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

Building for Peace

A letter from the chair and president of the Institute

The United States Institute of Peace is now in its third decade of growth. The “big idea” behind our creation by Congress—to develop nonviolent approaches to managing international conflicts—is now at the center of our national foreign policy and security agenda. The post-Cold War, post-9/11 world challenges us to develop new ways of dealing with religious extremism, terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and turmoil in weak or failed states. It also calls upon us to reform or develop national and international institutions appropriate to these sources of conflict.

The Institute faces two challenging opportunities in the next few years: applying the knowledge and practical experience gained over the past two decades to on-the-ground programs of conflict resolution abroad, and constructing a permanent facility for the Institute that will advance our



USIP Chair Robin West (left) and President Richard Solomon (right) review the model of the Institute's future building.

national mission both in its physical design and by its symbolic expression of our country's commitment to peace.

From Best Ideas to Best Practices

Our congressional founders had high expectations for the Institute. They looked to us to “strengthen

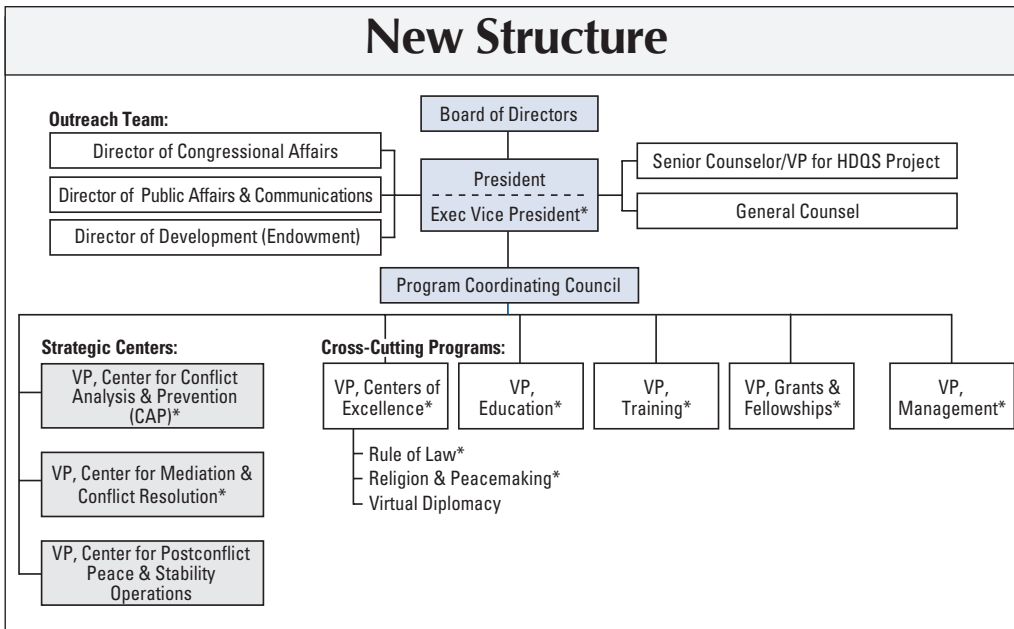
the nation's capabilities to manage international conflicts by peaceful means.” Over the past twenty years, we have worked to fulfill that daunting mandate by developing a diversity of practical programs. We began by supporting research in academic institutions on ways to deal with the most intractable conflicts. We

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Institute Reorganization Charts New Path

The new structure will help the Institute focus its efforts



and the new threats of terrorism and weapons of mass destruction fuel conflicts that affect our nation’s security and cause suffering throughout the world. The Institute is positioning itself to innovate programs oriented to these new challenges, and our new structure will help fulfill that role.”

In addition to the three strategic centers, the new organization includes a Center of Excellence encompassing areas such as Rule of Law, Religion & Peacemaking, and Virtual Diplomacy. The new organization includes the Institute’s traditional programs, such as education, grants and fellowship, and training, which will work closely with the three Strategic Centers to develop and execute integrated strategies for the Institute’s work in zones of conflict.

Patricia Thomson, executive vice president of the Institute and one of the primary architects of the new structure, said, “The Institute is moving into an important phase in its development—one that we hope will increase the relevance, impact, and visibility of its work. I believe this new organizational structure will facilitate our work and ultimately our ability to better fulfill our congressional mandate to help prevent, manage, and resolve violent conflict around the world.”

The Institute recently unveiled a new organizational structure designed to improve integration, promote innovation, and increase the impact of its work.

The new structure is built around three new strategic centers focusing on the major phases of conflict: the Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention, the Center for Mediation and Conflict Resolution, and the Center for Postconflict Peace and Stability Operations. These centers will be responsible for coordinating the Institute’s conflict-specific work on places such as Afghanistan, Iraq, Korea, and Sudan. Staff will also conduct research, identify

lessons learned, and oversee or develop new thematic programs like the Institute’s existing Muslim World Initiative and Rule of Law Program.

The Institute’s reorganization plan will allow it to better integrate its programs.

“The policies and institutions of national security developed to deal with the Cold War have proven ineffective in preventing or dealing with the conflicts of the current era,” observed Richard Solomon, the Institute’s president. “Injustice, interethnic and religious hatreds,



Spotlight on a Guest Scholar:

Shlomo Brom

After decades in the fray, an Israeli general reflects on the possibilities of peace



General Brom

General Shlomo Brom spent thirty years in the Israeli military, rising to the rank of director of strategic planning before retiring to the life of an academic. In the latter part of his military career, Brom became involved in peace negotiations, including the Oslo process, peace negotiations with Jordan and Syria, and numerous Track Two efforts including the Geneva

Like most Israelis, I always knew that controlling hostile populations wasn't a long-term solution. Sometime in the future, the two sides will come to a reasonable solution.

