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## HOW WE MISSED THE STORY

*Osama bin Laden, the Taliban,  
and the Hijacking of Afghanistan*

Roy Gutman

*"Roy Gutman, a tireless reporter, has written a deeply researched and fascinating account of the various U.S. foreign policy failures that helped account for the rise of the Taliban and al Qaeda in Afghanistan before the 9/11 attacks. Gutman also explains how so many institutions in the United States, from the media to the national security establishment, largely missed what would turn out to be one of the most important stories of our time."*

—Peter Bergen, author of *Holy War, Inc.* and *The Osama bin Laden I Know*

Much has been written about Osama bin Laden, the Taliban, and Afghanistan, yet a simple question remains largely unanswered: how did the U.S. government, the United Nations, and the Western media "miss the story" in the leadup to September 11?

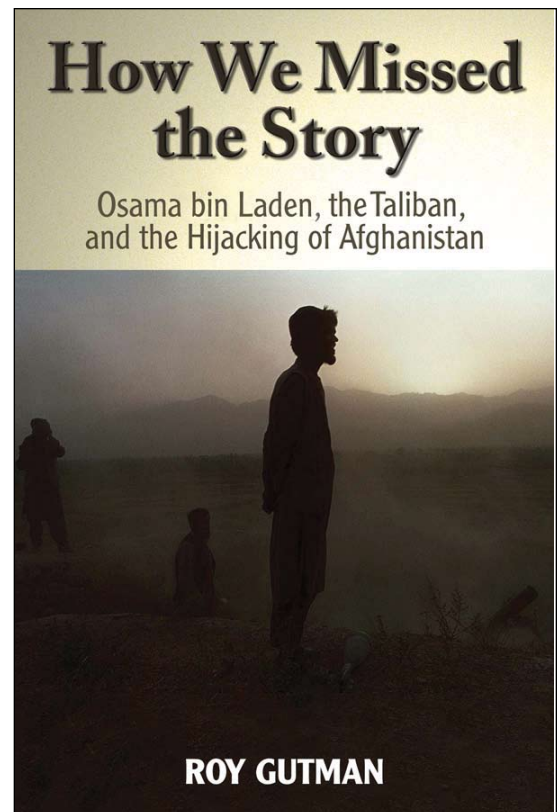
By focusing principally on events in Afghanistan in the 1990s, award-winning journalist Roy Gutman advances a narrative that reveals the inner workings of U.S. foreign policymaking, the internal debates among key actors in and around Afghanistan during the 1990s, and the media's lapses in coverage of Afghanistan during that period that might have put that situation higher up on the U.S. foreign policy agenda. Drawing on field research and numerous interviews with key individuals both in the United States and abroad, Gutman highlights key strategic mistakes made by the West: first in allowing the Taliban to fill the power vacuum left in the wake of the Soviet withdrawal in 1989; and then, with the emergence of Osama bin Laden, in leaving strategic policies in the hands of counterterrorism experts rather than political and diplomatic officials.

Sure to attract a wide audience, this volume makes an original, fascinating, and insightful contribution to the policy, academic, and public debate over how and why the Afghanistan story was missed before 9/11 and highlights the need for the West to get Afghanistan's present story right.

**Roy Gutman**, a former senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace, is a Pulitzer Prize-winning journalist who serves as foreign editor for McClatchy newspapers.

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*Introduction: The Death of Foreign Policy?* ■ *Comrades: The End* (1989) ■ *A Half Solution* (1989–1992) ■ *Ahmed Shah Massoud* (1992–1996) ■ *"An Endless Tragedy of Epic Proportions"* (1997) ■ *"Silence Cannot be the Strategy"* (1998) ■ *Hijacking a Regime* (1999) ■ *Coasting toward Catastrophe* (2000–2001) ■ *Human Rights under Massoud and the Taliban* ■ *Radicalization without Response* ■ *Epilogue: Clemenceau Revisited*



**JANUARY 2008**

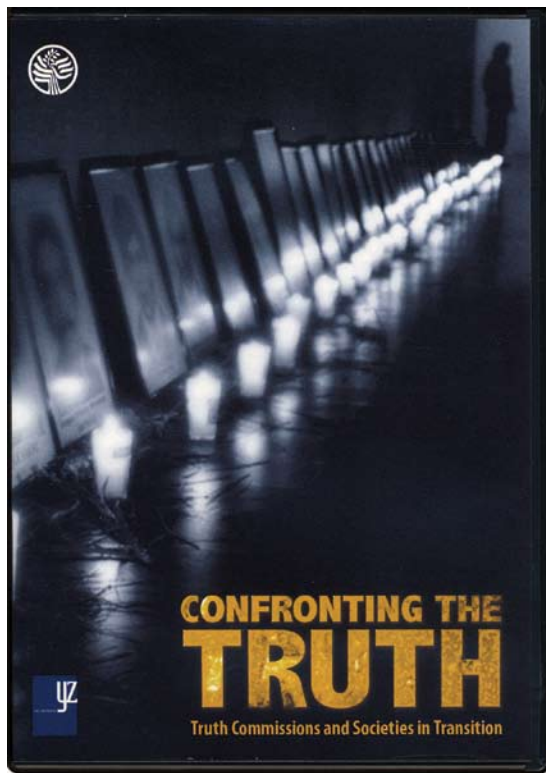
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## CONFRONTING THE TRUTH

