



Inside

- 3 **BALKANS**
Carl Bildt
- 4 **RUSSIA**
Prospects for
Democracy
- 6 **ECUADOR/PERU**
Creative Peace
- 8 **PROFILE**
Igor Zevelev on
Russia's "Near
Abroad"
- 10 **Separate Educa-
tion/Training
Programs**

Clinton Promotes Engagement with China

"When human rights are violated and we have the means to make a difference, we should try . . . ," President Clinton said during a speech hosted by the U.S. Institute of Peace.



Globalization has many positive effects, but it is not an unmixed blessing. It can help to expose repression, human rights violations, and suffering, but it cannot prevent them, President **Bill Clinton** said in a recent foreign policy speech focused on China, hosted by the U.S. Institute of Peace. Nor can the United States prevent such abuses in every instance. "But when human rights are violated and we have the means to make a difference, we should try, as we are doing in Kosovo," Clinton said. And he stressed that, although human rights problems still exist in China, the United States will continue to follow a course of engagement with that country as the best means of furthering democracy there.

"We will not change our policy in a way that isolates China from global forces that have begun to empower the Chinese people to change their society and build a better future," Clinton said.

Clinton selected the Institute of Peace as the forum for a major foreign policy speech on April 7, the eve of his meeting with Chinese premier Zhu Rongji, who was in the United States on a nine-day visit.

In his introductory remarks, Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** discussed the Institute's work

A course of engagement with China is the best means of furthering democracy there, President Clinton said in a broad-ranging foreign policy speech on China, hosted by the Institute.

Clinton



Top: Left to right, Richard Solomon, Max Kampelman, President Clinton, Harriet Hentges, Tara Sonenshine, and Sandy Berger.

Right: Left to right, President Clinton, Richard Solomon, and Max Kampelman discuss the Institute's Capital Campaign to build a permanent home on the National Mall.

to help prevent, manage, and resolve conflicts around the world. "There's a great need today for U.S. engagement and leadership in world affairs," said Solomon, an expert on China and Southeast Asian security issues. "We look to our president for understanding and guidance on the tough issues that confront us."

Clinton thanked the Institute "for what you do every day to help our administration and the Congress and the American people think through the most challenging foreign policy issues of our time." He also cited the Institute's many educational programs, which promote understanding of international conflict resolution among high school students and teachers and college faculty. "I thank you in particular for your determination to reach out to a younger generation of Americans, to talk to them about the importance of these [international] issues and the world they will live in," Clinton said.

Solomon and board vice chairman **Max M. Kampelman** met with Clinton before his speech to discuss the Institute's project to build a permanent home at the northwest corner of the National Mall in Washington, D.C. Clinton expressed enthusiasm for the building project.

Clinton's Speech

In his speech, Clinton said that the benefits of global opportunity depend on the very things globalization alone cannot guarantee: peace, democracy, the stability of markets, social justice, and the protection of health and the environment.

And while globalization can promote integration among nations, it also can lead to disintegration within them. "It can bring prosperity on every continent, but still leave many, many people behind. It can give people the modern tools of the 21st century, but it cannot purge their hearts of the primitive

hatreds that may lead to the misuses of those tools.

"Only national governments working together can reap the full promise and reduce the problems of the 21st century. The United States, as the largest and strongest country in the world at this moment—largest in economic terms and military terms—has the unavoidable responsibility to lead in this increasingly interdependent world."

China's leaders have been unwilling to open up the country's political system, Clinton said, because they believe that would contribute to instability. "In fact," he added, "giving a people a say in their decisions actually provides a peaceful outlet for frustration. China's biggest challenge in the coming years will be to maintain stability and growth at home by meeting, not stifling, the growing demands of its people for openness and accountability."

That said, Clinton stressed that the United States needs to keep in mind the risk of a weak China—"beset by internal conflict, social dislocation, and criminal activity—becoming the center of a zone of instability in Asia. Despite Beijing's best efforts to rein in these problems, we have seen the first danger sign: freewheeling Chinese enterprises selling weapons abroad, the rise in China of organized crime, stirrings of ethnic tensions and rural unrest,



the use of Chinese territory for heroin trafficking, and even piracy of ships at sea. In short, we're seeing in China the kinds of problems a society can face when it is moving away from the rule of fear but is not yet firmly rooted in the rule of law.

"The solutions fundamentally lie in the choices China makes," Clinton said. "We have an interest in seeking to make a difference and in not pretending that the outcome is foreordained. We can't do that simply by confronting China or trying to contain it. We can only deal with the challenge if we continue a policy of principled, purposeful engagement with

See *Clinton*, page 11



A 'European Deal' for the Balkans

A regional strategy is required to bring peace to the troubled Balkans region and to pave the way for its integration into Europe, says Carl Bildt.



