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## Kosovo Leaders Agree to Pact Against Violence

After three days of intensive talks, Albanian and Serb leaders from Kosovo reached an historic pact to work together to end violence in their province.

After three days of intensive talks, facilitated by the U.S. Institute of Peace, 40 Albanian and Serb leaders from Kosovo reached an agreement to work together to end violence in their province and to create conditions for a strong, democratic civil society.

"It's an historic moment," said Serbian Orthodox Bishop **Artemije**, a joint leader of the Serb delegation and president of the Serbian National Council of Kosovo. He called the agreement the first positive document reached in talks between Serbs and Albanians in 100 years.

**Hashim Thaci**, a member of the Albanian delegation who is a former leader of the Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) and now head of the Democratic Party of Kosovo, told the Voice of



America that he was happy to see ethnic Albanians willing to understand the problems of Kosovo Serbs. He added, "and I am glad that Serbs have started to accept the new reality in Kosovo, and more and more are distancing themselves from official Belgrade."

The dialogue, co-sponsored in cooperation with the U.S.

Department of State, was the first extensive face-to-face engagement by the leaders of the two ethnic groups since the violence of 1999. The meeting, held at Airlie House in Warrenton, Va., July 21-23, was organized by **Daniel Serwer**, head of the Institute's Balkans Initiative. **Chester A. Crocker**, Institute

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*Above:* Albanian leaders from Kosovo review the details of the Albanian language agreement to work for peaceful coexistence with Serbs.



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## Kosovo

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board chair, and board member **Stephen J. Hadley** co-chaired the meeting, with Institute executive vice president **Harriet Hentges** serving as vice chair. Serwer, along with **George Ward**, director of the Institute's Training Program, facilitated the dialogue, with support from the U.S. Agency for International Development and World Learning.

In addition to Thaci, the 26-member Albanian delegation included **Ibrahim Rugova**, head of the Democratic League of Kosovo. The 14-member Serb delegation included Father **Sava**, an aide to Bishop Artemije,



and **Rada Trajkovic**.

The Institute has sponsored four meetings for Albanians and Serbs from Kosovo since the end of the war. In May, the Institute partnered with the U.S. Army in conducting a workshop on co-existence in a multi-ethnic society for a mixed group of Albanian and Serb community leaders in the Gjilan/Gnjilane area. Last year, the Institute facilitated a workshop for Albanians in Virginia and one for Serbs in Sofia, Bulgaria.

At Airlie House, Albanian and Serb leaders hashed out the terms of the declaration word by word

during sometimes difficult and emotional day and evening sessions. "This was a classic facilitation, where the issues and the discussion and the conclusion came from the participants," Hentges noted.

In the "Airlie Declaration," the Kosovo leaders agreed to seek an end to violence, identify perpetrators, urge their communities to surrender illegal arms, dissolve any illegitimate governing and security structures, help refugees return, and respect the outcome of Kosovo's October elections if they are deemed "free and fair" by international observers. (The full text of the declaration is available on the Institute's web site at [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).)

The campaign against violence will include a "Day Against Violence," during which Kosovo leaders agreed to appear in public to speak out against violence in the province on a date to be set by the Kosovo Transitional Council.

In a NATO press release, the secretary general of NATO, the

Rt. Hon. **Lord Robertson**, praised the agreement: "This commitment to reconciliation and to building a better future stands in stark contrast to [Serbian] President Milosevic's continuing efforts to promote and exploit ethnic division." According to Reuters, **Bernard Kouchner**, United Nations governor of Kosovo, welcomed the agreement, as it would give the signers impetus to work together in a renewed spirit of cooperation.

**John Menzies**, director of the State Department's Office of Kosovo Implementation, described the meeting, which he attended, as both "profound" and "heartfelt." He said that participants deserved much credit for the "tremendous courage" they demonstrated by attending. Hentges noted that meeting participants showed a "genuine appreciation of the suffering that each community has experienced, and that's a very important beginning, a very important first step toward reconciliation."

Kosovo leaders say although it is difficult for both sides, they want to put the wounds of the past to rest and end the inter-ethnic violence in Kosovo.

# 'A Better Life, A New Life' for Kosovo

**W**hen Kosovo's civil war began several years ago, **Bajram Rexhepi**, 46, an Albanian surgeon, drove into the mountains with the Kosovo Liberation Army to tend to its wounded fighters and injured civilians, leaving behind his wife and infant daughter. During the fighting, an estimated 10,000 Albanians may have died at the hands of Serb police and paramilitaries, and of the Yugoslav army, under the direction of Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. Rexhepi never expected to return home alive. Today he is the mayor of the divided city of Mitrovica. Mitrovica lies in the northern part of Kosovo province, where Albanians and Serbs, though no longer at war, continue to kill each other.

And members of the two ethnic groups continue killing each other in the Gnjilane area, in the east of the province, where Father **Kirilo Djurkovic**, 65, a Serbian Orthodox priest for most of his life, has been reassigned. Father Kirilo once lived in the historic



Decani Monastery, built in the Middle Ages, where during the war the monks sheltered Albanians and Serbs alike. Since being assigned to the Draganac Monastery in Gnjilane, he has received numerous threats against his life, and he cannot leave the monastery without armed guards, usually soldiers of NATO's Kosovo Force (KFOR) stationed in the monastery courtyard. He says that since the end of the war last year, some 70 Serbs in Gnjilane have disappeared, and more than 100 have been murdered.

