

# PeaceWatch

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## The North Korea Challenge

North Korea's recent missile test and suspected underground nuclear facilities have divided opinion over how the United States should respond.



In the midst of a catastrophic famine that has claimed the lives of an estimated one to three million people and an economic crisis that threatens internal collapse, North Korea has shunned much-needed reform. Instead, the communist regime in Pyongyang has focused on developing the North's military capabilities—occasionally brandishing them in the region.

These worrisome developments—combined with the North's suspected promotion of a covert nuclear weapons program—have jeopardized a 1994 U.S.–North Korea nonproliferation agreement and divided U.S. policymakers over how the United States should respond.

The Korean Peninsula remains one of the most dangerous unresolved conflicts in the post-Cold War world, says **Richard H. Solomon**, president of the U.S. Institute of Peace. An expert on Asian security issues, Solomon

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A North Korean poster shows three missiles marked "Washington, Seoul, Tokyo." The poster was reproduced in a North Korean newspaper with the caption, "The targets are clear!"

## North Korea

Continued from page 1

**Right: An unidentified type of North Korean rocket blasts off on August 31, 1998. The North Koreans claimed the rocket was the country's first satellite rocket launch and denied that they had tested a ballistic missile over Japan that day. (Photo provided by North Korean news agency.)**

served as assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs in 1989–92. Under his leadership, the Institute has been assessing developments in North Korea, with the aim of facilitating dialogue among policymakers and helping the U.S. government evaluate policy options.

The Institute's Korea Working Group, which has met regularly since 1993, brings together top policymakers, government officials, and academic and think tank experts to discuss timely issues that are critical to managing the crisis. The group is currently headed by **Patrick Cronin**, director of the Research and Studies Program, and program officer **William Drennan**.

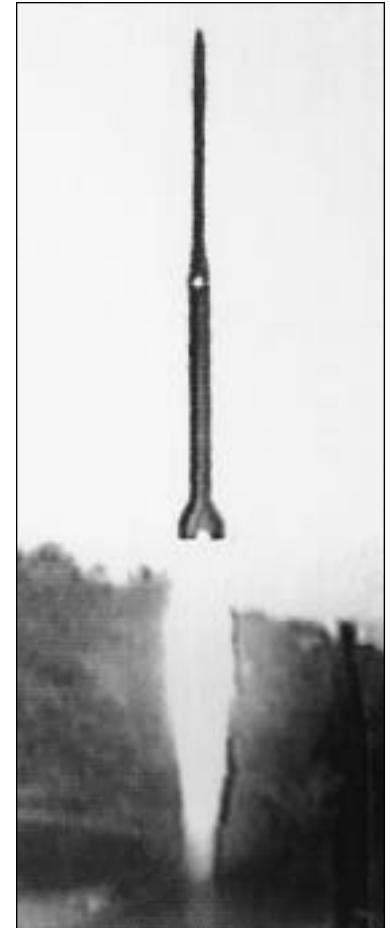
Out of the working group's meetings and related events, the Institute has published seven Special Reports, most recently *Mistrust and the Korean Peninsula: Dangers of Miscalculation*. This report notes that the North may be planning to achieve a "strategic breakout" through its missile and suspected nuclear weapons programs. Such a strategic leap would dramatically change the balance of power on the peninsula and in the region.

An upcoming report, discussed below, focuses on policy options (see the April 1999 *Peace Watch*). Solomon recently discussed major policy issues that emerged from the working group at several days of State Department policy review briefings on North Korea chaired by former secretary of defense William Perry. President Clinton appointed Perry to reassess administration policy on North Korea and develop recommendations for future policy.

In related work on North Korea, Institute program officer **Scott Snyder** is completing an assessment of North Korea's negotiating behavior in a book to be published by the Institute's Press in the fall. And the Institute will shortly publish a Special Report on the North Korean famine by senior fellow **Andrew Natsios**, former vice president of WorldVision U.S., which is based on field reports, surveys, and interviews with North Korean defectors and refugees. (All reports are available free of charge. Call 202-429-3828 or visit our web site at [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).)

### Background

Last August, North Korea tested a three-stage missile over Japan, threatening the security of Japan



and of U.S. forces stationed in the area. The North reportedly is preparing to conduct a second missile test. According to recent satellite photos, the North also is constructing several large underground facilities suspected of being part of a clandestine nuclear weapons program. And it has continued making provocative submarine incursions into South Korean waters.

The possible resumption of the North's nuclear program has jeopardized the 1994 Agreed Framework, under which the United States, in partnership with South Korea, Japan, and other nations, agreed to provide North Korea with food, fuel, and light water nuclear reactors in exchange for termination of the North's nuclear weapons program.



