



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE

PREVENTION

PREVENTION NEWSLETTER

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MISSION

USIP's Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention designs and manages the Institute's efforts to forestall the outbreak of violent conflict.

The center also conducts timely, policy relevant analysis of countries and regions where the threat to peace and stability is particularly acute.

- First tier priorities include the Korean Peninsula, Pakistan, and Iran
- Second tier priorities include Kenya and Lebanon.

In addition, the Center conducts research, identifies best practices, develops new tools for preventing violent conflict, and supports related training and education efforts.

CALENDAR

July 28-September 10: Meetings for project on "The Aftermath of a Successful Times Square Type Incident: U.S. Options vis-à-vis Pakistan".

September: U.S.-ROK naval exercise will move to the Yellow Sea. The Defense Department confirmed that the USS George Washington would be participating.

September 16: Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Kurt Campbell will give a public address at USIP on next steps in the Obama Administration's ongoing engagement of the Asia-Pacific region.

October: Next round of the official Pakistan-U.S. Strategic Dialogue

October: The USIP-Stimson Center Iran Study Group expects to complete its final report and hold a public launch of the report the following month.

October 20: On October 20, USIP will host a public event, "Iran and Israel: The Genesis of Conflict" that will feature Meir Javedanfar, an Israeli expert on Iranian politics based in Tel Aviv.

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Dear Colleagues,

We are pleased with the positive responses we have received to the first edition of the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention Newsletter, and the large number of people who have signed up to receive the Newsletter regularly. A major recent initiative was an all-day conference entitled "Preventing Violent Conflict: Principles, Policies and Practice," that we held on July 1, 2010. About 150 leading policymakers, scholars, diplomats, and NGO leaders participated in the conference.

This conference was designed to help narrow the gap between rhetoric and action in preventing violent conflicts. The central focus of the conference was on preventing the initial onset of large-scale violence.

Ambassador Mary C. Yates, Senior Adviser for Strategic Planning at the National Security Council, gave the keynote address. The first panel on regional challenges highlighted the potential conflicts that are at risk of breaking out in various regions. The second panel focused on how preventive strategies should address critical cross-cutting challenges such as governance, weapons proliferation and economic drivers of conflict. The final panel reflected on global conflict prevention initiatives by the UN, U.S., regional and subregional organizations, and civil society.

The conference was followed by a tribute to Dr. David Hamburg, president emeritus of the Carnegie Corporation, which attracted a high-level turnout including Senator Richard Lugar.

Video recordings of the conference and a Peace Brief summarizing the proceedings are available at the USIP website – USIP.org.

Abiodun Williams
Vice President
Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention



SPOTLIGHT

Pakistan

Overview

There is perhaps no other country whose fortunes will have as much bearing on global security in the near to medium term as Pakistan. As the end-game in Afghanistan approaches, Pakistan's role will be pivotal in assisting the U.S. in finding an amenable settlement. The country's own stability is just as important. If Pakistan is unable to address its multiple challenges, weaknesses and failures, it will likely descend into pervasive conflict with implications far beyond its borders. Therefore, U.S. efforts to forge a broad strategic partnership with Pakistan that addresses, along with the terrorist threat, the country's economic and social challenges ought to be viewed as an intervention aimed at conflict prevention.

“If Pakistan is unable to address its multiple challenges, weaknesses and failures, it will likely descend into pervasive conflict with implications far beyond its borders.”

Recent Developments

Just when the Tehreek-i-Taliban's (commonly known as the Pakistani Taliban) momentum was dented by the Pakistan military, the country has been engulfed by unexpected problems. During August, Pakistan was inflicted by the worst flooding in its history, affecting 13.8 million people. The country is once again looking to the international community for assistance; a positive response, which has not been forthcoming, is crucial to prevent Pakistan's recent troubles from leading to fresh discord and conflict.

There was no respite from the law and order problems across the country either. Pakistani Taliban still poses a serious threat. Moreover, militants based in the country's heartland of Punjab have actively targeted places of worship, both Muslim and non-Muslim. After having killed scores of worshipers at a mosque of the minority Ahmadiyya community in May, militants attacked one of the most revered Sufi shrines in Lahore in July, killing nearly 50 people. Pakistan's commercial hub, Karachi has been gripped by its own spate of violence as target killings between political rivals claimed well over 100 lives during the summer.

