

OCTOBER/DECEMBER
2001

PeaceWatch

Special
Double Issue

Vol. VII, No. 6/Vol. VIII, No. 1



UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, DC

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Above: Flags fly at half-mast as the World Trade Center towers lie smoldering in the background after the terrorist attacks of September 11.

Coping with Terrorism

The long-term struggle against terrorism will be largely an information war, a fight for people's minds requiring a strategic communication campaign.

Coping with Terrorism

Continued from page 1



Left to right:
Bruce Hoffman,
Richard
Solomon, Allen
Holmes, and
Martha Crenshaw.



Terrorism is a particularly vicious species of psychological warfare, says political psychologist **Jerold Post**. Although the military campaign against the Taliban in Afghanistan has its place, “we can’t counter psychological warfare effectively with smart bombs and missiles,” Post says. “We have neglected to engage vigorously in the struggle for opinion using strategic communication.”

Post, a professor of political psychology at George Washington University, was one of eight panelists discussing the challenges of and responses to terrorism at a day-long U.S. Institute of Peace Current Issues Briefing on “Coping with Terrorism” held on September 21. A “Newsbyte” summary of the meeting can be found on the Institute’s website at www.usip.org/oc/newsroom/nb20010927.html.

The briefing built upon the work of the International Research Group on Political Violence (IRGPV), created in 1996 by the Institute’s Research and Studies Program in cooperation with the Airey Neave Trust of Great Britain. This ongoing transatlantic forum, which meets two to three times a year, is dedicated to fostering and sharing policy-relevant

research on terrorism and related forms of political violence. The group is currently chaired by **Bruce Hoffman**, director of the RAND Corporation’s Washington office and a panelist at the September briefing. The IRGPV counts among its members most of the leading U.S. and British authorities on terrorism. In May 1999 the Institute published a Special Report, *How Terrorism Ends*, based on one of the group’s meetings.

War of Words

Post noted that Islamic extremists perpetrate some of the most dangerous forms of terrorism, aimed not at influencing the West but at expelling the West from the Muslim world because of its secular modernizing influence. Osama bin Laden is skilled at shaping political opinion; his genius has been to focus the feelings of despair over economic inequalities in the Arab world against the United States, which, because of its support for moderate Arab governments, is viewed as the cause of their problems, Post said. “We in America have failed to understand the roiling hatred in the Arab world directed at the United States,” he said. “This is a war of words as much as of bombs.”

Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** noted that the terrorists seek to undermine moderate Islamic regimes and to radicalize their populations. “They want to drive us out of the region to weaken governments that cooperate with us—governments that have a vision of economic modernization and a more humane world.” One of the pressing policy challenges facing the United States in responding to the attacks of September 11 is to integrate a military response with a political approach aimed at building a coalition of moderate Muslim states and strengthening the political middle therein so as to isolate the extremists, he said.

However, it will not be possible to eliminate terrorism any more than it is possible to eliminate crime, said **L. Paul Bremer III**, managing director of political and emerging risks for MMC Enterprise Risk, part of Marsh McLennan Companies, and former chair of the National Commission on Terrorism. But we can and must delegitimize terrorism, he said. As part of that strategy, the United States needs to call on all Islamic countries and moderate Muslims to speak out against the cult of martyrdom through suicide bombing, he said. Other participants added that it is also important to strengthen the



Left to right:
Shibley Telhami,
Paul Bremer,
Daniel
Benjamin,
and Jerold Post.

norms against target-
ing civilians.

Attacking the Aura of Power

Shibley Telhami, who holds the Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland and is a member of the Institute's Board of Directors, pointed out that uneducated people in the Arab world do not think they can improve their political and economic circumstances and thus suffer feelings of helplessness and despair. The educated, on the other hand, do not share that resignation, a fact that has been demonstrated in revolutions throughout history. The September 11 attacks were aimed at demolishing America's aura of power and revealing it as weak to the Arab masses, he said. And more than that, the attacks sought to establish an aura of power for the terrorists.

The following excerpts from the Institute's "Newsbyte" summary of the meeting elaborate on some of these issues.

Terrorism Is Political Warfare

Al Qaeda—the bin Laden network—has few tangible assets. Based in a desperately poor country with little infrastructure, the network's leaders appear to have

little to lose in a physical sense. More than anything, the perpetrators' most valuable assets are the ideas they represent, which enable them to mobilize people for what they characterize as a righteous struggle against evil infidels and foreign invaders. While military action can destroy well-defined physical targets and vulnerable individuals and groups, other forms of response will be needed to undermine the legitimacy of the terrorists' cause. Unsuccessful, inconclusive, or ineffective military operations by the United States and its allies against the terrorists' network would bolster the group's prestige, by making it appear either invincible or, at the very least, a fair match for the world's major powers.

The daunting task before the United States and friendly governments is to uproot the network and destroy the political credibility of terrorists who use violence in the name of Islam. That will require effective diplomacy in building and maintaining an international coalition for an extended period and the cooperation of law enforcement services, intelligence services, financial experts, communications specialists, and others. The work will be long and arduous, and many of

the successes in this struggle will not be evident to the public.

Build Both Regional and International Coalitions

Sustaining a broad international coalition of states in the war against terrorism is likely to be difficult. Short-term successes tend to diminish the threat and weaken the resolve of governments to cooperate. The United States—armed with a United Nations mandate to legitimize

One of the pressing policy challenges facing the United States in responding to the attacks of September 11 is to integrate a military response with a political approach aimed at building a coalition of moderate Muslim states and strengthening the political middle therein so as to isolate the extremists.

actions against the terrorists and their supporters—should lead this proposed anti-terrorism coalition from the back seat, to make clear that the threat of terrorism is not just a U.S. problem but a global challenge as well.

For internal political reasons, governments traditionally friendly

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Coping with Terrorism

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to the United States—from Pakistan to the United Arab Emirates—have been under pressure to accommodate bin Laden's supporters within their own borders. U.S. efforts to fight terrorists in Afghanistan very likely will lead to their supporters trying to topple governments in states supporting the anti-terrorism coalition. Pakistan is a particular case in point. Even those states that decline to overtly join a coalition can support the struggle against terrorism through intelligence cooperation or by taking political actions to delegitimize terrorists' use of violence. The worst outcome of a broad assault on terrorism would be the fall of one or more moderate Muslim states and the rise in their place of Taliban-type regimes.



Peace Watch (ISSN 1080-9864) is published six times a year by the United States Institute of Peace, an independent, nonpartisan federal institution created by Congress to promote research, education, and training on the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. The views expressed herein do not necessarily reflect the views of the Institute or its board of directors.

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Moderate Arab leaders are reacting today as they did during the Gulf War in 1990. Then, they felt sufficiently threatened by Iraq to join a U.S.-led coalition; now, they are asking themselves if they want to live in Osama bin Laden's world. Muslim countries should not only be encouraged to participate but to take the lead in the fight against terrorism. This would include calling on Muslim religious and political leaders to cease glorifying terrorists, in particular suicide bombers, and to delegitimize the use of political violence as anathema to the teachings of Islam.

The panel of experts outlined several steps that U.S. policymakers should implement in the short term to deal with the immediate threat of global terrorism.

