

Inside

- 4 PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE
The Institute at 15
- 5 DONOR PROFILE
Edna Fuerth Leml
- 6 NORTH KOREA
William Perry on Normalization
- 6 EAST TIMOR
Ramos Horta
- 7 Amb. Kampelman
Receives Top Honor
- 8 Women & Peacebuilding

Next Steps in Kosovo

Berger, Albright, and Kosovar Albanian leaders consider the steps necessary to achieve a prosperous, democratic future for the province.

While the fighting in Kosovo has stopped and peacekeeping troops are in place, victory will come only when Kosovo and southeast Europe are “so tightly integrated into the rest of Europe that another war is inconceivable,” says **Samuel “Sandy” Berger**, national security adviser to President Clinton.

Berger discussed the challenges facing peace in Kosovo at the U.S. Institute of Peace on September 30. He chose the Institute as the site for his address on Kosovo because of the Institute's extensive work on the Balkans.

“Let me congratulate the Institute . . . for all the valuable work you have done to strengthen peace around the world,” Berger said. He went on to cite a recent three-day facilitation the Institute conducted in September with leaders of the major Kosovar Albanian factions and civic groups—including the Kosovo

Liberation Army (KLA)—at the request of the State Department.

The facilitation was chaired by **Chester A. Crocker**, chairman of the Institute's board of directors, and organized by **Daniel Serwer**, director of the Institute's Balkans Initiative, and executive vice president **Harriet Hentges**. At the meeting, 39 leaders of the feuding factions, journalists, economists, and representatives of nongovernmental organizations hammered out a framework for cooperation to help guide Kosovo toward democracy. Participants included **Hashim Thaqi**, head of the provisional government in Kosovo and a leader of the KLA, and **Bujar Bukoshi**, a leader in the rival Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK). **Ibrahim Rugova**, head of the LDK, was invited but did not attend.



Clockwise: Bujar Bukoshi, Madeleine Albright, Hashim Thaqi, and Samuel “Sandy” Berger.

“You hosted a remarkable discussion,” Berger said of the meeting, “bringing together a diverse group of Kosovar Albanian leaders, skillfully assisting as they fashioned a declaration of principles for a democratic society.” The full text of Berger's speech is available on the White House

See *Kosovo*, page 2

Kosovo

Continued from page 1

web site: www.whitehouse.gov.

Secretary of State **Madeleine Albright** addressed the Kosovar leaders at the State Department on the final day of the workshop, and former senator **Robert Dole** of Kansas spoke during the group's discussions.

"You must combat the temptations of revenge, corruption, and

criminality," Albright cautioned the group, referring to continued social disorder and ethnic violence in the province, now primarily ethnic Albanians attacking ethnic Serbs and Roma (Gypsies). "Acts of terror harm your own cause," Albright said. Dole pointed out that continued violence would discourage international donors

opportunity for frank and open exchanges. The groups were divided into three major areas of discussion: political process, moderated by **George Ward**, director of the Institute's Training Program; economic reform, moderated by **Michael Froman**, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and former



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and investors from contributing to the reconstruction process.

While the Institute has hosted numerous public briefings with major Serbian leaders, Serbs were not invited to participate in the facilitation because the goal was to improve relations among Albanian Kosovar leaders, Serwer notes. "Conflicts among the Kosovar Albanians are a serious obstacle to peace implementation, destabilizing Kosovo in ways that hurt Albanians and Serbs alike."

The Lansdowne Meeting

Although the Kosovar Albanian leaders knew who the others among them at the September meeting were, many of them had never met before. The meeting was held at the Lansdowne Conference Center near Leesburg, Va., to avoid the glare of publicity. Extensive small group discussions provided the

chief of staff at the Treasury Department; and the development and role of civil society, moderated by **Hal Saunders**, director of international affairs at the Charles F. Kettering Foundation and former national security council staff member.

At the end of three days, participants had gained the mutual confidence to develop a joint declaration stating in part their commitment to establish a forum in which they will consult each other during this transitional period of governance in Kosovo. They agreed that the forum will meet regularly, be open to all political forces, and have a rotating chair. The Institute was asked to facilitate the first meeting, which is now in the planning stages.

They also stated their determination to free citizens who have been illegally detained or imprisoned or illegally subjected to judicial processing. They want all



hostages in Serbia, many of them children, returned and an accounting of all missing persons. And they want war crimes prosecuted and witnesses protected.

Among other issues addressed in the declaration, the leaders agreed that to achieve a future of peace and prosperity for all Kosovars, the following nine

elements are necessary: self-determination, rule of law, human rights and individual liberties, responsive government institutions, a multi-ethnic society, a market economy, the integration of Kosovo into international institutions, an international role for Kosovo that would help protect the rights of Kosovars, and an



updated educational system. The full text of the declaration is available on the Institute's web site:

www.usip.org.

After the meeting, Crocker noted that the Kosovar lead-

ers had worked hard and purposefully. "I was struck throughout the workshop not only by how seriously the participants took their respective roles in bringing democratic change to Kosovo, but also by the degree of respect that developed across political parties and social groups."



The Institute at Fifteen

Professionalizing Peacemaking



Richard H. Solomon

In October 1984, just fifteen years ago this month, Congress enacted legislation establishing the United States Institute of Peace. Its charter reflected the strivings of a national campaign for an institution dedicated to educating peacemakers. Congress directed us to serve the American people through policy research, education, and training on ways of promoting international peace and resolving conflicts without recourse to violence. Today, the Institute is thriving in its “teen” years, growing into its mandate, steadily building its public identity as a national center of education and professional training in the skills of international conflict management.

