

PeaceWatch

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Masipula Sithole

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, DC



An Iraqi pupil tears up a picture of Saddam Hussein that the class removed from textbooks as part of an exercise on their return to class at the Qairuran School in Kirkuk on April 24.

A continuing series of discussions at the Institute explores the many questions relating to post-war Iraq.

Peace Among the People

"It is important that all Iraqis feel change, and feel change quickly, after the end of fighting," said the Iraqi National Movement's **Hatem Mukhlis**, if we are to ensure peace and allay fears among various groups in Iraq.

Mukhlis was one of four panelists at a February 11 Institute

briefing, organized with the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars, considering sectarian reconciliation in post-war Iraq.

Tamara Wittes, Research and Studies program officer, moderated the panel, which also included **Amatzia Baram**, University of Haifa; **Rend Rahim Francke**, Iraq Foundation; and **Jihan Hajibadri**, American University.

Iraqis may turn increasingly to

ethnicity and religion as bases for identity in post-war Iraq, raising the specter of the kind of conflict that characterized Yugoslavia. Francke noted an all-time high in ethno-religious tensions, but did not believe Iraq would reach the same level of strife as the Balkans.

All of the speakers raised fears that the fall of Saddam Hussein's government might be followed by a wave of ethnic-based riots,

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Iraq at Peace

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Right: Iraqis demonstrating in Baghdad on April 28 hold a counterfeit bank note with a target imposed over Saddam Hussein's picture and an added portrait of a religious leader.

revenge killings, or related violence. Mukhlis feared political fragmentation of Iraq along geographical, ethnic, or religious lines, and the possible rise to power of another Hussein-like dictator. Baram was concerned about a possible cycle of revenge. Hajibadri also pointed out that conflict might also erupt when Kurds, Turkmen, and others displaced by the Hussein regime tried to return to their homes.

To avoid these scenarios, the panelists posited ideas for a new government that will encourage an integrated society. The new Iraqi government, Baram said, should be transparent, consensus-based, and ethnically and religiously representative, and must equitably distribute revenues from oil and other natural resources. Francke urged that political parties not become proxies for ethnic and

religious groups. Also, a sense of citizenship as Iraqis, not based on ethnicity or religion, must be encouraged. Hajibadri suggested third-party mediation by a credible outsider, such as the United Nations, to ensure stability and create a foundation for reconciliation.

The Relief Picture

To examine humanitarian needs in post-war Iraq and the means to meet them, the Institute hosted a February 26 briefing featuring **David McLachlan-Karr**, United Nations Office for the Coordination of Humanitarian Affairs; **Sandra Mitchell**, International Rescue Committee; **Michael O'Hanlon**, Brookings Institution; and **George Ward**, U.S. Department of Defense, Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance.

The panel agreed that the most immediate needs include civilian security, food and water, and shelter for the displaced. O'Hanlon pointed out that a stable environment will be the first priority of coalition forces.

There was also consensus on proper roles for various actors—including American and international military forces, non-governmental organizations (NGOs), UN agencies, and Iraqi officials.

Prospective difficulties include political maneuvering around issues of funding, security, and coordination. NGOs are reluctant to work closely with the American military or the Office of Reconstruction and Humanitarian Assistance, which reports to the Pentagon.

Military forces will first play a role, according to Ward, in creating space for humanitarian assistance delivery, as well as facilitating relief operations, coordinating efforts, and sharing information through a civil-military humani-



tarian operations center. Ward noted that they will rely on Iraqis for much of the relief and reconstruction efforts. The U.S. government has given a great deal of attention to identifying Iraqis with whom it can work, he added. While the American military will continue to be the dominant actor immediately after the cessation of hostilities, it expects the United Nations and NGOs to take the humanitarian lead.

The absence of on-the-ground experience among NGOs and most United Nations agencies in Iraq will hamper relief efforts. Nonetheless, NGOs will have to work quickly to identify and address needs. The UN will be expected to play an important leadership and coordination role. The UN anticipates using the current Oil-for-Food structure (a UN World Food Program responsibility), which will mean working closely with Iraqi offices, as they are the heart of the current distribution structure.

McLachlan-Karr and Mitchell cautioned that Iraq is "not another Afghanistan." After 12 years of sanctions, Iraqi coping mechanisms are fragile and the potential magnitude of the impacts of the conflict are much greater.

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President: Richard H. Solomon
Executive Vice President: Harriet Hentges
Publications Director: Dan Snodderly
Editor: Renee Y. Storteboom
Production Manager: Marie Marr
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Growing Hope for Africa's Great Lakes Region

“Africa must make a choice to be a place where the rule of law blossoms,” says President Paul Kagame of Rwanda.