Initiative. The slight, soft-spoken Brom, who temperamentally seems more suited to the university than the battlefield, came to the Institute in September 2005. *Peace Watch* editor David Aronson spoke with him in January 2006.

PW: How did you decide on a military career?

SB: At eighteen, like all Israelis, I was drafted into the army. During my tour of duty, my commanders asked me to volunteer for the officer corps—this was right after the 1967 war, during the “war of attrition” with Egypt. I felt I couldn't say no when duty called, especially during a time of war. When I finished my commitment four years later, the military offered to pay for me to attend college. I felt lucky.

PW: You were in air force intelligence when the 1973 war broke out. What was that experience like?

SB: Even though we ultimately won the war, we felt we had failed, specifically the intelligence services, because we were caught off guard. Failure is the strongest motive for taking action; we rein-

vented the system and built an entirely new approach to warfare, which the United States subsequently adopted.

PW: You're talking about the Revolution in Military Affairs (RMA), or information war?

SB: Yes. This approach has three elements—real-time intelligence, accurate fire targeting, and an integrated command and control structure. It has changed the nature of war and the balance between firepower and maneuverability. The modern battlefield is composed of small-signature, mobile targets, and the key to winning is information. We pioneered this approach before the technology caught up, before we had the pilotless drones and precision-guided missiles we saw in the Gulf wars.

PW: Your career followed a trajectory from preparing for and making war to negotiating for peace. What brought about that change?

SB: Like most Israelis, I always knew that controlling hostile populations wasn't a long-term solution; but, like many, I felt

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National Peace Essay Contest to Focus on Nuclear Threats

Education program for high school students enters its twentieth year

The peaceful end of the Cold War and the image of airplanes diving into the World Trade Center may have temporarily pushed nuclear weapons to the margin of public consciousness, but the mushroom cloud isn't just last century's nightmare. At least half a dozen countries have joined Britain, China, France, the Soviet Union (now Russia), and the United States in the grim club of countries that possess nuclear weapons. And some nonstate actors such as terrorists are eager to join.

The 2005–2006 National Peace Essay Contest focuses on the threat of nuclear weapons and how to stop their proliferation. This year marks the twentieth consecutive year of the essay contest. As in previous contests, the goals of this contest are as much about promoting critical thinking and research skills as they are about familiarizing the next generation of leaders with the major issues of the day. “We want students to learn how to think for themselves, as well as to introduce them to some of the issues they will undoubtedly face later in life as they assume positions of leadership,” says Pamela Aall, vice president of an education program at the Institute.

Contest winners earn money for their college or university studies. For the 2005–2006 contest, first place state winners will receive college scholarships of \$1,000 and will compete for national awards of \$10,000, \$5,000, and \$2,500 for first, second, and third place, respectively (national awards include state award amounts). As in the past, all state winners will be invited to attend an all-expense-paid awards program in Washington, D.C.

The 2004–2005 contest focused on transitions to democracy. Approximately 4,000 students from American high schools across the United States and in U.S. territories and abroad wrote essays on the topic. Jessica Perrigan, from Duchesne Academy in Omaha, Nebraska, won the national award for her essay “Finding Peace: Japan and Cambodia,” which explores how education is one of the keys to democracy. In it, she argued that “Democracy is a government for the thinking, and for a country to have a

sustained cultural movement toward democracy, its population must be taught to reason and to search for knowledge.”

Last year's state winners attended a wide range of cultural and political programs during their week in Washington. They visited the Holocaust Museum, the American Indian Museum, and Capitol Hill, where many got to meet their representative or senator. They assumed the roles of diplomats, government officials, and members of the international community in a special three-day simulation focusing on the challenges facing Turkey as it applies for

See *Essay Contest Winners*, page 11



Above: Norm Ornstein, of the American Enterprise Institute (right), receives a complementary T-shirt from Kathleen Moriarty (left), the Massachusetts prize winner, as Institute president Richard Solomon looks on.

Below: Mort Halperin, director of the Open Society Policy Center, speaks to the students at the awards banquet held at the Turkish Embassy.





During their week in Washington, students heard from senior scholars, gathered on the Capitol steps, debated Turkey's accession to the European Union, and goofed around.

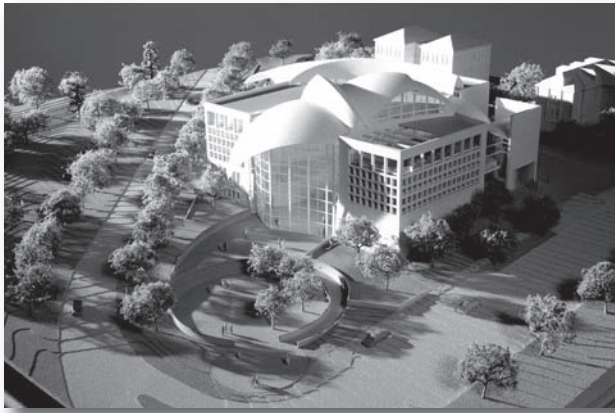




Building for Peace

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An artist's rendering of the new building, seen from the Southeast facade.



have now brought to Washington more than 200 senior scholars, officials, military professionals, nongovernmental organization (NGO) workers, and journalists for periods of research on conflicts and approaches to peace

sionals—military officers, diplomats, officials, and NGO workers—in conflict management skills. And we have fielded missions of mediation and postconflict rebuilding in Africa, the Balkans, and now in Iraq.

Today our government and the international community view the Institute as an independent, nonpartisan, and responsive partner in matters of international conflict management. In the summer of 2004, the administration asked us to help the government of the Philippines and insurgent Muslim groups negotiate a peace accord. The Department of Defense asked us to interview soldiers and officials returning from Afghanistan and Iraq in order to identify best practices in their efforts to stabilize those societies—the better to train their successors as they prepare for deployment to zones of conflict abroad. And two foreign governments and the United Nations have sought the support of our Baghdad office in managing grant programs designed to rebuild Iraqi civil society.