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In response to a recent U.S. request to inspect the suspected nuclear sites, the North at first demanded a payment of \$300 million, and when that was rejected, asked for more food aid. Without inspections, Congress is unlikely to release any further funds for heavy fuel oil, due to be delivered to North Korea as part of the 1994 Agreed Framework—thus calling into question the future of the entire nonproliferation agreement.

For its part, the North argues that the United States has jeopardized the Agreed Framework by failing to ease the trade embargo, established at the time of the Korean War. The North also charges that the United States has been slow to send the agreed-upon amount of heavy fuel oil and has allowed the light water reactor project to fall behind schedule.

The possible unraveling of the agreement has prompted a new debate among U.S. policymakers about future U.S. policy toward the North. A brief summary of policy options from the Institute's Korea Working Group follows.

### Policy Choices

All parties to the debate agree upon the need to deter possible aggression by North Korea and to take the necessary measures to defend the strategic interests of South Korea and the United States from attack by the North.

Disagreement begins over one of two policy perspectives: that we need to contain North Korea, or that it is possible to encourage change in North Korea.

Those who argue that we need to contain the North say we don't know their intentions, they have

See *North Korea*, page 11



### Albright on Kosovo

America has “a fundamental interest in strengthening democratic principles and practices in the Balkans and throughout Europe,” says Secretary of State Madeleine Albright. She discussed the possible U.S.

role in implementing a peace settlement in the Serbian province of Kosovo at the U.S. Institute of Peace on February 4.

Albright and representatives of the international Contact Group on conflicts in the Balkans had recently come up with a comprehensive plan for a peace settlement in Kosovo. Contact Group members were preparing for negotiations between representatives of Kosovo's ethnic Albanians and representatives of Serbia in Rambouillet, France.

Albright thanked the Institute's Balkans Working Group for its “great thinking . . . on a problem that is difficult and will require everybody's attention.” Institute executive vice president Harriet Hentges (above left) directs the Institute's Balkans initiative.

### Kuwait Seeks 'Regime-Lethal' Sanctions

If sanctions against Iraq were lifted, Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein would rebuild his weapons of mass destruction programs “within months, not years,” says Kuwaiti ambassador Mohammad Al-Sabah. Moreover, he would take revenge against countries in the region that had challenged him. Al-Sabah discussed the best options for dealing forcefully with Saddam at an Institute current issues briefing in early December 1998.



Sanctions against Iraq need to be made “regime-lethal” by redirecting sanction targets “away from innocent Iraqi civilians toward the . . . regime itself,” he said. Among his recommendations, Al-Sabah suggested that the United Nations or other international organizations set up their own food and medicine distribution centers in Iraq, thus preventing the Iraqi regime from using such distribution as an instrument of coercion.

He also recommended developing more effective radio programs for Radio Free Iraq that would delegitimize the regime. Finally, Al-Sabah concluded, with any Iraqi provocation, the United States and Great Britain should attack Saddam's “pillars of power,” that is, his security apparatus, the secret police, and militia organizations.



# Montenegro? at Risk?

Left to right:  
John Menzies,  
Dragisa Burzan,  
and Milica  
Pejanovic-  
Djurisic.



Montenegrin officials say their fledgling democracy is threatened by the regime in Belgrade, which is under the direction of Slobodan Milosevic, president of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The republics of Montenegro and Serbia now comprise Yugoslavia.

A coalition of three pro-democracy parties in Montenegro formed a government under president Milo Djukanovic in May 1998 on a platform calling for democracy, human rights, a multiethnic society, privatization of the economy, and cooperation with the international community. Now, says **Dragisa Burzan**, deputy prime minister of the new government and member of the Social Democratic Party of Montenegro (SDP), Milosevic and his supporters within Montenegro are plotting to reverse the democratization process.

Burzan, two Montenegrin parliamentarians, and a representative of a nongovernmental organization discussed the threat from Belgrade at a U.S. Institute of

Peace current issues briefing December 18. **Harriet Hentges**, Institute executive vice president and director of its Balkans initiative, moderated the event.

The briefing was organized by the Institute's Balkans Working Group, which is chaired by senior fellow **John Menzies**, former ambassador to Bosnia, with the assistance of senior fellow **Daniel Serwer**, a Balkans expert, formerly with the State Department. The working group has issued a special report on the meeting, *Montenegro—and More—at Risk*.

