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Rwanda Needs Speedy Trials

Rwandan prime minister Faustin Twagiramungu says that trials for war crimes and genocide must start by January.

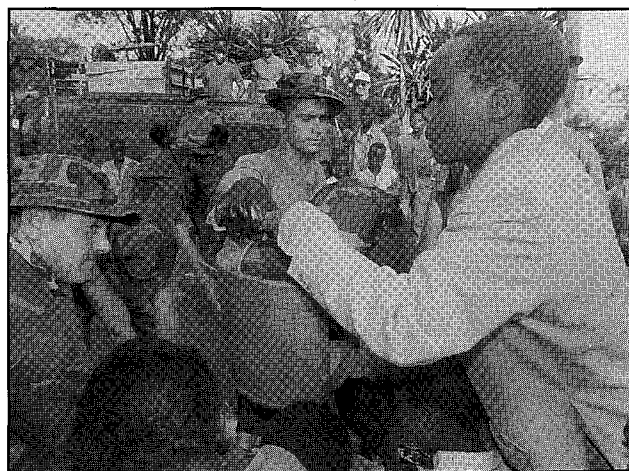
The brutal slaughter of more than half a million people in Rwanda and the psychological violence done to survivors of the massacres demand the world's attention now, says Rwandan prime minister **Faustin Twagiramungu**. Although the justice system in Rwanda is itself a shambles, the international community can begin helping to rebuild it immediately, he stresses. Only prompt, fair public trials can calm the deep unrest that haunts the Rwandan people in the wake of the genocidal terror they experienced in recent months and prevent future violence. Officials of Rwanda's new government have estimated that as many as 20,000 to 30,000 potential defendants may stand trial for war crimes and genocide.

Twagiramungu talked—from Rwanda, by telephone—about the need for prompt trials to a U.S. Institute of Peace workshop, "Dealing with War Crimes and Genocide in Rwanda." Participants in the September 16 workshop concluded that because of the daunting number of suspects, Rwandan courts should and will conduct trials, in addition to the international tribunal likely to be established by the United Nations. Observers estimate that the international tribunal will prosecute only the top echelon of defendants and not begin until, at the earliest, the second quarter of 1995, though no official timetable currently exists.

Workshop participants cautioned that further debate on whether to proceed in one forum or the

other risks misguiding international attention and assistance. They noted that the international community must instead consider how each set of trials will be organized and how their respective jurisdictions and the timing of their proceedings will be coordinated.

The workshop, organized by **Neil J. Kritz**, acting director of the Institute's Rule of Law Initiative, brought together about 50 representatives of Rwanda, the United Nations, humanitarian organizations, the State Department, congressional staff, academics, and policymakers. Participants included Jacques Bacamurwanko, the Republic of Burundi's ambassador to the United States; Thomas Buergenthal of George Washington University; Alison des Forges, regional expert; Richard J. Goldstone, chief justice for the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia; John Shattuck, assistant secretary of state for human rights, democracy, and labor; and Ralph Zacklin, director of the UN Office of the Legal



U.S. soldiers distribute water to Rwandan refugees at a camp in Goma, Zaire.

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Rwanda

Continued from page 1

Top: Esdras Birasa and Diane Orentlicher. **Bottom:** Crystal L. Nix, James Daniel Phillips, Richard J. Goldstone, and René Lemarchand discuss trials for genocide and war crimes in Rwanda (left to right).

Counsel. The group, anticipating the UN-mandated international tribunal, discussed the creation of such a tribunal and issues relating to holding additional war crimes trials in Rwandan courts. On



September 28, a commission of experts established by the UN Security Council recommended that the UN establish an international tribunal to prosecute war crimes and genocide in Rwanda.

"It is central to the mission of the Institute to contribute to resolving the crisis in Rwanda," noted Institute president **Richard H. Solomon**, who opened the proceedings. "Accountability is essential to any effort to create stability in that country." The Institute has published a Special Report, *Dealing with War Crimes and Genocide in Rwanda*, based on the workshop proceedings. With the exception of Twagiramungu, workshop participants spoke on a not-for-attribution basis.

Background

The latest round of atrocities in Rwanda, with its minority Tutsi population (15 percent) and majority Hutu (85 percent), began after a plane carrying Rwandan president Juvenal Habyarimana and Burundi president Cyprien Ntaryamira was shot down over Rwanda's capital city, Kigali, on April 6, killing both leaders. Hutu extremists accused the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), a Tutsi-dominated faction, of assassinating Habyarimana. Hutu soldiers and others initiated a planned killing of Tutsi civilians and moderates. Militias throughout the country incited and coerced civilians to participate in the massacre of their neighbors, often of entire families.

