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Passing the Baton

Challenges of Statecraft for the New Administration

Foreign policy experts address the most important foreign policy issues likely to face the new administration at a recent U.S. Institute of Peace conference.

Inside

Clockwise from top: Samuel Berger, Condoleezza Rice, and the "Organizing for National Security" panel.

Passing the Baton

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The National Security Council and the role of the assistant to the president for national security affairs need to undergo significant changes if we are to deal more effectively with a rapidly changing world, says **Brent Scowcroft,** former national security adviser to presidents Ford and Bush. Furthermore, notes **Anthony Lake,** former national security adviser to President Clinton, with globalization have come increased concerns over new security issues such as transnational terrorism, the proliferation of nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction, and interdependent economies, among other matters. "Our task is to understand how these issues are . . . more and more deeply integrated with the classical, diplomatic geopolitical issues" of foreign policy and national security, Lake says. The need to break down conceptual barriers extends even to the distinction between foreign policy and domestic issues, he adds.

Scowcroft and Lake discussed "Organizing for National Security Policy" at a U.S. Institute of Peace conference on January 17 along with panelists **Robert E. Rubin,** former secretary of the treasury, and **Charles G. Boyd,** executive director of the National Security Study Group, otherwise known as the Hart-Rudman Commission. **David Abshire,** president of the Center for the Study of the Presidency, moderated the discussion. The day-long conference, "Passing the Baton: Challenges of Statecraft for the New Administration," was held in support of the presidential transition in Washington, D.C. Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** and **Patrick Cronin,** director of the Institute's Research and Studies Program, organized the conference, with help from program assistants **Donna Ramsey Marshall** and **Christina Zechman.** The meeting featured addresses by **Samuel Berger,** national security adviser to President Clinton, and **Condoleezza Rice,** then national security adviser–designate for incoming president George W. Bush. (For excerpts from their talks, see pages 14 and 15.)

Top: **Patrick Cronin.** *Below:* **Brent Scowcroft**

The conference summarized and built on the Institute's research and policy development work in an effort to share insights gained on new approaches to international conflict management with the new administration. Five panels of distinguished experts, including senior officials of the outgoing and incoming administrations, addressed the most important foreign policy and national security issues likely to face the new administration. At the close of the conference, a reception was held to recognize Berger for his service to the country and to welcome Rice (see page 20). The Institute will publish a report on the conference, including the full text of the speeches by Berger and Rice. The entire conference has been archived in audio and video formats on the Institute's web site at www.usip.org.

Role of the National Security Adviser

The national security adviser, unlike members of the president's cabinet who are department heads, has no responsibilities other than to advise the president, Scowcroft explained. The national security adviser serves an integrative role, coordinating diplomatic, military, and related information to provide the president with a comprehensive view of vital issues. Because he or she is in daily touch with the president, the national

Clockwise from top left: **Robert Rubin, Anthony Lake, Charles Boyd, and David Abshire.**

security adviser has to fairly represent the views of cabinet members, who see the president less often. Lake added that the national security adviser "can and must help to define central purposes and clear priorities and make sure that those priorities and purposes are brought to every policy discussion the president has."

The national security adviser also is in daily touch with counterparts in other countries, Lake pointed out, in part because internationally power is gravitating increasingly toward prime ministers at the expense of foreign ministers. With the communications revolution and increased media demands for information, it is also inevitable that the national security adviser is called upon increasingly for public explanations of foreign policy initiatives during crises, formerly the jurisdiction of the president or cabinet members.

International Economic Challenges

Globalization has also increased the impact of international economics on foreign policy and national security issues. The Hart-Rudman Commission, charged by Congress to reassess how the United States should provide for its national security in the 21st century, has concluded that economics have become a component of national security "at least equal to the diplomatic or military components," said Boyd, a member of the commission. "We're not structured in such a way as to give recognition to that fact nor to integrate all the processes that that kind of decision implies."

Therefore, the Hart-Rudman Commission has called for a modification of the National Security Act of 1947, which created the current structure (the National Security Council, the Department of Defense, the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Central Intelligence Agency). The recommended change would establish the secretary of the treasury as a statutory member of the National Security Council, eliminating the National Economic Council (NEC), integrating the NEC international staff with the NSC staff, and the domestic staff with the Domestic Policy Council. "There is no need for a new National Security Act," Boyd said. "We need to change the one we have."

In addition to integrating economics into security policy, the salient challenges facing the new administration are severalfold, Rubin said. These include the need to (1) continue to promote trade liberalization and open mar-

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Passing the Baton

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Above: **Chester Crocker hands a baton memento to Condoleezza Rice as Max Kampelman and Sen. Tom Harkin look on.**

kets, which includes getting fast-track legislation or some effective alternative to it; (2) counter the exceedingly dangerous backlash against globalization, not only in this country but also around the world; (3) increase foreign aid to developing nations, which now account for 35–40 percent of our exports, and support the World Bank and other international financial organizations such as the International Monetary Fund; and (4) help Russia and other nations transitioning from communism.

Future international financial crises are virtually inevitable, Rubin added. To the extent possible, we should develop prevention measures. We should also promote a strong dollar and continue to reform the global financial architecture.

Office of Management and Budget

In the post–Cold War world, a variety of agencies are involved in foreign policy that never were before, Scowcroft said. For example, many federal agencies are involved in rehabilitating a region such as Kosovo that has been devastated by war. This requires "an intricate melding of different agencies and different pieces of their budgets," Scowcroft noted. Who should oversee this? By default, the Office of Management and Budget, which allocates financial resources within the government, has become "one of the major policymaking agencies in our country," Scowcroft said. He concluded that it is time for the NSC to take charge and make the policy decisions affecting resource allocations when they relate to interagency activities.

Panelists concluded that the roles of the national security adviser and the National Security Council have been evolving over time, in part in relation to the leadership style of the president and in part to major changes in the character of international relations. They will need to adapt further to the rapidly evolving changes in the world as the Cold War era recedes.

Recent Institute events on related topics have included a Current Issues Briefing with Harold Hongju Koh, who was then outgoing assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights, and labor (see page 17); a "Taiwan Policy Review"; and "The United States and Coercive Diplomacy."

Publications by conference participants and/or their organizations focusing on national security issues include: *Six Nightmares: Real Threats in a Dangerous World and How America Can Meet Them* (2000), by Anthony Lake, available through your local bookstore; *Two Proposals to the President: (1) Achieving Strategic Consensus: A Six-Step Reappraisal for Strategic Assessment and (2) A Strategic Reorganization and Renewal*, available from the Center for the Study of the Presidency; and three reports from the Hart-Rudman Commission entitled (1) *New World Coming: American Security in the 21st Century*, (2) *Seeking a National Strategy: A Concert for Preserving Security and Promoting Freedom*, and (3) *Road Map for National Security: Imperative for Change*, available online at www.nssg.gov.

