

AUGUST/OCTOBER
2003

PeaceWatch



Double Issue
Vol. IX, Nos. 5-6

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

Inside

- 3 New Board Members
- 4 IRAQ
Global Terrorism
Post-Conflict Reconstruction
- 5 Coercive Diplomacy
- 6 Building Strong Bridges through Dialogue
- 8 Senior Fellows Report

Thinking Big about Peace



Students question policymakers, simulate negotiations, and debate the big issues during National Peace Essay Contest awards week in Washington.

“Think big. You can do anything you want. And when you work to bring peace to the world, you are thinking big.” Congressman **Ralph Regula** (R-Ohio) advised state essay contest winners. The

Institute’s annual National Peace Essay Contest awards week brought almost 50 high school students to Washington, D.C. for stimulation, simulation, and a taste of capital fare.

State essay winners spend an intensive week in Washington each year, taking in the action at the Capitol and elsewhere and taking on the biggest of issues. The
*See **Thinking Big**, page 2*



Peace Watch

Right, top to bottom: The national winner, California's Kevin Kiley (left), with second-place winner Terence Merritt of New Mexico; Sarah Calderone of Maryland (left) and Josh Dzieza of Washington state flank Senator Paul Sarbanes (D-Md.); third-place winner Edward Su of North Carolina with Senator Elizabeth Dole (R-N.C.).

Peace Watch (ISSN 1080-9864) is published six times a year by the United States Institute of Peace, an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by Congress to promote the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. The views expressed herein do not necessarily reflect views of the Institute or its Board of Directors.

To receive *Peace Watch*, visit our web site (www.usip.org); write to the United States Institute of Peace, 1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20036-3011; call 202-429-3832; or fax 202-429-6063.

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Thinking Big

Continued from page 1
 students also engage in a simulation, which this year focused on Chechnya. They were briefed by Russian and Chechen spokespersons and experts. Later, they divided up and simulated a kind of negotiating session, each taking on a role as a real-life, real-time Russian or Chechen figure.

The students also visited the White House for briefings with senior staff from the National Security Council and Office of Global Communications and met with members of Congress. **Greg Schulte** of the National Security Council found himself defending foreign policy decisions of recent years relating to Afghanistan, Iraq, Chechnya, and the Middle East. "Why the 'hands-off' policy in Chechnya?" queried one student. "Can just war principles and national interest criteria justify using military force solely on humanitarian grounds?" asked another. "If self-defense against weapons of mass destruction was the reason for

the war in Iraq, then where are they?" followed yet another. Finally, a student asked simply, "When will the war be over?"

Just war doctrine was the essay topic for 2002-2003. Though the students wrote their essays before the beginning of the war in Iraq, the issues proved particularly apropos to the current debate. From among the state winners, who are each awarded a \$1,000 scholarship, a national winner and second- and third-place winners were selected. **Kevin Kiley** of California won a \$10,000 scholarship for his winning essay. As the sec-

Continued on page 10



"Think big. You can do anything you want. And when you work to bring peace to the world, you are thinking big."

Congressman Ralph Regula



Four New Members Join Board

MICHAEL M. DUNN, a lieutenant general in the U.S. Air Force, is president of National Defense University (NDU) in Washington, D.C., and an ex officio member of the board. After graduating fourth in his class from the U.S. Air Force Academy in 1972, Dunn flew the F-106 at Castle Air Force Base, Calif. Following various duties in Washington, D.C., Florida, and Alabama, he transitioned to the F-15, which he flew in the Far East.

Dunn has commanded the 1st Operations Group at Langley Air Force Base, Va. He previously served in four joint tours—at U.S. European Command Headquarters, the Office of the Deputy Secretary of Defense, UN Command and U.S. Forces Korea, and the Joint Staff. In Korea he was the lead negotiator with the North Korean army at Panmunjom. He is a command pilot with more than 2,500 flying hours.

CHARLES HORNER is a senior fellow at the Hudson Institute and former president of the Madison Center, a public policy organization. He served as deputy representative to the United Nations Conference on the Law of the Sea, deputy assistant secretary of state for science and technology, and associate director of the United States Information Agency in the Reagan administration and the first Bush administration.

