

# PeaceWatch

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## Nonviolent A Key to Serbia's Revolution

Learning in nonviolent techniques helped the youth movement focus its strategy to topple Slobodan Milosevic, an Otpor leader says.

discussed a broad range of political and economic issues facing Yugoslavia's new leadership. For video and audio recordings of the event, visit our web site at [www.usip.org/oc/cibriefing/yugorevo\\_cb.html](http://www.usip.org/oc/cibriefing/yugorevo_cb.html)

Popovic noted that three months of peaceful street demonstrations in Belgrade against Milosevic in 1996-97, led by the political opposition and the youth movement, marked the beginning of the opposition's nonviolent strategy, signaling to Milosevic, and to his supporters, that the people no longer feared him. Their disciplined defiance generated increasing support among the populace.

The opposition's steady application of nonviolent pressure is "emblematic of how nonviolent resistance works," noted panelist **Peter Ackerman**, principal content adviser for the recent PBS documentary, *A Force More Powerful: A Century of Nonviolent Conflict*, and co-author of a companion book by that name and of *Strategic Nonviolent Conflict: The Dynamics of People Power in the Twentieth Century* (1994).

See *Strategic Nonviolence*, page 2

Serbs turn out in the tens of thousands to demonstrate outside the Yugoslav Parliament in Belgrade in October.



**R**onviolent resistance enabled the Serbian opposition to remove Slobodan Milosevic from power almost without violence, says **Srdja Popovic**, a leader of Serbia's grassroots youth movement, Otpor ("Resistance"). Otpor was a critical participant in the October 5 uprising, during which demonstrators stormed the Yugoslav Parliament, took control of state-run television studios, and ousted Milosevic. While many observers thought the uprising was spontaneous, the targets had been carefully selected in a well-thought-out strategic plan, Popovic says. "Nonviolence is critical to this story," he stressed at a U.S. Institute of Peace Current Issues Briefing, "Yugoslavia After the Revolution," held on October 12.

(While this article focuses on the Serbian opposition's use of nonviolence, speakers at the briefing

## Strategic Nonviolence

Continued from page 1

*Right:* Serbian demonstrators hold up arrow-shaped signs saying, “He has to go,” referring to Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic during a second day of protest in front of the federal Parliament in Belgrade in October.

Research for the documentary was funded in part by the Institute of Peace.

“Milosevic terrorized the few to gain compliance of the many, which allowed him to use a very small core group of fanatics supporting him to leverage his activities and stay in control of the many,” Ackerman said. “The genius of nonviolent resistance movements is that they are distributed throughout all of society, not just geographically but demographically, among old people, young people, the rich, the poor, men, women—vastly complicating the requirements in manpower and materiel for the authorities to maintain power.” Most cases of



nonviolent struggle have been undertaken by people such as those in the Serbian opposition, who had no viable military options for overthrowing the oppressor, Ackerman said. Recent events in Serbia represented “a considerable broadening of resistance in that country that had not been seen before.” The tyrant depends not just on force, but on the loyalty over time of agents of repression such as the police and military.

In Serbia, the police and army abandoned Milosevic, notes **Stojan Cerovic**, a senior fellow at the Institute and columnist for *Vreme*, an independent weekly newspaper in Serbia. “Serbia’s army is a conscript force, it is part of the people; when the people are in the mood to resist that means the army is in the mood to resist, too,” he said in an interview.

Ackerman stressed that the foreign affairs community has ignored the policy implications of nonviolent conflict: “It is widely assumed that violence is the only force to reckon with in the management of conflict. That assumption remains unchallenged in the face of enormous evidence to the contrary, including the nonviolent movements throughout eastern Europe that ended the Cold War.”

Events in Serbia provide further evidence.

### Training in Nonviolent Resistance

Over the last two years, Popovic said, the opposition honed its understanding and use of nonviolent action, most recently with the help of a retired U.S. Army colonel, **Robert Helvey**, who provided some 20 hours of intensive training in nonviolent principles and strategy in March and April. The International Republican Institute, a nongovernmental organization based in Washington, D.C., which had been working to develop political parties in Serbia, hired Helvey to do the training.

“Those were sharp young men and women,” Helvey said of the Otpor trainees. He discussed the training effort in a phone interview following the Institute’s briefing. “They were obviously very committed and courageous. Many had been arrested and beaten several times. They did a great job and all the credit goes to them.” Helvey explained that he bases his training on the concepts of Gene Sharp, author of *The Politics of Nonviolent Action* (1973), a three-volume opus on



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the subject. The second volume lists 198 examples of nonviolent direct action techniques. In his training sessions, Helvey covers the sources of power in a society, their strengths and weaknesses, then has participants define their own objectives and develop a strategic plan for reaching them. Among many other related techniques and issues, the training also covers how to put an opponent in a situation where he has only two options, “to lose or to lose,” Helvey said.

After the training, Otpor created a user’s manual of nonviolent resistance theory and techniques based on Sharp’s books and trained some 70,000 activists who, through a variety of nonviolent methods and actions, paved the way for and helped to lead the October 5 revolt.

