

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

# PeaceWatch



“Peace is the only battle worth waging.” —Albert Camus

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**USIP**  
OUR COUNTRY'S GLOBAL  
CONFLICT MANAGEMENT CENTER

Winter 2012

## Arab Spring USIP Planting Seeds for Peacebuilding



A woman holding an Egyptian flag dances on a car in downtown Cairo. © iStock.

As the dramatic events of the Arab Spring turn to the more mundane yet vital work of governance, constitution writing and peacebuilding, USIP is on the ground, bringing its unique brand of action and expertise to the effort.

USIP is in North Africa, where Libyans, Tunisians and Egyptians are scrambling to fill the void left by autocratic, corrupt and brutal regimes with more responsive and democratically aligned governments. While the stories of these countries continue to unfold, USIP's training and facilitation programs are teaching these new practitioners of peace to establish a foothold.

There is a real feeling of excitement about what's next, say USIP experts who have traveled to the region extensively.

“A lot of people think there is no vision for what's afterwards,” says USIP's Manal Omar, who runs the Institute's programs in Iraq, Iran and North Africa and has visited the region for extended stays three times this year. “The vision is incredibly clear: People in the region want democracy and they want a government that provides opportunities.”

It's at that intersection, between nascent governments grappling with big questions and citizens grappling for answers that USIP is working to make a difference, even as the situation remains fluid and sometimes volatile.

### Conflict Resolution in Libya

The effort the Institute is undertaking in Libya offers one of the most dynamic  
*continued next page >>*

examples. There, USIP is training and advising more than 100 people on basic conflict management. This training includes a series of workshops that will lead to the creation of an Alliance of Libyan Facilitators that will serve, in effect, as an instrument of peace. Omar played a distinctive role during the uprising, serving in an advisory role to the Libya Stabilization Team formed by the National Transitional Council. The Institute's other activities in Libya have included workshops on civil society and conflict management conducted with the aim of building local capacities to head off violent conflict before it starts and to manage disagreements that could turn violent.

USIP's workshops have served religious and tribal leaders and others who can benefit from a "research-based and scientific approach to conflict management" that incorporates

some of those leaders' own techniques. By the end of October, USIP had trained 120 Libyans, according to Omar. That group formed the first-ever rapid response team to help in trouble spots around the country.

"We're not just training people to introduce these concepts, we're actually preparing them to go and mitigate conflict," says Omar. "As all these issues continue to merge, how do we make sure they don't respond violently?"

USIP is also engaged in women's issues in Libya, helping to sponsor a conference focusing on the role of women there called the "Voice of Libyan Women" in Tripoli. And USIP hosted an initial screening of a film, "Confronting the Truth," produced by USIP, that depicts this process undergone in postconflict countries that have experienced massive human rights violations.

## Re-envisioning a Constitution

In November, USIP sponsored a roundtable discussion in Libya that brought together members of Libya's transitional government, civil society and political leaders to discuss how the country will write its new constitution. But the goal was not to define the process or guide participants to a specific outcome. USIP only facilitated the discussion and provided examples from comparative international experiences, says the Institute's Jason Gluck one of USIP's senior rule of law advisers.

"The dialogue is very much Libyan driven," says Gluck.

But as dry as writing a constitution may seem, it's of course crucial. The roundtable, held in Benghazi, was intended to help Libyans determine what the goals of the constitution-making process might be—simply to produce a document, or go beyond that to promote national reconciliation, educate the people on democratic citizenship or strengthen national identity?

The group eventually will decide how it could identify core principles to achieve the goals it determines are must-haves: How inclusive should the process be? Should the general public be consulted on its views? "Identifying the right people to sit around the table is critical to the legitimacy of the process," Gluck says. "Soliciting the views of the people can have a transformative effect for Libya's transition to democracy."

Finally, the group will help Libyans determine how the constitution might be designed, work through timing issues and foster a discussion about how to connect the citizenry to their new constitution. No matter the final outcome, this process will be constructive for Libya's reconstruction.

## USIP in Tunisia

In Tunisia, USIP is in the early stages of discussions with a range of groups and actors working on issues of democracy and human rights, according to USIP's Dan Brumberg. It will take time for Tunisia to develop the infrastructure—and mind-set—for organizations like USIP and other organizations to work on the ground.

"The process of building institutional capacity is something that many organizations must do now," Brumberg says. "They didn't have the space to organize under the previous regime."

Tunisia offers other challenges for an organization like USIP that seeks to offer its services in helping to facilitate constitution building and conduct rule of law work. It's a question of managing expectations among the young—especially in the rural areas in which the revolution really began, says Brumberg. Many Tunisians in those areas want economic justice in the form of job development, for example. But those concerns can't be immediately addressed in the context of a reform that will focus, over the next year, on writing a new constitution and setting the framework for long-term democracy.

"Managing expectations and aspirations is a huge challenge in that country," says Brumberg, who adds that it's important to make it real for those young revolutionaries. "For whatever lies ahead, it's critical that Tunisia's leaders undertake initiatives that link the intricacies of political reform with the daily challenges that young people face."

## The Power of Social Media

As the Arab Spring unfolded, USIP also looked for ways to "unpack, unravel and understand" the role that social media has had on the Arab Spring. Through its ongoing Blogs & Bullets initiative, USIP has made this kind of research a major priority, says Sheldon Himelfarb, who heads

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the program as director of USIP's Center of Innovation for Science, Technology and Peacebuilding.

"You keep hearing about Twitter or Facebook as being invaluable resources to the activists, but what does that really mean? How was it really being used?"

He says the key lies in understanding the specific causal mechanisms at play—would the Arab Spring never have happened without new social media tools, or were these technology platforms simply an accelerant that helped fan the flames of discontent that spread across the Middle East and North Africa?