The world of the Cold War in which the Institute was founded had little space for peacemaking. Governments were the prime movers in international affairs, struggling to maintain a stable nuclear standoff and resisting political destabilization of their allies. The work of peace was focused largely on arms control and crisis management. The communist states had corrupted the very concept of peace by using it as a propaganda weapon—playing on public fears of a nuclear Armageddon in their confrontation with the democracies. The yearnings for self-realization and political autonomy of numerous communities around the world were constrained by the alliance systems of the superpowers.

The unanticipated collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union a decade ago changed everyone’s world, but not all for the better. The early 1990s was not a time of peace, but the onset of today’s era of ethnic

and religious violence, failing states, humanitarian crises, and the efforts of local tyrants to use communal hatreds and the technologies of mass destruction for their malign purposes. This transformation of the international environment has challenged the Institute to give full meaning to its charter. It is spurring our growth from an initial focus on education and research into an activist institution promoting professional training, policy development, and the facilitation of dialogue among parties to conflict.

Today, the Institute’s fellowships and research grants support analysis of the changing character of international conflict, and approaches to its prevention and resolution. Our fellows, like Galina Starovoirova, assassinated in St. Petersburg for challenging official corruption and advocating democracy, or Adnan Abu-Odeh, recently selected by Jordan’s King Abdullah as his political adviser, are on the vulnerable front lines of political change. Our professional training programs heighten the skills of diplomats in the techniques of mediation and negotiation, and of military for peacekeeping operations. The Institute’s military fellow Colonel Jim Warner, after a year of research on peacekeeping in the Balkans, commanded the American brigade in Bosnia. We are creating a cadre of professional peacemakers. At the request of the Department of State, we now facilitate “track-two” dialogues among parties to conflict—in Bosnia, Kosovo, South Asia, Sudan, and the Western Sahara.

Our education programs, which now run from high school through graduate training, are attracting new generations to careers in



international affairs. Our policy development workshops and seminars bring together scholars, “think tank” researchers, and private sector NGOs with congressional staff and senior officials of the executive branch. We are connecting theories of peacemaking to their practical applications. The Institute’s growing convening power is evident as senior officials—presidents, foreign ministers, the secretary of state, the national security adviser—seek us out as a platform to reach their publics.

Our goals for the next several years are to further “mature” the Institute’s programs and expand its public outreach. By the time we reach twenty-one, we will have refined our professional training activities and broadened the scope and reach of our educational programs. We will have designed a permanent home for the Institute on the National Mall that will be a symbol of America’s commitment to leadership in creating a less violent world. It will be a center for education, research, and hands-on training in the skills of conflict management.

With public support, in the coming decade we will begin the construction of this facility which, when completed, will dramatically expand the Institute’s role in public education. The facility will have global outreach through the new technologies of teleconferencing, webcasting, and Internet publication. We will be fulfilling the vision of our congressional creators and public supporters, building professional careers in the management of international conflict and peacemaking.

—Richard H. Solomon

A Passion for Peace

Edna Fuerth Lemle—a founding spirit behind the United States Institute of Peace—remains one of its staunchest supporters.

Edna Fuerth Lemle is among the lucky few to have found a great teacher.

Lemle—a longtime supporter of the U.S. Institute of Peace—was a sophomore at Barnard College when she met Harold Laski (1893–1950), one of Britain’s most articulate and influential political scientists and economists. Laski espoused the principles of political pluralism, decried economic injustice, and—especially during the early years of his intellectual prominence—taught that the individual should play a central role in directing the activities of the state.

“He was five foot four, but when he talked he was ten feet tall,” Lemle says today, still excited by the memory of the intellectual universe he opened up to her. At Laski’s invitation and under his tutelage, Lemle studied at the London School of Economics for a year as an undergraduate—one of the few women to do so at that time.

Laski’s humanist influence has stayed with her, though perhaps somewhat tempered by her experience as an executive in the business world, she is quick to say. Yet the ideas for which Laski won so much acclaim are reflected in Lemle’s lifelong work on behalf of world peace.

Not least of these efforts was Lemle’s key role in working with the late Senator Spark Matsunaga of Hawaii on legislation to establish the United States Institute of Peace, which became a reality in 1984.

Indeed, Lemle was one of the moving forces behind the establishment of the Institute and remains one of its strongest supporters, says Institute president Richard H. Solomon. Lemle has recently contributed almost \$70,000 to the Institute’s Capital Campaign to build a headquarters near the National Mall.

“If there were more citizens like Edna Lemle in the world, we could all sleep better at night,” Solomon says. “Her constant and forthcoming moral and financial support for our work are an ongoing boon to the Institute.”

Seated in a high-backed white leather chair in the penthouse offices of her New York City real estate company, Lemle recently reminisced about her work on behalf of the Institute of Peace.

“I thought that the time for a peace institute was long overdue,” Lemle said of the late 1970s and early 1980s. “I worked awfully hard to bring it to reality. For a long time peace was a dirty word. The very fact that the Institute of Peace is accepted and respected by the State Department and the administration and the people is a very big victory.”



donor
profile

Normalization with North Korea Holds Promise

Recent agreements between the United States and North Korea may represent an important turning point on the Korean Peninsula.

Former secretary of defense **William Perry** says that it is in the strategic interest of the United States to offer North Korea a path toward normalization of relations, even though there are no guarantees that the

regime in Pyongyang will choose to walk this path, which requires it to reduce its military threats to the United States—including forgoing the test-firing of long-range missiles and continuing to freeze its nuclear weapons program.

The United States, along with its allies, will closely monitor North Korean compliance and—should a breach occur at any point—is prepared to pursue an alternate strategy, Perry stresses. Even with the freeze on its nuclear program, however, North Korea may still have both the material and the means to manufacture at least one or two nuclear weapons, he acknowledges.

