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Students Study Peace

Forty-five winners of this year's National Peace Essay Contest visit their representatives on Capitol Hill and study the effectiveness of third parties in civil conflict.



Left: Essay Contest winners at the Finnish Embassy on awards night.

Below: Rep. Ralph Regula addresses the students on Capitol Hill.

On her last day in Washington, **Kimberly Greenberg** of New York attended a briefing by Rep. **Ralph Regula** (R-Ohio), had a private meeting with her district's congressman, Democrat **Gary Ackerman**, toured the Supreme Court, visited all the monuments along the National Mall, got completely lost, and landed in the middle of a crowded outdoor press conference with the TV

cameras rolling and the dome of the Capitol looming in the background.

"It was so amazing," said the soon-to-be junior at Great Neck North High School on Long Island.

Greenberg came to Washington on June 23-28 for a five-day intensive working tour of the city along with 44 other first-place
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Above, left to right: Stefanie Nelson and Suzanne Hopcroft.

state winners in the U.S. Institute of Peace's National Peace Essay Contest.

Among their many activities, the students participated in a three-day simulation exercise focused on the conflict in Sri Lanka. As part of the exercise, they attended briefings by Sri Lankan officials at that country's embassy and by officials from the State Department and the World Bank at the bank's headquarters.

On their final day, the students met with their representatives on Capitol Hill, had free time to explore the Mall monuments and museums, and ended the day with a banquet at the Finnish Embassy, where the top three national winners were announced. About 5,000 students from across the United States, including Puerto Rico and American high school students studying overseas, wrote essays for this year's Peace Essay Contest, and of those about 1,200 submitted theirs. The first place nationally was awarded to **Stefanie Nelson** of Bountiful, Utah, with a \$10,000 scholarship; second place to **Suzanne Hopcroft** of Woodstock, Conn., \$5,000; and third place to **Scott**

Moore of Louisville, Ky., \$2,500. The state winners received a \$1,000 scholarship.

Visiting Capitol Hill

Greenberg said she was most impressed by Regula's talk. The 15-term Republican from Ohio spent over an hour with the students discussing the fast-paced life of America's political leaders in Congress and the issues they wrestle with. The items he discussed included the conflicts in the Middle East and the Balkans, and his recent visit to Macedonia. Political leaders need to make difficult decisions about when to intervene in a crisis to prevent further suffering, and they have to balance many competing interests and demands, he said. "We are a rich nation surrounded by an ocean. But we are a people who care about our neighbors, about the people of the world and helping them."

"Regula was very open and honest," Greenberg said after his talk. "Not everything is perfect in Washington, but trust in government is important. We take it for granted how stable our country is. It meant a lot to me that he spoke to us so openly. He was really cool."

After Regula's talk, **Adam Figueira** of Delaware and his friend **Matthew Holbreich** of Indiana dropped by the office of Sen. **Joseph Biden** (D-Del.) on a whim. The senator had a busy schedule that day, and Figueira didn't have an appointment, but being an outgoing fellow, Figueira told Biden's staff that he had gone to high school with the senator's daughter. "They got right on the phone and called him," Figueira said. One thing led to another, and soon Figueira and Holbreich

were riding on the trolley that runs under the Capitol alongside the senator, who was on his way to cast a vote.

From there, Biden took the youths to a staff meeting, where his staff briefed him for a press conference on topics ranging from the Balkans to the Middle East to East Asia and national security more broadly. "The senator needs to be an expert on all those subjects in order to do a press conference," Figueira said. "You could tell everything the staff said was going right into his head."

That evening at the award ceremony at the Finnish Embassy, **Chris Belcik** of Hallettsville, Tex., population 2,700, said he had been completely surprised to discover that he was one of the essay contest winners. There are 24 sophomores and 18 juniors in his entire high school, Sacred Heart Academy, where he will be a junior. At first, he didn't want to come to Washington, in part because he had never been outside Texas before, but his teacher, **Ida Bludan**, encouraged him to attend. Before writing the essay, his main interest was agriculture, as he works after school on the family farm hauling hay, feeding cattle, and fixing fences. Writing the essay and participating in the events in Washington "opened up a window for me," he said. "I learned a lot about the peace process and diplomatic relations."