Inter-ethnic violence continues to riddle the area of Leposavic, in the far northern region of the province, close to the border with Serbia, where **Nenad Radosavljevic**, 39, makes his home. Trained as a mechanical engineer, Radosavljevic, a Serb,



became a journalist to counter the hate propaganda that is beamed into the area by state-controlled Serbian radio and television. He founded a "peace" radio and TV station that retransmits broadcasts locally from independent media sources internationally. He says he has always believed in tolerance and pluralism. He believed in those principles before the war, and he believes in them now. However, the people living around him are not literate and



know only what the state propaganda tells them. Sadly, they don't yet know the meaning of tolerance, he says.

Despite the hatred and violence that still rip through their lives—and in part because of it—Rexhepi, Father Kirilo, and Radosavljevic courageously agreed to sit down with 37 other Albanian and Serb leaders from Kosovo recently to talk about what they might do to restore peace and sanity to the province. The U.S. Institute of Peace organized and facilitated the meeting, which was the first extensive face-to-face engagement among the leaders of the two ethnic groups since the war ended last year. The meeting was held at Airlie House in Warrenton, Va., July 21-23. (See the story on page 1.)

At the end of the meeting, the two groups agreed to the "Airlie Declaration," which is primarily a pact against violence. In the document, the Kosovo leaders agreed to seek an end to violence, identify

perpetrators, urge their communities to surrender illegal arms, dissolve any illegitimate governing and security structures, help refugees return, and respect the outcome of Kosovo's October elections if they are deemed "free and fair" by international observers.

Before the final agreement on the declaration, **Vjosa Dobruna**, 45, an Albanian member of the transitional government in Pristina, looked around the room and said, "I have had bad experiences with certain people in this group. My human rights were violated. But I can overcome such things for the benefit of the future."

### Implementing the Declaration

Dobruna noted that the meeting was the first time in over 10 years that she had had a meaningful conversation with Kosovo Serbs in a group. The two ethnic groups have lived in a system of virtual apartheid, sharing no common space, she said. "Albanians couldn't even go to the movies."

Hearing Serbs talk about their fears and wishes made her realize that Serbs are not all alike, and that gave her hope that she could work with them. "It's important to be here, important to overturn my mistrust and really listen to them and learn from the Serb side that there is a will to live together. The Serbs have the same interests I have. We want a better life, we

want a new life. There is no chance to go backward."

**Sonja Nikolic**, 48, of Pristina, a Serb member of the Kosovo Transitional Council, said that the war has been over only a short time, and people of both ethnic groups back in Kosovo may not be happy with the declaration. For some, it may be too soon to take such a step. She herself still feels the pain of the divisions widened by the violence. "I was witness to many things. Maybe I haven't had time to feel that pain until now." When both sides at the meeting talked about what happened in Kosovo, she realized that everyone in the room was having difficult feelings, and that helped her because in a way they shared in the pain together. "Sharing those emotions brings you closer," she said.

Besides some resistance from people back in Kosovo, a major obstacle to implementing the declaration is the almost complete lack of a judicial system in Kosovo—police, courts, jails—said **Margarita Kadriu**, 27, director of *Kosova Sot*, a daily newspaper in Pristina. "Both sides right now have no way to handle criminals and troublemakers, so it is hard to make progress on some of these issues." A number of the participants said that the UN Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) needs to act urgently to get a judicial system in place. "We are able

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## 'A Better Life'

*Continued from page 5*

to and really want to . . . willingness to have the Serbs and live together," Kadrić said.

Reflecting on the meeting, Rexhepi said that although he is glad to be working with the Serbs, "I will not forget the tragedy of the Albanians in Mitrovica, many Serbs have unrealistic expectations, and that makes the situation difficult." He said that the Albanians comprise only 20 percent of the population, yet they refuse to participate in the administration of the area until they are given an equal voice in decisions, he said. "Sometimes in politics you can't do everything equally," and proportional representation is a more just allocation of power. Nevertheless, he said when he returned home, he would immediately work to implement all of the agreements of the Airlie Declaration. "I am convinced that three or four of the [Serb] participants [at Airlie] are ready to work on joint projects. They have demonstrated a realistic position, and I will be able to cooperate with them on an ongoing basis, without any hesitation."

Radosavljevic said that when he returned to Leposavic, he would call a meeting of the Serbian National Council of Leposavic, of which he is president, and invite citizens to discuss implementation of the Airlie Declaration. "Many problems can be solved through direct contact," he said. "I believe contact between representatives of both sides is going to continue. We can contribute to pacifying tensions, that is the most important thing because it will give people a chance to do tangible work, to return to work, to develop the economy. All these things are possible once the tensions have been lowered. Talking does that."

# From Home Schooling to Japan to a Winning Peace Essay

**Erin Boeke Burke, 17, the third-place winner in this year's National Peace Essay Contest, is the Institute's first home-schooled national winner.**

**T**he people of Nagasaki, Japan, focused **Erin Boeke Burke's** attention on the tragedy of war and the importance of world peace. The 17-year-old home-schooled student from Neenah, Wis., was the third place national winner in the U.S. Institute of Peace's National Peace Essay Contest this year—the Institute's first home-schooled national winner.

Burke took a break from home schooling in Wisconsin last year to attend Kwassui High School, a Christian girl's high school in Nagasaki, on a Rotary scholarship. "Studying in Japan has been a fantastic learning experience," Burke says. "The people there are so polite and so incredibly welcoming. In Nagasaki, I've seen how they've taken the experience with the atom bomb and used it as a reason to seek peace in the

world. Out of their terrible experience, they are committed to world peace."