Carl Bildt

It's time for the international community to adopt a clear-cut, comprehensive regional strategy to bring peace and economic prosperity to the Balkans, says **Carl Bildt**, former Swedish prime minister and the international community's high representative in Bosnia in 1995-97. The strategy should include a broad range of military, economic, and political measures aimed at deterring further war and preparing the countries of the region to join the European Union (EU), he says. The measures would in no way aim to re-create the former Yugoslavia.

Bildt discussed the broad strokes of a proposal for bringing long-term peace to southeastern Europe at a U.S. Institute of Peace current issues briefing on March 16. The Institute was deemed a logical site for his speech because of the extensive and important work its Balkans initiative has undertaken in the region. Executive vice president **Harriet Hentges** heads the initiative.

Before other measures can be implemented in the region, however, NATO needs to recognize that the Balkans—southeastern Europe—is the new central front for NATO in Europe, Bildt said. No other area in Europe will require such extensive military force to deter war. NATO should consolidate its forces in the region into a regional command, making it clear to Balkans political and military leaders that NATO forces will be in the region “for quite some time.”

The international community—America, Europe, and Russia, with the European Union acting as the lead institution—needs to implement a variety of measures that would integrate the military forces and economic structures of the region while guaranteeing a stable political framework, one that also would ensure “the sovereignty and the integrity and the autonomy of all the parts.” The international community would call a conference to put the framework “in cement.”

Among his proposals, Bildt called for Balkan countries to reduce arms and conduct joint military

exercises to help reduce military spending. Balkan military spending is greater than in the rest of Europe, even though social and economic conditions in the Balkans are worse than in some of the most desperate areas of Russia, Bildt said.

While his proposal is likely to be unpopular among current Balkan leaders who benefit from the status quo, the Balkan countries do wish to be seen as “normal Europeans” and to be offered “all the possibilities that the process of European integration can bring,” Bildt said. “We should offer them a European deal,” he said, one that will help them build the structures necessary for entry into the European Union. As things are now, no Balkan country is “even close” to starting the process that might lead to membership in the EU, he said. At the same time, the proposed reforms will help build networks of integration within the region itself.

The Balkans is a region where problems are numerous and they have to be faced, Bildt concluded. But it is also a region where there are long-term important possibilities for the future. “If we do not address long-term issues but continue to stay in a short-term mode, I fear we will have to stay in that short-term mode for a very long time.”



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

To receive *Peace Watch*, write to the Editor, *Peace Watch*, United States Institute of Peace, 1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200, Washington, DC 20036-3011. For general information call 202-457-1700, fax 202-429-6063, e-mail: usip_requests@usip.org, or check our web site: www.usip.org.

President: Richard H. Solomon
Executive Vice President: Harriet Hentges

Publications Director: Dan Snodderly
Editor: Cynthia Roderick

Production Manager: Joan Engelhardt
Production Coordinator: Marie Marr

Photo Credits: Associated Press, Bill Fitz-Patrick, staff

Board of Directors

Chairman: Chester A. Crocker. Vice Chairman: Max M. Kampelman.
Members: Dennis L. Bark, Theodore M. Hesburgh, Seymour Martin Lipset, W. Scott Thompson, Allen Weinstein, Harriet Zimmerman.
Members Ex Officio: Phyllis Oakley, Assistant Secretary of State for Intelligence and Research; Daniel H. Simpson, Vice President, National Defense University; Walter B. Slocombe, Department of Defense; Richard H. Solomon, Institute president (nonvoting).

Prospects for Russia and for U.S.-Russian Relations

Experts discuss the future of democracy in Russia in memory of Russia's Galina Starovoitova, a democratic leader who was recently assassinated.

A Russian woman casts her ballot in St. Petersburg, December 1998, in elections for the Legislative Assembly. Polls show that Russians place a high value on their right to vote.

U.S.-Russian relations are worse than they have been for over a decade, and they have deteriorated further in the aftermath of recent NATO air strikes against Serbia. Indeed, adjectives used to describe the U.S.-Russian relationship have gone from a "strong partnership," to a "pragmatic partnership," to a "selective partnership," to no adjective at all, says **Arnold Horelick** of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Horelick discussed the future of U.S.-Russian relations and prospects for democracy in that country at a U.S. Institute of Peace forum on February 18. Other panelists included **Peter Reddaway** of George Washington University and **Michael McFaul** of Stanford University. **Paula Dobriansky** of the Council on Foreign Relations in Washington moderated the event, which was organized by **Sally Blair**, program officer in the Jennings Randolph program, and **Tara Sonenshine**, special adviser to the Institute's president.

Panelists noted that the list of issues the two governments disagree over is getting longer—ranging from U.S. policy in Serbia, to U.S. plans to build a missile defense program, to Russia's selling of arms technology and know-how to "rogue"



states. Horelick characterized the relationship as moving from estrangement toward mutual alienation, but still far from confrontation.