After the national winners were announced, Stefanie Nelson, who will be a senior at Bountiful High School, said that winning the first place scholarship had completely changed her options for college. Her first choice is now Harvard. "I'm shaking," she said. "It's wonderful."



Top: Students participate in a call-in radio program at the Voice of America.



Middle, left: Stefanie Nelson at VOA. Middle, right: Students prepare for a briefing at the Sri Lankan Embassy.



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Bottom, left to right: Joshua Hershberger meets with Sen. Richard C. Shelby (R-Ala.) at his office on Capitol Hill.



Right: Jean-Marc Coicaud

Peacekeeping in the 1990s and the Dilemmas of the International System

In the 1990s, the international community deployed nearly 40 peacekeeping operations representing the largest outlay of energy, money, and troops in the area of peacekeeping to date, notes **Jean-Marc Coicaud**, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace in 2000–2001. “These peacekeeping operations represented a willingness on the part of the international community to extend a sense of solidarity and responsibility regarding human rights and humanitarian issues,” says Coicaud. At the same time, however, there were definite limits to international solidarity around peace operations—for example, the Western democracies, in particular the United States, became increasingly reluctant to put their soldiers’ lives at risk. Such limits to solidarity led to ambiguous directives and commitments and mixed results.

For his fellowship project, Coicaud, a senior academic officer in the Peace and Governance Program at the United Nations University in Tokyo, uses peacekeeping as a lens through which to assess the emerging post–Cold War international order. He worked at the United Nations in 1992–96 as French language speechwriter for Secretary General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and his executive office.

Essentially Coicaud, whose background is in political science and philosophy, looks at the evolution of the international system, describing its successes, failures, and ambiguities, as well as the ethical and political dilemmas that it faces. His ultimate concern is whether the international community will maintain some degree of solidarity over humanitarian issues, human rights values, and democratic principles, or whether it will retreat to a more traditional mode of operation based on competition and strategic interests.

Coicaud notes that the peacekeeping missions of the 1990s involved a range of initiatives previously unthinkable: humanitarian interventions, mixtures of humanitarian aid and peace enforcement, cooperation between the UN and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), and the UN Security Council’s establishment of international criminal tribunals. “And yet, for all the expansiveness of these operations, the results appear in retrospect to be quite modest,” he says. “Moreover, compared to the unmatched issues that were addressed, and the visibility of peacekeeping in the news media, the UN peacekeeping operations budget was a ‘mere’ \$17 billion over 10 years.” During the same period, for example, the defense spending of the United Kingdom and France was some \$400 billion each, and of the United States, about \$3 trillion.

“We’re hearing that UN peacekeeping is costly, which it is. However, the cost is quite low, relatively speaking. There’s a total lack of proportionality between the visibility of peacekeeping operations and the real numbers behind it,” Coicaud says.

Critics tend to blame the shortcomings of UN peacekeeping operations on problems within the UN, a lack of political will among member states, and a reluctance to multilateral action on the part of the United States, the sole global power. Coicaud explores each of these explanations in depth. He notes that the United States essentially created the post–World War II international architecture and gave its own liberal principles and values to the new international system. Once the East-West competition of the Cold War was gone, the United States and other Western democratic powers had an incentive to respond to these democratic and humanitarian imperatives.

However, their desire to do so ran into competing interests and values. In the United States, for example, there is an inherent tension between Congress’s primary focus on domestic issues and the country’s power and influence globally. In Western democracies, there also is a tension between an increasing sense of international responsibility to respond to humanitarian and human rights crises while domestically a growing sense of individual entitlement undermines social solidarity.

In what direction might such tensions lead? Coicaud concludes that the international order will not develop in just one direction or the other. Instead, we will likely see a hybrid international world unfold, one in which countries face a constant struggle to balance the competing demands of the national and international realms.



The Future of Peace Operations

In the future, the United Nations is likely to conduct peace operations only where the parties invite intervention and the international community agrees, thus risking the recurrence of genocide similar to Rwanda's 1994 massacre.



The demand for peacekeeping operations will likely remain constant or increase over the next five years, say a group of international peacekeeping experts. However, most of these experts agree that the United Nations will conduct only those operations where the parties invite outside intervention and the international community agrees on the operation. This will leave the more difficult and dangerous peace enforcement operations to "coalitions of the willing" such as regional organizations or states, thus risking the recurrence of a genocide similar to Rwanda's 1994 massacre.