A Policy Brief for the New Administration

The Board of Directors of the U.S. Institute of Peace delivered a policy brief to the Bush administration and Congress entitled *Policy Support in International Conflict Prevention and Management.* The document illustrates how the Institute can assist the new administration with respect to three geographic conflicts—the Balkans, the Korean Peninsula, and the Middle East—and three instruments of peacemaking—civil-military planning, transitional justice, and facilitated dialogue.

The Institute, with its comprehensive knowledge base, also can offer help to the government in many other areas.

The document is available **online only** at: www.usip.org/pubs/specialprojects/transition_memo.html.

Making Peace, Making Peace Stick

Global and regional security today depend on the leadership and actions of a limited number of nations and organizations, which might be called "security exporters," says **Chester A. Crocker,** former assistant secretary of state for African affairs and James R. Schlesinger professor of strategic studies at Georgetown University. Very few nations are capable of organizing the leadership that is required to deal with today's challenges to peace and security, which have changed significantly in recent years. Instead of the traditional geopolitical struggles, peacemakers today struggle with problems such as state collapse, warlordism, international criminal networks, and the diffusion of weapons, among others, he said. Furthermore, "these old and new threats can intermingle, increasing their potential impact and making an effective response much more difficult."

Crocker discussed "Making Peace; Making It Stick" with two other panelists at the U.S. Institute of Peace conference "Passing the Baton: Challenges of Statecraft for the New Administration," held on January 17. (See the story on page 1.) Other panelists included **Allen Weinstein,** president of the Center for Democracy and former Institute board member, and **Peter Ackerman,** chairman of the board of overseers at Tufts University's Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy and co-author of *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century* (1994). **Marc E. Leland,** a member of the Institute's board and president of Marc E. Leland and Associates, an investment advisory firm, moderated the discussion.

Crocker noted that the new threats to peace, and efforts at conflict management, are accompanied by a profusion of independent actors—individuals and nongovernmental and international organizations—thus diminishing the role and influence of governments over peacemaking processes. The new actors have not been elected and are not part of any government, but know how to influence public opinion. The result is a decline in discipline in peacemaking processes, leading to "a kind of natural incoherence which is both exciting and amazing to behold," Crocker said. In this changed environment, peacemakers also have to take into account that countries have different capacities to solve their own problems. Finally, he cautioned, a failure to respond to a conflict creates a vacuum that will inevitably be filled in one way or another, "so inaction has consequences, just as does action."

The United States should lead in peacemaking efforts when the following factors are present: (1) when our interests are affected; (2) when our relevance to the conflict is clear and strong; (3) when our role is welcomed or irresistible; and (4) when it is likely that we can develop serious traction, serious leverage. "When those conditions do not exist, we should let others lead, and we should back others when they lead," Crocker said.

Numerous peacemaking tools are available to the United States in its internatonal peacemaking role, including our unique intelligence assets, global diplomatic reach and communications capability, and proven capacity to organize and sustain effective coalitions. Additionally, the United States provides leadership in peacemaking based on "our

*See **Making Peace**, page 16*

"Peacemakers need to remain involved throughout the implementation phase. Those who are best placed to lead are those who have the interest, the commitment, and the staying power to care about the final result, and that means making the necessary resources available."

—Chester Crocker

Top, left to right: **Allen Weinstein and Peter Ackerman.** ***Left:*** **Marc Leland.**

Seeking Partnership with Russia

Nurturing the bilateral relationship between the United States and Russia is one of the key foreign policy challenges facing the new administration.

Russia's behavior toward Chechnya presents a continuing challenge to the most basic international norms and values—including human rights and the way a government should treat its citizens, says **Strobe Talbott,** deputy secretary of state in the Clinton administration. It also presents a challenge "to the very viability, not to mention acceptability, of Russia as a democratic, multiethnic state that deserves integration into the international community."

Talbott and two other panelists discussed relations with Russia at a recent U.S. Institute of Peace conference. **Stephen J. Hadley,** a member of the Institute's board of directors before becoming deputy national security adviser in the Bush administration, moderated the Russia panel discussion at the event, "Passing the Baton: Challenges of Statecraft for the New Administration," held in Washington, D.C., on January 17. (See the story on page 1.)

Talbott said the United States needs to give strong support for Russian reform, both domestically and in its relations with the Newly Independent States (NIS). It is not yet clear whether Russia will continue to evolve toward a genuinely pluralistic society, Talbott said. "Russia is objectively a diversified country in every conceivable respect: ethnicity, language, religion, and political predisposition." But the question remains whether it will make a virtue of that diversity by translating it into responsive government institutions or return to the concept of a more homogenized state controlled from above. In Russia's policy toward the NIS, there have been "ominous trends," particularly with regard to Georgia, but also in Central Asia and the Transcaucasus generally. The United States needs to make clear that "the right way is to live and let live and respect their sovereignty."

The U.S. relationship with Russia is important because Russia is a major Eurasian power, it possesses weapons of mass destruction, and any instability in Russia would have a negative spillover effect on neighboring countries, said panelist **Paula J. Dobriansky,** vice president and director of the Washington office of the Council on Foreign Relations. The United States needs to secure Russian cooperation on a range of key defense policy issues including nuclear nonproliferation and the transition toward a more stable defense and strategic environment. The United States also needs Russian cooperation on a range of foreign policy issues where we have shared interests such as combating terrorism and dealing with regional hot spots, as in Afghanistan. And while helping to promote positive political, democratic, and economic trends in Russia, the United States needs to avoid being heavy-handed and understand that change will not occur overnight.

The new administration needs to be realistic about the differences that exist between the two countries and to recognize that those differences need not poison the overall relationship if we search for common ground,

Top: Sergey Rogov. *Below, left to right:* Strobe Talbott, Stephen Hadley, and Paula Dobriansky.

Dobriansky concluded.

While Russia is no longer a superpower and probably never will be a superpower in the sense that the Soviet Union was, Russia does remain a major international player, noted panelist **Sergey Rogov,** director of the Institute of U.S.A. and Canada Studies in Moscow. The greatest problem in U.S.-Russian relations stems from the failure of both countries to develop a strategy for building a strategic partnership, he said. Instead, the United States has focused on enlarging Western institutions such as NATO. Because Russia doesn't belong to NATO, "Russia has been marginalized, reduced in status." Indeed, the United States has generally behaved unilaterally toward Russia in a number of areas, presenting it with faits accomplis, Rogov said. "We ended the Cold War 10 years ago ourselves, . . . [we do not want] to be treated like a defeated nation."