In spite of all the planning, there was still a considerable degree of uncertainty as to how things would unfold, no guarantee that the resistance would be free of violence and deaths, and much room for spontaneity on the part of demonstrators, Cerovic said. The demonstrators showed great courage—some said they were ready to die. And not everyone in the opposition supported the plan to storm the Parliament, including, reportedly, Vojislav Kostunica, the new Yugoslav president, Cerovic said. “Many people didn’t like it.” Still, the opposition had created a situation in which Milosevic could not use his most repressive weapon—force—because he had already lost his legitimacy, Cerovic said. “When you don’t have legitimacy, you can’t use force because when you call to give the order, nobody answers the phone.”

## FELLOWSHIP PROJECT

# Creating Civil Society in the Balkans

After ten years of intervention in the Balkans, the international community needs to assess the way it conducts business and politics there, says **Keith Brown**, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace. “Some people in the region have mastered the skill of saying what powerful international institutions want to hear without necessarily embracing the ideas,” he notes. “They declare secure access to resources. Over the long against the goal of building a stable civil

Brown is professor of anthropology at Institute of International Studies at Brown where he focuses on nationalism in South especially Macedonian culture and society lowship project details the kind of intimate nuanced knowledge of local practices and beliefs that is necessary to refine policy recommendations that might win the support of people in the Balkans region and help them to build a more stable future.

Brown bases his analysis of international activity in the Balkans on the traditional “broker figures” in society. Broker figures are those individuals who exercise influence over flows of information, people between societies, or segments of societies this control or influence into authority or

There are two broadly defined types of Mediators have a long-term commitment focus more on the immediate returns themselves. Fixers thrive in a society where Fixers depend on the resulting alienation for their living and thus act to further a culture of conflict and competition for scarce resources among the people they ostensibly serve.

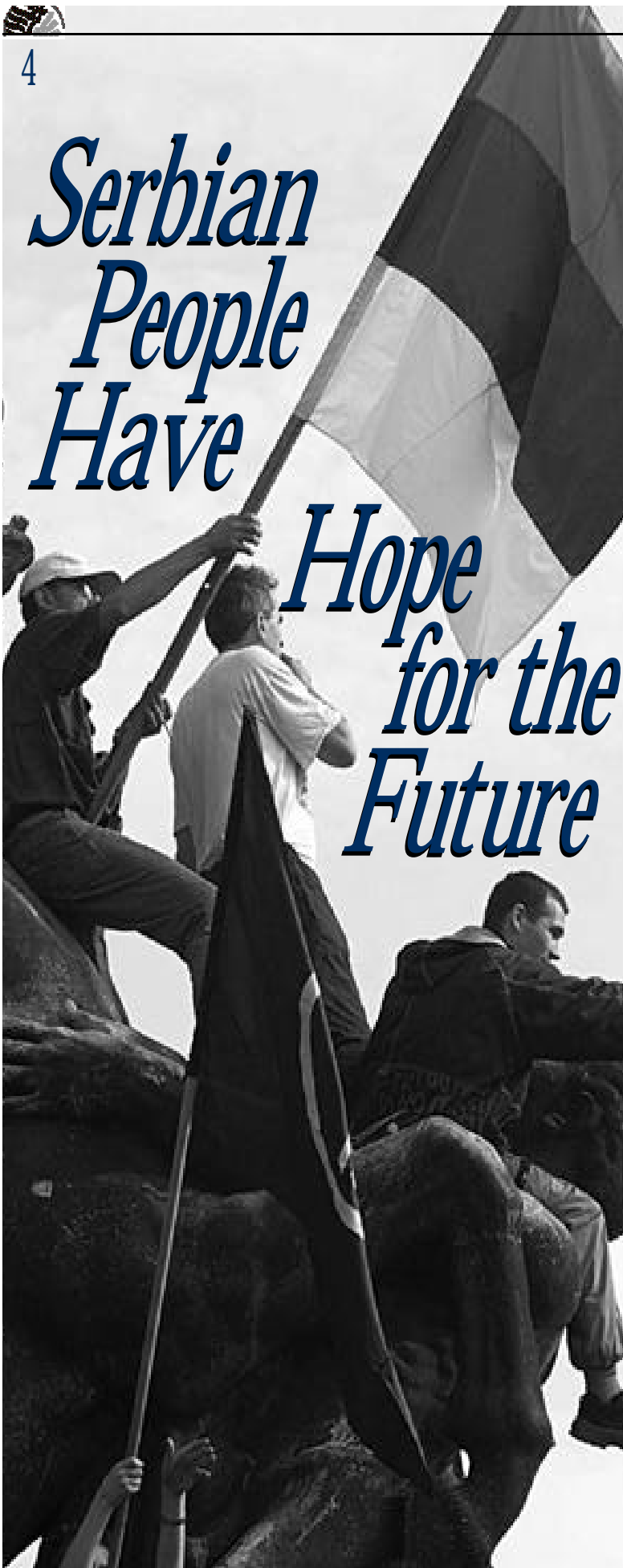
Unfortunately and inadvertently, current pressures to deliver results in the Balkans lead the international community to support local figures who get things done quickly, rather than those whose activities yield longer-term advantages, Brown says. This explains in part the success of fixers in the former Yugoslavia. “In such a context, the notion of collective good can barely be glimpsed in the struggle to build particularistic pathways of privilege,” he says.