Late last year, Congress directed the Institute to organize and support a bipartisan task force on United Nations reform. Headed by former Speaker of the House Newt Gingrich and former senate majority leader George Mitchell, the task force produced in six months a detailed, actionable agenda of recommendations for reforming the troubled world body. And now Congress is asking us to organize a “fresh eyes” assessment of the situation in Iraq and prospects for stabilizing that country.

These requested projects, as well as support for our work from other government agencies, highlight the Institute's growing role

as a trusted nonpartisan and professional center for analysis and operational programs on the most pressing issues of national security and peacemaking.

Our challenge in the period ahead is to manage the growth of Institute programs so as to sustain their effectiveness, protect our standing as an independent and flexible center of innovation, and maintain a balance between our analytical, educational, and applied activities.

“A National Treasure”

In July 2004, Congress recognized our first two decades of work by passing a resolution characterizing the Institute as “an important national resource.” Senator Daniel Inouye, rather more extravagantly, lauded the Institute as “a national treasure.” These encomiums give us the encouragement of support from our founders and funders, but they also challenge us to meet high expectations.

Later that year, Congress made a substantial investment in the Institute's future by appropriating \$100 million in support of our permanent headquarters project. An exceptional site for the building—at the northwest corner of the National Mall in Washington, D.C., near the war memorials—had been acquired through legislative action in 1996; in the ensuing four years, we raised sufficient funds from the private sector to engage world-renowned architect Moshe Safdie to design the facility. His elegant and inspiring concept for the building was enthusiastically approved by the Commission of Fine Arts in November 2002. We are now completing the architectural planning phase of the project, and, with additional private sector support, we plan to break ground for the building in early 2007.



An artist's rendering of the great hall atrium in the new building.

building. Many have gone on to lead conflict management efforts or have played leading roles in their country's foreign policy and security institutions. And we have attracted thousands of young Americans to careers in international affairs through Institute educational programs in high schools throughout the country.

In recent years, the Institute's work has evolved from its initial emphasis on analysis and education to include the training of profes-



The Institute's permanent headquarters facility will heighten both the symbolic and practical impacts of our work. Expanded conference and training facilities will enable us to engage larger numbers of professionals in our programs, and our location—at the crossroads of Congress, the Department of State, the Pentagon, and educational and humanitarian institutions nearby—will strengthen our convening power.

Most significantly, the facility will dramatically increase the Institute's capacity to fulfill its mandated mission of public education. Substantial space will be devoted to displays and workshop areas that will involve visiting students and the general public in the challenges of resolving international conflicts by nonviolent means. Visitors will learn about Institute programs in support of its mission and opportunities for all to make contributions to peacemaking. We are working with noted exhibit designer Ralph Applebaum to create the exhibits for the public education center.

In sum, the Institute is in a new growth phase, further developing its mission as a national center of education, professional training, and applied programs of international conflict management and peace building. We are creating a physical presence on the National Mall that will give our work a visibility and impact worthy of its mission. We look to our colleagues, friends, and supporters to join us in this creative new phase of the Institute's development.

J. Robinson West

Chairman of the
Board of Directors

Richard H. Solomon

President



Institute President Richard Solomon (right) received the Hubert Humphrey Prize from the American Political Association. Presenting him with the award is Michael Lipsky, of Georgetown University.

President Solomon Wins Humphrey Prize

The American Political Science Association (APSA) awarded United States Institute of Peace president **Richard H. Solomon** the 2005 Hubert H. Humphrey prize for “notable public service by a political scientist.” The citation for the award noted that Solomon “has turned the Institute of Peace into a vibrant center of international conflict management analysis and action,” demonstrating that analysis and action can improve one another if they are combined creatively in one organization. The citation also observed that under Solomon's leadership, “USIP has become known for intellectually creative, practical, objective analysis,” and that “unlike other think tanks, USIP actually gets its hands dirty in conflict and postconflict situations.”

In accepting the award at APSA's annual convention, Solomon noted that the Institute was designed by its congressional founders to be a bridge between the academic community and government agencies concerned with international conflict. Its legislated charter supports this bridging role through annual congressional funding of the Institute's grant program, which supports analytical projects and training activities in universities and NGOs in the United States and around the world. Solomon commented that the Institute's permanent headquarters facility in Washington, when completed, will provide a national focal point for research and applied programs in support of the Institute's mission.

Solomon lauded the contributions to the Institute's growth and development of former board of directors chair **Chester A. Crocker**, who currently holds the James R. Schlesinger Chair in Strategic Studies at Georgetown University, especially his innovations in the analysis and teaching of international conflict management in the post-Cold War world. Solomon also praised the contributions of former board vice chairman **Max M. Kampelman**, a major national figure in the promotion of both disarmament and human rights through diplomacy. Kampelman is a previous recipient of the Humphrey prize, as well as the prestigious presidential Medal of Freedom.

Solomon observed that unlike Ambassador Kampelman, who was a close confidant of Hubert Humphrey, he had had only limited contact with the late senator and vice president. He recalled traveling with Humphrey and his wife for two weeks in China in 1974. On that occasion, Humphrey displayed an enthusiastic inquisitiveness about life in the recently “opened” China, as well as surprise at the extent to which ordinary Chinese people had an accurate understanding of life and events in the United States.