Maximize U.S. Intelligence Capabilities

One lesson of September 11 is the long-term deterioration of U.S. intelligence capabilities dating back to the late 1970s. Sixty percent of the intelligence gathered by U.S. agencies focuses only on military intelligence. The national security structure in the U.S. is anachronistic and the failure is not simply of one agency but of the entire structure. To address this issue, the panel recommended the following measures:

- Rescind restrictions on human intelligence recruitment in the field.
- Enhance the ability of the FBI to conduct wiretaps and phone traces by streamlining the process required to obtain court orders.
- Improve foreign language capabilities within both intelligence and diplomatic agencies.
- Improve dissemination of intelligence among government agencies, with a particular focus on improving dissemination by

the FBI, which is frequently constrained by rules of evidence and grand jury restrictions.

- Rethink intelligence-gathering priorities; although there continue to be military threats for the foreseeable future that require a defense focus, the priorities in gathering intelligence must allow for better intelligence on non-military threats.

No "Safe Harbors" for Terrorists

Keeping public and governmental attention riveted to the challenge of terrorism in a time of apparent peace will be difficult. The traditional pattern of response to a terrorist attack is for public outrage to fade in a matter of weeks as people seek to regain a sense of normalcy. A strategy of sustained offensive action must be developed to constantly disrupt terrorism through better security, improved intelligence, and offensive operations. That said, vulnerabilities will always exist. A sustained focus on taking the offensive will be the most effective approach to disrupting the terrorists' ability to plan operations, conduct training, and execute future attacks.

Active U.S. engagement abroad is essential to stabilizing the Middle East and South and Southeast Asia. If the United States waives, moderate Muslim states will be more vulnerable to attack by radical Islamic forces. Regional polls show that the Palestinian issue is one of the most important concerns affecting views of the United States in the Arab world. Renewed and intensified U.S. efforts to reactivate the Middle East peace process are important to preventing Israeli-Palestinian differences from becoming engulfed in the fight against terrorism and to defusing Muslim hostility toward the United States.



TURBULENT PEACE

The United States needs to intervene early to stabilize failing states, which are the breeding grounds for the terrorists of the world, cautions a panel of experts.

The United States cannot forget that war-torn and failed states are the breeding grounds for the Osama bin Ladens of the world, notes **Chester A. Crocker**, Schlesinger professor of strategic studies at Georgetown University and chairman of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace. In the 1990s, it was fashionable to note that the United States had a range of national security interests—an “A” list that included alliance relationships and relations with countries such as China and Russia; a “B” list that included major regional conflicts such as the Korean Peninsula, the Middle East, and the Balkans; and at the bottom, a “C” list that included “everything else, the strategic slums,” Crocker says.

These “C” list countries are places where programs to develop weapons of mass destruction are frequently organized, they are places where criminal business enterprises get launched and based, places that traffic in human beings and narcotics, places where terrorists proliferate, Crocker says. “We’ve learned in recent weeks that ‘C’ list countries can spawn ‘A’ list threats.” Crocker stresses that the current “war on terrorism” only dramatizes the need for prevention strategies, various political instruments, and the kind of mediation and training in which the U.S. Institute of Peace specializes.

Crocker discussed current responses to the recent terrorist attacks on the United States at an

Institute panel discussion on “Intervention: Can We Get It Right?” held on October 11. The event recognized the 10th anniversary of the U.S. Institute of Peace Press and the publication of a major new book, *Turbulent Peace: The Challenges of Managing International Conflict*, edited by Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall. Like its predecessor, *Managing Global Chaos*, the book explores the sources of contemporary conflict and the vast array of possible responses to it. The authors—50 of the most influential and innovative analysts of international affairs—present multiple perspectives on how best to prevent, manage, or resolve conflicts around the world.

“If what you want is a really deep, broad understanding of a field whose underpinnings have changed drastically, then this book is for you,” said **Jessica Tuchman Mathews**, president of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and one of three panelists at the event. Other panelists were **Pauline Baker**, president of the Fund for Peace and a contributor to *Turbulent Peace*, and **Geoffrey Kemp** (also a contributor) of the Nixon Center, with Crocker moderating.

In his opening remarks, Crocker noted five risks in the



current “war against terrorism”: (1) that we lose control of the definition of success and permit ourselves to imagine that we can do everything that needs to be done at once; (2) that the dramatic strategic thrust we are conducting has unintended consequences in friendly countries, such as undermining their governments; (3) that we acquire too many of the less desirable agendas of some of our partner countries; (4) that we win the struggle on the ground and lose the hearts and minds of a huge section of the world that is very important to us; and (5) that we ignore the fact that coercive

Clockwise from top left: Pauline Baker, Geoffrey Kemp, Chester Crocker, and Jessica Tuchman Mathews.

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Promoting Human Rights *in the Middle East*

It may be time to work with government institutions in the Middle East to promote human rights, says Institute senior fellow Neil Hicks.



Despite decades of effort on the part of international organizations to improve human rights in the Middle East, a number of countries in the region have shown little progress, notes **Neil Hicks**, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace in 2000–2001. Especially since the September 11 terrorist attacks, it is time to reassess the methods being used to promote human rights in these countries, he says.

“Islam is at least as open to interpretation in a manner supportive of international human rights standards as other major world religions. Committed Muslim human rights activists are

increasingly demonstrating this, and the diversity of Muslim politics in practice demonstrates it, too,” says Hicks, who is senior program coordinator for the Middle East and North Africa with the Lawyer’s Committee for Human Rights in New York. For his fellowship project, he is comparing human rights implementation in Egypt, where it is lagging, and Turkey, where despite some setbacks, it has been moving forward. Nevertheless, Hicks says, the intractability of the Israeli-Palestinian conflict has generally stifled liberal pluralist trends in Arab society, including the human rights movement. Authoritarian governments have exploited the conflict as a pretext both for suspending basic freedoms in the name of national security and for suppressing dissent in the name of national unity.

Traditional Approaches Not Working

Hicks notes that all states in the Middle East have ratified at least one international human rights treaty. And their domestic laws and constitutions contain human rights protections. Yet in most Middle East societies, there are substantial groups to whom basic rights and freedoms are not available.

“The problem is made more acute because as human rights become more widely known, more people are aware of what they are being denied. Expectations are raised and dashed, fueling a sense of anger,” Hicks says.

Traditionally, international human rights groups have sought to promote human rights in four ways: (1) monitoring and exposing human rights violations; (2) developing international norms

and mechanisms; (3) raising public awareness about human rights; and (4) persuading governments to put an end to their violations. “Progress has lagged in the fourth area,” Hicks says. “This is where we have the contradiction or tension between a great deal of human rights talk and not that much human rights action, which underlies the crisis I am talking about.”

The human rights community has responded to human rights violations by exposing them, shaming governments, and bringing international pressure through imposing sanctions or withholding aid. But in Egypt and other countries, governments have responded by charging that foreign human rights organizations are acting against the interests of the state, local human rights activists represent a fifth column of disloyal subjects, and so forth.

It is possible that the joining of Muslim states with the West in an anti-terrorist alliance will provide an opportunity for human rights activists to work more effectively with state officials in the Middle East. “Perhaps it is time to do less conventional types of human rights work, less condemnation, shaming, and more human rights education, more local capacity building, which may even involve working with government institutions and training police and judges, all the things we [human rights organizations] have traditionally looked on with skepticism,” Hicks says. “I’m advocating a reevaluation of state-led human rights processes. They are often seen as ineffective, but until you have a social and political environment conducive to receiving the human rights message, then simply pressuring governments risks being counter productive.”



