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North Korean Nukes, South Korean Strain



◀ North and South Korean border guards at the demilitarized zone between their two countries.

The United States needs to carefully explore its options for dealing with North Korean nuclear ambitions while repairing a strained relationship with South Korea.

The United States and North Korea are tangled in a familiar confrontation over nuclear arms. Meanwhile, the United States and South Korea are undergoing unfamiliar shifts in their vital alliance. A nuclear-armed North Korea threatens vital American interests, the security of the region, and the global nonproliferation regime. A meeting of Korea experts at the Institute in December agreed that the options for dealing with this threat fall into three categories: toleration, negotiation, and retaliation.

Considering both the first nuclear crisis in 1993–94 and the current situation, the experts agreed on several important points.

■ Third party mediation by regional allies may be a way to break the stalemate without a significant loss of face for the parties involved.

See North, South Korea, page 2

Also inside

A NATIONAL PRESENCE FOR PEACEMAKING



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Right: A poster released by Pyongyang's Korean Central News Agency reads, "Ruthless Punishment to U.S. Imperialism."



proliferation and moving to issues of humanitarian needs, economics, and human rights. The current crisis, future agreements, and the necessary verification regime afford roles for all regional powers, including South Korea, China, Japan, and Russia.

Noland focused the discussion on North Korean motivations. He presented the North Korean nuclear strategy within the context of an effort to strategically reposition itself within the international community and ensure regime survival in the long-term.

Noland warned of increasing rifts between South Korea and the United States regarding North Korea's intentions. South Korea is more concerned about the North Korean economic situation and troop build-up along the Demilitarized Zone separating the two countries than about weapons of mass destruction. "The U.S. administration's . . . focus on one—albeit important—part of this puzzle is unlikely to resolve the entire nuclear conundrum," said Noland.

Drennan wrapped up the discussion by emphasizing the changing relationship with South Korea. A growing middle class in South Korea has produced a new generation of leadership that downplays the threat posed by North Korea and that tends to view American forces more as an obstacle to better North-South relations than a security shield. America's longstanding relationship with South Korea is essential to both countries, stressed Drennan, but is threatened by rising anti-Americanism in South Korea and the resulting anti-Korea backlash in the United States. The alliance has served—and can continue to serve—as a linchpin in ensuring stability and security in East Asia, but it must be modernized to reflect new conditions in South Korea if it is to survive.



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(acquiring nuclear weapons and associated long-range missile delivery systems). Other considerations—regime change, humanitarian relief, and human rights—remain secondary.

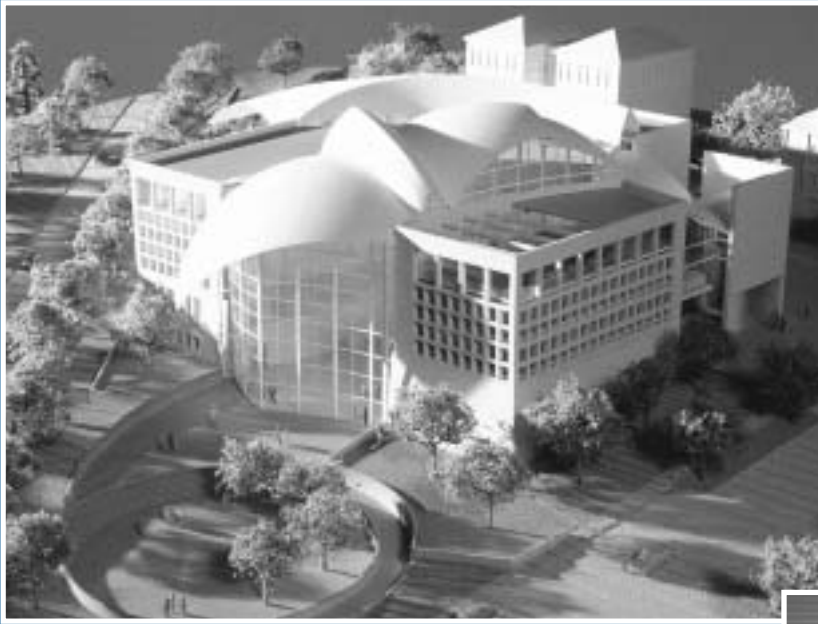
The Institute hosted a Current Issues Briefing about the dual crises on the Korean peninsula on January 13, chaired by Institute Research and Studies director **Paul Stares**, with presentations by **Robert Einhorn**, Center for Strategic and International Studies; **Marcus Noland**, Institute for International Economics; and Research and Studies deputy director **William Drennan**.

