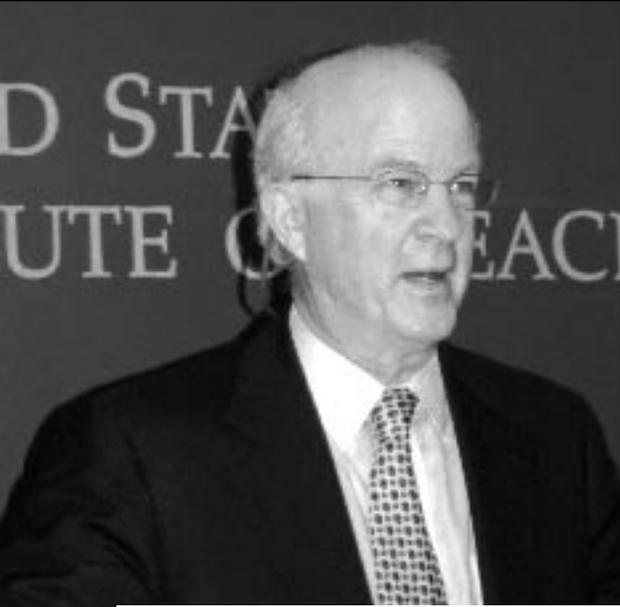
Clockwise above: Board of Directors chairman Chester Crocker addresses the students on what it takes to be a peacemaker; Religion and Peacemaking director David Smock briefs the students about war in Sudan; Raymond Gilpin, professor and academic chair for defense economics at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University.

Below: Institute president Richard Solomon announces the national winners of the Essay Contest at the awards banquet on the final day of the week.





Changing of the Guard



Veteran board chairman Chester Crocker steps down; energy industry consultant J. Robinson West assumes Institute leadership.

Noting that the health and vitality of institutions are measured by their capacity for self-renewal, Institute board chairman **Chester Crocker** stepped down from his position in July after twelve years at the helm of the Institute. The Institute’s board of directors voted energy industry consultant **J. Robinson West** to be his replacement; anti-poverty activist **Maria Otero** will be the new vice-chair, replacing esteemed scholar **Seymour Martin Lipset**. Crocker and Lipset will remain on the Institute’s board.

Richard Solomon, the president of the Institute, introduced Crocker at a farewell speech he delivered to the Institute staff in early August. “During his decade of board leadership,” said Solomon, “Chet Crocker guided the Institute through a period of dramatic growth that enabled it to both reshape the teaching of international conflict management and become a leader of applied programs of reconciliation and post-conflict reconstruction—in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Iraq.”

Crocker, the James R. Schlesinger Professor of Security Studies at Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, was named to the board in 1991

by President George H.W. Bush and assumed the chairmanship in 1992. In his farewell address, Crocker thanked the many staff members who had contributed to the Institute’s success over the years and reflected on the continuing importance of the Institute’s mission: “I care deeply about this institution, which is so young, so important at this stage in our nation’s history,” said Crocker. “Neither a think tank nor a foundation, we combine the best of those breeds with the capacity—developed in tandem with our analytical work—to deliver programmatic resources, to transfer skills and knowledge, to help build the capacity of others.”

Crocker’s own contributions to the analytical work of the Institute include writing or co-editing five volumes exploring the sources of contemporary conflicts and assessing possible responses to them. Crocker, who had been assistant secretary of state for Africa under President Reagan, was the principal diplomatic architect and mediator in the prolonged negotiations between Angola, Cuba, and South Africa that led to Namibia’s transition to democratic governance and independence, and to the withdrawal of Cuban



forces from Angola. His published work reflects those experiences: His first volume for the Institute focused on African conflicts; his most recent work, co-authored with **Pamela Aall** and **Fen Osler Hampson**, titled *Taming Intractable Conflicts: Mediation in the Hardest Cases*, lays out the steps involved in tackling the most stubborn conflicts, and has been praised as a “pathbreaking contribution to the understanding of conflict resolution and mediation.” Solomon had high praise for Crocker’s books, saying that they “attested to his contributions as an intellectual innovator, a teacher, a colleague, and a practitioner of the art of conflict management.”