Some 35 peacekeeping experts discussed "The Future of Peacekeeping Operations" at a U.S. Institute of Peace workshop held on July 9–10. The Institute cosponsored the event with the National Intelligence Council and the United Nations Association of the United States. **Patrick Cronin**, director of the Institute's Research



and Studies Program, helped to organize the event, which was held on a not-for-attribution basis. Participants included representatives of the five permanent members of the UN (the "Perm Five") and 15 other UN member states, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and other operational missions, secretariat officials, embassy and UN mission personnel, and others.

Among these were Major-



General **Martin Luther Agwai**, deputy force commander of the UN mission in Sierra Leone; **Z. R. Zeif Al-Hussein**, Jordan's permanent representative to the United Nations, and General **Satish Nambiar** (ret.), former first force commander and head of mission with the UN forces in the former Yugoslavia.

The meeting sought to establish an international dialogue on

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Top, left to right: Jocelyn Coulon, Graham Day, Heran Song, Jacques Paul Klein, and Jan Eliasson. Above, left to right: Satyabrata Pal, Martin Agwai, and Peter Wallensteen.

Making SENSE



The Institute's Training Program facilitates a simulation exercise to help USAID personnel confront problems a country in transition is likely to experience.



The "country" of Akrona has recently emerged from a long period of strife. Its three ethnic groups—the Akroni, Brezni, and Zebzedi—have longstanding grievances. The country's infrastructure is a shambles. Healthcare is rudimentary and HIV/AIDS on the rise. The economy, never strong, barely functions. Natural resources are being depleted. Unemployment is at 40 percent. Corruption is rampant. And Akrona has become dependent on the generosity of the international community. What measures are needed to foster stability in this country?

Some 55 country directors and other personnel at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) were asked to answer that question as part of a simulation exercise—based on human interactions and specially designed software—held on July 30–August 2 at the Institute for Defense Analyses (IDA) in Alexandria, Va. **George Ward**, director of

the Training Program at the U.S. Institute of Peace, and **Ray Caldwell**, program officer, facilitated the training exercise in cooperation with IDA.

The simulation software—called SENSE, or Strategic Economic Needs and Security Simulation Exercise, and developed by **Richard White** of IDA—provides exercise participants with the opportunity to realistically confront problems a country in transition is likely to experience and to discover the conditions and measures that will help it to become a stable, market-based, democratic society. The software is an experiential learning tool; it does not prescribe specific actions to take in the real world.

"SENSE is the most effective training tool for managing post-conflict transition that I've ever seen," Ward says. "Participants learn micro-skills such as negotiation, apply them in a very realistic setting, and get immediate feedback about the impact of their decisions. None of the results are preprogrammed. The participants can try whatever they want—test their policies and ideas for governance and economic growth and see if they work." Ward and Caldwell helped to add political, social, health, and environmental components to the simulation, which also factors in the interrelationships and interdependencies of economic, military, infrastructure, and related issues.

Andrew Natsios, administrator of USAID and a senior fellow at the Institute of Peace in 1998–99, is considering using the SENSE simulation as a training tool to strengthen the ability of host country leaders to build economic, social, and political stability. The lack of such stability often leads to conflict. "In the last five years, over two-thirds of the countries in which USAID has missions have been involved in civil war or conflict," Natsios said on the last day of the exercise. The agency's work may be cancelled out if USAID doesn't strengthen the foundations for security, stability, and progress. Among other goals,



USAID seeks to use the simulation to build a work ethic of collaboration among its personnel, country teams, and host country nationals and to develop an integrated framework of analysis among them to foster stability, economic growth, and democratic governance.

Under the auspices of IDA, leaders of East European and Eurasian nations transitioning from centrally planned authoritarian regimes to market-based democracies, including Bosnia-Herzegovina, the Republic of Georgia, and Montenegro, have also participated in the simulation.