Perry made his comments at a State Department press conference on September 17, shortly after he gave an early-morning off-the-record briefing to a joint meeting of the U.S. Institute of Peace's North Korea Working Group and the Council on Foreign Relations' Independent Task Force on Korea. President Clinton appointed Perry last year to head a review of U.S. policy toward North Korea. Perry recently submitted a classified report of his recommendations to the president and Congress.

Charles Kartman, U.S. special envoy to the Korean peace talks, and **Wendy Sherman**, counselor to the State Department, also attended the Institute briefing, which comprised deep background on many of the issues discussed in Perry's report and at the State Department press conference. **William Drennan**, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, heads the Institute's North Korea Working Group, which has been meeting since 1993.



Jose Ramos Horta

THE CRISIS IN EAST TIMOR

Indonesia has committed “state-directed murder and destruction” against East Timor and its people, says Jose Ramos Horta, an East Timorese pro-independence activist and winner of the Nobel Prize for Peace in 1996. He is calling for an international tribunal to investigate the “systematic slaughter” of thousands of innocent civilians and the “town-by-town destruction” of the province by the Indonesian military and various militia forces, which he says are under the military's direction.

Ramos Horta discussed the crisis in East Timor at a U.S. Institute of Peace current issues briefing on August 5. He

urged economic sanctions against Indonesia and called for the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to freeze all funds slated for the government in Jakarta.

Indonesian military forces have orchestrated all of the violence, not East Timorese favoring unity with Indonesia, as the Indonesian government claims, Ramos Horta charged. The Indonesian government had promised to honor the results of the August 30 referendum on independence, but when results overwhelmingly favored independence, a ruthless campaign of violence was unleashed.

The Indonesian military recruited militia groups from among violent criminal gangs in western Timor to attack East Timorese civilians and destroy their homes, Ramos Horta said. The militia displaced a still undetermined number of East Timorese and drove an estimated 200,000 into exile, many in western Timor, where the militias continue to ruthlessly intimidate them.

“Thousands of lives were wasted because the international community trusted the Republic of Indonesia,” Ramos Horta said. “The Indonesian presence in East Timor is finished for good,” he concluded. “East Timor is free. There is no turning back.”

Ramos Horta did not offer a vision of how peaceful relations between East Timor and Indonesia will take root in the future, a development many see as essential to enduring stability in the region.



Perry said that a number of meetings over the last year with top North Korean officials confirmed that the North Korean government was “very much interested” in normalizing relations.

Nevertheless, North Korea places a high value on its missile program, he noted, which provides deterrence, prestige, and economic gain from the export of missile technology, including to Pakistan. “It was . . . clear that they understood that giving up their missiles was necessary for moving to normalization,” Perry stressed.

In response to the North’s agreement to end testing of long-range missiles capable of delivering nuclear warheads to Japan and parts of the United States, the United States has lifted some sanctions on North Korea relating to the trade of consumer goods and raw materials. Nevertheless, many other economic and diplomatic sanctions remain in place, including a ban on the trade of military-related goods. “This is just a small first step,” Perry said. North Korea also remains on the U.S. list of terrorist countries, and Perry has made no recommendation to remove it.

Full normalization of relations would involve the normalization of both diplomatic and economic relations. To that end, Perry has invited the first vice foreign minister of North Korea to visit Washington to continue discussions. Additional conferences with other top officials are also expected.

Because of long-standing and deep mistrust between the two nations, normalization will take place incrementally, with the United States prepared to switch course, if necessary. “We have to take whatever actions are necessary to protect our own security,” Perry said. And normalization



Kampelman Receives Nation’s Highest Civilian Honor



Ambassador **Max M. Kampelman**, vice chairman of the Institute’s Board of Directors, was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom—the nation’s highest civilian honor—by President Clinton in a special White House ceremony on August 11. Institute president Richard H. Solomon also attended the ceremony in the East Room, during which President Clinton honored Kampelman and several other distinguished medal recipients, including former president Gerald Ford.

In introducing the citation for Kampelman’s many contributions to the country, President Clinton noted in particular Kampelman’s service in World War II, a career advising public officials at the highest level, and a determined commitment to fighting oppression in Europe.

The president also spotlighted Kampelman’s work as head of the United States delegation overseeing the Helsinki Act, when “his unflinching words kept human rights at the center of East-West relations. An uncommonly gifted negotiator, he won crucial arms control agreements. Together these efforts helped set in motion the collapse of communism and the beginning of a new era of democracy.” The president concluded by praising Kampelman for excelling as a diplomat, a philanthropist, and a humanitarian: “He has been a quintessential American citizen.”

Solomon notes that “we are fortunate to benefit directly from Max’s wisdom and dedication here at the Institute, where he has served on the board since 1992. Our board members and staff congratulate him for this well-deserved and special honor, and express our thanks to him for his continuing contributions to our work.”

cannot take place without the full cooperation of Japan and South Korea, which have been closely consulted throughout Perry’s nine-month negotiations with North Korea.

The full text of Perry’s press conference is available on the State Department’s web site at: <http://secretary.state.gov/www/statements/1999/990917a.html>.

Redressing the imbalance of political influence between men and women may be key to curbing violence and developing new approaches to international peace.

Left to right:
Nancy Rubin,
Harriet Hentges,
Pumla Gobodo-
Madikizela



Women & Peacebuilding

While men are at war, women typically emerge from the home to operate a broad range of services and institutions. Today, these women are often eager and even determined to use their new skills to put an end to war and to participate in rebuilding their societies, notes a group of women leaders active in grassroots peacebuilding internationally.