USIP brought together leading researchers and policymakers to discuss the issue, showcasing the latest analysis of social media data from the region. USIP-funded research conducted by experts at The George Washington University found social media content around the Arab Spring, including tweets and Facebook posts, were mostly used to link to conventional media outlets like the Al-Jazeera news network. That suggests that it wasn't social media The finding suggests that were driving the revolutions necessarily, or that they were used as coordination tools for political activists, but that they were simply the conduit through which people exchanged ideas and information with each other and the outside world.

"In fact, there were far more people tweeting about the Arab Spring from the U.S. and Europe than from the Middle East/North Africa region," Himelfarb says, noting that it's important to look at the phenomenon in the context of the regional and global "media ecology," he says. "Overall, this kind of analysis tells us that to look at social media in a vacuum is a mistake."

USIP is looking at ways to directly help transform the media model in places like North Africa right now from one that operated within dictatorship governments to one that is free and independent. Much in the same way the Institute provided support to journalists in Iraq, USIP created the Arab Resource Center that provides resources for journalists learning how to professionalize and operate effectively in these postdictatorship environments.

## USIP's Facilitator Network Expands in Pakistan

By Nina Sughrue



Patrons sit at an outdoor restaurant in a slum neighborhood of Karachi, Pakistan. © The New York Times.

In Pakistan, there is an urgent need for bottom-up conflict resolution, in which Pakistanis resolve issues themselves that have the potential to escalate and further threaten their country's stability. To address this need, USIP's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding began a program in 2009 to develop a network of conflict resolution facilitators to resolve issues at the community level. The program is modeled after the successful networks of conflict resolution facilitators that USIP developed in Iraq and Afghanistan. To date, USIP has trained 95 Pakistani conflict managers.

Since the program began, participants based in Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province (KPK) and the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) have been active in training others in their communities on conflict resolution and mediation techniques. While conditions on the ground are ever changing, the network has registered a number of positive outcomes in the FATA and the Swat Valley of the KPK.

For example, the facilitators peacefully resolved two land conflicts, and one land conflict is being managed nonviolently.

The Swat Valley is particularly significant because it was under siege by the Pakistani Taliban from 2007 to 2009, when the military regained control. The valley is considered safe now but the memory of its turbulent past remains.

Given the encouraging results of the KPK- and FATA-based network, USIP expanded the program into Sindh province with particular focus on Sindh's capital, Karachi, in June 2011. Karachi is of extreme importance to Pakistan's long-term stability, as it is Pakistan's commercial and financial hub yet riddled with a diverse set of problems, including political and ethnic conflicts. The Academy, in conjunction with a local partner, conducted the fourth training-of-trainers workshop in Pakistan, which was held in Karachi.

USIP Academy staff co-trained with three of the Institute's original KPK and FATA participants in order to continue developing the capacity of original network members. Additionally, the local partner trained on several USIP conflict management frameworks to increase its own training capacity, which is critical for the sustainability of the program. The goals of the June 2011 workshop were to expand the network of trained professionals to Sindh Province, to connect USIP's KPK- and FATA-based network members with the Sindh participants, to build trust among the participants, to develop nonviolent dispute resolution capacity, and to identify, analyze and problem-solve Sindh-based conflicts.

The 40 new Sindh-based network members include 17 professionals from nongovernmental organizations, eight journalists, six academics, four law enforcement practitioners, four local government officers and one religious scholar. The workshop consisted of advanced conflict analysis, recognition of conflict ripeness and problem-solving skills. Communication, negotiation and third-party skills were also taught and practiced throughout the workshop. Participants worked individually as well as in groups. Follow-up training will continue with the problem-solving process. It will also include a workshop on how to train in conflict resolution techniques in their classrooms, organizations and communities.

# When Informal Justice Meets Formal in Afghanistan

By Thomas Omestad

While formal structures of jurisprudence dominate in the West, most criminal and civil justice procedures in Afghanistan take place through informal channels—often community councils known as shuras and jirgas, or mullahs as well. That tradition may not comport well with orthodox Western advice on bringing justice systems to a place like Afghanistan. But USIP specialists concluded that within an overwhelmingly rural population composed of diverse tribal and ethnic groups, informal justice methods are often broadly known—and they should be considered as a short-term bridge to the goal of competent state police, prosecutors and courts. “You can’t ignore reality,” says USIP’s Colette Rausch, director of the Institute’s Rule of Law Innovation Center.

USIP helped spearhead the pragmatic shift on these issues, drawing the participation of other U.S. and foreign aid agencies. “They look to USIP as a leading edge in approaches to improving rule of law activities in Afghanistan,” says Christina Bennett, a development expert who has studied the effectiveness of USIP’s Afghanistan programs.

Since 2002, USIP has been studying traditional dispute resolution in the country — with an intensifying focus on how to mesh the informal with the formal so that legal disputes can be resolved more reliably and effectively. The informal procedures have the advantages of retaining considerable public trust and drawing on voluntary participation. But the country’s social upheavals, insurgent violence and new mobility all have made enforcement more difficult, and the outcomes of disputes can sometimes be tilted to reflect the clout of influential tribes or clans.

With USIP advice, the U.S. military and embassy in Kabul have tailored their rule-of-law aid programs to support the ability of local shuras and jirgas to consider disputes, depriving the Taliban of political kindling while at the same time developing ways to monitor practices that deprive

women and other disadvantaged groups of their legal rights. The value of USIP’s field work in helping to secure military gains over the long run was cited in a 2009 letter by the top U.S. commander in Afghanistan at the time, General David Petraeus. “In Afghanistan, USIP’s work on the informal justice system has been invaluable as we work toward improving the rule of law at the provincial level,” Petraeus wrote in his letter.

