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The Human Rights Agenda

The U.S. Institute of Peace has launched a new initiative on Human Rights Implementation, which is assessing the most effective ways to promote human rights abroad.

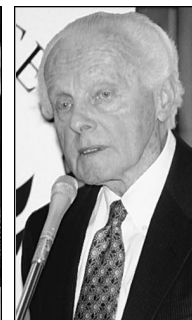
Today there is a realistic, hard-headed argument to be made that human rights are closely linked to national security interests. "Governments that treat their people humanely are much less likely to be international troublemakers," notes **Richard H. Solomon**, president of the U.S. Institute of Peace.

And yet—although we want to stop violent human rights abuses immediately—we need to recognize that fundamental changes in the practices and institutions of a country can take considerable time to bring about, he says. For example, in Kosovo recently the United States, Canada, and Europe agreed to take immediate action to stop the killing of ethnic Albanians there. The ethnic cleansing of Albanians not only violated international human rights laws, but also threatened the long-term security and stability of Europe. Now that NATO has put an end to the large-scale human rights violations, the more

complex and challenging task of institutional reform lies ahead.

Human rights are a relative newcomer to the U.S. foreign policy agenda. Indeed, it is only within the last 20 years that they have risen to some prominence—beginning with the Carter administration. Solomon discussed the evolution of U.S. human rights policy at the day-long inaugural meeting on "Promoting Human Rights in the Pursuit of Peace: Assessing 20 Years of U.S. Human Rights Policy," which was held on Capitol Hill on March 17.

The meeting launched the
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Clockwise: Rep. John Porter, Harold Hongju Koh, Rep. Tom Lantos, Susan Keogh and Bette Bao Lord, and Richard Solomon and Rep. Nancy Pelosi.

Human Rights

Continued from page 1

Institute's new initiative on Human Rights Implementation, headed by **Patrick Cronin**, director of the Research and Studies Program, and program officer **Debra Liang-Fenton**. The project is exploring the challenges to effective policy and assessing how the United States can improve its record of human rights promotion and protection in every region of the world, including the Balkans.

Harold Hongju Koh, assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights, and labor, gave the keynote address. U.S. representatives **Nancy Pelosi** and **Tom Lantos** of California and **John Porter** of Illinois initiated the day-long session. Lantos and Porter are founders and co-chairs

of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, which brings human rights issues to the attention of Congress.

Featured seminar speakers included human rights officials from the Carter, Reagan, and Bush administrations who discussed human rights policy during their terms of government service. The roundtable comprised over 40 leaders in the human rights community, academics, and policymakers. **Paula Dobriansky**, Washington director of the Council on Foreign Relations, moderated the meeting. The Institute has published a Special Report on the meeting, *U.S. Human Rights Policy: A 20-Year Assessment*.

Rep. Porter explained that the 200-member Congressional Human Rights Caucus, founded in 1983, "shines the light of day" on human rights violations, which is important for stopping abuses against innocent citizens because the heads of repressive regimes like to operate in secret. "We have enormous power to embarrass," Lantos concurred. "There is a great need to continuously educate people about the moral principle that 'we are our brothers' and sisters' keepers."

Future of Human Rights

In the next century, U.S. policymakers seeking to promote a human rights agenda will be confronted with many challenges such as commercial interests, the very complex problem of collapsed states and internal conflicts, and globalization, said **Pauline Baker** of Georgetown University.

Panelist **Roberta Cohen** of the Brookings Institution noted that economic and social rights are increasingly recognized as an important aspect of human rights. In some quarters, governments

are now held responsible for providing minimum levels of food, shelter, and health care instead of spending government funds on arms, for example. "Economic and social rights enhance civil and political freedoms and help provide the basis for a more effective democracy," she argued.

Still, no individual right—social, economic, civil, or political—is more important than another, said **T. Kumar** of Amnesty International.

Rep. Pelosi in her opening remarks stressed that a human rights agenda reflects the values of the American people. Nevertheless, policymakers often use human rights issues to their advantage when it suits them, but disregard human rights when competing interests, such as trade in the case of China, become more important, she said.

Discussant **Charles Fairbanks**, deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights under President Reagan, noted that some hypocrisy is inevitable in our human rights policy because strong bureaucratic forces within each administration will protect some interests over others. Panelist **James Bishop**, former deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights in the Bush administration, concurred. "In the foreign policy of no country, including the Vatican, are human rights always paramount," he said.