In his farewell speech, Crocker praised by name many present and past board members and staff who helped make the Institute what he called the “leading center of excellence ... to enhance our knowledge and understanding of how to manage international conflict.” From **Father Ted Hesburgh**, who served on the Institute’s first board of directors, to many of today’s support staff who keep the Institute running smoothly, Crocker’s lengthy acknowledgments underscored his belief that “people, with all their unique qualities of vision, passion, drive, focus, commitment, [and] staying power,” are the ultimate building blocks of quality institutions.

The Institute has come of age in a time of unparalleled historical discontinuities, Crocker noted, from the collapse of the Soviet Union, the upsurge of so-called ethnic conflict, the rise—and breakdown—of peacemaking efforts in the Middle East, the continuing economic boom in the Pacific Rim, and, of course, the dramatic impact of 9/11. All these events have challenged policymakers to rethink the traditional paradigms of U.S. national

security strategy. The Institute has played a significant role in the wide-ranging debates that have ensued: for example, over the justice and viability of humanitarian intervention and the proper role for the United States in these interventions; over how to professionalize peacekeeping and get it right; over how to stabilize and reconcile societies in transition—via programs in the rule of law, religion, conflict skills training, and truth and justice commissions; and—now—over whether the Institute itself can become a useful element in U.S. strategy in the War on Terror while remaining true to its mandate to be an impartial mediator in conflicts.

It was his hope, Crocker said, that the Institute could go on contributing to both the intellectual and the practical sides of these issues. That means wrestling with such questions as whether the emphasis should be on managing conflict or on addressing the underlying conditions that breed

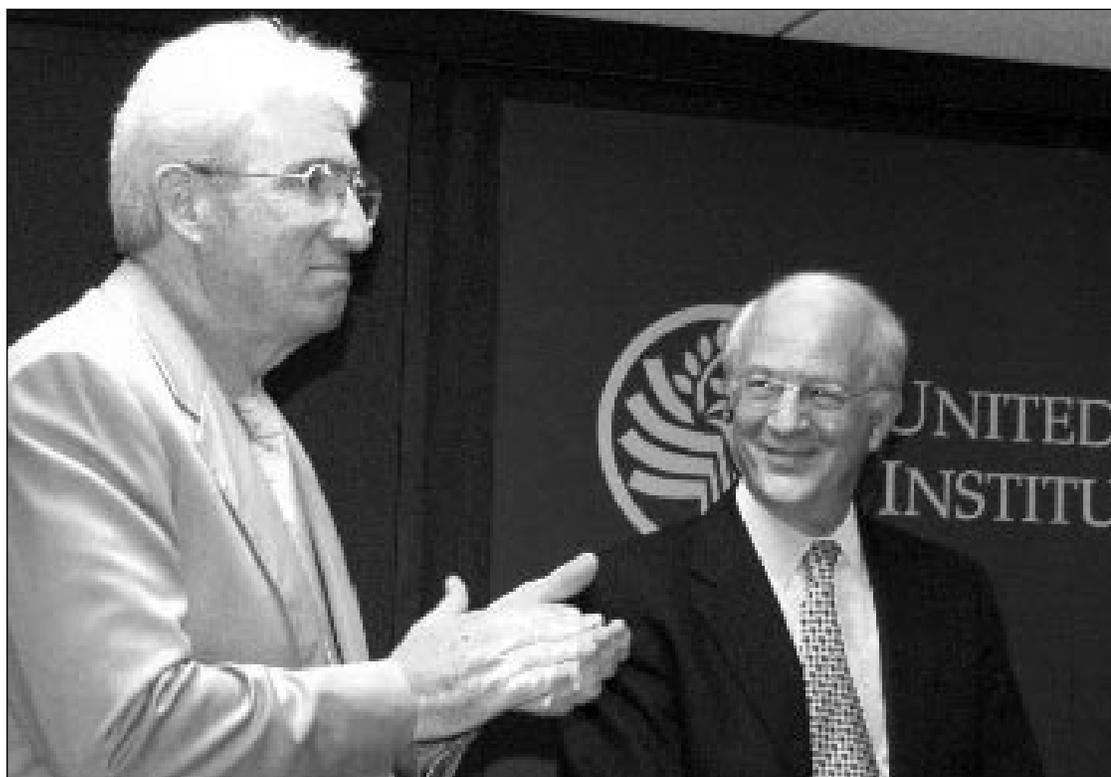
conflict, on whether the Institute’s practical work should focus on mediation or on developing the tools for effective state-building. The Institute, said Crocker, needs to think hard about how it can support our nation in the War on Terror, while at the same time maintain its third-party role as a conflict manager.

