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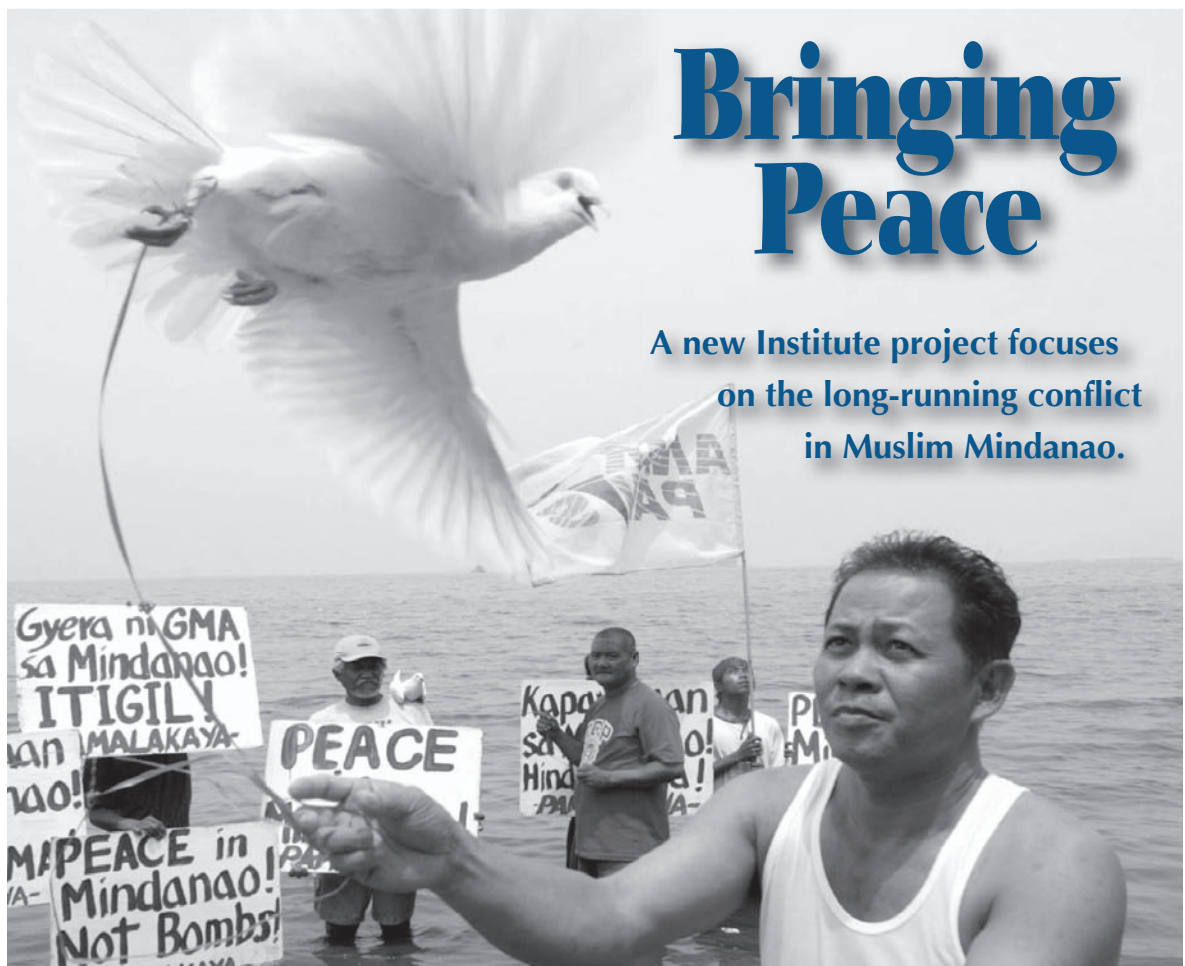
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UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, DC ■ www.usip.org



Bringing Peace

A new Institute project focuses on the long-running conflict in Muslim Mindanao.

A protester lets a white dove fly as other protesters display placards during a bayside protest in the shallow water off Manila Bay.

At the request of the administration, the Institute is helping to facilitate peace negotiations between the government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF), a Muslim insurgent group operating in the southern island of Mindanao. Deputy Secretary of State **Richard Armitage** announced in May that the Institute would be working with the government of Malaysia to facilitate negotiations between the two parties. The goal is to help bring an “equitable and durable peace agreement” to the decades-long conflict.

The Institute has assembled an advisory group of retired senior diplomats and a military officer to oversee the peacemaking effort, and will also draw upon the diverse expertise of its staff, many of whom were only recently engaged in projects that helped stabilize the Dayton Peace Accords in the Balkans. The Institute will be working in an unofficial capacity in collaboration with the government of Malaysia, which has the lead role in the mediation.

While Institute staff have frequently played consultative roles in peace processes around the world, the Philippine Facilitation Project marks one of the

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Bringing Peace

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A Philippine communist New People's Army rebel, right, strums his guitar while meeting a few invited journalists at their camp in the jungles of Mindanao island in southern Philippines.

first times that the Institute itself has become an officially designated “on-the-ground” facilitator. “Entrusting us with this responsibility is a clear indication of the Institute’s growing experience and credibility in conflict management,” said Institute president **Richard Solomon**, a former U.S. ambassador to the Philippines, and chair of the advisory group for the facilitation.