That is so in part because Russia increasingly depends on the United States for financial assistance, in particular for U.S. backing of further funding from the International Monetary Fund (IMF). Still, the United States is not popular in Russia these days. Russia's political elites resent the country's growing dependency on the United States, panelists said. And they noted that the Russian public believes the West generally gave Russia bad advice that led to the country's current economic crisis—a belief that may in part be true, panelists agreed.

However, the growing rift between the two countries is likely to further diminish support in the U.S. Congress and among the

American public for giving Russia additional aid. In America, many believe that "Russia has taken a lot of assistance and advice from us and not used it well," Horelick said.

"U.S. policy is swinging between extremes," he said. On the one hand, some policymakers say that Russia is too big and too nuclear to be allowed to fail, while others say that Russia is in such a hopeless condition that there's nothing the United States can do to help. "The American stake in Russia is so large, we can't afford the second position," Horelick said. Nevertheless, it is clear that "Russia is in disarray and so is U.S. policy toward Russia."

Russia in Turmoil

Domestically, Russia seems under the sway of a corrupt regime



marked by financial chaos, social breakdown, and crime, said **Richard H. Solomon**, president of the Institute of Peace. “Russian society is going through a profound and difficult transition, and we are not sure what it’s heading toward.”

Solomon introduced the forum, which was held in memory of former senior fellow **Galina Starovoitova**, one of Russia’s leading democratic political figures and a crusader for political reforms and human rights. She was slain in St. Petersburg last November in what appears to have been a political assassination. Observers say that Starovoitova’s murder indicates the depth of the turmoil in the country.

“Galina believed that crime, and especially organized crime and the mafia, needed to be combated . . . and that may be the main reason why she died. . . . She was extraordinarily courageous,” said Reddaway. He was a senior fellow at the Institute with Starovoitova in 1993–94.

Russia’s leaders are unlikely to address the country’s underlying problems until after the parliamentary elections later this year and the presidential elections next year, Horelick said. “The most optimistic bet for Russia is that it will somehow continue to muddle along.”

The good news about Russia is that today it is an electoral democracy, and “everybody recognizes and plays by the rules of the game of electoral politics,” said McFaul. The Western media write about the collapse of the Soviet Union as if it had been somehow inevitable, he said, but in fact the forces within Russia for and against dismantling the Soviet Union and scuttling communism were approximately equal in their power. The citizens of Russia—people like Starovoitova—helped to bring the old system

down and create something new, but those among them with a strong commitment to democracy were always few in number. The democrats had to make alliances and political deals, including the deal to have Boris Yeltsin run for president as the leader of the democratic movement, which in retrospect was a bad decision, McFaul said.

The transition to democracy also has been confrontational and protracted, in part because leaders were preoccupied with defining the borders of the state and privatizing the economy. Indeed, Yeltsin made a clear decision to emasculate the growing grassroots democratic political movement that had put him in power, Reddaway said. “The key to understanding Yeltsin is that he has a tremendous . . . desire to hang onto political power . . . whatever the costs to the Russian people and his country.”

Yeltsin has bought political support by steadily selling portions of the state’s powers to strong individuals and groups that



Left: Galina Starovoitova speaking at a news conference in September 1998. Starovoitova, a leading democrat who planned to run for president in Russia’s next presidential elections, was assassinated in November 1998.

impotent state, a state unable to ensure much law and order, a state increasingly unable to defend itself because its military is disintegrating, and [it has] a president, government, and parliament that all have very, very weakened legitimacy.” The struggle to regain that legitimacy will be the challenge in Russia’s future, Reddaway said.

In conclusion, McFaul cautioned that conditions within Russia and relations between the



were potential opponents. He even refused to combat crime and official corruption, thus opening the way for criminal groups to enforce their will using their own particularly brutal methods, Reddaway said. “Russia is a bankrupt state, it is a politically

United States and Russia need to be kept in perspective. “Ten years ago, Soviet president Mikhail] Gorbachev would not have negotiated whether NATO troops should move into the former Yugoslavia, and the IMF loans

Above: Left to right, Michael McFaul, Peter Reddaway, Arnold Horelick, and Paula Dobriansky.

See Russia, page 11

A Creative Peace for Ecuador and Peru

The Ecuador-Peru peace agreement stipulates that Peru retains sovereignty over part of the disputed territory while ownership resides with Ecuador.

Left to right: President Alberto Fujimori of Peru; President Jamil Mahuad of Ecuador.

The fruits of peace can be incalculable. They include friendship, greater economic opportunity, and outright joy, if one is to take as an example presidential statements about the settlement of the historic border dispute between Ecuador and Peru. Presidents **Jamil Mahuad** of Ecuador and **Alberto Fujimori** of Peru recently exhibited great wit and warmth as they discussed what peace has meant for their countries at a U.S. Institute of Peace current issues briefing on February 5.