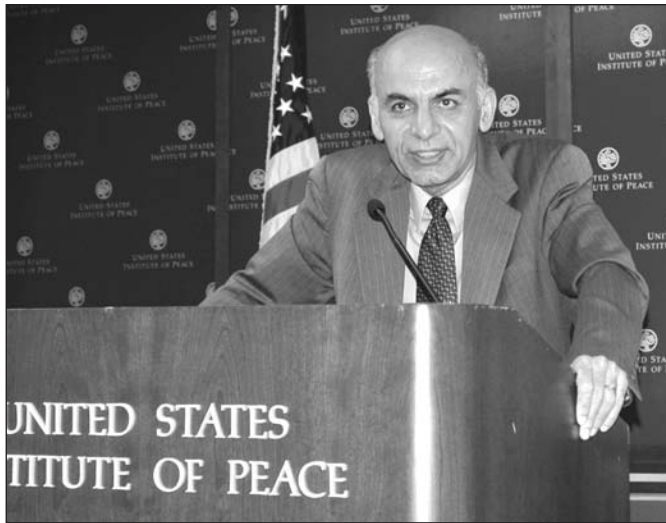
Both Crocker and Kampelman, along with current board chairman **J. Robinson West**, were present at the September 2005 award ceremony. 🌐



A Master Class in Nation Building

The former finance minister of Afghanistan has a better way

Ashraf Ghani, the chancellor of Kabul University in Afghanistan, gave a wide-ranging and incisive critique of the international community's nation-building efforts in a speech at the Institute in late June. Ghani, Afghanistan's first finance minister in Hamid Karzai's post-Taliban government, said that there was a "glaring gap" between the promise and the reality of nation building. While there is now a global consensus on the need to address the problems of weak or failed states, he said, there are at least five structural deficiencies preventing the international community from addressing them successfully.



University chancellor Ashraf Ghani gave the international community's nation-building efforts a low grade.

The first deficiency, he said, is stovepiping: "The economics people don't know anything about politics, and the political people don't know anything about economics." In addition, he said, neither group focuses on the most important issue, which is building credible state institutions.

The second deficiency, said Ghani, is that the global system undermines the development of the nation-state by dispatching "all the usual suspects" after a war, creating a dual structure of governance.

The first is the fragile, newly established state itself; the second is a parallel structure of globe-trotting, aid-giving technocrats answerable to no one. To the extent that these technocrats are held to any accountability, the standards applied are formal rather than substantive. The government of Tanzania, Ghani pointed out, now produces 2,400 reports a year for international donors, for projects that average just \$2 million. The formal result is that reports are completed and projects deemed successful. The actual result is that Tanzanian bureaucrats spend their time catering to donors rather than serving their own citizens.

A fourth limitation is the global community's inability to understand the nature of the threats facing postconflict societies. Most often, these come in the form of a heavily criminalized economic system. While the international community may preach against corruption, it is in thrall to a belief in the "private sector" and does very little to stem the takeover of the economy by corrupt officials and others linked to the government. "Because we understand very little about this," said Ghani, "we preach against it but don't act to prevent it."

Finally, said Ghani, "Every time we do this [i.e., engage in nation building], we reinvent the wheel." With each new postconflict situation, he said, comes a new batch of people eager to make a mark but unaware of the potential pitfalls and lessons learned from prior experiences. The result is a reiteration of earlier errors. For example, in every postconflict situation in which he's been involved, Ghani said, he's seen donors rush to implement "quick impact" projects that are neither quick nor effective.

Ghani cautioned against the common notion that local realities don't matter—that what works in Afghanistan will work in Sudan. The centralism that worked in Afghanistan is unlikely to be effective



in Sudan, where a federal structure would probably work best. “Best practices are not the way to go,” he insisted. “Context is very important and puts severe constraints on the available options.” Too often, said Ghani, donors act—even if they don’t acknowledge it—as though the postconflict situation were a *tabula rasa* on which they can do as they like.

For Ghani, the key to successful postconflict nation building lies in helping the fledgling government develop critical capacities so that it gains legitimacy with the population. For example, Ghani said, most underdeveloped countries need better management skills—the sort of skills that are common in corporate America. Pilot programs have shown that these skills can be effectively taught in as little as six months. Ghani said that one particular institution that needs building up is the financial system. Without one, assets such as office buildings and factory equipment are locked up, and their worth cannot be put to use in the development of the country’s economy.

Ghani concluded by urging a “fundamental realignment” in the way the international community goes about nation building. Rather than doing those things that the government ought to be doing—and thereby displacing it and undermining its legitimacy—donors should focus on strengthening the institutions that a society needs to function properly. Ghani concluded by reminding the audience that the three to five year time frame common in such efforts is far too short. “Building institutions requires a ten to fifteen year commitment,” he said, pointing to the postwar experiences of Japan, Korea, and Germany. 🌐

Carla Del Ponte’s Quest for Justice

Chief prosecutor says the job is not yet done

With the tenth anniversary of the Srebrenica massacre approaching in July and two of the most wanted individuals, Ratko Mladic and Radovan Karadzic, still at large, the Balkans Working Group, headed by Daniel Serwer, hosted a meeting in mid-June featuring Carla Del Ponte, the chief prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia (ICTY). Del Ponte arrived shortly after the widespread distribution in Serbia of a shocking video of a mass execution of Bosnian Muslim men by Serbian paramilitary forces in 1995. “There can no longer be any doubt that a genocide occurred in Srebrenica,” said the prosecutor. “The tide has now turned, but the job is not yet done.”

Del Ponte noted that cooperation between the ICTY and the authorities in the Balkans had increased dramatically in the previous six months. A score of indictees were transferred to The Hague, including the former prime minister of Kosovo. International pressure from Europe and the United States played a major role in this transformation, said Del Ponte—as did the Serb and Croat desire to begin discussions about acceding to the European Union.



Carla Del Ponte, the Swiss Chief Prosecutor of the International Criminal Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, looks on while waiting for the sentencing of a convicted Bosnian Serb war criminal at The Hague.

“The tide has now turned, but the job is not yet done. If the need for justice is not satisfied, then the next generation may want to render justice with blood, tears, and weapons.”