Essentially, up to 64 participants in the simulation exercise assume various roles such as representatives of the executive, legislature, national bank, World Bank and International Monetary Fund, local and international companies, local and international nongovernmental organizations, European Union, and United States. Each participant receives a playbook, which gives a baseline of information about each role and its available resources and describes the current status of Akrona, including such things as the unemployment rate, resource depletion rate, HIV infection rate, and so forth. Personal interactions are a necessary part of the exercise, as participants negotiate policies, loans, contracts, and related matters. The software processes their inputs about every three minutes, which is the equivalent of one month, and displays the impact of their decisions on such things as health, public order, government finance, and even stability. Participants then have to deal with the new situation they have created. They negotiate with each other, build consensus, and attend mock donor conferences, national forums, and press conferences. There also is an after-action review.

The game helps participants identify policies necessary to encourage investment and to further economic opportunities, and to weigh military and social

Patrick M. Cronin . . .

director of the Institute's Research and Studies Program, has been confirmed as assistant administrator for policy and program coordination at the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID). He will serve under administrator Andrew S. Natsios, who was a senior fellow at the Institute in 1988-89.

William A. Drennan, an Institute program officer and Korea expert, will serve as acting director of the Research and Studies Program when Cronin leaves in September.



tradeoffs, Caldwell says. The interactions help to increase mutual understanding and respect while highlighting contentious issues and various approaches to dealing with them.

Franklin Moore, acting director of the environmental center at USAID and exercise participant, said the simulation shows "how difficult it is for donors to figure out how they can contribute to the overall well-being of a country." The exercise also revealed the impact of environmental degradation on social and economic factors in a country, he said. For example, in the hypothetical country of Akrona, excessive forest cutting led to water degradation, which led to decreased life expectancy in general and increased child mortality.

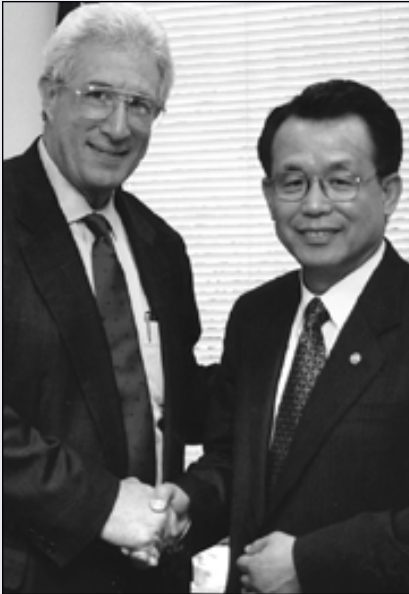
The exercise also helped to reveal the role of ethnicity in decision-making, Moore said. "We each identify with our ethnicities. Sometimes we act for the good of our ethnic group, sometimes for the good of our country, and sometimes those are at odds with each other."

Opposite page: Participants review the impacts of their decisions during the simulation.

Top left, left to right: Harriet Hentges, George Ward, and Andrew Natsios.

Top right: Marc Leland (center) discusses financial issues during a simulation meeting.

ShortTakes



▲ **Seung-soo Han**, minister of foreign affairs and trade for the Republic of Korea (ROK), met with Institute president Richard H. Solomon on June 12 to discuss recent developments on the Korean Peninsula. Afterward, he addressed the Institute's Korea Working Group, focusing on the status of North/South Korean rapprochement and the centrality of the U.S.-ROK alliance for the future of the peninsula.

The U.S. and the UN: Narrowing the Gap on Human Rights

Although the United States has put human rights into the mainstream of foreign policy, it still has not developed a coherent strategy on human rights, according to a group of human rights policy experts. They discussed the United States' recent loss of its seat on the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (UNCHR) and related issues at a U.S. Institute of Peace meeting held on June 8. The Institute's Human Rights Implementation Project, headed by **Debra Liang-Fenton**, organized the meeting, entitled "The

U.S. and the UN: Narrowing the Gap on Human Rights."

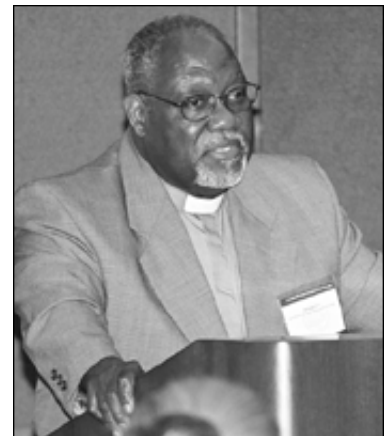
Participants included **Paula Dobriansky**, undersecretary of state for global affairs; **John Shattuck**, former assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights, and labor; **Jan Eliasson**, Swedish ambassador to the United States; and **Mark Lagon** of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The roundtable discussion was off the record. Participants discussed the implications of the U.S. ouster from the UNCHR for human rights policy implementation, as the United States becomes increasingly isolated on human rights issues. And they explored whether the United Nations will be able to promote human rights effectively without U.S. participation. For example, while the United States does not hold a seat on the commission, authoritarian and oppressive governments do, which will likely impact the credibility and effectiveness of the UNCHR.