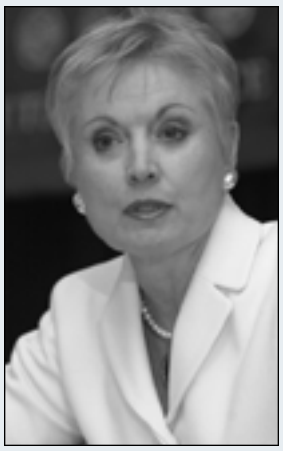
Rogov said that a realistic strategic partnership between the two countries should include three components: (1) a definition of common interests, (2) a mechanism by which the two countries can make common decisions, that is, some form of institutionalization of the partnership, and (3) a mechanism for implementing decisions.

The failure to create such a partnership in the 1990s resulted in extreme fragmentation of U.S.-Russian relations, with each issue treated separately and no concern for the impact it would have on larger, long-term strategic goals. Russia is dealing with a host of complex internal problems, not the least being a burdensome foreign debt that threatens to undermine the economy, Rogov said. But in time, "Russia will come

*See **Russia**, page 16*

Building a Stable Balkans

The United States needs to stay the course in the Balkans, though some revision of its presence will likely make sense in the future.



Clockwise from top left: **Harriet Hentges, Walter Slocombe, Richard Perle, and Morton Abramowitz.**

There is no question that NATO eventually should reduce the number of its forces in the Balkans. However, United States security interests in Europe require sustaining some military presence—including some American military forces—in the region for some time into the future, says **Walter B. Slocombe,** under secretary of defense for policy in the Clinton administration.

Slocombe, **Morton Abramowitz,** senior fellow at the Century Foundation, and **Richard N. Perle,** a resident fellow at the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, discussed "Building a Stable Balkans" at a recent U.S. Institute of Peace conference. Executive vice president **Harriet Hentges** moderated the panel discussion at the event, "Passing the Baton: Challenges of Statecraft for the New Administration," held in Washington, D.C., on January 17. (See the story on page 1.)

Slocombe said that while some of the work needed to stabilize the Balkans can be shifted to nonmilitary agencies and organizations, it would be a mistake to set as an objective the complete withdrawal of U.S. military forces. "Bosnia, Kosovo, and the Balkans experience generally underscore that the military is a necessary instrument—both as a threat and as the ultimate instrument of policy—in dealing with truly intractable and deep-seated conflicts."

Abramowitz noted that although the situation in the Balkans has improved, most notably with Slobodan Milosevic out of power in Serbia, "a number of very neuralgic problems remain that could be a source of violence," including the unresolved status of Kosovo. The problems are long-term, progress is likely to be slow and uneven, while governments, the people, and Congress have short time horizons, he said. While relegating the Balkans to second-class diplomatic consideration may diminish short-term domestic political problems or convince us we are tough in getting our international priorities straight, it also risks wasting a huge investment in the region, and ultimately may pose a great danger for the cohesion of the transatlantic alliance. As a result, "U.S. credibility could go south," Abramowitz said. "The only successful exit strategy . . . remains alliance success, and that's a long way off.

*See **Balkans**, page 19*

The Korean Peninsula: Next Steps

The Bush administration needs to work closely with Japan and South Korea to resolve critical security problems posed by North Korea's nuclear weapons capabilities and its long-range missiles, says former secretary of defense William Perry.

William Perry

The United States came perilously close to war with North Korea in 1994, when intelligence revealed that North Korea was about to acquire weapons-grade plutonium for its reactors at Yongbyon, says **William J. Perry,** secretary of defense at the time. Perry reviewed war contingency plans with top U.S. military leaders, and President Clinton was ready to order the reinforcement of South Korea when word came that Kim Il Sung, then head of North Korea, had agreed to freeze work at the facility. Had there been a war, "there would have been an allied victory, but there also would have been high casualties on all sides," Perry said. He discussed the history of recent U.S. relations with North Korea and "Paths to Peace on the Korean Peninsula" at the U.S. Institute of Peace conference "Passing the Baton: Challenges of Statecraft for the New Administration," held on January 17. (See the story on page 1.)

A second crisis occurred in August 1998 when the North tested over Japan a three-stage missile capable of carrying nuclear warheads. As a result of the crisis, Clinton appointed Perry to conduct a detailed review of U.S. policy toward the North. When Perry issued his recommendations, the North agreed not to launch any further missiles while negotiations with Washington proceed.

Last year saw North Korea dramatically open to the outside world, including a historic first summit between North and South, held with South Korean president Kim Dae Jung. While peace and reunification are not "just around the corner," Perry recommended three main measures the Bush administration might adopt to help stabilize relations between the North and South, promote regional security, and advance reconciliation on the peninsula.

1. *Sustain robust consultation with our allies Japan and the Republic of Korea (ROK) on North Korea policy, and move immediately to appoint an experienced high-level American as the focal point for policy coordination.* It will not be easy to sustain consultation and cooperation among the three countries because they have significantly different interests and priorities. The ROK has a strong emotional commitment to eventual national reunification, and hopes in the short run for more family visits among North and South Korean families separated since the end of the Korean War. Japan has a strong commitment to the return of Japanese citizens kidnapped by North Korea more than a decade ago and pragmatic security reasons for wanting a nuclear-free peninsula. The United States, as the guarantor of security on the peninsula and in Northeast Asia, wants a peninsula free of nuclear weapons and long-range missiles. The United States also wants confidence-building measures established that will eventually allow it to reduce conventional U.S. military forces along the demilitarized zone (DMZ), which separates the North and South. In spite of these different interests, "cooperation is key to our goal of achieving long-term stability and peace, not just in Korea but in the region," Perry said.

2. *Work closely with the ROK to support initiatives and economic exchanges with the North.* The North and South can take many actions to reduce tensions and build trust. But the real payoff of North-South meetings will be the establishment of meaningful economic cooperation in which South Korean

companies will play a major role. For this to happen, the North must get rid of regulations that "harass" foreign businesses. North and South must cooperate in rebuilding desperately needed infrastructure in North Korea: the transportation and telecommunications networks and the energy grid. Such economic cooperation would not only help the North Korean people but also likely exert a strong stabilizing influence in the North and thus on the peninsula generally.