Offering some funds over a longer period could potentially lead to more substantial and meaningful social contributions, by creating opportunities for more enduring and extensive collaboration among local people and between them and the international community. In a similar vein, Brown concludes, allowing local activists and partners a greater role in setting the agenda of their projects could lead to wider creative notions of how civil society could be built according to the plans of those most directly invested in its creation and form.



# Serbian People Have

# Hope for the Future



While Serbia looks much the same as it did before the October 5 uprising, the Serbs today are a different people and Serbia is a different place, says **Stojan Cerovic**, a columnist for *Vreme*, an independent weekly newspaper in Belgrade, and currently a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace. Cerovic returned to the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia for several weeks in October and November to finish research for his fellowship project.

The Serbs have regained their self-respect and the respect of the international community by peacefully ousting former Yugoslav president Slobodan Milosevic, Cerovic says. And the country now has a fresh start with new leaders.

"No more Milosevic. He and his wife are gone. It's unbelievable. Vojislav Seselj, Vuk Draskovic—all those 'guys' who were so indispensable are gone!" Cerovic says. Still, some observers are concerned that indeed they are not 'gone' and might still cause considerable political turmoil. Milosevic was recently reelected head of the Socialist Party, his wife, Mirjana Markovic, leads the Yugoslav United Left, Seselj leads the Serbian Radical Party, and Draskovic the Serbian Renewal Movement. But Cerovic says confidently that these former leaders are now marginalized and their power permanently curtailed.

Serbs are in a different mood these days, a different frame of mind, Cerovic says. They are likely to completely redefine what constitutes their national interest—leaving behind ideas of a greater Serbia, losing interest in whether or not Kosovo remains a province. "There is no chance that we will fight for anything like that anymore," Cerovic predicts. However, should Kosovo become independent and stir efforts to create "greater Albania," it becomes a problem for Albania and for Macedonia, which has a significant Albanian population living on the border with Kosovo.

Serbs still care deeply about the Serbian minority in Kosovo and would want international guarantees on the protected status of historic Serbian Orthodox monasteries there, such as Decani Monastery and the Patriarch of Pec, the former seat of the patriarch of the church. But the Serbian people are fed up with the Serbian national myth and the consequences of national policy shaped by that myth under Milosevic, Cerovic says. While national pride is still important, it will not be part of an "aggressive, arrogant national policy."

Dismantling the Secret Service, a holdover from communist times, and the police structure has to be done carefully, Cerovic says. "Dismantling is risky for the security of the country. Many members might



Stojan Cerovic

survive and become some kind of mafia, which is already the case to some extent. The police have been involved in all sorts of shady dealings, smuggling oil and cigarettes. What's at stake for them is really big money. The paramilitary police were involved in some of the worst war crimes in Kosovo. Many are worried they will be put on

trial. Their lives, their freedom, and their fortunes are at stake. They are organized and loyal to each other. They are well connected."

Further, some elements of the military and police supported the anti-Milosevic opposition on October 5. There are rumors that some opposition forces may have cut a deal with them and may be in their debt. "With the collapse of this kind of a regime, you should expect huge moral problems. I don't see how we can overcome that," Cerovic says. "This revolution may owe too much to people who ought to be put on trial."

From these groups and from other sectors of society many newly minted "democrats" are emerging, people with tarnished and even sordid histories. This, too, poses moral problems because society at large knows the things they have done. Indeed, such guilt pervades the society. Also, Serbs have not dealt with the crimes of Tito's time, of the communist past, and many of those perpetrators are still active. "How can you solve this problem in court?" Cerovic asks. "The most healing process may be to forget. Not to say that everyone is pardoned, but put some on trial to achieve a kind of symbolic justice." At the same time, a clear and accurate history of the times is needed. A major goal at this shaky time of transition must be to not ask too much too soon of the new government, which needs time to solidify gains and carve out new directions.

Also, the Serbian people are exhausted. "The country is in bad shape. There are too many banal things to worry about on a daily basis—people talk about the shortage of electricity more than anything else. The quality of life is dramatically reduced," Cerovic says. "But at the same time there is a sense of hope for the first time in many years. Everything is in terrible shape, but more important than that is their sense of where they're going. This is what puts people in a good mood. They sense they're pulling out of something terrible, and that's great."

## Challenges in Macedonia

Macedonia needs to establish a more modern democracy, increase transparency and efficiency in governance, and address endemic corruption and public cynicism, according to a group of Macedonian leaders. Failure to address these and other crucial issues threatens the country's social peace, prosperity, and further integration into the European economy. More than 20 Macedonian leaders from a broad spectrum of political and civil society arrived at these conclusions at a "Workshop on the Future of Macedonia" held in Mavrovo, Macedonia, on October 20–22. The conference was sponsored by the U.S. Institute of Peace and the National Democratic Institute for International Affairs. **Daniel Serwer**, director of the Institute of Peace's Balkans Initiative, and program officer **Kurt Bassuener** helped to organize the event with NDI's Skopje office.