Pakistan's woes only increase America's challenge to stabilize the country. Fortunately, there has been visible progress in bilateral ties. The latest round of the strategic dialogue held in Islamabad in July has brought leaders from both sides to acknowledge improved understanding and a determination to work towards greater convergence of interests.

CAP's Pakistan-focused Activities

USIP's Center for Conflict Prevention and Analysis (CAP) addresses Pakistan through research and outreach activities aimed at conflict prevention. CAP has achieved significant outreach in the U.S. and Pakistan. American and Pakistani opinion makers, policy experts and interested youth are regularly engaged on subjects relating to the Pakistan-US relationship as well as on broad political, economic, and social issues central to conflict prevention in this fragile state. In early-August 2010, CAP organized an 'event week' in Pakistan; unprecedented for American think tanks, CAP co-hosted a two-day conference in Islamabad and two seminars in Islamabad and Karachi within a span of a week. The interaction brought American and Pakistani perspectives on various issues to the table; conducted regularly, such exercises lead to better mutual understanding.

CAP's research on Pakistan strives to cover a broad spectrum of issues from a conflict prevention lens. We emphasize subjects and analyses that are likely to help U.S. policy makers make more informed decisions vis-à-vis Pakistan. Ongoing research activities expected to be published during the present year address issues of counter-terrorism, concerns about institutional development and societal harmony –specifically we are studying youth tendencies, women empowerment opportunities, tensions over water availability and distribution, and the poverty-militancy nexus– and the political and strategic contours of the Pakistan-U.S. relationship.

CAP's Focus on over the Horizon Issues

The terrorist threat to and from Pakistan is certain to dictate the country's own fortunes and its relations with the US, India, and the rest of the world. With the widely respected Army Chief, General Kiyani having received a three-year extension to his tenure, Washington is hoping for Pakistan's continued resolve in its fight against terrorism. At the same time however, the worry of terrorist attacks being planned or executed from Pakistan soil, be they directed against Western forces in Afghanistan, India, or American citizens elsewhere remains ever present. A successful Times Square type incident on American soil or a repeat of the Mumbai carnage in India for instance could reverse the world's resolve to assist and engage Pakistan constructively.

CAP will continue its efforts to bring together policy makers and experts through round table discussions and seminars to conduct informed debates on these issues. Specifically, an ongoing project brings together leading American experts to discuss U.S. options vis-à-vis Pakistan should a successful Times Square type incident take place. In addition, a forthcoming research report on strategic stability in South Asia addresses the need to keep the Indo-Pakistani nuclear equation stable, both in times of peace and during crises.

HIGHLIGHTS

Iran

Political struggles among Iran's conservatives intensified during the summer of 2010. Key disagreements pitted members of the "New Right"- such as President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad and his allies – and veteran conservatives in the clerical establishment, parliament and business community. In addition, the president faced increased criticism from ultra-hardliners in his own camp. At the core of these differences are contrasting visions of the political, economic, and social direction of the country.

One of the most heated political battles was over Azad University, the largest private university in the world with ties to former President Hashemi Rafsanjani. The struggle pitted Rafsanjani against Ahmadinejad, who wanted greater state control of the university's financial assets. In the end, conservatives in the parliament stepped in and prevented the president from taking control of the university. On the social front, Ahmadinejad outraged many clerics and hardliners when he encouraged more freedom on dress code, particularly regarding women's hejab (Islamic garb).

The President finally sealed the parliament's approval for a controversial subsidy reform plan set to begin in September. Since the revolution, the Iranian government has greatly subsidized its population and industries. Hence, lifting of subsidies, even if done over a num-



Two-day Seminar Workshop, "Great Powers in South Asia: Imperatives for Pakistan". Islamabad August 09-10, 2010.



ber of years, can have massive political and economic consequences. There have been lively debates among Iran's elite about the best strategies for reform implementation.

