



- 4 Desperate Times in North Korea
- 5 Moshe Safdie to Design Institute Headquarters
- 6 Nonviolent Struggle: Burma and the Middle East
- 9 Rebuilding the Justice System in Afghanistan
- 10 Seeds of Peace
- 11 Islamic Perspectives on Peace and Violence

Nonviolent Struggles against Repressive Regimes

Strategic nonviolent actions by civilian populations are likely to succeed if a tyrant no longer has solid support, particularly from the military and police.

Former Polish Solidarity leader **Czeslaw Bielecki** calls the nonviolent struggle against communism in his country “a conspiracy for freedom and democracy.” While the struggle in Poland succeeded, similar efforts to unseat dictators and tyrants can falter, as in Burma (Myanmar). Bielecki proposes that one of the deciding factors is the degree of support from the international community. But how can the international community gauge when a situation is “ripe” enough that its support can help a nonviolent movement succeed? And how can nonviolent movements engage the international community in their cause?

Bielecki and three other former nonviolent political activists discussed such questions at a U.S. Institute of Peace meeting on January 14 entitled “Nonviolent Struggles against Repressive

Regimes: The Role of the International Community.” Speakers included **Mkhuseli Jack**, anti-apartheid organizer and South African businessman; **Sradja Popovic**, Otpor leader and member of the Serbian parliament; **Edita Tahiri**, leader of the nonviolent resistance movement in Kosovo and member of the Kosovo parliament; and **Peter Ackerman**, chairman of the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC). Institute executive vice president **Harriet Hentges** moderated the discussion.

The meeting followed a three-day conference of some 20 nonviolent activists from around the world who had successfully

See *Nonviolent Struggles*, page 2

Right: Otpor’s poster advises Serbs of the need for new laws meeting international standards to gain entry into the European Union for a “better tomorrow.”





“In a violent insurrection the average person, instead of having his citizenship validated and respected, finds his life threatened, freedoms denied, and property confiscated through intimidation or corruption.”

opposed repression or were currently engaged in such a struggle in countries such as Belarus, Burma, Chile, Iraq, Mongolia, the Philippines, Yugoslavia (Kosovo and Serbia), and Zimbabwe. Other experts on nonviolent struggle also attended. The Institute of Peace and ICNC co-sponsored that meeting, which was off-the-record, and the Institute is preparing a report of the proceedings. (Also, see the interviews with two participants on p. 6.)

The Role of the International Community

A number of participants at both meetings agreed that armed options to overthrow a dictator should be entertained on a case-by-case basis and as the situation on the ground develops. However, Ackerman pointed out, most cases of violent opposition to tyranny wreak destruction and havoc on civilian populations, as in Chechnya. Violent insurrections also are rarely successful in a reasonable timeframe, as shown by the Basque conflict, or lead to undemocratic results even if successful, as in Cuba, he said. “In a violent insurrection the average person, instead of having his citizenship validated and respected, finds his life threatened, freedoms denied, and property confiscated through intimidation or corruption.”

And when there is no viable military option to overthrow or

undermine a tyrant, strategic nonviolent conflict may be the right tool for achieving freedom. In such circumstances, Ackerman said, it is important for the United States to understand the dynamics that allow a nonviolent struggle to succeed. The basic condition that enabled nonviolent opposition movements to succeed in the Philippines, Poland, Serbia, and South Africa was the dictators’ loss of support from the military and police, which had kept the regimes in power, he said.

“So Americans have to understand and assess as things unfold to see if a tyrant is as powerful as he seems to be. We need to measure if he has the breadth and depth of support he needs to sustain his position,” particularly from the military and police, he said. If the answer is no, then a situation is likely to be ripe for a successful strategic nonviolent insurrection by the civilian population. Nonviolent struggle can include adoption of symbols such as Otpor’s use of the clenched fist in Serbia and the anti-Milosevic slogan, “*Gotov je*” or “He’s finished,” as well as boycotts, vigils, protest meetings, strikes, and civil disobedience. Supporting nonviolent change “doesn’t require weapons or a lot of money,” and thus can be difficult for Americans—used to conceiving of resistance based on such tools—to accept, Ackerman said.