Previous Administrations

Cohen, who was deputy assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs in the Carter administration, explained that human rights became a foreign policy issue in the United States in the aftermath of the Vietnam War, when the public began to question U.S. policy abroad. Congress created a human rights office in the State



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Department, which was required to produce annual reports on the status of human rights in various countries.

The new emphasis on human rights represented a series of assumptions: the United States had a right and responsibility under international law to promote human rights; human rights can be pursued without jeopardizing other foreign policy goals; and U.S. efforts on behalf of human rights will help expand democracy and freedom abroad, while in the process enhancing our own freedom, well being, and security.

Elliott Abrams, assistant secretary for human rights and humanitarian affairs under President Reagan, noted that the Reagan administration implemented “a Republican human rights policy.” That policy stipulated that it was less useful to protest abuses than to build democratic institutions that would help bring about a regime supportive of human rights.

Bishop noted that one of the Bush administration’s most significant activities was to collect evidence of human rights abuses in Bosnia from victims. That work formed the evidentiary base now being used by the International War Crimes Tribunal at The Hague, he said. Assistant Secretary Koh noted that it is important to link women’s rights issues to the broader human rights agenda. Women’s rights and human rights standards are being promoted widely today, in part thanks to the Internet.

The first State Department human rights report, published in 1979, was 137 pages and covered 82 countries. The 1998 report, published in February, was over 5,000 pages, and dealt with 194 countries. It was put on the World Wide Web immediately

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Opening the Stasi Files

People living under totalitarian rule are taught that if they want to survive, they must learn to live in fear and be obedient. In the former communist East Germany, the teacher of those harsh lessons was the Ministry for State Security—Stasi for short. Today, we know how the Stasi conducted its debilitating system of social control, thanks to the efforts of East German citizens who took control of the Stasi headquarters in 1990 to protect more than 100 miles of file cabinets stored there.

The Stasi spied on one of every four East Germans, amassing a huge system of dossiers, some of them tens of thousands of pages long, says **Joachim Gauck**, Germany’s federal commissioner for the Stasi files. The commission, which is helping Germany to manage the legacy of communist repression and the challenge of national reconciliation, has 14 regional offices and some 3,000 employees. Gauck discussed the commission’s work at the U.S. Institute of Peace on April 27.

Out of a population of 17 million East Germans, the state police employed some 90,000 people full time and had a network of 150,000–175,000 informants, Gauck said. By comparison, the Nazi regime’s Gestapo employed 30,000 for a population of 80 million Germans. Indeed, the state police in East Germany were masters of social control, who employed a powerful network of spies to convince people that the state already knew everything about them “and they had better behave,” Gauck said.

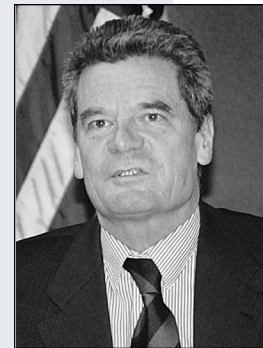
Today, anyone in Germany can request access to his or her files, in a process that is carefully regulated by legislation to protect the details of people’s personal lives from public exposure. The legislation gives researchers and publishers more limited access to the files.

“Some people spent years in prison and do not know who betrayed them,” Gauck said. “They come to us and calmly read their files,” which identify the informants.

German law establishing the commission stipulates that one of its main goals is to educate the public about how the Stasi operated by holding a variety of conferences, exhibitions, and related efforts.

“Opening the files must be seen as a step toward freedom itself, a necessary step, not some optional luxury,” Gauck said. To finally banish dictatorship, people must understand how dictatorship worked to render them powerless.

“Under totalitarianism people don’t want to know the facts, because it’s more important to know the opinions of the rulers than to know reality, so step by step the importance of factual truth is eroded and lost,” Gauck said. People tend to remember the past in a selective way, he concluded. “People prefer to remember nice things from bad times.” The Stasi files serve to remind former East Germans of how bad the bad times really were, and how important it is to prevent such activities in the future.



“People prefer to remember nice things from bad times,” says Joachim Gauck. The Stasi files serve to remind former East Germans of how bad the bad times really were, and how important it is to prevent such activities in the future.

NATO Transformed

NATO at 50 faces new challenges,
new choices.

“NATO Transformed is a marvelous, excellent book. It is not only useful for those of us concerned about policy, but for those of us who teach, it is going to be one of the most valuable books that has been produced on this subject.”
—John Roper

As NATO marked its 50th anniversary, experts on the alliance explored a broad range of questions about its future, including: Will NATO continue to enlarge? On what basis will it decide when and how? Is NATO prepared to deal with the threat of weapons of mass destruction? How global should it become? Is NATO’s new concern with collective security compatible with its founding mission of collective defense?