Previously, Horner served on the staff of Senator Henry M. Jackson and then as senior legislative assistant to Senator Daniel P. Moynihan.

Horner has served on the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, the Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on International Communications and Information



Policy, the Secretary of Commerce's Advisory Committee on the National Oceanic and Atmospheric Administration, and the Voice of America's Advisory Committee.

STEPHEN D. KRASNER is Graham H. Stuart Professor of International Relations at Stanford University and a senior fellow at the Center for Research on Economic Development and Policy Reform. Before going to Stanford in 1981, Krasner was an associate professor at the University of California at Los Angeles and assistant professor at Harvard University. He received his Ph.D. from Harvard in 1972.

Krasner's publications include *Asymmetries in Japanese-American Trade: The Case for Specific Reciprocity*; co-editor with Peter J. Katzenstein and Robert O. Keohane, *Exploration and Contestation in the Study of World Politics*; *Sovereignty: Organized Hypocrisy*; and editor, *Problematic Sovereignty*. He was editor of the journal *International Organization* from 1986 to 1992, and he served on the National Security Council in 2002.

DANIEL PIPES is director of the Middle East Forum in Philadelphia. He received his A.B. (1971) and Ph.D. (1978) from Harvard University, both in history. He has taught at the University of Chicago, Harvard University, and the U.S. Naval War College. He has served in various capacities at the Departments of State and Defense, including vice chair of the Fulbright Foreign Scholarship Board, and currently serves on the Special Task Force on Terrorism and Technology at the Department of Defense.

Pipes has written 12 books, many of them concerned with Islam and the Middle East, especially Syria. He has also written for numerous magazines and newspapers, including *Foreign Affairs* and the *Washington Post*, and appears regularly on television to discuss current issues.

Pipes received a recess appointment from President George Bush and will serve until the end of this Congress in January 2005. Horner and Krasner will each serve a four-year term.

Left to right: Michael M. Dunn, Stephen D. Krasner, Daniel Pipes, and Charles Horner.



Global Terrorism after the Iraq War

What is the future of the fight against global terrorism after the war on Iraq? Panelists **Daniel Benjamin** of the Center for Strategic and International Studies, **Daniel Byman** of Georgetown University, and **Martha Crenshaw** of Wesleyan University addressed this issue at a Current Issues Briefing on June 26. Paul Stares, director of the Institute's Research and Studies Program, moderated the discussion.

While the work of democracy building promises to be a long and arduous task, the United States has made substantial progress in capturing terrorist leaders and dismantling al Qaeda bases in Central and South Asia, the Middle East, and Africa. There has been no major attack on American soil since 2001.

However, the connection between the war on terrorism and the war in Iraq is somewhat tenuous, one panelist said. The identification of these threats as motives for the war has harmed relations with some U.S. allies, weakened fragile alliances, and worsened already negative perceptions of U.S. motives.

While U.S. military occupation is generally accepted in the West as necessary for post-conflict stabilization and reconstruction, the extended presence of large numbers of American troops in Iraq may promote the perception that the United States harbors an anti-Islamic bias. The withdrawal of American troops from Saudi Arabia likely will not go far to shift these perceptions. In the meantime, increased force protection may translate to an enhanced preference for attacking "soft" U.S. targets such as civilians—tourists and business interests—abroad.

With unfinished business in both Afghanistan and Iraq, U.S. troop
Continued on page 10

Post-Conflict Reconstruction in Iraq

Civil society is re-emerging but much work remains to be done on elections, a new constitution, the prison system, and transitional justice.

Although much has been done to rebuild Iraq, many challenges remain, said Rule of Law Program director **Neil Kritz** in an August presentation at the Institute. Kritz traveled to Baghdad July 29–August 5 to advise the Office of Transitional Justice and Human Rights created by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) and to explore constitutional issues and future work in that area.