Two years ago—at the time of Rwandan president **Paul Kagame’s** previous visit to the Institute—the Great Lakes region of Africa presented a bleak picture. The picture is changing for the better, Kagame told a standing-room-only audience at the Institute on March 6.

For example, the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) is working through a new power-sharing agreement to govern its vast nation. The final session of the inter-Congolese dialogue was convened April 1–2 in Sun City, South Africa and achieved some level of success. The DRC’s civil war has greatly destabilized the region, drawing in military forces from several neighboring states in support of either the rebel movements occupying much of the east of Congo or the DRC government of Joseph Kabila.

Kagame said that Rwanda, in accordance with the Pretoria Agreement, had withdrawn troops from the DRC. (However, on March 20, two weeks after Kagame’s visit, the Rwandan parliament voted to re-deploy troops to the DRC in response to Uganda’s alleged continued support for rebels opposed to the Rwandan government.)

In Burundi an internal political settlement is moving forward according to Kagame, in spite of continued violence. African leaders and international organizations continue to encourage belligerents to commit to the peace process.

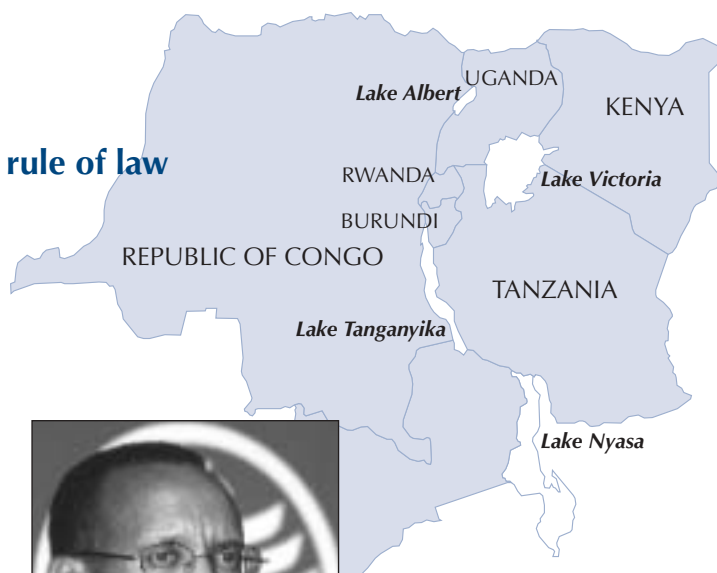
“The point is, basically, that we are moving forward, notwithstanding the challenges that we have to confront and surmount in order to make the agreements work,” said Kagame. He detailed several challenges.

■ Parties to peace settlements must realize that it is for the benefit of their citizens that they strive for peace. “What, other than lost opportunities in trade and investment, in growth and equity, do we hope to gain from the image of a continent perpetually at war with itself, left behind a fast-moving world that cares little?” asked Kagame.

■ The international community has an obligation to play an active part. Once the ink is dry on a peace agreement, international actors tend to turn their attention elsewhere. “This habitual late-coming, this piecemeal, ineffectual, and half-hearted intervention in our recent past has left bitter memories,” explained Kagame. Not merely a question of material resources, it is foremost an issue of collective resolve to honor international obligations.

■ The ideology of genocide seems to have acquired new converts, averred Kagame. Some believe that the genocide ideology can be a bargaining tool and an avenue to power.

■ The absence of war is not enough. Kagame called for investment in early warning systems, preventive measures, and peace-enhancing processes that would



Left: Rwandan president Paul Kagame.

cut across national life—from government to private sector to civil society.

Despite daunting challenges, Kagame asserted that prospects for peace in the Great Lakes region are greater now than ever. The international community must play its role by supporting steps toward peace, but the people and leadership of Africa must make it work. They are the primary beneficiaries.

“There is no greater contribution to peace and security than our continued dedication to putting our house in order, since, as the saying goes, all charity begins at home,” said Kagame. In that regard, he noted that Rwanda will hold a constitutional referendum in May 2003, and that parliamentary and presidential elections are planned for later in the year.



Fighting the “Big Lie”

The experience in the Balkans shows that the international community must play an early and active role in fostering independent media voices in transitional societies, experts conclude.



Above, top:
Kemal
Kurspahic.

Information is power. Ultra-nationalist governments in the Balkans knew this. They used media—particularly television—to fan the flames of ethnic hatred.

A Current Issues Briefing at the Institute on March 4 explored this issue, as described in *Prime Time Crime: Balkan Media in War and Peace* (USIP Press) by former Institute senior fellow **Kemal Kurspahic**, who was editor of the Sarajevo daily *Oslobodjene* in the 1990s. Besides Kurspahic, the briefing featured **Roy Gutman**, Institute senior fellow and chief diplomatic correspondent for *Newsweek*; **Richard Kauzlarich**, director of the Institute’s Special Initiative on the Muslim World and former U.S. ambassador to Bosnia; and **Sanford Ungar**, president of Goucher College and former director of the Voice of America.