A Crime against Humanity

The September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States constitute a crime against humanity and an attack on the rule of law, democracy, and human rights, says Mary Robinson, UN high commissioner for human rights.



Commandeering civilian aircraft and deliberately targeting office buildings with the intent to kill as many civilians as possible “without a doubt, constitutes a crime against humanity,” notes **Mary Robinson**, United Nations high commissioner for human rights. Identifying the terrorist attacks against the World Trade Towers and Pentagon on September 11 as a crime against humanity puts a clear responsibility on all governments of the world to seek out the perpetrators and help bring them to justice, she stressed.

Robinson, who was president of Ireland in 1990–97, discussed her office’s evaluation of the legal response to the September 11 attacks at a U.S. Institute of Peace Current Issues Briefing on October 17. The United Nations has developed a wide range of international treaties enabling the

international community to take action to suppress terrorism and prosecute terrorists.

Robinson also discussed the UN’s September World Conference against Racism held in Durban, South Africa, for which she served as the secretary general. The conference adopted a Declaration and Program of Action that commits UN member states to undertake a wide range of measures to combat racism and discrimination at the international, regional, and national levels.

Within days of the September 11 violence, Robinson’s office had analyzed existing jurisprudence relating to the event and concluded that it was legally justified to term the attacks a crime against humanity. That also means that domestic courts or a special tribunal such as that set up in the Lockerbie case could prosecute the perpetrators, Robinson said. Further, the characterization serves to isolate the perpetrators. “They cannot—in the name of any religion, much less Islam—commit a crime against humanity,” Robinson said, adding that neither can they recruit impressionable youth for a “holy jihad” when their acts are clearly defined as a heinous crime.

Along with regional organizations, Robinson’s office will help to monitor how countries implement the requirements established under the Security Council’s counterterrorism resolution, adopted on September 12. The resolution condemned the attacks

“unequivocally” and “in the strongest terms.” It stresses that any individual or state that aids, supports, or harbors the perpetrators of the attacks will be held accountable and urges all states to work to bring the perpetrators, organizers, and sponsors to justice.

Robinson’s office also will work to create awareness of the immense humanitarian crisis for Afghan refugees who have crossed the borders into neighboring countries and for internally displaced Afghans. Although aid agencies such as UNHCR, UNICEF, and others are gearing up to provide food, shelter, medicine, clothing, and related supplies, the borders have been closed and access is difficult. The arrival of winter in November could lead to a catastrophic situation for hundreds of thousands of Afghans. “It’s a very serious situation and not an easy one for the world to address,” Robinson said.

“This is an important time for human rights norms and standards,” she said. The September 11 attacks were aimed not just at killing large numbers of people, but they were also “an attack on the rule of law, democracy, and human rights.” It is important that in combating terrorism we work to preserve those values, lest the terrorists win by undermining them, she concluded.

“They cannot—in the name of any religion, much less Islam—commit a crime against humanity,” Robinson said, adding that neither can they recruit impressionable youth for a “holy jihad” when their acts are clearly defined as a heinous crime.



Hatred, Violence, *and the Work of the* United States Institute of Peace



In support of the national endeavor to respond to the terrorist threat, the Institute of Peace will seek to expand activities in a broad range of areas where we have already done substantial work.

Above, left to right: Chester Crocker, Richard Solomon

SEPTEMBER 11, 2001, LIKE DECEMBER 7, 1941, marks a day that transformed in a fundamental way the thinking of the American people—indeed people around the world—about their security and the nature of international conflict. A new sense of national vulnerability emerged from the attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon, and from its recognition that long-established approaches to national defense are out of sorts with the threats of the post-Cold War world. Our institutions and policies—our thinking—have not come to grips with how to defend against those who perpetrate acts of mass violence justified by religious belief.

Along with the shock and horror of the events of September 11, however, have come an upwelling of patriotism and sense of common purpose—and the gradual realization that out of this disaster can come the opportunity to remake our defenses and deal with international conflicts with broadened international support.

We here at the Institute, along with our compatriots and friends around the world, have reacted with stunned disbelief, grief, and then anger at the terrorists' attacks on our people, our critical national institutions, and the physical symbols of America's economic and military strength. Yet we have been uplifted by the outpouring of public spirit and the collective desire to help that is enabling the American people to commit their anger and grief to a constructive response. Everyone we know is seeking ways to contribute to a process of national recovery and healing, and to support an effective response to the perpetrators of the

heinous attacks on Washington and New York.

The Institute is fortunate, in this time of tragedy and challenge, to be able to draw on its work to support our nation's response to this era-defining event. Our ability to contribute is magnified by the considered recognition of our national leaders that terrorism, at its core, is a political form of warfare. Our response must be measured, political, systematic, and long-term in character even as military power will have a critical role to play in dealing with this challenge to our national security. The President and other members of his administration have told us that an effective response to the events of September 11 requires complex and persistent action by a broad coalition of countries that share common values and a common vulnerability to the threat of terrorism.

Thus, out of this terrible violence is emerging recognition that we—both our country and the Institute—have an important opportunity to mobilize domestic and international support for dealing with longstanding conflicts that are manipulated by political factions who use terror, justified by a religious belief or a political agenda, to pursue self-serving ends. Our national challenge is to understand the causes and dynamics of these events and to creatively rethink more effective ways to deal with international conflict and approaches to ensuring our security in the still-violent world of the 21st century.

In support of this national endeavor, and within the limits of our resources and current programming, the Institute of Peace will seek additional funding to expand activities to:



DEVELOP EFFECTIVE RESPONSES TO TERRORISM. The Institute, as a founding member of the International Research Group on Political Violence, has supported over the past five years nearly two dozen research projects on the character and dynamics of terrorism. Drawing on this work, and the contributions of the highly experienced members of the political violence research group, we will work with the administration to develop effective strategies for dealing with this new level of the terrorist threat to our national security and that of allied and friendly states. The Institute will also use its grant and fellowship resources to advance the understanding of political violence and ways to deal with it.

ESTABLISH A SPECIAL INITIATIVE ON MIDDLE EAST CONFLICTS. The range of countries from Northern Africa, through the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, to Iraq and Afghanistan is the context of much of the instability in today's world, if not the source of the September 11 attacks. The Institute will draw on a broad array of work on issues related to this region to promote more effective policies and to address, in particular, options for political action. This will include establishment of a Middle East Working Group (similar to our Balkans Working Group) comprising analysts, non-governmental (NGO) representatives, and government personnel. This effort will draw heavily on the Institute's network of relationships with former practitioners, private sector analysts, and scholars, former fellows, and grantees throughout the region developed over the past 15 years, especially during the Institute's Special Middle East Program conducted in the early 1990s during and after the Gulf War.

In addition to the work described above, the range of Institute activities addressing the terrorist threat—and which we have used previously in the Middle East, the Balkans, and other regions—will include the following:

- Develop “track two” outreach programs critical to international coalition building. The Institute will work with counterpart institutions in key countries to develop common policy perspectives that will reinforce the administration's efforts to build a broad international coalition, and in a way that supports America's democratic values and tradition of tolerance and religious freedom. In addition to friendly countries in the Middle East, the countries may include China, Russia, and allied states in Europe.

- Facilitate dialogues among groups in conflict such as those the Institute previously conducted regarding Israel and the Palestinian Authority, Kashmir, Kosovo, and Sudan.

- Promote and provide processes of reconciliation including the rule of law, human rights, and conflict management training for local officials and others.