3. *Prioritize dealing with security problems posed by North Korea's nuclear missiles, other weapons of mass destruction, and conventional forces, in that order.* First, sustain the 1994 Agreed Framework, in which the United States—in partnership with its allies—agreed to provide North Korea with fuel and proliferation-resistant light-water nuclear reactors in exchange for termination of the North's nuclear weapons program. Then make every effort to seal an agreement by which North Korea would comply with the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR), which would effectively stop the production, deployment, and export of medium- to long-range missiles. "Such an agreement is within reach, but not yet in our pocket," Perry said.

Assuming success on the nuclear weapons and missile issues, the United States should then move to eliminate North Korea's chemical and biological weapons programs. Finally, if progress is made in the above areas, the United States could consider confidence-building measures that would allow it to reduce "the dangerous and expensive" number of ground troops on both sides of the DMZ. Perry concluded that such a reduction—which should take full account of U.S. responsibilities for ROK security as well as regional stability—could create the environment for, at last, a real and permanent peace on the peninsula.

Securing Peace in Northeast Asia

J. Stapleton Roy *(top)* and Michael Armacost.

The United States can manage and preserve its strategic primacy in Northeast Asia by solidifying its alliances in the region and by encouraging Russia and China to join in consolidating today's generally favorable political and territorial status quo, says **Michael Armacost,** former ambassador to Japan and president of the Brookings Institution. Armacost discussed "Securing Peace in Northeast Asia" on a panel with **J. Stapleton Roy,** former ambassador to China and Indonesia, former assistant secretary of state for intelligence and research, and former member of the board of the U.S. Institute of Peace, and **William J. Perry,** former secretary of defense. (See the story on page 8.) The panel was one of five at the Institute's "Passing the Baton" conference, held on January 17. (See the story on page 1.)

Regarding China, Roy noted that, for the new administration to be effective in its dealings with Beijing, it must talk "sensibly" about China to both Congress and the American public. In doing so, it should avoid simplistic characterizations of the relationship like "partners" or "enemies." And it should avoid making relations with China contingent upon particular changes inside that country. Indeed, the United States risks losing control of its own policy if it makes its own actions contingent upon China taking specified actions first. "China will change," Roy said, "but at its own pace."

Armacost discussed in detail the necessity for the United States to restructure and solidify its "critical" alliance with Japan. Prospects for the continued peace and stability of the Asia-Pacific region are greatly enhanced when the two giants—the United States and Japan—cooperate, he said.

He concluded that the Bush administration can readily maintain a favorable status quo in Northeast Asia "if they conduct themselves with clarity of purpose, attentiveness to our close friends, a certain humility when it comes to providing advice to former foes, and a readiness to continue shouldering the burden of common goods that are required to augment any security or political community."

U.S. Institute of Peace Welcomes New Board Members

Above, left to right: Betty Bumpers, Barbara Snelling, Supreme Court Justice Stephen Breyer, Holly Burkhalter, Seymour Martin Lipset, Shibley Telhami, and Marc Leland. Justice Breyer visited the Institute in January to swear in the six board members.

The U.S. Institute of Peace recently welcomed ten new members to its board of directors, including three new ex officio members. New board members include **Betty F. Bumpers, Holly J. Burkhalter, Marc E. Leland,** Esq., **Mora L. McLean,** Esq., **María Otero, Barbara W. Snelling,** and **Shibley Telhami;** the three new ex officio board members are Vice Admiral **Paul G. Gaffney II,** president of the National Defense University, who has already served on the board for several months, Secretary of State **Colin L. Powell,** and Secretary of Defense **Donald H. Rumsfeld.** Powell and Rumsfeld will serve as statutorily identified members unless each designates someone from his agency to serve.

Congress also reconfirmed two serving board members: **Seymour Martin Lipset,** Hazel professor of public policy at George Mason University, and **Harriet Zimmerman,** vice president of the American Israel Public Affairs Committee. Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** continues as a nonvoting member of the board.

At its first meeting on January 18, the board voted unanimously to extend the term as chair of **Chester A. Crocker,** James R. Schlesinger professor of strategic studies at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. The board also voted unanimously to appoint Lipset as the new vice chair.

Board Biographies

BETTY F. BUMPERS is founder and president of Peace Links, Washington, D.C., organized in 1982 to involve mainstream, grassroots citizens in activities that promote alternatives to violence. During her husband's tenure as governor of Arkansas, Bumpers was the leader of a successful immunization program for children, later adopted by governors' wives from other states, including Rosalynn Carter. In 1991, Bumpers and Carter founded Every Child by Two to promote early childhood immunization. Bumpers has received many awards, including the Distinguished Citizen Award from the National Peace Foundation and the Woman Who Makes a Difference Award from the International Woman's Forum in Boston. A former art teacher, Bumpers studied at Iowa State University, the University of Arkansas, and the Chicago Academy of Fine Arts. She holds honorary doctorate of law degrees from Hendrix College and the University of Arkansas and an honorary doctor of humane letters from the University of Massachusetts.

HOLLY J. BURKHALTER has served as advocacy director of Physicians for Human Rights in Washington, D.C., since 1997. The organization specializes in medical, scientific, and forensic investigations of violations of internationally recognized human rights. In 1983–97, she was advocacy director of Human Rights Watch and director of its Washington office. She is a member of the Council on Foreign Relations and serves on the advisory committees of Mental Disability Rights International and the International Justice Mission. She holds a bachelor's degree from Iowa State University.

PAUL G. GAFFNEY II, a vice admiral in the U.S. Navy, is president of the National Defense University (NDU) in Washington, D.C., and an ex officio member of the board. Prior to assuming his duties at NDU, Gaffney served as chief of naval research with additional duties as director of test and evaluation and technology requirements in the office of the chief of naval operations and deputy commandant (science and technology), headquarters, U.S. Marine Corps. Gaffney's career spans three decades and includes duty at sea, overseas, and ashore in executive and command positions.

Gaffney is a 1968 graduate of the U.S. Naval Academy. He received a master's in ocean engineering from Catholic University and an MBA from Jacksonville University. His awards include the Distinguished Service Medal, Defense Superior Service Medal, Legion of Merit (four awards), Bronze Star (with "V"), and the Naval War College's J. William Middendorf Prize for Strategic Research.

MARC E. LELAND, Esq., is president of Marc E. Leland & Associates, Arlington, Va., an investment management firm. In 1981–84, he served as assistant secretary of the treasury for international affairs. In 1978–81, he was a partner in the law firm of Proskauer, Rose, Goetz & Mendelsohn in London, and in 1972–74, a partner in Cerf, Robinson & Leland. He was senior adviser to the Mutual Balanced Force Reductions Negotiations in Vienna in 1976–78, and general counsel to the Peace Corps and Action in 1970–72. Leland was a faculty fellow in foreign and comparative law at Harvard Law School in 1968–70 and a Ford Foundation fellow at the Institute of Comparative Law in Paris in 1963–64. He holds a bachelor's from Harvard University, a master's from St. John's College at Oxford, and a J.D. from the University of California at Berkeley Law School.