On July 18, the RPF declared victory over the Hutu government and established a new government of national unity. After three months of fighting, between 500,000 and 1 million Tutsi had been exterminated; over 2 million refugees had fled to neighboring countries—roughly half to Zaire—and Kigali was left in

ruins. The refugees, primarily Hutu, are afraid to return to Rwanda in part because they fear revenge by the Tutsi. Conference participants concluded that the early holding of fair, public trials of those most implicated in the genocide is necessary to the resolution of the refugee crisis.

Rwandan Trials

Before the slaughter, Rwanda had about 300 magistrates. Most have been killed, and only about 40 remain, workshop participants noted. Twagiramungu said that his country would welcome help from other countries in setting up domestic trials, including the participation in the trials of foreign judges, lawyers, and investigators functioning under Rwandan law. Getting the judiciary established to begin trials is a government priority, Twagiramungu stressed.

Kritz pointed out that under its charter, the international tribunal could not impose capital punishment, while Rwandan courts can. That could create a problem if the masterminds of

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Earle and Rokke Join Board

Two new ex officio members have joined the United States Institute of Peace board of directors.

Ralph Earle II is the deputy director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (ACDA). He was designated to serve on the board by John Holum, director of ACDA. Earle most recently served as chairman of the board of directors of the Lawyers Alliance for World Security (LAWS). In 1980–1981, he was director of ACDA and served as its principal adviser to the president, the National Security Council, and the secretary of state on matters involving arms control and disarmament. Earle previously was chief U.S. negotiator (with the rank of ambassador) of the SALT I treaty (1978–1980) and alternate chief negotiator (1977–1978). During that period he also served as ACDA’s special representative for arms control and disarmament negotiations. Before that, he was the ACDA representative on the U.S. SALT Delegation (1973–1977).

Earle also served as a consultant to the secretary of defense on SALT-related issues (1972–1973); defense adviser, U.S. Mission to NATO (1969–1972); and principal deputy assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs (1968–1969).

In addition to his government service, Earle, a graduate of Harvard College and Harvard Law School, has practiced law as a partner of Morgan, Lewis, and Bockius in Philadelphia and Baker and Daniels in Washington. He is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations, the International Institute for

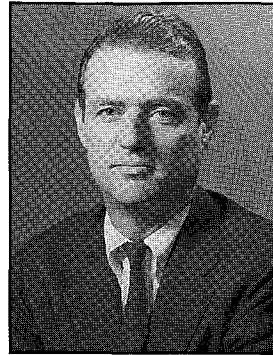
Strategic Studies, the Council of American Ambassadors, and the American Law Institute.

Ervin J. Rokke, Lt. Gen., U.S. Air Force, became president of the National Defense University in September. Previously he served as assistant chief of staff for intelligence at Air Force headquarters in Washington, where he was the senior intelligence officer, responsible for the organization, training, and equipage of more than 25,000 Air Force officers, enlisted personnel, and civilian intelligence professionals.

Rokke was director of intelligence for Headquarters, U.S. European Command, Stuttgart-Valhingen, Germany, in 1991–1993. As U.S. air and defense attaché to Moscow in 1987–1989, he witnessed the last days of the Soviet Union. Before that, he was dean of faculty at the U.S. Air Force Academy, Colorado Springs, Colo., where he had been head of the political science department. In earlier assignments, he served as the U.S. air attaché to the United Kingdom and in intelligence in Japan and Hawaii.

Rokke was commissioned as a second lieutenant through the U.S. Air Force Academy in 1962. After receiving a master’s degree in international relations from Harvard University in 1964, he completed intelligence training at Lowry Air Force Base, Colo. He received a doctorate in international relations from Harvard University in 1970.

Rokke has received numerous awards and decorations, including the Defense Distinguished Service Medal with bronze oak leaf cluster and the Legion of Merit.



Ralph Earle II



Ervin J. Rokke



Our New Look

Welcome to the inaugural issue of *Peace Watch*. Over the past few weeks, the publications staff has worked with a design consultant to revamp our newsletter. *Peace Watch*—which replaces the *Journal*—has been designed according to the most recent research on visual features that improve attractiveness and readability.

We believe that *Peace Watch* reflects the wide range of innovative programs under way at the Institute, as it enters its second decade of work. We would be happy to hear your comments about the new design and your suggestions for future issues.

Cynthia R. Benjamin

Editor



North Korea After Kim Il Sung

Despite North Korea's recent historic agreement to end its nuclear weapons program, implementation remains the critical test.



Ban Ki Moon, deputy chief of mission of the Embassy of the Republic of South Korea, discusses his country's concerns about North Korea's nuclear program.