The three national peace essay contest winners were announced at an awards banquet at the Meridian International Center on June 21. First place was awarded to **Elsbeth J. Simpson** of Little Rock, Ark., who received a \$10,000 scholarship; second place to **Megan Corraino** of Portland, Ore., \$5,000; and third place to Burke, \$2,500. An honorable





with them. Home schooling has to be something you really want to do for yourself. It takes a large commitment, and parents have to be available to help. If you're committed, nothing can match it."

**Winners in Washington**

mention was awarded to **Michael Henry** of Windsor, Conn.

The Institute's peace essay question this year asked students to assess how U.S. policymakers can address the changing nature of international conflict. Burke's 1,500-word essay, "Seeking Lasting Solutions for Civil Conflict," examined the need for the United States to pursue conflict resolution strategies that encourage long-term respect for international human rights and economic development. Both visiting Japan—where she lived with two Japanese families and in a Buddhist monastery—and writing the peace essay have piqued her interest in international relations, she says. But she originally participated in the essay contest simply because "it looked like a fun challenge. I love pressuring myself"—which may explain why she has been such an ideal candidate for home schooling.

While learning on her own—under the direction of her mother, Lee Boeke Burke—Erin Burke took classes at the University of Wisconsin and on the Internet, and joined local book study groups, among other means of educating herself. "I love getting out into the community and finding resources," Burke says. "Home schooling teaches you how to find your own resources. You have to be motivated. I was very frustrated in the public school system and left after the seventh grade. I love the freedom of home schooling. It allows me to follow my passions and go

More than 1,100 students from 50 states, the District of Columbia, U.S. territories, and American high schools overseas participated in this year's National Peace Essay Contest. Burke was one of some 50 state-level winners who attended a special educational program in Washington, D.C., June 17–22. The contest and related programs were organized by **Heather Kerr-Stewart**, education specialist, and **Janice Hoggs**, program assistant.

In Washington, the students met with senior U.S. government and foreign embassy officials, members of Congress, and other experts directly involved in the making of American foreign policy. They also participated in a three-day policymaking simulation focused on U.S. foreign policy priorities and attended brief-

ings at the State Department, the embassies of Colombia and Sierra Leone, and on Capitol Hill, where they met with their representatives in Congress. State-level winners received a \$1,000 college scholarship.

Secretary of Energy **Bill Richardson** delivered the keynote address to the award winners at their concluding banquet, sharing his insights on negotiation and diplomacy. In a technological age, he said, "establishing good face-to-face interpersonal relations is important to achieving results and for personal satisfaction." Successful negotiations are essentially based on the ability to establish a personal connection with the other party or parties, he said. For example, he said, Fidel Castro warmed up to him after the two

had talked baseball for a while, and they were then able to engage in fruitful discussions.



*Above left to right: Megan Corrarino, Michael Henry.*

*Opposite page: Richard Solomon hands Erin Boeke Burke her award at the annual peace essay awards banquet.*

*Left: Bill Richardson*

*Below: State-level essay contest winners with Einstein statue*



## The Institute's Korea Working Group

The U.S. Institute of Peace's Korea Working Group, which was first convened in 1993, is considered by many to be a leading clearinghouse for American ideas and experience on Korea issues. The group, currently directed by **Patrick M. Cronin**, director of the Research and Studies Program, and program officer **William A. Drennan**, brings together leading academics and think tank specialists on Korea with officials from the Departments of State and Defense and Congress to focus on foreign and national security policy issues.

For example, former U.S. secretary of defense **William Perry**, after his appointment by President Clinton in 1998 to lead a review of U.S. policy toward North Korea, made presentations to the working group three times. Before his 1999 trip to Pyongyang, he met with the group to exchange views. After the trip, he returned to brief members and bounce ideas off of them. Before releasing his final recommendations on U.S. policy to the president and the public, he presented them to the group in an off-the-record discussion of the issues.

"The working group helps to provide U.S. officials with a longer range view," notes Drennan. "When you're in an official capacity, the working day is typically consumed by pressing issues, and your horizon is sometimes 24 hours out, if you're lucky." Out of these meetings, the Institute has published a series of special reports, available to the public free of charge (see page 16).

Officials in South Korea are aware of the Institute's role, while understanding that it is not an arm of the government, Drennan says. Thus, they were eager to meet with Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** during his trip to Seoul in July (see the adjacent story). In the fall, the Institute's two new senior fellows working on Korea issues—**Kim Chong-Whi**, national security adviser to former president Roh Tae-Woo, and **Richard A. Christenson**, deputy chief of mission at the U.S. embassy in Seoul—will join in the activities of the working group.

A true easing of North-South tensions may lead Seoul to reconsider U.S. bases, dramatically altering the security environment in Northeast Asia.

# The Future of U.S.-Korean Relations



The June summit between the leaders of North and South Korea raised hopes that the Korean Peninsula may be entering a period of dramatic change, one that could lead to the end of the last Cold War confrontation in Asia, says **Richard H. Solomon**, president of the U.S. Institute of Peace. He notes that, if a process of reconciliation indeed takes hold between the communist regime in the North and the democratic government in the South, "there will be momentous consequences for all Koreans—and also for the future of the Asian region and for U.S.-Korean relations."

Solomon discussed "Korea's Security and the Future of the U.S.-Republic of Korea (ROK) Alliance" in a keynote address to the





Korea Research Institute for Strategy (KRIS) during a trip to Seoul July 9–15.