One participant suggested that U.S. policymakers must recognize the costs of U.S. exceptionalism, unilateralism, and ultimately isolationism, and that it must apply its human rights standards at home. It can accomplish some of these goals by, for example, ratifying key UN treaties—treaties that the United States may have been a signatory to but has delayed ratifying, such as the convention on the elimination of discrimination against women. The United States also can be more proactive in engaging developing countries and expanding the membership of the UN Security Council. Some participants also encouraged the United States to play an active, constructive role in the then-upcoming UN conference on

AIDS and its World Conference Against Racism, using these forums to work multilaterally on issues important to the protection of rights.

Faith-based NGOs Meet

The Rev. **Burgess Carr** of Liberia shared his experiences in the Nigerian and Sudanese civil wars during a workshop for faith-based nongovernmental organiza-



tions (NGOs) held at the Institute on June 20. The meeting was organized by **David Smock**, director of the Religion and Peacemaking Initiative. The workshop enabled participants to share experiences and lessons learned from their work on mediation, reconciliation, training in peacebuilding, interfaith dialogue, and functional approaches to peacemaking conducted in zones of conflict.

Carr discussed his experiences carrying messages between the two sides during the Nigerian civil war in the 1960s. Later, as secretary general of the All-Africa Conference of Churches, his mediation during the Sudan civil war led to the interim peace agreement signed in Addis Ababa in 1972.



Peace Operations

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▲ **Sadiq Al-Mahdi**, head of Sudan's Umma Party and former Sudanese prime minister, discussed the issue of the restoration of democracy in Sudan and proposals for securing peace and stability there at an Institute meeting on June 11.



▲ **Tonino Picula**, foreign minister of Croatia, met with members of the Institute's Balkans Working Group on June 7 to discuss recent developments in his country. He also discussed Croatia's aspirations concerning the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the European Union, how Croatia is dealing with minority rights and economic reforms, and the role Croatia can play in regional compliance with the International Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia at The Hague, among other topics.

the issue of peacekeeping at a time when some of the most pressing concerns related to peacekeeping missions are not being debated, Cronin says.

Workshop participants noted that the UN had led only 18 of the 55 peacekeeping operations conducted last year. The others were led by multilateral coalitions as in East Timor and Kosovo, with the UN coming in later as a transitional authority. "Peace enforcement boils down to, Can you do the job? As soon as another tough case comes along, the system is likely to bog down," notes Cronin. "That's why the conventional wisdom that there will not be another Rwanda-type genocide is wrong."

The North/South divide dominated much of the discussion. Many UN members resent the dominant position of Europe and America, the wealthier Western countries that make the major decisions regarding UN involvement in an operation. "You decide, we deploy and die," they complain. For example, India and Jordan do not want to contribute troops to African missions unless the wealthier countries also participate—they pulled out of Sierra Leone for that reason. Yet, some participants noted, while India blames the Perm Five for their unwillingness to lead peace operations in Africa, India also wants to keep UN troops out of South Asia.

Africans said they are willing to conduct African operations themselves, but they need training and materiel. However, proximity plays a role in Africa as well, with South Africa more willing to engage in the south and West African nations in the west.

There is also an East/West divide in the United Nations: Asia is still not part of the decision-

making, nor does it contribute troops in the numbers that it could.

However, participants generally recognized that outside of Europe, there is no regional security organization that can provide effective peace enforcement, so while there is a desire to let regional organizations handle their own conflicts, there is a big capability gap. Still, sometimes very little is needed. An endless array of coalitions of the willing may be practical.

Meeting participants concluded that it remains unclear if there will be more effective support for UN and regional peace operations generally to ensure more timely responses, thus averting tragedies like that of Rwanda. But there was consensus that the United States should actively participate in preventing such tragedies, or, if it cannot prevent them, in helping to restore the peace.