Questions such as these—as well as NATO’s recent intervention in the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia—underscore how fundamentally the character of the alliance has changed in recent years, notes **David Yost**, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace in 1997–98. The fundamental question is, Yost says, “What is NATO for?”

During the Cold War, NATO’s commitment to the collective defense of its member countries was paramount, Yost says. Since the collapse of the Soviet Union and of the Warsaw Pact—even though NATO remains committed to collective defense—the alliance has selectively intervened to protect its broader international security interests and collective values, as in Bosnia and Kosovo.

Yost discussed the impact of this change on NATO’s collective

defense capacity and related issues at an Institute Current Issues Briefing on March 30. The event was held on the occasion of the Institute Press’s recent publication of his book, *NATO Transformed: The Alliance’s New Roles in International Security*, which explores these issues in depth.

Yost, who teaches at the Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, was joined in a panel discussion by three other NATO experts: **Hans Binnendijk**, director of the Institute for National Strategic Studies at the National Defense University; Institute senior fellow **Andrew Pierre**, former director-general of the Atlantic Institute for International Affairs in Paris; and **John Roper** of the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London. Institute executive vice president **Harriet Hentges** moderated the event.

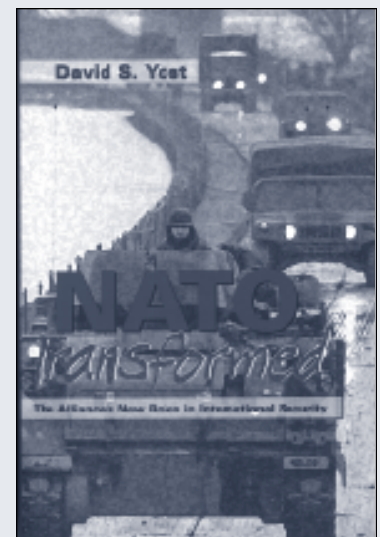
Pierre said that NATO should create “coalitions of the willing” as needed that would act on a case-by-case basis, but only in the Euro-Atlantic area and its periphery, not globally. Coalitions of the

willing might include non-NATO countries, including some belonging to the Partnership for Peace (PFP). The PFP comprises 27 non-NATO countries—including all the former Soviet republics except Tajikistan—that cooperate with NATO in various activities such as military exercises for peacekeeping operations. Binnendijk added that NATO is more focused now on operationalizing the PFP than on continuing a program of enlargement (after admitting three new members this spring: the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Poland). Also, he said that NATO is eager to see Europe increase its military capabilities, as was recently proposed by the European Union.

However, Roper noted, it’s not yet clear what role a beefed-up European military should play in the world. He concluded that the recent successful cooperation among 19 NATO countries in Yugoslavia demonstrated that “NATO is a mechanism that works.”

Cover Design Award for NATO Book

The U.S. Institute of Peace Press won a third-place prize for the cover of *NATO Transformed: The Alliance’s New Roles in International Security* at the Washington Book Publishers annual book design and effectiveness competition in May. The cover, designed by Institute graphic designer **Marie Marr**, was selected from a field of 150 submissions from some 40 publishers in the region. Institute editor **Peter Pavilionis** edited the book, written by former Institute senior fellow **David Yost**.



Managing Information Chaos

Credibility and trust are the keys to power in the new information age, which has flooded us with information that is often inaccurate, unreliable, or simply irrelevant.

The new information age brings with it a new source of political influence based on trust and the credibility of information provided, experts say.

The ability to use information—whether true or false—to persuade people to take action has been termed “soft power.” Soft power stands in contrast to, and sometimes complements, the more familiar instruments of “hard power”—coercive approaches using military or economic assets to pressure people to do what they otherwise would not do.

That said, soft power, like hard power, has political potency and is capable of undermining regimes.

For example, notes U.S. Institute of Peace president **Richard H. Solomon**, “look at how the students in Indonesia—scattered throughout an archipelago of thousands of islands—coordinated their protests against the Suharto regime over the Internet and ultimately brought it down. This new technology is transforming the way groups and societies engage in political action at an unbelievable rate of speed.”

Anyone can access these technologies and send messages in “real time”—while an event is unfolding, Solomon says. Such features have complicated the decision-making processes among international affairs practitioners and policymakers and made it almost impossible to distinguish valuable information from a barrage of questionable information.