In Seoul, Solomon and **William A. Drennan**, program officer in the Institute of Peace’s Research and Studies Program, also met with ROK president **Kim Dae-Jung** at the Blue House, Korea’s equivalent of the White House. President Kim spoke at the Institute of Peace in June 1994 before he was elected to office, and Institute grant recipient **Moon Chong-In**, a professor at Yonsei University formerly living in the United States, was part of President Kim’s official ROK delegation to Pyongyang.

In Seoul, Kim briefed Solomon on the North-South summit, during which the two Korean leaders vowed allegiance to the long-term goal of a unified peninsula and agreed upon various measures to end the longstanding conflict between North and South. President Kim briefed Solomon on his plans to maintain the momentum of the understandings reached at the summit.

### Security Dilemmas

In his speech at KRIS, Solomon noted that reconciliation with North Korea will—and indeed must—trigger a re-examination of the ROK-U.S. security relationship by the two alliance partners. And such a re-examination will quickly focus on the future of the American forces based in Korea. “As Koreans contemplate their alternative security futures, they need to consider what the region would look like without the presence of forward-deployed American forces,” he said. “Would the peninsula be caught in the middle of renewed Sino-Japanese rivalry, or confrontation, without the buffering presence of the United States?”



*Left: Richard Solomon and South Korean president Kim Dae Jung discussed the recent summit between the North and South at a meeting in the Blue House, Korea’s equivalent of the White House.*

Recent public demonstrations in Seoul and elsewhere against the U.S. military presence in the ROK will likely have a corrosive effect within U.S. policymaking circles on continuing support for the alliance, Solomon cautioned. “From an American perspective, stability in East Asia remains central to our security and economic future. I believe the American people can be led to sustain a forward military presence in Korea and elsewhere in the region—however modified to conform to changed circumstance—as an investment in our national security. But they will give their support only as long as they believe that this security commitment is deeply shared by the Korean people.” The alternative, he concluded, is the eventual withdrawal of U.S. forces, with the politics of the region increasingly driven by Chinese-Japanese tensions.

### Other Meetings in Seoul

During their visit to the South Korean capital, Solomon and Drennan also met with **Kim Chong-Whi**, national security adviser to former president Roh Tae-Woo, and **Richard A. Christenson**, deputy chief of mission at the U.S. embassy in Seoul—both of whom will be

senior fellows at the Institute of Peace for ten months beginning in October. Additionally, they met with **Stephen Bosworth**, U.S. ambassador to Korea, and with South Korea’s minister and vice minister of national defense, unification minister, director of the National Intelligence Service, national security adviser, vice foreign minister, members of the National Assembly, other officials, and a broad range of opinion shapers in academia and the media.

During these meetings, Solomon explored ways in which the Institute of Peace—which has been a leading center for work on Korean Peninsula issues (see page 16)—might collaborate with South Korea on conflict management issues such as tension-reduction and confidence-building measures and the reconciliation process, through policy development, education, and training programs. With the unification minister, he discussed various proposals for joint research on unification issues. “The Institute of Peace has a strong track record of work in conflict management and the reconciliation process,” Solomon says. “We look forward to contributing to the reduction of the military confrontation and to North-South reconciliation in Korea.”

*Opposite page: During a three-day summit in Pyongyang in June, North Korean leader Kim Jong Il and South Korean president Kim Dae Jung raise their arms together before signing a joint declaration aimed at easing half a century of conflict on the Korean Peninsula.*

# Fellowship Project Reports

## The U.S. Role in Ending Apartheid

While the United States was not a mediator between the South African government of President F. W. de Klerk and the African National Congress, it played a significant role in ending apartheid, notes **Princeton N. Lyman**, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace. For his fellowship project, Lyman, who was U.S. ambassador to South Africa in 1992–95, has taken a detailed look at how the United States played that role. He notes that his case study of “conflict resolution diplomacy” in South Africa may hold lessons for such diverse issues as U.S. policy toward monitoring change in China, preventing ethnic conflict, and the effectiveness of programs to support the development of democracy.

Lyman says that although the South Africans “owned” the transition process, the United States involvement was “active and intensive. It made a difference.” Through a flexible use of diplomatic initiatives and resources, both public and private, the United States facilitated the process, helped it through several crises, and encouraged it in many ways. “We cajoled leaders, brought in expert advisers, and convinced people to trust the transition process,” Lyman says.

The United States sent embassy staff throughout the country to report on developments and assess threats to the process from the right and left, including threats of violence, and worked intensively to help people stay the course. With some of the recalcitrant parties, U.S. encouragement played an especially influential role.

“On virtually every issue that came up in the negotiations, the United States provided expertise on site or access to expertise in the United States—federalism, fiscal arrangements in a federal system, parliamentary procedures, constitutional law, affirmative action.”

In the area of assistance, the embassy combined the talents of the U.S. Agency for International Development and the U.S. Information Agency (USIA), transferring money from the former to the latter to provide more flexibility, Lyman notes. For example, when sanctions still in effect prevented military training, the embassy used USIA money to send a mixed team of the ANC’s armed wing and South African Defense Force officers to the United States, fostering communication and mutual respect between them. Additionally, the United States funded training for nearly every conflict resolution organization in South Africa. During the election process, it spent

some \$40 million on voter education and support for the Independent Election Commission.