Mkhuseleli Jack of South Africa stressed that for a nonviolent movement to gain international support, its methods must “stand up to public scrutiny at all times.” Also, the issues it raises have to have universal appeal such as human rights, the right to vote, freedom of the press, and an equitable economic system. “Your objective must be easily identifi-

able and must be fundamentally a rallying issue in the country, wanted by everybody in the country, then people in the United States will put aside their good time for that good cause because it affects millions of people. The more internal support you have, the easier it is to get international support.” It is also important to identify all human rights abuses in the country and to educate the public about them. For example, Jack said, in South Africa, many black citizens were used to physical abuse and didn’t realize that when the police or opponents beat them that such violence represented a violation of their rights.

Srdja Popovic of Serbia said that Otpor had a well-thought-out and reasonable strategy. First, Otpor’s clenched fist symbol, plastered on walls throughout Serbia, attracted international attention. Second, the symbol



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and the name “Otpor” (Struggle) stood for a clear and straightforward goal: removal of a tyrant through legal elections, and failing that, through peaceful demonstrations, and establishment of the rule of law in Serbia. Further, Otpor activists made a point of explaining the group’s strategy to international and nongovernmental organizations and made it very clear that Otpor needed international help in building opinion and pressure against the regime. The nonviolent opposition also needs to stage smaller actions that accumulate successes because international support comes with success, Popovic said. Finally, it’s important to gain international media attention, which, unfortunately, is easier to obtain if there is violence. However, the necessity of putting nonviolent protestors in a situation where the police will likely beat them can be difficult to explain to supporters, he said.

Edita Tahiri noted that in Kosovo, the civilian population followed two tracks. The first involved more than 10 years of nonviolent opposition to Serb oppression and the building of parallel institutions for Albanians, who had been largely excluded from Serb-dominated public life. The second and later track involved formation of the Kosovo Liberation Army, which took up arms against Serbia. In the beginning, the nonviolent struggle spared Kosovo from wars such as those that enveloped Croatia and Bosnia, she said. It also enabled the Kosovar Albanians to bring attention to their oppression by Serbs from an international community that had little or no knowledge of conditions in Kosovo and opposed the breakup of Yugoslavia. But the Kosovar Albanians turned to an armed



solution when the international community ignored their plight and failed to deal with it at Dayton. The change from nonviolent resistance to violent resistance in Kosovo ended favorably for the province, which is an international protectorate with final status yet to be determined. However, the violence created splits in society that remain problematical today, she said. Still, the KLA insurrection led to the NATO campaign to stop Milosevic’s ethnic cleansing in Kosovo, which was critical to his later defeat by Serbia’s nonviolent opposition, she argued.

Once a dictatorship has been removed or independence gained, democracy building is “another hard time,” Bielecki noted. Popovic added that the opposition movement needs to develop a strategy for the post-conflict period to prevent society from backsliding. Also, the international community needs to be patient while the new social and political orders work to build democracy in countries struggling with problems inherited from former regimes.

The Serbs and others who have overthrown tyranny have earned the respect of the international community, participants agreed. Kosovo, Poland, Serbia, and similar entities demonstrate that a nonviolent strategy works and can serve as models of nonviolent resistance for others to follow.

Above: Otpor’s clenched fist symbol.

Left, top to bottom: Peter Ackerman, Edita Tahiri, Srđja Popovic, Mkhoseli Jack, Harriet Hentges, and Czeslaw Bielecki.



Desperate Times in North Korea

North Korea faces grave food shortages, a deteriorating infrastructure, and uncertain times for sustaining dialogue with the United States.



Uncertainties over policy and dialogue between the United States and North Korea and South Korea remain after President Bush's trip to the South in February. And winter in Pyongyang finds a country in increasingly desperate straits and ever more reliant on foreign help, notes **Hazel Smith**, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace. Smith served as program adviser for the United Nations World Food Program in Pyongyang in 2000–2001.

Although residents in the capital face power cuts every year, this winter they've come more frequently—several times a day and for longer periods—despite temperatures well higher than last year's record lows, Smith says. At night, apartment blocks are dark or lit with flickering candles. Once-productive factories are being torn down for scrap metal, due to a lack of power, spare parts, or raw mate-

rials to keep them going. At those facilities still running, workers are pushed to increasing manual effort—yet these workers cannot be paid in anything other than the virtually worthless North Korean currency, the won, and the country has not produced enough food to feed its population and does not have enough dollars to import the food it needs, Smith says.

Despite a 40% increase in cereal production last year—made possible by South Korean agricultural assistance—the harvest was still more than 1 million tons short of the 5 million tons required to cover bare survival for the population in 2002. Although 6 million of the country's 22 million people have access to the food aid still provided by the United States and China, most of the others go hungry. Children and adults are painfully thin, most receiving just enough for mere subsistence.