The security rationale for the USIP initiative is clear: “If both the formal and informal systems aren’t able to solve a dispute,

the people involved seek Taliban help,” says Shahmahmood Miakhel, USIP’s country director based in Kabul, Afghanistan. USIP program officers, in fact, have been training U.S. officials on how the Taliban exploit gaps in Afghan justice. In 2010, the Institute expanded the number of pilot projects to build or strengthen links between informal and formal justice from eight to 13 districts, and for the first time it has begun operating in some recently heavy-conflict areas in the provinces of Nimroz, Helmand and Uruzgan.



A boy herds sheep as a U.S. Marine patrols the area in Helmand Province, Afghanistan. ©The New York Times.



# The Rule of Law at Work

By Thomas Omestad

The enormous task of helping to stabilize Afghanistan depends on much more than Afghan and international forces making military gains against the Taliban and other extremists; it depends as well on encouraging durable political and legal advances in a country that has suffered from a lack of democracy, basic rights and real recourse to the tools of justice.

To that end, efforts to help Afghans establish the rule of law have been drawing on the expertise of specialists from USIP for years. Much of the Institute's rule of law work has been funded by the State Department's Bureau of International Narcotics and Law Enforcement Affairs, and the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) has supported USIP's broader conflict resolution and peace-building training and education there.

USIP has been working at the complicated intersections of law, politics, culture, crime and civil disputes to help Afghans move toward a society in which the rule of law becomes a norm upon which they can depend. The work is prompted by the recognition that a country that routinely denies access to justice is likely to spawn instability, terrorism and other violence. That dynamic, left unchecked, retards efforts to defeat the appeal and reach of insurgents, whose own sense of justice features meting out brutal punishments on those who run afoul of their militant demands.

As Scott Worden, former USIP senior program officer who headed its Afghan rule of law team, explains, "Small disputes go unresolved. They escalate into larger feuds, and they become fuel for the insurgency. There are much larger implications here." Adds Worden: "Rule of law is one of the thickest pillars supporting the foundation of a stable Afghanistan. . . . Unsecured or lawless areas provide fertile ground for the Taliban."

Shahmahmood Miakhel, USIP's country director based in Afghanistan, puts it directly: "We need to help build a stable environment so international military forces do not have to come back."

## Early Efforts

USIP was among the first organizations to focus on law and justice issues in Afghanistan after the September 11 attacks and the U.S.-led campaign against the Taliban and al-Qaida in 2001. USIP officers participated in a systematic effort to collect and digitize previous Afghan laws that had been scrapped or ignored under Taliban rule, drawing on the resources of the Afghan diaspora and the U.S. Library of Congress. A USIP-convened international conference brought together Afghan and international experts to share ideas on strengthening the rule of law in post-Taliban Afghanistan. Additionally, based on its research and increasing work with Afghans, USIP published large portions of two volumes titled "Model Codes for Post-Conflict Criminal Justice" and translated the entire handbook on "Combating Serious Crimes" into Dari.

These publications provided a starting point to identify international legal standards that might be applied in the Afghan context. "In the early days, we tried to supply them with tools," says Colette Rausch, who directs the Institute's Rule of Law Innovation Center.

In more recent years, USIP's work has spread into many of the most sensitive issues emerging from a newly democratic Afghan government's struggles to extend the rule of law where lawlessness once reigned. Said Veeraya K. Somvongsiri, USAID's rule of law team leader in Afghanistan, "USIP occupies a unique position straddling policy and practitioner communities. USIP has provided intellectual leadership on key rule of law issues." There is an additional, practical dimension as well, Somvongsiri noted: "USIP has convening power and access to or relations with a wide range of actors in civil society and government."



Pashtun elders meet in Afghanistan. © The New York Times.

# Putting Theory into Action in Baghdad

By Gordon Lubold

When the U.S. Institute of Peace decided it would open a permanent office in Baghdad in 2004 to bring its training expertise and conflict resolution skills to the war in Iraq, it quickly became apparent to USIP personnel that the Institute was entering a whole new phase.

Iraq was at one of its most violent periods of the war. Despite years of working in conflict zones, USIP personnel knew they were in for a far greater challenge than anything they'd known.

Before entering this new phase, they had to develop specific tools they would need to be effective in such a dangerous conflict zone. With a little help, USIP employees assembled a unique security manual to help them operate their new, permanent office in the middle of one of the most violent insurgencies the Institute had ever faced.

The manual dictated all kinds of security protocols, telling USIP's Iraq team what to do in the event of a kidnapping, a security breach at the compound or how

**"Your initiatives helped save the lives of my guys and gave us other alternatives in nonviolent conflict resolution. . . . You made a big difference in Mahmoudiya." —William Zemp**

USIP personnel should evacuate their quarters in an emergency. The manual turned out to be enormously useful, USIP employees recall.

## Peacemaking on the Frontlines

But it was more than just a big binder in the corner of USIP's office in the Green Zone. For the Institute, the creation of the manual was the beginning of a new commitment to conflict resolution that would take the Institute out of its comfort zone and into the front lines of conflict. And for a nonpartisan, federally-funded organization whose culture had been defined largely by its academic research and professional

training since its inception in 1984, USIP was starting to redefine itself in ways that continue today.

"It was a complete shift for the organization," says Sloan Mann, who headed USIP's Baghdad office in those early days.

In the late 1990s, USIP had inserted itself deeply in Bosnia and Kosovo, with individuals serving in "semi-permanent" positions doing conflict mediation and negotiation work. But USIP had never taken the next step to create a permanent office that would allow it to do the kind of field-work that is critical to the Institute's peace-building mission.

After receiving the mandate and the money from Congress to open up a field office, members of USIP's Iraq Team quickly went about locating an office in Baghdad. After some debate as to whether the team could work effectively away from the protections afforded by the U.S. military, members of the group settled on an old Republican Guard officer quarters building inside the Green Zone. It turned out to be a good decision, says Daniel Serwer, a former USIP official who was instrumental in opening the new office.