But some significant obstacles remain. The fact that the two most wanted men are still at-large ten years after Srebrenica is “an insult to the victims and a shame to the international community” said Del Ponte. Serbia and Republika Srpska must act in concert with the international community to locate and arrest these two men, who have been indicted by the ICTY on charges of genocide and other crimes against humanity. (The ICTY itself has no powers of arrest.)

The tribunal is accelerating its work in order to finish all the trials by 2008 and all appeals by 2010. It is also slowly countering government propaganda, especially in Serbia, that it is engaged in selective and biased prosecutions. The ICTY now has 162 individuals under indictment for war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. “We want to bring justice and reconciliation to the former Yugoslavia,” said Del Ponte. “If the need for justice is not satisfied, then the next generation may want to render justice with blood, tears, and weapons.” 🌐



Staff Achievements



Pamela Aall

Press. She continued as president of Women in International Security for the third year and served as a member of an external Title VI review committee for George Washington University's Center for Global and International Studies. She gave the keynote talk at Bethune Cookman College on mediation in international conflict; a panel presentation at the International Studies Association titled "When Cats Cooperate: Mediator Collaboration in Intractable Conflicts"; and a presentation, "Lessons from the Field of Conflict Prevention and Management," at a colloquium at Georgetown University on the ethics of war after 9/11. The colloquium was sponsored by the U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, the University of Notre Dame, and Georgetown University.

JUDY BARSOLOU published two Special Reports: "Trauma and Transitional Justice in Divided Societies" and "Islamists at the Ballot Box: Findings from Egypt, Jordan, Kuwait, and Turkey." She chaired the Institute Working Group on Social Reconstruction and Reconciliation; organized a conference called "Unite or Divide? The Challenges of Teaching History in Societies Emerging from Violent Conflict"; and

PAMELA AALL co-edited *Grasping the Nettle: Analyzing Cases of Intractable Conflict*, published by USIP

served as a member of the Middle East Studies Association Selection Committee for the 2005 annual conference.

VIRGINIA BOUVIER wrote a briefing paper on women and social movements in Latin America that was used in the preparation of a UN report entitled *Striving for Gender Equality: Striving for Justice in an Unequal World*. She wrote a book chapter, "A Reluctant Diaspora? The Case of Colombia," for the Hazel Smith and Paul Stares book *Diasporas in Conflict*. She also wrote a policy report, *Evaluating U.S. Policy toward Colombia*, that was published by the International Relations Center, Americas Program. Bouvier organized a conference at Cornell University that brought together some twenty authors who are participating in a book on peace initiatives in Colombia.

KEITH BOWEN won a Telly Award for the "Iraq Experience" DVD. The Institute's web-based conflict analysis course was incorporated into the curriculum at several institutions of higher learning, including West Point, Bryn Mawr College, and the University of Warsaw.

DANIEL BRUMBERG published "Islam is Not the Solution (or the Problem)," in the Winter 2005–2006 issue of the *Washington Quarterly*.

A. HEATHER COYNE published an op-ed in the *Christian Science Monitor* and a paper on National Public Radio's web site on Iraq's gradual progress in some areas of democratization, and gave a talk

at the Security for a New Century lecture series organized by the Stimson Center and Senator Richard Lugar's office.

IMAD HARB held two conferences on Iraqi higher education: one on the civic mission of universities and another to conduct workshops on peace education and small organization management. He also organized public education meetings at twelve Iraqi universities to discuss the new Iraqi constitution and presented a report on Capitol Hill on the education program's activities in Iraq.

QAMAR-UL HUDA published an article in *Sufi Journal* (London) entitled "Make Friends with One's Adab—Inner Meanings of Suhrawardi's Theology of Moral Conduct" in spring 2005. He also attended the "Negotiating with Killers" conference sponsored by the U.S. Holocaust Museum, the U.S. State Department's Bureau of Intelligence and Research, and the National Intelligence Council.

PAMELA KEETON returned from Afghanistan in January 2005 after serving as the director of public affairs for U.S. and coalition forces. She was awarded the Bronze Star Medal for her work in Afghanistan. She also co-authored "An Army of One Voice: The Service Needs a Strategic Vision for Communications," which appeared in the August 2005 issue of *Armed Forces Journal*.

SCOTT LASENSKY taught as an adjunct assistant professor in the government department at Georgetown University in fall 2005, published a chapter on U.S.



aid to the Palestinians in *Aid, Diplomacy and Facts on the Ground* (Chatham House, 2005), and served as an international election monitor for the Palestinian presidential elections.


ROBERT PERITO coordinated the Iraq and Afghanistan Experience Projects.



Robert Perito

The former concluded in spring 2005, with a workshop and a conference on lessons learned by Americans who served in the Coalition Provisional Authority. The latter concluded in October 2005, with a conference on the lessons learned by Americans who served on provincial reconstruction teams in Afghanistan. Perito published Special Reports on both projects. Perito also edited a revised edition of the Institute's guide to participants in peace and stability opera-

tions, and will serve on a blue ribbon panel sponsored by Princeton University and the National Academy of Public Administration that will review the results of their project on institution building in fragile states.

COLETTE RAUSCH was invited to the University of Melbourne Faculty of Law in June 2005 as part of the American-Australian Fulbright Symposium. She gave a talk titled "Challenges in Building Respect for the Rule of Law and Human Rights in Post-Conflict Societies." Her presentation is being adapted for publication in the *Australian Journal of Human Rights*. She co-wrote a chapter entitled "Creating the Rule of Law Amidst Chaos: The Relevance and Applicability of Model Codes" that will appear in a book edited by the International Peace Academy; she also co-wrote a chapter entitled "A Tool Box to Tackle Law Reform Challenges in Post-Conflict Countries: The Model Codes for Post-Conflict Criminal Justice" that will appear in the *International Peacekeeping Yearbook*. 