Increasingly, women in conflict areas seek to rebuild their societies in ways that will enable them to continue to participate in public life more broadly and equitably than before, including

through increased economic activity. However, their efforts are often thwarted by a variety of local and international social and political customs that favor male dominance.

Many women argue that redressing the imbalance of social, political, and economic power between men and women in societies across the globe—including Western democracies—is key to formulating new approaches to building sustainable peace internationally.

Nancy Rubin, U.S. representative to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights, highlights the connections between peace, justice, human rights, and women's rights. There can be no peace without justice and no justice without respect for

basic human rights worldwide, she says. Human rights include women's rights, and these rights provide freedom from injustice not just for women but for "their children, their men, and their nations."

Rubin delivered the keynote address at a conference entitled "Perspectives on Grassroots Peacebuilding: The Roles of Women in War and Peace" sponsored by the U.S. Institute of Peace on September 14.

Some 50 scholars, representatives of nongovernmental organizations, and policymakers attended the conference, organized by **Donna Ramsey Marshall**, program assistant in the Research and Studies Program, and **Patrick Cronin**, director. The event included two panel discus-



sions, one on the roles of women in conflict and the other in peace.

Discussion on the first panel was moderated by **Rosemary O'Neill** of the State Department, and on the second by **Swanee Hunt**, director of the Women and Public Policy Program at

Human Rights Watch and Rubin discussing the history of rape as a war crime and the need for increased prosecution. The Institute's Research and Studies Program organized that event and co-sponsored it with Women in International Security.

ability to influence political events is limited. In post-conflict reconstruction, women are often entirely excluded from the formal process.

Hibaaq Osman of the Center for the Strategic Initiatives of Women said that while women in



Harvard's Kennedy School of Government. Hunt is chair of "Women Waging Peace," an initiative that will bring together 100 women leaders from 10 major conflict areas December 5-18 at The Kennedy School.

During the Harvard conference, the Institute's Training Program, headed by **George Ward**, with the assistance of Institute executive vice president **Harriet Hentges** and training staff, will provide a three-day coalition building program that will include facilitated dialogues among participants.

After the Women and Peacebuilding meeting, the Institute sponsored a related meeting on September 29 on "International Criminal Justice: Sexual Violence as a War Crime." That event featured **Martina Vandenberg** of

At the first Institute meeting, **Cheryl Benard** of the Boltzmann Institute in Vienna noted that because women typically are less involved in the public sector, their

Somalia have been active in post-conflict reconstruction, they are hampered in their efforts by lack of education, lack of funding, and difficulty in transportation and communication. Other conference participants said many emerging local women leaders don't speak English, which hinders their ability to network with women leaders outside of their culture and to communicate with the international community and the media.

Tara Sonenshine, special adviser to the Institute and former
See Women, page 10



Clockwise:

Deepa Ollapally and Swanee Hunt

Courtney Mireille O'Connor and Mae C. King

Jennifer Schirmer and Tara Sonenshine

The Institute's board of directors has selected the 1999–2000 senior fellows (resident awards) and peace scholars (non-resident awards) in the Jennings Randolph Program for International Peace.

SENIOR FELLOWS

Daniel Benjamin, director for transnational threats, National Security Council, "U.S. Responses to Genocide," in residence December 1999–September 2000

Keith Brown, Department of Anthropology, University of Wales, "Accommodating Identities in Macedonia: Lessons for Conflict Resolution in Multiethnic Societies," in residence October 1999–July 2000

Cengiz Candar, columnist, *Sabah*, Istanbul, "Toward Democracy with Islam: Turkey in the 21st Century," in residence October 1999–July 2000

Stojan Cerovic, columnist, *Vreme*, Belgrade, "Yugoslavia after the Kosovo Conflict," in residence February–November 2000

Tony Coady, Department of Philosophy, University of Melbourne, "The Ethics of Military Intervention," in residence October 1999–March 2000

Carol Giacomo, State Department correspondent, Reuters, "Economic Strategy in U.S. Foreign Policy," in residence October 1999–July 2000

Kemal Kurspahic, former editor-in-chief, *Oslobodjenje*, Sarajevo, "Voices of Hatred, Voices of Tolerance: The Media in Bosnian Conflict and Reconciliation," in residence October 1999–July 2000

Princeton Lyman, former ambassador to South Africa and former assistant secretary for international organizations, U.S. Department of State, "The United States' Role in South Africa's Transition to Democracy," in residence October 1999–July 2000

Ahmad Moussalli, Department of Political Studies, American University of Beirut, "Individual Liberty, Civil Society and Limited Government in Popular Islam vs. the Authoritarianism of the Islamic State," in residence October 1999–July 2000

Oyeleye Oyediran, Department of Political Science, University of Lagos,

Women & Peacebuilding

Continued from page 10



Martina Vandenberg and Gale Mattox

editor at ABC's *Nightline*, noted that the mainstream media is changing dramatically, in part due to the Internet. Instead of women trying to get coverage from "the old boys' news network," women should instead focus on creating "a new girls' news network."

Participants agreed that the U.S. government, in part through the design and funding of international programs, needs to make the empowerment of women central to all policies relating to conflict prevention, management, and resolution and to post-conflict reconstruction.

They urged the U.S. government to help build structures in post-conflict societies that will enhance women's political activism, skill development, and economic power.

Violence against Women

Many participants noted that "tradition" or "custom" are often used in some cultures to justify violence against women with impunity. Such violence ranges from domestic abuse to the use of rape as punishment and intimidation by governments and warring factions.