## The Threat

Milosevic began to crack down on Serbian universities and independent media last fall, which many Montenegrins see as part of a larger scheme to tighten authoritarian control throughout Yugoslavia. They anticipate that Milosevic may use his supporters in Montenegro to create civil disorder, thus providing an excuse for him to send in troops.

A similar scenario erupted before Djukanovic's inauguration in January 1998, but high-level military and security officials under Milosevic were reluctant to use force to put down the rioting, thus preventing Milosevic from taking advantage of the unrest. Milosevic recently dismissed those officials, causing Montenegrins to fear that he is planning a repeat performance with more obedient commanders in charge. However, continued fighting in Kosovo province makes armed action in Montenegro unlikely in the near future. Nevertheless, the Montenegrin government has asked the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe to send observers who might deter overt action by Belgrade.

The Montenegrins said that while some in the republic favor independence from Yugoslavia, the government is working to achieve a stable democracy within the federation and will continue to do so, absent an intervention by Milosevic. The government is engaged in bitter disputes with the pro-Milosevic opposition, which won 36 percent of the vote in the May election, but the speakers said that the tensions are manageable as long as Belgrade refrains from interfering. If Milosevic stays out of Montenegrin affairs, government officials are also confident the government can consolidate democratic gains and manage the economic transition.

## Policy Options

The working group's report recommends that—to send a strong message of Western concern for Montenegro to Milosevic—the Pentagon might develop bilateral



## 'Secret' Document a Hoax

Three high-level Serbian government officials held a press conference in early January to announce the "discovery" of a purported top secret document they said was produced by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA), and which, they claimed, revealed a plot against the regime in Belgrade.

The first page of the document displayed a CIA logo, but the printed text beneath it was a publicly available work of U.S. Institute of Peace senior fellow **Daniel Serwer**, a Balkans expert formerly with the State Department. The text was in fact public testimony that Serwer presented at a U.S. Congressional Helsinki Commission hearing in December 1998. The Institute made the document available to the public on its web site at the time of the hearing, and it can still be read there at [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).

The document summarizes a broad range of democracy-building measures that Serwer and the Institute's Balkans Working Group recommend to further democracy in Serbia. The working group is sponsored and convened by the Institute and comprises Balkans experts from the U.S. government, think tanks, and nongovernmental organizations. The views of the working group do not represent the views of the Institute of Peace, which does not advocate specific policies.

Among its recommendations, the document advocates support for an open media, for grassroots political parties, and for other pro-democracy groups and activities. Serb authorities used these recommendations to charge that groups that receive such funds are traitors to their country.

Serwer said that democracy building is a process that is done in the open by governmental and nongovernmental organizations. "Only those afraid of democracy in Serbia would try to label this document as the work of a secret intelligence agency."

Institute executive vice president **Harriet Hentges** said the Institute has consistently worked to maintain an open channel of communications with Serbian and Yugoslav officials in Belgrade, and staff members have met with representatives of the Yugoslav government in Washington and Belgrade. "Our goal is to promote peace and stability in the Balkans through means widely accepted around the world," she said.

programs with Montenegro, such as staging a civilian disaster relief or maritime rescue exercise with Montenegrin defense forces through the Partnership for Peace program. The Federal Bureau of Investigation might develop similar programs to aid in drug interdiction.

Further, the international community needs to provide direct support for political parties, NGOs, open media, an independent judiciary, and a police force under civilian control in an effort to make the republic's progress

toward democratization irreversible. On the economic front, civil aviation links to Podgorica, the capital city, would promote international contacts and facilitate business development.

The report concludes that, with minimal acts of preventive diplomacy, the international community can help Montenegro emerge as a substantial force for Balkan stability and democracy.

For a free copy of the Special Report, *Montenegro—and More—at Risk*, call 202-429-3828 or visit our web site at [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).



Richard Holbrooke (left) and Richard Solomon.

## Holbrooke Praises Institute Work in Balkans

Richard C. Holbrooke, Clinton administration envoy to the Balkans and Cyprus, discussed recent developments in the Balkans at a U.S. Institute of Peace meeting in December. About 150 policymakers, government officials, and media representatives attended the event, which was off the record.

Holbrooke, who negotiated the Dayton peace agreement that ended the war in Bosnia in 1995, praised the Institute for making an important contribution to consolidating peace in Bosnia and the Balkans. He discussed the negotiations that led to the Dayton Accords, flaws in the agreement, and the implications of the recent elections in Bosnia.

Holbrooke also discussed the background to the conflict in Kosovo, negotiations to settle the dispute, the possibility of a NATO air strike on Serbia if Milosevic fails to withdraw troops from the province, and related issues.

Holbrooke's talk inaugurated the Institute's new offices at 1200 17th Street NW in Washington.