Only the minority of the population that has access to dollars from foreigners through business, aid, or party connections can afford to live well, Smith notes. But even they must cope with darkened street lights, dangerously unsanitary water and sewage systems, and bridges, roads, and rail-

way systems that are deteriorating or completely collapsed.

Under such conditions, how will the North Korean government respond to the uncertainties and skepticism in U.S. policy toward the country? Some observers think Bush's verbal criticism of the North as part of an "axis of evil" could prompt Pyongyang to respond by heightening tensions; others see the North as "hunkering down" in a defensive posture. But Smith notes that unlike during the 1994 nuclear crisis, today very active and strong nongovernmental channels remain open for the North to reinstate talks with the United States and/or South Korea. She argues that Pyongyang is much more likely to use these channels to reopen stalled dialogue on easing tensions on the peninsula than precipitate a crisis. Indeed, Smith concludes, there is already evidence that Pyongyang is continuing to engage with the international community to ensure that its access to international food aid is sustained and that relations with the United States do not deteriorate further.

Parts of this article first appeared in slightly different form in the February 14 issue of the Far Eastern Economic Review.

The Institute Welcomes John Brinkley...

The Institute welcomes **John Brinkley** as director of public outreach. Before coming to the Institute, Brinkley was a consultant to the Aspen Institute's Global Interdependence Initiative. In 1999–2001, he served as speechwriter and public affairs adviser to the under secretary of state for global affairs. Previously he was environmental correspondent for the Scripps Howard News Service in Washington, D.C., and the Washington correspondent for the *Denver Rocky Mountain News*. He also worked as a reporter and editor on the world desk at *USA Today*. Brinkley studied at Berklee College of Music, Boston, Mass., and at American University, Washington, D.C.





Crocker Challenge Grant Met

THE U.S. INSTITUTE OF PEACE is pleased to announce donations of more than \$180,000 in support of its permanent headquarters project, meeting the challenge grant of the **Arthur and Barbara Crocker Charitable Trust**. The Institute is raising funds to build the facility adjacent to the National Mall in Washington, D.C. (see the other story on this page). We express our thanks and appreciation to the following individuals, foundations, and organizations for their generous gifts and contributions:

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Moshe Safdie to Design Institute Headquarters

The U.S. Institute of Peace has selected the architectural firm of **Moshe Safdie and Associates** to design its permanent headquarters, which will be located at the northwest corner of the National Mall in Washington, D.C. The three-acre site at Constitution Avenue and 23rd Street overlooks the Lincoln Memorial, with views of America's other prominent national monuments and memorials to sacrifices in war. The headquarters will include a conference facility and a peace education center for engaging and informing visitors about current international conflicts and approaches to their resolution.

"We are confident that Safdie's experience, reputation, and creativity working in Washington and internationally will serve this important project well," notes Institute board member **Marc E. Leland**, who chairs the board's committee on the building project.

Safdie and Associates, located in Somerville, Mass., has worked on projects ranging from the design of Habitat '67 in Montreal to the master planning of entire new cities around the world. Safdie currently has two other major projects in design in Washington—the National Health Museum on the Mall and a General Services Administration federal office building on New York Avenue.

The Institute's board of directors selected 5 finalists from 26 entries submitted to the Institute's request for qualifications from 50 top U.S. architectural firms. In addition to Safdie, finalists included Michael Graves & Associates, Princeton; Polshek Partnership, New York; Cesar Pelli & Associates, New Haven; and Weiss/Manfredi Architects, New York.



Above, left to right: Moshe Safdie, Charles Nelson, Richard Solomon, and Marc Leland.

Below, left to right: George Shultz, Marc Leland, and Chester Crocker.



Nonviolence is the only way to further the quest for freedom and democracy in Burma (Myanmar) and the Middle East, say a nonviolent activist and an expert on nonviolence.

Nonviolent Struggle

Min Zin was 14 years old in March 1988 when Burma's militia arrested his eldest brother and his sister, pro-democracy student leaders at Rangoon University. Within days, the police had rounded up 141 student activists at that university, including Min Zin's cousin and several neighbors. Outraged, Min Zin joined a campaign to get the students released and to stir up opposition to the repressive military regime that ruled Burma, now called Myanmar by the current military regime. Today, 28 years old and a visiting scholar at the University of California at Berkeley, Min Zin says that he never finished high school and cannot go home, where a death penalty certainly awaits him.