Indeed, some warring factions use the rape of women as a major weapon, one that seeks to degrade women and to disrupt or destroy personal integrity and family and communal life. "Violence against women in war is linked to the acceptance of violence against women in civil life," Rubin noted at the Institute conference on sexual violence.

Although there are now laws against domestic violence in many countries and rape is officially designated as a war crime, prosecution is difficult and, in the case of war crimes, convictions are rare, Vandenberg added. In Bosnia, for example, "there have been so few arrests [for rape]. Most perpetrators are absolutely free and there is no political will to carry out arrests." On the positive side, women victims of rape she recently interviewed in Kosovo say they will testify against their attackers. They have "extremely high hopes for prosecution," she said. "Women now expect men [who have raped] to be prosecuted. . . . They want to see these men behind bars."



ShortTakes

Training Strengthens Democratic Systems in Caribbean and Latin Countries

Thirty-five representatives from 17 Caribbean and Central American states and Colombia attended a training seminar, “Enhancing Conflict Analysis and Management Skills: Tools for Strengthening Democratic Systems” offered by the U.S. Institute of Peace June 23–30 in the Dominican Republic. The Institute collaborated with the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, the Organization of American States, and the Pontificia Universidad Católica Madre y Maestra in Santo Domingo to present the program, which was designed by Institute program officer **Lewis Rasmussen**, **George Ward**, director of the Training Program, and **Margarita Studemeister**, director of the Institute’s Jeannette Rankin Library, assisted with the training.

“The emphasis was on developing capacities for conflict prevention and management through building skills in negotiation, mediation, conflict analysis and policy planning, and systems design,” Rasmussen says. “The seminar allowed people from very different professional and national backgrounds to explore the application of best practices by sharing experiences with one another across a wide range of situations related to the promotion of democratic public life.”

Participants included community activists, government officials, military officers, and educators. Case studies, working groups, role plays, and simulation exercises allowed participants to test principles and concepts and refine techniques in a highly professional and realistic environment.

Teachers Tackle Kosovo Online

Some 25 high school social studies teachers from around the country participated in a hands-on computer simulation on Kosovo at the Institute’s Summer Institute for Secondary School Teachers August 2–7. Researchers at the University of Maryland developed the computer simulation.

The weeklong program, “International Peace, Security, and Conflict Management,” was organized by **Jeffrey Helsing**, program officer in the Institute’s Education Program. The seminar included presentations by 25 experts in international relations, conflict management, teaching methods, and electronic research methods, including Institute staff and current and former senior fellows.

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Subscribe pingme [<your e-mail address>]

“Democracy vs. Military Authoritarianism in Nigeria,” in residence October 1999–July 2000

Arjuna Parakrama, dean of the Faculty of Arts, University of Colombo, “Resisting the Crossfire: The Dual Identity of Border Village Communities in Sri Lanka’s Ethnic War,” in residence October 1999–July 2000

Tamara Siverteseva, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, “The Quest for National Identity in the North Caucasus,” in residence October 1999–July 2000

PEACE SCHOLARS

Jeffrey Albert, Department of Environmental Studies, Yale University, “The Science and Politics of Water Reclamation in Israel, Jordan, and Palestine: Implications for Regional Peace”

D’Arcy Brissman, Department of History, Duke University, “‘Democracy by Drill and Harrow’: Haitian Civil-Military Relations and U.S. Occupation, 1915–34”

Stuart Douglas, Department of Anthropology, Rice University, “The Cultural Politics of Reconciliation: An Ethnography of Reparation and Rehabilitation in Contemporary South Africa”

Elise Giuliano, Department of Political Science, University of Chicago, “Paths to the Decline of Nationalism: Ethnic Politics in Russia”

Gregory Maney, Department of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, “Transnational Networks and Ethnic Mobilization: Origins of the Troubles in Northern Ireland”

Mark Mullenbach, Department of Political Science, University of Arizona, “Third Party Interventions in Intrastate Disputes”

Paula Pickering, Department of Political Science, University of Michigan, “Minority Choices in Postwar Bosnia-Herzegovina”

Jeremi Suri, Department of History, Yale University, “Failed Peace: Détente and Dissent, 1958–72”

Nicole Watts, Department of Political Science, University of Washington, “Ethnic Allies and State Power: Kurdish-State Relations in the Middle East”

InstitutePeople

JON ALTERMAN, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, moderated a discussion of “The Arab World: Looking to the Future” at the Secretary of State’s Open Forum on June 30. He also published book reviews in *Middle East Insight* and the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*.

SALLY BLAIR, program officer in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, discussed “Career Transitions: The Fellowship Option” at a meeting hosted by the Women’s Foreign Policy Group, Washington, D.C., on June 17. She participated in a panel discussion of “Careers in International Security” at the Tenth Annual Summer Symposium for Graduate Students in International Affairs hosted by Women in International Security in Annapolis, Md., on June 11.

JOHN CRIST, program officer in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, was elected as a representative to the Council of the Peace, War, and Social Conflict Section of the American Sociological Association in July. The position runs for three years, 1999–2002. Crist co-authored with John D. McCarthy and Clark McPhail a chapter on “The Diffusion and Adoption of Public Order Management Systems” in *Social Movements in a Globalizing World*, published by St. Martin’s Press in April.

Board chairman **CHESTER A. CROCKER** has been selected to serve on National Defense University’s board of visitors. Board members, who are vetted by the Joint Chiefs of Staff and

the secretary of defense, advise the university on programs and priorities. Crocker will serve for three years. His op-ed on regional conflict in Africa appeared in the *New York Times* on August 6.

PATRICK M. CRONIN, director of the Research and Studies Program, published an article on “The Next Kosovo” in the July/August issue of *International Economy*.