The team of senior peacemakers includes Institute chairman **Chester Crocker**; former U.S. ambassadors to the Philippines **Nicholas Platt**, **Richard Murphy**, **Frank Wisner**, and **Stephen Bosworth**; retired Marine Corps general **Anthony Zinni**; and the Institute’s executive vice president **Harriet Hentges**. The project’s executive director is **Eugene Martin**, a former deputy chief of mission in Manila.

The roots of the conflict between the Muslim “Moros” and Christian Filipinos go back to the era of Spanish colonization of the islands. The problem grew in intensity in recent decades as a growing influx of Filipinos migrated to Mindanao from northern islands in the archipelago, displacing the Muslim majority. The Muslim population owned land communally, and many had their patrimony sold from under them. A host of other social and cultural issues further heightened tensions between the Christian and Muslim communities. Armed insurrection began in the 1960s, with rebels demanding independence for the historically Muslim-controlled areas, and gathered force throughout the 1970 and 1980s. A 1996 peace agreement granted autonomy to the Muslim regions and was accepted by moderate elements within Mindanao. But the more militant MILF refused to relinquish the

goal of independence, and has waged a guerrilla campaign ever since. Government and MILF combat has resulted in thousands of casualties.

America’s interest in ending the Filipino conflict is both strategic and humanitarian. Impoverished and ungovernable, Mindanao has proved a haven for criminal gangs. More recently, it has become a training ground for Southeast Asian terrorist groups linked to al Qaeda, including the Abu Sayyaf and Jemaah Islamyah, the latter believed to be responsible for last October’s deadly bombing in Bali. “Our security interest in this region is very clear,” says Executive Director Martin. “We don’t want Muslim Mindanao to become a terrorist sanctuary.”

The Institute’s Philippine advisory group met with Philippine President **Gloria Macapagal Arroyo** in New York City in September to brief her on the Institute’s work. In mid-October, the Congressional Philippine–United States Friendship Caucus, co-chaired by Congressman **Darrell Issa** of California, hosted a briefing on Capitol Hill to inform members of Congress about the Institute’s Philippine working group. Solomon, Zinni, and Martin discussed the Institute’s work and the results of an initial visit by members of the advisory group to the Philippines in August.

“We were very much encouraged by what we learned during the August visit,” said Zinni. “There is a foundation, a willingness to make peace.” At the same time, he said, there is a concern that radical elements could infiltrate the MILF and undermine prospects for a peace agreement. “There is a battle going on for the soul of the MILF,” he noted. “They are being pulled by extremists on the one hand and by promises the government [of the Philippines] is making to them on the other.”

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Michael Douglas

Hosts Film on Child Soldiers

Special Institute screening draws hundreds to film featuring the actor, a UN messenger of peace.



"I don't know how old I am," soft-spoken Abu Bakar Bangura tells Academy Award winning actor **Michael Douglas** early in the affecting new film *Child Soldiers*, which explores the impact of combat on children in Sierra Leone. "I was very young when I was taken away from my family," he explains to Douglas. Douglas, a UN peace messenger, came to Washington in early October to present a special screening of the film under the auspices of the Institute. The film is an episode of the 10-part "What's Going On?" series airing on Showtime.

Abu is one of an estimated 300,000 children worldwide who have been conscripted or kidnapped to fight as child soldiers. After being kidnapped by a rebel group, he was tortured, drugged, and forced to commit atrocities. "In the war I was trying not to make wicked things, that's why God saved me," he says.

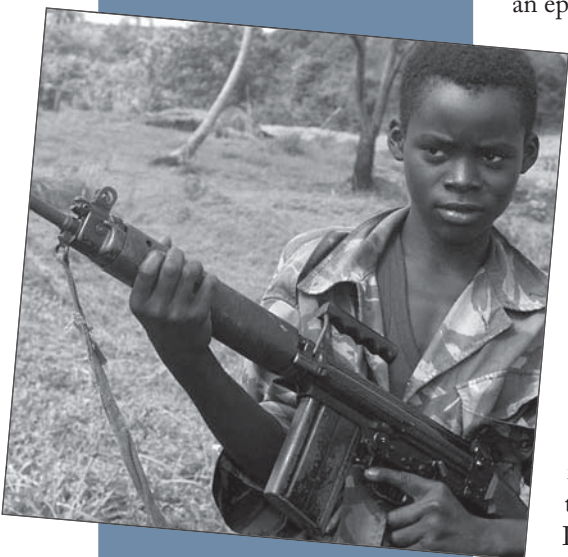
The 30-minute film follows Abu as he searches for his long-lost family. It also features the stories of Swankay, a 17-year-old combat veteran who has become a reporter for the popular African radio show *Talking Drums*; Fatmata, who was kidnapped at age six when her village was razed and everyone in it except she and one other child murdered; and "T-Boy," an employee of the International Rescue Committee who helps children reunite with their families.