U.S. police leave behind drunken drivers in Tennessee and street criminals in L.A. to help UN officials change the culture of policing in Bosnia.



**Above:** International police attend a USIP training for UN police in Bosnia.

**Right:** Tim Day (far right) congratulates a graduate of a police training workshop in Bosnia.

The indigenous police in Bosnia are at the center of a tug of war. Those contending for their souls represent no less than the forces of good and the forces of evil, says **Graham Day**, chief of the United Nations Civil Affairs Training Unit in Bosnia. Although he believes that in time the forces of good can prevail in the country, Day says it may take a while.

The U.S. Institute of Peace, Day's UN unit, and the International Police Task Force (IPTF), in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Justice and the State Department, are helping to train local Bosnian police and international law enforcement officers from 43 countries serving with the UN's police force in Bosnia. The IPTF officers—

# The Bosnian

which include over 200 police from the United States—help to monitor and advise Bosnian counterparts. The training sessions emphasize conflict analysis and management, and how to use those skills in the context of community policing in a democratic society. Some of the UN personnel are being trained so that eventually they can become trainers.

**Lewis Rasmussen**, program officer in the Education and Training Program, provides the Institute's training. **Jaco Cilliers**, an expert in conflict resolution, and **Tim Day**, a retired Los Angeles police officer, serve as consultants. (Tim Day is no relation to the UN's Graham Day.)

"The police training ultimately aims to help civilians feel safe in their communities," Rasmussen says. To that end, the training is comprehensive, involving representatives from every aspect of policing in Bosnia, ranging from ministries that oversee policing to the police officer on the beat.

## Meaningful Work

Graham Day, 48, a retired Canadian naval officer and former faculty member of Canada's Pearson Peacekeeping Institute, left a lovely country home in Nova Scotia to work in Bosnia, and doesn't regret the choice. "Working for the UN is without

question the most interesting and meaningful work I've ever done," he says. The current struggle to establish a multi-ethnic democracy in Bosnia will have repercussions far into the future.

The nationalist parties in Bosnia are run by leaders who helped to mastermind the country's genocidal war, but who nevertheless are still in power and intend to remain there, Day says. One of their major goals is to keep areas under their control ethnically "cleansed" by preventing refugees of other ethnic groups from returning to their homes. They use the local police to intimidate and control the civilian population, Day says. And they hire thugs to attack returning refugees and to burn down their homes, which had been rebuilt with the help of a variety of international aid programs.

On the other hand, the United Nations police monitors are introducing the local police to international policing norms and standards under the auspices of the 1995 Dayton Accords, which ended the war in Bosnia. International standards stipulate that local police serve the populace, not political parties. They also require police to respect a broad range of citizens' rights, which include the right of refugees to return to their homes. Day's UN unit helps to train the international police recruits when they arrive in Bosnia. (See sidebar.)



# Beat

However, the UN has to work through existing local administrative structures, which frequently are corrupt, Day says. Sometimes he worries that, instead of helping to bring about change, he and his colleagues might inadvertently be “helping the bad guys become more effective bad guys.”

“It’s a tragic situation here,” Day says, but the trainers are

doing the best they can under difficult circumstances.

Tim Day, 52, is more hopeful. He says when he first told his family—a wife and three grown children—that he wanted to go to Bosnia, they were “incredulous.” He had retired and moved with his wife to a cozy new home in Oregon, and was casting about for the next phase in his life.

In working with Bosnian police, he has been both moved

and impressed by the emotional and intellectual journey they now have to make away from ethnic hatred, if they are to provide a peaceful future for their children.

“It’s very thought provoking and emotional for people to look at their past assumptions. All of us have an innate sense of fairness and we try to remind them of theirs. The different ethnic groups did terrible things to each other during the war. We tell them, ‘You have a choice. Do you want your children to live through another war like this?’”

## From Nashville to Sarajevo

At the age of 33, **Jeff Carter**, a native of Tennessee, had 8 years of experience as a professional police officer under his belt and a strong desire to find a new challenge. He had spent a lot of time either getting trained in police work or providing training to others. His international experience consisted of a vacation trip to Mexico, and he wanted to travel more. So when he learned about a job training police in Bosnia, it seemed like the perfect opportunity for him.

“I thought it would be great to meet people from other parts of the world and put what I had learned about policing in the U.S. to use over here,” Carter recently explained by phone from Sarajevo. He is now working there as a trainer with the United Nations International Police Task Force, helping to train incoming international police. (See main story.)