Events in North Korea took a dramatic turn with the sudden death in July of the country's 82-year-old president, Kim Il Sung. The "Great Leader's" passing marked the end of an era. Equally significant, the agreement in October between the United States and North Korea to terminate the North Korean nuclear program in return for economic assistance and the development of political contacts with the United States may signal an auspicious beginning: the end of decades of military confrontation on the peninsula and gradual normalization of North Korea's relations with the rest of the world. Assuredly, both developments will have a major impact on the future of the Korean peninsula.

Observers agree that Kim Il Sung's promise to former president Jimmy Carter last summer that North Korea would freeze its nuclear program paved the way for the formal agreement, signed October 21 in Geneva. The agreement provides for the provision of proliferation-resistant light-water nuclear power reactors to the North in exchange for the North's elimination of its plutonium-producing nuclear facilities. However, observers caution that it is not yet clear whether the new regime in North Korea, and its de facto leader, Kim Jong Il, have the intention and capability to implement the terms of the Geneva agreement.

Also in question is the future of North-South relations, which have deteriorated in a cycle of mutual vituperation following Kim Il Sung's death. Of added concern is the course of U.S. relations with the South, which will be critical to the provision of light-water reactors to the North and to continued stability on the peninsula.

On the eve of the third round of negotiations in Geneva, the U.S. Institute of Peace convened about 40 policymakers and senior regional and technical specialists for a one-day meeting to discuss U.S. relations on the Korean peninsula in the post-Kim Il Sung era. The September 20 conference included representatives from South Korea, Japan, Russia, the

United Kingdom, and the United States. Among the participants were Ban Ki Moon, deputy chief of mission of the Embassy of the Republic of Korea (ROK) in Washington; Ashton B. Carter, assistant secretary of defense for international security policy; Aidan Foster-Carter of the University of Leeds; Robert L. Gallucci, ambassador-at-large and head of the U.S. delegation to the U.S.-Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) negotiations in Geneva; Stephen Linton of Columbia University; and Winston Lord, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs. Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** moderated the conference, which was organized by **Alan D. Romberg**, then-director of the Institute's Research and Studies Program, and program officer **Scott Snyder**.

The Institute recently published a Special Report *The North Korean Nuclear Challenge: The Post-Kim Il Sung Phase Begins*, which draws heavily on views expressed at the meeting. The report reviews the major challenges facing the United States and South Korea in resolving the nuclear issue and reducing inter-Korean tensions in the midst of North Korea's political succession. Key points of the report are summarized below.

The Major Challenges

- The October 21 U.S.-DPRK framework agreement outlines the steps through which real progress might be made in dismantling North Korea's plutonium nuclear program and improving U.S.-DPRK relations; however, it will be years before implementation has proceeded far enough to ensure that all issues of concern are finally resolved. Meanwhile, renewed crisis could occur if any of the elements in the agreement are not implemented. North Korea's continued adherence to its pledge not to refuel its 5-megawatt experimental reactor or reprocess spent fuel rods currently in wet storage and to freeze construction of its 50-megawatt and 200-megawatt graphite reactors is critical to implementing the agreement and to further progress.
- The U.S.-ROK relationship, ironically, is under

strain following the progress represented by the U.S.-DPRK agreement. It will be important to support parallel progress in the North-South Korean dialogue to ensure that the relationship between Washington and Seoul remains one of confidence and coordination of policy. Of particular concern is the fact that progress in U.S.-North Korean relations has raised South Korean fears of losing control over developments on the peninsula and of a weakening of its alliance with the United States. Washington must be attentive to South Korean concerns and especially skillful in reassuring Seoul of its undiminished commitment to South Korea. This requires not only exceptional measures to coordinate policy but also efforts to build public support for one common policy as both parties deal with the North on nuclear and other issues.

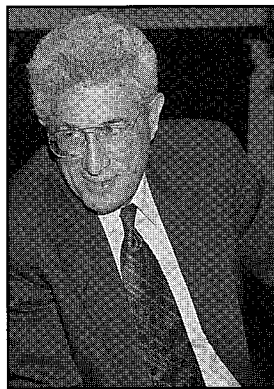
For its part, South Korea should engage in diplomacy with North Korea and search for appropriate opportunities to reactivate the North-South dialogue. The South will play a major role in supplying North Korea with light-water reactors. At the same time, as the United States proceeds towards normalization of relations with the North, it should take steps to ensure that the degree of progress in U.S.-DPRK relations does not outpace the development of North-South relations. The United States should not be drawn by the North into a unilateral dialogue in the absence of a parallel North-South dialogue.

□ There is little reliable information about how the North Korean political succession is proceeding. Kim Il Sung's death may not have initiated policy paralysis in North Korea, but it has at least created considerable uncertainty. Doubts remain among outside observers about whether Kim Jong Il will ultimately consolidate his power. These questions persist despite the younger Kim's recent appearance at

the ceremony marking 100 days of mourning for his father, and reports that the elder Kim approved a policy of improving U.S.-DPRK relations at the cost of relinquishing the North's nuclear program before his death. Even if Kim Jong Il is finally named formally as North Korea's state and party leader, the very fact of the transition has made it difficult to initiate progress in the North-South dialogue.