Kritz noted that electricity, water, security, and communications remain challenges, particularly in the city of Baghdad itself. Security is tight. Some 31,000 police officers are now functioning and 60,000 are scheduled to be on the job soon.

Among the issues preoccupying the CPA and the Iraqi Governing Council are the timing of elections and the drafting of a constitution. Kritz suggested that a constitutional commission be appointed to first undertake civic education on constitutional issues and the process that goes along with it. This can be followed by public consultations. Education and consultation may take at least a year, during which registration and other preparation for elections

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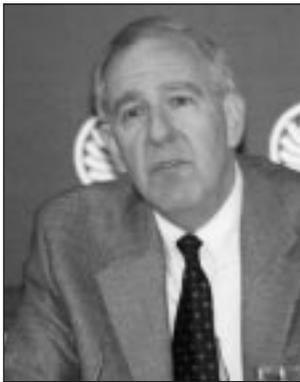
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On Capitol Hill July 30, Research and Studies director Paul Stares moderated a briefing on post-war Iraq. Senior fellow Amatzia Baram addressed religious dynamics and how they might play out in a new governing structure and in light of U.S. plans and current leadership. Robert Perito of the Rule of Law Program spoke about the security situation, addressing current developments, as well as potential challenges and strategies for the future. Professional Training Program director George Ward explored the status of reconstruction and examined options for rehabilitation.

Playing Chicken with Coercive Diplomacy

Coercive diplomacy has been used eight times since the end of the Cold War, with mixed results.



What is coercive diplomacy? How can its success be measured? What are the best situations in which to make use of it?

These issues and more were weighed at a Current Issues Briefing on June 17 that also served to launch a new Institute book, *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy*. **Robert Art** of Brandeis University, who co-edited the book with **Patrick Cronin**, former Research and Studies director at the Institute, led a panel of experts to consider the record of and lessons from the use of coercive diplomacy. Research and Studies director **Paul Stares** moderated the panel, which also featured **Arnold Kanter**, resident senior fellow at the Forum for International Policy, and **Robert Gallucci**, dean of the Walsh School of Foreign Service at Georgetown University. Research and Studies deputy director **Bill Drennan**, who wrote the book's

chapter on Korea, provided his insights as well.

Coercive diplomacy is the threat or use of limited force to compel or motivate a change of behavior of a target state or group. Resorting to war means coercive diplomacy has failed.

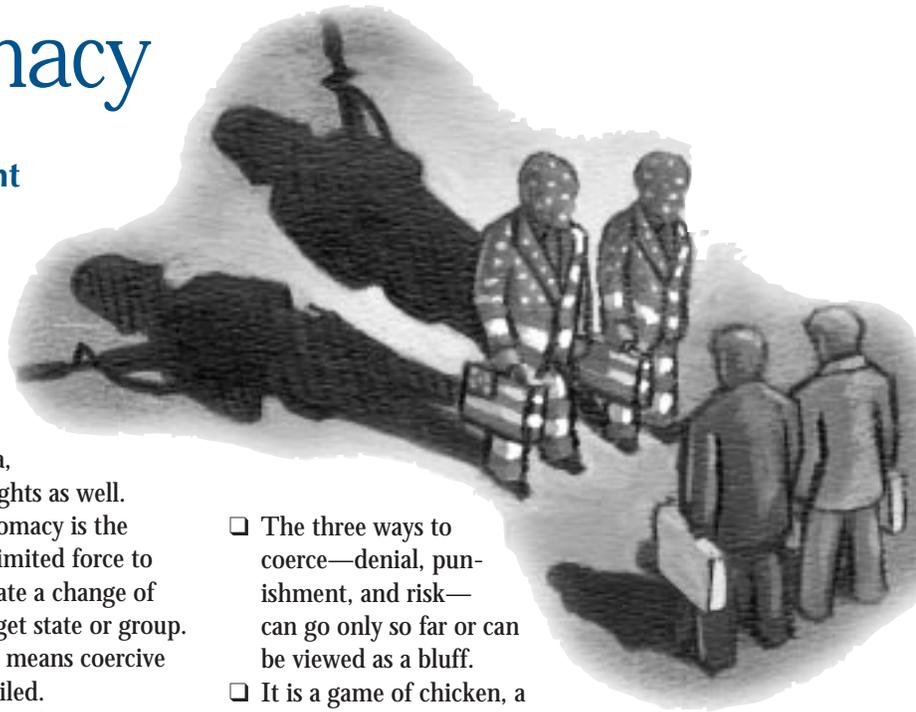
In each of the eight cases examined in the book, the authors analyzed what the United States was trying to achieve using coercive diplomacy and whether it was successful. Success or failure depends on numerous factors, such as the objectives and motives of the government invoking coercive diplomacy and how long the process is allowed to go on. Coercive diplomacy has been used in such varied places as Somalia, Haiti, Iraq, North Korea, and the Taiwan Strait. **Martha Crenshaw**, international expert on terrorism, also provided a chapter on the use of coercive diplomacy in response to global terrorists.