A military response to the North Korean threat is an extreme option, said Einhorn. On the other hand, active political and diplomatic engagement with North Korea would not likely address core issues and may reward "nuclear blackmail." And economic coercion may further strain U.S. relations with South Korea. Einhorn concluded that talks must take place, but not under duress. The United States must be prepared to address North Korean concerns without rewarding its recent behavior. He advocated "incremental" engagement, beginning with the issue of nuclear

■ North Korea is skilled in brinkmanship. The United States, after 10 years and with a much clearer understanding of North Korea's negotiating style, is better positioned to anticipate and counter their tactics.

■ The first North Korean nuclear crisis taught the United States that effective policy requires a clear objective and establishment of "red-lines"—lines that must not be crossed—that are fully understood by, and credible with, North Korea.

■ The United States must remain focused on preventing a North Korean "strategic breakout"



A National Presence for Peacemaking

The Institute's permanent headquarters wins a key design approval from the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts.

The Institute's headquarters project took a major step forward in November, as the U.S. Commission of Fine Arts enthusiastically approved the design concept for the new building.

The planned headquarters will be built at the intersection of Constitution Avenue and 23rd Street. Its two atria will face the Lincoln Memorial and the Potomac River.

The U.S. Commission of Fine Arts advises the U.S. and D.C. governments on architecture and artistic matters that affect the capital city's appearance. Commission chairman Harry G. Robinson III called the building design an "exciting, exuberant statement of the importance of peace." Commission member David M. Childs added that the Institute is the "absolutely appropriate program to be the exclamation point at the end of Constitution Avenue." Architect **Moshe Safdie** presented the design concept to the commission on November 21. A *New*

Yorker magazine profile of Safdie on January 20 pointed to the Institute project as Safdie's most visible building in America.

The Institute's presence will add a forward-looking context to the historical memorials and monuments on the National Mall for the thousands of annual visitors to Washington. The five-level headquarters building will host conferences, workshops, public addresses, training sessions, and education seminars, in addition to a library, exhibits, and public education displays. It will attract visitors concerned with conflict and peacemaking from around the world.

Washington Post architecture critic Benjamin Forgey in a November 23 article called the design "exemplary" and said the city will be lucky to have the building as a "gateway" presence at the western approach to the National Mall. His article commended the architect on accomplishing the delicate task of plac-



Top left: A view of the Institute's future headquarters.

Left: Architect Moshe Safdie.

ing a new structure on these grounds, taking care not to compete with the Lincoln Memorial.

Institute president **Richard Solomon** called the commission's approval "a major step forward in our plan to create a national center for research, education, professional training, and policy development in the area of international conflict management and resolution." He added that private support for construction of the building will "realize a public-private partnership in support of innovation in peacemaking for the 21st century."



Can Afghan Women Feed the Hunger for Democracy?

“I see great potential in Afghan women,” says Rina Amiri.



Rina Amiri

Speaking to Institute staff and guests on January 8, **Rina Amiri** described the continued process toward democracy in Afghanistan, and particularly the place of women in the process. Amiri is presently the political affairs officer for the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan, focusing on political participation of women. The position has brought her home to Afghanistan.

While there has been much criticism of the Loya Jirga (Afghan grand council), Amiri is encouraged by the fact that 200 women were elected to parliament, and by the establishment of the Ministry of Women’s Affairs, although she had hoped for more ethnic balance and more technocrats in the government.

Afghanistan is now at a critical crossroads, she said. Even though some hopes have not been realized, there are clear paths forward. The central government must now be strengthened for the peace process to succeed, and the rule of law and civil society must be developed.

Amiri is also a member of Women Waging Peace, a network launched in 1999 that facilitates connections among women working in conflicts. The Institute’s Professional Training Program has supported the network most recently by organizing a colloquium in November 2002.

The Road to a Rule of Law

A cross-section of Afghanistan’s legal community reaches consensus on reform of the Afghan justice system at Institute meeting.

There has been law in Afghanistan since the first century of the Islamic calendar, but there has been no real “rule” of law, says Judicial Commission chairman **Bahouddin Baha**. Law on paper is not enough, continued Baha, it must be implemented.

Afghanistan’s Supreme Court, Ministry of Justice, Office of the Public Prosecutor, Judicial Reform Commission, Human Rights Commission, Constitution Drafting Committee, and the University of Kabul Law Faculty and Sharia Law Faculty were all represented at a four-day symposium organized by the Institute’s Rule of Law Program in February in Washington.