- Work with educators in zones of conflict to promote the incorporation of conflict management and resolution into the teaching of students at secondary and undergraduate levels.

FACILITATE INTER-RELIGIOUS DIALOGUES. Taking advantage of more than a decade of work on religion and conflict, the Institute will bring together religious leaders from different faiths to review ways that religious beliefs are exploited to build political support in the Islamic world for terrorist activities. This effort will assess strategies for differentiating U.S. opposition to terrorism from tolerance and respect for Islam.

The Institute will explore possibilities for inter-faith dialogues as an approach to promoting peace and reconciliation as it did following the Gulf War and has been ready to do in the current Israeli-Palestinian situation. The Institute has significant experience in convening groups in conflict such as Kosovar Serbs and Albanians. Such efforts need careful planning and sufficient funds to support a sustained series of dialogues managed by experienced, expert, and credible personnel.

TEACH YOUNG AMERICANS ABOUT TERRORISM. The Institute will work with American educators to address how teachers should approach presenting these recent events and the many issues surrounding them to their students. This will include consultation with experts for different age groups, including young children in elementary and middle school grades, plus secondary and undergraduate levels. The Institute will develop materials for use in the classroom at these various educational levels.

AWARD FELLOWSHIPS AND GRANTS FOCUSED ON TERRORISM AND POLITICAL VIOLENCE. Applying an accelerated review process, the Institute will provide support via fellowships and grants to experts with both practical and academic experience in areas of immediate need. These awards might include Institute executive fellows who would work in the Executive Branch for a year or more and then come to the Institute to review and analyze their experiences. This would augment White House, State Department, and Defense Department expertise with immediate in-depth expertise from outside the government. The Institute will also add a Solicited Grant topic and will focus some of its fellowship awards to support study of the patterns, rise and fall, and sequential behavior cycles of terrorists and their actions and to examine the sorts of policy measures and political environments that appear to influence terrorist activity.

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Advancing Human Rights & Peace in a Complex World



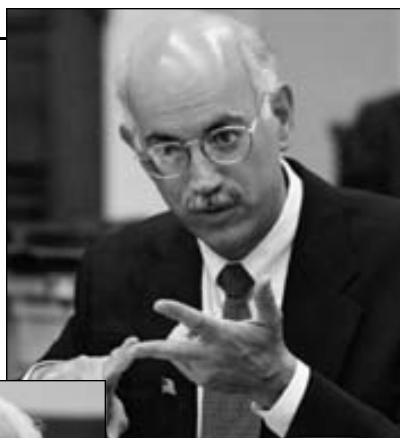
A commitment to the promotion of democracy and human rights is essential to ameliorating many problems in today's world, including terrorism, says a group of human rights experts. In the Middle East, for example, it is not Islam that breeds militancy, but the lack of democracy, the lack of sufficient and appropriate mechanisms to handle dissent, notes **Shibley Telhami**, who holds the Anwar Sadat Chair for Peace and Development at the University of Maryland and is a member of the Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace. Disaffected people in the Middle East “jump on the religious bandwagon” because the mosques provide one of the few social institutions through which large numbers of people can be mobilized for a cause, he says. There’s no question that the Middle East is going to have to deal with the issue of democratization, and the United States is going to have to help the countries there face that challenge.

However, patience is required because even under the best of circumstances, even when governments want to liberalize politically and elites want to democratize, it takes years before they are able to implement reforms, Telhami cautions. “So we can’t expect, particularly in the middle of a crisis, that we’re going to suddenly transform the Middle East.”

The U.S. government also needs to focus more on economic reform in the region. Economic development is important in that it can also cultivate segments of society that seek political reform and greater transparency.

Telhami was one of some 15 experts discussing human rights and global security at an Institute symposium on “Advancing Human Rights and Peace in a Complex World: Setting Priorities” held on Capitol Hill on October 16. The meeting was organized by **Debra Liang-Fenton**, program officer in the Institute’s Research and Studies Program and director of its Human Rights Implementation Project. The project will convene an ongoing dialogue focused on reconciling top priority objectives for policymakers in the near term—disrupting and ultimately dismantling terrorist networks—with the longer term goal of promoting human-rights observance and political and economic reforms.

The meeting brought together leading thinkers and practitioners to discuss how best to pursue human rights goals in conjunction with meeting other foreign policy objectives, including the need to eradicate threats to global security in the wake of the September 11 attacks. Participants also explored the ways in which the United States can harness the economic forces of globalization to forward its human rights policies. Balancing the need for economic stability and growth with the need to protect human rights is a growing challenge internationally. Part of the discussion focused on ways in which the U.S. government can narrow the divide on economic rights between the developed and the developing world.



rights and promotion of democracy in foreign policy, and stressed the need for the United States to work for the expansion of

Opposite page, top: Richard Solomon, William Clatanoff.

human rights and democracy in the roughly 48 countries that are not democratic today. With respect to the current crisis, he noted that new information technologies have widened the vista for youth around the world, making them aware that modernity can lead to a better life. However, militants argue that the advancement of modernity brings with it inherent qualities of immorality and godlessness. The way to counteract extremist ideology is to promote an environment that fosters moderation and tolerance—and democracy is the only form of government that is capable of supporting such an environment, Kampelman said. “The spread of democracy is the unfinished business of humanity,” and it should be a major foreign policy objective of the U.S. government, he concluded.

Above, top row, left to right: Sonja Biserko and Holly Burkhalter, Andrew Natsios, John Norton Moore. Middle row, left to right: Lorne Craner, Tom Lantos, Morton Halperin, John Kamm. Bottom row, left to right: Max Kampelman, Frank Wolf.

Morton Halperin, a senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, suggested that while the values of democracy and human rights should never be relinquished, U.S. foreign policy always requires a balance. Forces within government and society demand that policymakers take into account a number of different objectives. The United States should remember that it must uphold the laws and values that it is seeking to defend while it takes the necessary steps to protect itself against extremists. Policymakers should also be honest about why policy is

See *Advancing Human Rights*, page 16

U.S. Representative **Frank Wolf** (R-Va.) told symposium participants that since the September 11 attacks, more people have become interested in international affairs and aware of the importance of human rights. U.S. Representative **Tom Lantos** (D-Calif.) added that “at a time of war, the importance of human rights is only enhanced. It’s a phony choice to say that when we are at war, dealing with human rights is a luxury we can’t afford, because obviously there is a straight line from Hitler’s gas chambers to Stalin’s gulag to Osama bin Laden’s inferno.” Wolf and Lantos are codirectors of the Congressional Human Rights Caucus.

Rights and Global Security

In his introductory keynote address, **Max Kampelman** looked historically at the development of human

Association of Kosovo Municipalities Established

Kosovo leaders establish a municipal association, hailed as one of the most significant examples of interparty and interethnic cooperation in post-war Kosovo.

Some four months after attending a workshop on good governance organized by the U.S. Institute of Peace, a number of Kosovo municipal leaders established the Association of Kosovo Municipalities (AKM), which seeks to facilitate cooperation among municipalities and to tackle mutual municipal problems.

The inaugural meeting of the association was held in Pristina on June 30, with 76 municipal officials in attendance, five of whom were Serbs, and eight representing other ethnic minorities.

The initiative was well received by the international officials in attendance at the meeting, including heads and deputy heads of the main diplomatic and international missions in Kosovo, who lauded the association as one of the most significant examples of interparty and interethnic cooperation in post-war Kosovo.