"Circumstances got so rough that we would never have survived beyond the Green Zone," Serwer recalls. That first office had just one American and a few Iraqis, but it was the first such permanent presence USIP had ever before established. It was important because it allowed the USIP team to have a continuing rapport with the very people with whom they were working and training. That ongoing presence was critical, USIP officials determined, in understanding the people and the dynamics on the ground. And, the Iraq Team would



Sheik Saddoon signs the peace agreement. Photograph by USIP staff.

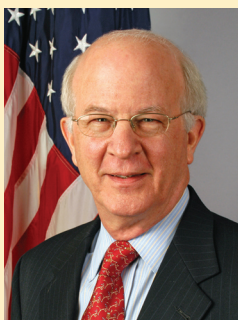




The move to establish a permanent presence in Baghdad required the Institute to take a deeper commitment to peace-building than it ever had before. The move to open an office in the middle of the largest conflict since the Institute's inception enabled it to become more than just academics pondering the world's challenges but a key contributor to resolving difficult conflicts.

## USIP MAKING A DIFFERENCE

# THE BUSINESS OF PEACEBUILDING



Chester Crocker  
Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

Chester Crocker, professor of strategic studies at Georgetown University's Walsh School of Foreign Service and former assistant secretary of state for African Affairs, stepped down this year from the U.S. Institute of Peace's board of directors after serving as a member since 1991, and as board chairman from 1992 to 2004. In this Q&A, he discusses how the field of peacebuilding has evolved since joining the Institute, where the field is going and whether the world is any less chaotic now.

**You served as USIP board chairman from 1992 to 2004, and a board member since then. In which areas do you feel you've helped shape the Institute of Peace—and the field of peacebuilding itself?**

We've seeded and developed this field for the past 20 years—and it's important to continue to build that educational base across the U.S. and the world. That in effect builds the capacity of other institutions and nations to do conflict management themselves.

We are an applied research laboratory. We need the connection to the research world but we also need to be continuously rolling out and transmitting this knowledge to those in the field, and then learning from their experiences and taking those lessons back to the research lab.

I've also tried to strengthen the bipartisan environment and create a board that will give our staff and leadership the space to grow and build. You can call it providing air cover.

I'd also mention that we did a lot of field-defining publishing on conflict management—the series of text books I've worked on is an example of that, such as “Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict,” “Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World,” “Leashing the Dogs of War: Conflict Management in a Divided World” and “Rewiring Regional Security in a Fragmented World.” USIP's “Cross Cultural Negotiation” series is another example of this field-defining work.

The books I've done with Pamela Aall and Fen O. Hampson have pulled together the different parts of the conflict management constituency that includes behavioral sciences, security and peace studies, negotiation and mediation, peacekeeping and military intervention. It's a diverse field. We've brought people together and connected the dots in these publications.

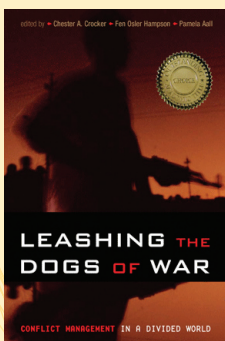
Another thing we also worked hard to do was to develop and deploy an operational capacity to have people on the ground in conflict zones—starting

with the Balkans, and in Iraq, and Afghanistan. (see “Putting Theory into Action in Baghdad” on page 6.) We've done this without losing sight of our roots as an educational and research institute dedicated to testing ideas. We became more operational, but without losing the applied research side. That side supports the operational capacity.

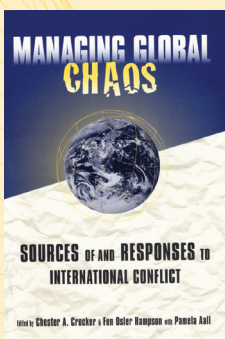
**With so many active conflicts today, and amid so much international financial uncertainty, where is the business of peacebuilding going?**

The field has gone through different phases. During the Cold War, it was barely recognizable as a field. After the collapse of the Soviet Union, there was a brief heyday when everyone was doing peacebuilding—and that's when you saw the field ramp up.

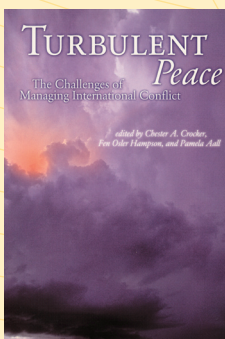
During the 1990s, the U.S. became a third party in a lot of conflicts—in the Balkans, places in Africa, like Somalia, Rwanda and in Southeast Asia. We were helping to end fighting in these areas; it was considered a central part of our foreign policy.



Published in 2007.



Published in 1996.



Published in 2001.



Board at work. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.





Ribbon cutting at the Peace Academy. Photo by Steven Purcell.

Since then, two major things happened to change the dynamics of the field: Some United Nations operations did not go very well and then, second, we had 9/11. At that point, we went back to fighting wars in which we were a direct party, rather than the third party.

Up through 2006, conflict management has been deemphasized but then we realized we couldn't solve problems through conflict, but needed to return to peacemaking and peacebuilding.

What we're seeing at the moment is the conflict management phase of how to make the war-to-peace transition work better, how to stand up weak states and how to rebuild accountable governments after conflict.

My hunch is that we're coming to the end of that phase and we need to put more emphasis on conflict prevention, mediation and crisis diplomacy. We can't just deal with the world in the postconflict phase—it is too expensive and there's a limited appetite in our system for it.

There's been a big focus on postconflict reconstruction and stabilization—which is understandable given that we have a deep commitment to several wars. But that's not the future. We need to invest in prevention, mediation and crisis diplomacy before countries blow up—and to prevent us from getting to that point.

How does USIP perform national security functions in ways that other federal agencies cannot? Why is the Institute unique?