It is not easy to “code” cases of coercive diplomacy according to their success or failure, said Art. However, the editors found that coercive diplomacy works between 25 and 31 percent of the time: in other words, it fails more often than it succeeds.

Why is coercive diplomacy so difficult?

- ❑ It is more difficult to compel than to deter.

- ❑ The three ways to coerce—denial, punishment, and risk—can go only so far or can be viewed as a bluff.
- ❑ It is a game of chicken, a test of wills. It is difficult to estimate who has the stronger resolve.
- ❑ The credibility and power of the target is at stake: “What will the United States do next if we give in?”
- ❑ Multiple coercers (a coalition) and multiple targets complicate coercive diplomacy.
- ❑ The target may believe it has techniques to counter coercion. This is “a perverse dynamic” that can foil coercive diplomacy.



Top left: Robert J. Art.

Bottom, left to right: Arnold Kanter, Robert Gallucci.





Although its effects are hard to quantify, sustained dialogue can over time help transform relationships in communities in conflict.

BUILDING STRONG

Bridges through Dialogue

W

hat is the role of sustained dialogue in peacebuilding, and how do you evaluate its effectiveness and contributions to peace? Those questions and more were explored at a symposium, “Building Bridges Between Communities in Conflict,” held at the Institute on June 23.

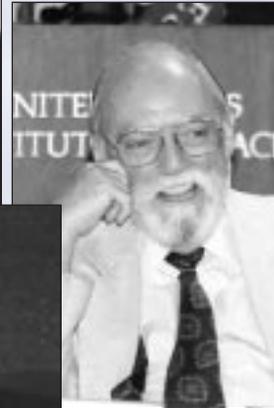
American Friends of Neve Shalom/Wahat al-Salam—a village in Israel established jointly by Jews and Palestinian Arabs of Israeli citizenship and engaged in educational work for peace, equality, and understanding between the two peoples—and the Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland co-sponsored the symposium with the Institute’s Education Program.

Sustained dialogue is an ongoing, interactive, and facilitated process of discussion between peoples and communities in conflict. The purpose is to transform conflict relationships by focusing on the factors that underlie conflict and prevent peace.

The symposium centered around three unique approaches to sustained dialogue in areas of conflict—in Israel, Northern Ireland, and Tajikistan.

- Two founding members of Neve Shalom/Wahat al Salam (“Oasis of Peace” in Hebrew and Arabic), **Abdessalam Najjar** and **Nava Sonnenschein**, discussed how their experience as a community of Jews and Arabs enables them to work with diverse groups in mainstream schools, with youth, and with women’s groups. They seek to help others develop a sense of empowerment and to facilitate dialogues that help break down barriers and asymmetries between the two communities.
- **Paul Arthur**, director of the University of Ulster’s Peace and Conflict Studies Program, spoke about the contributions of the sustained track-two dialogue between Catholics and Protestants in Northern Ire-

What is the role of sustained dialogue in peacebuilding, and how do you evaluate its effectiveness and contributions to peace?