Still, it would be a mistake to focus only on official acts of diplomacy, aid, and support, Lyman stresses. For at least a decade before the negotiations between the African National Congress and the South African government, American foundations had been providing to opponents of apartheid a variety of scholarships, financial support, and access to the finest minds in America and to its best institutions. Moreover, the U.S. civil rights community made the anti-apartheid movement its own, giving it moral, political, and financial support, and exercised over time major influence on U.S. policy. European countries and institutions provided similar help.

“While South Africans had the requisite skills to resolve their own conflict, the United States provided a substantial boost to the process,” Lyman concludes. “In societies that lack conflict resolution skills, it behooves the international community to invest in building them, no matter how long it takes.”

## U.S. Interests and the Asian Financial Crisis

The U.S. government must integrate economic and security policymaking more effectively if authorities are to better manage future economic crises in the increasingly interdependent 21st century, says **Carol Giacomo**, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace. During her fellowship year, Giacomo, who is the State Department correspondent for Reuters News Agency, focused on “Economic Strategy in U.S. Foreign Policy.”

Using Thailand, Indonesia, and South Korea as case studies, Giacomo concludes that Washington had a mixed record of responding to security and economic challenges triggered by the 1997–99 Asian financial crisis. Although by 2000 the region was recovering, in 1997 and 1998 U.S. officials feared the Asian meltdown would spread around the globe and undermine even the robust American economy. With little warning, the underpinnings of democracy and the international financial system seemed quite vulnerable.

The study looks at the rising importance of the U.S. Treasury Department, the weakened position of the U.S. State Department, and how these agencies and their leaders affected policymaking during the crisis. Washington, like the rest of the world, was caught unawares by Asia’s economic tsunami, Giacomo notes. While a worldwide disaster was averted—no small



Princeton N.  
Lyman



Carol Giacomo



Arjuna  
Parakrama



achievement—the U.S.-led rescue effort was a flawed model for coping with future similar catastrophes, says Giacomo. Treasury, the traditional lead on international economics, dominated U.S. decision-making. It frequently felt that policy options offered by the State Department were empty or uninspired. State sometimes felt its advice was not sufficiently heeded. An interagency process, which sought to coordinate policymaking among disparate agencies, was not initiated until four months after the crisis began, Giacomo says. “There remains a wide divide in the U.S. government between economic and national security specialists. State has few people who can hold their own with Treasury on international economic matters. The White House fared better but even there, the institution created to ensure coordination of economic policy with other policies—the National Economic Council (NEC)—proved too weak for the task.”

The crisis pointed up the government’s thin expertise on Southeast Asia in general, a failing that made it even harder to make sound judgments as to the most effective U.S. responses, especially regarding Indonesia. It underscored that in a world in which economic events and strategies are an increasing component of U.S. national interests, changes must be made in government processes and attitudes to ensure that economic, diplomatic, and military concerns are fully integrated in national security policy. Among Giacomo’s recommendations: abolish the NEC and bring international economic policy back under the National Security Council (NSC), and ensure that the Treasury secretary remains a permanent member of the NSC.

### Elites Perpetuate Sri Lanka’s Civil War

To resolve the long, deadly civil war in Sri Lanka, it is necessary to work outside of traditional statist diplomacy, says **Arjuna Parakrama**, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace. The war essentially is a power struggle among elites who are using religion and ethnicity as a cover for their ulterior motives, he argues. “The elites in Sri Lanka are part of the problem. It is they who are generating the conflict. You have to go to the ordinary people for a solution.”

Parakrama, former dean of the faculty of arts at the University of Colombo, is a cultural theorist and human rights activist who has worked extensively at the grassroots level in Sri Lanka. That country’s 17-year-long civil war has cost some 70,000 lives, leaving hundreds of thousands of others maimed and billions of dollars of damage to the country’s infrastructure. Some 585,000 persons have been internally displaced, with about 250,000 international refugees.

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The Rev. **Theodore M. Hesburgh**, a member of the Institute’s Board of Directors since 1991, was awarded the Congressional Gold Medal—one of the nation’s highest civilian honors—in a special ceremony at the U.S. Capitol on July 13. President Clinton presented the award on behalf of Congress in recognition of Hesburgh’s many distinguished contributions to civil rights, higher education, and the global humanitarian community.

In his remarks, Clinton praised Hesburgh as “a servant and child of God, a genuine American patriot, and a citizen of the world.” Addressing Hesburgh, Clinton said that those who have been privileged to know him, “in any way, in any of your many capacities, know that your greatness, which led to all this achievement, was rooted in your understanding of our common humanity and our common tie as children of God.” Hesburgh retired as president of the University of Notre Dame in 1987, after a 35-year career in which he distinguished himself as a leader in higher education internationally. He now serves as president emeritus.

Among his many accomplishments, Hesburgh has held 15 presidential appointments, working with Democratic and Republican administrations alike. He was a charter member of the United States Commission on Civil Rights in 1957 and served as its chair in 1969–72. As a member of the board of the Overseas Development Council, he led an initiative to avert mass starvation in Cambodia in the late 1970s. In recognition of his contributions to public service, President Lyndon B. Johnson awarded him the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 1964.

“We are honored to have ‘Father Ted’ on our board,” said Institute president **Richard H. Solomon**. “With his wisdom and experience, he unflaggingly provides a strong moral compass to help guide us in developing nonviolent solutions to world conflict.”

Other notable recipients of the Congressional Gold Medal include Winston Churchill, Mother Theresa, Nelson Mandela, and Colin Powell.