Work to establish the association began just days after several municipal leaders returned to Kosovo from an Institute workshop on good governance held on February 25–March 1 outside Washington, D.C. The workshop was led by **Theodore Feifer**, program officer in the Institute's Training Program, and **George Ward**, director, with assistance from **Daniel Serwer**, head of the Balkans Initiative. Back in Kosovo, several of the municipal leaders who had attended the training called a meeting with the Institute's consultant in Kosovo, **Becky Kilhefner**, to plan the implementation of ideas agreed upon at the workshop. Understanding the importance of taking concrete actions while enthusiasm from the workshop was still fresh, they promptly formed a working group, consisting of three representatives of the Democratic League of Kosovo (LDK), **Ukë Bytyçi**, **Lutfi Haziri**, and **Faruk Spahija**; two from the Democratic Party of Kosovo (PDK), **Fehmi Mujota** and **Ramadan Gashi**; one from the Alliance for the Future of Kosovo (AAK), **Mazllom Kumnova**; and one Serb, **Slavisa Kolasinac**, to work on developing the association, an initiative stemming from small group discussions at the Institute workshop.

The working group met regularly for four months with Kilhefner and representatives of the U.S. Office in Pristina and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's Civil Administration Support Division to discuss the goals and nature of the association and draft its statutes, organize consultative meetings with other municipal leaders and inter-

national representatives, and develop strategies for increasing multi-partisan and multi-ethnic involvement in the association.

At the association's first meeting in June, participants approved the statutes calling for mutual cooperation and elected a seven-member board. As required by the statutes, the board includes representatives of various Albanian parties and one Serbian vice president. Board members include: president **Lutfi Haziri** (LDK), vice presidents **Ramadan Gashi** (PDK) and **Nenad Radosavljevic** (Serb), other members **Faruk Spahija** (LDK), **Salih Gashi** (LDK), **Ismajl Kurteshi** (PDK), and **Mazllom Kumnova** (AAK). Since the establishment of the association, members of its board have met with representatives of the United Nations Mission in Kosovo's Department of Local Administration to discuss central-municipal government relations and have represented the association at Council of Europe meetings in various European countries.

For background information on the Institute workshop on good governance, see the April 2000 issue of *Peace Watch*. The consensus reports issued at the workshop are available in Albanian, English, and Serbian on the Institute's website at www.usip.org.

Confronting Organized Crime and Terrorism in Kosovo

Local Kosovo criminal justice authorities face the risk of retaliation in determining accountability for such sensitive crimes as terrorism and ethnically based attacks, says **Michael E. Hartmann**, senior international public prosecutor with the United Nations Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK). For this reason, even while they work to strengthen the local criminal justice system, international prosecutors and judges have increasingly assumed responsibility for handling these crimes.

Hartmann, who has served in the Balkans since 1998, discussed "Confronting Organized Crime and Terrorism: Recent Lessons from Kosovo" at a U.S. Institute of Peace meeting held on October 19. **Neil J. Kritz**, director of the Institute's Rule of Law Program, organized the event. Comments were offered by **Colette Rausch**, who completed her service as interim director of the Department of Human Rights and the Rule of Law at the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mission in



Kosovo one day prior to the session.

Hartmann elaborated on some of the measures that have been developed to deal with the many problems encountered in his work. For example, special procedures were established in Kosovo's judicial system permitting the assignment of sensitive crimes to panels of judges with a majority of international judges. And new regulations have recently been adopted to assist prosecutors and law enforcement officials in investigating and prosecuting criminal cases. These include witness protection, immunity for cooperating witnesses, and special investigative authority such as electronic surveillance.

Given the challenges encountered in Kosovo—in particular dealing with ethnic attacks, organized crime, and terrorism—Hartmann urged that peacekeeping missions assert strong authority at the outset rather than adopting an incremental approach, as has been done in the past. He also discussed the difficulties in assembling evidence and prosecuting sensitive crimes committed prior to the arrival of the civilian components of the UN mission, and urged that in future cases, international prosecutors and criminal investigators should be deployed concurrent with the military components of a peacekeeping mission. He urged the need to anticipate such crimes and, in future cases in which the UN will exercise executive authority, enter with an effective set of legal tools, rather than taking a year or two to develop such tools on the ground. Finally, he noted that international judges and prosecutors deployed from various countries to such missions should receive extensive training in the local legal system as well as in relevant international law.

Rausch noted that the regulations described by Hartmann were developed through an extensive consultative process, in which law enforcement, human rights officials, and local experts debated and refined the terms prior to promulgation, resulting in rules with much broader acceptance than would have otherwise been the case. A former U.S. federal prosecutor, she suggested that the goals of protection in human rights and effective law enforcement are mutually reinforcing if approached correctly.

Rausch, who has joined the staff of the Institute's Rule of Law Program as a program officer, will play a lead role in a recently launched project on "Peacekeeping and the Administration of Justice." Working through a series of international teams of experts and drawing on past experience in Bosnia, Cambodia, East Timor, Haiti, Kosovo, and elsewhere, the project will address many challenges faced in recent missions, including those discussed at the October 19 session.

Yugoslav Officials Discuss Future Challenges

Officials from the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia discussed the challenges facing their country at a meeting of the Institute's Balkans Working Group held in August. *Below, left to right:* Goran Svilanovic, minister of foreign affairs, and Miroljub Labus, deputy prime minister; Daniel Serwer, director of the Institute's Balkans Initiative, and Harriet Hentges, Institute executive vice president; and Bozidar Djelic, minister of finance.



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

- *Options for Prosecuting International Terrorists*, by David Scheffer (Special Report no. 78, November 2001)
- *Albanians in the Balkans* (Special Report no. 77, October 2001)
- *Faith-Based NGOs and International Peacebuilding* (Special Report no. 76, October 2001)
- *AIDS and Violent Conflict in Africa* (Special Report no. 75, October 2001)
- *Controlling Weapons of Mass Destruction: Findings from USIP-Sponsored Projects*, edited by Deepa Ollapally (Peaceworks no. 41, October 2001)
- *U.S. Leadership in Resolving African Conflict: The Case of Ethiopia-Eritrea*, by John Prendergast (final installment in a five-part series on African conflicts) (Special Report no. 74, September 2001)
- *U.S. Human Rights Policy toward Africa*, by Debra Liang-Fenton (Special Report no. 73, August 2001)
- *Whither the Bulldozer? Nonviolent Revolution and the Transition to Democracy in Serbia* (Special Report no. 72, August 2001)
- *The Future of Macedonia: A Balkan Survivor Now Needs Reform* (Special Report no. 67, March 2001)

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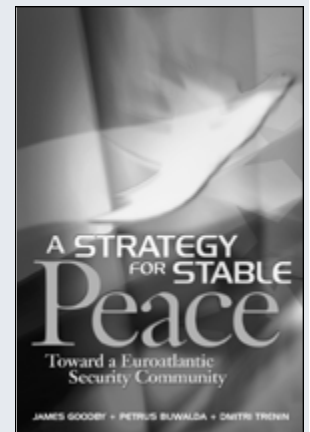
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The Dilemmas of Constitution Making in Rwanda

It will be a major challenge for Rwandans to create a democratic political system when the country's minority Tutsi were victims of a recent genocide perpetrated by extremists in the Hutu majority.