Before he signed up to work in Bosnia, Carter reassured his wife that the war there was over and

the likelihood of getting injured was small. That done, he contracted with the U.S. Department of State for a year of duty.

To prepare for his new job, Carter attended a training program on conflict analysis and management in Texas, conducted by the U.S. Institute of Peace at the request of the State Department.

“I learned a lot in the training,” Carter says, “especially as far as negotiation and mediation goes, things I’ve used here even while doing something as simple as buying a loaf of bread.”

When he first arrived in Sarajevo, Carter trained incoming UN police monitors about the types of violations they would be looking for, the procedures they had to follow, land mine awareness, and related skills.

For officers already in the field, he is helping to develop training focused on community policing, which the Institute recently added to its IPTF training of trainers.

Among their duties, the police

monitors drive around searching for illegal checkpoints, set up by local police to prevent civilians from moving freely into certain areas; check local police stations for human rights violations, such as detainees who have been beaten or prisoners being held without an official charge against them; and advise local police leaders on policing practices in a democracy.

The monitors are beginning to get stale on the job as the work can get routine, Carter says. He looks forward to re-energizing officers in the field with the new techniques in community policing. That program aims to improve communication between Bosnian police and civilians by helping police explore ways for the community to bring problems to their attention and how police can best help to resolve problems in the community.

Many of the local police want to abide by the Dayton agreement, concludes Carter, and will do their best to effect the principles of community policing.





# Serbia Cracks Down on Media

A new public information law in Serbia threatens independent news organizations with heavy fines and seizure of equipment.



Serbian officials briefly censored the web site of Radio B92 in Belgrade last year as part of a crackdown on independent media and pro-democracy forces—especially those at universities. Serbian censors applied a filter that essentially blocked universities from accessing B92's web site.

However, more than a dozen international web sites came to the rescue. The sites made B92's programming available by mirroring the station's web site ([www.opennet.org](http://www.opennet.org)) and thus circumventing the censors' filter.

The fracas represents a small but important victory in what is a much broader effort by Serb authorities to stamp out free speech in Serbia.

A panel of Serbian and U.S. journalists and Internet experts discussed B92's recent struggle with web site censorship at a U.S. Institute of Peace current issues briefing January 6. The event was organized and moderated by **Bob Schmitt**, the Institute's information systems manager and one of the coordinators of the Virtual Diplomacy initiative.

Throughout the web site incident, B92 continued to broadcast its news and public affairs programming without interruption to its listeners, a potential audience of 1.6 million, says B92's **Marija Milosavljevic**. *Peace Watch* recently interviewed Milosavljevic by e-mail. Those who accessed the station's programs from web sites outside of Serbian universities also had continuous access. But the crackdown nevertheless hovers as an ominous threat over

all reporters and media outlets.

Serb authorities first attempted to censor B92 in December 1996 when they shut off the station's transmitter during street demonstrations protesting the cancellation of municipal elections. B92 then turned to the Internet for the first time to get its news out to Serbs and to the world. When authorities realized the station had outmaneuvered them, they allowed the station to resume its normal broadcasts.

The latest media crackdown began last October, when Serbian authorities instituted a series of draconian measures aimed at silencing university faculty and independent media. Among these was a public information law that prohibits the rebroadcast of news reports from international broadcasters such as Radio Free Europe, Voice of America, and Deutsche Welle, Milosavljevic says. The law imposes enormous fines on violators and threatens seizure of equipment.

As a result, Radio B92 has stopped rebroadcasting such programs. Apart from the principled objection to such restriction, it has not posed a major problem because Radio B92 has a large enough staff to provide thorough, professional news to its listeners and to affiliates in the Association of Independent Electronic Media (ANEM), Milosavljevic says.

B92, a small, independent radio station located in Belgrade, broadcasts within a radius of about 30 miles. Since last year, the station's news and current affairs programs have been carried by 33

stations networked via ANEM's satellite, giving the station a potential audience of 1.6 million in Serbia, second only to that of state-run Radio Belgrade, which has 2.4 million potential listeners.

In addition to the broadcasts, the station's web site extends its audience to those unable to listen to the station inside Serbia and to young Serbs who are living abroad, Milosavljevic says. B92's English News Service, also available on the web site, provides reports to English-speakers engaged in the region.

The public information law's impact has been much greater on independent local television stations, which depended on internationally produced video reports—especially Voice of America's—to complement their limited programming.

Also under the new law, "any outlet can be sued for any piece of information it publishes," Milosavljevic says. The law bans all media reports that "spread fear, panic, and defeatism"—terms that can be broadly interpreted by authorities. The law's prohibitive fines would put most media organizations out of business. As of the first of the year, the three largest newspapers in Belgrade, two radio stations, and one magazine had been shut down. Radio B92 and ANEM are working to get the new law rescinded.