Mohammed Farid Hamidi, member of the Human Rights Commission, concurred with Baha, adding that participation of civil society is necessary for the implementation of the rule of law, and it would help bring about a change from a purely reactive criminal law to a more preventive system.

Afghanistan has a rich legal tradition, participants noted. The country’s current challenge is not the absence of law, but the reform and implementation of the law. In addition, they agreed that international human rights standards should be integrated into all aspects of the Afghan justice system, and that disarmament and demobilization are prerequisites to building respect for the rule of law.

A key part of the symposium was the involvement of international legal experts. From the U.S. government, **Paula Dobriansky**, under secretary of state for global affairs; **Larry Thompson**, deputy attorney general; **Paul Simons**, acting assistant secretary of state for international narcotics and law enforcement affairs; and **David Johnson**, ambassador-at-large for Afghan reconstruction, encouraged the activities of the Afghan legal community and pledged support for their efforts. This was important because the symposium discussion often returned to the need for resources to support legal reform.

The symposium’s open dialogue bred consensus on recommendations. Participants advocated that these be applied beyond Kabul and that the International Security Force for Afghanistan (ISAF) should expand its territorial and operational mandate to extend the rule of law throughout the country in the shortest time possible.

Human rights, women’s roles, civil society participation, and legitimacy of the justice system were cited as priorities. Additional recommendations included standards for judicial officials, police, and defense counsel; improving legal education and public education; encouraging informal justice systems; addressing human rights abuses; better integration of the components of the justice system; and compiling statistics.

The participants also noted the need for further information on the experience of other countries, as well as regular meetings among the participants upon their return to Afghanistan. The Institute’s Rule of Law Program is organizing follow-on seminars with legal representatives in Afghanistan in the coming months.



Lethal Ethnic Riots

Vicious cycles of violence have plagued some communities of Muslims and Hindus in India. These riots have occurred primarily in four of the twenty-eight Indian states, and only eight cities account for almost half the deaths. Why do riots occur in these cities and not in others of comparable ethnic composition? Is there a pattern to the violence? Why do some communities that have maintained a long record of ethnic peace eventually explode in violence? What tools exist to stem the violence and build healthier relationships between ethnic groups?

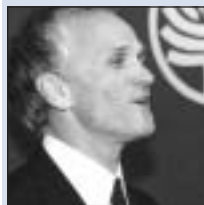
Moderated by Grant Program director **Judy Barsalou**, an October 31, 2002 Current Issues Briefing featured insights from two Institute grantees who are also leading scholars on the causes of deadly ethnic violence: **Donald L. Horowitz**, Duke University, and **Ashutosh Varshney**, University of Michigan.

The what and why of communal violence around the world were addressed by Horowitz, who explained that it is characterized by: (1) a “lucid madness” gripping rioters who target selected victims, and (2) hostile relationships between ethnic groups, anger, a sense of insecurity, and rumors that spark ethnic violence. Horowitz indicated that individuals are more likely to participate in ethnic riots when they have:

- a sense of reduced personal risk
- a sense of personal justification for killing
- an intense emotional response to a recent event
- an obsessively hostile relationship with the other group

Varshney discussed civil society’s role in quelling the potential

See *Ethnic Riots*, page 10



Looking Through the Good Friday Fog

Though the process is slow, peace is building in Northern Ireland, says former Institute fellow and University of Ulster professor **Paul Arthur**. Arthur discussed the problems and prospects of the Good Friday Agreement of 1998 and the Northern Ireland peace process at a panel moderated by Institute fellow and Northern Ireland scholar **Marie Smyth** in December 2002. The other panelists were U.S. Department of State director of policy planning **Richard Haass** and Northern Ireland expert **Andy Pollak**.

Haass felt a “sense of opportunity” from his recent series of trips to Northern Ireland. He noted the continued commitment of both Northern Ireland and Great Britain to the peace process. The Bush administration plans to continue to press for full implementation of the Good Friday Agreement, as it does not see a viable alternative.

Haass says there are five important steps that must be taken:

- Elimination of all paramilitary capabilities and activities in Northern Ireland;

- More effective community policing programs and police reform;

See *Good Friday Fog*, page 10

What Future for Mugabe’s Zimbabwe?

Current inflation is at 300–400 percent, unemployment at more than 85 percent, and 50 percent of the population depends on foreign food aid. But such percentages cannot fully explain the impacts of the underlying political crisis in Zimbabwe. Four presentations at a January 29 Institute briefing examined options that might lead to a better future.