A country's constitution gains legitimacy when people feel that it belongs to them, that it reflects the values of the country, its history and culture, says **Louis Aucoin**, program officer in the Rule of Law Program at the U.S. Institute of Peace. "Legitimacy has a power that goes beyond the constitution itself," he says. "If a constitution has legitimacy and the country's leaders stray from its path, the people won't let them get away with it. But if a constitution does not have legitimacy, leaders can flout it more easily."

One of the most effective ways to gain legitimacy for a constitution is to consult broadly with the public during the constitution-making process. But in post-genocide Rwanda this may pose a major challenge, Aucoin said in a recent interview. The ruling Tutsi were victims of a mass genocide perpetrated by extremist Hutu, who massacred more than 800,000 Tutsi and moderate Hutu in the 1994 genocide. The Hutu comprise some 80 percent of Rwanda's population.

Aucoin, an expert in constitutional and comparative law and adviser to Rwanda's Constitutional Commission, discussed

constitutional legitimacy and related issues in his keynote address to the Conference on Constitution Development held in Rwanda on August 20–25. About 50 people attended the conference, including the 12 members of Rwanda's Constitutional Commission; prominent representatives of Rwandan civil society; key players in the constitutional processes in Benin, Burundi, Eritrea, Mali, Nigeria, South Africa, Uganda, and Zambia; and three other American constitutional experts.

The Rwandan government has been taking a number of steps to reduce ethnic tension in the country, Aucoin said. Among these, the government discontinued the practice of issuing identity cards that noted the holder's ethnic group. At the same time, political parties have been banned for fear that they might stir up ethnic tensions again. Aucoin is advising the Rwandan government on ways to focus the constitutional process on constitutional values so as to foster the future development of political parties that are based on ideas and causes, not ethnicity.

A majority of the Rwandans at the conference want to reserve a number of seats in parliament for the military in gratitude for the



role they played in ending the genocide. However, a number of participants at the conference suggested that doing so could raise problems as the constitutional process proceeds, especially concerning civilian control of the military.

In pursuit of legitimacy and in response to the daunting challenges of democracy, the Rwandan Commission is currently bringing the constitution-making process to villages throughout the country in a massive program of public consultation. They expect to conclude the entire constitutional process by 2003.

Aucoin's work in Rwanda draws on the Rule of Law Program's Working Group on Constitution Making, Peace Building, and National Reconciliation established in May. The working group looks at how the process of constitution making can resolve conflict, heal social wounds, and promote political stability. The group consists of 18 experts with experience in constitution making in one or more countries. Members have diverse backgrounds in areas such as law, policing, conflict resolution, anthropology, linguistics, history, law, development, and economics.

Above, left to right: Louis Aucoin and Kibuye-Rwanda. Michael Address Rwanda's Conference on Constitution Development.

Teachers Talk on VOA

Secondary school teachers attending the Summer Institute on International Peace, Security, and Conflict Management discussed the challenges of teaching foreign affairs at a Voice of America call-in program in August. The teachers fielded questions from callers from Brazil, Indonesia, the Netherlands, the Philippines, South Africa, Zimbabwe, and other countries.

Brian Fenderson, who teaches at Cascade High School in Oregon, said he enjoyed telling such a wide audience that American teachers “do teach international issues whenever and wherever we can. It’s important to correct the notion that Americans do not know or do not want to know about the rest of the world.”



Turbulent Peace

Continued from page 5

power by itself cannot bring about a solution to the crisis of terrorism.

We need to develop coherence between our military, political, and diplomatic instruments, Crocker concluded.

Baker noted two major shifts in American thinking after the September 11 attacks. First, terrorism has put an end to American unilateralism. “America learned the hard way if you go it alone, you don’t go anywhere,” she said. “We have built the widest coalition ever to cope with the issue of terrorism.” And second, the definition of our vital national interest now includes the need to intervene early on to stabilize failing and failed states such as Afghanistan, which we abandoned when the Soviets pulled out, letting it breed “a monster that came back and bit us.”

Kemp noted that the need to intervene usually arises “at a time when you’re not prepared for it and there’s no time to do your homework. You end up

going into an area with a military force and only later realize exactly what you’ve gotten into: a nightmare of historical and cultural conflicts.” The United States needs to gain a careful understanding of the history and culture of Afghanistan and Pakistan. Kemp concluded that while the fight against terrorism will be difficult and complicated, the large number of casualties in the September attacks will give the United States the determination to “see this thing through.”

Advancing Human Rights

Continued from page 11

being conducted, and they should see democracy promotion and solving the problem of terrorism as complementary objectives. This can be done in part by supporting countries in transition that have substantial Muslim populations, such as Bosnia, Indonesia, and Nigeria. The United States must also work with the United Nations in helping to bring about a viable future for Afghanistan.

Andrew Natsios, administrator of the U.S. Agency for International Development and a senior fellow at the Institute of Peace in 1998–99, said that in considering human rights, it is important to note that all rights are not equal. “The right to survive, for me, is the most important right, because if you die, you don’t have any of the other rights available to you.”

Some 1.5 million people are at risk of dying in the next four to five months in the famine in Afghanistan, which predates the September 11 attacks, Natsios said. And the most severely affected people belong to one of three ethnic groups, all of which have suffered atrocities at the hands of the Taliban: the Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Hazaras. There is no recorded history of a famine in a democracy, Natsios noted, because in a democracy, the media see a famine coming and political leaders take measures to ward it off. “Our focus from the human rights perspective is to see to it that death rates are brought down,” he said. Due to the current war against the Taliban, ironically, we may actually end up saving more lives than we would have had the September 11 attacks not taken place, he added.

Operationally, the U.S. government is exploring the introduction of the Internet and information technology to isolated communities, and particularly to young people, to protect human rights by expanding worldviews. This is a long-term approach, but one that has the potential to impact segments of society with a narrow worldview by ending their isolation and exposing them to other cultures.



JON B. ALTERMAN, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, discussed the Arab-Israeli conflict with a group of young professionals from Euronet in July.

LOUIS AUCOIN, program officer in the Rule of Law Program, has been awarded a one-year fellowship in the Judicial Fellows Program at the U.S. Supreme Court. He will return to the Institute in September 2002.

SHERYL BROWN and **MARGARITA STUDEMEISTER**, directors of the Virtual Diplomacy Initiative, published "The Diffusion of Diplomacy" in the July issue of *iMP* (Information Impacts), a monthly web magazine published by Science Applications International Corporation's Center for Information Strategy and Policy. They also attended the second Tampere Conference on Disaster Communications on May 28–30 in Finland, where Brown presented the initiative's work on the use of information and communications technologies for information sharing during humanitarian operations.

JOHN T. CRIST, program officer in the Jennings Randolph Fellowship Program, edited the October 2001 special issue of the *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* on "Ethnography Under the Gun: Fieldwork in Zones of Conflict, War, and Peace." The special issue includes ethnographies of: Palestinian political prisoners, terrorism (and terrorism experts), nonviolent accompaniment of human rights advocates in Sri Lanka, and the U.S. peacekeeping force in the Sinai.

Crist also coordinated a team-taught master's-level course on "Principles and Practices of Conflict Management" for the 2001

summer session at Johns Hopkins University's School of Advanced International Studies. Members of the Institute's staff and senior fellows lectured on topics like mediation and negotiation, preventive diplomacy, peacekeeping and humanitarian intervention, post-conflict reconstruction and reconciliation, and transitional justice. The eclectic group of students included diplomats from the embassies of Chile, Senegal, and Kazakhstan; analysts from the Department of Defense and the intelligence community; and former officials of the UN Mission in Kosovo and the International Committee of the Red Cross.