Clockwise from upper left: Paul Arthur, Samuel Lewis, Shibley Telhami, Nava Sonnenschein.

land to the formal peace process, particularly as the dialogue included some individuals who would play a role when peace emerged. He noted, however, that one criticism of the Northern Ireland dialogues was that they were too elitist and did not reach down to the grassroots.

- The Kettering Foundation's **Harold Saunders** described how relationships between warring factions in Tajikistan were transformed when they were brought together over a long period of time. Ultimately, seven of the people in the sustained dialogue became part of the official process of reconciliation in Tajikistan.

Symposium attendees agreed that it was essential to assess the impact of dialogue projects on participants in the dialogue—in particular, whether exposure to people from a different community helped modify their positions or simply reinforced existing views of each other. Most atten-

dees agreed that up until now such evaluations were lacking, other than a few evaluation projects—such as those presented by Israeli scholar **Ifat Maoz** and UNICEF evaluations of peace education projects in Central Asia and Indonesia by **Carolyn Ashton** that were presented at the meeting.

The symposium also included **Samuel Lewis**, former Institute president and former ambassador to Israel, **Shibley Telhami**, holder of the Anwar Sadat Chair of Peace and Development at the University of Maryland, and **Richard Murphy**, of the Council on Foreign Relations. These experienced foreign policy minds each chaired sessions of the symposium.

The group concluded that sustained dialogue programs were

most successful when the participants worked on relationships first and on the problems between their communities second. A pattern of cooperation and respect can emerge after the establishment of a pattern of interactive relationships.

One major challenge is figuring out how grassroots dialogue can impact a formal diplomatic relationship and peace process. But, in addition to whatever role they play in building peace, track-two dialogues can serve usefully as holding actions when political processes break down.



Senior Fellows *report*



Left to right:
Roy Gutman,
Jonathan Tucker,
Philip Mattar,
Margaret Kibben, and
Francis Deng.

Afghanistan and the Rise of Terrorism

There is a dearth of information about what was happening in Afghanistan previous to September 11, 2001, and the war on the Taliban, said **Roy Gutman** in his project report on June 12. The issues of human rights and the Taliban's treatment of women were at the head of the news, but this allowed civil war, terrorist networks, and the influence of al Qaeda to fester under the radar, said Gutman. The U.S. government, the media, and the United Nations all failed to recognize the importance of the region, under-reporting the civil war and failing to intercede in a timely way. An important lesson of the 2001 attacks and subsequent war is that Afghanistan was not only a buffer state, but also a fulcrum in the region. Recent involvement of the U.S. government in the rapprochement between India and Pakistan may indicate that they have learned this lesson, averred Gutman. Under-reportage of this involvement may indicate that media has not.

Biosecurity

Senior fellow **Jonathan Tucker** focused on best practices in biosecurity, as opposed to issues of biosafety that have preoccupied government since the anthrax attacks of October 2001. On June 18, Tucker discussed whether the international community is doing

enough to prevent a bioterrorist attack. Tucker advocated better coordination internationally and said we must learn to balance threat and risk. He further laid out a roadmap for negotiation of global biosecurity standards and proposed that an international oversight mechanism be created.

The Role of Chaplains

On June 26, Commander **Margaret Kibben**, Navy fellow, discussed the variety of roles that chaplains perform in the U.S. Navy, especially their advisory role, and the way these roles have evolved in response to new missions since the end of the Cold War. She also introduced and described the contents of an upcoming anthology she is editing. The book includes contributions on the role of military chaplains in Canada, France, Germany, Norway, South Africa, Sudan, and the United States.

Missed Opportunities in the Middle East

Senior fellow **Philip Mattar** briefed Institute staff and invited guests on his fellowship project on July 17. His presentation, "Missed Opportunities," covered nearly 100 years of Israeli-Palestinian relations. Mattar focused particularly on the Legislative Council proposals of the early 1920s. The Legislative Council was to consist of a high commissioner, appointed British officials,

two elected Jews, and ten elected Palestinian Arabs (eight Muslims and two Christians). Both the Zionists and the Palestinians rejected this proposal. Subsequent proposals were also rejected by the Palestinians. Mattar examined the historical context and relationships of the time and also asked whether and how history might have been changed had these proposals been accepted.