Chester Crocker, chairman of the Institute’s Board of Directors, moderated the panel.

Walter Kansteiner, U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs, lamented the unfulfilled promises of good governance, literacy, and reconciliation in Zimbabwe in the 1980s. The Zimbabwean government, said Kansteiner, “does not have a plan.” Kansteiner believes that the best option for U.S. policy and the international community for now is to continue with strong multilateral sanctions against Mugabe’s regime.

Zimbabwe’s ambassador to the United States, **Simbi Mubako**, outlined the country’s major challenges. Besides the scourge of HIV/AIDS that plagues all of southern Africa, food shortage is the most critical problem. Mubako called for attention to both longer-term food security and the current crisis, including increased food production in non-drought years, improved food storage capacity, decreased reliance on foreign food and grain, and expanded irrigation and dam construction. The current economic recession is sustained, he said, by

See *Zimbabwe*, page 11



Top: Marie Smyth, Andy Pollak, Richard Haass, and Paul Arthur.

Middle: Institute senior fellow Masipula Sithole.

Bottom: Walter Kansteiner and Zimbabwe ambassador to the U.S. Simbi Mubako.





Over the past several weeks, the Institute has provided a forum for different views on the evolving situation in Iraq.

IRAQ *in* focus

A Just War?

During the months leading up to the Gulf War in 1991, there was considerable discussion of whether an American attack to oust Iraqi forces from Kuwait would satisfy “just war” criteria. Much less discussion of this question has occurred in recent months as the United States considers an invasion of Iraq.

The Institute organized a symposium on December 17, 2002 to address the question “Would an Invasion of Iraq Be a Just War?” To debate this question, **Gerard Powers**, director of the Office of International Justice and Peace of the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops; **Robert Royal**, president of the Faith and Reason Institute; **George Hunsinger**, professor at Princeton Theological Seminary; and **Susan Thistlethwaite**, president of Chicago Theological Seminary, presented papers outlining their views. **David Smock**, director of the Institute’s Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, moderated the symposium.

“Christian just war doctrine” was developed by Saints Ambrose and Augustine and refined by Thomas Aquinas and others. The doctrine provided a middle road between the pacifism of the early church and unrestricted use of force in God’s service. Just war theory encompasses both the decision for war (*jus ad bellum*) and behavior during war (*jus in bello*).



Powers noted that the United States, in collaboration with others, has not only a moral right but a grave obligation to defend against mass terrorism and the threat Iraq poses. “But the difficult moral issue is not mostly about ends but about how to defend the common good against such threats,” he said.

Powers found the Bush administration’s concept of the doctrine of preemption disturbing. Rather than an option in exceptional cases, it is turning into a new doctrine about the legitimacy of unilateral action without clear, immi-

nent threats. He added that the U.S. Catholic bishops question the wisdom of unilateral action against Iraq.

Royal’s view is that 9/11 has rendered previous assessments obsolete. The wrong weapons in the wrong hands is a global threat. “We have to ask ourselves where in the contemporary world the most worrisome weapons of mass destruction are likely to come from. Baghdad is one such source,” he said. Royal is confident that American military planners can satisfy the principles of both *jus in bello* and *jus ad bellum*.

For Hunsinger, “Preemptive strikes must meet a high standard of justification. Otherwise, they are acts of aggression that violate international law.” Hunsinger also expressed doubts about the chances of a swiftly successful conclusion and noted that war would “wreak havoc on a civilian population already tortured by war and sanctions.”

Thistlethwaite found that clas-



to do—and what he is not doing right now. He is not meeting the terms of UN Security Council Resolution 1441.”

While many say a “smoking gun” has not been uncovered, Armitage remarked that “there is nothing but smoke.” If Iraq wanted to satisfy the disarmament mandate, it would be forthcoming with the truth, said Armitage, and not wait to have the information pulled from it.

The Bush administration sincerely hoped for a solution short of war, said Armitage. However, for 12 years, Hussein’s regime has acted with impunity and without regard to its own obligations to its own people or to international agreements. The people of Iraq have borne the burden of corruption, deception, and international sanctions. “The past is prologue,” said Armitage.

While there are differing opinions within the administration on how to proceed after weapons inspectors report their findings, Armitage saw little likelihood that Hussein and his associates would comply meekly, change their ways, or act to undo the damage of the last 12 years.

A French View

Two main powers from the European Union—France and Germany—also serve as principal powers on the UN Security Council and have actively opposed the Bush administration’s war plans.