MIKE DZIEDZIC, program officer in the Balkans Initiative, discussed "Forecasting State Failures" with graduate students at George Washington University's Elliot School of International Affairs on September 20. On September 11, he gave a presentation on "Armed Forces and Police Services Collaboration in Peace Operations" at a conference on "Police and Technologies for Peace" held in Carrion de los Condes, Spain. On September 7, he discussed "International Capabilities and Response" at a conference on "Transnational Crime and Peacekeeping: A Comparative Perspective" held in Chicago.

ELLEN ENSEL, computer systems librarian, moderated a day-long conference on "Building a Digital Library: How Digitization Affects Traditional Library Activities and Services" at the Library of Congress on July 12. Ensel is a member of the Federal Library and Information Center Committee's Information Technology Working Group, which planned the program.

DEBRA LIANG-FENTON, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, discussed the challenges to the current administration in promoting human rights at American University on September 5. The audience comprised graduate and undergraduate students in a class on human rights.

An article by **DEEPA OLLAPALLY**, program officer in the Grant Program, entitled "Engendering Real Security: Moving Beyond Theory to Policy," appeared in the Summer 2001 issue of the *Women's Policy Journal of Harvard*.

Institute president **RICHARD H. SOLOMON** discussed the new challenges to diplomacy at the Symposium on Information Age Diplomacy organized by the National War College and Northwestern University at Fort McNair in Washington, D.C., on April 6. He also moderated a panel on the impact of information and communications technologies on public diplomacy during the Information Technology and the Practice of Diplomacy conference at the Elliot School of International Affairs at George Washington University on April 24.

FRANK SULLIVAN, contracting officer in the Administration Office, received the Veterans Affairs Small Business Advocate of the Year Award at a ceremony in October. Veterans Affairs secretary Anthony J. Principi presented the award in recognition of Sullivan's significant personal assistance to small, disadvantaged, woman-owned, and veteran-owned business concerns. This is the first time that this prestigious award has been given to an individual.

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

AUSTRALIAN NATIONAL UNIVERSITY, Canberra, Australia. "Cosmopolitan Militaries." Graeme L. Cheeseman, Lorraine M. Elliott. \$35,000.

BOGAZICI UNIVERSITY, Istanbul, Turkey. "The Role of Public Opinion in Greek-Turkish Relations." Ali Carkoglu. \$35,260.

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, Washington, D.C. "Kissing the Balkan Frog." Elizabeth Pond. \$35,000.

CENTER FOR POPULATION AND ENVIRONMENTAL DEVELOPMENT, Benin City, Nigeria. "Public Policy, Oil, and Environmental Conflicts." Augustine Ikelegbe. \$35,000.

CENTRAL MICHIGAN UNIVERSITY, Mt. Pleasant, Mich. "The Transformation of Civil-Military Relations in Post-Authoritarian Central America." Orlando Perez. \$38,000.

CONCILIATION RESOURCES, London, United Kingdom. "Conflict Resolution Training for Nigerian Civil Society Organizations." Abiodun Onadipe. \$38,000.

COUNCIL FOR A LIVABLE WORLD EDUCATION FUND, Washington, D.C. "Nuclear Decisionmaking in Iran: Mapping the Players and Processes." Jim Walsh. \$34,100.

EPISCOPAL DIVINITY SCHOOL, Cambridge, Mass. "The Cry of Apartheid's Crusader." Pumla Gobodo-Madikizela. \$30,000.

GEORGE MASON UNIVERSITY, Fairfax, Va. "A Comparative Analysis of Local Zones of Peace within Colombia." Chris Mitchell. \$35,000.

GEORGETOWN UNIVERSITY, Washington, D.C. "Islamic Feminism/s: Part of the Problem or Part of the Solution?" Margot Badran. \$41,800.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Mass. "Imagine Coexistence." Martha Minow. \$32,000.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY, Cambridge, Mass. "The Challenge of Separatism and Intercine Conflict in South Asia: Implications of the Tibetan Experience." Mark Kramer, Richard Pipes. \$35,000.

IMPROVING MENTOR PRACTICES AND COMMUNICATION TECHNIQUES COALITION, INC., New York, N.Y. "Coalition Institute and Training Initiative 2001." Will Baker. \$34,000.

INDIANA UNIVERSITY, Bloomington, Ind. "The Tragedy of Destructive Conflict and the Challenge of Peacebuilding and Self-Governance: The Case of Liberia." Amos Sawyer. \$40,000.

INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC AND DEVELOPMENT STUDIES, INC., Quezon City, Philippines. "United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) and the Implications for the South China Sea Disputes." Carolina G. Hernandez. \$35,000.

INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE, Washington, D.C. "Toward the Peaceful Resolution of the Colombian Conflict: A Regional Approach." Michael Shifter. \$40,000.

MIDDLE EAST CHILDREN'S ASSOCIATION (MECA), Jerusalem, Israel. "Human Rights Teachers' Summer Seminar." Ghassan Abdullah, Adina Shapiro. \$35,000.

NEW YORK UNIVERSITY, New York, N.Y. "Ending Civil Wars: The Structural Bases for Durable Settlements." Elisabeth Jean Wood. \$25,000.

PEACE DISCOVERY INITIATIVES, Arlington, Va. "Positive Approaches to Peacebuilding: A Practitioner's Exploration." Cynthia Sampson. \$35,000.

PLOWSHARES INSTITUTE, INC., Simsbury, Conn. "Advanced Training Component in Kenya, Uganda, and Zimbabwe for African Peacebuilding: A Case Study Approach." Alice Frazer Evans, Robert A. Evans. \$28,000.

PUBLIC INTERNATIONAL LAW AND POLICY GROUP, Arlington, Va. "Negotiation Simulations for Kosovo Final Status Talks." Paul Williams. \$32,000.

RELIEF INTERNATIONAL, Los Angeles, Calif. "Peace and Tolerance Project in Prizren, Kosovo." Andrew Blum. \$30,000.

ST. ANTHONY'S COLLEGE, Oxford, United Kingdom. "King Hussein and the Quest for Peace in the Middle East." Avi Shlaim. \$43,093.

ST. ANTHONY'S COLLEGE, Oxford, United Kingdom. "New Strategies and Mechanisms for the Protection of Human Rights in the Disputed Areas in the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict: A

Comparative Analysis of Prospective Solutions." Nomi Bar-Yaacov. \$22,000.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK RESEARCH FOUNDATION, Stony Brook, N.Y. "The Gender of Ethnic Nationalism: A Comparative Study." Michael Kimmel. \$35,000.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, Syracuse, N.Y. "Moral Compensation between Palestinians and Israelis." Rami G. Khouri. \$28,000.

TRAUMA RESEARCH, EDUCATION, AND TRAINING INSTITUTE, INC. (TREATI), South Windsor, Conn. "Preventing Renewed Violence in Rwanda: A Program for Leaders." Laurie Pearlman, Ervin Staub. \$40,000.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT IRVINE, Calif. "ASEAN After Hard Times: Implications for the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF)." Etel Solingen. \$25,000.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES, Calif. "Intractable but Nonviolent Ethnonational Conflict in East-Central Europe." Rogers Brubaker. \$38,000.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, Notre Dame, Ind. "The Guatemalan Peace Process: Accomplishments and Lessons." Luis Pasara. \$30,000.