Kurspahic explained that during the Cold War, Balkan media propagated the ideas of a “one man/one party” regime: the Tito government. More recent Balkan leaders,

such as Slobodan Milosevic of Serbia and Franjo Tudjman of Croatia, employed media to propagate hatred among neighbors.

Kurspahic said that while Milosevic did eventually control the media, it was powerful individuals in the media that in large part “gave birth” to Milosevic’s regime. During the Serbo-Croatian war, media on both sides manipulated and distorted information—even to the point of fabricating stories.

Kurspahic also spoke of the missed opportunities of the post-Dayton Accord years, noting that there was no mention of media in the Dayton agreement except for an annex regarding free and fair elections. Control of the media was left to the nationalist parties on both sides of the conflict.

In 2000, after Milosevic’s fall, there were new beginnings and hopes for change. This change, though, is not happening fast enough. “Seven years after Dayton,” said Kurspahic, “there is still an unstable media landscape.”

Gutman drew on his own experience as a journalist to confirm the book’s description of journalism and nationalism in the Balkans. The Balkans, he said, provided a “colorful tapestry of some of the worst practices of modern journalism.” Gutman went on to describe the “big lie” of war-time reporting, citing an example from Kurspahic’s book in which the management of a Serbian television affiliate posted an official notice instructing editorial staff to identify all corpses shown in war reports as “Serb victims” no matter

their actual identity. The most troubling thing, Gutman said, is how easily some reporters moved from journalism to propaganda.

Three points stood out for Kauzlarich: the personal responsibility of Milosevic and Tudjman; the failure of the international community in the Balkan war; and the mistaken belief that people like Milosevic and Tudjman were the ones to make peace. Kauzlarich highlighted four of Kurspahic’s policy recommendations.

- Independence is costly but vital.
- Education of media managers in the business of journalism is critical.
- Donor strategies should be refocused and made more flexible to respond to the medium-term financial needs of media.
- Media markets must be explored and developed.

Ungar explored broader implications for international media. He noted that journalists are knowledgeable observers and therefore face a temptation to take sides. But can or should the media intervene to put an end to conflict? “We need to be humble about what we think we can do,” answered Ungar. He also noted that these efforts might not lead to the desired outcome. He described the professional training by the U.S. Information Service provided to Rwandan radio personnel. Later, radio was a powerful tool in mobilizing the 1994 genocide. The international community can foster independent media and good journalistic practices, he concluded, but must be careful not to overstep.

The Dialogue Between Truth and Love

Grant recipient David Steele has organized and facilitated more than 40 interfaith dialogues in the Balkans over the past decade. He led his first dialogue in 1993, with religious leaders from Serbia, Croatia, and Bosnia-Herzegovina.

The legacy of past dialogues continues to be felt, as former partners and organizations that grew out of that work continue dialogue and peacemaking in the Balkans. In Croatia, for example, the Center for Peace, Non-Violence, and Human Rights, in Osijek, independently continues dialogue and supports follow-up activities. Steele helped create organizations in Bosnia-Herzegovina and Serbia to take over interfaith activities.

The Quest for Truth and Love

People mean different things when they say religion is or is not a factor in a conflict, notes Steele. However you explain it, in numerous places—Northern Ireland, the Balkans, and the Middle East, for example—religion serves as a “boundary marker” for identity. What distinguishes Bosniaks (Bosnian Muslims), Croats, and Serbs? When Yugoslavia broke apart, people had to ask themselves: “If I am not Yugoslav, who am I?” Many turned to religion as identity.

All the major faiths share two basic tenets, says Steele. First is the call to love one’s neighbor—and even one’s enemy—and to show hospitality. Second is the call to affirm the truth as revealed by God according to one’s own tradition.

There is often tension between love and truth. Steele advocates letting religious communities reconcile that tension among themselves.

When religious communities make the difficult step of owning their identity separate from ethnicity, progress can be made.

Telling Their Stories

“Identifying with people on a gut level, a personal level, and showing them that you care about them and what happens to them goes a long way,” says Steele. He believes storytelling is among the most important elements in interfaith dialogue. For example, admitting how one’s own actions have contributed to an existing tension, or telling about an incident that demonstrates respect for the other party’s quest to balance “truth” and “love,” can have a powerful effect.

“I believe that it is important to begin with people where they are, to understand their grievances, fears, and needs before attempting to help them see beyond their own perspectives. If people feel understood, they are more likely to open up to new perspectives and ideas that may lead a group into creative problem solving.”

From Words to Deeds

At the end of each seminar, there is a brainstorming session designed to generate ideas that could increase interfaith cooperation. The biggest key is follow-up. Most follow-up activities require staff on the ground who can plan meetings, begin to take action, and provide additional resources. “Buy-in” has to begin with staff, move on to seminar participants (or at least a small committed group of them), and finally to key actors in the community.