Visiting the Institute on February 7, French ambassador **Jean-David Levitte** stressed three points: there is a history of friendship and mutual support between America and France; France does not exclude the use of force as an option should inspections of Iraqi weapons capacity lead to a dead end; and Europe is opposed to war with Iraq at this time and views al

Qaeda as a greater threat to European security than Iraq.

A UN View

The United Nations has three main areas of concern, said **Shashi Tharoor**, UN under secretary general for communication and public information, at an Institute meeting on February 13. These concerns are the displacement of people within Iraq and across its borders; the danger presented by weapons of mass destruction and landmines, including unexploded ordinance; and adherence by all parties to humanitarian law and principles. The United Nations can only act when asked, or mandated. This is one constraint on the UN’s planning for a war in Iraq. The other constraint is financial: only \$30 million of the \$120 million required by the UN agencies engaged in activities related to Iraq has been pledged, much less received. UN agencies will be involved in logistics, communication, and coordination mechanisms for getting access to people in need. While longer-term planning about the UN’s role in post-conflict situations is constrained by its role as a mandate-only organization, UN officials have learned from their experience in Kosovo about the requirements for short-term planning, and some preplanning is already taking place within the United Nations.

Saddam’s Lesser Known Victims

While the United States and its allies and detractors consider the number of weapons destroyed and the number of troops to be deployed, minority populations within Iraq suffer daily under the tyranny of Saddam Hussein’s regime. In this regard, the numbers are numbing: the Marsh Arabs, a society of 500,000 people, have lived in and around a once

See *Iraq*, page 11

Far left:
UN weapons inspectors face Iraqis in Baghdad in February.

Top to bottom:
Richard Armitage, Jean-David Levitte, and Shashi Tharoor.

sical just war theory carries “the force of history and the virtue of clarity” and that the doctrine does not allow for a first-strike attack. However, the “simplistic divisions of good and evil, religion and secularism, violence and non-violence, and us and them no longer hold.”

Varied Views

An America View

“This is not about America,” said assistant secretary of state **Richard Armitage** at a January 21 Institute briefing. “This is about Saddam Hussein—and what he is prepared



The Art of Dialogue

The Institute's "summit on the state of the art" yields the best practices for facilitating dialogues.

Top: Harold Saunders and Randa Slim.

Left: Howard Wolpe.

Right: Christopher Mitchell.



Facilitating a conversation aimed at building peace among belligerents is an art; it is a craft. Leading scholars and other experts shared the secrets of their craft at an Institute symposium in November.

"Conducting Dialogues for Peace: A Best Practices Symposium" was organized by the Institute's Professional Training Program and focused on building skills among groups involved in conflict, including the use of methods such as conflict analysis, problem-solving strategies, and facilitated dialogue. Case studies included conflict resolution in Tajikistan, interfaith dialogue in the Balkans, dialogue and analysis in Moldova, a regionally sponsored peace process in Burundi, and interethnic coexistence in Kosovo.

Christopher Mitchell of George Mason University summed up areas of consensus, highlighting some of the vital elements of facilitation brought to light by the group.

■ The *facilitation team* should be diverse and balanced in skills, approaches, personalities, and experience. Including members on the team with linguistic and subject area expertise is important. Facilitators must avoid the impression of bias in their relations among parties to conflict. However, this does not mandate that facilitators operate without

values, said **Howard Wolpe** of the Woodrow Wilson

Center and former special envoy to the Great Lakes Region of Africa. It means that they must be perceived as "honest brokers."

■ *Participants and location* must be carefully selected. Critical to success at all levels is the inclusion of stakeholders whose cooperation is needed for concrete implementation of any agreements reached. Many practitioners have tried to expand inclusiveness, particularly of women. However, inclusiveness is not an end in itself. **George Ward** of the Institute's Professional Training Program and **Daniel Serwer** of the Institute's Balkans Initiative emphasized that dialogues that include civil society, media representatives, and political leaders are helpful for holding politicians to the promises they make.

■ A critical set of issues involves *managing the process*. Sustained commitment to ongoing meetings is required for building trust and transforming previously hostile relationships. This was confirmed by **Harold Saunders** of the Kettering Foundation and **Randa M. Slim**, director of Slim and Associates. **Andrew Williams**, University of Kent, United Kingdom, warned that facilitators who attempt to dictate agendas and insist on goals disable the dialogue. Flexibility is imperative.