□ To encourage North Korea's commitment to following through on the October 21 agreement, the United States must maintain close cooperation with South Korea, Japan, China, Russia, and others so that the post-Kim Il Sung leadership does not doubt the international consensus in support of the agreement's implementation. Effective U.S. maintenance of an international coalition on these issues is critical to convincing Pyongyang that it cannot succeed in diplomatic maneuvers designed to split off elements of the coalition or to stall on implementation of the agreement.

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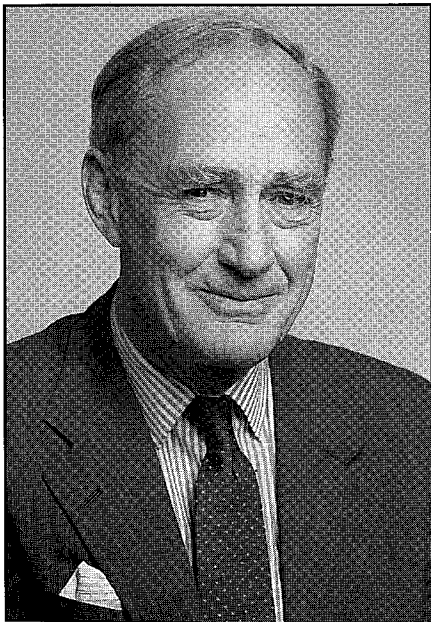
**Left: Robert Gallucci
Right: Richard H. Solomon
Bottom: Ron Montaperto listens as K. A. Namkung makes a point during the discussion.**



New Zealand diplomat Denis McLean believes a new spirit of international collaboration is emerging to serve broad humanitarian interests in the world.

GLOBAL
ACTION

**In Search of
Consensus**



Distinguished Fellow **Denis McLean** envisions a world that embraces the hopes of even the smallest nations. A native of New Zealand, McLean has spent 36 years in public service and has been influenced by the various ways his island nation, despite its remote location, has helped to shape a world inhabited by many more powerful states. "My claim to originality may lie in my experience of the attitudes and aspira-

tions of a smaller power," says McLean, who served as New Zealand's ambassador to the United States from 1991 until last spring, when he joined the Institute. As a fellow, McLean is exploring principles and guidelines for international peace operations that may help structure responses to crises around the world.

"I have some feel for the role of the military in society and in international relations," explains McLean. As a foreign service officer, he was posted in Washington and London twice, and in Kuala Lumpur and Paris, and he served as New Zealand's secretary of defense for nine years. "This year is a great time to bring together some of my thoughts about the relationship between international peace operations and military power, because this is becoming a major focus in the

development of the international community," McLean says. "Today, collective security requires more effective coordination to deal with smaller wars and humanitarian tragedies in order to head off larger, already looming disasters."

The Institute, in concert with McLean, is convening a series of seminars to examine the current debate over peacekeeping, discuss the shortcomings of past operations, and explore the issue of coordination with humanitarian organizations. Participants include policymakers and representatives of the U.S. military, United Nations, and academic community.

"Despite the pessimism, there seems to be an immense amount of good will now in the international community and a disposition to make things happen," McLean observes. "Why else, for example, should New Zealand be involved in providing aid to Rwanda? What is needed is a new sense of common purpose. My project here is aimed to develop a consensus, if possible, on different aspects of modern peace operations," in particular political and military arrangements for the facilitation of humanitarian interventions. The Institute will publish a Special Report based on McLean's research and analysis of the seminar discussions.

Achieving Collective Action

The nations of the world have made great advances in their ability to coordinate and act jointly to



achieve mutually desired goals, McLean notes. Before World War II, it was impossible for the League of Nations to put together a peacekeeping force, there was little or no integration in trade, and most efforts in other fields were rudimentary. "We are so much further down the track, and we have so much prosperity and security as a result. Globalism is coming and is probably unstoppable. Global collective action offers all countries great and small an added means of coping with the problems of a very untidy time."

Scholars and policymakers recently have focused excessively on breakdown and disorder in the post-Cold War world, ignoring numerous positive trends, McLean argues. The international community seems strongly disposed to support humanitarian assistance and to endorse a form of intervention where grave human rights abuses are taking place or where political processes are being flagrantly manipulated or overturned, as in Haiti, he points out. And there is a willingness to establish much wider peace operations that can provide the framework for the delivery of

humanitarian assistance in highly insecure circumstances.