Concluding, Crocker reflected on the personal lessons he had drawn from his career, as well as on the enduring challenges facing the Institute. One of those lessons, he said, is that it is “not all bad to be independent, speak your mind, stand up for your principles, and fight the good fight.” That was a lesson, he said, that applies not only to individuals, but to the Institute as well: “We were created independent and autonomous for a reason.” Second, he said, Institute staff and board members have in recent years debated the question of whether the organization should be a think tank or a

See *Guard*, page 13

Previous Page.
Top: Chester Crocker
Bottom: J. Robinson West

Below: Institute President Richard Solomon lauded retiring chairman Chester Crocker for his decade of leadership.





Senior Fellows Projects

The 2003–2004 class of senior fellows have completed their residencies at the Institute and presented the results of their research in various publications and public events. The fellows, whose projects spanned the world—from the crisis in education in the Muslim world to the politics of memory and forgetting in Sierra Leone to the challenges to stability and peace in Kashmir—introduced a wealth of new insights and perspectives to bear on some of the most vexing issues facing the U.S. foreign policy community and generated considerable media attention. The Institute’s two visiting Iraqi experts, **Faleh Jabar** and **Amatzia Baram**, were in near-constant demand as commentators for television and print jour-

nalists, while **Gabriel Weimann’s** research on terrorist usage of the Internet has been featured prominently in the *Los Angeles Times*, ABC News, the BBC, NPR’s *Talk of the Nation*, CNN’s *Wolf Blitzer Reports*, and *The New Yorker*.

A few highlights from the senior fellow reports: **Amatzia Baram** focused on the various ways Saddam Hussein attempted to co-opt the Shia and Sunni communities during his decades of dictatorship and warned about the destabilizing potential of the “Sunni Triangle,” whose inhabitants, he said, are “furious, frightened, and alienated, a combination that provides a fertile soil for extremism.” **Mamoun Fandy** argued that while too many edu-

cational systems in the Muslim world promote a “jihadist” ideology, the United States had relatively little capacity to help reform these systems: “It would take only one demagogue to accuse America of wanting to undermine Islam for the whole project to collapse.”

Faleh Jabar examined the formative influences in the development of the modern Iraqi state and proposed a host of recommendations for managing the social and institutional forces that Iraq’s newfound freedom has unleashed.

Rosalind Shaw critiqued the universalist human rights model of truth commissions, arguing that—in Sierra Leone’s case, at least—they fail to take into account local modes of healing and reconciliation. **Jill Shackleman** examined standards of corporate social responsibility in the oil industry and argued that the largest firms are beginning to do their best to avoid catalyzing or exacerbating violent conflict. **Yo’av Karny** proposed that renascent independence movements in small countries, such as the Palestinians, the Chechens, and the East Timorese, should switch to nonviolent forms of protest as the most effective means of achieving their goals. **Wajahat Habibullah**, who has worked in many senior positions in the Indian government, argued that the way forward on the Kashmir problem is to focus on economic development and political reform; were such to occur, he argued, much of the tension that makes Kashmir such a potential flash point would dissipate.

Horacio Boneo untangled the history of monitoring elections from the 1980s on and discussed how such intuitively appealing notions as “free and fair” elections have come to be defined and standardized. **Ceslav Ciobanu** examined “Frozen and Forgotten

Fight Against Terror

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developed an innovative radio station, Radio Kabul, that provides programming aimed at changing the worldview of the younger generation.

Elsewhere in the world, USAID is generating quick employment for jobless young men, a group particularly susceptible to the terrorists’ message. It is developing innovative solutions to the problems of corruption and mismanagement that plague many Third World countries. It is developing educational programs to compete with the *madrassas*—fundamentalist Muslim schools that promote an anti-Western agenda.