First, we are bipartisan by statute. We are the go-to place for bipartisan research and policy, and for policy discussion. We have a proven record of this and working on difficult issues. Our board is bipartisan. Congress and others look at us as a place where you can avoid the poisonous flavor of partisan politics. You wouldn't find that in a U.S. department because it's working for an administration.

Second, we have standing with nonofficial actors—and that includes parties that are actually in conflict zones. We can convene anybody and we have earned that convening legitimacy.

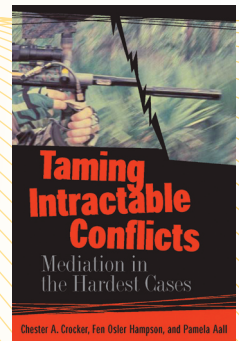
Third, our skill set doesn't exist in any other federal agency. There is no other place where people are both experienced practitioners and researchers on conflict management.

You've written extensively on global conflict in "Managing Global Chaos," "Leashing the Dogs of War" and "Herding Cats." So, here we are in 2011. Is the world less chaotic?

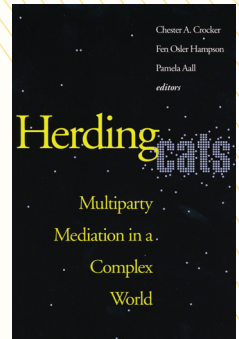
It's a different kind of chaos now.

Governments—like in the U.S., U.K., Canada, Norway—that have done conflict management are stretched thin in terms of their budgets and domestic support. We are seeing more regional organizations assert themselves as the logical first port of call. You also have more international actors—including many more unofficial international actors, as many of whom are creating problems as there are trying to resolve them.

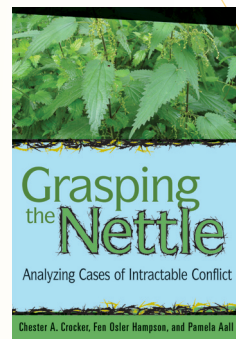
It's a more crowded field. There's no gatekeeper. There's a kind of spontaneity to it and a lack of hierarchy. Which makes it more chaotic—and sometimes you don't know who is in charge. Sometimes that's because the answer is no one is.



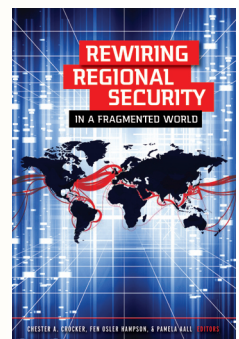
Published in 2004.



Published in 2001.



Published in 2005.



Published in 2011.

**For these books and many others, visit bookstore.  
usip.org, or call  
1.800.868.8064.**

# Hawk and Dove: What a Special Forces Soldier Learned about Peace

By Gordon Lubold

Former Defense Secretary Robert Gates likes to say that some of the biggest doves are in uniform. It's the kind of counterintuitive declaration that, in fact, the military is very skeptical when it comes to military action and prefers peace to battle almost anytime. That's true, says Col. John Maraia, who spent the past year with USIP as a military fellow. "We would like all options short of force to be exhausted before we commit our people to a fight," he says. "Exercising the military instrument of power is more expensive in blood and treasure (particularly blood) than any other approach, and I think those of us in uniform have a clear understanding of what the human cost will be, and we don't like to accept that cost if it can be avoided."

Maraia returned to active duty in June after his year-long fellowship at USIP studying and writing about Islamic extremism in Indonesia.



Col. John Maraia studied Islamic extremism in Indonesia during his year-long military fellowship at USIP. Photo by Steven Purcell.

"USIP, as well as other organizations with a similar focus, should be on the speed-dial of intelligence officers and operations officers employed by leaders in the Defense Department, the Joint Staff and the Combatant Commands," Maraia writes. Those various groups, he says, "bring different analytical tools (and a different viewpoint) to the process."

Maraia has also spoken numerous times around the country to students, civic groups and others about the military and the work USIP does. Maraia says he is struck by how USIP experts "intuitively look for the deep roots of a given conflict" in a way that may escape military planners who can be focused on shorter-term solutions.

"Collectively, USIP experts will look at issues of good governance, economics, religion or the rule of law that may be feeding hostilities below the waterline," Maraia writes in an e-mail. "As a result, USIP experts may have a better sense of what will be required to achieve a lasting and durable solution to problems because they will be able to identify the deeper issues that need to be addressed." And, his experience at USIP has convinced him of the importance the role that groups such as USIP and other institutions play in foreign policy.

"To me, USIP, as well as other organizations with a similar focus, should be on the speed-dial of intelligence officers and operations officers employed by leaders in the Defense Department, the Joint Staff and the Combatant Commands," he writes. Those various groups, he says, "bring different analytical tools (and a different viewpoint) to the process."

That recognition doesn't always come quickly to some in the military, says Paul Hughes, a retired Army colonel now at USIP. "Very few officers understand the multitude of actors and efforts involved in resolving conflict without the use of violence," he writes in an e-mail. "Those fortunate enough to have a fellowship at USIP

find themselves in a world of vastly different actors who also seek to prevent, and if necessary, resolve conflict."

Maraia, a career officer with 22 years in the Army, has spent most of his years in uniform as a Special Forces officer, with multiple assignments with the 1st Special Forces Group in the Asia-Pacific region. Naturally, Special Forces (SF) units are known for high-intensity, offensive action. But by doctrine, SF also focuses on lower-end-of-the-spectrum work, like building military and security assets in foreign countries. This past year at USIP, Maraia says, has expanded his own awareness of the impact military operations have and how good planning can mitigate those effects.

"Military planners will be looking for a solution to the problem, and they will obviously want to avoid creating a bigger problem in the future," he writes. "Understanding the deeper issues that USIP concentrates on will help to ensure that we don't create a mere short-term solution that leaves problems in our wake."