For example, a secondary-school student, after participating in a seminar in the Bosnian Serb republic, presented a report to his class on the positive outcome of the interfaith dialogue. Shortly after this, Steele was invited to meet with the minister of education for the Bosnian Serb republic, who was interested in promoting such interfaith understanding throughout the education system.

Thoughts for the Future

Steele has witnessed many changes over the years. Most notable have been the intensification of conflict and a growing suspicion of Western influence, especially American and sometimes Protestant, which have made it considerably more difficult to carry on interfaith dialogue.

“I believe that the stakes will become higher due to the rise of politicized religion,” says Steele. Dialogue will become increasingly difficult. The characteristics of effective dialogue will not change, but they may become more difficult to actualize. And the need for interfaith dialogue will only increase.

Above: David Steele at an Institute training in 2001.



Religion & Peacemaking

Faith and Peace in the Middle East

“The Holy Land is God’s laboratory for working out justice and compassion, two virtues identified with Abraham,” said **Yehezkel Landau** of the Open House Center for Jewish-Arab Coexistence in Ramle, Israel, at an April 1 workshop on Capitol Hill.

The workshop, “The Role of Faith in Promoting Peace in the Middle East,” was moderated by the Institute’s **David Smock**, director of the Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, which organized the evening with the Faith and Politics Institute. Several members of Congress and their staff attended the meeting.

The Middle East is a profoundly religious place, said Canon **Andrew White**, representative of the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Middle East. Rabbi **Michael Melchior**, member of Israel’s Knesset and chief rabbi of Norway, agreed, noting that when the peace process is identified as a “secularization process,” it is rejected by the people, who look to religion for identity and direction. **Mohammed Abu-Nimer** of American University added that Muslims feel that their core beliefs are under attack. They need forums to convey their belief in peace and justice.

A primary element of the Alexandria Declaration (which called for a religiously sanctioned cease-fire) is the end to demonization of each other, said White. It also acknowledges that the land is holy to all and has lost its sanctity through bloodshed. Abu-Nimer stressed the importance of bringing the process to the people on the ground. Dialogue must translate into economic or other concrete improvements. The Alexandria Declaration process should become a model for other regions, said Melchior. It can bring Arab and other countries together as “a model for the kind of bridge we need to build if we want to give any hope and future for humankind,” added Melchior.

“We cannot have peace between nations without peace between peoples, without peace between religions,” continued Melchior. White and Landau

agreed that religion is deeply involved and must be part of the solution in the Holy Land. Abu-Nimer cautioned that interfaith dialogue alone cannot solve the crisis. It can reduce dehumanization of the “other” and provide gestures of hope. But the debate should not identify religion as the source of the crisis, he said. Abu-Nimer agreed with Smock, however, that the Oslo Accords failed in part because religious issues and leaders were largely excluded from the process.

Waging Peace: Religion-Based Peacemaking

How do religion-based peacemaking efforts differ from secular efforts, especially when there is a religious component to a conflict? Muslim, Jewish, and Christian peacebuilding practitioners gathered at Washington National Cathedral on April 8 to answer this question. **David Smock**, director of the Institute’s Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, moderated the first part of a two-day event co-sponsored by the Institute and the Washington National Cathedral.

Can a religious organization be an effective bridge-builder in situations where that religion is a divisive factor? In the end, said Boston University professor **Adam Seligman**, peace can come only from the parties involved. But first, religious organizations need to examine themselves and come to terms with their own demons. **Marie Dennis**, director of the Maryknoll Office for Global Concerns, added that people in religious organizations need to demonstrate integrity in how they live and behave.

What about the difficulty of establishing a balanced interfaith group when there is an imbalance of power in the outside world? Seligman responded that a truly tolerant attitude lets you live with fuzzy boundaries—the “other” is implicated in your boundaries. Ritual helps externalize new understandings.

How does “religious” peacemaking differ in process—not just in facilitation and participants—from secular peacemaking? **Yehezkel Landau** has lived in Jerusalem



Above: David Smock.



and founded the Open House Center for Jewish-Arab Coexistence in Ramle, Israel. He said that respect for sacred principles, not just human rights, sets religious peacemaking apart. World Vision's **William O. Lowrey** added that secular peacemaking often squeezes out spiritual aspects of people's lives. Religious symbols and rituals can be quite useful in enhancing peace processes. Seligman said that while religious discourse engages particular languages and other cultural tropes, secular peacebuilding tries to translate them into a universal formula. Religious dialogue engages with partic-

Each of the Abrahamic traditions holds, at its core, a vision of peace. The speakers dug into their respective traditions to uncover the shared roots of the human desire for peace. Gopin exhorted the audience to heed Psalm 34 and "seek peace, pursue it."