*Truth Commissions and Societies in Transition*

Steve York and Neil J. Kritz

*"I would like to thank the U.S. Institute of Peace for this DVD and for its cooperation with our Ministry in educating the public on national reconciliation concepts. . . . Showing the documentary to all parts of Iraqi society will definitely lead to changes in the old ways of thinking and open the door for dialogue, peace, and progress."*

—Wijdan Salem, Iraqi Minister of Human Rights

Since 1983 truth commissions have been established in over twenty countries, in all parts of the world. *Confronting the Truth* documents the work of truth commissions in South Africa, Peru, East Timor, and Morocco. Taking testimony from victims and perpetrators, and conducting detailed investigations, truth commissions create a historical record of abuses that often have remained secret. They also identify patterns of abuse, the structural and institutional weaknesses, societal and cultural problems, and weak legal systems that made the violation possible. To remedy these faults, they recommend governmental, societal, and legal reforms to address the pain of the past, safeguard human rights and due process, and ensure that the horror will not be repeated.

**Steve York** is a veteran documentary filmmaker who has worked in Europe, Asia, Africa, and North and South America on subjects ranging from religious fundamentalism to American history to nonviolent conflict. His programs are regularly seen on PBS and the networks and have been recognized with awards at major film and television festivals and competitions. For his work on historical themes, he has received a Peabody Award (ABC News Special, *Pearl Harbor: Two Hours That Changed the World*, anchored by David Brinkley) and a Gold Hugo Award at the Chicago International Film Festival (ABC News *Turning Point at Normandy: The Soldiers' Story*, with Peter Jennings). He also produced *Remembering the Bomb*, filmed in Hiroshima and Nagasaki on the fortieth anniversary of the atomic bombings.

**Neil J. Kritz** is the associate vice president of the United States Institute of Peace's Rule of Law Program, which focuses on advancing peace through the development of democratic legal and governmental systems. Kritz conducts ongoing research, writing, and consultation on the question of how societies deal with a legacy of past abuses. He is the editor of a three-volume work, *Transitional Justice: How Emerging Democracies Reckon with Former Regimes*, and he has provided advice and organized conferences on questions of war crimes and mass abuses in Bosnia and Herzegovina, Cambodia, Guatemala, Indonesia, Rwanda, Sierra Leone, and South Africa.

## THE MADRASSAH CHALLENGE

### *Militancy and Religious Education in Pakistan*

C. Christine Fair

*"This is a true benchmark study—it establishes the standard for future work on Pakistan's vast educational/religious establishment. Fair bases her important recommendations on unprecedented fieldwork and a judicious use of the existing literature. This will be an invaluable guide for policymakers, both in Pakistan and in the community of states that wish to help that state develop a truly modern and effective educational system."*

—Steven Cohen, Brookings Institution

An ever-expanding body of literature continues to concentrate on the supposed role the madrassah, or religious school, plays in threatening international security. Even though none of the 9/11 attackers studied in such schools, they are alleged to be incubators of militants in Pakistan and the region. In *The Madrassah Challenge*, C. Christine Fair explores the true significance of the madrassah and its role in Pakistan's educational system.

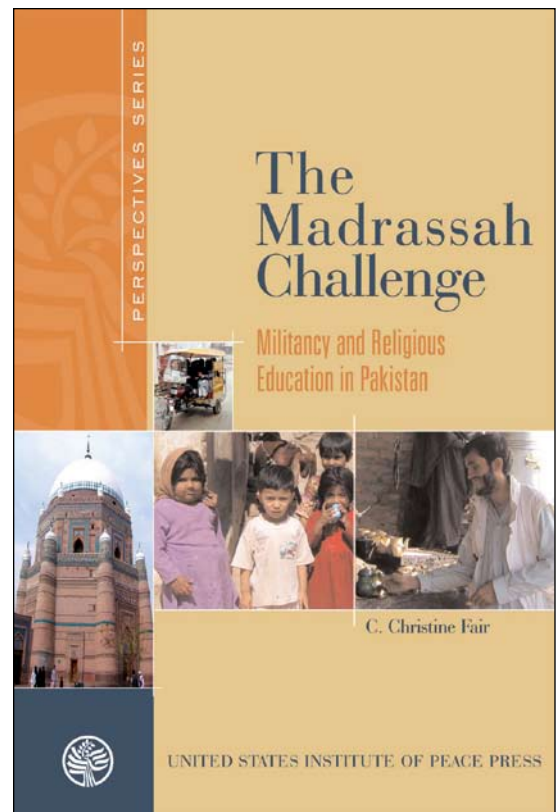
In her rigorous analysis, Fair examines the number of these schools in Pakistan, their share of the educational market, the curriculum, socioeconomic background of the students, and the connections between the madrassah schools and militancy. Fair chronicles the Pakistan government's efforts to reform the madrassah system and the support in Pakistan for such reform. She offers important policy implications and suggestions for policy initiatives that might address some of the main concerns emanating from ostensible ties between education and security inside and outside Pakistan.