Although discussion at the meeting was not for attribution, the Institute of Peace will publish a Special Report summarizing key points made at the roundtable in the near future (to order the report, see the February 2001 issue of *Peace Watch*). Conference participants reflected the diversity of peoples and interests in Macedonian society as a whole, notes Serwer. The Institute of Peace held a similar meeting in Washington, D.C., last year.

The report will present a large number of key areas of broad, if not universal, agreement among participants while also enumerating the cleavages among them, which were not necessarily ethnic in character. This article briefly summarizes areas of agreement below.

- Macedonia's gravitation toward group rights reflects a failure to promote and protect individual human and civil rights. Macedonia's ethnic minorities—Albanians, Roma, Turks, and Vlachs—believe that the state favors the ethnic Macedonian majority. Responsibility for this falls not only upon the current and previous governments, but also upon the civic sector. Until the state is impartial, minorities will seek refuge in group rights, and progress on other fronts in Macedonia's economic and democratic development is difficult to envision.

- Weak institutions in Macedonia have led to rife cronyism and corruption, fostering widespread cynicism and lack of respect for the law. This state of affairs subverts efforts to construct a functioning economy and deters investment and long-term planning. The citizenry must press for measures to

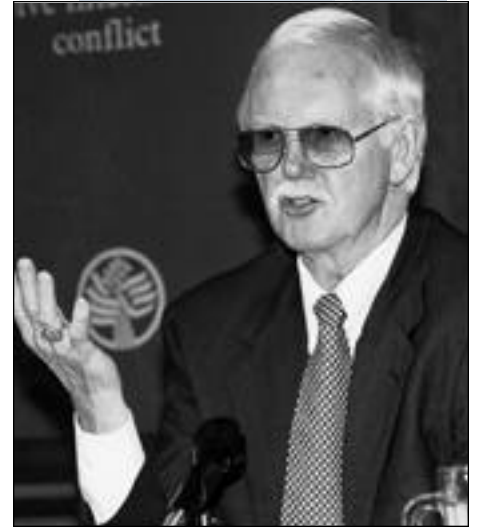
See *Challenges in Macedonia*, page 9

*Weak institutions, a lack of transparency in government, and ethnic tensions need urgent attention in Macedonia if the country is to achieve its goal of integration with Europe.*

*Opposite page: Opposition demonstrators wave the Serbian flag during a rally in Belgrade on October 6 celebrating the takeover of the Yugoslav Parliament building the previous day.*

# Ethnic Conflict in Decline

An increase in the number of democratic states over the last decade has led to policies of recognition, pluralism, and group autonomy for ethnic minorities, encouraging them to give up armed action.



Right: Ted Robert Gurr

While many observers believe that ethnic conflict has continued to increase over the last decade, extensive research indicates the opposite: since 1990, such conflict has been in decline, says **Ted Robert Gurr** of the University of Maryland. “Ethnonational wars are among the most deadly and protracted conflicts, posing the greatest threat to regional security,” he says. “They are either settled in less than five years or they go on for a very long time. Perhaps that’s why people are convinced there’s a tidal wave of them. . . . People fixate on the most persistent conflicts, and it’s harder to see the broader trends.”

Gurr discussed his research on ethnonational political conflict at a U.S. Institute of Peace Current Issues Briefing last summer. The event was held in conjunction with the USIP Press’s publication of his book, *Peoples versus States: Minorities at Risk in the New Century* (to order books from the USIP Press, see page 12). Gurr is founder and director of the Minorities at Risk Project at the University of Maryland’s Center for International Development and Conflict Management and distinguished university professor there. The project tracks and analyzes the status of some 275 politically active ethnic and other communal groups throughout the world.

There are essentially three reasons for the decline in ethnic conflict, Gurr said. First, the shocks of state reformation in the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet Union have largely passed. Second, democratic elites are more likely to follow policies of recognition, pluralism, and group autonomy, as opposed to the more authoritarian policies of assimilation and repression. And third, international efforts at publicizing and preventing violations of group rights increased markedly after the Cold War. States and international organizations generally have been more willing to initiate preventive and remedial action.

“Democracy makes a substantive difference to ethnic groups,” Gurr said. Thirty-three new democracies emerged in 1984–94, and an additional thirty-two attempted democracies failed. For more than one-third of the ethnic groups in his study, discrimination had eased in the last decade “mainly due to changes in public policy and practice.” While democracy did not end open ethnic conflict, it encouraged minorities to give up armed action and pursue their objectives by democratic means.

Still, many individual conflicts are still being contested with ferocity, Gurr stressed. “Some groups do not want their conflict managed, they want to win, as in

Chechnya and Sudan.” Indeed, Gurr identifies some 90 groups as being at significant risk of conflict in the early 21st century. While it is not possible to contain all conflict, the international community nonetheless deserves high praise for the evolution of good international practices for managing inter-ethnic conflict, Gurr said.