Campbell called for a "reunion of Abraham's children." Christianity's passion for gospel truth must never insist that the truth be imposed on others, she said. Rather, good religion unites and makes whole. "Loving our neighbor," as Matthew 22 says, is a moral issue, not a geographic one.

At the "Role of Faith in Promoting Peace in the Middle East" workshop on Capitol Hill, clockwise from upper left: Yehezkel Landau;



ularities of language and tries to build community from them, rather than homogenize them.

Mohammed Abu-Nimer of American University has conducted conflict resolution training workshops around the world. Secular peacebuilders have their own rituals, he said, such as "breaking bread" together. Secular peacebuilders also engage in storytelling, though the narratives may differ. Spirituality, said Abu-Nimer, is the primary difference between religious and secular peacemaking.

Can religious groups reconcile their role as advocates with their role as bridge-builders? Yes, said Dennis, if peacemaking is defined as building wholeness of life for all people. Similarly, said Abu-Nimer, most Muslim organizations pursue both justice and advocacy in their activities.

Abraham's Children and the Imperative of Peacemaking

Washington National Cathedral provided the setting for discourse among people of the three Abrahamic faiths—Christianity, Islam, and Judaism—engaged in peacemaking and interfaith dialogue on April 10.

The Institute's Religion and Peacemaking Initiative co-organized the event, which brought together **Joan Brown Campbell**, director of religion at the Chautauqua Institution; **Faisal Abdul Rauf**, imam of Masjid al-Farah in New York City; and **Marc Gopin**, orthodox rabbi and visiting professor at Tufts University. **Michael Wyatt**, the cathedral's canon theologian and director of programs in religious education, moderated the second part of a two-day event co-sponsored by the Institute and the National Cathedral.



Rauf asked how collective interfaith efforts can create a scriptural tradition of peace among Abrahamic religions. As a Muslim and an American, he loves both his country and his faith even though they are politically at odds in these times. "This is my cross to bear," he said. The solution, he posited, is to heal the relationship between the Muslim world and the United States within a decade in order to avoid more terror. "Reversing the legacy requires a NASA-like effort," said Rauf. American Muslims must play a key role, he said by being "culturally sensitive and Islamically correct."

Gopin said he has begun to view himself as a "mechanic" of peacemaking: doing the hard, dirty work of making a bridge between people who hate each other. He advised that "mechanics must become acts of holiness." Gopin cited the Old Testament example of Aaron, Moses' brother, as the quintessential peacemaker of rabbinic tradition. Aaron was known as a man of the people, a "softie," who made peace between so many husbands and wives that children were frequently named after him.

"We've consistently failed to achieve the lamb and the lion lying down together," concluded Campbell. "If we have given the ground of scripture and ritual away to the extremists, we had best take it back."

Mohammed Abu-Nimer; Institute president Richard Solomon; Michael Melchior; Congressman Amo Houghton (R-N.Y.); Andrew White; Congressman Jim Moran (D-VA); Faith and Politics Institute president Douglas Tanner with Congressman Mel Watt (D-N.C.).



Interfaith Dialogue in Nigeria

Over the past five years approximately 10,000 people have been killed in Nigeria in conflicts that had a religious component. Many of those engaged in these battles come from Christian and Muslim youth organizations. As a means of promoting peaceful co-existence among Christian and Muslim youth in Nigeria, the Institute co-sponsored a five-day workshop for youth leaders March 10–15. Organized by the Inter-Faith Mediation Centre in Kaduna, the workshop brought together pairs of Christian and Muslim youth leaders from 30 of Nigeria's states. It was led by Pastor James Movel Wuye and Imam Muhammad Nurayn Ashafa, who have ministries dedicated to interfaith reconciliation. The 60 partici-

pants studied religious texts, aired their grievances against the other faith community, and in the end developed a shared commitment to promote peace between the two religious communities, particularly among young people.

Closing the Post-Conflict Gap

"Is there a better approach to handle the post-conflict

reconstruction mission that will not only jump-start the economy and the local governing structures, but will also lead to an earlier departure of military and civilian interveners?" Lt. Col. **Garland Williams**, Army peace fellow, proposed an answer to this conundrum, reporting on his fellowship project on March 25.

The military specializes in quick deployment and decisive action, with a focus on the short term. It has significant capacity for peace enforcement and stabilization, but does not have the expertise to facilitate long-term development. Civilian non-governmental organizations and international organizations have a longer-term brief. They, however, cannot deploy quickly as they must first assess needs and then staff and fund the deployment. This often leaves a gap of up to 12–18 months between the official end of conflict and the start of rehabilitation.

Though there is a palpable cultural difference between the military and civilian actors in post-conflict situations, their activities *can* complement each other. "Despite the differences or complexity of the operation, it is important to remember that each

player is involved because it has been mandated to act by some authority or because it wants to help," says Williams.