Drawing upon extensive interviews with madrassah officials, teachers, and students in Pakistan; discussions with international government and non-governmental analysts; and numerous survey data and opinion polls, Fair provides a comprehensive, rich, and timely contribution that helps separate fact from fiction.

Formerly at the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention of the United States Institute of Peace, **C. Christine Fair** is a senior political scientist with the RAND Corporation. She is coauthor of *Fortifying Pakistan: The Role of U.S. Internal Security Assistance* (USIP Press, 2006).

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*Foreword by Husain Haqqani* ■ *Acknowledgments* ■ *Glossary* ■ *Acronyms* ■ *Introduction* ■ *Contextualizing Islamic Education in Pakistan* ■ *A Deeper Look at Pakistan's Islamic Schools* ■ *Madaris and Militancy* ■ *Government Reforms* ■ *Conclusions and Implications* ■ *Appendices*



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#### INDIA-PAKISTAN NEGOTIATIONS

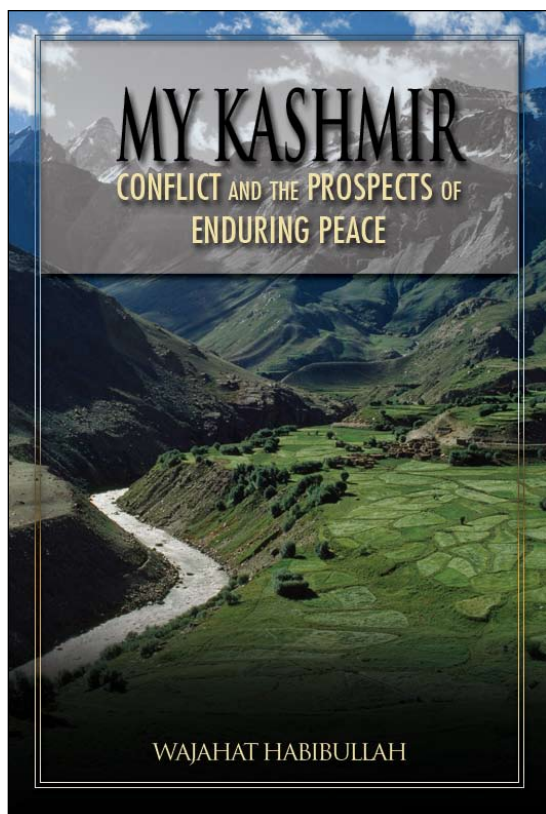
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Dennis Kux

*"In a brief survey of India-Pakistan negotiations since 1947, the veteran U.S. diplomat Dennis Kux shows how Pakistan has skillfully maneuvered the resolution of its many disputes with India by finely judging just when to compromise and when not to."* —International Affairs

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MAY 2008

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## MY KASHMIR

*Conflict and the Prospects for Enduring Peace*

Wajahat Habibullah

*“. . . an excellent book that adds greatly to our knowledge of the Kashmir issue because it was written by someone who directly dealt with the problem during the years when it was at its most dangerous. The book is most valuable for the author’s insider accounts of Kashmir developments and his rapid-fire analyses of the lost opportunities—one after another—that the Kashmiris and the Indian government repeatedly missed.”*

—Ambassador Howard B. Schaffer, Georgetown University

The picturesque Indian state of Jammu and Kashmir, for centuries a model of harmony and coexistence, has been ravaged by conflict for sixty years, caught in a tug-of-war between historical rivals India and Pakistan. Now that both nations are nuclear powers, some see the Kashmir issue as a flash point for what could become a nuclear war.

In *My Kashmir*, Wajahat Habibullah lays out the intricate web of issues at the root of the conflict: ethnicity, religion, national identity, friction between national and local government, and territory. In an account that is equal parts history and memoir, he examines the complicating factors: the Indian government’s missteps, the greed of the entrenched Kashmiri middle-class elites, and religious politics and their all-too-familiar polarizing consequences. Unlike many others who have written on the subject, Habibullah gives even-handed treatment to both Indian and Pakistani perspectives, though he rightly keeps the Kashmiri people themselves at center stage, for their needs and desires will be pivotal to any real solution. Now, he says, despite the history of bloodshed and betrayals, the possibility for lasting peace is greater than ever before.

**Wajahat Habibullah** has spent much of his long and distinguished career in the Indian Administrative Service working in Kashmir. Being both Indian and Muslim, insider and outsider, has enabled him to feel and understand the competing loyalties and emotions that are inextricably part of Kashmir.