Panelist **Roy Gutman**, foreign policy correspondent for *Newsday*, pointed out that while the number of refugees may be down globally, as Gurr notes in his research, that may not be an indicator of reduced conflict but rather because states are closing their borders to refugees. The number of internally displaced persons has increased. The numbers tend to be inexact, Gutman said, but a rough estimate of current refugees and internally displaced persons combined is about 41 million. “This is a matter of grave concern.”

Still, Gurr’s study is cause for celebration, said panelist **Andrew Mack**, director of the Strategic Planning Unit, Office of the Secretary General at the United Nations. “It tells the UN that some of the things we have been doing have been important and made a difference in the realm of conflict prevention.” The decline in ethnic conflict is “truly extraordinary.”



# Adapting to the New National Security Environment

Secretary of State Madeleine Albright said that the United States is the indispensable nation, “but we have to decide where we are indispensable,” notes **Chester A. Crocker**, chairman of the board of the U.S. Institute of Peace and James R. Schlesinger distinguished professor of diplomacy at Georgetown University. “We should lead where we have interests, where we are relevant, where our goal is welcome and we can develop strategic weight and traction.”

Crocker discussed national security and leadership issues at the annual conference of the Diplomatic and Consular Officers, Retired Association (DACOR) organized in conjunction with the Institute of Peace and held at the World Bank on October 6. **Richard H. Solomon**, president of the Institute, moderated and chaired the conference, entitled “Adapting to the New National Security Environment.” The event featured presentations by **Chas. W. Freeman, Jr.**, former assistant secretary of defense for international security affairs, **Richard Haass**, former National Security Council director of Near East and South Asian affairs, and Gen. **Anthony Zinni** (ret.), among others.

The Institute has published a Special Report based on the conference, *Adapting to the New National Security Environment* (to order, see page 12). Like the meeting, the report, compiled by **Patrick M. Cronin**, director of the Institute’s Research and Studies Program, focuses on identifying the national security and foreign policy challenges the next administration and Congress are likely to face.

Cronin notes in the report that “the new administration’s signal challenge in international affairs will be to use U.S. primacy to foster a global system that advances freedom, peace, and prosperity for Americans and the world.” One of the first orders of business for the new administration should be to conduct a sweeping review of the nation’s security and foreign policy organization and strategy, he notes. At the beginning of the new millennium, the new century, and the second decade of the post-Cold War era, it is time to examine anew whether the present structure meets the needs of the nation in significantly changed circumstances. At the same time, strategic policy planners in the new administration should attempt to prepare the critical policy



*Clockwise from top left:* Richard Haass, Anthony Zinni, Richard Solomon, Chester Crocker, and Chas. Freeman

guidance that will articulate objectives and priorities and realistically explain how to achieve them.

Developing and implementing a well-thought-out strategy will be greatly enhanced by reorganizing the existing security and foreign policy structures and standard operating procedures. In this regard, the report outlines a number of major steps that might be considered, including the following:

- Strengthen the duties, accountability, and standards of our diplomats and other foreign affairs officials
- Improve the quality and resources of our civilian agencies involved in international affairs so they are better prepared for interagency cooperation, and enlarge the array of possible instruments of policy, to include better use of public diplomacy and political tools
- Incorporate into the traditional portfolio of military and diplomatic instruments legal, economic, and other “new” instruments of policy such as, for example, using third-party mediators, encouraging track two efforts, and focusing more on prevention, reconciliation, and post-conflict peacebuilding.



# InstitutePeople

**PAMELA AALL**, director of the Education Program, participated in a workshop in Uppsala, Sweden, in October to review two dozen conflict resolution nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working in serious conflicts around the world. The consultation, co-hosted by the Collaborative for Development Action of Cambridge, Mass., and the Life and Peace Institute in Uppsala, was part of a multi-year project funded by the Swedish and Dutch governments and undertaken by the Collaborative for Development Action.

Program officer **JON B.**

**ALTERMAN** discussed recent media coverage of Arab-Israeli hostilities at the Arab Correspondents Association meeting on November 21. On October 21, he discussed the digital divide in the Middle East at the Middle East Institute's Annual Conference. An opinion piece on the Arab-Israeli conflict entitled "Where Are We Going?" appeared in Arabic in *Asharq al-Awsat* on

October 15 and an article on Iran is in the January issue of *Current History*.

Board chairman **CHESTER A. CROCKER** discussed "Lessons from Africa" at a conference on "Coping with Conflict: The Role of Force in Foreign Policy" organized by the Meridian International Center in cooperation with the Smithsonian Associates in Washington, D.C., on November 1. Crocker discussed "The United States and Africa: Forging a New Partnership" at the Council on Foreign Relations, Washington, D.C., on November 2.

**PATRICK M. CRONIN**, director of the Research and Studies Program, lectured on "The United States and Coercive Diplomacy: Ambitious Goals, Limited Means," at Harvard University's Olin Institute on November 20. He discussed cross-strait relations between Taiwan and Mainland China at a conference on "A New Era in Taiwan's Democracy" at the American Enterprise Institute

on October 23. On November 21 he discussed "The Challenges Posed by Regional Conflicts" at Georgetown University's National Security Studies Program.