MORA L. MCLEAN, Esq., is president of the Africa-America Institute (AAI), New York, N.Y., a 45-year-old nonprofit organization working on Africa-America relations. AAI fosters development in Africa through education and training, promotes educational and cultural exchange, informs policy dialogue, and promotes mutually beneficial trade investment ties between Americans and Africans. Previously, McLean served as deputy director for Africa and Middle East programs at the Ford Foundation. She spent five years in the foundation's office in Lagos, Nigeria, first as assistant representative for West Africa and then as representative. McLean holds a bachelor's degree in African studies from Wesleyan University and a J.D. from Columbia University School of Law.

MARÍA OTERO is president and CEO of ACCION International, Somerville, Mass., a nonprofit umbrella organization for a network of microlending institutions that fight poverty in the Americas by making loans to poor and low-income people. She joined ACCION in 1986 as director of its microlending program in Honduras and served as executive vice president in 1992–2000. She has served as an adviser to the World Bank's Consultative Group to Assist the Poorest and is chair of the MicroFinance Network and chair of the board of directors of the Inter-American Foundation. Otero is the author of numerous monographs and articles and co-editor of *The New World of Microenterprise Finance* (1994).

A native of La Paz, Bolivia, Otero holds a master's in literature from the University of Maryland and a master's in economic development and international studies from Johns Hopkins University's School for Advanced International Studies.

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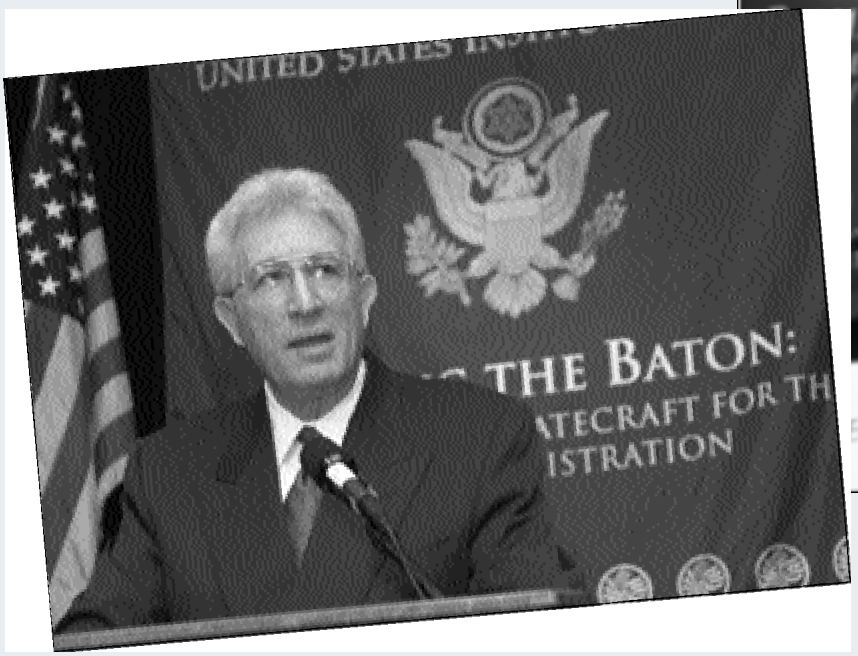
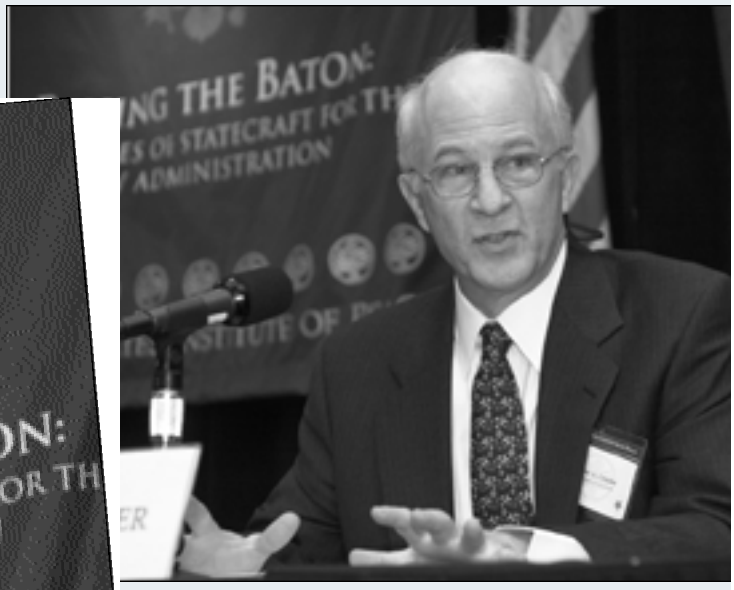
Lone Ranger No More

by Chester A. Crocker and Richard H. Solomon





Richard Solomon *(left)* and Chester Crocker.

The United States needs to develop new approaches to international conflict management and peacebuilding that take full advantage of its global diplomatic reach, expertise and credibility in peacemaking, and unrivaled capacity to build and sustain winning coalitions.

President Bush did open some doors on these issues in his major foreign policy statements during the fall. In stressing the need for "humility" in our dealings with the world, he recognized the need to build effective international coalitions. And in asserting that we cannot be the world's "911," he implicitly pointed the way toward greater reliance on our political and economic strengths and the need to bolster conflict management efforts by various international and regional organizations. In short, "Lone Rangerism" won't do the job.

What is required for an effective restructuring of our diplomatic and defense policies?

- *Keep political action and diplomacy at the forefront of foreign policy.* U.S. diplomacy has been impoverished in recent years by a failure to invest in and sustain a first-class Foreign Service. This is as much a matter of changing the way we use our political and economic influence as it is of funding for the State Department. Our diplomats need to be trained as conflict managers and mobilized to lead and coordinate action with key allies. The goals are to keep conflicts from getting out of control in fragile regions, to mount sustained mediation initiatives, and to use concerted pressure (as well as incentives) on troubled societies and brutal regimes.

- *Refurbish our alliances and international and regional organizations.* If there is to be peace in East Asia, we need active and supportive allies in Japan and Korea, and a cooperative China. In Europe, post–Cold War security requires a vital NATO firmly linked to the United States and a Russia that sees us as a supporter of its reemergence as a responsible world power. In Africa, humanitarian crises require effective coalitions and international organizations if we are not to repeat the shameful performance in Rwanda.