Self-Determination in Africa

Dilemmas of self-determination in Africa was the subject of senior fellow **Francis Mading Deng's** July 24 presentation. Self-determination implies secession and thus remains a contentious issue. However, self-determination can be achieved without secession, noted Deng. Closely connected to issues of self-determination is the phenomenon of identity and, therefore, diversity. Many African states have not yet built constitutional structures, institutions, and processes to deal with identity conflicts, said Deng. He described an African worldview in which people see themselves as both individuals with inalienable rights as well as members of a community with shared responsibilities and commitments. Deng called for a broader definition of democracy for Africa to embrace indigenous values, cross-cultural perspectives, identity group participation, and culturally oriented development.



JUDY BARSALOU delivered a paper on donor strategies and assistance coordination at a July UN conference in Geneva on “Prerequisites of Palestinian Economic Recovery: The Role of the International Community.”

Research and Studies program officer **TIMOTHY DOCKING** has been named a White House fellow and began a year-long leave of absence from the Institute in September.

Research and Studies deputy director **BILL DRENNAN** traveled to Seoul June 11–14 as part of an American delegation meeting with staff of the New Strategy Institute of Korea. While there he met with Foreign Minister Yoon Young-Kwan. Drennan delivered a speech at the Chautauqua Institute in New York on U.S. relations with the two Koreas on July 19. He was a guest on ABC’s *Nightline* on July 31 to talk about Korea.

Professional Training program officers **TED FEIFER** and **ANNE HENDERSON** conducted a workshop in “Advanced Negotiating Skills in Multilateral Diplomacy” for 18 participants from the OSCE Secretariat and delegations from Georgia, Ukraine, Turkey, the Czech Republic, Hungary, Spain, and the Netherlands in Vienna May 21–23. They then traveled to Macedonia and led two workshops in “Negotiations and Diplomatic Skills Training for Professionals” for 40 national and international staff members of the OSCE Spillover Monitor Mission to Skopje in the last week of May.

Senior fellow **MICHAEL HARTMANN’S** op-ed was published by the Institute for War and Peace Reporting on August 3 and was translated into Albanian and Ser-

bian and re-published on Radio B92’s web site in Belgrade and *Koha Ditore* in Pristina. Hartmann also gave a lecture at a June 9 roundtable on “Fighting Crime and Corruption in the Balkans: Lessons for Iraq” sponsored by the U.S. State Department’s Bureau of Intelligence and Research. On July 25, he lectured at the Harvard Law School’s Program on Humanitarian Policy and Conflict Research.

On June 24–27, Professional Training program officers **ANNE HENDERSON** and **MIKE LEKSON** conducted a workshop—“Training of Trainers in Negotiation and Conflict Management”—in Tashkent, Uzbekistan for 32 non-governmental organization representatives from Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Afghanistan. They then offered a seminar on “Negotiation and Conflict Management Skills” to 34 members of the Business Women’s Association of Uzbekistan. The seminar, held June 30–July 2 in Tashkent, aimed to strengthen the capacity of entrepreneurial civil society actors in Uzbekistan.

On June 25, **DANIEL SERWER**, director of the Balkans Initiative, testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee’s Subcommittee on European Affairs at a hearing on “The Successor States to Pre-1991 Yugoslavia: Progress and Challenges.” Serwer’s paper, “The Balkans: From American to European Leadership,” will be published by the European Union’s Institute for Strategic Studies in Paris this fall.

DAVID SMOCK, director of the Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, participated in a consultation to create a Catholic peacebuilding network held at Catholic Univer-

sity June 12–13. He participated in a consultation organized by Pax Christi on “Preemptive Peace: Beyond Terrorism and Justified War” at St. John’s University in New York on July 31.

Research and Studies director **PAUL STARES**, with deputy director **BILL DRENNAN**, published an op-ed in the *Los Angeles Times* on July 27 entitled “Peace in Korea? First Stop the War.”

Anne Hingeley...