Solomon discussed the spread of new information technologies and the consequent revolution in diplomatic affairs at a U.S. Institute of Peace conference on “Managing Information Chaos,” held on March 12. The event, organized by **Sheryl Brown**, director of the Office of Communications, and **Margarita Studemeister**, director of the Institute’s library program, was part of the Institute’s Virtual Diplomacy initiative, begun in 1996. The initiative is assessing the impact of the information revolution on international affairs.

Conference panelists included **Peter Ballantyne** of OneWorld Europe, **Nik Gowing** of BBC World Television, **Robert Keohane** of Duke University, and **Thomas Pickering**, the State Department’s under secretary of state for political affairs. **Ralph Begleiter** of CNN moderated the event, which was webcast simultaneously and for the following 90 days from the Institute’s web site (www.usip.org). The presentations by Gowing and Ballantyne have been posted on the web site.

The Institute also organized two panel discussions on Virtual Diplomacy at the recent International Studies Association (ISA) conference. Panelists included **James Rosenau**, **David Ronfeldt** and **John Arquilla**, **Martin Libicki**, and **Gordon Smith**, as well as practitioners in the field.

Attention is the Scarce Resource

At the “Managing Information Chaos” conference, Keohane noted that while in the past the ability to transmit information was the scarce resource, today the time we have to pay attention to the information has become the scarce resource. Thus, “those who can distinguish valuable signals from white noise gain power and influence. Credibility is the crucial resource. Political struggles in the future will focus . . . on the creation and destruction of credibility.” The audiences for credibility will be those who would pay a cost for believing erroneous information, such as financial markets and political and military organizations.

Gowing said that news reports, like any other effort to keep the public informed, are increasingly subject to disinformation and rumors, with competitive pressures giving reporters little time to verify information or to get or give perspective on what certain information might mean. That problem is exacerbated in the West by “assumptions of superior technology, complacency, and arrogance,” Gowing said.

Begleiter noted that people erroneously assume that if a television report is live, if it’s “happening now . . . from somewhere where dreadful things are

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Despite severe economic losses due to the recent wars—first in Croatia and Bosnia, then in Yugoslavia—new Balkan democracies hope to lead the region.

New Balkan Democracies Seek Security, Stability, Pluralism

The new democracies of southeastern Europe are aware of their regional responsibilities, as well as their vulnerabilities, and are determined to bring order to their own house, says **Petar Stoyanov**, president of Bulgaria. Due to the recent wars, his country and other struggling democracies in the region are reeling from severe economic losses including faltering regional trade, zero investment, and a large influx of refugees. The support of the international community is critical at this time for these countries to continue on their course of democratization and to help lead the region toward a more secure, pluralistic future.

Stoyanov delivered the keynote address at a U.S. Institute of Peace conference on April 23 entitled “Crisis or Stability in the Balkans: Regional Perspectives.” Albanian president **Rexhep Meidani** followed Stoyanov with a discussion of the regional crisis and its impact on his country. The symposium also featured talks by the foreign ministers of Albania, Bosnia, Bulgaria, Croatia, and Romania, and other regional experts and representatives of nongovernmental organizations.

The symposium was organized by the Institute’s Balkans initiative, then headed by executive vice president **Harriet Hentges**. (The Institute recently appointed former senior fellow **Daniel Serwer**, a noted Balkans expert, to lead the initiative.)

The conference was the Institute’s second major meeting on the Balkans, following a February 1998 event that focused on regional cooperation. In his opening remarks at the recent conference, Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** praised the new Balkan democracies for the great strides they have made domestically “under determined and gutsy leadership,” despite the adverse impact of nearby wars. However, he added, it will take the work of an entire generation to create the broader institutional framework necessary to ensure peace and stability in the region, as well as the support of the Western democracies.

Challenges and Cautions

Today in Serbia, criminals are in power, said **Sonja Biserko**, a Serbian member of the Helsinki Committee in Stockholm. “The people . . . have been living in a state of collective denial for years.” The recent assassination of journalist Slavko Curuvija, who protested the government’s policies in Kosovo, sent “a warning to all democratically minded individuals, but it also warns against any rebellion from Milosevic’s inner circle,” she said. Further, many of the best and brightest young people have left the country to avoid the draft and to escape the wartime conditions, which has caused a serious brain drain that will hinder future efforts to bring about positive change in the country.