- *Restructure our military.* While high-tech weaponry can create a more effective and efficient defense, our national fascination with technology distracts us from the need to put military capabilities in the service of a national security and for-

eign policy strategy. Our advanced weaponry is so advanced that we are in danger of making our alliances obsolete, because our allies' communications and weapons systems can't operate with ours. Our military deals uneasily with the requirements of peace operations, humanitarian disasters, the drug war, cyber-war, and terrorists with weapons of mass destruction. The major investments required for missile defense and other advanced weapons platforms must be meshed with these more imminent security threats; and the military services will not take easily to restructuring, retraining, and retooling.

- *Collect intelligence intelligently.* In today's world, high-quality intelligence is more critical than ever. Narco-terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and effective diplomacy and political action require us to exploit human intelligence and sound analysis, as well as open-source materials via the Internet, just as fully as we do technical intelligence. Only the United States has the potential to strengthen the operations of allies and international organizations with information resources.

Developing a broad strategic concept that will pull together the uses of these elements of our national power—and in the process build the public and congressional support required to sustain and fund them—is likely to be as much of a challenge as institutional reform and tactical policy innovations. But without these innovations in our diplomacy and defenses, we are likely to fight the wrong battles and dissipate our resources. And we might very well find ourselves fighting or negotiating alone. The new administration has the opportunity and the responsibility to recast our dealings with the world.

Chester A. Crocker is Schlesinger professor of strategic studies at Georgetown University and board chairman of the U.S. Institute of Peace. Richard H. Solomon is president of the Institute. This article was excerpted from an op-ed published in the Washington Post *on January 17.*

New Board Members

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BARBARA W. SNELLING of Shelburne, Vermont, is a state senator for the Chittenden district of Vermont. She served as Vermont's lieutenant governor in 1992–96. Formerly, she was president and owner of Snelling and Kolb, Inc., a firm that consulted to not-for-profit corporations. Before that, she was vice president for development and external affairs at the University of Vermont. She also has served on Vermont's State Board of Education and the Vermont Alcohol and Drug Rehabilitation Commission, and as chair of the Shelburne School Board, president of United Way of Chittenden County, founding member of the Vermont Community Foundation, trustee of Radcliffe College, and chair of the Chittenden Corporation.

Snelling received a bachelor's degree (magna cum laude) from Radcliffe College and was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. She also received an honorary doctor of public service degree from Norwich University.

SHIBLEY TELHAMI holds the Anwar Sadat chair for peace and development at the University of Maryland. Telhami, a scholar of international communal conflict, political and economic development, and the demographic aspects of international politics, teaches in the university's Department of Government and Politics. Before joining the faculty, Telhami taught at Cornell University and served as director of its Near Eastern Studies Program. He has been a guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson Center and a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, and is currently a nonresident senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. He is the author of numerous articles and several books on international politics and Middle Eastern affairs.

Telhami served as adviser to the U.S. delegation to the United Nations during the Iraq-Kuwait crisis in 1990–91, and was on the staff of U.S. Representative Lee Hamilton. Telhami received his doctorate in political science at the University of California at Berkeley.

'Five Easy Pieces' for the Next Administration

by Samuel Berger, National Security Adviser to President Clinton

Top: **Samuel Berger**

Right: **Sen. Joseph Biden introducing Berger.**

The following has been excerpted from a keynote address by Berger at the U.S. Institute of Peace conference "Passing the Baton: Challenges of Statecraft for the New Administration." (See the story on page 1.)

The new administration takes the reins of a country at the zenith of its power, with the wind at its back, and clear objectives to steer toward. And there are several steps it could take immediately, both to seize the opportunities so plainly ahead, and to signal the world that there will be no fundamental shift in America's purpose as it reviews our global role.

Let me respectfully mention just a few. You might call them "five easy pieces" for the next administration:

- Give our European allies a clear sign that there will be no change in our commitment to NATO, its missions, and its next round of expansion.
- Make clear to our allies in Asia that we will explore the opportunity presented by North Korea's emergence from isolation.
- Tell our partners in the hemisphere that we want to finish negotiations on a Free Trade Area of the Americas by 2003, so it can enter into force by 2005.
- In preparing your first budget, signal the world that our contributions to win the fight against global poverty will continue to rise.
- Finally, seize the chance to work with Russia to reduce nuclear arsenals without abandoning negotiated agreements. One good way would be to move with the Congress to repeal legislation that prevents us from going below the START I level of 6,000 warheads while we bring START II into force and negotiate much lower levels in START III.

The overriding reality for the new team will remain that U.S. leadership, in cooperation with our friends and allies, is essential to a more secure, peaceful, and prosperous world.

Our extraordinary strength is a blessing. But it comes with a responsibility to carry our weight, instead of merely throwing it around. That means meeting our responsibilities to alliances like NATO and institutions like the UN. It means shaping treaties from the inside, as President Clinton recently did with the International Criminal Court, instead of packing up our marbles and going home. Otherwise, we will find the world resisting our power instead of respecting it. There is a difference between power and authority. Power is the ability to compel by force and sanctions, and there are times we must use it, for there will always be interests and values worth fighting for. Authority is the ability to lead, and we depend on it for almost everything we try to achieve. Our authority is built on qualities very different from our power: on the attractiveness of our values, on the force of our example, on the credibility of our commitments, and on our willingness to listen to and stand by others.

In the last eight years, I believe President Clinton's most fundamental achievement is that he steered America into a new era of globalization in a way that enhanced not only our power but our authority in the world. I have been proud to be part of this journey. I can promise you this: as the new administration builds on that achievement, nobody will work harder than its predecessors to turn common goals to reality.

Forging Foreign Policy for a New Age

by Condoleezza Rice,
National Security Adviser to President George W. Bush

Excerpted from an address by Rice at the U.S. Institute of Peace conference "Passing the Baton: Challenges of Statecraft for the New Administration." (See the story on page 1.)

The National Security Council (NSC) system was created by the National Security Act of 1947 to help unite the departments and agencies of the government to prepare for the dangers of total war. . . . But the world has changed considerbly since then. What we need today is an NSC system that unites the government to prepare, not for total war but for the total spectrum of policy instruments we can use when military power is not appropriate. We've gotten ourselves into a quite bipolar discussion: We either intervene militarily or we're isolationist and we don't intervene at all. In fact, there are a whole host of instruments in between that need to be fine-tuned for the times when military power is clearly not appropriate. In 1947 the challenge was to tame the clashing interests of the State, War, and Navy Departments. In 2001 the challenge is to unite the far-flung concerns of all the agencies that are working across our real and virtual borders, from the Department of Defense to the Public Health Service, from the administrator of NASA to the Federal Communications Commission.