**ELLEN ENSEL**, computer systems librarian in the Library Program, discussed "Products and Services from the United States Institute of Peace Supporting International Conflict Resolution" at the Federal Depository Library Conference held in Washington, D.C., on October 25. She noted available print publications, highlighted Institute web resources, and discussed the library's partnership with the U.S.

Government Printing Office (GPO) to improve bibliographic control and access to web resources compiled by the library. The presentation, along with those of other speakers, will be published in the conference proceedings and posted in the Federal Depository Library Program area of the GPO web site.

**DAVID SMOCK**, director of the Religion and Peacemaking Initiative, discussed recent developments in the Ivory Coast at a State Department conference on November 2.

Institute president **RICHARD H. SOLOMON** was a panelist for the Nuclear Threat Initiative Scoping Study's meeting on "Reducing the Nuclear Threat on the Korean Peninsula," held on October 24-25. Earlier that month, he spoke on a panel discussing "Diplomats and Warriors: Coping with an Era of 'Endless Small Wars,'" which opened Meridian International's six-panel series

## Grant-Supported Books

Recent projects funded by the Institute's Grant Program have produced books that span a wide range of issues and regions. To order the books, please contact the publisher listed below or your local bookstore.

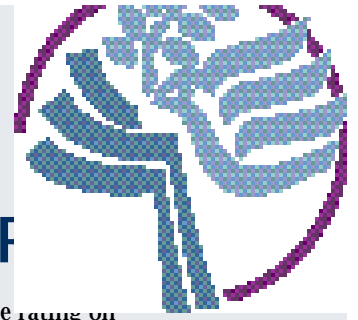
*This House Has Fallen: Midnight in Nigeria* by Karl Maier (Public Affairs, 2000). Portrays the most intractable crisis points and the ethnic and regional tensions threatening the survival of Nigeria.

*Traditional Cures for Modern Conflicts: African Conflict "Medicine"* edited by I. William Zartman (Lynne Rienner, 2000). Assesses the extent to which traditional processes might be helpful in resolving current conflicts in African states.

*Urban Peace-Building in Divided Societies: Belfast and Johannesburg* by Scott A. Bollens (Westview Press, 1999). Explores the role that urban management of ethnic conflict plays in stabilization and reconciliation processes in strife-torn societies.

*War of Visions: Conflict of Identities in the Sudan* (in Arabic) by Francis M. Deng (Sudanese Studies Center, 1999). Assesses the civil war in Sudan in terms of contrasting visions of its national identity.





## REPORT ON CUSTOMER SERVICE SURVEY

entitled “Coping with Conflict: The Role of Force in Foreign Policy.” On September 29, he delivered the luncheon address at a conference on “The Korean Peninsula: Paths to Reconciliation and Reunification” co-sponsored by George Washington University’s Sigur Center and the American Council on Asian Pacific Affairs.

Board member **W. SCOTT THOMPSON’S** book, *The Baobab and the Mango Tree: Lessons About Development—African and Asian Comparisons*, co-written with his son Nicholas Thompson, was published recently by Zed Books.

**GEORGE WARD**, director of the Training Program, chaired the U.S. delegation to the annual Human Dimension Implementation Review Meeting of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in Warsaw on October 17–27. During the meeting, the U.S. delegation, composed of members from the executive and legislative branches of government and nongovernmental organizations, joined with representatives of 53 other states in examining the practices of member governments with respect to human rights and fundamental freedoms.

Board member **ZALMAY KHALILZAD’S** report on *The Future of Turkish-Western Relations: Towards a Strategic Plan* was published recently by the RAND Corporation.

Customers gave the U.S. Institute of Peace a 93 percent positive rating on its performance in 1999 in four key areas—timeliness of response, clarity of information and applications, accessibility of publications, and overall performance.

The Institute implemented an annual survey in 1996 to evaluate its performance and to assess how well it meets its published performance standards as part of its ongoing effort to increase customer satisfaction. Readers of *Peace Watch* rated the Institute’s performance for 1999 in relation to these standards on a survey response card included in the February 2000 issue. The responses and comments provided the basis for the Institute’s third annual customer service report.

Of 321 responses, 57 percent indicated that the Institute’s performance was excellent, 27 percent said it was above average, and 9 percent rated it as average.

The Institute believes that a 93 percent satisfaction rate among its customers and clients indicates strong appreciation for the way in which we serve our constituents. Thank you for your continuing interest in the Institute’s work and in our commitment to serving you.

We invite you to evaluate our customer performance during 2000 on the form stapled inside this issue of *Peace Watch*. Please remember to include your return address if you wish to receive a response to a specific question.

## Challenges in Macedonia

*Continued from page 5*

build solid public institutions, root out corruption, and foster expectations of accountability if they are to succeed, but this requires leadership from civil society and the media, hitherto lacking.

■ True decentralization in governance, coupled with transparency and public accountability of administration, could help diffuse tensions in Macedonia and increase governmental efficiency. At present, local administrative units are too small to function efficiently and rely on the center, making them parking lots for patronage and havens of corruption. These new administrative units should not be drawn on an ethnic basis, but rather on an administratively logical one.