Iran's domestic concerns were further exacerbated by new rounds of sanctions imposed by the United States, European Union and the United Nations in response to Iran's nuclear enrichment ambitions. Clearly, the sanctions are impacting Iran's social and economic crises, but the implications of this dynamic for Iran's political stability are as yet unclear.

Korean Peninsula

On July 21, Secretary of State Hillary Clinton and Secretary of Defense Robert Gates met with their Republic of Korea (ROK) counterparts in Seoul for the first-ever "two-plus-two" talks. The three key highlights were the announcement of new sanctions against North Korea, a U.S.-ROK naval exercise, and the postponement of wartime operational control to Seoul from April 2012 to December 2015. On July 25, the United States and the Republic of Korea launched a four-day joint naval exercise called "Invincible Spirit." In direct response to North Korea's March 26 sinking of the ROK warship, the Cheonan, "Invincible Spirit" was designed to send a strong message to Pyongyang that the U.S.-ROK alliance remained strong and ready to deter future provocations. This exercise was initially planned to take place in the Yellow Sea, but was reportedly moved to the East Sea/Sea of Japan amid growing protests from the Chinese government that the aircraft carrier USS George Washington would be operating too close to Chinese territorial waters.

As tensions rose between the United States and China over U.S.-ROK joint military activities, CAP conducted briefings on the Hill for senior staffers in late July. With the U.S.-ROK naval exercise scheduled to move to the Yellow Sea in September with the USS George Washington cast to play a central role, CAP will be conducting follow-up briefings as U.S.-China frictions increase in the waters near the Korean Peninsula.

Lebanon

Summer 2010 marked an escalation in tensions both regionally with Israel and inside Lebanon. On August 3, clashes erupted between the Lebanese army and the Israel Defense Forces (IDF)—the most serious hostilities since the July 2006 war—leaving five dead including a senior Israeli military officer and two Lebanese soldiers. Violence broke out as the IDF prepared to remove a tree located south of the Blue Line—the boundary demarcated by the United Nations following the 2000 Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. Lebanese soldiers fired warning shots, leading to an exchange of fire between the two sides. Both the Israelis and UN peacekeepers assert that the tree was on the Israeli side of the Blue Line, while the Lebanese government disputes portions of the Blue Line and claims the tree was on Lebanese territory. A further escalation of conflict was avoided during this incident, but the region remains highly volatile amidst continued concerns of a possible third war between Israel and Lebanon.

Meanwhile, inside Lebanon, fears of renewed sectarian violence are also on the rise. Speculation is mounting that Hezbollah operatives will be indicted by the UN Special Tribunal for Lebanon—investigating the February 2005 assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafiq Hariri. In a series of speeches in July and August Hezbollah leader Hassan Nasrallah has dismissed the allegations and questioned the Tribunal's legitimacy, instead fingering Israel in the Hariri assassination and charging that the Tribunal is part of a broader plot to undermine his organization. Nasrallah has signaled he would not cooperate

with any indictments of Hezbollah members, setting the stage for political stalemate and possibly civil violence in the event Hezbollah members are indicted.

Arresting the Crisis in U.S.-Turkish Relations

U.S.-Turkish relations have been on a roller coaster, plummeting earlier this summer following the Gaza flotilla crisis and Turkey's opposition to new UN sanctions against Iran. Relations have not been this troubled since at least 2003, when Turkey denied the U.S. military access for the invasion of Iraq. But unlike the 2003 episode, the current troubles seem more deeply rooted and potentially more likely to cause a serious, sustained rift. Cooperation continues on major questions, like Iraq and Afghanistan, but the breaches over Arab-Israeli and Iran policy could spillover and drag down the entire bilateral relationship. Is a paradigmatic shift occurring and a long-term rift opening up? Or are recent flare-ups more tied to changes in Turkish domestic or regional politics?

Despite a long period of close, strategic cooperation, there is increasing fear that these two old allies are drifting apart—and this, ironically, following President Obama's concerted effort early in his Administration to rejuvenate the relationship, punctuated by his early visit to Turkey and his speech to the Turkish parliament. Although understandably alarmed, there does not appear to be a focused, coherent Administration effort to arrest the current crisis and develop a roadmap for the future. On the Turkish side, there is a similar absence of new thinking about how to rescue the relationship.