In his report, McLean will focus on developing:

- criteria against which to judge the national and international interests of states in contributing to collective peace operations;
- a mechanism for coordinating and managing humanitarian interventions;
- ideas on how best to integrate humanitarian organizations into planning and implementation of peace operations;
- thoughts about options for increasing the effectiveness and rapid deployment capability of "blue helmet" forces, including the provision of preparedness training throughout the international community.

In developing the concept of multilateral peace operations, it may be necessary to define limits and recognize that some situations will remain largely unresolved, as perhaps in Somalia, McLean cautions. It is also important to recognize that the age of world government has not yet dawned. "There are limits to the degree to which the powers, especially the major powers, can be expected to

yield authority to an international organization," McLean observes. "And men and women everywhere have legitimate interests in improving their condition by altering the status quo, as in the former Soviet Union. We need to be open-minded and tolerant and do everything possible to marshal the resources of the international community to provide assistance and help build states and civil societies in which individual rights can be protected."

Achieving a comfortable balance is possible, he argues. "A lot of people indulge in UN-bashing. They view the UN as a vast, scaly monster, a rival focus of power. But almost everyone agrees that there is no substitute for the UN—that if it didn't exist at this point in history, we'd have to invent it," McLean observes. It's up to the international community to make sure the UN works as well as possible.

"It's important to accept that internationalism is growing," McLean argues. "It's a positive force, a strong antidote to the destructive side of nationalism. On the whole, I'm optimistic that the world is groping toward new solutions to new problems."

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Managing Conflict in Africa

With the deaths of U.S. and other peacekeeping troops in Somalia, U.S. policymakers and the public began to question the efficacy and costs of U.S. military intervention there. Thus, when genocidal strife erupted in Rwanda in 1994, causing millions of Rwandans to flee into neighboring Zaire, there was a strong

reluctance to send U.S. forces to that area. It was after the worst slaughter had ended that the United States sent 7,500 troops to help deliver humanitarian relief to Rwanda's capital city, Kigali. Today, U.S. engagement in broader efforts to resolve the conflict remains limited.

While U.S. caution in Rwanda may reflect "peace fatigue" combined with "Afro-pessimism" about the ability of Africans to resolve their conflicts, some observers say that recent African initiatives augur well for the future of conflict prevention and resolution there. Among these, they cite the Organization for African Unity's (OAU) Mechanism for the Prevention, Management, and Resolution of Conflict. The mechanism, established following the Cairo summit in 1993, is one example of African efforts to create new institutions to bolster regional capacities.

In this context, the U.S. Institute of Peace convened 40 specialists from Africa and the United States—including former and current diplomats, academics, U.S. policymakers, policy analysts, and journalists—to discuss African conflict resolution measures and ways to improve the U.S. contribution to their efforts. The September 28 symposium, organized by **David R. Smock**, director of the Institute's Grant Program, and chaired by Institute board chairman **Chester A. Crocker**, a specialist on African affairs, is part of the Institute's ongoing focus on issues affecting the African continent, including the crises in Sudan, Somalia, Mozambique, South Africa, and Rwanda.

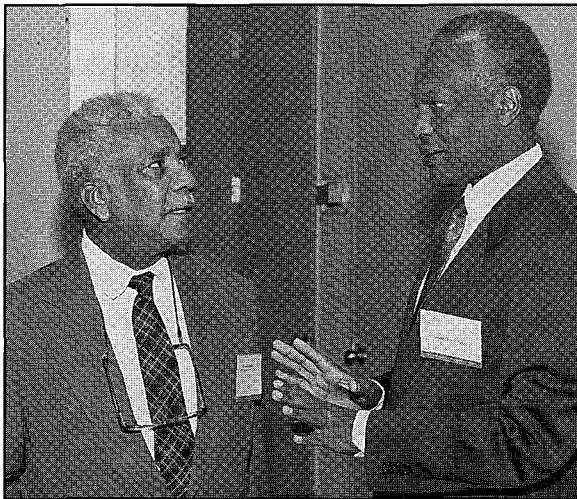
Symposium participants examined the following issues: lessons learned from past U.S. peacemaking initiatives in Africa, the capacities of African institutions for taking more responsibility for peacemaking, what outside assistance would be required to enable African institutions to be more

effective peacemakers, and the role the U.S. should play. The Institute recently published a Special Report, *The U.S. Contribution to Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution in Africa*, which summarizes the symposium proceedings. Key points of the report are summarized below.

Recommended U.S. Policy Principles and Options

Conference participants broadly agreed that conflicts in Africa have international ramifications, including refugee flows and environmental damage, but especially in humanitarian terms. The recent genocidal conflict in Rwanda demonstrates this perhaps more than any other case. A failure to address and mitigate conflict in Africa, by Africans and external powers alike, can have disastrous results that will—eventually and usually at considerably higher costs—capture the attention of the global community and compel an international response.