■ The Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, as with the European Union (EU) in general, is viewed as not having fulfilled expectations. Announced in summer 1999, the Stability Pact is aimed at promoting democratic and economic development in Southeastern Europe through objective standards and assistance from donors, primarily in the European Union. Macedonia, which suffered greatly during the past decade due to the wars in the former Yugoslavia, is not being given adequate consideration or relief. However, all sectors of Macedonian society want Macedonia to eventually join the EU.

■ Responsibility for Macedonia’s internal democratic and institutional development rests with those citizens with the vision and willingness to advocate the changes necessary. However, the West has an abiding interest in helping to promote civic values and public accountability. In addition to aiding indigenous progressive civic forces, the United States, the EU, and NATO should do what they can to promote stability and prosperity on the macro level, to create an environment for Macedonian reform to succeed.



### Mennonite International Peacebuilding

Up until the 1970s, “Mennonites had no traditions of political mediation, as our comparatively worldly brethren, the Quakers, had had for several generations,” says **Ron Kraybill** of Eastern Mennonite University. But today, peacebuilding is a key focus of the Mennonite Central Committee’s activities. Most Mennonite colleges and seminaries offer courses or degrees in peacebuilding, and dozens of people with Mennonite roots work full time around the world in active response to situations of conflict.

Kraybill discussed Mennonite peacebuilding at an Institute workshop on the subject, held on November 2 to introduce a new book, *From the Ground Up: Mennonite Contributions to International Peacebuilding*, edited by **Cynthia Sampson** and **John Paul Lederach** and published by Oxford University Press. Research for the book was funded by an Institute grant. The program was organized by the Grant Program and the Religion and Peacemaking Initiative.

“Mennonite peacebuilding efforts have been able to build on values and experiences already central in our religious tradition,” such as caring for one’s neighbor and service, noted Kraybill, a contributor to the book. Lederach added that Mennonites believe that peacebuilding—the term Mennonites prefer over “conflict resolution”—must be done from the ground up, which requires that those involved respect the environment they are working in and think about how things need to change and about what they are trying to build. Peacebuilding moves the focus away from problems to an emphasis on relationships.

### Capacity Building in Latin America

Some 25 Latin American professionals with peacemaking experience in the region analyzed challenges they had faced and lessons they had learned at a Professional Development Seminar offered by the U.S. Institute of Peace in Antigua, Guatemala, September 17–22. The seminar was held in collabo-

ration with the Organization of American States (OAS) Unit for the Promotion of Democracy.

Participants came primarily from Colombia and Guatemala, with others from Chile, Costa Rica, and Ecuador, and they represented sectors that spanned the government, educational institutions, the church, the private sector, and a wide range of non-governmental and international organizations. Institute program officer **Lewis Rasmussen** led the training, entitled “Capacity Building for Consensus and Dialogue Processes,” with program officer **Curtis Morris**; **Margarita Studemeister**, director of the Library Program; **Pete Swanson** of the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service; and **Sofia Clark** and **Dominique Reyes** of the OAS.

Using presentations, discussions, and an exercise on negotiation and consensus building, seminar participants focused on three areas: conflict analysis, dialogue and consensus building, and development of strategic plans for specific problems. They also developed and enhanced professional networks. In their evaluations of the seminar, participants said the training provided new perspectives and tools to improve their work in conflict prevention, management, and resolution. “The training provided a good opportunity to practice thinking from an opponent’s point of view,” noted one participant. “It helped me to be more innovative,” wrote another. Many said they looked forward to teaching their new skills and insights to colleagues in their country.



Left: Latin Americans with peacemaking experience in the region participate in a workshop at the Professional Development Seminar.



## GrantAwards

The Institute's board of directors recently approved the following grants.

**ÅBO AKADEMI UNIVERSITY**, Vasa, Finland. Extract from anthropological studies of traditional societies' lessons regarding effective mechanisms to promote peace. Douglas P. Fry. \$25,000.

**ALEXSEEV, MIKHAIL A.**, Boone, N.C. Assemble policy relevant data on economic growth fueled by Chinese migration and cross-border trade in the Russian Far East, and its potential impact on nationalist activism by ethnic Russians in the region. \$40,000.

**AMERICAN SOCIETY OF INTERNATIONAL LAW**, Ithaca, N.Y. Develop proposals to help policymakers and international lawyers identify appropriate occasions, means, and objectives for future military interventions with humanitarian aims; focus on the prerequisites for successful intervention. David Wippman, Jane Stromseth. \$40,000.

**AMERICAN RADIOWORKS**, National Public Radio, St. Paul, Minn. Produce a radio documentary series, with an Internet component, that will track the investigation and prosecution of war crimes committed in several villages in Kosovo. Stephen Smith. \$35,000.

**ASSOCIATION FRANCAISE POUR LES ETUDES ET RECHERCHES SUR L'AFRIQUE**, Antony, France. Delineate internal and external actors that have determined the cycles of violence that have characterized the Great Lakes region of Central Africa; measure the impact of a broad range of factors on the conflict. Jean-Pierre Chretien. \$25,000.