James Dobbins, a security expert with the RAND Corporation and a veteran diplomat, responded to Natsios. He focused his remarks on Iraq, noting that it was unfortunate that the

Department of Defense had been given primary responsibility for rebuilding that country. “I am afraid that we are doing what we know best how to do, rather than what most needs to be done,” he said. Beyond the issue of security, which remains the most compelling need in Iraq, the most pressing issues relate to governance and macroeconomic stability. Yet the Defense Department, Dobbins asserted, was focusing primarily on rebuilding the nation’s infrastructure. Another respondent, **Dan Serwer**, Peace and Stability Operations director at the Institute, praised Natsios for moving the agency in the right direction, but noted that USAID’s budget had not caught up to the agency’s new agenda. He urged the agency to devote more resources to the “soft side” of development—such as programs in democracy building, conflict management, and the rule of law.

Audio online at www.usip.org/events.



Klaits Retiring

Conflicts in Post-Soviet States,” and explained how the enlargement of NATO and the EU to include former Soviet republics and Soviet Bloc countries has created new opportunities to manage conflicts within these states and to build security and stability among the states of the Black Sea, South Caucasus, and Caspian Sea regions. **Albert Cevallos** focused on “Nonviolent Revolution and the Transition to Democracy in Serbia.” (For audio and written summaries of each report, go to www.usip.org/fellows/reports.html.)

Although the fellows have left the Institute, many continue to work on special reports and books that the Institute hopes to publish in the near future. In the meantime, the 2004–2005 class of fellows has been selected and will be arriving at the Institute in October:

Zachary Abuza

Associate Professor of Political Science, Simmons College
The Future of the MILF: Internal Dynamics and the Implications for Terrorism and Security in Southeast Asia (January 2005–September 2005)

George Adams

Commander, Chaplain Corps, U.S. Navy
Project to be determined.

Benedicto Bacani

Dean, College of Law, Notre Dame University, Philippines
Autonomy and Peace: Lessons from Southern Philippines

Betty Bigombe

Senior Consultant, World Bank
Child Soldiers: Preventing Recruitment and Facilitating Demobilization and Reintegration

Daniel Chirot

Professor of Sociology, University of Washington
The Muslim/Christian Divide in West Africa: Can a Religious War Be Prevented?

Touqir Hussain

Ambassador (retired), Pakistan
Re-engagement with Pakistan: Issues for U.S. Foreign Policy

Melvyn Leffler

Edward R. Stettinius Professor of History, University of Virginia
Why the Cold War Lasted as Long as It Did (September 2004–December 2004; July 2005–December 2005)

Moshe Ma'oz

Professor of Islamic and Middle Eastern Studies, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Washington vs. Damascus: Quo Vadis?

Phebe Marr

Research Professor (retired), National Defense University
Envisioning Iraq's Future: Developing an Alternative View

Anthony Regan

Fellow, Australian National University
Sustainable Conflict Resolution and Post-Agreement Peacebuilding Processes in an Apparently Intractable Conflict: Lessons from the Bougainville (Papua New Guinea) Peace Process (December 2004–September 2005)

Michael K. Seidl

Colonel, United States Army
Project to be determined. (August 2004–May 2005)

Jacob Shamir

Senior Lecturer, Hebrew University of Jerusalem
Public Opinion in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict

Donald Steinberg

Director, Joint Policy Council, Department of State
Internally Displaced Persons: Caring for the Stepchildren of Conflict (December 2004–September 2005)

Praveen Swami

Special Correspondent, *Frontline* magazine, India
Islam, Ethnicity, and Nationalism: A History of Terrorism in Jammu and Kashmir

Joseph Klaits is retiring from the Institute after more than 12 years in the Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program, 10 of them as the program's director. Klaits arrived at the Institute after a career in academia and government service, including stints at



Catholic University, teaching European history, and the U.S. Information Agency as an officer in the Fulbright exchange program. “The Institute has changed greatly since I arrived,” Klaits noted. “It’s a much better developed and more mature organization, with a clearer sense of our mission and a confidence that we have earned a permanent position in Washington.”

Klaits is proud of the role the Fellowship Program has played in helping, as he put it, to develop the Institute’s “weapons of mass instruction” in policy analysis, education, and scholarship. More than 200 scholars and practitioners have been resident senior fellows at the Institute. Their fellowships have resulted in more than 60 books, most published by the Institute’s Press, and scores of Institute Peaceworks and Special Reports. Many of the fellows have gone on to very senior careers in academia and diplomacy. Books by fellows have had a lasting impact on policy and continue to be actively used in the State Department and in university curriculums.