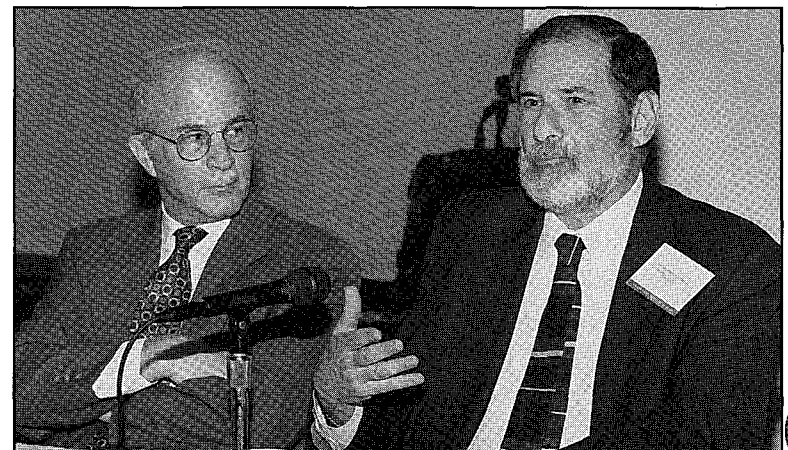
Therefore, participants recommended that the United States should:



Top: Ali Mazrui of SUNY Binghamton and Bethuel Kipligat, Kenya's ambassador to the United States, discuss an issue during a break (left to right).
Bottom: Chester A. Crocker, Institute board chairman, listens to a presentation by Donald Rothchild, peace fellow at the Institute (left to right).

reliance on U.S. military intervention there. Thus, when genocidal strife erupted in Rwanda in 1994, causing millions of Rwandans to flee into neighboring Zaire, there was a strong

reluctance to send U.S. forces to that area. It was after the worst slaughter had ended that the United States sent 7,500 troops to help deliver humanitarian relief to Rwanda's capital city, Kigali. Today, U.S. engagement in broader efforts to resolve the conflict remains limited.



InstitutePeople

- ❑ Support the OAU mechanism for conflict prevention, management, and resolution by providing mediation and problem-solving training, organizational training and assistance, and logistics or support for specific missions. U.S. diplomatic efforts should be coordinated to support, when desirable, OAU conflict resolution initiatives.
- ❑ Be engaged, when appropriate, at each step of the conflict resolution process: pre-negotiation (bringing the parties to the table); the negotiation process itself, aimed at achieving a peace accord; and the peacebuilding or implementation phase.
- ❑ Provide continued support for political liberalization and good governance in Africa to help mitigate conflicts there.
- ❑ Accept that, at best, its efforts at peacemaking and peace-keeping in Africa will produce a "mixed record."
- ❑ Recognize that it doesn't have to go it alone; working with allies—particularly Britain and France—will continue to be a cornerstone of U.S. policy in Africa.
- ❑ Accept that it is unavoidably involved in Africa because of continuing national interests in the stability of the continent and to further other foreign policy aims such as democratization.

Symposium participants also recommended policy principles and options for African countries and organizations. These recommendations and further summary of the proceedings are detailed in the Institute's Special Report.

Chas. W. Freeman, Jr., joined the Institute as a distinguished fellow in November. He served as assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs in 1993–1994 and was ambassador to Saudi Arabia in 1989–1992, at the height of the Gulf War. Freeman's diplomatic service has also included China, the Middle East, India, Southeast Asia, and Africa. He is the author of *The Diplomat's Dictionary*, published recently by the National Defense University Press.

Hrach Gregorian, director of the Education and Training Program, headed a two-day International Conflict Resolution Training (ICREST) seminar for 47 military officers from about a dozen Latin American countries in September. **Lewis Rasmussen**, project officer, and **Indar Rikhye**, Institute senior adviser, assisted with the training, held at the Inter-American Defense College, Fort McNair, Washington. In October, Gregorian and Rasmussen led a three-day ICREST seminar for about 20 mid- to upper-level foreign service officers at the William F. Bolger Management Academy in Washington.

In October, **David Little**, senior scholar in religion, ethics, and human rights, presented a paper, "Studying 'Religious Human Rights': A Methodological Foundation," at Emory University Law School, Atlanta, Ga. The paper was given as part of an international conference on "Religious Human Rights in the World Today: Legal and Religious Perspectives."

Author and journalist **Jerrold L. Schecter** joined the Institute as a peace fellow in September. He was a founding editor of *We/Mbl*, an independent Russian/American weekly newspaper, started by the Hearst Corporation and *Izvestia* in 1990 and suspended in 1994. He is a former associate White House press secretary and spokesman for the National Security Council, diplomatic editor for *Time* magazine, and Moscow Bureau chief for Time-Life.