In addition to his work in Kashmir, Wajahat Habibullah served as India’s minister of education, secretary of consumer affairs, and secretary of the ministry of Panchayati Raj. He is currently chief information commissioner of India. A senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace in 2003–04, Habibullah received the Rajiv Gandhi Award for Excellence in Secularism and the Gold Medal for Distinguished Service, Governor of Jammu and Kashmir.

### CONTENTS

*Foreword by Teresita C. Schaffer ■ Introduction ■ Historical and Cultural Backdrop ■ Fire Moves on Its Quick Knees ■ Implosion ■ At the Crossroads ■ Quo Vadis? ■ Curtain Call*

## FAITH AND POLITICS IN NIGERIA

### *Nigeria as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World*

John N. Paden

"John Paden brings over forty years of deep experience in Nigeria to this masterful work, which argues that this incredibly complex nation deserves a central role in U.S. strategic thinking on how to engage the Muslim world. He contends that Nigeria has a unique global role to play as both a potential model for inter-religious political accommodation and as a potential bridging player in global politics between the Christian-dominated West and the Muslim world."

—Darren Kew, University of Massachusetts, Boston

As the most populous country in Africa and a major oil producer, Nigeria has long been recognized as the dominant force in West Africa. But its standing within the broader international arena, especially its comparative position within the Muslim world, has been less well understood. Indeed, does Nigeria's influence extend beyond the region?

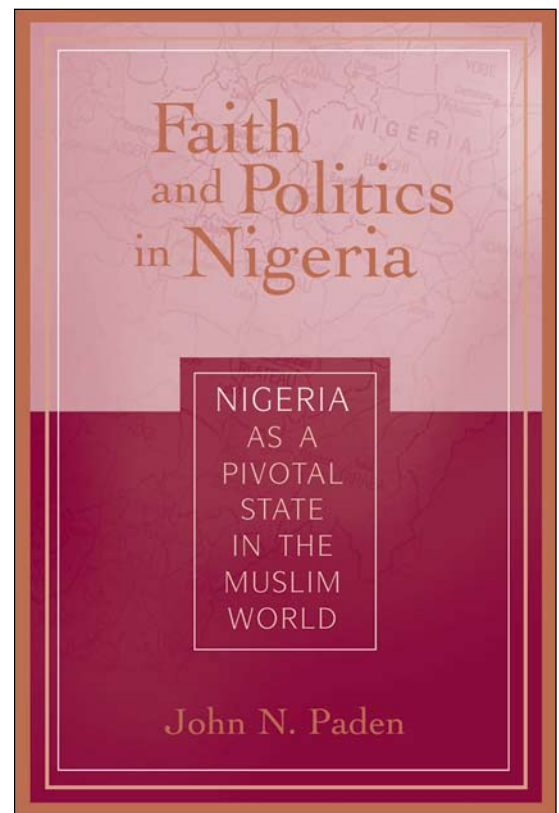
In this concise volume, John N. Paden answers this very question, contending that Nigeria is globally significant for a multitude of reasons, not least of which for the political resiliency it has demonstrated despite its complex ethnolinguistic and religious diversity. He argues that Nigeria, with a population that is almost evenly divided between Muslims and Christians, could serve uniquely as a model for interreligious political accommodation and as a bridging actor in global politics between the West and the Muslim world. He concludes by calling on the United States to formulate better engagement strategies in the region and to support Nigeria's political resilience by strengthening social, cultural, and economic ties, and by showing greater understanding and diplomatic tolerance toward the country.

*Faith and Politics in Nigeria* offers timely, clear, and astute analysis that will be valued by students and scholars of Islamic and African studies and provides keen recommendations for policymakers and conflict-management practitioners.

**John N. Paden** is Clarence Robinson Professor of International Studies and professor of Public and International Affairs at George Mason University. He has served as an international observer in three Nigerian presidential elections and is the author of numerous volumes, including, most recently, *Muslim Civic Cultures and Conflict Resolution: The Challenge of Democratic Federalism in Nigeria*.

### CONTENTS

*Introduction: Nigeria in Global Perspective* ■ *Sources of Nigerian Influence and Significance* ■ *Pathways of Change* ■ *U.S. Relations with Nigeria* ■ *Conclusion*



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## Also from the Pivotal States Series

### THE NEW TURKISH REPUBLIC

*Turkey as a Pivotal State in the Muslim World*

Graham E. Fuller

"A Turkey rejected by Europe will bring the Middle Eastern problem into Europe. Fuller's incisive analysis of this dilemma is truly of great and even immediate geopolitical import."