"There are no losers, but all [are] winners" in the agreement, which was signed in October 1998, Fujimori said. "Now Ecuador and Peru are working together as they should have been doing for decades."

The peace agreement—which contains important components dealing with trade, navigation of the Amazon River, and environmental preservation—is "a triumph for the entire hemisphere," said **Luigi R. Einaudi**, the lead U.S. mediator at the talks and moderator for the briefing. The agreement will facilitate the economic integration of the two countries and dramatically improve the quality of life in the region, he said.



The Institute is publishing a Peaceworks report on the settlement, *Territorial Disputes and Their Resolution: The Case of Ecuador and Peru*, by former senior fellow Beth A. Simmons. The report analyzes the history of the conflict and the factors that contributed to a solution. Also, Einaudi has contributed a chapter on the agreement to *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*, edited by Chester A. Crocker, chairman of the Institute's board of directors; former senior fellow Fen Hampson; and Pamela Aall, director of the Education Program. The book is forthcoming from the Institute's Press in the fall.

Based on this and related work, the Institute also is developing conflict resolution training programs with the Organization of American States and other organizations that will draw on the Ecuador-Peru experience.

In their presentations, Mahuad and Fujimori detailed

their determination to "sit on the same side of the [negotiating] table" during the talks that brought nearly six decades of conflict to an end. One of the sticking points in the negotiations was over control of a one-square-kilometer area inside Peru, called Tiwintza, where Ecuadoran soldiers died fighting and were buried. "Neither country could give it up," Mahuad explained.

Finally, the negotiating team and consultants agreed upon a unique division of two concepts that traditionally have been treated as inseparable: sovereignty and ownership. In the settlement, among other items, Peru retained sovereignty over the disputed territory while giving ownership to Ecuador. By dividing sovereignty and ownership of the land, "the pride of both countries was protected," said Mahuad, who credited Roger Fisher of the Project on Negotiation at Harvard Law School with facilitating the solution. Mahuad had studied negotiation with Fisher, who was involved in the search for a settlement to the Ecuador-Peru conflict for some time.

The presidents noted that throughout the complicated peace process, both they and the media in their countries put great



CHINESE EDITORS VISIT THE INSTITUTE



effort into explaining developments in the negotiations to the public. "The media in Ecuador took a clear position that they were working for peace, helping to explain the problems," Mahuad said.

Peace has enabled Ecuador and Peru to reduce military expenditures. Ecuador, for example, now has a four-year moratorium on arms spending and has cut its military draft by 60 percent.

In addition to the economic incentives to peace, the presidents noted, peace also will contribute to critical protection of the Amazon habitat. Ecuador and Peru have devoted about 30 square miles along either side of the border as a national refuge where scientists from around the world can work to help protect the biodiversity of the Amazon region.

Fujimori and Mahuad concluded by stressing how a commitment to peace and a willingness to identify shared interests were central to the success of their negotiations. "One of the main issues for both of us was to not take rigid positions, but to define our interests," Fujimori said. Mahuad added, "And we never did anything that would complicate the work of the other president in his own country."

Institute president Richard H. Solomon (second from right) hosted a delegation of six editors from China's leading foreign policy journals at an Institute of Peace meeting in February. The National Committee on United States-China Relations sponsored the group's visit to the United States.

Among the issues discussed at the Institute meeting were China-Taiwan relations and the emerging role of the Internet in China. The editors agreed that it would be helpful to improve the flow of information across the Taiwan Strait, but to date there has not been "a sufficient foundation of understanding" to exchange regular news correspondents. They also said that the use of the Internet is developing rapidly in China; however, the government recently imposed some restrictions on its use "because we are worried about pornographic materials, especially their influence on young people," said Zheng Wanzhen (far right), editor-in-chief of China's *Foreign Affairs Journal* and leader of the delegation.

NAGORNO-KARABAKH



U.S. Institute of Peace grantees Peter R. Rosenblatt (far left), president of the Fund for Democracy and Development, and Edward Djerijian (far right), director of the James A. Baker Institute for Public Policy in Houston, recently traveled to Armenia and Azerbaijan to explore possible new approaches to the future political status of Nagorno-Karabakh. They are shown here at a meeting in Yerevan last December with, from Rosenblatt's left, U.S. ambassador Michael Lemmon, Armenian president Robert Kocharian, an assistant to Lemmon, and Gregory Djerijian.

Russians feel a deep sense of obligation toward Russians living in the Soviet successor states; that concern could take a variety of forms—some quite constructive, says former senior fellow Igor Zevelev.

Russia's 'Near Abroad'



Igor Zevelev

Tatyana is a 57-year-old Russian schoolteacher who lives in the apartment in downtown Riga, Latvia, where she was born. Her bookshelves are lined with well-worn volumes of the Russian literature she has taught to school children throughout her career—poems and stories by Pushkin, Lermontov, Gogol, and, of course, Tolstoy, to name but a few.