Let me comment then on how I see my own role as assistant to the president for national security affairs in this complex world. These many agencies have to perform in concert, striving toward a common purpose. Precisely because our policies now involve so many players, we have to have a clearly written sheet of music—you may know I'm a musician, so pardon the reference—so that everyone knows what tune to play. The National Security Council system with the president at its top is the instrument we use. Now, it's not my job to make people "toe the line." Instead, the challenge and the great opportunity is to sense the possibilities of this new era and to make connections, to work as a team toward an American foreign policy that is coherent and successful. We can no longer afford stovepipes.

When we talk about America's commitments with our European allies, we should think about how our common ideals help us to see ways to work together on issues of the new economy without being mired in problems of the past. . . . When we think about the new dangers of transnational terrorism, we must make the connections between law enforcement and

*See **Rice**, page 18*

Clockwise from top left: **Condoleezza Rice, Rita Hauser, who introduced Rice, and Rice talking with conference participants after her speech.**

Making Peace

Continued from page 5

special reputation as peacemakers, which is based on our expertise," Crocker said. "There is no country in the world with higher standing as peacemakers than this country."

Crocker offered the new administration the following recommendations in its role as peacemaker: to listen more and preach less, to share the credit as well as the burdens, to let others lead when appropriate and back them to the hilt, and to realize that peacemaking is not unlike warfighting: it is an ongoing, around-the-clock job. Once peace has been reached, the challenge then is to make peace stick. The implementation phase is at least as important as the negotiation stage leading up to the settlement. "Peacemakers need to be involved throughout the implementation phase," Crocker concluded. "Those who are best placed to lead are those who have the interest, the commitment, and the staying power to care about the final result, and that means making the necessary resources available."

Most individuals who become involved in nonviolent resistance do so not because they have a moral commitment to nonviolence, but because it is the best or the only tool available at the time. Will nonviolent resistance always succeed? "The answer," Ackerman concluded, "is a resounding yes!"

Weinstein echoed some of the same themes, emphasizing that the United States should act carefully and selectively in its role as international peacemaker. Looking back over the last century, he offered the following lessons learned. Some conflicts simply end, with no negotiated settlement, such as the Cold War. Not all peace negotiations involve the U.S. government. All peace negotiations with which the United States becomes involved are not equally important to U.S. national security. "Getting to yes" on terms acceptable to the United States may not always be possible in the short term, in which case a situation of no agreement may be far preferable to getting a flawed one. Peace negotiations rarely respect electoral or any other presidential timetables; they can last for decades. And finally, Weinstein cautioned, beware the law of unintended consequences. The unintended consequence of an American withdrawal from the Balkans or the implementation of the National Missile Defense system, he said, may be heightened discord in NATO, leading perhaps to the first "peace" negotiations the Bush administration will have to undertake.

Ackerman discussed bringing change to governments and authorities that are themselves sources of conflict—not through violent uprisings or international intervention, but through nonofficial, nonviolent means. He cited as examples Poland's Solidarity movement and the economic boycott by blacks of white South African businesses in the Eastern Cape region.

A strategic nonviolent conflict is a well-planned, orchestrated deployment of such tools as protests, refusals to cooperate, and direct action aimed specifically against repressive leaders or institutions, Ackerman said. Protests might include petitions, parades, walkouts, and mass demonstrations that strengthen popular support. Methods of noncooperation include strikes, boycotts, resignations, and civil disobedience. Direct actions include sit-ins, nonviolent sabotage, and blockades.

For such methods to work, Ackerman said, other elements need to be in place to increase the possibility of success, including: (1) a unified leadership committed to a nonviolent strategy; (2) objectives that will engage all elements of society; (3) a strategy for striking at the vulnerable spots of the adversary; (4) the capacity to deal with the effects of new acts of repression and terror; and (5) defections to the challengers by the military, police, or other institutions that otherwise would keep the oppressor in power.

Ackerman stressed that most individuals who become involved in nonviolent resistance do so not because they have a moral commitment to nonviolence, but because it is the best or the only tool available at the time. Will nonviolent resistance always succeed? "The answer," Ackerman concluded, "is a resounding yes!"

Russia

Continued from page 7

back," Rogov concluded. "The question is whether Russia will come back as a major player who is a reliable partner, who shares your main values and is connected to your institutions, or as a great power that believes it was mistreated, that sees the new world order as detrimental to its national security interests, and that will therefore try to undermine this new world order. I hope we will choose the more optimistic scenario."

The Globalization of Freedom

The United States needs to develop a sustained commitment to the promotion of democracy, rule of law, and human rights globally, says Harold Hongju Koh.

One of the most astonishing revolutions of our time is not the globalization of commerce or communications, but the globalization of democracy, which is the globalization of human freedom, says **Harold Hongju Koh,** assistant secretary of state for democracy, human rights, and labor in the Clinton administration. The number of countries with stated commitments to self-governance and democracy has nearly quadrupled since 1974, standing now at more than 120, he said. Koh discussed the ways in which his office promoted democracy and human rights at a U.S. Institute of Peace Current Issues Briefing held on December 13. The event was organized by the Institute's Human Rights Implementation Project under the direction of program officer **Debra Liang-Fenton.**

Koh noted that the pressures of his office are so great that anyone holding his position is left with "remarkably little time to think, strategize, and develop and maintain a vision." To handle the pressures, Koh developed a set of principles to guide him in dealing with issues that come "over the transom" daily. These principles included a commitment to purposeful engagement with ongoing abuses, and preventing future abuses through a combination of preventive diplomacy, democracy promotion, and the building of partnerships internationally.

Koh noted that the most obvious prevention tool is creation of policies conveyed through diplomacy and backed by force, and if necessary, force backed by diplomacy, as applied in Kosovo and East Timor. His office also worked to build atrocity prevention networks focused on looming hot spots such as Burundi and other areas on the African continent.

Democracy itself serves as a strong deterrent to human rights abuses. Therefore, his office in conjunction with the secretary of state sought to promote democracy by: (1) raising global consciousness about the ascendance of democracies and their role in preventing human rights abuses; (2) working to establish democracy itself and democratic governance as a human right; (3) identifying "democracy priority" countries to which the U.S. government devotes a higher degree of diplomatic and assistance resources; the Department of State chose four countries: Colombia, Indonesia, Nigeria, and Ukraine; (4) developing strategies for combating democratic backsliding in countries such as Fiji, Haiti, Pakistan, and Peru; and (5) developing with the U.S. Agency for International Development and the U.S. Information Agency coordinated strategies for building the rule of law and related institutions in countries having a particular need, such as Bosnia, East Timor, and Kosovo.