"All of my family members were arrested because of me," he says. "For 13 years, the only community that embraced me was my colleagues." Together, this group of pro-democracy movement youths eventually went underground, hiding in both Burma and along the border in Thailand, working together, supporting each other, facing possible death together. "It was a valuable human experience," but it has demanded sacrifices, Min Zin says. "Work, family life—all these

things are nothing in my life. Sometimes I feel like a stranger to ordinary life. Sometimes I feel not just like an exile, but like an internal exile, too."

Min Zin discussed his experiences in Burma's pro-democracy movement in an interview during a



three-day conference of some 20 nonviolent activists from around the world held on January 9–11 in Airlie, Va. The U.S. Institute of Peace and the International Center on Nonviolent Conflict (ICNC) co-sponsored the meeting, which also included U.S. and other experts on the subject such as **Gene Sharp** of the Einstein Institute and **Peter Ackerman**, chairman of ICNC. Nonviolent civic activists attending had successfully

Work, family life—all these things are nothing in my life. Sometimes I feel like a stranger to ordinary life. Sometimes I feel not just like an exile, but like an internal exile, too. —Min Zin

opposed repression or were currently engaged in or trying to launch such a struggle in countries including Belarus, Burma, Chile, Iraq, Mongolia, the Philippines, Yugoslavia (Kosovo and Serbia), and Zimbabwe. Discussion was off the record, and the Institute is preparing a report of the proceedings. (Also, see the story on p. 1.) During the meeting, *Peace Watch* interviewed Min Zin and **Mubarak Awad**, an expert on nonviolence and founder of Nonviolence International, Washington, D.C., and of the Palestinian Center for the Study of Nonviolence, Jerusalem, for this article.

When Min Zin first joined the pro-democracy movement, he traveled to rural areas of Burma circulating leaflets among secondary school students demanding the release of the student pris-

Right: Min Zin.

Opposite page: Mubarak Awad.

oners and their readmission to school, organizing after-school protests, and giving anti-government talks. The secondary school population in Burma is very large, he explains, and thus has considerably more leverage than university students. His brother was held incommunicado for four months, during which time he was tortured, then finally released. It took him a very long time to recover from the swollen joints caused by repeated beatings, says Min Zin.

For nine years Min Zin worked inside Burma against military rule, at first against the military regime that had run the country since 1963 and that murdered thousands during a popular protest in August 1988. A military junta, the State Law and Order Restoration Council (SLORC), toppled the regime in a September 1988 coup and promised elections to assuage an angry public. During 1988–89, Min Zin worked closely with democracy leader Aung San Suu Kyi until the junta put her under house arrest in 1989. That same day, the police went to Min Zin's house to arrest him, but he was not at home and immediately went into hiding. When Aung San Suu Kyi's party won the 1990 election, the junta nullified the election results. She remained under house arrest until 1995, then was arrested again in 2000.

Min Zin remained in hiding in Burma until 1997, engaging in a variety of nonviolent resistance actions. In 1997, he fled to Thailand, where he read everything he could get his hands on to make up for his lost education and began to write analytical articles on Burmese culture.

After so many decades of military repression, Min Zin says, Burmese society is fragmented and suffers from fear, apathy, and a sense of powerlessness. Given the severe military repression, the junta's reliance on the drug trade

for revenue, the power of the drug lords, and the strengths and weaknesses of the opposition movement, progress in Burma is likely to be slow, he says. The opposition needs to create a broad base of support and focus on reconstructing civil society, which has been decimated by nearly 40 years of military rule.



The Middle East

As the 17-month-long intifada in the Middle East rages on, **Mubarak Awad** continues his decades-long effort to promote strategic nonviolent tactics among Palestinians. Many Palestinians believe that nonviolent strategies could succeed in gaining international sympathy for their quest for self determination, Awad says. Indeed, Palestinian awareness of strategic nonviolence has increased dramatically in recent years, but so has Palestinian anger as political chaos and economic deterioration accelerate and their hopes for a better life crumble, he says.

In 1983, Mubarak, who holds a doctorate in counseling, founded a center in Jerusalem—the city where he was born—to provide psychological counseling for Palestinian youths living under Israeli occupation. However, when he began teaching strategic nonviolence to Palestinians and other Arabs and Muslims in the 1980s, the Israelis arrested and

deported him. He has continued to work for a nonviolent solution to the Palestinian-Israeli conflict since then, founding in 1989 Nonviolence International, which he currently directs.