Making Sense

Continued from page 7

Toni Christiansen-Wagner, director of USAID's Jordan mission, said she had learned a great deal from the exercise. "SENSE gives you the ability to get an overview of a country and to factor in various assets and liabilities involved in rebuilding a society that is emerging from conflict," she said. Ethnic, religious, or ideological factors often get overlooked but are evident in the simulation. Beyond that, the simulation also provides an opportunity to "better understand the roles and responsibilities of colleagues and the impact of their decisions on the overall well-being of the country and the achievement of goals, be they political, economic, or social."

The Institute's Board of Directors approved the following grants in January.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C. "Peacebuilding in Islamic Contexts: Values and Applications." Mohammed Abu-Nimer. \$20,000.

ASIA SOCIETY, New York, N.Y. "Building Peace and Civil Society in Afghanistan: Challenges and Opportunities." Robert Radtke. \$35,000.

BOSTON COLLEGE, Weston, Mass. "Deterrence in East Asia: The United States, China, and Regional Conflict." Robert S. Ross. \$38,000.

CARNEGIE COUNCIL ON ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, New York, N.Y. "Making Human Rights Work: A Research and Dialogue Project." Joanne Bauer. \$40,000.

CENTER FOR CONFLICT MANAGEMENT, Almaty, Kazakhstan. Conflict Studies, Summer University: "Contemporary Situation and Future Perspectives." Lada Zimina. \$35,000.

CENTER FOR PEACE STUDIES, Zagreb, Croatia. "MIRamiDA Plus Partnership." Jasmina Papa Stubbs. \$37,000.

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, Washington, D.C. "Conflict Resolution Training for Religious and Community Leaders in Kosovo." David Steele. \$30,000.

CENTER FOR SUSTAINABLE HUMAN RIGHTS ACTION, New York, N.Y. "Central American Training Development Project." Wendy-Maria Jacques. \$33,000.

CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF VIOLENCE AND RECONCILIATION, Braanfontein, South Africa. "Assessment of Truth and Reconciliation within the Amnesty Hearings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission of South Africa." Hugo van der Merwe. \$35,000.

CONCILIATION RESOURCES, London, United Kingdom. "Accord: Papua New Guinea/Bougainville Peace Process." Andy Carl. \$35,000.

GINO COSTA, Lima, Peru. "The Root Causes of Political Violence in Peru According to its Practitioners." \$30,000.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, Washington, D.C. "Overcoming Europe's

Divide: NATO Enlargement and the Search for a New Security Order in Europe." Ronald D. Asmus. \$35,000.

EUROPEAN CENTER FOR CONFLICT PREVENTION, Utrecht, The Netherlands. "Searching for Peace in the Middle East." Juliette Verhoeven. \$32,000.

FOUNDATION FOR MIDDLE EAST PEACE, Washington, D.C. "Towards Palestinian Revisionism." Philip Mattar \$38,000.

GROUP MOST, Center for Anti-War Action, Belgrade, Yugoslavia. "Balkan Bridges." Dragan Popadic. \$33,000.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Mass. "Terror in the Name of God." Jessica Stern. \$35,000.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, WOMEN AND PUBLIC POLICY PROGRAM, Cambridge, Mass. "Mobilizing Civil Society for Peace: What Role for Women?" Rita Manchanda. \$30,000.

INSTITUTE FOR JUSTICE AND RECONCILIATION, Rondebosch, South Africa. "Working for Reconciliation in Post-TRC South Africa." Charles Villa-Vicencio, S. F. Du Toit. \$35,000.

INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS LAW GROUP, Washington, D.C. "Human Rights and Peace Training in Burundi." Paul Simo. \$35,000.

INTERNATIONAL PEACE ACADEMY, New York, N.Y. "Freedom from Fear: The United Nations and Global Security in the 21st Century." Andrew Mack. \$35,000.

INTERNEWS NETWORK, Washington, D.C. "Genocide on Trial: Bringing Justice to Rwandans." Mark Frohardt. \$40,000.

JERUSALEM INSTITUTE FOR ISRAEL STUDIES, Jerusalem, Israel. "Mediation and Arbitration Between Israelis and Palestinians." Ora Ahimeir. \$30,000.