**BJORNLUND, ERIC**, Washington, D.C. Assess the impact of election monitoring on consolidating transitions to democracy and resolving conflicts under internationally negotiated peace agreements. Eric Bjornlund. \$38,000.

**BROOKINGS INSTITUTION**, Washington, D.C. Research and orchestrate dialogue that might contribute to the termination of the civil war in Sudan. Francis Deng. \$20,000.

**BROWN UNIVERSITY**, Providence, R.I. Hold a series of forums in several states to engage high school students in a dia-

## CONGRESS APPROVES NEW INSTITUTE BOARD MEMBERS AND FY2001 BUDGET

In its final hours, the 106th Congress approved six new members to the Institute's Board of Directors and a \$15 million budget for FY2001.

In its final session on December 15, Congress approved six new members to the U.S. Institute of Peace's board of directors: **Betty Bumpers, Holly Burkhalter, Marc Leland, Mora McLean, Maria Otero, and Barbara Snelling**. In addition, serving members **Seymour Martin Lipset** and **Harriet Zimmerman** were confirmed for second terms.

Congress also approved \$15 million for the Institute's FY2001 budget, a 16 percent increase over the previous year. The increase is designed to fund an expansion of the Institute's Balkans Initiative, headed by Daniel Serwer, and its Conflict Resolution Training Program, directed by George Ward.

Joining the board is Betty Bumpers, of Washington, D.C., who is the founder—and since 1982 president—of Peace Links, a Washington, D.C., nonprofit grassroots organization that promotes peace abroad. Holly Burkhalter serves as advocacy director of Physicians for Human Rights, a Washington, D.C.-based human rights organization specializing in medical, scientific, and forensic investigations of violations of internationally recognized human rights.

Marc Leland, an attorney, is president of Marc E. Leland & Associates, Arlington, Va., an investment management firm. Mora McLean serves as president of the Africa-America Institute, New York, N.Y., a nonprofit organization whose mission is to foster development in Africa through education and training, and to promote educational and cultural exchanges and other ties between Americans and Africans.

Maria 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. Barbara Snelling of Shelburne, Vt., is state senator elect and the former lieutenant governor of Vermont. For full biographies of the new board members, visit our web site at [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).

logue with peers on contested international issues. Susan Graseck. \$40,000.

**CARE**, Kampala, Uganda. Develop a manual for humanitarian assistance organizations to assess the benefits and harms of their assistance work; develop a benefits-harms training-of-trainers manual for use by field personnel of both CARE and other international and local NGOs who provide humanitarian assistance. Paul O'Brien. \$35,000.

**CENTER FOR ETHNO-SOCIAL RESEARCH**, Simferopol, Ukraine. Develop and implement a training workshop for professors and community leaders in Crimea, Ukraine, on peacebuilding, conflict resolution, cross-cultural communication, negotiation, and mediation.

Carina Korostelina. \$30,000.

**CENTER FOR PEDAGOGICAL AND SOCIAL RESEARCH-BALTIC INSIGHT**, Riga, Latvia. Develop an on-line database on minority rights for use by NGOs, governmental agencies, journalists, academics, and others in Central and Eastern Europe. Boris Koltchanov. \$25,000.

**CENTER FOR POLICY STUDIES IN RUSSIA-PIR CENTER**, Moscow, Russia. Analyze Russian nuclear capabilities and intentions, with a focus on the prospects for U.S.-Russian dialogue on non-proliferation. Vladimir A. Orlov. \$35,000.

# Recent Publications

The following Institute publications are available free of charge. Write to the Institute's Office of Communications, call 202-429-3832, or check out our web page at [www.usip.org](http://www.usip.org).

- ✓ *Adapting to the New National Security Environment* (Special Report no. 64, December 2000)
- ✓ *Europe in the 21st Century: A Strategy for Achieving Stable Peace* (Special Report no. 63, November 2000)
- ✓ *Bosnia's Next Five Years: Dayton and Beyond* (Special Report no. 62, November 2000)
- ✓ *Coercive Prevention: Normative, Political, and Policy Dilemmas*, by Bruce W. Jentleson (Peaceworks no. 35, October 2000)
- ✓ *Kosovo Brief: Information Management Offers a New Opportunity for Cooperation between Civilian and Military Entities*, by Col. Michael J. Dziedzic and William B. Wood (Virtual Diplomacy Series no. 9, August 2000)
- ✓ *The Role of the Ambassador in Promoting Human Rights Policy Abroad* (Special Report no. 61, August 2000)
- ✓ *Women in War and Peace: Grassroots Peacebuilding*, by Donna Ramsey Marshall (Peaceworks no. 34, August 2000)
- ✓ *Defining the Path to a Peaceful, Undivided, and Democratic Europe*, by Stephen Hadley (Special Report no. 60, June 2000)

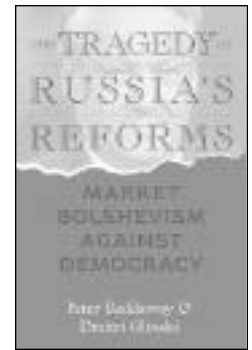
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