## The Internet and Free Speech

B92's success at circumventing censorship of its web site illustrates the versatility of the





Internet and the difficulty authoritarian governments face in trying to restrict its use, the panel of experts at the Institute's briefing agreed.

In their effort to control Internet access to the B92 web site, Serb censors overlooked e-mail, said panelist **Drazen Pantic**, founder and director of OpenNet, the first Internet provider in Serbia, headquartered in the Internet department of Radio B92. The station distributes the written text of news reports daily to an e-mail list of 30,000 subscribers. Censors are also having trouble in a related effort that involves imposition of heavy taxes on owners of satellite dishes and on Internet users, he said. While satellite dishes can be spotted easily enough, Internet users can be identified only with the cooperation of their Internet provider, he noted.

Panelist **Gene Mater**, former senior vice president of CBS, said that Serbia's public information law "makes it clear that freedom of the press is a thing of the past in Serbia." He noted that Serb authorities are threatening to have the law applied in Montenegro, the other Yugoslav republic. (See story on page 4.)

Although Internet technology is a remarkable ally to free speech, no technology will ever replace the reporter on the ground, said **Jim Dempsey**, an Internet expert with the Center for Democracy and Technology. And no technology can protect reporters around the world from being killed at the behest of authoritarian regimes. Governments want the communications and economic power the Internet makes available, but only for their own use. They fear its use by others. However, Dempsey concluded, short of cutting off phone lines, it's almost impossible to cut off access to the Internet.

# What Next in Iraq?

**The United States should continue to target suspected Iraqi weapons sites and to destabilize the regime of Saddam Hussein, says Gen. Brent Scowcroft.**



**T**he United States should continue using air power in Iraq to destroy any installation showing indications of illegal activity, says Gen. Brent Scowcroft (ret.). Further, if the Clinton administration hasn't already done so, "we should also mount a covert program with a goal of removing Saddam [Hussein] from office."

Scowcroft, who served as national security adviser under President George Bush during the Persian Gulf war, recently updated comments he had made at a U.S. Institute of Peace

current issues briefing in November 1998. The briefing took place about a month before U.S. and British forces bombed some 100 targets in four nights of air strikes on Iraq.

Scowcroft said in his recent analysis, which took place at the end of January, that continued bombing would serve as a substitute for the inspections of suspected weapons facilities by the United Nations Special Commission (UNSCOM). Iraqi leader Saddam Hussein terminated the inspections after the bombing. Experts say he continues to conceal illegal programs to produce weapons of mass destruction.

"Whenever we do strike suspect sites," Scowcroft said, "I would also target Saddam's Republican Guard and security forces, in order to erode his base of support." In general, the United States should "continue making every effort to prevent Iraq from becoming, once again, a threat to the stability of the Gulf region."

At the November briefing, Scowcroft said that disgruntled elements within the minority Sunni clans in Iraq are most likely to unseat Saddam Hussein. The United States should "look hard" at ways to help rid the country of the dictator, including various forms of covert action. Scowcroft noted, however, that it is necessary to move carefully in this regard, as U.S. efforts to remove Saddam could backfire and solidify his support.

The Scowcroft briefing was one of a number of recent Institute presentations by distinguished speakers on the Middle East. Participants to date have included Israeli ambassador Zalman Shoval; USIP grantee Patrick Seale of Oxford University, an expert on Syria and the Middle East; Shibley Telhami, a political scientist who holds the Anwar Sadat chair at the University of Maryland; and Kuwaiti ambassador Mohammad Al-Sabah (see story on page 3).

# InstitutePeople

**JON ALTERMAN**, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, discussed his recent book, *New Media, New Politics? From Satellite Television to the Internet in the Arab World*, at the U.S. Information Agency in December and at a Cairo conference sponsored by Article 19, a British human rights organization, in February. The book was published by the Washington Institute for Near East Policy in November 1998. Alterman's op-ed on public diplomacy in the Middle East, "New Arab Media Offers an Edge Over the West," appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor* in January.

Board chairman **CHESTER A. CROCKER** attended the inaugural meeting of the board of directors for the new Henry Dunant Center for Humanitarian Dialogue in Geneva, Switzerland, on January 26–27. The foundation, which is named after the 19th century founder of the Red Cross movement, was launched last year to serve as a clearinghouse for ideas and best practices in dealing with the challenge of humanitarian crises.