Not that long ago—in the days before the collapse of the Soviet empire—Tatyana traveled with groups of other schoolteachers to St. Petersburg and Moscow for professional conferences. Though she enjoyed her visits, she was never tempted to move to those cities, and she says she has no intention of moving there today. “Riga is my home,” she told *Peace Watch* in 1996.

Tatyana is one of an estimated 25 million ethnic Russians who suddenly found themselves living outside the boundaries of the new Russian state when the Soviet Union collapsed in December 1991. Not only did the Russians living in the far-flung regions of the old empire lose their Soviet citizenship, but they also found themselves an “instant” minority in the successor states. Moreover, in Estonia and

Latvia, they became truly stateless, as these former Soviet republics did not offer them citizenship.

The relationship between Russians living in what is now called the “near abroad” and the new Russian state poses profound challenges to Russia’s leadership, says **Igor Zevelev**, a former senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace (1997–98). “Across the political spectrum, there is a consensus that Russia does have some responsibility to those people who identify themselves as Russians and who live in the successor states,” he says. It is critical that the United States understand the deep sense of obligation shared by all Russians in this matter, Zevelev says. And further, it might facilitate a peaceful resolution of the problem if U.S. policymakers considered that Russia could respond in a variety of ways—some of them quite constructive.

Zevelev, a visiting professor of history at Macalester College on leave from the Institute of World Economy and International Relations of the Russian Academy of Sciences in Moscow, is writing a book on the Russian diaspora based on research he conducted while at the Institute of Peace and the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. The book will focus on the inter-relationship between Russia’s attempts to forge a new identity,



the impact of the Russians living in the near abroad, Russia's foreign policy, and conditions for international security in and around Russia.

The Russian Diaspora

The new Russian diaspora is one of the largest in the world, Zevelev says. Seventy-five percent of the diaspora lives in Belarus, Kazakstan, and Ukraine. While some of the Russians in the near abroad live scattered among the majority populations of the Soviet successor states, others do not. For example, in Estonia, out of a total population of one and a half million, 500,000 are Russians, many of whom live in the north-eastern part of the country. In Kazakstan, nearly six million Russians live in the north. In Ukraine, 11 million ethnic Russians live in the eastern part of the state and in Crimea.

In response to their plight, Russia has made it increasingly easy for former Soviet citizens who wish to move to Russia to become Russian citizens, but dropped efforts to create dual citizenship for those in the diaspora when the new states opposed the idea.

Russia's future efforts to help the Russians in the near abroad could range from renewed imperialistic ambitions to efforts to ensure their human rights, Zevelev says.

On the imperialistic side—much feared by international observers as well as by leaders of the successor states—it is possible Russia could use the Russian populations to help re-establish its domination, perhaps turning the successor states into protectorates or semi-independent entities in a buffer zone around Russia. In the countries where the diasporas are adjacent to Russia, Russia could stir up the Russian populations to

form breakaway regions that would reunite with Russia. Politicization of the diasporas and efforts to redraw state borders along ethnic lines are among the most significant threats to security in the region.

But, Zevelev stresses, it is also possible that Russia will pursue “a very constructive, very humanistic course.” Such a course might include helping Russians in the diasporas maintain their distinct culture by, for example, helping to develop educational institutions. Or it might include efforts to protect Russians' human rights by acting within the framework of existing international institutions designed for the protection of both individual human rights and the rights of minorities, such as the Council of Europe and the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

U.S. foreign policymakers would be wise to support Russian leaders in their efforts along these lines in part because that might deter them from taking more extreme measures, Zevelev says. Nevertheless, some observers still fear that Russia will use human rights issues as a cover for interfering in the domestic policies of the successor states. While Russia does aspire to be the dominant power in the region, currently it is in no position politically, economically, or militarily to pose any threat to the new states, Zevelev says. The real danger is the possibility that the international community might overreact to Russia's boastful rhetoric about protecting the interests of the Russians in the near abroad.

“The tendency today is to automatically assume that any talk about the Russians in the successor states is potentially aggressive, but that need not be the case,” Zevelev says. “There is a broad consensus among the Russian elite and the common people that

we must not abandon those people. American policymakers need to understand that it is politically impossible for even the most liberal Russian politician not to express some concern for the fate of those Russians, so the best option is to encourage them to take more positive steps in the direction of protecting human rights.”

And indeed, Zevelev says, in conjunction with a focus on human rights, Russia and the sur-

Politicization of the diasporas and efforts to redraw state borders along ethnic lines are among the most significant threats to security in the region.

rounding states might also be encouraged to advance their economic integration and open the borders. “If people can move about freely, and if the countries can work together to resolve cultural identity issues, there would be no point in starting a bloody process to break up,” as continues to happen in the Balkans, Zevelev says. The integration would resemble Europe's and thus might also lead to some form of voluntary political union similar to the European Union.