“The Palestinians have no choice but to use the methods of nonviolence on a very large scale, both in Gaza and the West Bank,” as well as in areas beyond the Palestinian Authority in the refugee camps in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan, Awad says. Such strategies would get Palestinian voices heard in places like the United Nations and other international forums, he says.

“Any strategy for nonviolence must be implemented on a large scale and must involve the Palestinian Authority and the public at large,” Awad says. “A nonviolent strategy must be discussed and approved by everyone and it must be a long-term commitment.”

If Palestinians were to reject the intifada and initiate a campaign of nonviolent action, support from the international community would become critical to its continuation and ultimate success, he says. When international sympathy for the Palestinian cause is aroused, “the Palestinians, with the help of the international community, should request a vote on a Palestinian state in the UN General Assembly, even if the United States rejects this proposal,” Awad argues. He is convinced that, if the Palestinians demonstrate nonviolently, their aspirations for statehood and freedom will gain greater support and the international community will acknowledge their just cause. “Nonviolence . . . is more powerful than any weapons we have, especially against the Israelis,” whose military might and other resources are far greater than those of the Palestinians. “It is my hope,” Awad concludes, “that nonviolent thinking, peace, and reconciliation will prevail.”



ShortTakes

Institute Press Books in Translation

The International Relations Publishing House in Moscow has acquired the rights to publish a Russian translation of *A Strategy for Stable Peace* by grantee James Goodby. (USIP Press published the book in January.) The same publishing house brought out Goodby's *Europe Undivided* in Russian in fall 2000. The Ministry of Defense Publishers in Sofia, Bulgaria, has arranged with the Institute's Press to publish an abridged version of *Peoples Versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century* by grantee Ted Robert Gurr. The Bulgarian translation should appear in fall 2002. In Taiwan, the Eurasian Publishing Group, Taipei, arranged to publish *Chinese Negotiating Behavior* by Institute president Richard H. Solomon. The Chinese translation appeared in spring 2001.

Peace Essay Winner Interns

Jessica Beckwith, the Colorado state winner of the Institute's 1999–2000 National Peace Essay Contest, has been awarded an independent internship with the Inter-American Dialogue in Washington, D.C., for summer 2002. Beckwith, a sophomore at Grinnell College in Iowa, majoring in economics with a concentration in Latin America studies, became interested in Inter-American Dialogue when she heard Michael Shifter, program director of Dialogue's democratic governance program, discuss U.S.–Latin American relations and the organization's work at a briefing on the region held for state peace essay winners. Every year the Institute brings the winner from each state to Washington for a week of educational activities.

Beckwith's mother notes that the peace essay contest was instrumental in her daughter's choice of a major at Grinnell, where she also serves on the Rosenfield Program in Public Affairs, Human Rights, and International Affairs, a committee that invites speakers to campus to discuss timely issues.

Yugoslav and Serb Officials Learn Conflict Management Skills

Thirty-five Yugoslav diplomats and thirty Serbian government officials attended separate professional workshops taught by the U.S. Institute of Peace in Serbia in late November and early December.

The two four-day programs—held at Palic, which is two hours from Belgrade—focused on conflict resolution and negotiation skills, team building, and profes-

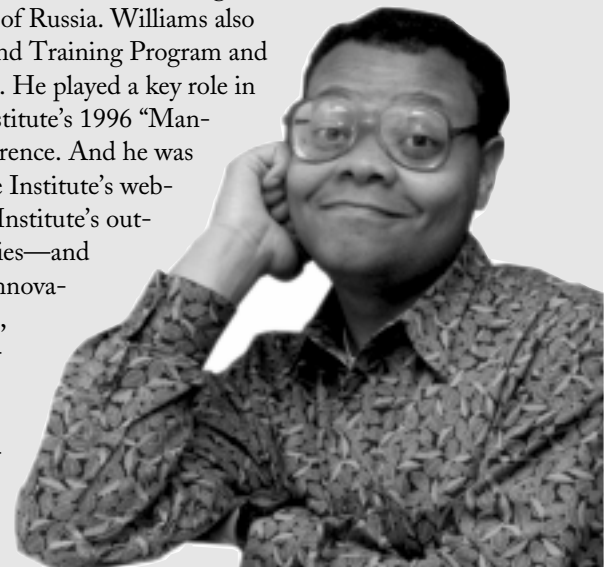
sional roles and responsibilities in the context of the new Yugoslav political realities. **Ray Caldwell** and **Curtis Morris**, program officers in the Institute's Training Program, taught the sessions, which had been requested by the Yugoslav Foreign Ministry and the government of Serbia. Contractor Vladimir Matic assisted with the training.