Williams advocates mandating and funding the military to engage in post-conflict reconstruction during the critical first year. This, says Williams, will give the host nation's economy a jump-start and will establish government legitimacy by providing for basic needs. It will also enhance overall security and actually shorten post-conflict deployment of military peacekeepers.

Step by Step to Peace in Sri Lanka

After almost 20 years of war and many more decades of intense inter-ethnic conflict, the prospects for peace in Sri Lanka have suddenly improved. The Sri Lankan government and the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam (LTTE) entered into negotiations in September 2002. Hope was high—though expectations were low—that the talks would lead to peace, since a number of previous attempts to reach an agreement had broken down. As of early April, however, the cease-fire holds, the talks continue, and the parties are discussing difficult issues such as governance arrangements.

On March 24, **G. L. Peiris**, lead negotiator for the Sri Lankan government, spoke at the Institute about the peace process and the reasons for its durability. He said the process was proceeding one step at a time and that it included both economic and political issues. By treating the economic issues from the beginning, negotiators were making the peace dividend concrete and building support for the process across society. Peiris emphasized the importance of beginning the implementation process immediately rather than waiting until all political issues have been resolved.

The government and the LTTE have also sought the assistance of third parties. The Norwegian government has played an important role in mediating the negotiations. They have sought the advice of experts from South Africa, Northern Ireland, and other countries to map out options for solving the issues that divide the protagonists.

Institute board chair **Chester A. Crocker** chaired the meeting and **Teresita C. Schaffer**, former U.S. ambassador to Colombo and currently director of the South Asia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Affairs, introduced Peiris.

Peiris is a well-known figure in Sri Lanka, having been a professor of law at Colombo University as well as a member of government. He is currently the minister of enterprise development, industrial policy, and investment promotion in the government of Prime Minister Ranil Wickremesinghe.

As part of the Institute's project on ending intractable conflicts, organized by Crocker and educa-



Above: Anglican Archbishop Josia Fearon (right) presents a plaque to the governor of Kaduna State, Alhadiji Ahmed Mohammed Makarfi at a meeting for 60 Christian and Muslim youth leaders from 30 states in Nigeria.



tion director **Pamela Aall**, Peiris's presentation proved that a thoughtful and accomplished negotiator, supported by a willing government and a dedicated and skilled third party, can help to transform violence into political discussion and agreement.

Dialogue or Dead End in Chechnya?

In the March 23 constitutional referendum—called by Russian president Vladimir Putin—90 percent of Chechnya's voters reportedly voted yes to remaining part of Russia. But critics have questioned the legitimacy of the results, as well as the very choice put to Chechens. "Yes means peace," was a Russian government campaign slogan.

A March 25 Institute briefing, moderated by Training program officer **Anne Henderson**, considered whether the vote to remain within Russia was legitimate, whether Russian promises will be kept, and whether Chechen rebels will cease their violent strug-

gle for independence. Chechnya declared its independence in 1991; the Russian military has been in and out, and now in again, to pacify the separatist region.

Chechen scholar **Zainda Choltaev**, a fellow at the Woodrow Wilson Center for International Scholars, said that Chechens will not accept peace without fairness. The population has witnessed years of disconnection between words and deeds. Choltaev suggested that the same formula used to resolve the conflict with neighboring Dagestan—greater autonomy—could be applied in Chechnya. However, without fresh governance initiatives, Chechens will find it hard to swallow a continued union with Russia.

"The U.S. government believes that most Chechens desire peace and an enduring political settlement to the conflict," said **Mike Morrow**, deputy director of the Office of Russian Affairs at the U.S. Department of State. The U.S. administration is worried about possible connections between Chechen rebels and al Qaeda, but the American government is also concerned about allegations of human rights abuses such as rape, disappearances, and *zachistka* (house-to-house searches) by the Russian military. Such abuses must be eliminated, said Morrow.

Glen Howard, executive director of the American Committee for Peace in Chechnya, described the current situation as a stalemate. He warned that nothing will be resolved as long as the war continues and a resistance movement forging ties with al Qaeda exists.

The panelists agreed that this a critical juncture in Chechnya. With intensive effort by both the Russian government and the Chechen rebels, and with support from the United States and Europe, peace—with fairness, development, and accountability—can come to Chechnya.

The Predicament of Christians in the Middle East

Some 10–12 million Christians live in the Arab world in diverse and ancient religious communities, including the Copts of Egypt, the Maronites of Lebanon, and the Assyrians and Chaldeans of Iraq. Their circumstances vary widely. However, they share minority status in their larger world, and they are an important part of the dynamic mix of the Middle East.