“But it’s not just scholars who have produced important work as fellows,” said Klaits. “We’ve made a place for practitioners and diplomats such as Mohamed Sahnoun, who led the UN mission to Somalia before the ill-fated U.S. intervention there; Susan Collin Marks, a South African activist who wrote one of the first chronicles of South Africa’s transition to democracy; and longtime Foreign Service officer Robert Perito, whose recent book *Where Is the Lone Ranger When We Really Need Him?* is making a real-time impact on policy discussions about U.S. interventions in Iraq and Afghanistan.”

As for the future, Klaits says he plans to move to North Carolina to be near his children and grandchildren, and to return to some of the academic projects that were his earlier interest. “I’m looking forward to a less structured lifestyle,” he said.

What China's Growth Means

China's booming economy is giving the country an unprecedented degree of influence and power. But how will it use its newfound power, and what implications will that have for the region and for the United States? Institute president **Richard Solomon** addressed these issues in the keynote address delivered to the U.S.–China Business Council in early June.

China's boom has been good for its people, said Solomon, hundreds of millions of whom have been lifted out of absolute



Richard Solomon

poverty. It has also been good for the region—China has become the engine of economic development throughout Asia. But there are challenges and vulnerabilities ahead. The gap between rich and poor, between urban and countryside, between coastal and inland regions—all have the potential to destabilize the political order. Estimates are that one-quarter of China's workforce is un- or underemployed—in a country that has to add 11 million new jobs a year to the economy just to keep up with the population growth. Corruption exerts a heavy drag on the economy. An overextended banking sector could go bust. A new health care crisis like SARS could frighten away foreign investment. Battles for succession among the leadership could rock the country's stability. And, perhaps most worryingly, China's success could tempt it to do something precipitous regarding Taiwan, possibly sparking a military confrontation between

China, Taiwan, and the U.S.—a losing proposition for all involved.

Solomon concluded his talk by noting that the Institute's emphasis on preventive diplomacy, its negotiation and dialogue training programs, and its ability to facilitate third-party intervention can all play a role in helping China, its neighbors, and the United States find common ground. "China's development and Asia's transformation can be an opportunity for the United States," said Solomon, "but it is a transformation we need to actively manage." (Complete text of Dr. Solomon's speech is available at www.usip.org/events/2004/0624_transsolomon.html.)

9/11 Commission Cites Institute Research

The bipartisan National Commission on Terrorist Attacks Upon the United States, informally known as the 9/11 Commission, issued its final report in July. The report cites the Institute's Special Report on *Establishing the Rule of Law in Afghanistan*, written by the Rule of Law Program's **Robert Perito** and **Laurel Miller. Mamoun Fandy**, a senior fellow this year, is listed in the appendixes as having participated in one of the commission's public hearings, as are several past Institute grant recipients.

Transferring Power in Iraq

Senior officials from the Defense and State Departments briefed an Institute audience in late May on how the two departments were coordinating their activities to ensure a safe transfer of sovereignty to Iraq the following month. **Ambassador Frank Ricciardone**, coordinator for the Iraq Transition at the Department of State, and **General Mick Kicklighter** (Ret.), his counterpart in the Defense Department, focused on the operational details of the transfer. "The CPA will not be replaced by some super-embassy," said Ric-



Mick Kicklighter

ciardone. "It will be replaced by the interim Iraqi government."

Ricciardone made it plain, however, that the United States would continue to play a major role in Iraq's security and reconstruction: "Although we will no longer be an occupying authority, we will continue to be a strong and supportive friend to the Iraqis."

Both speakers emphasized that the cooperation between the State Department and the Pentagon was proceeding smoothly and expressed confidence that the remaining issues—such as a Status of Forces agreement, visa laws, property rights, and so on—would be resolved expeditiously.

Book Launched on U.S. Human Rights Policy

The Institute recently published *Implementing U.S. Human Rights Policy: Successes, Failures, Challenges, and Opportunities*, which examines the U.S. record through 14 case studies over the past quarter-century. Two former assistant secretaries of state for human rights



Holly Burkhalter



Debra Liang-Fenton



and Institute board member **Holly Burkhalter** praised the book and offered their thoughts on the evolution of U.S. human rights policy at a meeting held to launch the book in mid-April. **Debra Liang-Fenton**, the editor of the book and a former program officer in the Institute's Research and Studies Program, moderated the discussion. The book's conclusion draws out the lessons learned about what policies work and what policies don't, and offers practical advice for those seeking to shape present or future human rights initiatives. (Sample chapters available online at www.usip.org/pubs/catalog/iushrp.html.)