The Institute welcomed **Margarita Studemeister** as director of the

Jeannette Rankin Library Program in October. Studemeister came to her new position from the National Security Archive, where she managed public services and library and document collections. She has worked as a consultant with the World Bank and was executive director for three years at the Washington Center for Central American Studies; she has also worked as a librarian with the San Francisco Public Library System and as associate director of the Central America Research Institute in California. Studemeister holds a B.A. from McGill University, Montreal, Canada; an M.L.S. from the University of California at Berkeley; and an M.S.S. from San Francisco State University.



Margarita Studemeister

**The CSCE: Future Directions**

Through its steadfast adherence to human rights principles, the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) played an important role in ending the Cold War. But in today's changed world, the ability of the CSCE to function effectively has been called into question, especially in the wake of its failure to negotiate a definitive end to the conflicts in the former Yugoslavia and Nagorno-Karabakh. To examine the future of the CSCE—which could prove crucial to conflict resolution and peacekeeping in Europe—the U.S. Institute of Peace hosted a roundtable discussion in September.

The roundtable, chaired by Max M. Kampelman, former U.S. ambassador to the CSCE and Institute board vice chairman, was organized to discuss some of the issues that might be addressed at the CSCE summit in Budapest November 30–December 1. Patricia Carley, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, organized the discussion. Remarks were made by Institute fellow James Goodby and former guest scholar John J. Maresca, both former U.S. ambassadors to the CSCE. The remarks were followed by a discussion among about 30 participants from government and the private sector with CSCE experience and expertise. The Institute is publishing a summary of the roundtable proceedings as a Special Report, *The Future of the CSCE: A Roundtable Discussion*.

Taking Charge in Africa

Africans must assume greater responsibility for handling conflicts that break out on their continent, says His Excellency Habib Ben Yahia, Tunisian foreign minister. He spoke in October about further development of the Organization for African Unity's (OAU) Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution. The Mechanism, adopted at the OAU Cairo summit in

June 1993, is one means African countries can use to manage short-term crises and to resolve more intransigent conflicts, Ben Yahia told about 20 represen-



Habib Ben Yahia (left), foreign minister of Tunisia, spoke at the Institute in October about the OAU's Mechanism for Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution.

tatives from the State Department, the international aid community, and Institute fellows and staff.

The Institute invited Ben Yahia to speak in part to continue discussions begun earlier this year with OAU Secretary General Salim Salim about how the Institute might provide conflict management and resolution skills training for OAU officials, noted Lewis Rasmussen, project officer in the Education and Training Program, who organized the meeting. Tunisia currently chairs the mechanism and holds the rotating presidency of the OAU.

The Radical Right in Europe

A study group focusing on the rise of ultranationalism in Europe sponsored a symposium, entitled "The Resurgent Radical Right in Contemporary Europe," at its second meeting in October. The event—organized by Joseph Klaitz, director of the Jennings Randolph Program, and program officer John Torpey—featured presentations by Norman Birnbaum of Georgetown University, Hans-Georg Betz and Katherine Verdery of Johns Hopkins University, Charles Maier of Harvard, and Richard Wolin of Rice University. The "Weimar Europe?" study group will hold several additional meetings in the spring. An earlier meeting in July, focusing on Russia, featured distinguished fellow Peter Reddaway.

Sahnoun Book Launched

About 60 representatives of the media, the policy community, and the general public attended a book presentation and author signing at Sidney Kramer Books in Washington September 19 to launch Mohamed Sahnoun's *Somalia: The Missed Opportunities*, published by the U.S. Institute of Peace Press. C-Span televised the event, which featured a panel presentation by Institute president Richard H. Solomon; board chairman Chester A. Crocker, a specialist on African affairs; Robert B. Oakley, former U.S. special envoy to Somalia; and Sahnoun, former Algerian ambassador to the United States and the UN secretary general's special representative to Somalia in 1992. Kay Hechler, USIP Press sales and marketing manager, and Wilson Grabill, Institute public affairs specialist, organized the event.

After the panel discussion, members of the audience—including representatives of the State Department, U.S. Information Agency (USIA), the *Los Angeles Times*, and the *Christian Science Monitor*—posed questions to the panel.

Rwanda

Continued from page 2

the genocide—tried at the international tribunal—are sentenced to imprisonment, while those with less responsibility—tried in Rwandan courts—receive the death penalty. This issue remains unresolved.

The International Tribunal

To ensure timeliness, fairness, and consistency, and to contain costs, several workshop participants recommended that the UN expand the UN Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (created in May 1993) to include Rwanda. As the first international tribunal since the post-World War trials in Nuremberg and Tokyo, the tribunal's interpretation and application of evolving international norms with respect to war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide will affect this field for years to come.