“In the former Soviet Union, integration is the only peaceful alternative to the rise of ethnonationalism and the claims that we Russians are a divided nation and must reunite under one political roof,” Zevelev concludes.

“American foreign policymakers tend to perceive even talk about integration of the former Soviet republics as a disguised attempt to reinstitute Russian domination, if not to restore the Soviet Union. It would benefit everyone if they could begin to consider the positive aspects of integration in the region.”

Separate Institute Programs

for
Education



and
Training

Left, Pamela Aall; right, George F. Ward, Jr.

“In recent years, the U.S. Institute of Peace has experienced a growing demand for our programs in education and training, which are central to the Institute’s mission,” says president **Richard H. Solomon**. “We have decided to create two separate programs to better serve our growing constituencies.” Accordingly, the Institute is pleased to welcome **George F. Ward, Jr.**, former ambassador to Namibia, as director of the new Training Program. **Pamela Aall**, who served as acting director of the Education and Training Program, will be the director of the Education Program.

Ward is a career diplomat with 30 years of distinguished service, most recently as ambassador to Namibia in 1996–99. He was principal deputy assistant secretary of the State Department’s Bureau of International Organization Affairs in 1992–96, and served as deputy ambassador to Germany 1989–92. In both those positions, he was directly involved in formulating and

implementing U.S. multilateral peacekeeping policies. A captain in the U.S. Marine Corps, Ward served in Vietnam in 1965–69 and received a number of honors in that capacity, including the Navy Commendation Medal with a decoration of valor. He also received two Presidential Meritorious Awards and the State Department Distinguished Honor Award, among others. Ward earned an M.P.A. degree from Harvard University in 1980; he graduated Phi Beta Kappa in history from the University of Rochester in 1965.

Pamela Aall—before coming to the Institute in 1993—was a consultant to the President’s Committee on the Arts and the Humanities and the Institute of International Education. She held a number of positions in the international relations division of the Rockefeller Foundation in New York, and has worked for the University of Houston, the European Cultural Foundation in Amsterdam and Brussels,

the International Council for Educational Development (New York), and the New York Botanical Garden.

Aall holds a B.A. from Harvard University and an M.A. from Columbia University. She has conducted postgraduate research at the London School of Economics on political and economic integration in Scandinavia and Europe. With Institute board chairman Chester A. Crocker and former senior fellow Fen Osler Hampson, she edited *Managing Global Chaos: Sources of and Responses to International Conflict* (1996), and is currently working with Crocker and Hampson on a follow-up volume, *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*, due out in the fall.



New Faculty Programs Expand Outreach

The U.S. Institute of Peace presented its first regional faculty seminars for college and university faculty on March 5–6 in Miami. Altogether, 55 faculty, administration officials, and doctoral candidates attended the programs, presented in collaboration with Florida International University (FIU), the University of Miami, and Nova Southeastern University.

Jeffrey Helsing, program officer in the Institute's Education Program, developed the seminars, which he taught along with **David Little**, the Institute's senior scholar in religion, ethics, and human rights, and **Dennis Sandole**, professor of conflict resolution and international relations at George Mason University.

The seminars replace the annual summer faculty workshops that formerly were held in Washington, and enable the Institute to expand its outreach in post-secondary education, notes **Pamela Aall**, director of the Education Program. "Not only will we be able to reach larger numbers of faculty, but the new format will allow the staff to develop more specialized seminars where the focus could be on a particular region or on conflict or on topics such as peace and security, mediation, or post-conflict reconciliation," she says. The Institute will continue to select

participants from diverse subject areas and disciplines.

In the new arrangement, Institute staff will work collaboratively with academic institutions around the country to organize and host seminars that will bring in academic experts and practitioners, who will discuss conflict and conflict management. Education Program staff will lead workshops and hold discussions about incorporating conflict studies into the classroom.

In addition to faculty, the first seminar—held in collaboration with FIU—was attended by the university's vice president for academic affairs and the chairs of the departments of psychology, environmental affairs, and international relations. The morning session explored an interdisciplinary perspective on conflict, and the afternoon session focused on methods and tools for teaching international conflict resolution.

The second workshop, held in partnership with FIU, the University of Miami, and Nova Southeastern University, brought together faculty and doctoral students from colleges, universities, and community colleges in the south Florida region. The sessions focused on bridging theory and practice in international conflict resolution, as well as on teaching methods and tools.

Clinton

Continued from page 2

China's leaders and China's people.

"Our long-term strategy must be to encourage the right kind of development in China, to help China grow at home into a strong, prosperous, and open society coming together, not falling apart; to integrate China into the institutions that promote global norms on proliferation, trade, the environment, and human rights.

"We must build on opportunities for cooperation with China where we agree even as we strongly defend our interests and values where we disagree," Clinton concluded. "That is the purpose of engagement, not to insulate our relationship from the consequences of Chinese action, but to use our relationship to influence China's action in a way that advances our values and our interests."