Former senior fellow **George Irani** visited the Institute on April 9 to describe the situation of Christians in various parts of the Middle East. On the one hand, he said, Christians in the Arab world face restrictions on education, worship, and even the naming of their children. These restrictions compound a trend of out-migration. On the other hand, many religious and political leaders—Muslim and Christian—have encouraged Christians to remain in the region because of their contributions to Arab society and because their presence shows that peaceful coexistence is possible.

Iraq at Peace

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Hot Spot at Kirkuk

Kirkuk, in northern Iraq, produces a large share of Iraqi oil and is a hotbed of ethnic and religious tension because of the Hussein regime's policy of displacing much of its Kurdish, Turkish, and Christian population and resettling Arabs from other areas.

The Institute convened small group meetings on February 19 and March 17 of people from the Iraqi Kurdish, Turkmen, and Arab communities, along with other area experts. The meetings analyzed possible points of conflict in Kirkuk and how they might be addressed without violence. **Daniel Serwer**, the Institute's director of peace operations, organized the meetings.

Participants agreed that Kirkuk is Iraqi and its status should be resolved—without resorting to violence—only after the broader context has been clarified in post-conflict Iraq. A representative interim governing authority should be established as quickly as possible, followed by a power-sharing arrangement to reduce mutual suspicions.

Public security is priority one, said participants. The rights of return and property are priority two. The rush to return could create serious problems: humanitarian resources will be stretched, shelter is lacking, and property rights are not clearly defined. The parties concerned are looking to the United States to assist in meeting the challenges posed by reconstruction, maintaining stability, and refugee return.



InstitutePeople

JUDY BARSALOU, director of the Grant Program, published an article—"The Long Road to Palestinian Reform"—in the Spring 2003 issue of *Middle East Policy*.

In February, fellows program officer **VIRGINIA BOUVIER** traveled to Colombia as part of a delegation organized by the Washington Office on Latin America. The



Above: At the Casa de la Cultura in Morroa, Colombia, Institute program officer Virginia Bouvier (left) talks with Mayor Adalgiza Lopez Salcedo, the only one of eight mayors in the department of Sucre who, in the wake of guerrilla threats against public officials, continues to live in her district.

purpose of the trip was to evaluate the effects of the internal armed conflict on Colombian civil society and the consolidation of democratic institutions, to examine civil society initiatives that could contribute to the resolution of the conflict, and to explore ways that the international community can be supportive of peace efforts.

Research and Studies program officer **TIM DOCKING** served as an international election observer in Nigeria with the International Republican Institute April 14–22.

BILL DRENNAN, Research and Studies deputy director, organized an off-the-record discussion on the state of U.S.–South Korea relations at the Institute on February 3 featuring president-elect Roh Moo-hyun's special envoy, Chung Dai-Chul. Drennan traveled to South Korea in March,

meeting with the foreign minister, the deputy national security advisers for foreign and defense policy, and several members of the National Assembly, as well as academics, policy analysts, and journalists.

Research and Studies program officer **MIKE DZIEDZIC** lectured on the rule of law and on sustainable peace in the Balkans at the Inter-American Defense College, Army War College, and National War College in February and March.

Training program officers **TED FEIFER**, **RAY CALDWELL**, and **GREG NOONE** conducted negotiations and diplomatic skills workshops for 54 national and international OSCE staff in Pristina, Kosovo during the last two weeks of March. They also visited the Kosovo Police Service School at Vushtrri and met with its director to discuss possible cooperation.

MICHAEL HARTMANN, senior fellow, lectured at the University of Baltimore Law School on March 11 on "War Crimes Prosecution in Domestic Courts after Conflicts and Options for Iraq." On March 25 he lectured on "War Crime Prosecution in Kosovo and Options for Iraq" at American University's Washington School of Law. Finally, March 31–April 3 found Hartmann on panels at a Brandeis University symposium on "Domestic vs. International Courts for Prosecuting War Crimes."

JEFF HELSING, Education program officer, conducted two educational programs in February, first a faculty development workshop on "Conflict and Peacemaking in Africa in the 21st Century" at

Northeastern University in Boston, and second a student-faculty symposium on "The Middle East at the Crossroads: Peacemaking or Peace Breaking?" at Queens College in New York City. Helsing also co-chaired a panel at the International Studies Association annual meeting in Portland in February on human rights and conflict management and was a panel discussant on mediation.

Training program officer **ANNE HENDERSON** presented a program on negotiation at the Austrian Study Center for Peace and Conflict Resolution in February as part of a course for practitioners in humanitarian relief and conflict resolution.

HARRIET HENTGES, executive vice president, gave the keynote address at the inauguration of **JOHN MENZIES** as the Graceland University president in February. Menzies is a former senior fellow at the Institute. Hentges also gave a lecture at Graceland titled "War and Peace, Not What They Used to Be."