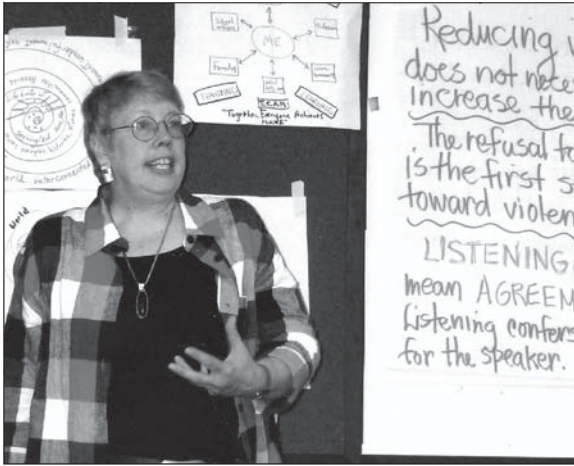
But the crux of the film focuses on Abu, and his dogged quest to return home. After several fruitless searches in one part of the country, he decides to follow one last lead into another region of Sierra Leone. With Michael Douglas in tow, they fly out on a UN helicopter and march for miles along a dusty road from one village to the next, their hopes diminishing. Finally, while waiting to make inquiries of the chief in a remote village, Abu hears a cry of joy. It is his mother.

"It's incredible to see Abu in his mother's arms. I'm overwhelmed," says a visibly moved Douglas in the film. "I never expected to see Abu reunited with his family."

Douglas, whose interest in social justice and peace issues dates back to his participation in *The China Syndrome* in 1979, is one of nine UN messengers of peace appointed by UN Secretary General Kofi Annan. "I'm in an enviable position," Douglas acknowledged at the screening. "When I talk about movies I can talk about messages of peace, and infuse them into the entertainment pages."

Sharing the podium with Douglas, Institute board member **Holly Burkhalter** spoke of the leaps of imagination that such films make possible. "We [in the West] need to be able to imagine a world where children are forced to fight, to understand that there is such a world," she said. "And then we need to take a second leap—to imagine a world in which no child is subject to such horrors."





Teachers Discuss War and Peace

The annual summer institute for secondary school teachers last August featured panels on Islam and democracy, the changing role of the U.S. military, war crimes accountability, and global hot spots North Korea and Iraq. About 25 high school teachers, from North Hollywood, Calif., to Brooklyn, N.Y., heard Institute specialists and others speak on major foreign policy issues during the week-long conference. The summer program also focused on imparting teaching skills for peace education. The week was capped by a speech and discussion led by noted peace activist and writer **Colman McCarthy**. McCarthy, the director of the Center for Teaching Peace, in Washington, D.C., argued that nonviolent resistance is too often underestimated as a force for change. In recent years, in Poland, South Africa, and Chile, nonviolent resistance has brought down seemingly entrenched regimes armed with torture chambers and death squads, he said. McCarthy has brought his message of peace to some 6,000 students during his 20-year teaching career.

Learning to Teach about Africa

Teachers gain insight into the continent's strengths and challenges.

Twenty-five secondary school teachers from across the country received a high-level briefing on Africa's conflicts in early October from **Gayle Smith**, the former senior director for African affairs at the National Security Council. Smith, who served under President Clinton, helped the teachers understand why so much of the continent is wracked by violence. Sharing the podium with her was **David Smock**, director of the Institute's Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, who provided an overview of the conflicts, which range from Sierra Leone to Eritrea, and from Angola to Sudan.

The teachers were participating in a weekend-long session on conflict and cooperation in Africa organized by the Education Program at the Institute, in partnership with the International Studies School Association. "Africa is either under-taught or not taught at all in most high schools," said **Alison Milofsky**, Institute education program officer. "We felt it was important to address this lack of attention."

The conference analyzed case studies of the Mano River region, Liberia; the Democratic Republic of Congo; and Rwanda, and concluded with a question and answer session with a Rwandan genocide survivor, Vital Akiman.

Despite the many problems facing the continent, the participants were optimistic that change was coming and that they, through their educational work, could help to make a difference. Marilyn Apple, a counselor in the Fairfax (Va.) County schools, said that the presenters brought such "passion and commitment" to their work that it was hard not to come away feeling impressed. "Africa is a great omission in my education and that of my students," she said. Learning about the continent and its problems, she said, didn't depress her at all. "Actually, I feel rejuvenated."





On Track in Iraq?

Jabar, an Iraqi sociologist, focused on the sources of violence in Iraq. While most Iraqis do not support the violence, he said, neither are they effectively opposing it. Jabar identified the groups he thought responsible for the violence. They come, for the most part, from two enclaves near Baghdad in the provinces of Anbar and Diyala that were favored during the Hussein era, and may include several groups: Hussein loyalists, mostly drawn from his old intelligence-security organizations; Salafis or Wahhabis, a radical Islamic group that believes in waging jihad on any non-Muslim who trespasses on Islamic ground; militant Islamist volunteers from neighboring countries; families and clans of Iraqi soldiers who fell in combat; and, possibly, soldiers of fortune.

Ward recommended that the United States accelerate programs to train Iraqi police and security forces. He also proposed that the U.S. progressively turn over authority to the Governing Council, the group of 25 Iraqis from diverse political, ethnic, and religious backgrounds appointed by administrator Paul Bremmer. By spring, the goal should be to have both a credible Iraqi governing structure and a security force in at least two-thirds of the country with an “Iraqi face.”