Participants in a dialogue often redefine their aims as processes evolve. Story-telling must be deftly moderated and often acts as a catharsis before analysis and problem-solving—and reconciliation—can begin.

■ Robust *follow-through* and institutionalization of agreements reached through dialogue are crucial. One example is to establish non-governmental organizations to sustain, expand, and implement results of dialogue. Another example, provided by **David Steele**, Center for Strategic and International Studies, involves training local staff to maintain connections among participants between meetings. Yet another example is to embed follow-up mechanisms into declarations of intent. This requires facilitators to monitor implementation.

■ **Ronald J. Fisher**, American University, stressed the need for practitioners to *catalogue and assess*—that is, to keep a record. This raw material will generate a more informed discussion among both practitioners and academics. Mitchell emphasized that improved coordination is necessary for documentation and sharing to occur. As the conflict resolution field expands, it is critical for practitioners to complement and build upon each other's work.



Senior fellow **DIPANKAR BAN-
NERJEE** published an article “On
the Prospects of a Second Gulf
War,” in *South Asia Politics* and
another on the “Costs of the Next
Gulf War” in the *Financial
Express* (Delhi, India).

On February 11 and 12, Virtual
Diplomacy Initiative co-directors
SHERYL BROWN and **MARGARITA
STUDEMEISTER** delivered presenta-
tions about concepts and case
studies related to the impact of
global connectivity on world poli-
tics to graduate students at two
local universities. The students
were enrolled in a international
negotiations course at the Elliott
School of International Affairs of
George Washington University,
and in a new course entitled
“Information Engagement and
National Power” at the National
Defense University.

TIM DOCKING, Research and
Studies program officer, testified
on February 12 before the House
of Representative’s International
Relations Subcommittee on
African Affairs about “Prospects
for Peace in Ivory Coast.” In
December, Docking presented a
paper, “International Influence on
Civil Society in Africa,” at the
annual meeting of the African
Studies Association, and con-
tributed to a roundtable discus-
sion on “Human Security and
Democracy: Assessing the Impact
of HIV/AIDS” at the National
Endowment for Democracy.

Research and Studies program
officer **MIKE DZIEDZIC** took part
in the International Institute for
Strategic Studies (London) con-
ference December 4–5 on four
strategies for a durable peace in
Kosovo. On January 27, Dziedzic
spoke to the Louisville (Ky.)
Committee on Foreign Relations
on “Building Durable Peace in
the Balkans: Have We Learned

Anything?” On January 30, the
mission implementation plan
Dziedzic prepared for the high
representative on Bosnia was
adopted by the Peace Implemen-
tation Council.

Training Program officers **TED
FEIFER** and **ANNE HENDERSON**
traveled to Tashkent, Uzbekistan
to conduct a negotiations and dip-
lomatic skills training for OSCE
staff. Feifer and Henderson
also led a civil society capacity-
building workshop with non-
governmental participants from
Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turk-
menistan, Kazakhstan, and
Kyrgyzstan.

DAVID SMOCK, director of the
Institute’s Religion and Peace-
making Initiative, traveled to
Israel and the West Bank in early
January to meet with religious
leaders and advance the imple-
mentation of the Alexandria Dec-
laration signed by religious leaders
from the Middle East a year ago
to promote peace.

Senior fellow **MARIE SMYTH** met
with the World Bank’s Sabine
Cornelius and later Ambassador
Richard Haass and other State
Department staff regarding
Northern Ireland in December.
Smyth traveled to Bogotá,
Colombia the first week of Febru-
ary to participate in a seminar at
the University of the Andes on
“Youth in Violently Divided Soci-
eties.”

Institute president **RICHARD
SOLOMON** spoke at the Institute
of Southeast Asian Studies’
regional Outlook Forum in Sin-
gapore on January 7. He provided
“The View from Washington” in
a session on “Asian Geostrategic
Trends.” Following the confer-
ence, Solomon traveled to India
and Pakistan to meet with senior
officials.

George Ward



Training program director
George Ward is being detailed
to the Department of State for a
period of four months to work
on the coordination of relief and
humanitarian assistance in the
Persian Gulf region. During his
absence, program officer **Ray
Caldwell** will be acting director
of the training program.

National Peace Foundation Awards

The National Peace Foundation, an
early supporter of the U.S. Institute of
Peace, presented its annual Peacemaker/
Peacebuilder Awards on December 4, 2002.