Under the leadership of executive director Martin Griffiths, former deputy to the undersecretary general of humanitarian affairs at the United Nations, the center will bring together leaders of humanitarian institutions, civil and international organizations, government agencies, and the private sector to explore practical solutions to urgent humanitarian problems around the world.

In December 1998, Crocker participated in a U.S. Department of State seminar on U.S. energy interests in Central and West Africa. He also discussed "Africa in the New Millennium" in November 1998 at the Meridian International Center in Washington.

**PATRICK CRONIN**, director of the Research and Studies Program, moderated a panel discussion of future international trouble spots held at the National Press Club in December. Also in December, he discussed security issues and served as the U.S. secretariat for the final meeting of the U.S.-Japan-Russia Trilateral Forum on North Pacific Security, held in Tokyo. **PAMELA AALL**, acting director of the Education and Training Program, program officer **SCOTT SNYDER**, and Cronin

participated in a joint USIP-Japan Institute for International Affairs program on third-party mediation, looking closely at Asian cases, including the South China Sea and Cambodia.

**WILLIAM DRENNAN**, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, discussed the prospects for and implications of a united Korea at the annual conference of the Council on U.S.-Republic of Korea Security Studies in Seoul in November 1998.

Executive vice president **HARRIET HENTGES** discussed "Force and Negotiations in Kosovo" at the Washington Theological Union in January.

**JOSEPH KLAITS**, director of the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, served as an informal adviser for "Facing the Truth," a two-hour documentary by Bill Moyers on the South African Truth and Reconciliation Commission, which will be shown on PBS March 30. Klaits attended an advance screening of the program in New York February 1. **NEIL J. KRITZ**, senior scholar in the rule of law initiative, and former senior fellow **PETER GASTROW** of the Institute for Security Studies in Cape Town also served as consultants.

**NEIL J. KRITZ**, senior scholar in the rule of law initiative, participated in an evaluation of the experience and effectiveness of truth commissions in South Africa and several other countries in Geneva in December 1998.

**DAVID LITTLE**, senior scholar in religion, ethics, and human rights, discussed human rights at

## Simpson Joins Board

Daniel H. Simpson, vice president of the National Defense University (NDU), recently joined the U.S. Institute of Peace's board of directors as an ex officio member. Simpson is deputy to Lt. Gen. Richard A. Chilcoat, president of NDU, who has designated Simpson to serve as NDU's representative on the board.



Simpson, a career foreign service officer who joined the State Department in 1966, served as ambassador to the Democratic Republic of the Congo, formerly Zaire, in 1995–98. Previously, he was ambassador to the Central African Republic and Somalia. In addition to his three assignments as ambassador, Simpson also served in Bulgaria, Burundi, Iceland, Lebanon, and South Africa.

Simpson was deputy commandant for international affairs of the U.S. Army War College in 1993–94. Secretary of Defense William Perry awarded him the Distinguished Service Medal in 1995 for his work in cooperation with the U.S. forces in Somalia. A native of Bellaire, Ohio, Simpson is a graduate of Yale University and of Northwestern University's African Studies Program.



a December conference celebrating the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, sponsored by the Seventh-Day Adventists.

**DEEPA OLLAPALLY**, program officer in the Grant Program, discussed “The Prospects for Cooperative Security in South Asia” at a conference in Kathmandu, Nepal, in December 1998. The conference on “The Challenge of Cooperation: South Asia and Beyond” was sponsored by the Joan B. Kroc Institute, the Fourth Freedom Forum, and Jawaharlal Nehru University.

**DAVID SMOCK**, director of the Grant Program, chaired a panel on conflict in Africa in December as part of a televised conference on recent developments in Africa sponsored by Howard University.

**MARGARITA STUDEMEISTER**, director of the Library Program, was recently elected to the Federal Libraries and Information Centers Committee (FLICC) for a three-year term. Created in 1965, the committee supports cooperation, professional development, and promotion of services among federal libraries and information centers.

Board member **ALLEN WEINSTEIN**, a historian and director of the Center for Democracy, has received wide recognition for his recent book, *The Haunted Wood: Soviet Espionage in America—The Stalin Era*, co-written with former KGB official Alexander Vassiliev. Reviews of the book—published in January by Random House—appeared in the *New York Times* and *Washington Post*, as well as in numerous other publications.

## North Korea

*Continued from page 3*

a well-established record for aggressive and violent behavior, they can't be changed, and thus it is both realistic and prudent to simply contain the problem. Containment proponents assert that we can afford some military risk, because we are much more powerful than North Korea and will be able to deter any aggression.