Jabar echoed the need to empower and expand the Governing Council. The council has not been allowed to exercise any real power, he said, which has diminished its potential to provide valuable intelligence. In addition, important and influential social and political groups were excluded from the council. If this situation is not rectified, the council may become irrelevant when it is needed most.

Hess and Kubba provided contrasting assessments of the achievements of the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). Hess discussed achievements he felt had not been sufficiently recognized. Among them: the reopening—and in many cases, the rebuilding—of thousands of schools nationwide; the partial restoration of utilities damaged by the war and decades of neglect; and the renewal of an active business sector. Kubba, by contrast, argued that the CPA had unnecessarily isolated itself from the people of Iraq and was quickly losing the war for the “hearts and minds” of ordinary Iraqis. He emphasized the need to use Iraqi media to propagate the American message that security and independence were on the horizon.

While much has been accomplished, the coalition needs to transfer power to Iraqis and do a better job of telling its story, say experts who've been there.

A U.S. soldier talks with a young Iraqi boy at a security post in Fallujah, 65 kms. west of Baghdad, Iraq.

Acknowledging that planners had failed to adequately prepare for the likelihood of widespread unrest in post-war Iraq, **George F. Ward**, director of the Institute's Professional Training Program, told a gathering of administration and congressional staff on Capitol Hill in late October that the United States had only a few months to turn the corner on security and self-governance for Iraq. The need to expedite the transfer of Iraqi sovereignty has several sources, said Ward: support for the coalition presence among Iraqis is declining, the bombings are frightening away international and non-governmental organizations that are needed in the humanitarian and reconstruction effort, and the American public is unlikely to tolerate indefinitely continuing losses.

Ward, who served as coordinator of humanitarian assistance in Iraq from February to June 2003, spoke at a congressional briefing sponsored by the Institute's Iraq Working Group. Fellow panelists included the former deputy chief of staff for the Coalition Provisional Authority, **Michael E. Hess**; Institute senior fellow **Faleh A. Jabar**; and the National Endowment for Democracy's **Laith Kubba**. **Daniel Serwer**, director of peace and stability operations at the Institute, served as moderator.



North Korea's Nuclear Gamesmanship

Uncertainties surround North Korea's capacities and intentions, posing unique challenges for policymakers.

The North Korean government continues to make provocative announcements about its nuclear program. What security and diplomatic challenges does North Korea's public declaration that it intends to develop the bomb pose for the United States? In mid-October the Institute sponsored a Capitol Hill briefing to examine these challenges, the potential for the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction from North Korea, and possible policy responses to Pyongyang's recent provocations. The briefing was attended by congressional staff and members of the Institute's Korea Working Group.

Much of the continuing instability on the Korean Peninsula arises from the unresolved state of war on the peninsula, said **Bill Drennan**, the deputy director of research and studies at the Institute. Drennan said that the 50-year-old armistice agreement that suspended—but did not end—the Korean War left the peninsula divided into armed camps. With North Korea developing nuclear weapons, he said, now is the time to work toward a comprehensive peace agreement that addresses the fundamental security needs of both Koreas.

Also giving presentations at the briefing were **Charles Pritchard**, until recently the State Department's special envoy for negotiations with North Korea and U.S. representative to the Korean Peninsula Energy Development Organization, and currently a visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution, and **Leonard Spector**, deputy director of the Monterey Institute of International Studies' Center for Nonproliferation Studies. **Paul Stares**, the Institute's director of research and studies, served as moderator.

Preventing State Collapse

The world needs to do more for West Africa's failed states, says UN's representative to the region.

Mutually reinforcing crises are keeping a number of West African countries tottering on the verge of state collapse, **Ahmedou Ould-Abdallah**, special representative of the United Nations secretary general to West Africa, recently told a crowded gathering at the Institute.

Ould-Abdallah spoke at a briefing on "Prospects for Peace in West Africa" held at the Institute in late September. **David Smock**, director of the Institute's Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, introduced the speaker.

Ould-Abdallah noted the paradoxes inherent in West African instability. Most West African states were seemingly well-prepared for the independence they achieved in the early 1960s, he said, with moderately sized populations and well-educated elites. The French states, in particular, were knit together through a common currency and open borders. Yet, in a pattern that would prove common throughout the continent, political freedom yielded all too quickly to turbulent and violence-ridden change. Togo, for example, suffered the continent's first coup d'état in 1963.

Causes of the region's instability vary by country, said Ould-Abdallah, but several trends are at work. First, he said, has been the irresponsibility of the governing class. Many of the region's presidents, he said, "are running away from their responsibilities," more interested in holding onto power than in ensuring the well-being of their citizenry. Sadly, this is often as true of elected leaders as it is of those who have achieved power through the barrel of a gun. Corruption, too, has been a massive problem. Urbanization—and with it, an exploding population of unemployed youth—is presenting a vast and growing challenge to civil order. Guns from Eastern Europe are flooding into the region, reflecting a heightened local demand for small arms as well as the failure of the international community to staunch the supply.

Despite these challenges, there are glimmers of hope. The British brought order to Sierra Leone

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Training for Democracy

Learning how to negotiate is key to the successful resolution of the Kosovo conflict.