Board member Father **Ted Hesburgh** recently received two honorary degrees, one from the State University of New York’s Institute of Technology at Utica-Rome on May 8, and the other from Connecticut College, New London, Conn., on May 29. Hesburgh now holds 141 honorary degrees.

HEATHER KERR-STEWART, education specialist in the Education Program, is serving on the advisory committee for the American Foreign Service Association’s National High School Essay Contest. She is developing essay contest questions, reviewing guidelines, and suggesting resources. In August she presented and discussed Institute of Peace classroom teaching materials during an “Educational Material Exchange” session of a conference of the Gifted and Talented Programs, held in Istanbul, Turkey.

DEBRA LIANG-FENTON, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, discussed “Human Rights Policy” at a graduate seminar on “Humanitarianism and Its Discontents: An Advanced Seminar on Human

Rights” at American University on July 19.

DEEPA OLLAPALLY, program officer in the Grant Program, was the keynote speaker at the Regional Workshop on “Women in International Security: Exploring South Asian Initiatives,” held at the National Institute of Advanced Studies, Bangalore, India, on July 29. She also discussed “Strategic Culture and Conceptions: Convergence and Divergence in Indo-U.S. Relations” at Jawaharlal Nehru University’s School of International Studies in New Delhi on August 3.

LEWIS RASMUSSEN, program officer in the Training Department, visited Bosnia-Herzegovina in September to meet with international and national officials working on training police, including Jacques Klein, United Nations special representative of the secretary general, and Sredoje Novic, minister of the interior for Republika Srpska. Rasmussen also met with training staff of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) to assess needs for a training the Institute will conduct in late November and early December for international and national OSCE staff.

DAVID SMOCK, director of the Grant Program, discussed the role of the United States Institute of Peace in international peacemaking at the Festival of Arts and Ideas in New Haven, Conn., on July 20. The event was sponsored by the United Nations Association and the Interfaith Cooperative Ministries.



Video Teleconference Focuses on Indonesia's Future

SCOTT SNYDER, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, at the invitation of the Taiwan Research Institute, attended a conference on the U.S.-Japan Security Alliance and Asia-Pacific Security, held in Taiwan on July 18–22. Conference participants met with President Lee Teng-hui and other leading members of Taiwan's government.

RICHARD H. SOLOMON, president of the Institute, discussed "Making Peace in the New Century" at Congregation Beth El of Bethesda, Md., on September 20. He was the congregation's High Holiday speaker in honor of Yom Kippur. He gave a similar talk at the Concord–St. Andrew's United Methodist Church in Bethesda on October 10.

TARA SONENSHINE, special adviser to the Institute, moderated a discussion of women's lives in the 20th century, sponsored by Women of Washington and *Washingtonian* magazine on August 4. The event, "A Century of Change: Celebrating Women's Lives," featured a panel discussion by several prominent women of their groundbreaking experiences in medicine, physics, and organized religion.

Among its many challenges, the new government in Indonesia needs to fundamentally reassess its relationship to local government, says **Stanley O. Roth**, assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs. While former president Suharto favored strong central control, the opportunity exists now to let local governments address problems locally, which is "potentially a means of holding the country together."

Roth offered Washington's perspective on Indonesia's future at a video teleconference with a select group of Indonesian scholars, politi-

cians, and journalists on August 5. The unique half-day dialogue, "Indonesia's Future: Unity or Fragmen-



Left to right: Daniel Blumberg, Richard Solomon, Patrick Cronin, and Stanley Roth.



Above: An audience of experts watches the participants in the dialogue on video screens at the U.S. Information Agency.

tion?" was sponsored by the U.S. Institute of Peace in cooperation with the Center for the Study of Peace and Security at the University of Gadjah Mada in Yogyakarta, Indonesia, and the U.S. Information Agency.

Patrick Cronin, director of the Institute's Research and Studies Program, organized the event. In Indonesia, **Ichlasul Amal**, rector of the University of Gadjah Mada, moderated the discussion, which focused on the forces of fragmentation and mechanisms for preserving unity in Indonesia.

Panelists in Washington included Institute board chairman **Chester A. Crocker** of Georgetown University, **Asna Husin** of the World Conference on Religion and Peace, **Peter Lewis** of American University, **Adam Schwarz** of the Johns Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, **Richard H. Solomon**, president of the Institute of Peace, and Institute board member **Scott Thompson** of the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy at Tufts University.

The Institute's board of directors recently approved the following grants.

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, Washington, D.C. Examine American and Chinese positions on major international issues including the role of nuclear weapons, use of force by international organizations, alliances, and nonproliferation. R. Bates Gill. \$35,000.

CENTER FOR STRATEGIC AND INTERNATIONAL STUDIES (CSIS), Washington, D.C. Assess emerging North African–European conflict situations and the potential role for preventive diplomacy toward their resolution; examine key states, their interactions in NATO, the EU, and the OSCE, and U.S. policy in the region. William H. Lewis. \$30,000.

CONCILIATION RESOURCES, London. Assess progress in peacemaking between Azerbaijan and Armenia over Nagorno-Karabakh five years after the cease-fire signed in 1994. Thomas de Waal. \$36,000.

CORRYMEELA COMMUNITY, Northern Ireland. Support 90 Northern Irish community workers and international peace activists engaged in mediation and conflict resolution to help sustain the movement toward a permanent peace; includes a summer school and workshops aimed at building skills in conflict management, increasing self-confidence, and establishing support networks. Colin Craig. \$38,000.