This fall, the Institute welcomed a new Army Fellow in Residence, Lt. Col. Brian Stokes, who will be working closely with USIP's Iraq team.



# Making a Difference in Iraq: One Policeman at a Time

By Raya Barazanji

USIP's programs in Iraq aim to develop local capacities in conflict resolution and the rule of law. In that respect, USIP's Iraq Priority Grant program supports a non-governmental organization (NGO) based in the northern city of Kirkuk in its work to enhance community relations with the law enforcement units in this ethnically diverse city. Some consider Kirkuk to be a microcosm of Iraq because of the various communities that call it home.

With a grant from USIP, this NGO seeks to mitigate a potential ethnic conflict by employing a set of preventive measures. Specifically, the NGO trains policemen on conflict resolution, human rights and tolerance. It also holds regular community meetings to bridge credibility gaps and build trust between the police and the members of Kirkuk's ethnically diverse community. During these meetings, police representatives acknowledged that there are shortcomings in the conduct of the police and discussed ways to rectify them. (For the protection of USIP grantees on the ground in conflict zones, the Institute's publications do not identify all groups by name.)

In addition, the NGO undertook training programs that involved 128 policemen and 137 community members. One outcome was the formation of a joint committee with the police and community that is specifically tasked with resolving issues between the two groups.

## Gaining Rare Access

USIP's grantee has achieved excellent rapport with police units and the police academy. The project allowed the organization members to gain an insider's view of the complex working environment of the police in Kirkuk. It observed the harsh working conditions, long schedules and inadequate benefits for police officers. As a result, the organization was able to diagnose poor working conditions among police as contributing to poor performance in their interactions with the community.

Entering uncharted territory for an Iraqi civil society organization, the NGO approached the police command to negotiate better working conditions for policemen and request compensation for the families of fallen officers. Thus far, the mediation efforts have been successful, resulting in the completion of 77 applications for compensation and retirement.

Consequently, for the first time, a local NGO was able to mediate and resolve work-related conflicts between policemen and their supervisors through the targeted training sessions. It also appealed to the Kirkuk Health office to provide special healthcare services for policemen especially those injured in terrorist attacks while on duty, and mental health programs to help them cope and facilitate their return to work. As further testament to the NGO's good work, the directorate general of police in Kirkuk requested that the organization formally provide training to 40 police officers on human rights at the police headquarters. Senior officials

there were so impressed that they asked to extend the training to the rest of the staff.

The NGO's director said, "I think it is a very good sign of improving relationships between government and civil society that will make a positive difference in the functioning of the security sector in Iraq."

The NGO achieved remarkable improvements in police community relations, helping to mitigate a problem that has contributed to perceptions of insecurity and vulnerability among residents of a strategically vital and politically volatile city.

Its mission advances USIP's overall mandate in Iraq and has the ancillary benefit in supporting the U.S.'s long-term investment in a peaceful and stable Iraq. By ensuring local, credible and well-trained law enforcement capacities in Iraq, USIP helps facilitate the return of U.S. troops home. USIP's work in Iraq helps in reducing violence and provides mechanisms for local communities to resolve conflicts and prevent them from reoccurring.



An Iraqi policeman on patrol in the Iraqi city of Kirkuk. © The New York Times.

# Getting to “Afghan Good Enough”

By Gordon Lubold

With the Obama administration poised to transition the bulk of its forces out of Afghanistan by 2014, it's all the more critical to build credible, accountable and enduring institutions there.

And it takes the so-called whole-of-government approach, fusing all relevant agencies and institutions to achieve a singular goal and build that kind of capacity in time, say American defense and other officials. The U.S. defense department's ministry of defense adviser, or MoDA, program, marries American institutional expertise with counterparts in Afghanistan's fledgling ministries to help them become viable for the day when the U.S. and its international partners leave.

Lt. Gen. William Caldwell, who heads NATO's training effort in Afghanistan, calls the MoDA program “one of the most important contributors” to the achievements made within the Afghan government thus far.

“The MoDA program has been the key enabler for us to not only achieve progress in the training mission, but literally it has been an absolute game changer,” he said during a taped appearance at an August 11 event at USIP. The program relies on individuals within the defense department with relevant professional experience to advise, mentor, train and teach their Afghan counterparts. Currently, there are about 47 advisers serving in Afghanistan.

Michael Lumpkin, the principal deputy assistant secretary for Special Operations/Low Intensity Conflict, who also spoke at the event at USIP, related several anecdotes about how individual advisers were making a difference.

“All of these successes—and countless others—rely on the strong trust-based relationships built between each MoDA adviser and his or her counterpart,” Lumpkin said at the USIP event. “Each achievement—even the smallest one—is a testament to the quality of the program's pre-deployment training which emphasizes developing sustainable and locally-powered solutions

through respect, humility and empathy,” he said at the USIP event.

USIP plays a big part in training these advisers, conducting two weeks of classroom training of the seven-week program before they deploy to Afghanistan. USIP held its fourth iteration of the training in the fall of 2011, and will do more next year.

David Clifton is a retired Marine colonel who as a civilian recently returned from a 14-month deployment as adviser to the Afghan Ministry of Interior's chief of staff. He said one of the things that he noticed was the passion his American colleagues had for helping build Afghanistan. Indeed, MoDA advisers work each day to help Afghanistan achieve a level of competence that will serve the Afghan government when the U.S. and other countries ultimately leave. The goal is to be “Afghan good enough”—a practical approach to doing just enough to make it work, Clifton explained. He believes the MoDA program will become the focus of the U.S.-led effort in Afghanistan as “transition” becomes the new buzzword.