... joined the Institute in June as the new congressional relations specialist. She previously worked as the congressional coordinator for the government affairs affiliate of the American-Arab Anti-Discrimination Committee, a national grassroots civil rights and foreign policy organization. From 1993 to 2002, Hingeley worked at the Washington consulting firm Bannerman and Associates, where she tracked legislative issues for clients and worked with embassy officials explaining the role of Congress and the legislative process. Her work experience covers diverse congressional issues impacting several regions, including the Middle East, East Asia, and Central America. Hingeley is a 1993 graduate of American University’s School of International Service.



Thinking Big

Continued from page 2

second-place winner, **Edward Su** of North Carolina won a \$5,000 scholarship, and in third place **Terence M. Merritt** of New Mexico was awarded \$2,500. Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** presented the awards, calling the essay contest a “rejuvenating process for the Institute.”

Awards dinner keynote speaker **Brian Hehir**, executive director of Catholic Charities, discussed the very issues of just war that the students had wrestled with in their essays. He described the modern challenges to historical just war doctrine, including the nuclear age, the end of the Cold War, and terrorism. He argued that the “burden of proof” is on those who say “now is the time” to go to war. “You cannot go to war out of pure hatred. You can only go for justice,” Hehir told his young audience.

Terrorism

Continued from page 4

commitments are considerably stretched. However, the question of “who’s next?” rattles around the Muslim world. Syria and Iran, two highly nationalistic countries, provide strategically different kinds of battles to fight. Any U.S. action against either is likely to reinforce simmering anti-American sentiment, engender greater nationalistic fervor in these countries, and produce more jihadist recruits for groups such as Hezbollah.

Looking to the future of terrorism, there are several things to keep in mind. The nature of the grievance matters. Poverty, developmental imbalances, and massive wealth disparities remain salient issues, noted panelists. Cultural and educational exchanges, genuinely fair trade arrangements, and expanded public diplomacy gener-

ally would help make democracy more palatable to skeptics and improve America’s image abroad.

Stability in Iraq, if achieved, will greatly help the war on terrorism. On the other hand, an increasingly violent Afghanistan does not seem to be a model for creating an environment for democratization and post-war recovery. Negotiations with countries in the Middle East and Central/South Asia to assist in reconstruction efforts in Iraq and Afghanistan, and the rebuilding of international alliances and cooperation generally, would go far to increase American support, panelists agreed.



Reconstruction

Continued from page 4

can also take place. A group within the council is being appointed to address the constitution issue, according to Kritz, and he will likely return to Baghdad to advise them.

The prison system is another area in need of attention, noted Kritz. There is not adequate space to hold detainees, and they sometimes become lost in the system or cannot be accounted for.

Kritz said that every day new information surfaces revealing the true horror of the Hussein regime. “With the exception of Rwanda, the numbers are incomparable to anything in the world in modern history,” added Kritz. An estimated 115 sites have been identified as mass graves.

Parts of the judicial system in Iraq are ready to begin to function or be rehabilitated. Details of the process of tribunals or a commission for truth and accountability are being negotiated by Iraqis and international groups alike.

Meanwhile, civil society in Iraq is re-emerging. Old and new groups are coming out into the open or returning from exile. During his visit, Kritz learned of two conferences—one on transitional justice and a second on memorials and museums—being held by private groups. The first included 80 people from various non-governmental organizations around the country. New victims groups and groups of former prisoners from the war with Iran have formed, and there is an existing bar association and jurists’ union. The CPA, urged Kritz, must engage the public and gain increased support for its undertakings.

Top to bottom:
Daniel Byman,
Martha Crenshaw,
and
Daniel Benjamin.



Institute Advisory Council to Assist in Outreach

The Institute is pleased to announce the establishment of the Chairman's Advisory Council.

Members of the council—appointed by the chairman of the Institute's Board of Directors, **Chester Crocker**—are drawn from business and industry, the foreign affairs and diplomatic communities, think tanks and academic institutions, and non-profit organizations. Members of the Institute's Board of Directors serve as ex-officio members of the council.