Meanwhile, democratic forces in the region are struggling to maintain their credibility in the face of severe economic hardship and confusion among the public over NATO’s bombing of Yugoslavia. Tens of millions of dollars were lost every week in Romania alone due to the war in Yugoslavia, said **Andrei Plesu**, Romania’s minister of foreign affairs. The war in Yugoslavia also put at risk the credibility of the democratic leaders in the region, who uniformly backed NATO’s air campaign against Yugoslavia, he and others said.

NATO made no effort to explain the rationale for the bombing to the people in the Balkans, who saw a daily barrage of propaganda broadcast in the region by state-controlled Serbian television under the direction of Milosevic. In addition to one-sided distortions of what was happening in Kosovo, the broadcasts showed tragic scenes of Serbs injured or dead and their homes, bridges, and hospitals



destroyed by NATO bombing. These images “created a huge amount of sentimental feeling for the people of Serbia,” Plesu said. “And it created doubts about NATO and the role played by the United States.”

Ivan Krastev, chair of Bulgaria’s Center for Liberal Strategies, stressed that the West has to provide the people of the region with a vision of what they can hope for after Milosevic resigns or is removed from office, and of the help they can expect from the West to achieve this vision.

Conference participants stressed that popular support for the principles and practices of pluralistic government may weaken in hard times without some promise of alleviation from the West. “Democracy should be tempting,” Plesu said.

Genç Ruli, founder and chair of the Democratic Party of Albania, said that the people of the region have only a shallow understanding of the relationship between the principles of democracy, economics, and freedom. The region also lacks the foundations on which to build democratic life based on modern political parties and concepts about their role in the modern political state.

The international community needs to identify and work with the forces of normalization and develop a clear-cut program to help the region democratize, said **Zlatko Lagumdžija**, president of the Social Democratic Party of Bosnia-Herzegovina and a member of Bosnia’s parliament.

Milosevic wants to get rid of the democratically elected government in Montenegro, which with Serbia comprises the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, warned **Zorica Maric**, adviser to Montenegro’s president Milo Djukanovic. Others cautioned that the loss of a democratic Montenegro would undermine any hopes of establishing democracy in Serbia in the near future and be a blow to pro-democracy forces throughout the region.

The only hope for minority populations in the region is the creation of multiethnic societies, Meidani said. Albanians in particular live scattered throughout various countries in the region, and their well-being depends on pluralistic policies, not on “some rumored creation of a ‘greater Albania,’” he said. The wars of ethnic cleansing have been “a conflict between the past and the future,” Meidani concluded. “I predict that the future will win.”



Clockwise:
President Petar Stoyanov of Bulgaria; Sonja Biserko of Serbia; Zorica Maric of Montenegro; Zlatko Lagumdžija of Bosnia-Herzegovina; Mate Granic and Branko Baricevic of Croatia; and President Rexhep Meidani of Albania.

InstitutePeople

PAMELA AALL, director of the Education Program, discussed the role of the practitioner in the classroom at a symposium on “Conflict Resolution in a Changing World: New Approaches to Learning and Practice” held at the University of Denver on May 4–5. Institute grantee John Paul Lederach of Eastern Mennonite University was the keynote speaker, and grantees Guy and Heidi Burgess of the University of Colorado at Boulder also participated. The symposium was organized by

former Institute staff member Timothy Sisk.

JON ALTERMAN, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, gave two lectures on the Arab media at the University of Washington on May 26–27. He discussed Iraq with a group from Congressional Close Up on April 22 and participated on a panel discussing “Israel and the Arabs: Between Peace and War” at the Secretary of State’s Open Forum on March 24.

PATRICK CRONIN, director of the Research and Studies Program, co-edited with Michael Green *The U.S.-Japan Alliance: Past, Present and Future*, published by the Council on Foreign Relations in May. Cronin served as discussant of “Kim Dae Jung’s Sunshine Policy” on May 17 at a conference co-sponsored by the Georgetown University School of Foreign Service and the Yonsei University Institute of Korean Unification Studies. On April 30, Cronin was the guest speaker at the Council on Foreign Relations roundtable series “America Eyes China and Japan.” His topic was “Squaring the Isosceles Triangle: Approaches to Maintaining America’s Alliance with Japan while Engaging China.”

WILLIAM DRENNAN, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, discussed the security situation on the Korean Peninsula with students from 40 universities from the United States and abroad. The students were taking part in American University’s Washington Seminar Program, a semester-long course of study designed to expose the students to the policy process in Washington.