ETHICS AND PUBLIC POLICY CENTER, Washington, D.C. Examine the impact of nuclear weapons on strategic and regional stability; consider the debates over the H-bomb, arms control treaties, and the recent acquisition of nuclear and missile capability by India and Pakistan. Ernest W. Lefever. \$10,000.

FEDERATION OF AMERICAN SCIENTISTS FUND, Solna, Sweden. Assess existing mechanisms of technology transfers relevant to the Biological and Toxin Weapons Convention; develop an inventory of potential transfers ranging from vaccines to intellectual property rights. Jean-Pascal Zanders, Dorothy Preslar. \$38,000.

FUND FOR PEACE, PANOS INSTITUTE, Washington, D.C. Develop training materials and organize roundtables aimed at developing and promoting improved strategies within the Nigerian media for reporting on diversity, ethnic relations,

and minority rights. Dapo Olorunyomi. \$35,000.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C. Examine the escalation of war and the possible paths to peace in Colombia. Assess the impact of the drug trade on political violence, explore environmental issues in the context of negotiations of civil wars and guerrilla insurgencies, and develop new approaches to conflict resolution and development. Marc W. Chernick. \$22,000.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C. Analyze the prospects of a U.S. grand strategy for managing the transition from unipolarity to a world of multiple centers of power, including an inquiry into past power transitions that occurred peacefully. Charles Kupchan. \$38,000.

GLOBAL YOUTH CONNECT, Cambridge, Mass. Conduct a three-week training and education project for 20–30 young human rights activists to explore broader global frameworks and stimulate the cross-fertilization of ideas; develop a training manual for international human rights promotion. Jennifer Kloes. \$35,000.

INSTITUTE OF WORLD AFFAIRS, Zagreb, Croatia. Support a training program based at three Centers for Civic Cooperation, located in Vinkovic in Eastern Croatia and in Gradacac and Odzak in Bosnia-Herzegovina, to foster confidence- and consensus-building and conflict resolution skills among local leaders. Max Primorac. \$30,000.

LONDON SCHOOL OF ECONOMICS AND POLITICAL SCIENCE, England. Investigate the strategies employed by the Mozambique government and international donors to facilitate the reintegration of former combatants into civilian society following Mozambique's civil war. J. Christopher Alden. \$16,402.

MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY, Cambridge, Mass. Explore the potential impacts of Japanese economic changes domestically and internationally, with a focus on implications for the U.S.-Japan security alliance. David Asher. \$37,000.

MEDIATION NETWORK FOR NORTHERN IRELAND, Belfast, Northern Ireland. Provide a training program for clergy and lay members of churches in Northern Ireland to enhance the capacity of churches to address intra-church, inter-church, and church-community conflicts. Doug Baker. \$40,000.

RADIO KAMELEON, Tuzla, Bosnia and

Herzegovina. Through television and radio programming, engage the mayors of Tuzla, Brcko, and Brcko-Ravne in a dialogue to enhance public understanding of and stimulate debate on human rights and democracy building. Zlatko Berbic. \$25,000.

SALVE REGINA UNIVERSITY, PELL CENTER FOR INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS AND PUBLIC POLICY, Newport, R.I. Explore ways in which the United States and the international community can promote national reconciliation in Cuba and its reintegration into the international community. Alberto R. Coll. \$40,000.

SEEDS OF PEACE, New York. Develop an educational, interactive CD-ROM program based on the experiences of Arab and Israeli youth who have participated in the Seeds of Peace summer camp program for use in classrooms in the Middle East. Michael Wallach. \$30,000.

UNIVERSITY OF BRITISH COLUMBIA, Vancouver, Canada. Analyze the domestic forces in North Korea that help shape its policy toward the United States, considering North Korea's ideology, power relations, and domestic constraints. Kyung-Ae Park. \$30,000.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, IRVINE, Irvine, Calif. Hold a conference to bring together third-party conflict analysts and parties from conflicts to gain a better understanding of the efficacy of unofficial diplomacy; compare cases from the Middle East, Northern Ireland, Bosnia, Abkhazia-Georgia, and Transnistria-Moldova. Paula Garb. \$32,000.

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI, Cincinnati, Ohio. Train college and university professors in the use of information-age technology in teaching international conflict resolution online, including how to evaluate student learning using these new technologies. Howard B. Tolley. \$35,000.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, Notre Dame, Ind. Explore how political institutions have acted as levers of conflict management in divided societies, and how institutions of divided or plural societies can be engineered to help bring about intercommunal accommodation and strengthened democracy. Andrew Reynolds, Scott Mainwaring. \$38,000.

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS, Scotland. Explore the causes, characteristics, and consequences of suicide terrorism, focusing on South Asia and the Middle East. Rohan Gunaratna. \$25,000.



WASHINGTON OFFICE ON LATIN AMERICA, Washington, D.C. Support a series of conferences on conflict resolution in the Andes, focusing particular attention on ongoing political violence and peace initiatives in Colombia and efforts to promote democracy in Peru and peace with its neighbors. Cynthia McClintock, Coletta Youngers. \$36,000.

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS, Washington, D.C. Focusing on Afghanistan, evaluate alternative approaches taken by international relief organizations to promote human rights while delivering humanitarian assistance under conditions that intrinsically jeopardize those rights. Patricia Gossman. \$39,600.

WOODROW WILSON INTERNATIONAL CENTER FOR SCHOLARS, Washington, D.C. Assess NATO's and the OSCE's conflict prevention, resolution, and peacekeeping capabilities and develop recommendations to improve their ability to prevent conflict and preserve stability. William H. Hill. \$30,000.

WORLD VISION, Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Develop and implement projects to enhance positive interaction between the local communities in Brcko and the police force and strengthen participation of minority returnees in the formal education system, particularly through parent-teacher associations. Juliet Stein. \$38,000.