Composed of about 50 members, the council will assist the Institute in public outreach, helping the organization refine and deliver its messages, raise its public profile, and broaden its base of support with relevant constituencies and communities in Washington, D.C., and across the country.

The council will meet twice a year in Washington, D.C. The inaugural meeting was held in February.

Balkan Legal Progress

Michael Hartmann, senior fellow, traveled to the Balkans in June and July to review progress on the legal front. Hartmann was the first UN-appointed international public prosecutor for Kosovo (February 2000–January 2003). During his recent trip he updated his research on the need for and use of international judges and prosecutors.

In Kosovo, Bosnia and Herzegovina, and Serbia, Hartmann spoke with international and local judges and prosecutors, members of the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), international criminal tribunal staff, and members of the media and non-governmental organizations, among others. He also traveled to The Hague to talk with members of the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY).

Hartmann summarized his findings at an Institute briefing on July 22:

- In March 2003 Bosnia established a special panel of its state-level court to fight organized crime and corruption. It
- plans to establish a similar state-level war crimes court. While international judges and prosecutors are still being appointed to this court, resource limitations are likely to impact implementation.
- A new republic prosecutor and special prosecutor were appointed in Serbia after the assassination of Prime Minister Zoran Djindjic. They are digging into the fight against organized crime with new legal tools but would like to also have the tools of anonymous witnesses and immunity.
- In Kosovo, the new director of UNMIK's Department of Justice reorganized the international prosecutors and proposed changes in the law to gain control over their legal actions—including decisions to charge and indict—to ensure uniformity and prioritization of scarce international judicial resources.
- The ICTY in The Hague continues to study the possibility of "give backs" of cases to Bosnia and other jurisdictions.

Power to Protect

"When you see the faces of refugees and internally displaced persons and the conditions in which they are existing, you realize that it is not enough to just care for them. You have to end the conditions that cause these displacements—armed conflict," said **Clifford Bernath**, co-author of a new Refugees International (RI) publication: "Power to Protect: Using New Military Capabilities to Stop Mass Killings."

Bernath was part of a panel co-sponsored by RI and the Institute on July 31. His fellow panelists included the report co-author **David Gompert** of RAND; **Jane Holl Lute** (who began her new job as UN assistant secretary general for peacekeeping operations the next day); and **William Nash**, Council on Foreign Relations.

The report acknowledges the responsibility and the right to protect and examines the power to protect: the military materiel and capabilities that can be transformed for use in the non-military environment of humanitarian interventions.

Meeting participants acknowledged several issues that must be addressed in these interventions. For example, the responsibility, the right, and the ability to intervene do not necessarily translate into the authority to intervene. Also, prevention is still preferable, even though it receives little attention and prevention capacity does not match intervention capacity. Finally, military intervention is only the first step. Once the fighting has been halted, the political and economic environment must be addressed, which often requires a long-term commitment.

Recent Publications

The following Institute publications are available free of charge. They can be downloaded from our web site at www.usip.org/pubs. Print copies can be ordered online or you can call 202-429-3832, fax 202-429-6063, or write the Institute's Office of Public Outreach.

- *Use and Abuse of Media in Vulnerable Societies*, by Mark Frohardt and Jonathan Temin (Special Report 110, October 2003)
- *Zimbabwe and the Prospects for Nonviolent Political Change* (Special Report 109, August 2003)
- *Islamist Politics in Iraq after Saddam Hussein*, by Graham E. Fuller (Special Report 108, August 2003)
- *Teaching Guide on Rebuilding Societies after Conflict* (National Peace Essay Contest, July 2003)
- *Democratic Constitution Making*, by Vivien Hart (Special Report 107, July 2003)
- *The Road Ahead: Lessons in Nation Building from Japan, Germany, and Afghanistan for Postwar Iraq*, by Ray Salvatore Jennings (Peaceworks 49, May 2003)
- *A Comprehensive Resolution of the Korean War* (Special Report 106, May 2003)
- *Unfinished Business in Afghanistan: Warlordism, Reconstruction, and Ethnic Harmony* (Special Report 105, April 2003)
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