—Zbigniew Brzezinski, counselor and trustee, Center for Strategic and International Studies

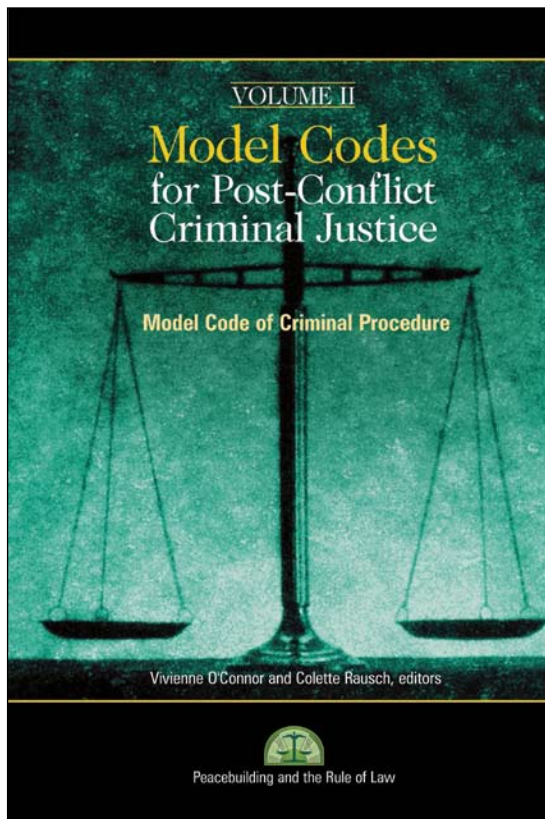
This timely work provides an excellent introduction to one of the region's most fascinating and complex countries and makes a highly valuable contribution to the current debate about Turkey and its place in the world.

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is forthcoming in Fall 2008.

### COMBATING SERIOUS CRIMES IN POSTCONFLICT SOCIETIES

*A Handbook for Policymakers and Practitioners*

Edited by **Colette Rausch** and written by a distinguished international cast, this path-breaking volume draws on a wealth of firsthand experience in tackling organized and other destabilizing crime in societies emerging from conflict. The book distills that practical knowledge into lessons and guidance for policymakers and practitioners who must face similar challenges.

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## MODEL CODES FOR POST-CONFLICT CRIMINAL JUSTICE

*Volume II: Model Code of Criminal Procedure*

**Vivienne O'Connor** and **Colette Rausch**, editors  
with **Hans-Joerg Albrecht** and **Goran Klemencic**

Volume II of *Model Codes for Post-Conflict Criminal Justice* continues the path-breaking work of volume I, providing an indispensable resource for those striving to reestablish the rule of law in societies recently wracked by violent conflict.

Of unparalleled breadth, depth, and authority, the *Model Codes for Post-Conflict Criminal Justice* is a criminal law reform tool tailored to the needs of countries emerging from conflict. Its three volumes present four complete legal codes that national and international actors can use to create, overhaul, update, or plug gaps in the criminal laws in individual post-conflict states. Each volume offers not only substantive legal provisions but also expert commentary that explains wording choices, elaborates on the content of the provisions, and highlights associated considerations and reforms.

Volume II lays out a comprehensive Model Code of Criminal Procedure that details the rules and procedures that govern the investigation and adjudication of a criminal case. Divided into sixteen chapters, the code covers everything from the rights of the accused and the treatment of victims to witness protection and juvenile justice, from the investigation of a criminal offense to arrest, indictment, trial, appeals, international cooperation, and extradition.

The *Model Codes for Post-Conflict Criminal Justice* is the culmination of a six-year project spearheaded by the United States Institute of Peace and the Irish Centre for Human Rights, in collaboration with the UN Office of the High Commissioner for Human Rights and the UN Office on Drugs and Crime. Some three hundred experts and practitioners from across the world were involved in the drafting, vetting, and revision of the provisions and their commentaries. This enormous breadth of expertise has allowed the Model Codes to draw on lessons learned in a variety of post-conflict states and from the laws of a remarkable variety of the world's legal systems and traditions.

**Vivienne O'Connor** is the Rule of Law project officer at the Irish Centre for Human Rights. **Colette Rausch** is deputy director of the United States Institute of Peace's Rule of Law Program. **Hans-Joerg Albrecht** is director of the Max Planck Institute for Foreign and International Criminal Law, Germany. **Goran Klemencic** is a senior lecturer in the Faculty of Criminal Justice and Security Studies at the University of Maribor, Slovenia.



## BEYOND THE NATIONAL INTEREST

*The Future of UN Peacekeeping and Multilateralism in an Era of U.S. Primacy*

Jean-Marc Coicaud

"UN peacekeeping has become one of the central weapons for dealing with complex post-conflict situations in the international community's arsenal. UN peacekeeping is not the right tool for every job, but when our key principles are observed—*not trying to keep peace where there's no peace to keep, ensuring that the peacekeepers accompany a political process, not substitute for one—the Blue Helmets have proved time and again that they are an effective, flexible, and cost-efficient mechanism for addressing some of the world's most difficult crises.* Coicaud's *Beyond the National Interest* represents a valuable contribution to the important debate on the future of UN peacekeeping."

—Jean-Marie Guéhenno, UN undersecretary-general for peacekeeping operations

Coicaud presents a thoughtful and wide-ranging survey of the UN's contribution to peacekeeping and world politics after the Cold War.