Participants included a mix of new and experienced officials, with the former group representing both the Foreign Ministry and the Foreign Trade Ministry and the latter comprising officials from over a dozen Serbian government ministries and agencies. "Although our participatory and experiential method of training was unfamiliar to the participants, they responded very positively to it and asked for more," says Caldwell. Plans for follow-on sessions are underway.

In Memoriam

Frederick A. Williams

The U.S. Institute of Peace mourns the death of Frederick A. Williams, who passed away suddenly on January 21. For more than 10 years, Williams served as an invaluable team member at the Institute, first in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, where he worked closely with numerous Institute senior fellows including Galina Starovoitova and Vladimir Ivanov, both of Russia. Williams also worked in the Education and Training Program and Office of Communications. He played a key role in the preparations for the Institute's 1996 "Managing Global Chaos" conference. And he was the primary architect of the Institute's website—a key element in the Institute's outreach and education activities—and was responsible for many innovations in electronic outreach, including the Ping Me list-serv. We will miss his rich sense of humor, unflinching graciousness, and unflinching dedication to the Institute and its mission.





Rebuilding the Justice System in Afghanistan

The U.S. Institute of Peace's Rule of Law Program has been working on administration-of-justice issues in post-war Afghanistan since last November. Activities have included convening a meeting of experts on Afghanistan and on administration-of-justice issues and providing a report of the meeting, including policy recommendations, to the United Nations negotiating team at the peace talks in Bonn in December 2001.

Following the report's recommendations, parties to the peace talks agreed that the interim administration in Afghanistan will establish, with the help of the United Nations, a Judicial Affairs Commission to rebuild the country's domestic justice system. This measure was incorporated into the meeting's final peace agreement.

"The Institute of Peace recognizes that administration-of-justice issues will be key to the success of the transitional government in Afghanistan," says **Neil J. Kritz**, director of the Institute's Rule of Law Program.

Kritz also is working with UN and State Department officials and NGOs on developing options to deal with the legacy of past human rights abuses in Afghanistan. "The question of accountability or amnesty was debated within the context of the Bonn negotiations and it remains a challenge and potential source of tension," Kritz notes.

Background

At the urging of the State Department's Policy Planning staff, Kritz convened the day-long meeting of Afghan experts on November 19, 2001, to begin to develop contin-

gency plans for the administration of justice in post-war Afghanistan. The meeting included experts on Afghanistan and on Islamic law; former senior Afghan legal officials; experts who have dealt with administration-of-justice issues in other post-war operations in the Balkans, East Timor, and elsewhere; Bush administration officials; and UN representatives. Members of the UN negotiating team in Bonn requested a report listing the meeting's recommendations, prominent among which was the establishment of a Judicial Affairs Commission. The full report is available on the Institute's website at: www.usip.org/rol/afghan_report.html.

"The commission will be an apolitical body that, for example, will clarify the codes and laws to be applied in Afghanistan under the new administration," explains Kritz. This will involve assessing the laws and codes that were in place prior to the outbreak of civil war and Taliban rule to determine whether revisions are needed to meet international law obligations. The commission also will determine the numbers and qualifications of personnel needed to accomplish various judicial tasks and identify people in Afghanistan or in the diaspora with the proper credentials whom the transitional administration might appoint.

The work on Afghanistan grows out of the Institute's Project on Peacekeeping and the Administration of Justice, launched last summer. The project looks at the challenge of administering local systems of justice in the context of post-conflict peacekeeping and peacebuilding. The project was inspired in part by the UN's "Brahimi Report"—officially enti-

tled *Comprehensive Review of the Whole Question of Peacekeeping Operations in All Their Aspects*—which noted that the United Nations has become increasingly involved in complex peacekeeping operations requiring missions that incorporate a wide range of civilian expertise needed to consolidate the peace. In that report, Lakhdar Brahimi, now the UN chief envoy for Afghanistan, noted the crucial role of the administration of justice for establishing post-war peace and stability.