As Kosovo prepares for self-government under the terms of the Rambouillet Accords, a number of complex challenges remain to be worked out, threatening to delay that country's transition to its final status. The Institute has conducted two projects to help prepare the Kosovo Provisional Institutions of Self-Government (PISG) for the negotiations leading up to a final settlement for Kosovo.

In September, **George Ward**, director of the Professional Training Program, and **Daniel Serwer**, director of peace and stability operations, provided two intensive negotiation skills workshops, the first for PISG ministers and top-level advisers, including the prime minister, and the second for PISG senior officials. The training was sponsored by the Kosovo mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. "We focused on negotiating skills and then on applying them to the relationship between Kosovo and Serbia," said Serwer. "We were able to impress upon the participants the difference between positions and interests and the need to focus negotiations on interests," he said. "No one left the symposium without recognizing that the Albanians have a good deal to gain from talking to Belgrade, and a good deal to lose if they do not prepare carefully."

An Institute grant enabled **Paul Williams**, law professor at American University, to develop simulations of the negotiations that might occur. "Role-playing is a surprisingly effective pedagogical tool," said Williams. "People do get into their roles and the simulations do a great job of smoking out the differences and sticking points likely to arise during the actual negotiations." Williams held three rounds of simulations in Washington, D.C., in 2001-2002, and then held another round in September 2003 in Kosovo. Among the key issues that emerged: protecting Serbian minority rights; the attraction of redrawing borders—and the potential trouble this may cause; and the difficulty the international community has had in developing a unified approach.

Dividing Lines

Israel's separation barrier is provoking sharp opinions.

The Institute hosted two Israelis with sharply contrasting views on the separation barrier Israel is building to prevent suicide bombing attacks at events held in mid-October. **Yehezkel Lein**, chief researcher at B'Tselem (Israeli Information Center for Human Rights in the Occupied Territories), spoke of the hardships the barrier will impose on Palestinians, and claimed that it will throw thousands more of them into poverty. In a separate presentation, **Zalman Shoval**, a former Israeli ambassador to the United States and a political adviser to the Israeli prime minister, Ariel Sharon, argued that since peace negotiations had proved fruitless, it was time to build a wall around the country's perimeter to prevent further terrorist attacks. [See the full text of Shoval's presentation on the Institute's web site.]

The government of Israel is erecting the barrier to prevent the uncontrolled entry of Palestinians from the West Bank into Israel. Current plans call for the barrier to be built around the entire West Bank; much of it, according to B'Tselem, will in fact run *through* the West Bank, turning many Palestinian villages into isolated enclaves. It will reduce access to hospitals and schools, and separate thousands from their place of work. All told, at least 210,000 Palestinians are likely to be directly affected by the barrier, said Lein.

Shoval, who spoke to a small group of reporters invited to the Institute, focused on the broader picture: The road map to peace, once pushed by President Bush, was not dead, said Shoval, but it was almost certainly comatose. The timetables it proposed were in any case unrealistic, he said, and there had always been a "disequilibrium" between Israel's proposal to recognize the Palestinian state and the Palestinians' refusal to abandon the principle of their "right to return," which would, said Shoval, result in the destruction of the state of Israel. Shoval was pessimistic about future progress on peace negotiations, saying that after the failures of Oslo and Camp David, the prospects for peace probably await a generational change in Palestinian leadership.



Senior Fellows, 2003–2004 Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program

Professor Amatzia Baram

Department of Middle Eastern History,
University of Haifa *State-Mosque Relations
in Iraq, 1968–2003*

Dr. Horacio Boneo

Department of Government, Universidad
Nacional de San Martín, Buenos Aires;
formerly director of Electoral Assistance
Division, UN Secretariat *Monitoring
Elections: A Critical Review*

Mr. Albert Cevallos

U.S. Agency for International
Development *Steal This Revolution:
Nonviolent Revolution and the Transition to
Democracy in Serbia*

Dr. Ceslav Ciobanu

Senior Research Scholar, James Madison
University; former Moldovan Ambassador
to U.S. *"Frozen and Forgotten" Conflicts in
Post-Soviet States: Anatomy and Prospect for
Resolution (Transnistria, Abkhazia, Nagorno
Karabakh)*

Dr. Mamoun Fandy

Independent scholar; formerly Professor
of Middle East and South Asian Politics,
National Defense University *The Crisis of
Education in the Muslim World*

Mr. Wajahat Habibullah

Director, Government of India's National
Academy of Administration *Kashmir: The
Problem and Its Resolution*

Mr. Yo'av Karny

Washington Correspondent, *Globes*
(Tel Aviv) *Violence and Non-Violence
in Independence Struggles: East Timor,
Chechnya, Palestine*

Dr. Faleh A. Jabar

Research Fellow, Birkbeck College,
University of London *The Day After:
Prospects for Post-Ba'ath Democratization
in Iraq*

Dr. Jill Shankleman

Director, J. Shankleman Limited, Oxford
Does Business Have a Role in Peace Making?