Executive vice president **HARRIET HENTGES** discussed the Institute’s work in Bosnia and the Balkans on May 13 at the U.S. State Department’s Open Forum and on May 26 at the 51st Annual Conference of the National Association of Foreign Student Associations: Association of International Educators, held in Denver.

DAVID LITTLE, senior scholar in religion, ethics, and human rights,

Managing Information Chaos

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happening, like Goma in Central Africa, that it is . . . reliable information.” Panelists agreed that news organizations have a responsibility to put reports in context and to notify their audience that some of their information has not been verified, when that is the case.

Ballantyne described the OneWorld website as an outlet for information on issues of interest to about 400 like-minded organizations. The supersite provides in-depth news and reports on sustainable development and human rights issues, which are often “too difficult to explain on television,” Ballantyne said.

Pickering praised information technologies for helping to manage crises, in part through new web sites such as ReliefWeb, which links United Nations organizations with nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), national

governments, and others working on humanitarian emergencies to share information. The Global Disaster Information Network, currently in the concept stage, would pool remote sensing data to update relief officials during natural disasters. However, in diplomacy, Pickering concluded, a profession in which credibility and integrity are paramount, “there is no substitute for the face-to-face human relationship.”

Human Rights

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and received 130,000 hits in the first few days.

“Governments all over the world now speak the language of human rights—including the government of China—even if they do not honor them in practice,” Koh said. “In the future, the real divide among nations will be . . . between the nations that do and do not respect fundamental principles of democracy and human rights.”



has been appointed the Dunphy professor of religion, ethnicity, and international conflict at Harvard Divinity School. He recently received two awards: an honorary Doctor of Humane Letters from Elizabethtown College in Pennsylvania, and the Foreign Service Institute award for excellence in political education.

KATE MCCANN, program assistant in religion, ethics, and human rights, discussed the interface of history, memory, and religion in conflict situations and reconciliation efforts—with a focus on Northern Ireland and Bosnia-Herzegovina—for the Close Up Foundation on April 8.

DEEPA OLLAPALLY, program officer in the Grant Program, lectured on “Domestic Political Trends in Pakistan and Their Implications for Indo-Pakistani Relations” in May to a group of Army officers in training at Fort Bragg for civil affairs work in South Asia.

DAVID SMOCK, director of the Grant Program, represented the Institute of Peace at a meeting entitled “International Consultation on the West African Moratorium on Small Arms” organized by the Henry Dunant Center for Humanitarian Dialogue and UNDP at a meeting in Geneva on May 4–5.

WILLIAM STEUBNER, adviser on reconciliation in Bosnia and Herzegovina in the Rule of Law Program, spoke on two panels at The Hague Appeal for Peace Conference in May, discussing truth commissions and a proposal to establish a training institute for war crimes investigators.

TRAINING PROGRAM *for* ASEAN REGIONAL FORUM



About 40 representatives of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum (ARF) participated in a career-enhancement seminar on multilateralism, offered by the Training Program of the U.S. Institute of Peace and the government of Brunei Darussalam April 19–23 in Washington, D.C.

ASEAN established the regional forum in 1992 to broaden cooperative ties with states in the Asia-Pacific region.

The workshop, which was undertaken at the request of the U.S. Department of State, explored the dynamics of multilateral diplomacy, regional security, and civil-military relations within an ARF context. Seminar participants—representing 23 Asian and Pacific countries and the European Union—participated in discussions on various aspects of multilateral relations. They also visited the Organization of American States to examine how another regional organization handles security issues, and engaged in a simulation exercise that focused on a crisis in a fictional country in the Pacific region and was designed to strengthen coalition building and negotiation skills.

The board of directors recently approved the following solicited grants.

Bosnia and the Balkans

AMERICAN BAR ASSOCIATION-FUND FOR JUSTICE AND EDUCATION, Washington, D.C. Establish a training institute to raise the level of professionalism of judges in Bosnia as a step toward a strong and independent judicial system. Nicolas Mansfield. \$39,953.

BENNET, CHRISTOPHER, Brussels, Belgium. Examine the evolution of Bosnian society, the possibilities of reconstructing multi-ethnicity, and the steps necessary to preserve Bosnia as a unified state. \$30,000.

CENTER FOR RELIGIOUS DIALOGUE (CRD), Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Train local leadership in Bosnia and Herzegovina to help widen the network of religious people to facilitate civil society initiatives, conflict resolution, and reconciliation efforts. David Steele and Ujekoslav Saje. \$40,000.