In related news

Leslie Wirpsa, a 2003–2004 Peace Scholar, has won the Best Dissertation Award from the Committee of the Human Rights Section of the American Political Science Association. Her dissertation is entitled *Oil Exploitation and Indigenous Rights: Global Regime Network Conflict in the Andes*; it was accepted by the School of International Relations at the University of Southern California.


Essay Contest Winners

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membership in the European Union.

Norm Ornstein, from the American Enterprise Institute, spoke to the students about the increasing partisanship in Washington and the problems this poses for policymaking. "Today, the general climate in Washington is that you're the enemy if you are on the other side," he said. "This makes it difficult to broker agreements on new policies and approaches."

The students heard from another political luminary at the awards banquet held at the Turkish Embassy. Mort Halperin, director of the Open Society Policy Center, said that the traditional distinction in political science between a nation's interests and its values has outlived its usefulness. "A world composed entirely of democratic states would have less war and produce fewer refugees," he said. "So the question is 'How do you promote democracy?' Democracy needs to come from the country's own soil."

State winners were enthusiastic about their visit to Washington. "I had no idea when I set out to write on democracy that it would lead to forty-five new friends," said Brittney Moraski, a student at Bark River-Harris High School in Bark River, Michigan, who won the third place award of a \$2,500 scholarship for her essay titled "Veni Vidi Vici is only the Beginning: Long-Term Democratization in Today's World." The second place national award of \$5,000 went to Seth Dickinson of Ripton, Vermont, for "Colonialism and the Development of Democracy." 



InstituteArrivals

The Institute is delighted to welcome two new members to its senior staff



Former Navy Officer and IBM Consultant Named New Executive Vice President

Trish Thomson, the Institute's new executive vice president, was a freshly minted twenty-two-year-old Navy ensign when she arrived on the Portuguese island of Terceira, Azores, to manage a multinational construction program. A recent ROTC graduate from the University of Pennsylvania, Thomson found herself grappling not only with the logistics of several major construction projects but also with the challenge of leading a combination of Navy, civilian, and Portuguese staff, as well as international contractors.

"The Navy gave me opportunities to do things only people twice my age usually get to do, and it allowed me to make mistakes and to grow from them," says Thomson. "I also learned that there's more than one way to be an effective leader, and that women can lead as effectively—in many cases more effectively—than men if they tap into their natural strengths: collaborative problem solving, consensus building, and nurturing leadership. That said, sometimes a leader has to make unpopular decisions, to exercise formal authority. I learned how to do both in the Navy."

After the Navy came a two-year stint at Harvard, where Thomson received a master's degree in public policy. Her career then zigzagged upward through the ranks of the public and private sectors, as she focused on organi-

zational performance issues, strategic planning, and organizational design. Thomson was a member of Vice President Al Gore's task force on reinventing government (the National Performance Review), and played an instrumental role in the start-up of AmeriCorps. She spent nine years in the private sector as a management consultant with PricewaterhouseCoopers. Before coming to the Institute, Thomson was the partner in charge of the justice and courts account at IBM Business Consulting in Washington, D.C., where she and her teams provided management expertise to a broad range of state, federal, and international clients, including the departments of Homeland Security, Justice, State, and Defense.

It was the breadth of her experience and her expertise in organizational performance and design that got her the job, says Institute president Richard Solomon. "We were impressed by her knowledge, her focus, her energy, and her leadership skills," he says. "As the Institute moves into a new phase of its growth, I look forward to working with her to build it into a world-class organization."

Thomson says her diverse experience has taught her three simple yet vital lessons about how to help complex organizations become more effective. "The first," she says, "is to have a compelling vision and big goals." This means more than writing out a mission statement. It means defining and framing those goals clearly and succinctly, and establishing a shared plan for achieving

them. "Second," she says, "is to never let the perfect be the enemy of the good. Perfect solutions are pretty hard to come by." The third lesson, she says, is to listen to your team, help them take risks and succeed, and always frame decision-making in terms of the best interests of the organization, its staff, and its mission.

Thomson was intrigued by the possibilities of the position from the moment she heard about it. "I came here because the mission of the Institute is so compelling," she says. "The staff is very talented and committed, and our new headquarters building on the Mall will give us an influence and visibility that we haven't had before. But it's not only an interesting moment for the Institute, it's an interesting moment from a historical point of view. It's clear that after the Cold War and the terrorism attacks of 9/11, conflict—whether it be international, intrastate, or cross-national (in the form of terrorism)—is going to continue to be a threat to development and security throughout the world. The Institute's work has never been more important."

New Director of Public Affairs Was Coalition's Chief Spokesperson in Afghanistan

Pamela Keeton, a former director of public affairs for U.S. and coalition forces in Afghanistan, is the new director of public affairs and communications for the Institute. Keeton will oversee external outreach (including the Institute's web site), media rela-

"The new headquarters building on the Mall will give us an influence and visibility we haven't had before."



“My experience in Afghanistan left me wanting to do more to contribute to peace and stability.”



tions, internal communications, marketing, and alumni relations.

Keeton has had a varied, two-track career in

public affairs, including ten years on active duty with the U.S. Army, fourteen years in the Army Reserve, six years with a public relations agency, and eight years in local and state government. Her most recent position was at Powell Tate|Weber Shandwick, a powerhouse public relations firm inside the beltway. Just before leaving Powell Tate|Weber Shandwick, Keeton retired from the Army after twenty-four years of service—including two combat tours, for which she was awarded Bronze Star Medals.

“Pam brings a wealth of public affairs and communications experience to the Institute,” says Institute president Solomon. “She understands firsthand the importance of the work we do. She is part of a new leadership team that will write a new chapter for the Institute, beginning with the groundbreaking for our new headquarters.”

Keeton says, “My experience in Afghanistan was the best of my twenty-four-year career and left me wanting to do more to contribute to peace and stability throughout the world. I am looking forward to fulfilling that goal through work for the Institute.”