Russia

Continued from page 5

wouldn't have happened," he said. Also today, although bilateral relations may be suffering, thousands of Americans are working with Russians on business, cultural, and other matters, which is important in terms of normalizing relations with Russia. Moreover, "liberal values and liberal ideas have not died out in Russia," McFaul said. "And the Russian people are not willing to give up the vote." Although the democrats in Russia have been ostracized and marginalized, "they haven't disappeared. . . . These are dark times now, but the future is on their side."

The board of directors recently approved the following unsolicited grants.

ACADEMIC ASSOCIATES PEACE WORKS, Ibadan, Nigeria. Study the increasing conflicts among the Itsekiri, Urhobo, and Ijaw ethnic groups in the Niger Delta of Nigeria; provide training workshops in conflict management for youth and adult leaders; support conciliation through the Nigeria Corps of Mediators. Isaac Olawale Albert. \$40,000.

BALKAN ACTION COUNCIL, Washington, D.C. Develop and disseminate recommendations on ways to achieve electoral reform in Bosnia to help stimulate more constructive political discourse there. James R. Hooper. \$34,000.

BROOKINGS INSTITUTION, Washington, D.C. Assess India's evolving status in the post-Cold War period, with particular attention to prospects for regional conflict management in a nuclearized subcontinent, the role of domestic factors in foreign policy, and the impact of economic change on peace and security. Stephen Cohen. \$20,000.

BROWN UNIVERSITY, Providence, R.I. Focus on the former Soviet Union to explain why some conflicts do not turn violent, and what the conditions are for peaceful resolution and management of serious conflicts. Case studies include Crimea and Transdnistria; Tatarstan and Chechnya; and Ajaria and Abkhazia. Dominique Arel, Stephen Shenfield, P. Terrence Hopmann. \$30,000.

CABALLERO, MARIA CRISTINA, Bogota, Colombia. Examine the roots of the political conflict in Colombia, assess its impact in the region and internationally, and posit approaches to advancing the peace process and ending the country's decades-long strife. \$50,000.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY, New York. Based on case studies of Angola, Sierra Leone, Mozambique, Liberia, Uganda, El Salvador, Guatemala, and Colombia, develop and disseminate a handbook focusing on effective curriculum design, learning strategies, and assessment techniques in human rights education in conflict and post-conflict situations. J. Paul Martin. \$35,000.

COMMON GROUND PRODUCTION, Washington, D.C. Assess how media can ameliorate conflict in Liberia, in order to develop radio programs to address the most divisive issues. Sheldon Himelfarb. \$34,000.

COST OF THE TROUBLES STUDY, Belfast, Northern Ireland. Film survivors of violence in Northern Ireland, concentrating on the feelings of these individuals and their needs. Themes include the experience of living in the isolation of silence, relationships between individuals, and effects of the trauma. Marie Smyth. \$45,000.

COUNCIL ON FOREIGN RELATIONS, Washington, D.C. Convene a conference for experts from mainland China and Taiwan, along with American specialists, to examine and debate precedents in international law in order to rethink some basic ideas concerning Taiwan's status over the near and long term. Jerome Cohen. \$43,000.

DARTNELL, MICHAEL, Montreal. Conduct a cross-national study to examine how organizations and political movements use on-line technologies as an information provision tool in campaigns against governments. \$30,118.

EAST-WEST CENTER, Honolulu, Hawaii. Study the nuclear situation in the Asia-Pacific, including the security role of nuclear weapons in the post-Cold War era, mechanisms for strengthening the nonproliferation regime at the global and regional levels, and the implications of nuclear arms for peace and security in the region. Muthiah Alagappa. \$40,000.

EASTERN MENNONITE UNIVERSITY, Harrisonburg, Va. Produce a manual (*When You Are the Peacebuilder*) for groups and individuals working at community-level peacebuilding in Africa, to provide them with stories and basic conceptual materials for use in conflict transformation and peacebuilding. Janice Jenner. \$39,000.

FOURTH FREEDOM FORUM, Goshen, Ind. Develop specific strategies for designing and implementing economic sanctions that apply coercive pressure against particular decision-making groups rather than entire populations. David Cortright. \$30,000.

HOBART & WILLIAM SMITH COLLEGES, Geneva, N.Y. Through a study of labor relations in the South African gold mines, test ideas about how to promote interethnic accommodation. T. Dunbar Moodie. \$30,000.

INTER-AMERICAN DIALOGUE, Washington, D.C. Catalogue and assess the major international disputes in Latin America over territory and territorial waters; make recommendations for the prevention and resolution of specific conflicts. Luigi R. Einaudi. \$40,000.

INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, London. Consider the changing impact of international law on the resort to force by states, in particular whether international law is developing in ways that restrict the freedom of action of states in the context of secessionist movements or other internal unrest. Christopher J. Greenwood, Gerald Segal. \$18,000.