JUSTICE AFRICA, London, United Kingdom. "Sudan Peace Process Monthly Briefing." Yoanes Ajawin. \$30,360.

KATHA ORGANIZATION, Colombo, Sri Lanka. "Building Communities of Peace: Working Towards the Subaltern Resolution of Sri Lanka's Civil War." Arjuna Parakrama. \$38,000.

MCGILL UNIVERSITY, Montreal, Canada. "The Bureaucratic Politics of Peacebuilding." Rex Brynen. \$15,363.

SAMAJIK SHAIKSHANIK VIKAS, Munirka, New Delhi, India. "Towards a Peaceful Indian Ocean: A Study of Coastal Conflicts in South Asia." Mukul Sharma. \$41,800.

SEEDS OF PEACE, New York, N.Y. "Caught in the Crossfire: Young Palestinian and Israeli Peacemakers Wage Peace in Time of War." Dafna Hochman. \$10,900.

SPRING ARBOR COLLEGE, Spring Arbor, Mich. "Lessons from Rwanda." David Rawson. \$35,000.

WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA, Washington, D.C. "Public Security Reform in Transitional Societies: Defining Success and Learning from Failure." Rachel Neild. \$25,000.

WAYNE STATE UNIVERSITY, Detroit, Mich. "Arms to Conflict-Event Database, 1990-2000." Frederic Pearson. \$30,000.

The Institute's Board of Directors approved the following grants in March.

AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C. "Religion and Civil Society in Pakistan." Mustapha Kamal Pasha. \$25,000.

ASIA CENTER, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass. "Sino-Japanese War (1931-45): Local Government." Ezra F. Vogel. \$40,000.

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, Washington, D.C. "Expanding Global Capacity for Humanitarian Intervention and Peace Operations." Michael O'Hanlon. \$30,000.

CAMBODIAN INSTITUTE OF HUMAN RIGHTS, Phnom Penh, Cambodia. "Good Governance Training for Peace, Democracy, Citizen Participation, and the Growth of Civil Society." Kassie Neou. \$38,000.

CARNEGIE COUNCIL ON ETHICS AND INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS, New York, N.Y. "The Education and Reconciliation Research Project." Elizabeth Cole. \$40,000.

CENTRE FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, Jakarta, Indonesia. "Indonesia's Democratic Transition: Domestic Reform, International Engagement." Rodd McGibbon. \$39,995.



COALITION FOR INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, Washington, D.C. "Serbian Media Symposium." Stefanie Frease. \$25,200.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, New York, N.Y. "An Inter-Ethnic Conflict Transformation Training Program for Burma's Minority Ethnic Groups." Andrea Bartoli. \$38,485.

THE CORRYMEELA COMMUNITY, County Antrim, Northern Ireland. "Corrymeela Interface Peace Building Project." Colin Craig. \$30,000.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, Washington, D.C. "Building Conflict or Building Community: Ameliorative Factors and the Future of Asian Security." Robert A. Manning. \$35,000.

CUNY CENTER, Arlington, Va. "Linking Peacebuilding to Short-Term Programming." Kimberly A. Maynard. \$35,000.

DEPAUL UNIVERSITY, Chicago, Ill. "Bridging the Gap: The Military and Humanitarian Organizations in Bosnia and Kosovo." Thomas Mockaitis. \$40,000.

EASTERN MENNONITE UNIVERSITY, Harrisonburg, Va. "International Scholar and Practitioner Participation at Summer Peacebuilding Institute." Pat Hostetter Martin. \$20,000.

EUROPEAN CENTRE FOR MINORITY ISSUES, Flensburg, Germany. "Montenegro Conflict Management Project." Marc Weller. \$40,000.

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY, Fairfax, Va. "Case Study: Day-to-Day Decision Making in Peace Implementation." Robert W. Farrand. \$40,172.

GEORGIA STATE UNIVERSITY RESEARCH FOUNDATION, Atlanta, Ga. "Warlords into Democrats? The Impact of Electoral Processes and Decentralization on Party Development in Bosnia Herzegovina and Kosovo." Carrie Manning. \$22,050.

INSTITUTE FOR RESOURCE AND SECURITY STUDIES, Cambridge, Mass. "Trauma Recovery and Community Reconciliation: Building a Healthy Civil Society in the Former Yugoslavia." Paula Gutlove. \$40,000.

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