## Hesburgh Awarded Congressional Gold Medal

# Short Takes

Right: David Scheffer

## Preventing War in the Taiwan Strait

Current tensions across the Taiwan Strait clamor for creative statecraft to prevent a return to hostile confrontation, says **Richard H. Solomon**, president of the U.S. Institute of Peace. “The United States has serious interests at stake in the strait region,” he notes. “We have an opportunity to exert significant influence on the evolution toward a political process that would benefit all parties.”

At the invitation of the American Institute in Taiwan, Solomon joined the U.S. delegation to the inauguration of Taiwan’s new president, Chen Shui-bian, in May. Following the visit, Solomon and **Patrick M. Cronin**, director of the Institute of Peace’s Research and Studies Program, wrote an op-ed analysis on preventing war in the strait that appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* on June 19. Chen’s inauguration opened up an opportunity to return to cross-strait dialogue, they say. Their recommendations for U.S. policy include the following:

- Quietly facilitate “Track II” encounters among officials and relevant experts from both sides of the strait until an official dialogue gains traction and, thereafter, support the formal process. [In February, the Institute of Peace supported a dialogue among 22 Chinese scholars and officials from Taiwan and the mainland. See the April issue of *Peace Watch*.]

- Urge all parties to adhere to a period of conditional military restraint in which no party would unilaterally change the military balance. The United States should avoid provocative arms sales or even declaratory policies at this delicate time while maintaining its support for Taiwan’s security. Beijing should have no doubt about the support for Taiwan’s defense in the U.S. Congress. Thus, the United States would predicate such restraint on reciprocal restraint by the mainland and Taiwan.

## Trials for the Khmer Rouge

Cambodia and the international community have reached a critical stage in the long process of bringing senior Khmer Rouge leaders to justice, says **David Scheffer**, U.S. ambassador-at-large for war crimes issues. He discussed the recent negotiations to establish a joint national-international tribunal in Cambodia to prosecute senior members of the Khmer Rouge for their crimes in the 1970s, and the prospects for such trials, at the U.S. Institute of Peace on July 19. Some 30 senior administration officials, human rights advocates, and international



lawyers attended the off-the-record round-table discussion organized by the Institute’s Rule of Law Program.

Scheffer briefed the group on the basic framework set forth in the recent draft tribunal law and the draft agreement

between the United Nations and the government of Cambodia to establish such a tribunal in Phnom Penh. The subsequent discussion focused on several key themes, including the role of the United Nations and the international community in establishing the tribunal and implementing its mandate; the goals of justice and reconciliation in Cambodia, which have heretofore proved elusive; and the structure of the tribunal, which will be a Cambodian court with the participation of international judges and prosecutors.

The ongoing process in Cambodia offers another vitally important model for dealing with violations of international humanitarian law—a mixed national and international tribunal in which the international community and a sovereign state work together to bring perpetrators to justice.

## Third-Party Mediations: Herding Cats

Today, peacemaking efforts frequently include a number of mediators and other third-party actors—peacekeeping forces, development agencies, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), and lone

Left to right: David Malone and Chester Crocker





The Institute's board of directors has selected the 2000–2001 senior fellows (resident awards) and peace scholars (non-resident dissertation awards) in the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace.

operators—all hoping to stem or stop the conflict. Such a profusion of actors often makes peacemaking efforts complex, difficult, and at times chaotic, raising a number of questions: Are these multiparty mediations good or bad? How can they be better managed? Have we learned lessons over the past decade that will produce better third-party interventions and better peace settlements?

In an effort to address these issues, U.S. Institute of Peace board chairman **Chester A. Crocker**, Institute president **Richard H. Solomon**, and **Alvaro de Soto**, special representative of the UN secretary-general for Cyprus, spoke at a June 6 symposium organized by the International Peace Academy (IPA) in New York. The event was held in conjunction with the publication of *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*, edited by Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall and published by the Institute of Peace Press.

A collection of 21 first-hand accounts of mediation in Europe, Africa, Asia, Central America, and Latin America, the volume illuminates such underexplored aspects of mediation as the comparative advantage of different mediators and mediating institutes, and the strategic effect that any third-party intervention has on international peace and security.

The three speakers at the IPA event discussed chapters they contributed to the book. Crocker, a professor at Georgetown University, who was the principal diplomatic architect and mediator in the Angola/Namibia negotiations in 1981–88, set the framework for the session by examining the essential conditions of a successful peacemaking effort. Solomon, who was assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs in 1989–92, headed the U.S. negotiations that led to a Cambodian peace settlement and the development of an approach to normalizing relations with Vietnam. He has written about those efforts in detail in *Exiting Indochina: U.S. Leadership of the Cambodia Settlement and Normalization with Vietnam*, published recently by USIP Press. De Soto, formerly the under secretary for political affairs and the secretary-general's personal representative to the El Salvador peace process, discussed lessons learned from the UN experience in mediating that intensive civil war.