Senior fellow **ROY GUTMAN** has given many BBC World Service interviews, and numerous other radio interviews, and made appearances on CNN International and CNBC. Gutman participated as a board member in the founding of the International (Journalists) Safety Institute in Brussels on February 24. On March 28, he moderated a panel on the laws of war at the National Press Club, coinciding with publication of the Arabic edition of a book he edited, *Crimes of War*. The Spring 2003 *Nieman Reports* magazine includes Gutman's arti-

cle “Consequences Occur When Reporters Testify.”

Senior fellow **RAY JENNINGS** spoke about post-conflict reconstruction in Iraq in various appearances on CNN International, CNN Financial, Voice of America, and Wisconsin Public Radio. He was also interviewed for various publications including the *Financial Times*, *The Nation*, *National Journal*, *Atlanta Constitution-Journal*, and Neikkei newspapers (Japan).

DANIEL SERWER, director of the Balkans Initiative, spoke at a conference organized by the European Union Institute for Security Studies on “The Transition from a Reduced U.S. Commitment” in March. In February, he was a guest of Belgrade’s Institute for International Politics and Economics, where he gave his assessment of reforms in Serbia and the Balkans.

Grants program officer **TAYLOR SEYBOLT** appeared on Voice of America (VOA) TV’s March 6 *Africa Journal* to discuss peacekeeping in Africa. He also appeared on VOA TV March 29 in a live broadcast to the Middle East, discussing humanitarian assistance to Iraq.

MARIE SMYTH, senior fellow, gave a lecture, “Segregation and Militarized Youth in Divided Cities,” at the University of Illinois at Chicago’s Great Cities Institute on March 4–5.

Lt. Col. **GARLAND WILLIAMS**, senior fellow, was promoted to full colonel on March 28 at the Army Corps of Engineers Headquarters. His article “Closing the Post-

IN MEMORIAM

African Scholar Masipula Sithole

The Institute mourns the passing of Masipula Sithole of Harare, Zimbabwe, a senior fellow at the Institute during 2002–2003. Sithole died on April 3 after suffering a massive stroke. He was 56 years old.

Sithole was deeply committed to the people of Zimbabwe. He was one of Africa’s most respected scholars. A professor of political science at the University of Zimbabwe and founding director of the Mass Public Opinion Institute in Harare, he authored numerous books and scholarly articles on politics in Zimbabwe. He also wrote frequent analyses and commentaries for independent Zimbabwean newspapers.

While at the Institute, Sithole was writing a book on the impact of Zimbabwe’s domestic and foreign policies on regional security since 1980. A longtime critic of the regime of President Robert Mugabe, Sithole said in a talk at the Institute in January that the government must be changed because it was destroying the life and liberty of the people of Zimbabwe.

Sithole is survived by his wife, Alice, and two sons, Chandiwana and Masipula, Jr. He was the younger brother of the late Reverend Ndabaningi Sithole, founder of the opposition Zimbabwe African National Union (ZANU) party.



Conflict Reconstruction Gap” will appear in the Army War College’s *Parameters*. Williams gave radio interviews concerning post-conflict Iraq to the Canadian Broadcasting Company’s *The Current* and *As It Happens*, BBC’s *Today* program, and National Public Radio’s *The World*.

Research and Studies program officer **TAMARA WITTES** traveled to Iran in March for the 13th International Conference on the Persian Gulf, where she gave a talk entitled “The Confrontation with Iraq and America’s Future in the Middle East.” Upon her return, she authored an article for the *Weekly Standard* analyzing Iran’s official views of the Iraq war. Wittes has also given numerous media interviews on the Iraq crisis.

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- *Contributions to the Study of Peacemaking, 1996–2001*, by Anne-Marie Smith (Volume 7, February 2003)
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- *The Palestinian Reform Agenda*, by Nathan J. Brown (Peaceworks 48, December 2002)
- *The Israeli Military and Israel's Palestinian Policy: From Oslo to the Al Aqsa Intifada*, by Yoram Peri (Peaceworks 47, November 2002)

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- *Establishing the Rule of Law in Iraq* (Special Report 104, April 2003)
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- *Would an Invasion of Iraq be a "Just War"?* (Special Report 98, January 2003)
- *Between Impediment and Advantage: Saddam's Iraq*, by Amatzia Baram (Special Report, June 1998)
- *Immediate Imperatives in Post-War Iraq* (Newsbyte, April 18, 2003)
- *Defining the "Vital Role" for the United Nations in Iraq* (Newsbyte, April 17, 2003)
- *Kirkuk: A Potential Hot Spot Needs U.S. Attention Now* (Newsbyte, March 20, 2003)
- *"Coercive Diplomacy against Iraq, 1990–98,"* by Jon Alterman, in *The United States and Coercive Diplomacy* (United States Institute of Peace Press, 2003)

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