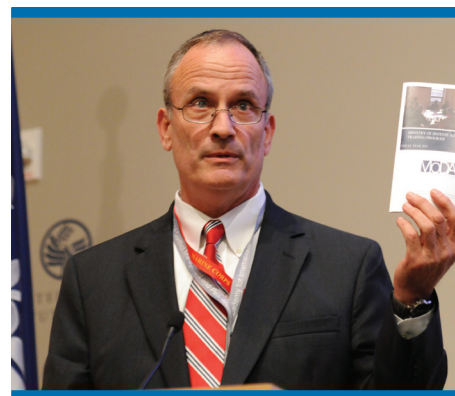
Lumpkin also noted that programs like USIP's MoDA training is vital because it helps other countries ultimately do for themselves. And, it's a big bang for a small buck.

“Strengthening foreign defense institutions is an increasingly critical element of our overseas engagement, and through inexpensive programs like MoDA, we can help partners build effective, accountable and well-governed defense ministries,” he said.

Nadia Gerspacher, a USIP program officer who runs the MoDA program for the Institute, said one of the values of the training program is that it helps advisers to make “informed decisions in a reform environment.”

National Defense University President Vice Admiral Ann Rondeau, a USIP board member, said working with the whole-of-government to provide the best mentoring in Afghanistan is critical to creating positive perceptions of Americans in Afghanistan. The MoDA program, she said, helps cement that critical relationship.

“It matters that we are trusted, it matters that we listen, it matters that we're willing to contribute and to be part of a team that makes things happen,” she said.



Top: Vice Admiral Ann Rondeau.  
Middle: Michael Lumpkin. Bottom: David Clifton.  
All photos by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



## U.S. Announces New Initiative on Genocide Prevention

In August, President Barack Obama announced new steps to prevent mass atrocities, including the creation of an interagency Atrocities Prevention Board, and new measures to deal with serious human rights violators.

The administration's move marks a major step forward in preventing genocide and responding to war crimes.

"Preventing and responding to mass atrocities and war crimes is a critical national security interest and the Institute is committed to supporting the administration's efforts," said Tara Sonenshine, executive vice president of USIP. "We are particularly pleased that many of the recommendations of the Genocide Prevention Task Force (GPTF), which was convened by the United States Institute of Peace, the United States Holocaust Memorial Museum and the American Academy of Diplomacy, were heeded."

In line with the president's announcement, the 2008 Task Force report stressed early intervention and the need to develop international partnerships to respond to emerging crises. Specifically, the Task Force report called for a standing interagency board to coordinate action across the U.S. government and creating a set of resources, or "toolkit."

Former secretary of state Madeleine K. Albright and former secretary of defense William S. Cohen, the co-chairs of the bipartisan Genocide Prevention Task Force, also issued a statement commending the president's action. In part, they stated:

"The president's directive represents an unprecedented commitment on America's part to implement the internationally-agreed upon 'responsibility to protect' civilian populations threatened by massive violence and to ensure that genocide prevention and response become integral components of America's national security strategy."

## Training Africans for African Peacekeeping Missions

Staff from USIP's Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding completed a negotiation and conflict management workshop in Gako, Rwanda, late last spring for 25 Rwandan Defense Force (RDF) military officers who will be leading an infantry battalion deploying to Darfur, Sudan. The workshop was conducted in partnership with the State Department's Africa Contingency Operations Training and Assistance (ACOTA) program.

Rwanda is the largest troop contributor to this peacekeeping mission led by the African Union–United Nations Hybrid Mission in Darfur (UNAMID), which is tasked with protecting civilians, ensuring humanitarian access and promoting the peace process in Darfur. Since the bloodshed began in 2003, hundreds of thousands have been killed and almost two million Darfurians have been displaced.

Protection of civilians is a core element of the ACOTA training, which addresses not only its importance but also practical ways peacekeepers can respond to crises. Training these officers, who will then train their troops, is an efficient way to help bring peace to Darfur and to reduce the cost of such interventions.

USIP trainers Ted Feifer and Matt Levinger taught skills not normally part of a combat soldier's toolkit—communication, negotiation and mediation—but which are essential to peacekeepers in their mission. Participants learned the skills and then applied them in practical situations, such as negotiating their way through or out of a roadblock by an armed group, or handling disputes over weapons in a camp for internally displaced persons.

Participants in the workshop made clear that this was the first time they had ever been introduced to these vital skills, that they now felt better prepared for their mission in Darfur, and wished that they had more time with the USIP trainers. According to Captain Kayatire, a Darfur peacekeeping veteran who heads the RDF's ACOTA training, USIP's training makes



*An African Union peacekeeper in Darfur, Sudan.*  
© The New York Times.

a vital contribution to the effectiveness of Rwanda's UNAMID contingent. "To build peace in Darfur," he says, "you need to be a great negotiator."

The officer participants in the USIP workshop will now be teaching the course materials to the officers and enlisted men under their command, empowering all 800 men and women of the battalion to be able to use these skills to resolve conflicts without violence in the complex security environment of Darfur.

Said Colonel Bosco, commanding an infantry brigade who deployed to UNAMID this summer, "USIP's training is important for many reasons, but principally because it creates awareness of typical problems in the mission area and provides an opportunity to learn and use skills to deal with them."

This was the USIP Academy's 10th training in Rwanda and 25th training of African peacekeepers going out to Darfur, Somalia and Côte d'Ivoire in the past three years.

## Convening Power



Ahead of the United Nations General Assembly in September, Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs Esther Brimmer on September 7 discussed the Obama administration's multilateral efforts at the U.N. and cautioned that calls to cut U.S. funding for the world body could harm U.S. global influence. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



Libyan Infrastructure and Reconstruction Minister Dr. Ahmed Jehani visited the U.S. Institute of Peace on September 23 to discuss how to proceed with rebuilding his country, challenges and opportunities for the future and how the U.S. can best support the Libyan people and Libya's transition. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



On July 28, USIP welcomed President Mahamadou Issoufou of Niger, President Alpha Condé of Guinea, President Alassane Ouattara of Côte D'Ivoire, and President Boni Yayi of Benin for a public event on West Africa's progress toward democracy. They are pictured here with USIP's Raymond Gilpin, director of the Sustainable Economies Center of Innovation, Executive Vice President Tara Sonenshine, and David Smock, senior vice president of the Centers of Innovation and Religion and Peacemaking Center. Photo by Steven Purcell.