## SENIOR FELLOWS

Daniel Benjamin, director for transnational threats, National Security Council, "U.S. Responses to Genocide," in residence January–October 2000

Lt. Col. Donna Boltz, United States Army, project to be determined, in residence September 2000–June 2001

Stojan Cerovic, columnist, *Vreme*, Belgrade, "The Future of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia," in residence February–November 2000

Richard Christenson, deputy chief of mission, U.S. Embassy, Seoul, "Security and Peace in Northeast Asia," in residence September 2000–July 2001

Jean-Marc Coicaud, senior academic officer and research director, UN University, Tokyo, "Multilateralism and Superpower: Dilemmas of International Democratic Culture," October 2000–July 2001

Graham Day, district administrator, Oecussi District, UNTAYET, East Timor, "Policekeeping: Public Security in Failed States," October 2000–July 2001

Neil Hicks, senior program coordinator (Middle East), Lawyers Committee for Human Rights, "The Crisis of Human Rights Implementation in the Middle East and North Africa," October 2000–July 2001

Kim Chong-Whi, former national security adviser to the president of South Korea, "Policy Options for the Republic of Korea and the United States toward North Korea and the Unification of Korea," October 2000–July 2001

Violeta Petroska-Beska, professor of education, University of Sts. Cyril and Methodius, Skopje, Macedonia, "Education for Interculturalism: Learning to Live Together in a Multicultural Society," October 2000–July 2001

Dana Priest, Defense Department correspondent, *Washington Post*, "Civil-Military Relations in the Formulation and Execution of American Foreign Policy," October 2000–April 2001 (guest scholar)

Henryk Sokalski, former assistant secretary general, United Nations, "UNPREDEP in Macedonia: A Blueprint for Early Conflict Prevention," October 2000–July 2001

## PEACE SCHOLARS

Jennie Burnet, Department of Anthropology, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, "Crisis as Opportunity: Women and Reconciliation in Rwanda"

Michele Commercio, Department of Political Science, University of Pennsylvania, "Contentious Peace in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Latvia"

Kristine Herrmann, School of International Service, American University, "Implementing or Impairing Democracy: Lessons in Democratization Assistance"

Ronald Krebs, Department of Political Science, Columbia University, "A School for the Nation? Military Institutions and the Boundaries of Nationality"

Alan Kuperman, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "Tragic Challenges: How and Why Communal Groups Provoke Genocidal Retaliation"

## Fellowship Projects

Continued from page 11

And yet these figures fail to assess or convey the war's heavy human toll, Parakrama says.

His fellowship project, "Resisting the Crossfire: Border Villages in Sri Lanka's Civil War," debunks popular explanations for the conflict in Sri Lanka in part by demonstrating the fluid and provisional nature of identity among ordinary villagers living in border communities. "In the border villages I studied, religion was never an issue," he says. "The simplistic causal explanations that have taken root in academic discourse on Sri Lanka's war—that it is a religious war between Buddhists and Hindus, or an ethnic war between culturally distinct and unmixed Sinhala and Tamil groups—are made untenable by the rich complexity of these villagers' lives," he notes.

Such simplistic explanations also fail to consider class-based alliances and schisms, religious coalitions, other ethnicities, and the many people of mixed heritage. Those at the margins of the conflict demonstrate radically different options that display tolerance and plurality as they resolve their conflicts on a daily basis at the village level.

"Many elites derive power and profit from the conflict," Parakrama says. "War is big business, a self-perpetuating exercise. The initiative to end the fighting is now in the hands of people who are not really committed to peace."

Past constitutional reforms have failed to truly change a system that keeps power in the hands of particular families, networks, and groups. Parakrama concludes that whatever constitutional reform may be recommended, it will not end the conflict unless it ensures that power is effectively shared on the ground.

## InstitutePeople

Articles by **JON B. ALTERMAN**, program officer in Research and Studies, appeared in the following publications: "Ruling is Tough for Jordan's Abdullah—For Syria's Bashar, It's Even Tougher," Outlook Section of the *Washington Post* on June 18; "Peacebuilding and the Limits of Technology," *Palestine-Israel Journal*, Summer 2000; "Counting Nodes and Counting Noses: Researching New Media in the Middle East," *Middle East Journal*, Summer 2000.

Board chairman **CHESTER A. CROCKER** testified on the pre-elections crisis in Zimbabwe before the House International Relations Committee, Subcommittee on Africa, on June 13.

**PATRICK M. CRONIN**, director of Research and Studies, lectured on "Coercive Diplomacy" for Davidson College's Washington Program on June 13. The Center for Strategic and International Studies has invited Cronin to participate in a year-long project to identify and recruit future

## New Director of Grant Program

The Institute welcomes **Judy Barsalou** as the new director of the Grant Program. Before coming to the Institute, Barsalou was a program officer at the Jerusalem Fund, Center for Policy Analysis on Palestine, in Washington, D.C. In 1996–99, she served as executive director of the Middle East Research and Information Project, which publishes the *Middle East Report*. Barsalou was director of academic programs at the Institute of Government Affairs, University of California at Davis, in 1992–95, and she served as principal negotiator for the Office of Research at Davis in 1991–92. In that capacity, she developed and negotiated research contracts and agreements with academic institutions; private industry; and local, state, and federal agencies.



In 1984–90, she was a program officer at the Ford Foundation, where she developed, monitored, and evaluated grants supporting research, training, and institutional development in international relations, economics, governance, and public policy. She also created and managed the foundation's Middle East Research Competition (MERC), a regional social science competition designed to extend outreach to non-Western trained scholars.

Barsalou earned a bachelor's degree at the University of California at Berkeley in 1976; a master of arts in 1979 and a master of philosophy in 1980, both at Columbia University; and a doctorate in comparative politics at Columbia in 1985. She also earned a Middle East Institute certificate at Columbia in 1980. She replaces David Smock, who heads the Institute's new Religion and Peacemaking Program.



American leaders in foreign and international policy.

**DEBRA LIANG FENTON**, program officer in Research and Studies, discussed "The Role of the U.S. Institute of Peace in Conflict Management" at the 16th annual World Affairs Conference held at Marymount University in Arlington, Va., June 26–29. The conference was sponsored by the Rotary Club of Springfield, Va.