GROUP MOST CAA, BELGRADE, Yugoslavia. Conduct peace studies training and education in Belgrade for students of diverse ethnic backgrounds, and offer research and internship opportunities. Tunde Kovac-Cerovic. \$35,000.

INSTITUTE FOR RESOURCE AND SECURITY STUDIES, Cambridge, Mass. Provide training workshops for health professionals of the former Yugoslavia that address the integration of conflict management with the delivery of health care, as well as the role of health professionals in reconciliation. Paula Gutlove. \$20,000.

ITHACA COLLEGE, Ithaca, N.Y. Examine the link between ethnicity and violent conflict in Bosnia, and identify institutional structures and policies that encourage peace and stability. Valere P. Gagnon, Jr. \$30,000.

MEMORIAL HALL ASSOCIATION, Ft. Leavenworth, Kans. Assess the experience of U.S. Army peacekeepers in Bosnia since 1996 and the applicability to other peacekeeping operations. Robert F. Baumann and Walter E. Kretchik. \$17,125.

PROTECTOR, Bosnia and Herzegovina. Educate young people in Bosnia and

Herzegovina about positive events and instances of multi-ethnic tolerance during and after the war; establish youth groups; provide training to explore real-world situations of cooperation; help participants develop their own stories. Jezdimir Milosevic. \$30,000.

The Middle East

ATLANTIC COUNCIL OF THE U.S., Washington, D.C. Research and compile U.S. laws, regulations, and policies that govern U.S. relations with Iran to provide a basis for dialogue and workshops on U.S.-Iran relations. Richard Nelson. \$20,000.

CONFLICT MANAGEMENT GROUP, Cambridge, Mass. Convene key figures from the Greek and Turkish Cypriot communities, Greece, and Turkey to develop new approaches to overcoming obstacles to negotiation in the Cyprus conflict. The resulting report will suggest specific unilateral and joint actions toward breaking the deadlock. Diana Chigas. \$30,000.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C. Explore how the Internet can advance democratization and help diminish conflict in the Middle East by examining characteristics and network experiences of early adopters in Egypt, Jordan, Saudi Arabia, and Syria. Michael Hudson. \$40,000.

GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C. Examine the prospects for democratic development in the West Bank and Gaza Strip, focusing on three spheres: law, education, and elections. Nathan Brown. \$40,000.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY, Baton Rouge, La. Examine the evolving Iranian model of Islamic government, with a focus on the internal dynamics that have affected the government's policies, performance, and ability to achieve its stated goals. Mark J. Gasiorowski. \$35,000.

NIXON CENTER, Washington, D.C. Establish a research and workshop program to examine Iran's putative nuclear weapons program and to explore approaches to encouraging Iran's adherence to the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty. Geoffrey Kemp. \$40,000.

TEL AVIV UNIVERSITY, Tel Aviv, Israel. Establish a joint Israeli-Palestinian research project to explore how cooperation on water issues by the

Palestinian Water Authority and the Israeli Water Commission can advance the peace process in the Middle East. Develop a curriculum for both Israeli and Palestinian students that addresses sustainable water development policies in the West Bank. Erika Weinthal, Amer Marei Sawalha. \$33,000.

Training in Conflict Management

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Mass. Continue support for a seminar for 30 key members of the Ukrainian national security community with U.S. specialists to assess Ukraine's civil-military relations, power sharing, accountability, and civilian control of the policy-making process. Ernest R. May. \$25,000.

ISRAEL-PALESTINE EDUCATIONAL CENTER AT KEREM SHALOM, Jerusalem, Israel. Establish a joint Israeli-Palestinian education and training program to introduce the study of democracy and conflict resolution to high school students and teachers in Israeli and Palestinian schools. Yael Agmon, Leah Tobias. \$35,000.

PARTNERS FOR DEMOCRATIC CHANGE, San Francisco, Calif. Conduct a training program in curriculum development to enable faculty from universities in Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan to introduce new courses on conflict management. Raymond Shonholtz. \$33,000.

PSYCHOLOGISTS FOR SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, Fairfax, Va. Organize a training conference to design a curriculum encompassing conflict causation, prevention, and resolution and mental health services for post-traumatic stress relief; help develop a virtual institute on the Internet. Ronald Fisher. \$34,405.

SCHOOL FOR INTERNATIONAL TRAINING, Brattleboro, Vt. Develop a training program in conflict transformation, with emphasis on training dyads or cohort groups representing different sides of intercommunal conflicts. John Ungerleider. \$39,000.