Professor Rosalind Shaw

Department of Sociology and
Anthropology, Tufts University
*Remembering to Forget: Rituals of Healing
and the Work of the Truth and Reconciliation
Commission in Sierra Leone*

Col. Barry Tyree, Army Fellow

United States Army *Pre-emptive Strategies
in the Global War on Terrorism: Colombia*

Professor Gabriel Weimann

Department of Communication, University
of Haifa *Terror on the Internet: The New
Arena, the New Challenges*

Professor Oren Yiftachel

Department of Geography, Ben Gurion
University *Spatial Policies and Political
(In)Stability: Comparing "Ethnocratic"
Regimes*

State Collapse

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with a relatively small military force. The French, similarly, have brought about what may be a durable truce in the Ivory Coast—though the country remains divided, with factions jockeying for position in the run-up to an election planned for 2005. The United Nations has dispatched blue helmets to Liberia and, with U.S. and Nigerian pressure, forced the Liberian dictator Charles Taylor to abdicate.

The fate of Charles Taylor, whom many blame for the recent rash of warfare in the region, received considerable attention during the lively question and answer session that followed Ould-Abdallah's presentation. Though he has been forced into exile in Nigeria, Taylor is continuing to foment unrest in Liberia. Many in West Africa would prefer to see Taylor dispatched to the International Court in Sierra Leone, where he has been indicted as a war criminal. His continuing meddling in Liberia's affairs may yet force Nigeria to hand him over.

But, as Ould-Abdallah cautioned, Liberia's problems go deeper than one man, however detestable. The country remains perilously divided between the so-called "BaKongo," the descendants of the American ex-slaves who colonized Liberia in the 19th century, and the indigenous population. The capital, Monrovia, is in a state of disrepair after a decade of misrule and war. If Liberians are to become invested in the peace process, said Ould-Abdallah, they need to see tangible improvements in their well-being: schools, roads, and hospitals all need urgent attention. Until water and electricity are restored in Monrovia, the return to normalcy will be more of a dream than a promise.





Senator Harkin Hails Institute Work

During the Senate debate of President Bush's request for an \$87 billion aid package for Iraq and Afghanistan, Iowa Senator **Tom Harkin** spoke eloquently about the importance of the Institute and encouraged his colleagues to support additional funding for the Institute's activities in Iraq. The final version of the Iraq and Afghanistan Wartime Supplemental, signed by President Bush on November 6, 2003, included an additional \$10 million for Institute activities relating to Iraq. The following is excerpted from Senator Harkin's full statement, as reported in the Congressional Record.

"We have been debating the President's request for \$87 billion in supplemental funds for Iraq and Afghanistan. At times, it has seemed that we in the Senate agree on very little. But there is one goal that I believe every Senator strongly endorses: We all want to bring our American troops home from Afghanistan and Iraq as soon as possible.

"Without so much as batting an eye, we appropriate billions for war, billions for weapons, and billions for post-war reconstruction. Meanwhile, it seems that we overlook one key activity—conflict resolution and peacemaking.... The U.S. Government has one agency that can help to reduce conflict, build democratic institutions, and even assist in the drafting of the new Iraqi constitution—all prerequisites to bringing our troops home sooner rather than later. I am talking about the United States Institute of Peace. This institute has a proven track record of accomplishing those prerequisites which I just mentioned.

"Time and again in recent years—including in Iraq—our Nation has shown that it is brilliant at winning wars. But time and again, we have had difficulty winning the peace. As we continue to increase funding for the Department of Defense by tens of billions of dollars each year, we must also be generous in our support and funding for this all-important agency, the United States Institute of Peace."

[Senator Harkin's statement laid the basis for subsequent bipartisan Senate and House appropriation, at the initiative of Alaska Senator **Ted Stevens**, of \$10 million for the Institute for programs related to post-conflict stabilization in Afghanistan and Iraq.]

Solomon Testifies on the Hill on Palestinian Education

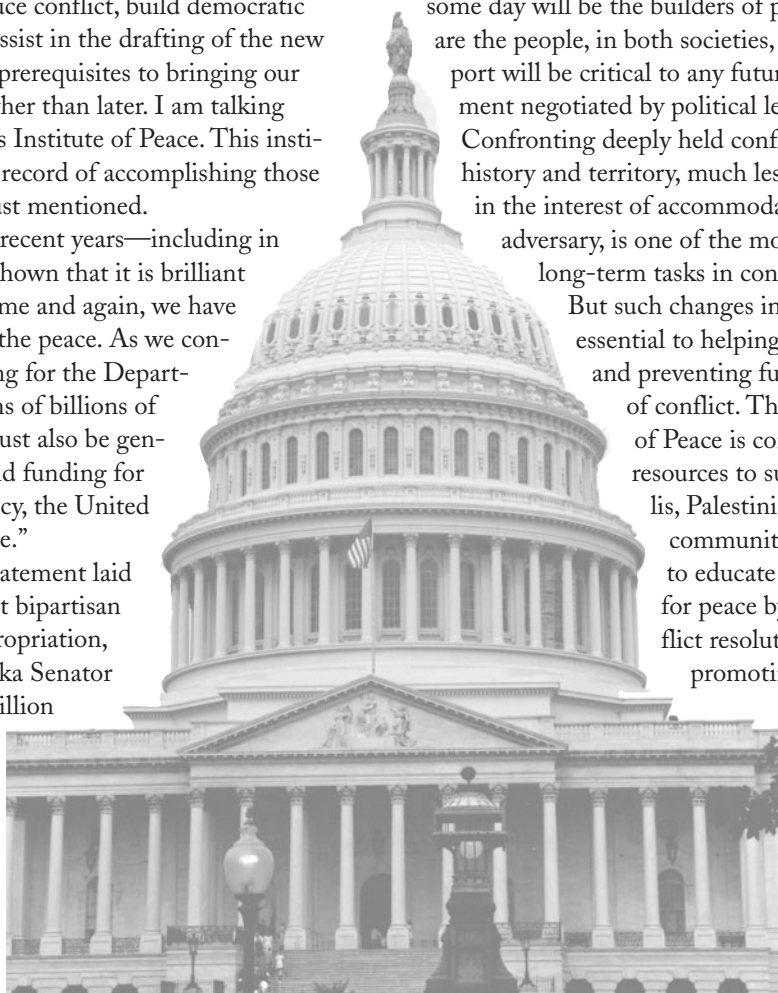
Richard H. Solomon, president of the United States Institute of Peace, testified before the Senate Appropriations Subcommittee on Labor, Health and Human Services, and Education on October 30 about the Institute's activities to promote educational reform in the Middle East. Following are excerpts of his remarks:

"We are here today to discuss an issue that is at the core of the Institute's mandate: educating people in the perspectives of tolerance and mutual understanding, and training professionals in the skills of conflict management and resolution.

"We recognize that educating for peace is not a substitute for a successful political process. In an atmosphere poisoned by relentless violence, it is tempting to conclude that education and other dialogue programs are either irrelevant or impossible to sustain. But such a conclusion ignores the reality that any peace process can be sustained only with broad public support.

"The Institute's ongoing work with Israeli and Palestinian educators, religious leaders, and legal experts, even in the face of terrorist violence, sustains hope among leaders in these societies, leaders who some day will be the builders of peace. These are the people, in both societies, whose support will be critical to any future peace agreement negotiated by political leadership.... Confronting deeply held conflicting views of history and territory, much less revising them in the interest of accommodation with an adversary, is one of the most difficult and long-term tasks in conflict resolution.

But such changes in attitude are essential to helping peace take root and preventing future outbreaks of conflict. The U.S. Institute of Peace is committing its resources to supporting Israelis, Palestinians, and other communities in conflict to educate their children for peace by teaching conflict resolution skills and promoting the values of mutual understanding, tolerance, and respect for the other."





Asian Giants: India and China

Snaking along the Himalayan mountains, the 2,175-mile-long border between India and China is contested territory, a site of nationalist conflict but also pragmatic cooperation. As such, it reveals the complex trends that have long shaped the relationship between India and China, said **Waheguru Pal Singh Sidhu** and **Jing-dong Yuan**, co-authors of a new book on the future of Sino-Indian relations. Funded in part by a grant from the Institute, the study of evolving Sino-Indian relations is the first ever conducted by scholars from both countries working collaboratively. The Institute held a roundtable discussion of the book in early October, organized by **Taylor Seybolt**, program officer in the Grant Program. Among the factors that Sidhu and Yuan see as shaping the future of this relationship are an exponential increase in bilateral trade, continuing competition for regional and global influence, a growing convergence of interests on issues ranging from non-proliferation to international trade agreements, and sustained differences over the status of Tibet and Sikkim. They conclude that the trend in relations between the two Asian giants is toward a more pragmatic approach to managing differences and common interests. Nevertheless, significant obstacles remain to an amicable relationship.

Regional Responses to Humanitarian Crises

The need to prevent another Rwanda has become a pressing challenge to the international community. But do different regions agree that humanitarian concerns can trump the principle of non-interference in internal affairs? The Institute hosted an October forum on this topic to launch a report titled *Neighbors on Alert: Regional Views on Humanitarian Intervention*, produced by the Fund for Peace and funded in part by the Institute. Based on international conferences held in Africa, the Americas, Asia, and Europe, the report found that new normative standards are emerging to protect civilians from mass killings—standards that can, in certain instances, trump national sovereignty. “This is a novel development for states that have traditionally viewed non-interference in internal affairs as the paramount virtue in international relations,” said report author **Jason Ladnier**.

Michael Southwick, research and studies program officer at the Institute, moderated the discussion. The respondents included representatives from each continent, including **Boudewijn Johannes van Eenenaam** from the Netherlands, **Francis Mading Deng** from Sudan, **Luis Bitencourt** from Brazil, **Roland Eng** from Cambodia, and **William L. Nash** of the United States.

Ladnier noted that there was an emerging consensus that the United Nations should function as the authorizing body to legitimize intervention. But,

he said, there is no corresponding architecture at the regional level capable of taking action as circumstances warrant. That, he said, was to be the subject of his next study—one on which consensus is likely to prove somewhat more elusive.