Shlomo Brom

continued from page 3

there was no choice—*en breira*, as we say in Hebrew. We were surrounded by enemies who wanted to annihilate us. With Anwar Sadat’s visit to Jerusalem in 1977 and the subsequent peace agreement, I began to change my mind. I also became involved in negotiations because of my position in strategic planning. My role convinced me that it is possible to resolve the Palestinian-Israeli conflict peacefully.

PW: Did the experience of negotiating with your former enemies change your opinion of them?

SB: Our negotiating partners were former terrorists—in their own eyes, of course, they were freedom fighters. So we were discussing security issues with the very people who caused us the security issues. But it was always much easier to deal with them than with the slick politicians. Many of the fighters had been in our prisons and they spoke Hebrew. We knew them and they knew us. Also, although they did terrible things, one had to respect their willingness to fight for their cause and sacrifice for it. Some of them are still good friends. And although I am a Zionist, I recognize that the Palestinians were wronged when Israel was established. They paid the price for it.

PW: What made you decide to come to the Institute?

SB: I always felt there was a lacuna in my knowledge. Although I had met many Americans as part of my job, I think to understand a place you really have to live there. I lived in South Africa as Israel’s military attaché during the period when Mandela was released. Ever since then, when I read something about South Africa, I feel that I understand it because I lived there. The United States, which has always been important to the Middle East peace process, has now become essential to it.

PW: And what are your impressions of the United States so far?

SB: From the outside, the United States can seem omnipotent. But my initial experience, as it is for most foreigners seeking a visa to work here, was with the Department of Homeland Security. That taught me something about how ineffective and bureaucratic the U.S. system can be. But the system also has many strengths. For example, the quality of its journalism is unsurpassed—American journalists are much more serious than the Israeli press. Another strength is the way Congress functions. Congressional staff immerse themselves in a subject and are able to provide the senators and representatives with solid support. Israeli Knesset members don’t have such resources.

Perhaps most impressive, however, is the existence of institutions such as the U.S. Institute of Peace. In Israel, the government doesn’t have a tradition of working with other institutions. It has the idea that all wisdom resides within. There is a disconnect between the establishment and those on the outside, which isn’t healthy for either.

PW: How hopeful are you about the future of peace negotiations, at a moment when it appears that Prime Minister Sharon may no longer play an active role in the political arena?

SB: I don’t believe that Sharon was about to reach an agreement with the Palestinians, in part because the Palestinian Authority is a very problematic partner, and it’s not clear that the leadership is in control. I think Sharon was more interested in pursuing a policy of unilateral disengagement. But sometime in the future, the two sides will come to a reasonable resolution. It will not be like France and Belgium—we won’t love each other—but we will live side by side. It will happen because it is better than the alternative, *en breira*.



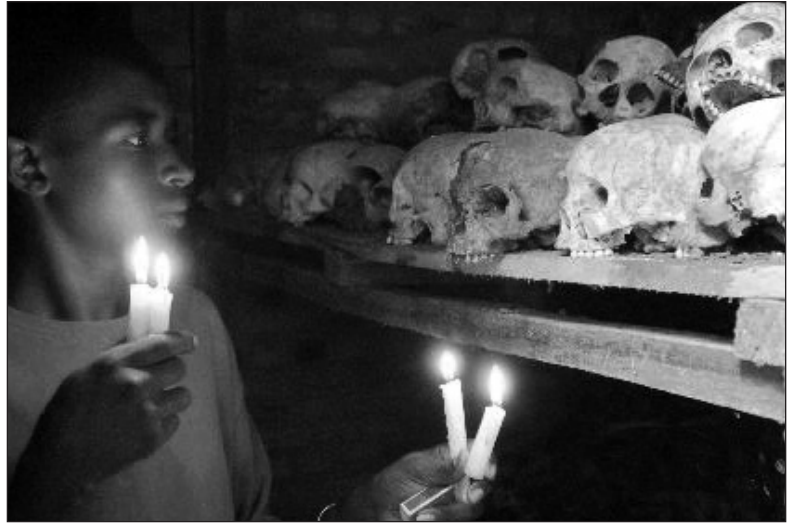
The Aftershocks of Genocide

Three scholars of the Rwandan genocide discussed Rwanda's future at a Current Issues Briefing held at the Institute in November. Scott Straus, a former Institute peace scholar now at the University of Wisconsin, Madison; Timothy Longman, an Institute grantee at Vassar College; and Rene Lemarchand, a professor emeritus at the University of Florida, all voiced concern about Rwanda's political trajectory and the prospects for genuine reconciliation in that troubled land. Institute Africa program officer Dorina Bekoe moderated.

Straus prefaced his remarks by observing that he had originally been impressed by the Rwandan Patriotic Front (RPF), the Tutsi-led rebel movement that came to power in the summer of 1994 and effectively ended the genocide. "Like many others, I was optimistic about the bright, can-do leadership that seemed to be emerging in Africa—in Rwanda, Uganda, and elsewhere." A decade later, he no longer feels so optimistic. The government, he said, is using security concerns to close down and punish civil and political opposition. It has reneged on

"I'm worried that the government is setting the stage for another cycle of violence."

promises to provide compensation to genocide survivors. It has refused to acknowledge its own widespread human rights violations—which, although not on the scale of a genocide, include massacres and political assassinations. "I'm worried," he concluded, "that the government is setting the stage for another cycle of violence—not in the immediate future, but in the long term."



A survivor of the genocide lights candles at a mass grave in Nyamata, Rwanda, in 2004.

Longman noted that the Rwandan government's goals—on the one hand, to reach out to the population and achieve national unity and, on the other, to stay in power at all costs—are essentially contradictory. Increasingly, he said, the government's true power base is shrinking even as its outer circle is growing. Civil society is repressed, its leaders in exile or sometimes assassinated. Even among Tutsi, there is the sense that the government represents the interests of the *repatriés*—the Tutsi refugees from Uganda who made up the rebel army—at the expense of genocide survivors.