For this reason, the Center is leading the Institute's efforts to help prevent a breakdown in US-Turkish cooperation and examine ways to restore trust and repair damage caused by recent crises. In Fall 2010, we will convene a high-level, unofficial dialogue in Turkey with leading national security figures from both sides—and hope to produce a joint action plan.

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Côte d'Ivoire

The presidential elections, repeatedly delayed since 2005, are scheduled to take place on October 31, 2010. USIP, in partnership with the West Africa Network for Peacebuilding – Côte d'Ivoire (WANEP-CI), will be monitoring the political situation for signs of impending violence or areas of tension in 10 key regions and the capital, Abidjan before and after the elections. The project, which is expected to produce its first report in September, will document the tone of political rhetoric; the destruction of public property; incidents of politically-motivated assassinations (or attempted assassinations); ethnic discrimination; and other signs and incidents of political violence. Notably, WANEP-CI will use the information from the observers to develop targeted intervention programs to reduce tension or prevent the escalation of violence.

Kenya

On August 4, Kenyans voted to reform the national constitution. Unlike the 2007 general elections, the election was largely peaceful. Key features of the new constitution include reduced presidential powers, further devolution of powers to the regions, the creation of a Senate and Supreme Court, and a framework for land reform. Although accepting defeat, the “No” camp is demanding negotiations over the issues they opposed, namely the land reform proposal, the provision on abortion, and the role of the Kadhis courts – which are an option in divorce, marriage, or inheritance cases when both parties are Muslim.

As the country looks toward the 2012 general elections, fresh concerns about violence are



From left to right: Muhammad Ali, NDU- Islamabad; Moeed Yusuf, Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention, USIP; and Ambassador Tanvir Ahmed Khan, Institute for Strategic Studies- Islamabad. At Seminar Workshop "Great Powers in South Asia: Imperatives for Pakistan". Islamabad August 09, 2010.

being discussed. Working with a consultant, USIP will develop a project that tracks and maps political violence in Kenya. The objective of the project is to work with Kenyan organizations to use the information to document fragile areas as well as to develop programs for intervening in a bid to forestall the escalation of existing tensions into violence or to reduce the level of violence. The project is expected to begin in earnest in 2011.

Chad

In July, Chad became the first ICC-signatory to allow Omar Bashir, President of Sudan, to enter the country, despite the ICC's warrant for his arrest for genocide in Darfur. This decision by Chad demonstrates the continuing rapprochement between the two countries. MINURCAT continues its drawdown, amid fears that the Chadian security services cannot provide a similar level of security. With the legislative elections scheduled for November 2010, Chad is on course for implementing a major component of the August 13 Agreement. USIP will publish a series of peace briefs, submitted for the May 20 conference on Chad, as well as a report of the meeting itself.

Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR)

The final report of the first ever Quadrennial Diplomacy and Development Review (QDDR) is expected to be released in October 2010. Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton initiated the QDDR in July 2009 to "strengthen and elevate diplomacy and development as key pillars of U.S. foreign policy." The QDDR's core thrust has been on "more closely aligning policy, processes, and human and financial resources to ensure that State and USAID have the capabilities to meet 21st century foreign policy challenges." The final report's recommendations are expected to have far reaching implications for the organization and implementation of U.S. government conflict prevention and peacebuilding activities. Informal reports indicate that prevention will be a strong theme in the final QDDR report, though it remains to be seen what institutional and bureaucratic changes will follow from this heightened priority. USIP has supported the QDDR process by convening a series of expert meetings focused specifically on preventing and responding to crisis and conflict.

Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR) Independent Panel

The recently concluded Quadrennial Defense Review Independent Panel presented its findings and recommendations before the House and Senate Armed Services Committees in early August. The Panel delivered its final report to Congress on July 29, 2010. It was charged with conducting an assessment of the assumptions, strategy, findings, and risks described in the Department of Defense's Quadrennial Defense Review (QDR). The QDR, a report required by law and provided by the Department of Defense to Congress, is intended to assess the national security environment over the next 20 years and identify the defense strategy, forces, and resources required to meet future challenges.