Finally, Koh noted that there is a community of concern around democracy, human rights, and labor issues. The challenge is to keep that community mobilized. His office worked to achieve sustained mobilization in the following labor areas: in the old economy, by promoting human-rights- compatible security arrangements in the extractive sector; in the new economy, by promoting partnerships with internet companies, service providers, and technology providers to promote human rights; and in support of anti-sweatshop initiatives, by finding common ground between Congress, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), labor unions, and corporate entities.

Koh concluded that "We ought to be able to move on a broad range of human rights and democracy issues as a country in a sustained bipartisan and institutional way—good governance, rule of law, child labor, democracy promotion, atrocities prevention, human rights."

Harold Hongju Koh

ShortTakes

Right: **Leaders of South Korean nongovernmental organizations learn practical conflict resolution skills at a seminar in Seoul taught by program officer Barbara Wien.**

Conflict Resolution for South Korean NGOs

Fifteen leaders of South Korean organizations devoted to peace, democracy, gender equity, and human rights gained practical experience in conflict resolution techniques at a seminar taught by Institute program officer **Barbara Wien** on December 17–19, 2000, in Seoul. The American Friends Service Committee (Quakers) sponsored the training as part of a 16-month program in cooperation with three Korean partner organizations: Women Making Peace, the Korean National Congress for Reunification, and the Korean Women's Association United. Wien designed the training program to help civil society leaders gain experience in facilitating difficult encounters and in teaching conflict resolution to members of their own coalitions. During discussion, one participant said that Koreans generally are not interested in conflict resolution and that he had been skeptical himself, but after the training he understood how to apply the principles in his work and in Korean society generally.

Participants in the training said they will apply the conflict resolution skills gained at the workshop not only within their own groups, but also in dealing with complex issues of Korean relations with Japan and China, rapprochement with the North, internal conflicts with North Korean immigrants living in Seoul, relations with the U.S. military, and ongoing internal antagonisms between the provinces of Chola and southeast Kyong Sang. From the workshop proceedings and discussions, organizers have produced a Korea-specific conflict resolution training manual.

On December 20, Wien gave a public talk on peace education with Soon-Won Kang, a distinguished professor of peace education at Hanshin University. After the talk, a member of the audience noted that students, teachers, and parents are under extreme pressure preparing for the national exam, which causes tremendous stress and competition sometimes leading to violence in the classroom. Another participant talked about the need for Koreans to recognize multiple identities as a path to greater tolerance of diversity. “I can be a Korean, a woman, a student activist, a resident of Seoul, and a global citizen all at the same time,” she concluded.

Rice

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national security. When we think about transforming defense, we must make the connection between defense agencies and the way business and society are already adapting to the new information technology. So my conception and my hope for this job is overwhelmingly positive.

We at the National Security Council are going to try to work the seams, stitching the connections together tightly. If we can do that, if we can provide glue for the many, many agencies and many, many instruments the United States is now deploying around the world, I think we will have done our job on behalf of the president of the United States. Then we can develop a foreign policy that uses all of the incredible strength of this country and is able to project American influence in support of its principles.

Forging a Europe "Whole and Free"

Russia can best secure its long-term security and national interests by accepting the norms and principles of a broader Europe and joining the United States and the European Union (EU) in building a "peaceful, undivided, and democratic" Europe. But renewed EU and U.S. relations with Russia will require a carefully implemented overall strategy, say an international group of academic experts and policy practitioners attending a recent conference organized by the Institute.

The meeting, "Defining Russia's Role," held at the Royal Institute of International Affairs in London in October, included 35 participants. The event was part of the Institute's ongoing Future of Europe Project, coordinated by **Emily Metzgar,** program officer in the Research and Studies Program.

The goal of the program was to develop a targeted agenda for affirmative cooperation among the European Union, Russia, and the United States, notes Metzgar. Specifically, the project sought to identify particular issues where cooperation would serve the common interests of all three parties. A targeted agenda of cooperation will not only help solve specific problems faced by all parties, but also contribute to the construction of a stable peace in which members put aside war as an instrument for resolving disputes among themselves. As one participant said, with respect to Russia this means the demilitarization of Russia's relations with the West and the construction of strategic ties among Russia, the EU, and the United States.

Conference participants focused on the following issues: building cooperative NATO-Russian relations, Russia and the UN Security Council, possible confrontation over Asia and the Caucasus, Persian Gulf security, and strategic arms control.

Balkans

Continued from page 7

I'm skeptical success could be achieved without continuing large American involvement and a determined policy with the resources to back it up."

Perle commented on the Bush campaign's emphasis on reducing U.S. troop deployments in the Balkans. He noted that it would be "a great mistake" to view a revision of the U.S. role in the region based on changes on the ground as a diminished commitment. A main goal should be to help friends in the region to help themselves through, for example, an expanded "equip-and-train" program in Bosnia. "If we become the source of stability and others depend on us, the dependency never ends," he said.

Also, the United States should do what other countries don't do as well, such as providing logistics, communications, intelligence, and other capital-intensive capabilities, Perle said. It's time to reassess whether U.S. combat forces should engage in peacekeeping, he argued. "If we're going to be in the peacekeeping business, then it's time to create a peacekeeping institution that is organized, equipped, trained, and optimized for peacekeeping operations."

In assessing the lessons learned in the Balkans, Perle concluded, the West and the United Nations need to rethink the use of arms embargoes. "One of the great tragedies of this century was the arms embargo that prevented Bosnians from defending themselves," he said. "Without precedent, the United Nations denied a country under attack the means to defend itself while failing to provide that defense itself. I hope that never happens again."

Below, left to right: **Pavel Baev, Zalmay Khalilzad, Lena Jonson, Patrick Cronin, Stephen Hadley, and other Russia workshop participants.**

'Passing the Baton' Reception

to Recognize Samuel Berger and Welcome Condoleezza Rice

The U.S. Institute of Peace held a reception in recognition of Samuel Berger, national security adviser to President Clinton, and to welcome Condoleezza Rice, then national security adviser–designate to incoming president George W. Bush at its "Passing the Baton" conference on January 17. Chester Crocker, Senator Tom Harkin, Max M. Kampelman, Brent Scowcroft, and Seymour Martin Lipset thanked Berger for his dedicated service to the country and hailed Rice for her many rich accomplishments, which prepared her for her new position.

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