Speaking at USIP after her congressional delegation to Afghanistan and Pakistan, Senator Jeanne Shaheen (D-NH) on September 8 said that Afghanistan is headed in the right direction, but questions remain about the country's capacity to establish good governance. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



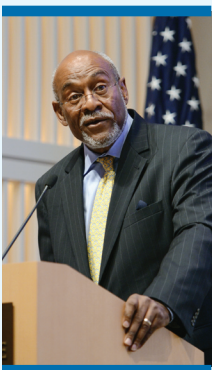


USIP senior fellow Robin Wright discussed her new book, "Rock the Casbah: Rage and Rebellion across the Islamic World," on July 18 with Manal Omar, director of USIP's Iraq, Iran and North Africa programs. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



USIP's Moeed Yusuf and partners on August 25 launched the new report titled "Pakistan, the United States and the Endgame in Afghanistan: Perceptions of Pakistan's Foreign Policy Elite" at the Jinnah Institute in Islamabad, Pakistan. The report's findings were based on a project co-convened by USIP and the Jinnah Institute to examine

the views of Pakistan's elite of the evolving situation in Afghanistan. More than 250 people attended the event, including senior ex-officials and other prominent public figures. Photo by Steven Purcell.



Shortly after the Republic of South Sudan declared its independence, Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs Johnnie Carson on July 14 delivered a keynote address on U.S. engagement with the world's newest country. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



Liberian President Ellen Johnson Sirleaf made her third visit to USIP on June 24 to speak on key political, economic and social issues affecting her country and the region. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

## People on the Move



Judith Ansley  
Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



Eric Edelman



John A. Lancaster  
Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

In 2011, the U.S. Institute of Peace welcomed three new members to its bipartisan board of directors: **Ambassador Eric Edelman**, **Judith Ansley** and **John A. Lancaster**. Edelman was previously a former undersecretary of Defense for Policy, former U.S. ambassador to Turkey, former U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Finland; Ansley most recently served as assistant to the president and deputy national security adviser at the National Security Council; and, Lancaster, who earned a Purple Heart and a Bronze Star for his service during the Vietnam War, has been a civil rights attorney since 1974.

In September, USIP detailed **Ambassador William Taylor** to the Department of State to head the newly created Middle East Transitions Office. As special coordinator of the Middle East Transitions Office, Taylor will oversee U.S. aid efforts in Libya and Egypt. In his capacity as senior vice president for the Center for Conflict Management at USIP, Taylor oversaw the Institute's on-the-ground work in Afghanistan, Iraq, Sudan, the Middle East and North Africa.

In October, **Steven Heydemann** became senior adviser for the Middle East. In his

new role at the Institute, Heydemann will assist in determining where USIP's expertise on issues of postconflict stabilization, rule of law, transitional justice and sustainable economies can best be deployed to assist in transitions across the Middle East. He will work closely with USIP programs on the ground and explore opportunities for collaboration with other U.S. government programs and nongovernmental organizations.

This fall, USIP appointed **Col. Paul Hughes** (U.S. Army, Retired) as chief of staff. In this capacity, Hughes will play a key role in the continuing program coordination between USIP and the federal government, especially the departments of defense and state.

In November, President Obama nominated USIP Executive Vice President **Tara Sonenshine** to be undersecretary of state for public diplomacy. "With her years working in the media and her keen understanding of foreign affairs, she is eminently qualified for the position," said USIP President Richard Solomon in a statement.



William Taylor  
Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



Steven Heydemann  
Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



Col. Paul Hughes  
Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.



Tara Sonenshine  
Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.

## The “Imam and the Pastor” Continue Their Story



*Pastor James Wuye and Imam Muhammad Ashafa, both of the Interfaith Mediation Center in Kaduna, Nigeria, speak at USIP October 26 during the premier of “An African Answer,” which looks at the ways in which the two bridged divides and built peace in Kenya after violence broke out in 2007. Photo by Bill Fitz-Patrick.*

Two former Nigerian militia members turned peacebuilders tell their story of working to reconcile two ethnic communities in Kenya following postelection vio-

lence in a new USIP-funded documentary launched in Washington this fall.

Imam Muhammad Ashafa and Pastor James Wuye, the so-called “Imam and the Pastor” of the 2006 documentary of the same name, visited USIP headquarters in October for a screening of “An African Answer,” their new follow-up documentary.

Both films were produced with USIP support. The new film looks at the approaches Ashafa and Wuye use in conflict zones to reconcile communities that have inflicted violence

against each other. Ashafa and Wuye were sworn enemies as leaders of Muslim and Christian militant organizations respectively that fought brutally with one another

in Kaduna state Nigeria in the 1990s. Now they are co-leaders of the Interfaith Mediation Center in Kaduna.

“The Imam and the Pastor” told their story of redemption and transformation. The film was seen as a valuable resource to practitioners of peace, often used in the field as a tool to illustrate issues of religious violence, reconciliation and religious peacebuilding. USIP commissioned this follow-up film as well as a manual, now available for free on the USIP website, to help other peace practitioners use both “Imam and the Pastor” and “An African Answer” in workshops and training programs.

“An African Answer” premiered in New York at the Council on Foreign Relations and at the United Nations, and in Washington at USIP, American and Georgetown universities and other locations. Maureen Fiedler, host of “Interfaith Voices,” a public radio program, moderated the USIP event.