While the UN commission of experts recommended conducting the Rwanda proceedings of the joint tribunal in a neutral venue such as The Hague, workshop participants and Twagimarungu arrived at a different conclusion. As one conference participant noted, "It is essential that the trials be conducted in a location such that the victims of human rights abuses do not feel irrelevant." Twagimarungu said he would prefer the tribunal be held in Kigali.

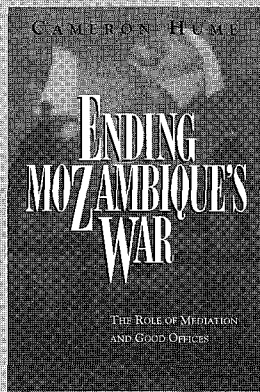
Further, participants recommended limiting prosecutions to criminal actions committed after April 6. They also urged speedy arrest of suspects to prevent their flight and avoid the costs of tracking them down. Participants firmly concluded that, to end the culture of impunity that has facilitated repeated rounds of violence in Rwanda, a broad-based amnesty must be rejected. However,

notwithstanding statements by Rwandan government officials that all suspects must be tried, the sheer numbers involved in the killings—perhaps as many as 100,000—mean that the process of national reconciliation will require some limits to prosecution.

Finally, workshop participants emphasized that the handling of this issue in Rwanda will strongly influence events in neighboring Burundi, which shares Rwanda's ethnic mix and history of political violence.

New Books

from USIP Press



Ending Mozambique's War

The Role of Mediation and Good Offices

Cameron Hume

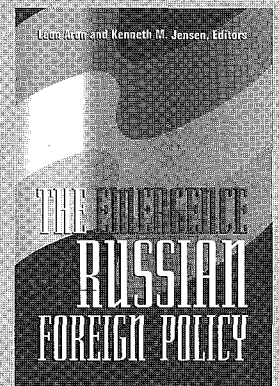
November 1994 192 pp. 6x9
\$14.95 (paper) ISBN 1-878379-37-2
\$24.95 (cloth) ISBN 1-878379-38-0

This first-hand account of the Mozambique mediations and the events which led to the signing of the 1992 peace agreement offers intriguing details that illustrate the complexity of the multi-track mediation process. Hume, a participant-observer in the Rome-based peace talks, relates the stages of the process to the principles of conflict management, negotiation, and mediation. The Mozambique example provides useful lessons for addressing other hostilities around the world.

The Emergence of Russian Foreign Policy

Leon Aron and Kenneth M. Jensen, editors

What kind of foreign and defense policies will Russia pursue into the 21st century? What will be the impact of the loss of the former empire? And what are the implications for western policymakers? This timely volume attempts to answer these questions by examining Russia's relations with the Near Abroad and its Pacific neighbors, as well as its peacekeeping role in the former Soviet states. This book also explores the historic patterns of Russian foreign policy, the Soviet legacy, and policymaking mechanisms.



December 1994 256 pp. 6x9
\$19.95 (paper) ISBN 1-878379-36-4

For order information, call 800-537-9359 or fax 703-243-2489.

Recent Publications

The materials listed below have been produced by the Institute and will be sent free of charge upon written request to the Institute's Public Affairs and Information Office.

■ *Dealing with War Crimes and Genocide in Rwanda*
(Special Report). December 1994.

■ *The Future of the CSCE: A Roundtable Discussion*
(Special Report). December 1994.

■ *The North Korean Nuclear Challenge: The Post-Kim Il Sung Phase Begins*
(Special Report). December 1994.

■ *The U.S. Contribution to Conflict Prevention, Management, and Resolution in Africa*
(Special Report). December 1994.

■ *War in the Caucasus: A Proposal for Settlement of the Conflict over Nagorno-Karabakh*
(Special Report). July 1994.

PeaceCalendar

To learn more about the events listed below phone: 202-457-1700. E-mail: usip_requests@usip.org. Internet address: gopher.usip.igc.org 7001.

December 2

Board of Directors meeting
Washington, D.C.

December 13

"The Emergence of Russian Foreign Policy"
9:30-11:30 a.m. Leon Aron and Kenneth M. Jensen, editors of *The Emergence of Russian Foreign Policy*, and other contributors will participate in a current issues briefing based on their new book, published by USIP Press. Vista International Hotel, 1400 M Street N.W., Washington, D.C.

January 3

Deadline
For receipt of Solicited Grants applications.

January 13,
20, 27, and
February 3

Messengers from Moscow
9:00 p.m. PBS airs a four-part series on the Soviet role in the Cold War, produced by former peace fellow Eugene B. Shirley, Jr., with Institute support. To verify dates and times in your area, contact your local public television station.

January 23

Postmark deadline
For National Peace Essay Contest essays.

January 26

Board of Directors meeting
Washington, D.C.



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