UNIVERSITY OF NOTRE DAME, Keough Institute for Irish Studies, Notre Dame, Ind. "Partition and Memory: An International Conference." Mary Burgess, Seamus Deane. \$39,000.

UNIVERSITY OF PITTSBURGH, Pittsburgh, Penn. "Peace and Security Studies Thesaurus Project." Wolfgang F. Schlor. \$28,000.

UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS, Fife, Scotland, United Kingdom. "Foreign Policy Alteration in Syria: Globalization and Generational Change." Raymond Hinnebusch, Anders Strindberg. \$38,000.

WORLD VISION, INC., Washington, D.C. "Establishment of a Community Relations Department in the Police Force of Brcko District and Accompanying Activities." Jasmin Cajic. \$35,000.

YESODOT, Jerusalem, Israel. "Religion, Coexistence, and Democratic Values." Dov Maimon. \$25,000.



Senior Fellows, Guest Scholars, Peace Scholars

2001–2002

Senior Fellows

JACOB BERCOVITCH, professor of international relations, University of Canterbury, New Zealand, "Evaluating Mediation in Protracted Conflict," in residence February–September 2002.

RUTH FIRER, director of Peace Education Projects, Truman Research Institute for the Advancement of Peace, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, "To Learn to Live Together: An Israeli-Palestinian Educational Joint Project," in residence through December 2001.

RICHARD A. JOSEPH, Asa G. Candler professor of political science, Emory University, "Political Renewal and Political Violence in Africa, 1989–2001," in residence January–September 2002.

MICHAEL J. MATHESON, former principal deputy legal adviser, U.S. Department of State, "Armed Conflict and International Law in the Post–Cold War Period," in residence through July 2002.

BRENDA PEARSON, political analyst, International Crisis Group, "Bridging the Gulf between Ethnic Albanians and Macedonians," in residence through July 2002.

YORAM PERI, professor of communication, Hebrew University of Jerusalem, "The Israeli Military and the Peace Process," in residence through July 2002.

ROBERT M. PERITO, former deputy director, International Criminal Investigative Training Assistance Program (ICITAP), U.S. Department of Justice, "The American Experience with Policing Peace," in residence through July 2002.

AMINA RASUL-BERNARDO, research fellow, Sycip Policy Center, Philippines, "Autonomy or Federalism: Self-Rule for Philippine Muslims," in residence through July 2002.

BILL RICHARDSON, former U.S. permanent representative to the United Nations and former secretary of energy, "Energy Dimensions of U.S. Relations with North Korea," through December 2001 (out of residence)

DAVID SCHEFFER, former U.S. ambassador-at-large for war crimes, "U.S. Engagement in the Development of

International Criminal Tribunals and in Responding to Atrocities, 1993–2000," in residence through February 2002.

ERIC SCHWARTZ, former senior director for multilateral and humanitarian affairs, National Security Council, "Policy Responses to Complex Humanitarian Crises: An Interdisciplinary and Integrated Approach," in residence through July 2002.

HAZEL SMITH, program adviser, World Food Program, Pyongyang, North Korea, and reader in international relations, University of Warwick, U.K., "Assessing International Assistance and Peaceful Social and Economic Transformation in North Korea," in residence December 2001–September 2002.

LAWRENCE S. WITTNER, professor of history, State University of New York at Albany, "World Nuclear Disarmament Efforts since 1971 and Their Policy Implications," in residence February–May 2002.

Army/Navy Fellows

Captain PAUL F. MCLAUGHLIN, U.S. Navy Chaplain Corps, "The Navy Chaplain and Civil-Military Cooperation in Humanitarian and Peace Operations," in residence through April 2002.

Lt. Col. STANLEY TUNSTALL, U.S. Army, "Transnational Crime and Conflict: Strategic Implications for the Military," in residence through May 2002.

Guest Scholars

DANA PRIEST, Defense Department correspondent, *Washington Post*, "Civil-Military Relations in the Formulation and Execution of American Foreign Policy," in residence through December 2001

CHARLES T. CALL, assistant professor, Watson Institute for International Relations, Brown University, "Constructing Justice and Security after War," in residence through July 2002.

RUTH WEDGWOOD, professor of international law, Yale Law School, and senior fellow, Council on Foreign Relations, "Unilateralism and the Use of Force," in residence through May 2002.

Peace Scholars

September 2001–August 2002

MARK F. DAVIDHEISER, Department of Anthropology, University of Florida, "Multiculturalism and Peacemaking: Conflict Mediation in the Gambia."

TULIA G. FALLETI, Department of Political Science, Northwestern University, "Decentralization Trajectories and Balance of Power in Argentina, Mexico, and Colombia, 1982–99."

ALEXANDRU-VALENTIN GRIGORESCU, Department of Political Science, University of Pittsburgh, "Transparency and the Impact of International Organizations on Democratic Consolidation."

LONDON E. HANCOCK, Institute for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, "Peace from the People: Identity Salience in the Northern Ireland Peace Process."

YINAN HE, Department of Political Science, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, "Overcoming Shadows of the Past: Historical Trauma and Reconciliation in Europe and East Asia."

SWITBERT R. KAMAZIMA, Department of Sociology, University of Minnesota, "Globalization from Below: Cooperation and Regional Integration along the Tanzania-Uganda Border."

CURTIS W. LAMBRECHT, Department of Political Science, Yale University, "Violence in Burmese State-Making: The Making of a Human Rights Pariah."

ALEKSANDRA MILICEVIC, Department of Sociology, University of California, Los Angeles, "Joining Serbia's Wars: Volunteers and Draft-Dodgers, 1991–95."

JENNIFER J. PHILPOT, Department of Anthropology, University of Chicago, "Peace under Fire: Protestantism, Human Rights, and Civil Society in Post-War Guatemala."

BRETT B. TROYAN, Department of History, Cornell University, "Peace and Ethnic Identity in Southwestern Colombia, 1930–91."

Online Guide for Teaching Students about Terrorism

An online "Teaching Guide on International Terrorism: Definitions, Causes, and Responses" will soon be available on the Institute's website at: www.usip.org/ed/Products/TeachingGuides/terrorism.html.

Developed by the Institute's Education Program for teachers of juniors and seniors in high school the guide is divided into three lessons: defining terrorism, examining the origins of terrorism, and developing responses to terrorism.

The guide, which can be easily incorporated into existing high school classes, also includes a list of related reading materials and links to other useful teaching resources on terrorism. The guide can be downloaded free of charge.

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Starting next year, the U.S. Institute of Peace will be holding two Solicited Grant competitions annually—Spring and Fall. The Institute is now accepting applications for the Spring Solicited Grant competition. Each year the Institute offers financial support for research, education, training, and the dissemination of information in the fields of international peace and conflict management.

The Institute encourages applications from nonprofit organizations and official public institutions. Individuals may also apply. For further information and application materials, please call, write, or e-mail:

United States Institute of Peace • Solicited Grants

1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200

Washington, DC 20036-3011

(202) 429-3842 • Fax (202) 429-6063 • TTY (202) 457-1719

e-mail: grant_program@usip.org

Application materials may also be downloaded from our website: www.usip.org/grants.html (starting October 30).

The closing date for receipt of Spring 2002 Solicited Grant applications is March 1. Award announcements will be made in late September 2002.



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