In addition...

The Institute held on- and off-the-record meetings and discussions on migration flows in Northeast Asia, on Islam in Africa, on reporting on the genocide in Rwanda, and on Somalia 10 years after the U.S. pullout. **Robert Perito** appeared as a witness before the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations to discuss the continuing challenges in Afghanistan. **Richard Solomon** spoke at a briefing attended by **Rep. Curt Weldon** (R-PA) and **Senator Joe Biden** (D-DE) on Capitol Hill to discuss peace and security on the Korean Peninsula. The briefing was remarkable because it was the first time North Korean diplomats were allowed in the United States outside of the 25-mile radius of the UN's headquarters in New York City.

Guard

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“do tank.” This was, said Crocker, a “false and dangerous choice.” The Institute, said Crocker, must develop and disseminate knowledge, as well as engage effectively in capacity building in zones of conflict: “No other American institution has the potential to do this on a global basis.” Such a dual agenda helps link critical constituencies and establishes a feedback loop between the Institute's applied research and analytic work on the one hand and its operational programs in the field on the other. “So as I step down as chair, my message is that I hope the Institute remains committed to ... being a place of reflection and a place of action in the interests of helping bring about a more peaceful world.”

Incoming chair J. Robinson West and vice-chair Maria Otero spoke briefly following Crocker's remarks. Both praised Crocker for his role in putting the Institute “on the map,” and both envisioned continuing along the path he laid. “I want to keep the Institute nonpartisan,” said West, who served in various capacities under President Reagan. West is currently a member of the Council on Foreign Relations as well as the president of PFC Energy, an energy consulting firm. “For many in Washington, peacekeeping is

very much a new idea, and when Iraq goes off the radar screen, some of these ideas may not stay at the center of concern.” Nevertheless, said West, these are powerful ideas, and “they will continue to have enormous leverage in the years ahead.” As for his own role, said West, “I have come to know the staff and have confidence in them. My job is to provide an environment in which people can succeed.” He was grateful for the opportunity to oversee the work of an entity like the Institute: “I'm a romantic at heart, and want to be a part of something larger than myself. I'm very proud to be a part of this organization.”

Vice-Chair Otero noted that she had spent her career working to help lift people out of poverty and had come to realize that making peace is a necessary first step in that process. Otero is the president of Accion International, a nonprofit that provides micro-lending to the poor. She praised Crocker: “What he has done is to raise the bar—he forced us to articulate issues in ways that relate to the Institute's core mission.” He also helped build consensus among the board, said Otero, which has made working at the Institute a “real pleasure.” Echoing West, Otero recognized that the greatest asset of the Institute is its people, and she pledged that the board's role would be “to help expand the reach and space of the Institute.”

Institute in Iraq

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Sunni and Shia leaders, and provided advice to the new Iraqi prime minister on interfaith issues. IIP working groups will focus on the status of women, human rights, and religious dialogue. The Institute's Baghdad office recently hosted a one-hour, informal discussion

between **Ambassador John Negroponte** and the Iraq Institute of Peace. The ambassador appeared surprised to learn that IIP is one of the only groups actively working to promote religious tolerance and conflict prevention in Iraq. (Expanded descriptions of the Institute's activities in Iraq are available online at www.usip.org/iraq/programs.)



David Smock is the director of the Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, which has helped establish the Iraq Institute of Peace.



“The Responsibilities of GREATNESS”

When Institute research assistant **Ylber Bajraktari** gave the student commencement speech at the School of International Service at American University this May, it represented the culmination of a lengthy journey. Arriving in the United States as a refugee from Kosovo in 1999, Bajraktari contacted **Dan Serwer**, Peace and Stability Operations director for the Institute, whom he had met at an Institute training program for Kosovar political leaders and civil society in 1998, shortly before the war. Serwer hired him as a consultant for several Kosovo-related training programs and projects, and brought him on full-time as a research assistant in 2003. He became an operations coordinator for the Institute’s programs in Iraq earlier this year and played a key role in Institute start-up efforts in Iraq. He will be attending the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs at Princeton University in the fall. He is a true alumnus of Institute efforts and programs. Following are excerpts from his speech to the graduates.