"This is key to the goal of establishing security," says Kritz. "Without the construction of a democratic system of justice and an adequate capacity for law enforcement—which will take time—Afghanistan could again provide fertile ground for the growth of new terrorist activity, and the success of the war in Afghanistan could then prove to be short-lived. We will continue our efforts to assist the process of building Afghanistan's justice system." Kritz and **Colette Rausch**, program officer in the Institute's Rule of Law Program, plan to travel to Afghanistan in March for further consultations.

In recent months the Institute also has held four Current Issues Briefings on Afghanistan addressing events as they have unfolded there. A summary of the proceedings of "Afghanistan: Prospects for Peace and Reconstruction" featuring **James Dobbins**, U.S. special envoy for Afghanistan, and **Barnett Rubin**, Afghanistan expert and director of studies at the Center for International Cooperation at New York University, can be found on the Institute's website at: www.usip.org/oc/newsroom/es20020117.html.

**Administra-
tion-of-justice
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key to the
success of the
transitional
government
in
Afghanistan.**



Seeds of Youth Focus on Uprooting Hatred and Terror



In the aftermath of the September 11 terrorist attacks against the United States, some 120 youths—graduates of the Seeds of Peace program representing 22 countries or regions in conflict—got together for a week-long conference in New York City to explore the root causes of hatred and violence across communities. Survivors of violence themselves, the youths—primarily from southeastern Europe and the Middle East—drew up a charter on “Uprooting Hatred and Terror” and presented it to Kofi Annan, secretary general of the United Nations, on November 15, 2001.

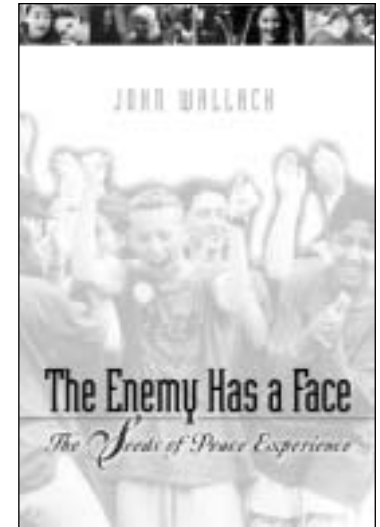
“I felt very proud of the young people,” says **John Wallach**, founder and director of the Seeds of Peace program, established in 1993. “This is the first time that youth have come together to speak out against violence with one voice.” Participants in the Seeds program attend summer camp together for three weeks in Maine, where they participate in sports and games and in organized discussions about the conflicts in their countries and regions. The activities and discussions enable the youths to forge friendships and to learn how to disagree while remaining friends.

The U.S. Institute of Peace has supported the Seeds of Peace program in a variety of ways: the Grant Program has awarded several grants to the program; Wallach was a senior fellow at the Institute

in 1997–98; and the Institute Press published Wallach’s book, written during his fellowship year, entitled *The Enemy Has a Face: The Seeds of Peace Experience*. (See p. 12 to order book.) The book explores the methodology used at the camp and describes participants’ experiences.

While the program has generally succeeded in giving youth a chance to make friends with “the enemy,” the ongoing intifada has sorely tested Middle East participants. A recent study of the program funded by the Institute of Peace found that most Palestinian and Israeli youth were not able and/or did not want to maintain contact while they and their families were under attack. The Palestinian youths have seen their cities bombed and their classmates and relatives killed in the intifada. And Israeli youth have faced a rash of suicide bombings and other terrorist attacks that threaten the security of their families and their communities.

That the stresses of war have threatened their newly found friendships should not be surprising, notes Institute president **Richard H. Solomon**. But the bonds they forged at camp in Maine and in e-mail discussions and meetings at the program’s regional center in Jerusalem afterwards may yet prove resilient when the peace process gains renewed traction. “The hope is that the youths will build upon those friendships as community



leaders in making new lives for their peoples,” Solomon says.

Despite the violence surrounding the intifada, the Palestinians and Israelis sent official delegates to the Seeds New York conference. Wallach notes that such participation was “inspiring and hopeful.” He cited a recent meeting of some 40 Palestinian Seeds graduates in the West Bank city of Ramallah. “Thirty-seven said they want to get back in touch with their Israeli friends, but are frightened to do so because of threats they face from Hamas and Islamic Jihad. That’s the realistic situation.”