Those who argue that we should encourage change in the North want to provide incentives for reform there, saying its leaders know reform is inevitable, but are worried that the regime might not survive such measures. Reform would include economic liberalization and diplomatic engagement with the international community to reduce current tensions.

Tactics for dealing with the North fall into three broad policy categories that span the contain-change continuum: suspend diplomatic negotiations; continue using the Agreed Framework as the basis for relations unless it is confirmed that the North has resumed its nuclear program; or enhance economic and diplomatic relations.

Those who think the United States should break off diplomatic negotiations argue that unless the North demonstrates its intentions to cooperate, we should walk away from the Agreed Framework and other diplomatic efforts. The assumption is that breaks in diplomatic contact won't harm our cause, and we can wait them out. Proponents of this policy say we have been too much the eager suitor, and we need real

concessions from the North before we provide economic or other incentives. This is a containment-related policy.

Those who want to continue on our current course argue that although it's frustrating, it will be effective in the long term. They say we must not be the ones to break the Agreed Framework. They want to keep our defense and diplomacy solid, working with and building on the framework for as long as the North's nuclear program remains frozen. This policy incorporates a mixture of containment and change.

Those who argue we should increase our engagement with North Korea say we haven't provided sufficient incentives for them to trust us. With increased engagement, we would encourage business investment in the North, and upgrade diplomatic relations by opening an embassy in Pyongyang. Proponents of this position argue that the North has legitimate security concerns that need to be addressed. They believe that the North doesn't want war, in spite of its penchant for brinkmanship tactics. This policy is based on encouraging North Korea to change.

Experts across the spectrum caution, however, that U.S. policy toward North Korea will not be determined in a vacuum. The course the North chooses to follow in upcoming months will likely play a significant role in the debate among U.S. policymakers over changing or containing North Korea.



## Report on Customer Service Survey

In its ongoing effort to increase customer satisfaction, the U.S. Institute of Peace implemented an annual survey in 1996 to evaluate its performance and to assess how well it meets its published performance standards. Readers of Peace Watch rated the Institute's performance for 1997 in relation to these standards on a survey response card included in the February 1998 issue. Those responses and comments provided the basis for the Institute's second annual customer service report, which follows.

The overall assessment of the Institute's performance in 1997 in four key areas—timeliness of response, clarity of information and applications, accessibility of publications, and overall performance—was strongly positive. Of 436 responses, 58 percent indicate that the Institute's overall performance is excellent—an increase of 8 percent over last year, 27 percent said it was above average, and 5 percent rated it as average.

The Institute believes that a 90 percent satisfaction rate among its customers and clients indicates strong appreciation for the way we serve our constituents. Thank you for your continuing interest in the Institute's work and in its commitment to serving you.

We invite you to evaluate our customer performance during 1998 on the form stapled into the centerfold of this issue.

# New Web Site feature

A number of Special Reports listed below have been linked to a broad range of complementary topical and regional resources on the web—some also are linked to primary documents. And future Special Reports will have similar web links.

To go directly to reports—both Special Reports and Peaceworks reports—on our web, visit [www.usip.org/pubs.html](http://www.usip.org/pubs.html). The reports listed with an asterisk (\*) below have direct resource web links.

Those same links, as well as other links related to the topic/region of most reports, can be found at our library web page. To go directly to library links, visit [www.usip.org/library.html](http://www.usip.org/library.html), and from the menu on the left side of the screen, select either Topical Resources or Regional Resources.

The design and linking of online Special Reports is still in progress, so expect ongoing changes as we get this very important new feature under way.

The following Institute publications are available free of charge. Write to the Institute's Office of Communications, call 202-429-3828, or check out our web page at [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).

- 4 *The Quest for Democratic Security: The Role of the Council of Europe and U.S. Foreign Policy*, by Heinrich Klebes (Peaceworks no. 26, January 1999)
- 4 *\*Southern Mexico: Counterinsurgency and Electoral Politics*, by Michael W. Foley (Special Report, January 1999)
- 4 *\*Montenegro—and More—at Risk* (Special Report, January 1999)
- 4 *The Genocide Convention at Fifty*, by William Schabas (Special Report, January 1999)
- 4 *Nagorno-Karabakh: Searching for a Solution*, by Patricia Carley (Peaceworks no. 25, December 1998)
- 4 *Mistrust and the Korean Peninsula: Dangers of Miscalculation* (Special Report, November 1998)
- 4 *The Taliban and Afghanistan: Implications for Regional Security and Options for International Action* (Special Report, November 1998)
- 4 *Removing Barricades in Somalia: Options for Peace and Rehabilitation*, by Hussein Adam and Richard Ford et al. (Peaceworks no. 24, October 1998)

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