Lemarchand echoed these concerns and argued that the United States has failed to use "the considerable influence it has to press the Rwandan government to stop committing flagrant human rights abuses." He recalled his early experiences in Rwanda, beginning in 1960, and the tragedy of that country's first years of independence. "Little did I realize that an even greater tragedy would occur, inscribed in that first one." Lemarchand believes that there is evidence suggesting that the RPF downed the plane carrying the Rwandan president, widely considered to be one of the events

that precipitated the genocide. Consequently, while responsibility for the genocide lies unequivocally with the Hutu extremists, Lemarchand suggested that the RPF is more responsible than previously thought for exacerbating the tensions that led to it.

Support for Terrorism Linked to Feelings of Threat

The terrorists who flew themselves into the Twin Towers were educated, reasonably well-off, and married. But surely those who support terrorism—the people in whose name terrorists act—are themselves generally poor, male, uneducated, and young? According to Christine Fair, a program officer in the Research and Studies Program, the answers to those questions are wrong, wrong, wrong, and—not so much. It seems that women, computer owners, and the well-off (or at least, those who can afford the food and clothing they need) are more likely than others to support the activities of terrorists.

These are among the more counterintuitive findings Fair discovered by running regression analyses on a Pew data set regarding the attributes of terrorism supporters in Arab countries. Previous scholars had worked from severely

“The belief that Islam is under threat correlates with support for terrorism.”

limited data collected from skewed population groups; Fair is the first to analyze representative samples from various Arab countries.

Fair spoke at an Institute briefing on survey research on political violence. Other speakers at the briefing included Institute grant recipients Nicole Argo, of MIT; Brian Barber, of the University of Tennessee; Mohammed Hafez, of the University of Missouri; and Mansoor Moaddel, of the University of Michigan.

Fair noted that little can be done about many of the characteristics that correlate with support for terrorism. But there is one factor that can be influenced: the belief that Islam is under threat. That finding suggests, said Fair, “that strategic communication about threat assessments” can be an effective counterterrorism tool.

Negotiating Boundaries

Palestinians and Israelis negotiate in fundamentally different ways, and those styles may have diminished the possibility of their reaching an accord, concludes a new book edited by former Institute program officer Tamara Cofman Wittes. In an event held to launch the USIP book *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate: A Cross-Cultural Analysis of the Oslo Peace Process*, Wittes noted that while cultural differences weren’t the primary reason for the failure of the talks, they did play a role.

Samuel Berger, former national security advisor under President Clinton, gave the opening address. “I probably spent more time in the White House on the Middle East than any other single issue,” he remembered. Although the Camp

David talks ultimately failed, said Berger, the period of the 1990s was “actually the longest period of peace and prosperity for both Israel and the Palestinians since Israel was founded.”

The key to successful peace negotiations, said Berger, is to “get the parties talking about what they will do, not what others have done to them—endless diatribes from Israelis about the grievous sins of the Palestinians and the Palestinians about the grievous sins of the Israelis.” Remarking on the sometimes humorous ways that culture can affect negotiations, Berger recalled Yitzhak Rabin’s reaction in September 1993 when Clinton told him he would have to shake Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat’s hand. “Rabin looked like Clinton had just taken a two-by-four and whacked him in the stomach. His face went white, pale, and you could see his mind working . . . [Finally] he turned to Clinton and said, ‘All right, but no kissing.’”

Nigeria and the Curse of Oil

The Niger Delta, an area of dense mangrove rainforest in the southern tip of Nigeria, comprises nine of Nigeria’s thirty-six states: Abia, Akwa Ibom, Bayelsa, Cross River, Delta, Edo, Imo, Ondo, and Rivers. The region’s oil accounts for approximately 90 percent of the value of Nigeria’s exports, but the Niger Delta remains one of Nigeria’s least developed regions. Conflict, present in the region for many years, increased appreciably in the late 1990s and surged during the 2003 presidential election. In response to the recent unrest and also because many fear violence may again increase during the 2007 electoral period, the Obasanjo government developed the Niger Delta Peace and Security Strategy—a complement to its Niger Delta Master Plan, which outlines a plan for

economic and social development in the region.

The Institute held a public event in November with Dr. Judy Asuni, director of the Nigeria-based Academic Associates PeaceWorks (AAPW), on the peacemaking strategies being pursued in the Niger Delta. These strategies bring together representatives of the federal, state, and local governments; the oil and gas companies; the security agencies; foreign donors; and members of civil society to address the fundamental factors behind the violence. Dr. David Smock, director of the Institute’s religion and peacemaking program, moderated the discussion.

A young man hangs his clothes on a line near a gas flare in Odidi, in the Niger Delta region.



Responding to worries that the Niger Delta’s militias might regroup as the 2007 elections approach, the Peace and Security Working Group is part of the government’s effort to address rising violence in the region. A number of participants recommended a focus on economic development and greater transparency by the government and oil and gas companies. More concretely, the keys to peace in the Niger Delta, Asuni emphasized, will lie in the ability to reintegrate demobilized combatants successfully, engage and employ the youth, and build strong partnerships with the Niger Delta’s civil society organizations and the federal government. 🌐

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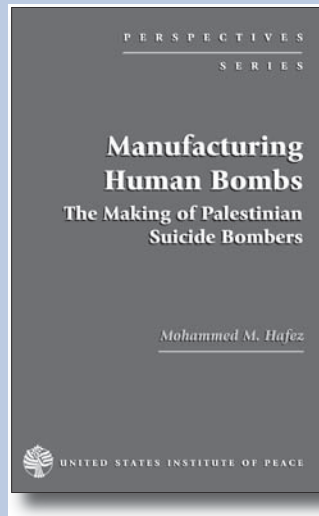
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