Jean-Marc Coicaud, a former senior fellow at the United States Institute of Peace, is the head of the United Nations University office at UN headquarters in New York.

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### TWENTY-FIRST-CENTURY PEACE OPERATIONS

William J. Durch, editor

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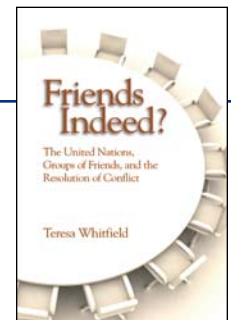
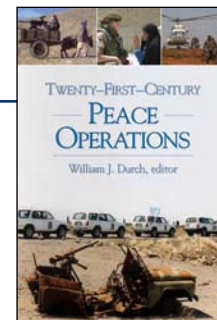
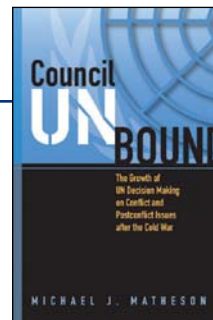
—Jack A. Goldstone, George Mason University

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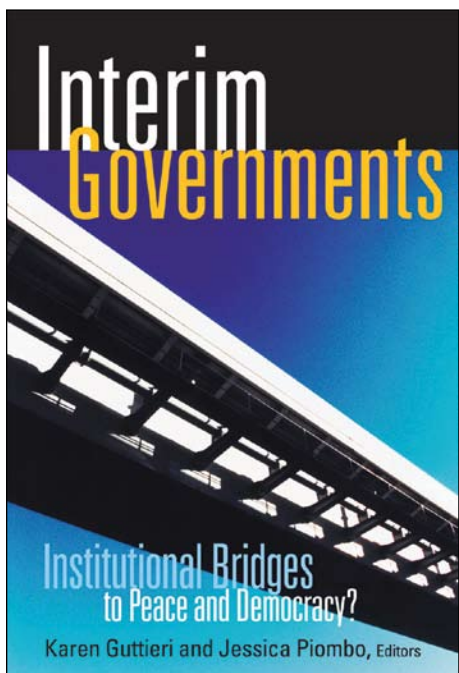
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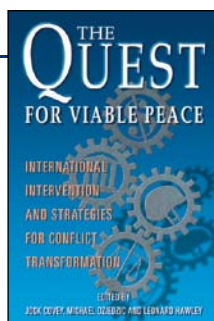
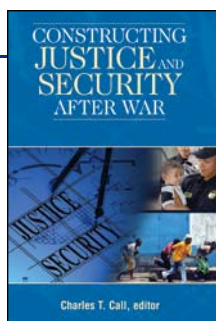
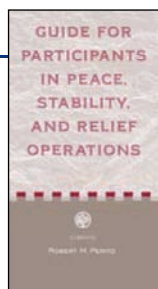
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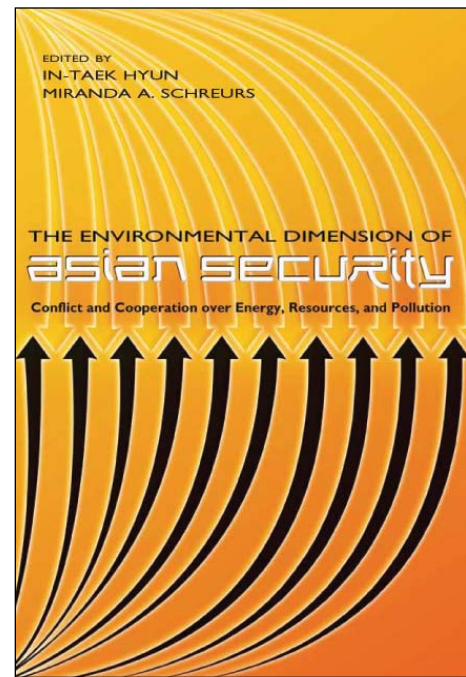
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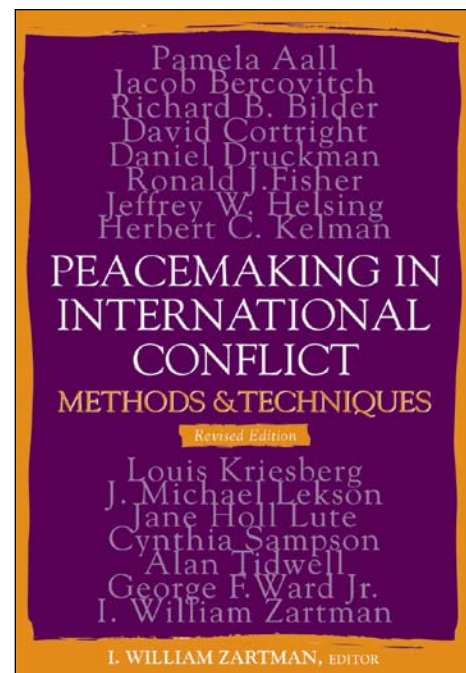
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**I. William Zartman** is the Jacob Blaustein Distinguished Professor of International Organization and Conflict Resolution and director of the Conflict Management Program at the Johns Hopkins University's Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies in Washington, D.C.