After the Department of Defense issued this year's QDR on February 1, 2010, Secretary of Defense Robert Gates and Congress constituted an independent panel to review the report as part of the National Defense Authorization Act of 2010. Former Secretary of Defense William J. Perry and former National Security Adviser Stephen J. Hadley served as co-chairs on the Panel, and the Department of Defense asked the U.S. Institute of Peace to facilitate the Panel's work.

Two specific recommendations issued by the Panel include the finding that the United States must adopt two new complementary approaches in building future national security strategies: a “whole of government” approach that would rebalance civilian and military capabilities within the U.S. government and a “Comprehensive Approach” that would seek to develop and utilize our abilities to work with selected allies/partners, select international organizations, and, when possible, Nongovernmental and Private Voluntary Organizations (NGOs/PVOs). In addition, the Panel recommended the creation of a standing Independent Strategic Review Panel to review the U.S. national security strategic environment and provide recommendations to the White House and its various departments and agencies on how to address the range of threats confronting the nation. This will aid in forming a truly comprehensive national security strategic planning process.

Nonproliferation and Arms Control

The Nonproliferation and Arms Control Project continues to engage with policy makers and the public on nuclear issues through a variety of research-based and public education projects. In late July, USIP hosted Rose Gottemoeller, assistant secretary of State for Verification, Compliance, and Implementation, for a discussion on the verification provisions and other aspects of the New START agreement. The verification regime of New START is central to debate in the Senate about whether or not the treaty should be ratified. “Its comprehensive verification regime will provide predictability, but it recognizes that we are no longer in a Cold War relationship,” she said, and added, “It allows each party to determine for itself the composition and structure of its strategic offensive arms and how reductions will be made.”

CAP also continues its development of a course on nonproliferation and arms control issues for the USIP Academy for International Conflict Management and Peacebuilding. The course will be piloted from September 20 to 24, and focuses on providing the non-specialist with a concise overview of the major building blocks of the strategic arms control and nuclear nonproliferation policy as well as the major issues that the world will confront over the next few decades.

WORKING GROUPS

The **Korea Working Group (KWG)** provides an important channel through which policy-makers and analysts can access different perspectives on how to deal with North Korea. Following Secretary of State Hillary Clinton’s July 21 announcement of new DPRK sanctions, Ambassador Richard Solomon, Chair of the KWG, headed a group of USIP’s regional and functional specialists on North Korea and sanctions that briefed senior State Department officials regarding the techniques that North Korean state trading companies employ to evade sanctions. The goal of this closed briefing was to provide specific insights about the DPRK techniques as these officials calibrate sanctions measures in an effort to increase pressure on the North Korean leadership. The KWG also convened a closed briefing for senior U.S. government officials with a North Korean defector who used to work in a DPRK state financial firm that was run by Kim Jong-il’s brother-in-law, Jang Song-taek. The defector provided an analysis of how the accelerated leadership succession process would play out in Pyongyang following the promotion of Jang to one of four vice chairman posts on the powerful National Defense Commission.

PUBLICATIONS

- John Park, "The Rise of China and Its Impact on the North Pacific Security Environment," *Joint U.S.-Korea Academic Studies*, Volume 20, 2010 (Washington, D.C.: Korea Economic Institute).
- Lawrence Woocher, "A Smart Use of Intelligence: Preventing Genocide and Mass Killing," *Georgetown Journal of International Affairs* (Summer/Fall 2010), pp. 43-50.
- Moeed Yusuf, "Correcting America's Image Problem," USIP Peace Brief, August 2010.
- Moeed Yusuf and Ashley Pandya, "The Quest for Nuclear Disarmament in South Asia: A Reality Check," USIP Peace Brief, August 2010.



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The Lebanon Working Group (LWG), chaired by Mona Yacoubian, continues to meet and address numerous topics relating to both regional tensions and internal developments inside Lebanon. In October, the Working Group intends to hold a public panel discussion on the Hill addressing the topic of U.S. security assistance to Lebanon.