At the same time, following the New York conference, two Israeli Seeds graduates went to talk about the program at a Palestinian school for the first time in over a year. “That their parents let them go is remarkable, and that the Palestinians welcomed them is remarkable,” Wallach says. “It shows that there is a grassroots movement for peace. The majority of Palestinians and Israelis want peace.”



Islamic Perspectives on Peace and Violence

Despite terrorist claims to the contrary, Islam does not teach Muslims to kill innocent people in the name of a political agenda, notes a panel of prominent Muslim scholars and experts on Islam. Islam and the West share cultural roots, including a shared commitment to peace, but Islam and the West are out of touch with each other, they said. The West and Islam need to actively engage each other and learn the best that they each have to offer.

The Muslim scholars and experts discussed “Islamic Perspectives on Peace and Violence” at a U.S. Institute of Peace workshop held on November 7, 2001. **David Smock**, director of the Institute’s Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, and **Abdul Aziz Said**, Mohamed Farsi Islamic Peace Chair professor at American University, co-chaired the workshop, which was co-sponsored by the Division of International Peace and Conflict Resolution at American University. Panelists included **Mohammed Abu-Nimer**, American University; **Muqtedar Khan**, Center for the Study of Islam and Adrian College; and **Sulayman Nyang**, Howard University.

The workshop was part of a series organized by the Institute over the past year on the perspectives of various faith communities toward peacemaking. The Institute has published a Special Report on the meeting, *Islamic Perspectives on Peace and Violence* (see p. 12).

Major points made at the meeting include the following:

- Contrary to stereotypes, Islam advocates numerous nonviolent and peacebuilding values and expects Muslims to live by them. Despite these ideals set out for Muslims, various societal forces pose obstacles to their implementation.
- Although there is no justification for the terrorist acts of September 11, American support for authoritarian regimes in the Muslim world both breeds radical opposition in these countries and stimulates anti-American sentiment.
- Moderate Muslims must fight against all forms of prejudice, hatred, and intolerance within Muslim ranks and face the challenge militantly advocating peaceful resolutions of conflict both within and outside the community.

An op-ed by **MIKE DZIEDZIC**, program officer in the Balkans Initiative, on Afghanistan entitled “Is There an ‘End State’ for This War?” appeared in *Defense News* on December 14, 2001. Dziedzic and **COLETTE RAUSCH**, program officer in the Rule of Law Program, discussed rule of law and peacekeeping issues in Kosovo with a law school class at Catholic University in December.

An op-ed by **TIM DOCKING**, program officer in the fellowship program, on “Terrorism’s Africa Link” appeared in the *Christian Science Monitor* on November 14, 2001. The *Deseret News* ran the same article under the title, “African Nations Are Fertile Ground for al-Qaeda” on November 18, 2001. Docking also contributed a chapter on “Mali: Success in Sustaining a Nascent Democracy” to *Africa Contemporary Record XXV*. In November, Docking discussed prospects for peace in West Africa, and American foreign policy toward the region, at a roundtable on “Ending Africa’s Wars” at the annual meeting of the African Studies Association held in Houston.

Institute president **RICHARD H. SOLOMON** visited Singapore, the Republic of Korea, and China on January 10–21 to meet with various officials and participate in several meetings. He discussed “Sino-U.S. Relations, 1969–79” at a conference in Beijing sponsored by Harvard’s Fairbank Center for East Asian Research and the Central Party School in Beijing, and the future of U.S. forces in Korea at a seminar in Seoul. In December 2001, he moderated a panel discussion on “From Pearl Harbor to 9/11: Organizing for a New Homeland Defense” sponsored by the Center for the Study of the Presidency and held at the National Press Club.

ALAN TIDWELL, program officer in the Education Program, presented a paper on “Expanding the Pie: Giving Voice to Conflict Analysis and Resolution in the Creation of Foreign Policy” at the second e-Symposium on “The Future of Conflict Prevention in the Post-September 11 World” held February 6–14 online at www.dwcw.org/e-symposium/index.htm.

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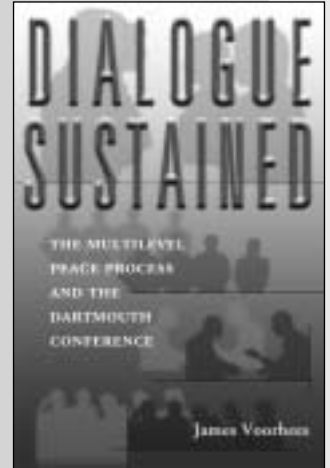
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