I am honored to address you today on this momentous and exciting occasion for all of us: graduates, our families, and those from American University who have worked tirelessly with us over the past four years to make this day a happy reality.

I am particularly pleased for the opportunity that has been extended to me as an international student to speak on this very important day.

I think it is a testament to how hard American University works to ensure and celebrate diversity and open-mindedness that proved invaluable to my education over the course of the last four years.

And this great learning and living environment that I found at American University was in many respects representative of the greatness that America as a country has to offer and that the rest of the world should aspire toward. I first came across such greatness nearly five years ago in the refugee camps and killing fields of my home country of Kosovo. At that time, the United States led the world in ending this tragedy and ensuring that freedom reached this far and dark corner of Europe.

I was amazed at the bravery, generosity, and commitment of American soldiers and civilians from Kentucky, Iowa, Arizona, California, and many other states represented here today, who had come all the way from across the Atlantic Ocean to help us build peace and prosperity in Kosovo.

It was America trying to provide us with safety, freedom, and liberty—opportunities with which it has attracted over centuries millions of people from around the world, people like your parents or grandparents, but also other AU graduates. It was America that is not only a land of opportunities but one that tries to create them abroad.

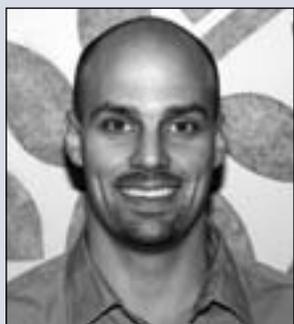
As you go about your lives and careers as international servicemen and servicewomen, I hope that you carry with you the lessons that AU taught us: to celebrate diversity and mutual respect here at home, but help others around the world cultivate them. I hope you take with you a lesson that in addition to unique

opportunities, you are bestowed with special responsibilities that have been taught here at AU.

- AU taught us responsibilities that when America trades with China, you don’t forget about Tibet.
- AU taught us responsibilities that when America forges friendship with Russia, you don’t forget about human rights in Chechnya.
- AU taught us responsibilities that when America engages in the Middle East, you help Israelis and Palestinians live side by side in peace.
- AU taught us responsibilities that when America helps Iraqis wage a war, you also ensure they win the peace.
- AU taught us responsibilities that when America prospers, you also think of those struggling with globalization.
- AU taught us responsibilities that when America researches AIDS, you also think of those infected in Botswana.
- AU taught us responsibilities that when America votes on its musical idols, you think of those who are banned from watching TV around the world.

I speak to you today not only as your fellow graduate, but also as an individual who is alive today because of an America that does not shy away from its responsibilities. Those of us who spent time in bomb shelters, refugee camps, and faced starvation and genocide, survived on hopes that an America that is committed to peace and freedom would act. And you did act. You said *no* to Hitler and fascism. You said *no* to Big Brother and communism. You said *no* to Milosevic and ethnic cleansing. You said *no* to brutality and the Taliban. I hope you continue to say *no* to repression and torture, and *yes* to freedom and liberty around the world, key lessons from our AU experience.

We who suffered under those regimes are comfortable with America’s power and prosperity, and we admire America when it acts to help. We encourage you to be comfortable as well. But we also urge you not to shy away from responsibilities. For those that are persecuted and oppressed, you, America, and the values taught here at AU are their best hope.



Baghdad Diary

Chief of Mission Sloan Mann heads up the Institute's Baghdad office, and from time to time writes informally about his experiences in country. This is from a recent dispatch.

A few days ago, I put together a barbecue for 20 or so Iraqis from four local NGOs at the Institute residence in the Green Zone. I wanted to meet with many of the Iraqis I developed close relationships with last year and reassure them that the international community is still here and still cares. It also gave me an ideal opportunity to catch up on the projects they are involved in and find out what the most pressing issues are on the street. It's my hope that the Institute can address some of their concerns through our civil society development work. Members from the Coalition Provisional Authority and other international organizations were there as well.