YALE UNIVERSITY, New Haven, Conn. Assess the experience of the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM) established to investigate and eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction; explore UNSCOM's successes and failures and its utility as a model for future UN weapons inspection and elimination programs. Jean E. Krasno, James Sutterlin. \$35,000.

Recent projects funded by the Institute's Grant Program have produced books that span a wide range of issues and regions. To order the books, please contact the publisher listed below or your local bookstore.

Building Peace in Haiti by Chetan Kumar (Lynne Rienner and the International Peace Academy, 1998)

Details the history of the Haitian conflict, assessing attempts to resolve it and offering recommendations for peacebuilding.

Cambodia and the International Community edited by Frederick Z. Brown and David G. Timberman (Asia Society, 1998)

Analyzes the key issues confronting Cambodia since the 1991 Paris Agreements for peacebuilding, including reconciliation, sustainable economic development, prospects for democracy, and the role of the international community.

Choices for the 21st Century: Defining Our Role in a Changing World by The Watson Institute for International Studies (Brown University, 1998)

A citizen's handbook introducing critical foreign policy challenges and choices facing the United States in the post-Cold War period in an effort to engage the public in a dialogue on contested policy issues.

Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises by Donald C. F. Daniel and Bradd Hayes with Chantal de Jonge Oudraat (United States Institute of Peace Press, 1999)

Explores UN operations in Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and Haiti and considers the efficacy of diplomacy based more on the demonstration of military force than the use of force, and suggests operational guidelines drawn from these cases.

Comparative Peace Processes in Latin America edited by Cynthia J. Arnson (Woodrow Wilson Center Press and Stanford University Press, 1999)

Analyzes events that have facilitated or impeded negotiated settlements of internal armed conflicts in Colombia, El Salvador, Guatemala, Mexico, Nicaragua, and Peru.

Constitutionalizing Globalization: The Postmodern Revival of Confederal Arrangements by Daniel Elazar (Rowman and Littlefield, 1998)

Analyzes the spread of federalism and federal arrangements around the world, suggesting the need for the development of a constitutional order that would take into account economic globalization and concern for human rights.

Democratization and Ethnic Peace: Patterns of Ethnopolitical Crisis Management in the Post-Soviet Settings by Airat R. Aklaev (Ashgate, 1999)

Discusses ethnopolitical conflict in Estonia, Lithuania, Moldova, and the Russian Federation and the relationship between democracy building and conflict management.

Ethiopia and the Middle East by Haggai Erlich (Lynne Rienner, 1994)

An analysis of the main meeting points in the political and strategic histories of Ethiopia and the Middle East over nearly 2000 years.

FDI in China: An Asian Perspective by Yasheng Huang (Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 1998)

Assesses China's foreign direct investment (FDI) performance in comparison to several other Asian countries, focusing on the policymaking and institutional factors behind the huge Chinese demand for FDI, and the costs associated with such a drive.

In the Land of Poverty: Memoirs of an Indian Family, 1947-1997 by Siddharth Dube (Zed Books, 1998)

Explores the relationship between poverty, conflict, and social change in contemporary India, particularly as they relate to caste, religion, and ethnicity, through the experiences of one Indian family across generations.

Korea and Its Futures: Unification and the Unfinished War by Roy Richard Grinker (St. Martin's Press, 1998)

Examines the prospects for peace on the Korean peninsula within the broader social and cultural contexts, and suggests that a fundamental obstacle to peace lies in the nature of South Korea's definition of its cultural, economic, and political identities largely in opposition to North Korea.

Mozambique: UN Peacekeeping in Action, 1992-94 by Richard Synge (United States Institute of Peace Press, 1997)

Describes and analyzes the implementation of the Mozambique peace accords by the UN and other international actors.

Recent Publications

The following Institute publications are available free of charge. Write to the Institute's Office of Communications, call 202-429-3832, or check out our web page at www.usip.org.

- ✓ *Building Security in Post-Cold War Eurasia: The OSCE and U.S. Foreign Policy*, by P. Terrence Hopmann (Peaceworks no. 31, September 1999)
- ✓ *Post-Genocidal Reconciliation: Building Peace in Rwanda and Burundi*, by John Prendergast and David Smock (Special Report, September 1999)
- ✓ *Teaching Guide on the U.S. Response to the Changing Nature of International Conflict* (National Peace Essay Contest, August 1999)
- ✓ *Putting Humpty Dumpty Together: Reconstructing Peace in the Congo*, by John Prendergast and David Smock (Special Report, August 1999)
- ✓ *New Approaches to International Negotiation and Mediation: Findings from USIP-Sponsored Research*, edited by Timothy D. Sisk (Peaceworks no. 30, August 1999)
- ✓ *The Politics of Famine in North Korea*, by Andrew Natsios (Special Report, August 1999)
- ✓ *Training to Promote Conflict Management: USIP-Assisted Training Projects*, edited by David Smock (Peaceworks no. 29, July 1999)
- ✓ *U.S. Human Rights Policy: A 20-Year Assessment* (Special Report, June 1999)
- ✓ *The Challenge of Regional Cooperation in Central Asia: Preventing Ethnic Conflict in the Fergana Valley*, by Anara Tabyshalieva (Peaceworks no. 28, June 1999)

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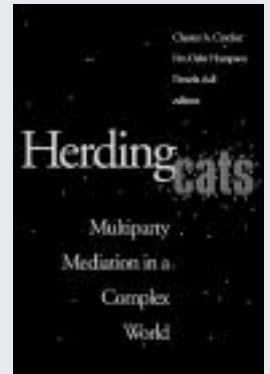
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