Institute president **Richard Solomon** presented
Pioneering Peacebuilder Awards to the late James
and Mariann Laue, the late Milton C. and Jane
Mapes, and Thomas C. Westropp. Their work in
launching the National Peace Academy Campaign
in 1976 led to the Congressional Commission on a
Peace Academy in 1982, the creation of the National
Peace Foundation, and ultimately to the establish-
ment of the Institute.

Betty F. Bumpers, a member of the Institute’s
Board of Directors and founder of Peace Links, was
honored, along with her Peace Links colleagues, with
a Peacebuilder Award for the organization’s 20 years
of creating citizen-to-citizen programs, working
against nuclear proliferation, and developing innova-
tive programs in American schools.



**Liberia: Epicenter of Conflict**

To shed light on the violent conflicts threatening West Africa, **Chester Crocker**, Africa specialist and chairman of the Institute's Board of Directors, moderated a December 9, 2002 panel on the role Liberia plays in the ongoing instability in the region. The panel included **Amos C. Sawyer**, former Liberian president; **William Bellamy**, principal deputy U.S. assistant secretary of state for African affairs; and **Ellen Johnson Sirleaf**, chair and CEO of Kormah Investment and Development Corporation and leader of the opposition Unity Party of Liberia.

Both Sawyer and Sirleaf referred to Taylor and his regime as a "cancer" infecting Liberia and the rest of West Africa. Both also agreed that Liberians must find the courage to stand up to Taylor, and west African leaders must condemn the criminal nature of his regime. Further, the Liberian diaspora must stop internal squabbling and unite behind the goal of ending Taylor's regime.

Bellamy added that the U.S. government is working to contain and ease the negative impact of the Taylor regime's behavior. He argued that the United States should continue its sanctions as they are just beginning to hurt the regime. Empowering democratic opposition, stopping human rights violations, and keeping natural resource revenues (from diamonds, for example) out of Taylor's hands are also imperative.



Top: Chester Crocker and Amos C. Sawyer.

Right: Ellen Johnson Sirleaf.

**Ethnic Riots**

continued from page 5

for violence. Indian communities in which there is little interaction among members of different ethnic groups are most likely to engage in ethnic violence. Those with strong interethnic institutions have stronger personal and professional bonds among individuals in different ethnic groups and provide important informal channels of interethnic communication that can prevent or reduce violence. While formal organized social structures—such as professional associations or unions—

tend to be more helpful, informal or neighborhood-level associations—such as book or sport clubs—also can increase interaction among individuals across ethnic lines. Varshney stressed that interethnic civil society associations do not naturally occur in societies with rigid ethnic divisions and must be actively built by those seeking to prevent communal violence. While ethnic conflict cannot be completely eradicated, said Varshney, civil society tools can help reduce or prevent ethnic violence.

Good Friday Fog

continued from page 5

- Demilitarization of the British presence as part of the process of normalizing relations;
- Strengthening of institutions and activities in support of human rights; and
- Restoration of local power-sharing institutions.

Arthur said that comments by both nationalist and unionist leaders prove that mindsets are changing on both sides. He emphasized that maintaining U.S. leverage in the coming months is crucial and cautioned all parties involved to expect "compromise and frustration" as the process continues.

Pollak said that several tough questions still need to be answered. These center largely on arms decommissioning by the Irish Republican Army and the response of the British and Irish nationalists to decommissioning. For example, should decommissioning be linked to restoration of local governance institutions recently suspended by the British government? Finally, is there still a future for Irish unity or will unionists successfully use the Good Friday Agreement to bring Northern Ireland into the United Kingdom fold?

In closing, Pollak noted that trust building among conflicting parties is a key aspect in fulfilling the Good Friday Agreement. The increasing quantity and quality of cooperation between Northern and Southern Ireland is an underappreciated side effect of the agreement. "For the first time in nearly a century, significant numbers of people, including northern unionists, are meeting to talk, listen, and ultimately work together across the Irish border," said Pollak.

Zimbabwe

continued from page 5

the diplomatic stand-off with—and economic sanctions imposed by—the West. Mubako called on leaders of major Zimbabwean political factions to enter immediate talks to ensure political stability. He encouraged the international community to pledge support to the results of such talks, no matter the outcome.

Harvard Africa scholar **Robert Rotberg** called Zimbabwe's situation "one of the main paralyzing questions about Africa." Rotberg said that the Mugabe regime is essentially starving its own people. He outlined the regional implications of Zimbabwe's problems and expressed concern about a growing refugee problem. Rotberg feels that South Africa should take a greater leadership role to fend off a regional crisis.