An essay by Institute president **RICHARD H. SOLOMON** and **PATRICK M. CRONIN**, director of Research and Studies, on preventing war in the Taiwan Strait appeared in the *Los Angeles Times* on June 19 and in the *St. Petersburg Times of Russia* on June 23.

**WILLIAM A. STUEBNER**, adviser to the Rule of Law Program, discussed the possibilities for peace and reconciliation in Bosnia-Herzegovina at the Srebrenica Report Symposium held by the United Nations in New York City on July 11.

Institute board member **ALLEN WEINSTEIN**, president of the Center for Democracy, led a bipartisan group of center directors that monitored the Russian presidential election last spring. Weinstein recently discussed current Russian-U.S. relations at the National Archives and the Kennan Institute. His essays on presidents Theodore Roosevelt and Harry Truman appear in *"To the Best of My Ability": The American Presidents*, published in August by the Society of American Historians.

## Kampelman Honored



The Library of Congress named **Max M. Kampelman**, vice chair of the Institute's Board of Directors, a "Living Legend" on April 24 as part of the library's bicentennial celebrations. In a letter announcing the award, James Billington, Librarian of Congress, cited Kampelman for his "accomplishments as a public servant and as a pioneering, persevering, and deeply effective defender of human rights." Billington noted that Kampelman's achievements "have influenced our nation and enriched our culture."

Kampelman distinguished himself in public service on many occasions, including as head of the U.S. delegation to meetings on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, held in Madrid in 1980–83 and in Moscow in 1991; and as head of the U.S. delegation to the Negotiations on Nuclear and Space Arms in 1985–89.

On June 1, Kampelman received the 2000 Jewish Leadership Award from the Washington Institute for Jewish Leadership and Values.

# 2001 Solicited Grants

The Institute conducts an annual solicited grant competition on themes and topics of special interest. For further elaboration of the solicited grant topics as well as application materials, please call, write, or visit our web site at: [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).

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*The closing date for receipt of solicited grant applications is December 29, 2000. Awards announcements will be made in early April.*

Solicitation A  
Post-Conflict  
Peacebuilding

Solicitation B  
Asia-Pacific

Solicitation C  
The Balkans

Solicitation D  
Training

# U.S. Institute of Peace Work on → Korea

## Korea Working Group

In addition to Current Issues Briefings and related events on Korea held over the years at the Institute, the Research and Studies Program has convened a Korea Working Group since 1993. The group, currently under the direction of Patrick M. Cronin, director of the Research and Studies Program, and program officer William A. Drennan, brings together leading policymakers, government officials, and scholars to discuss issues and developments impacting the peninsula. Most of the Special Reports listed below resulted from working group meetings. (See page 8.)

## Grants

Since 1984, the Institute of Peace has awarded 24 grants totaling \$763,953 for conflict management and resolution projects relating directly to the Korean Peninsula.

## Books

- *Negotiating on the Edge: North Korean Negotiating Behavior* by Scott Snyder (USIP Press, 1999)

## Reports

To receive a copy of the following reports, write to the Institute's Office of Communications, call 202-429-3832, or visit our web site at [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).

- *The Politics of Famine in North Korea*, by Andrew Natsios (Special Report, August 1999)

- *Mistrust and the Korean Peninsula: Dangers of Miscalculation* (Special Report, November 1998)
- *"Trialogue": U.S.-Japan-China Relations and Asian-Pacific Stability* (Special Report, September 1998)
- *Challenges of Building a Korean Peace Process: Political and Economic Transition on the Korean Peninsula* (Special Report, June 1998)
- *North Korea's Decline and China's Strategic Dilemmas* (Special Report, October 1997)
- *A Coming Crisis on the Korean Peninsula? The Food Crisis, Economic Decline, and Political Considerations* (Special Report, October 1996)
- *North Korea's Nuclear Program: Challenge and Opportunity for American Policy* (Special Report, March 1994)
- *The North Korean Nuclear Challenge: The Post-Kim Il Sung Phase Begins* (Special Report, December 1994)

## Senior Fellows

The following senior fellows in the Institute's Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program have been or will be focusing their fellowship research on Korea:

- Richard Christenson, deputy chief of mission, U.S. Embassy, Seoul, "Security and Peace in Northeast Asia," 2000-2001
- Kim Chong-Whi, former national security adviser to the president of South Korea, "Policy Options for the Republic of Korea

and the United States toward North Korea and the Unification of Korea," 2000-2001

- Vladimir Ivanov, head of the Asia-Pacific Regional Studies Department, Institute of World Economy and International Relations, Moscow, "The Prospects for Peace and Conflict in the Western Pacific Region and Northeast Asia in the Post-Communist Era," 1992-93
- Yang Lee, former director-general of the South Korean Foreign Ministry, "Peace-building on the Korean Peninsula," 1993-94

## Guest Scholars

Moon Moo-Hong, Park Chan-Bong

## Peace Scholars

The following peace scholars have written their dissertations on issues impacting the Korean Peninsula.

- Katherine Burns, Department of Political Science, MIT, "Subnational Power and Multilateral Cooperation in Northeast Asia," 1996-97
- Carla P. Freeman, Department of China Studies, Nitze School of Advanced International Studies, Johns Hopkins University, "The Foreign Relations of a Decentralizing State: China's Northeast in Post-Mao Asia," 1995-96



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