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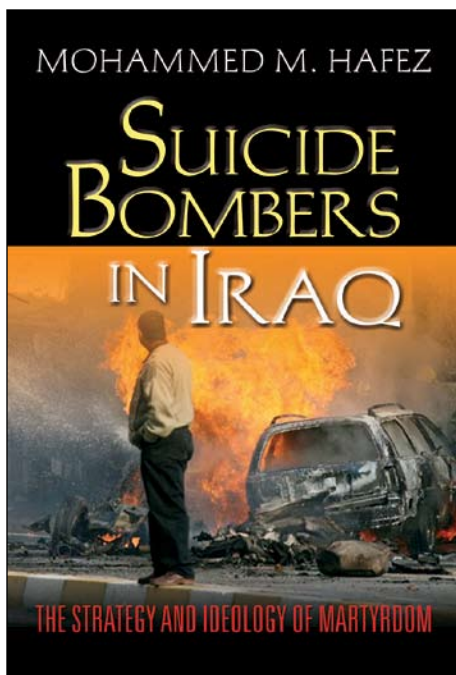


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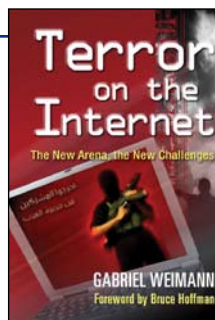
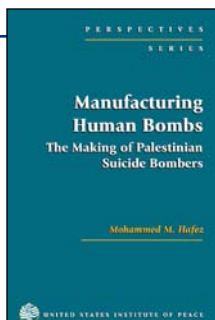
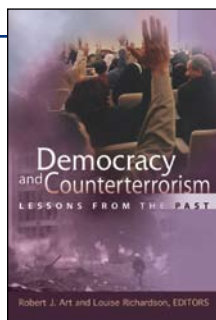
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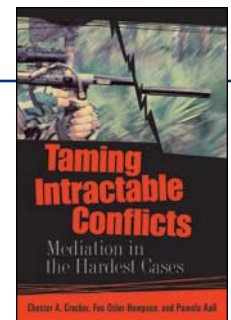
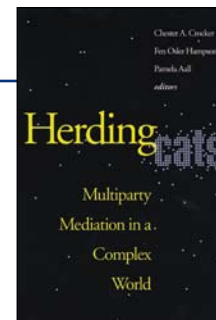
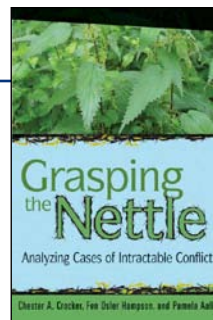
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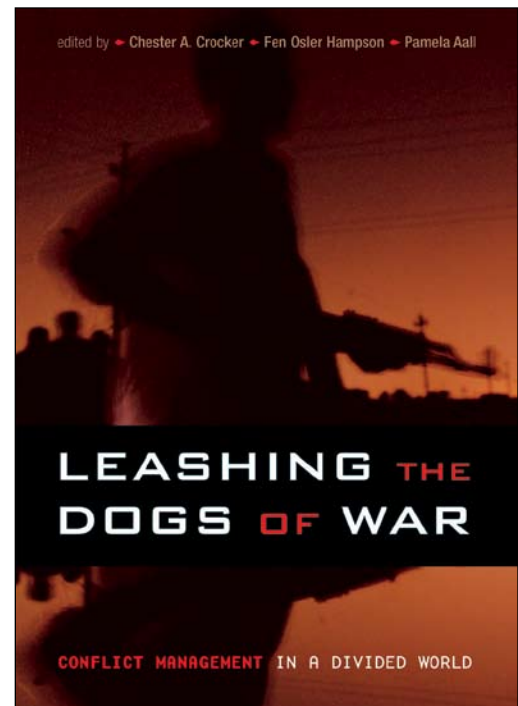
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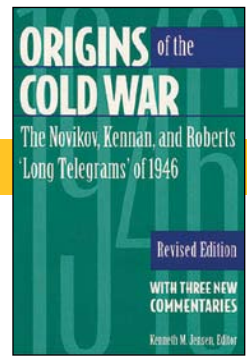
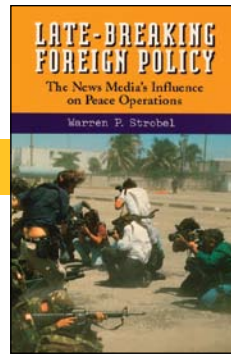
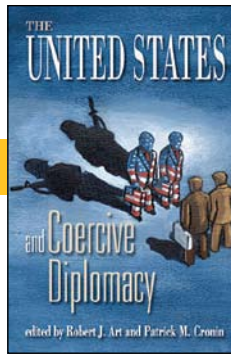
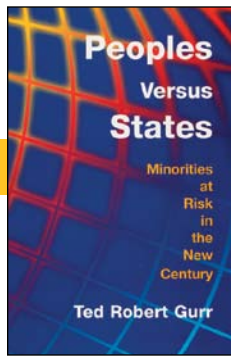
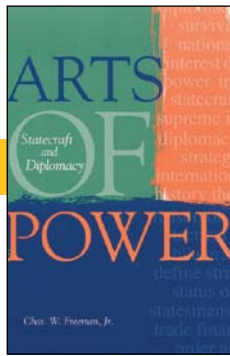
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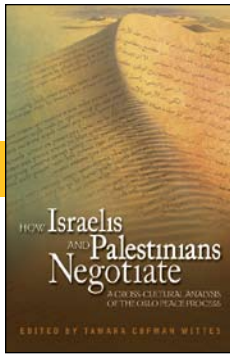