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN, South Africa. Establish a training program to foster negotiating skills for officials from African governments by developing practical tools for initiating dialogue, building trust, fostering constructive problem-solving. Kent Arnold. \$39,000.



Changing Nature of Diplomacy

INTERNATIONAL CRISIS GROUP, Brussels, Belgium. Analyze Albanian nationalism in Albania, Kosovo, and Macedonia and consider approaches for improving ethnic relations in the South Balkans. Miranda Vickers. \$35,000.

KING'S COLLEGE, London, United Kingdom. Assess multilateral diplomacy in the management of regional crises through a comparative study of efforts by the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) and the Southern African Development Community (SADC) to manage crises. Abiodun Alao and Funmi Olonisakin. \$38,000.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, REGENTS OF, La Jolla, Calif. Develop a web-based system for multilateral information sharing and analyses between Americans, Chinese, Japanese, and South Koreans in a "virtual" track-two effort. Stephan Haggard. \$45,000.

WISEMAN, GEOFFREY R., Los Angeles, Calif. Explore the need for traditional state-centered bilateral and multilateral diplomatic concepts and practices to be complemented by "polylateral" layers of diplomacy, which include nonstate actors in two cases: the Ottawa landmines treaty and the institutionalization of security dialogue in the Asia-Pacific region. \$35,000.

Unsolicited Grants

FACING HISTORY AND OURSELVES, Thalwil, Switzerland. Conduct a training program for educators from Western, Central, and Eastern Europe to facilitate the introduction of material on racism, prejudice, and antisemitism into secondary schools. August L. Zemo. \$25,000.

SHEARER, DAVID, London, United Kingdom. Investigate the increasing use of private security forces in African conflicts, looking particularly at the sources of funding, motivations, and links to other organizations, states, and factions; and their impact on the resolution of conflict. \$27,000.

SONMEZ-POOLE, GONCA, Acton, Mass. Research and produce a one-hour documentary on the Kurdish issue in Turkey, steps needed to consolidate democracy in that country, and the broader theme of the often conflicting rights of sovereignty and self-determination. \$30,000.

Fellows Focus on Memory, forgiveness



Kerry O'Donnell (left), program specialist in the U.S. Institute of Peace's Jennings Randolph fellowship program, discusses the status of the peace process in Ireland with Noble Peace Prize-winner **John Hume**, the Catholic head of the Social Democratic and Labour Party and participant in the negotiations that led to the Good Friday peace agreement in 1998.

Hume met with O'Donnell, a group of the Institute's former senior fellows, and a representative of the Ulster Unionist party during a conference on "Memory, Forgiveness, and Reconciliation: Confronting the Violence of History" held in Northern Ireland April 23–26, and funded by grants from the Institute and the Earhart Foundation.

Former senior fellows **Michael Foley** of Catholic University and **Paul Arthur** of the University of Ulster planned and convened the conference with participation by former senior fellows **Sujit Dutta** of the Institute for Defense Studies and Analysis in New Delhi, **Avner Cohen** of the National Security Archive in Washington, **George Irani** of Washington University in Maryland, and **Idith Zertal** of the Israel Institute of Democracy in Jerusalem. Former senior fellow **Ruzica Rozandic** of Nova Southeastern University contributed a paper. The conference, part of which was webcast over the Internet, stemmed from a series of talks and discussions among the fellows at the Institute in 1997–98.

Conference papers addressed the question of how communities and nations manage violence and the potential for violence as they attempt to come to terms with their histories. Participants discussed the role memory has played in nurturing and shaping conflict and the way in which historical memory and the memory of conflict can be addressed, with special emphasis on forgiveness in the practice of reconciliation across the spectrum of societies and cultures rent by conflict.

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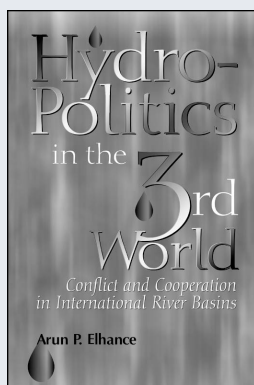
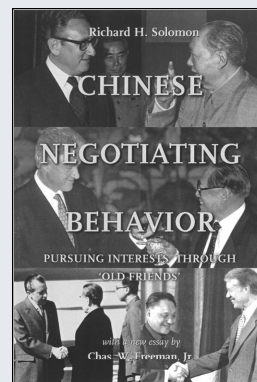
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