The barbecue was a memorable experience. A group of expressive artists were among the attendees. After performing a modern dance routine (complete with an imitation of an albatross and other types of birds), they began singing Iraqi folk songs. They were nearly in tears but radiantly smiling. The combination of being in proximity to the elite Republican Palace and openly expressing themselves was an emotional experience. Under Saddam, public singing and dancing were not allowed, and the song they were singing, about all the good Iraqis who had been killed under Hussein's regime, would have landed them in jail or worse. The only words I recognized were some choice Anglo-Saxon phrases directed at Saddam.

It was moving for me, as an outsider, to watch Iraqis express themselves and cry for joy. I felt lucky to be able to contribute to their happiness, even if at the moment there is only a glimmer of hope for a better future. These small yet meaningful interactions with Iraqi civic activists keep a flicker of optimism alive for me. In a sense, we need each other. On the one hand, the expatriates do not want to believe the daily doom-and-gloom news from media and security sources. We need to see progress and interact with positive Iraqis in order to keep morale up. On the other hand, the Iraqis want to know we still support them, that we will not abandon them when the going gets tough—this encourages them to continue to work and fight for a democratic future. And there's the rub—life is indeed tough for Iraqis right now.

Moderate Iraqis openly working to bring a culture of civic responsibility, democracy, and tolerance

to a frightened populace are in danger. Their courage makes me all the angrier when I see sensational stories of the violence and death suffered by expatriates while too often the stories of Iraqis killed or wounded go untold. Good Iraqis are dying on the streets daily. My dear friend Ali Sada's niece was shot in the face four times in Najaf by followers of Al-Sadr. Amazingly she survived, minus both eyes. One of our Iraqi staff, Ali, has been home for a week with family. His brother Majed was assassinated because of his work with the Iraqi mayor of Baghdad, who was seen as an American stooge. One of the Institute's trainees during our last workshop had to return home prematurely because her father, a member of a local governing council, was assassinated.

Our local staff takes serious risks simply entering and exiting through the frequently targeted Green Zone checkpoints. On two occasions, our Iraqi staff had close calls waiting in line to enter the Green Zone and come to work. The first time, they were 20 meters away from the car bomb that killed the president of the Governing Council (one sustained a minor injury). The second time, two weeks later, random incoming mortars landed 60 meters away from where our staff were waiting in line to enter the Green Zone; thankfully no one was hurt.

Then there are the more mundane things. The shortage of electricity enrages Iraqis—something the insurgents and terrorists use to their advantage to destabilize the country. The electricity supply is still deplorable in Baghdad. One year of occupation has brought Iraqis in Baghdad an average of two–four hours of electricity on, then six–eight hours without. For those who lack the luxury of a generator, life can be nearly unbearable in the sweltering summer heat. Our Iraqi driver looks exhausted everyday because he says he cannot sleep until the air conditioners start around 3:30 a.m. ...

For the next event, the Institute is working with Women for Women International and inviting 25 women activists to our residence. Although I look forward to interacting with these courageous women, I fear good news will be hard to come by.

—Baghdad, June 7, 2004



Recent Publications

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- *Ijtihad: Reinterpreting Islamic Principles for the Twenty-First Century*, by David Smock (Special Report 125, August 2004)
- *Downward Spiral: HIV/AIDS, State Capacity, and Political Conflict in Zimbabwe*, by Andrew T. Price-Smith and John L. Daly (Peaceworks 53, July 2004)
- *Donor Activities and Civil Society Potential in Iraq*, by Sloan Mann, Ylber Bajraktari, and Patricia Karam, with Dan Serwer and Judy Barsalou (Special Report 124, July 2004)
- *What Works? Evaluating Interfaith Dialogue Programs*, by Renee Garfinkel (Special Report 123, July 2004)

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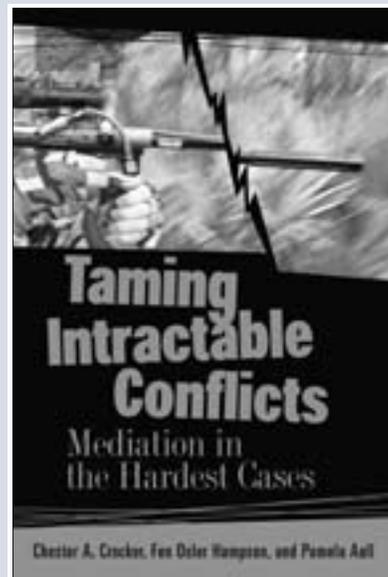
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