Rwanda’s Women, Ten Years Later

Rwanda, riven by a genocide in 1994 that claimed an estimated 500,000 to 800,000 lives, has become a fertile laboratory for initiatives aimed at including women in the country’s governance, according to a new report published by Women Waging Peace. The small central African nation has developed a number of remarkable programs and institutions to ensure a greater role for women in government, and witnessed a surprisingly broad and deep change in social attitudes towards women. “Women are seen by many as better at forgiveness and reconciliation,” said report author **Elizabeth Powley**. She spoke at a meeting held in late September to launch the report, titled “Strengthening Governance: The Role of Women in Rwanda’s Transition,” which was funded in part by a grant from the Institute. Favorable perceptions of women as peace-makers are part of the reason, said Powley, “that no other country is doing what Rwanda is doing to bring women into the process.” For example, said Powley, in the new constitution, adopted earlier this year, 24 of 80 seats in the lower house of parliament have been set aside for women, as have a minimum of 30 percent of the government’s decision-making posts. The report recommends that international donors provide additional funding to support Rwanda’s gender-based initiatives, and that they draw on Rwanda’s experience in developing programs for other post-conflict societies.

Bringing Peace

Continued from page 2

Solomon noted that the Institute’s initiative has three components. “First, we’re able to provide experience in mediation. We’ve proposed nine basic principles for a stable agreement, and we’re in discussions with both parties to the conflict to get the principles accepted as the basis for negotiation. Second, the State Department has budgeted \$30 million to support economic and social development projects in Mindanao once a peace agreement is signed. The Institute will be making recommendations to the State Department about how and when to use these resources. Third, various programs at the Institute, including its education, rule of law, and interfaith dialogue activity, will be incorporated into a post-agreement process to support a settlement.”



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A number of Institute employees have recently returned from visits to the Philippines. Their assessment: though the atmosphere is promising for a peace agreement, a number of serious challenges remain.

Harriet Hentges, executive vice president of the Institute, visited the Philippines in August with Eugene Martin to develop an overview of the situation and determine how best the Institute might contribute to the peace process. Hentges came away with several ideas on how the Institute might help out. "A lot of the questions facing the parties have to do with such complex issues as federalism or autonomy and the settlement of claims to ancestral land—topics on which the Institute has achieved considerable expertise from our work elsewhere. Our experience also teaches us how important it is to focus on implementation issues at the outset of a negotiation. Too often, the parties start thinking about implementation the day the peace agreement is signed, with the likely result that the agreement will quickly founder. Second, the Institute can play an effective role as a backchannel communicator, allowing the parties to communicate in confidence without tilting the balance to one side or another. Finally, we are seen as an important witness to any agreement, leveling the playing field between the government and a group that remains fractured and as yet not very well recognized."

Hentges noted that several challenges remain. "We have to do a better job of bringing the Philippines' vibrant civil society into the peace process and facilitating dialogue between the two sides. And with the recent death of rebel leader Salamat Hashim, we have to do a better job of developing working relations with the new, still emerging next generation of leadership of the Moro Islamic Liberation Front." Yet Hentges remains optimistic. "While this is a long-running conflict, one that has gone on for generations, now is also a very propitious moment for reaching an agreement. As U.S. ambassador [to the Philippines Francis] Ricciardone told me during my visit, there is 'an alignment of the stars' to foster peace,

and tremendous public support for the U.S. to play a role in those negotiations, in part because the people of Mindanao think they were best off during the era of U.S. colonial control of their islands."

Judy Barsalou, director of the Grant Program, visited the Philippines in late August through early September. "I was struck by how much of the conflict was rooted in economic and identity issues," she said. "These, even more than religious issues, seemed to me paramount." During her visit, Barsalou met with many individuals and institutions to learn about their interests and to tell them about the Grant Program. "The Institute is anxious to encourage more grant applications on the core issues of the conflict and its resolution," she said. "We're particularly interested in programs that will improve the Philippine public's understanding of the conflict in Mindanao."

David Smock, director of the Religion and Peacemaking Initiative at the Institute, visited the Philippines in mid-November, and had the opportunity to discuss the situation in Mindanao with government and civil society leaders as well as with numerous religious groups. "We focused on how religion intersects with other dimensions of the conflict and how religion can play a role in fostering peace. We attended a day-long seminar with the Ulama, Islamic religious leaders, and met with recently installed Archbishop Gaudencio Rosales of Manila, who spent ten years in Mindanao earlier in his career and is deeply concerned with the conflict there." Smock developed ideas for projects on how to stimulate interfaith dialogue and discussions on Islam and democracy. "There's a lot to do," he said. "And the Institute can help the parties negotiate the role that Islam can play within Mindanao society."

Alan Tidwell, program officer in the Education Program, first visited the Philippines in 2002 as part of a project providing faculty seminars on conflict resolution in the ASEAN countries. "The focus was on peace education in Mindanao, and we developed very good relations with Filipino academics," he said. "We returned to the Philippines in August 2003 to open a peace resource center at Notre Dame University in Cotabato City in collaboration with Catholic Relief Services. Our session was like a professional development program in peace education with primary, secondary, and university educators—most of them graduates of Notre Dame University." In the future, says Tidwell, the program would like to sponsor a faculty seminar at Mindanao State University. "Academics in these environments are not living in ivory towers," said Tidwell. "They are an active part of society—they form the NGOs, the activist groups, the groups that advise policymakers. That's why it's so important to reach them."

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