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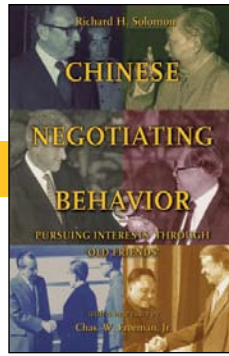
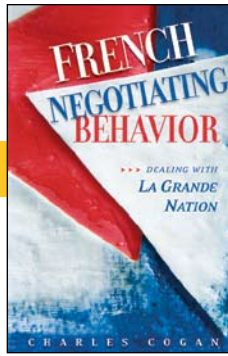
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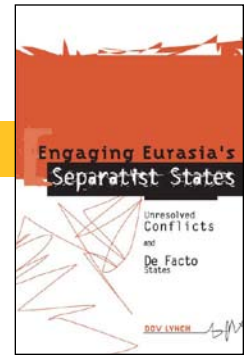
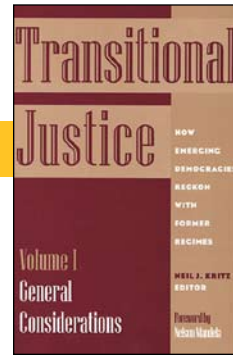
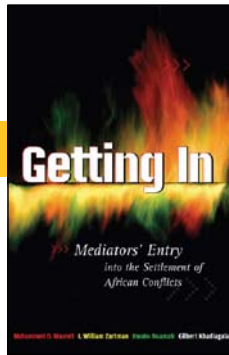
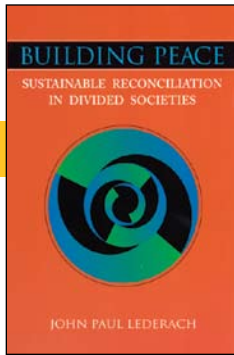
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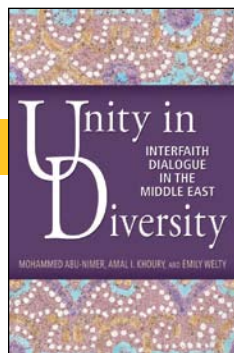
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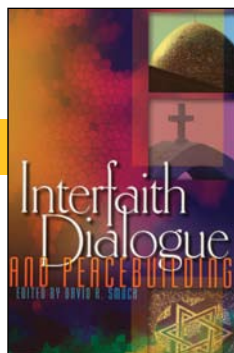
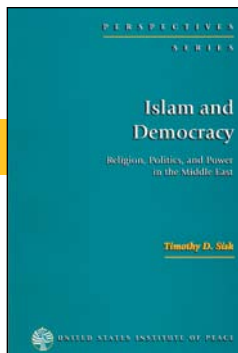
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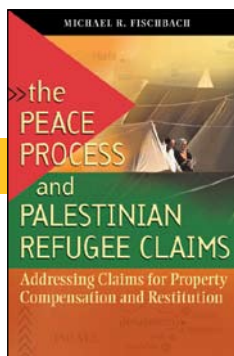
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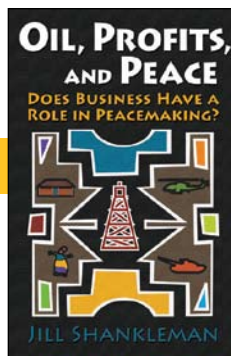
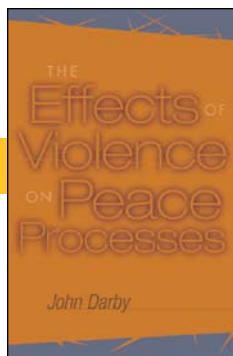
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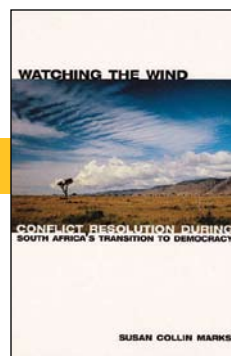
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