Institute fellow and Zimbabwean professor **Masipula Sithole** charged the Mugabe government with failing to take care of its own people. Regime change is critical, he said. Sithole suggested moving the presidential elections from 2008 to 2005—to coincide with parliamentary elections—and soliciting a pledge from Mugabe to not run again. Sithole thinks the military might be convinced to support this option and thus avoid further civil unrest. Sithole is optimistic about appealing to Mugabe's better nature, positing that "he did love [the people of Zimbabwe] once and in the national interest he can love them again."

Iraq

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12,000-square-mile freshwater wetland ecosystem for some 5,000 years. Up to 80 percent of Iraq's potential oil wealth is in this area. By now, however, most of the Marsh Arabs—or Madan—have

left the area. Only a few thousand remain.

On November 14, the Institute hosted a Current Issues Briefing to examine the effect of Hussein's policies on the Madan; the environmental and humanitarian consequences of the draining of the marshland; and how international laws on water rights apply to the Madan people. Moderated by **Richard Kauzlarich**, director of the Institute's Special Initiative on the Muslim World, the discussion featured **Emma Nicholson**, member of the European Parliament and its special rapporteur for Iraq; AMAR International Charitable Foundation CEO **Peter Clark**;

Joseph Dellapenna of the Villanova University Law School; and **James Brasington** of the University of Cambridge's Department of Geography. Together they have produced a book, *The Iraqi Marshlands: A Human and Environmental Study*.

Researchers have concluded that the destruction of the marshlands had no economic or developmental purpose, but rather was carried out with the singular purpose of destroying the Marsh Arab people in response to their opposition to Hussein's regime. If so, it was a perversely successful venture that destroyed a region, a people, and a way of life.



Macedonia Today and Tomorrow

Macedonian foreign minister **Ilinka Mitreva** visited the Institute to present "Macedonia's View of the Future" on December 9. Mitreva stressed that Balkan stability, prosperity, and regional cooperation rank high on the Macedonian agenda, particularly in moving towards membership in NATO and the European Union. She described two trilateral efforts involving the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia and Bulgaria in one case and Albania and Croatia in another.

These activities send a political message, averred Mitreva, that cooperation among the Balkan states at this time is not externally stimulated, and that the political leadership understands that cooperation is necessary to build democratic and open societies.

With defense sector reform underway and continued activities planned to enhance regional security, Macedonia will be ready to join NATO in 2006, she said. EU membership will follow later using a similar strategy. "The journey will not only be easier and faster, but far more pleasant if we travel together," said Mitreva.

Training Online

The Institute's Training Program, at the request of the U.S. Department of State, has developed an online course to train American candidates for positions with the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)—specifically the Rapid Expert Assistance and Cooperation Teams (REACT).

The Institute's online course is designed to provide candidates with essential information on the structure and functions of the OSCE, as well as knowledge of key skills used in conflict management. The online course contains some 32 hours of content, including country-specific studies where the OSCE currently has field missions.

The project manager for the course is **Ted Feifer**, a program officer with the Institute's Training Program. He has conducted training programs for OSCE staff in Sarajevo, Vienna, Tblisi, and Tashkent. Ted noted that this online pre-deployment training program is unique among OSCE participating states, and will undoubtedly become a resource for many of them. The public can access the course at <http://react.usip.org>.

Short Takes

Recent Publications

The following Institute publications are available free of charge. Write to the Institute's Office of Public Outreach, call 202-429-3832, or download them from our web site at www.usip.org.

- *After Saddam Hussein: Winning a Peace If It Comes to War*, by Ray Salvatore Jennings (Special Report 102, February 2003)
- *Contributions to the Study of Peacemaking, 1996–2001*, by Anne-Marie Smith (Volume 7, February 2003)
- *Lethal Ethnic Riots: Lessons from India and Beyond* (Special Report 101, February 2003)
- *Kosovo Decision Time* (Special Report 100, February 2003)
- *Building Interreligious Trust in a Climate of Fear* (Special Report 99, February 2003)
- *Would an Invasion of Iraq Be a "Just War"?* (Special Report 98, January 2003)
- *Lawless Rule Versus Rule of Law in the Balkans* (Special Report 97, December 2002)
- *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)
- *Putting Peace into Practice: Can Macedonia's New Government Meet the Challenge?* by Brenda Pearson (Special Report 96, November 2002)
- *Simulating Kosovo: Lessons for Final Status Negotiation* (Special Report 95, November 2002)
- *U.S. Negotiating Behavior* (Special Report 94, October 2002)
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