LONG ISLAND UNIVERSITY, Upper Montclair, N.J. Examine the principal ideas and debates in Arab intellectual discourse about U.S. policies toward the Arab world, focusing particular attention on the peace process, the Gulf, political Islam, political reform, and terrorism. Muhammad Y. Muslih. \$40,000.

NATIONAL PEACE FOUNDATION, Washington, D.C. Continue training workshops on leadership in conflict prevention and management for 150 university students and faculty members from the Republic of Georgia, Armenia, and Azerbaijan. Stephen Strickland, Deborah Welsh. \$35,000.

PRINCETON UNIVERSITY, Princeton, N.J. Analyze the impact of war on the southern African environment through a comparative study of the Namibian/Angola and South African/Mozambique border regions. Emmanuel Kreike. \$39,250.

SAACID VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATION, Nairobi, Kenya. Promote peace in Somalia and particularly in Mogadishu through public dialogue and track-two diplomacy. Raha M. Janaqow. \$30,000.

STATE UNIVERSITY OF NEW YORK, Binghamton, N.Y. Examine the interconnected relationships among peacekeeping, demilitarization, democratization, and development in Africa. Issues include the comparative advantages of international versus regional peacekeeping in Africa, the effects of peacekeeping in target states and intervening states in Africa, and the demilitarization and development of African states. Ali A. Mazrui. \$37,000.

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY, Syracuse, N.Y. Analyze ethnic identities in Estonia and their implications for European integration, NATO enlargement, and Estonia's relations with Russia. Merje Feldman. \$13,600.

UNITED METHODIST COMMITTEE ON RELIEF, Sarajevo, Bosnia and Herzegovina. A training and curriculum development program to enhance the teaching of nonviolent conflict resolution skills for primary school teachers, staff of



community development organizations, and others engaged in peacebuilding initiatives in Bosnia and Herzegovina. Angela Oliver. \$40,000.

UNIVERSITY OF BRADFORD, Bradford, United Kingdom. In light of weak existing nuclear command and control technologies in India and Pakistan to manage their nuclear relationship, consider the concepts, procedures, and arrangements that can help stabilize nuclear crises in the subcontinent. Shaun Gregory. \$30,000.

UNIVERSITY OF MIAMI, Coral Gables, Fla. Explore reconciliation as a political, psychological, and moral process whereby former enemies can evolve constructive relationships over time. Focus on states and national/ethnic groups with long-standing animosities, with particular attention to Western Europe. Alice Ackermann. \$30,000.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Ann Arbor. Examine the significance of and lessons learned from the 1989 Polish negotiations that led to the peaceful end of Communist rule in Poland. Michael D. Kennedy, Brian A. Porter. \$30,000.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN, Ann Arbor. Test how differences in the political institutions of democratic and non-democratic systems affect critical foreign policy decisions about the use of diplomacy and military force as well as conflict resolution in international disputes. Paul Huth. \$30,000.

UNIVERSITY OF MONTANA, Missoula. In collaboration with the Foreign Affairs College in Beijing, field test, professionally evaluate, and launch a program to teach practical negotiation and conflict management skills in China, particularly for diplomats in training. Dennis O'Donnell. \$40,000.

UNIVERSITY OF SOUTHAMPTON, United Kingdom. Convene a seminar for officials from approximately 45 countries who are likely to participate in the Preparatory Committee for the review conference of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty in 2000, to discuss the major issues and options confronting them. John Simpson. \$20,000.

WORLD AFFAIRS COUNCIL OF PHILADELPHIA. Provide a professional development seminar series for secondary teachers on conflicts in Africa, including those in Sudan, Congo, and South Africa, and the implications of these conflicts for the future of the continent. Margaret H. Lonsetta. \$30,000.

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.

Reconciliation Processes and the Displaced Communities in Post-War Lebanon, edited by George Emile Irani (Lebanese American University, 1997) Examines the role of reconciliation and dialogue in the process of resettling members of war-displaced Christian and Muslim communities in Lebanon and develops conflict management tools for those engaged in reconciliation activities.

Relations Across the Taiwan Strait: Perspectives from Mainland China and Taiwan, by Chen Qimao and Wei Yung (Atlantic Council, 1998) A scholar from mainland China and a scholar from Taiwan analyze the sources of conflict between mainland China and Taiwan and the prospects for a peaceful solution.

Reversing Relations with Former Adversaries: U.S. Foreign Policy After the Cold, edited by C. Richard Nelson and Kenneth Weisbrode (University Press of Florida, 1998) Probes the problems and opportunities inherent in the process of reversing relations with former adversaries.

Revolutions and Revolutionary Waves, by Mark N. Katz (St. Martin's, 1997) Argues that the Islamic fundamentalist revolutionary wave, like the Marxist-Leninist and Arab nationalist waves, belongs to a category of nondemocratic revolutions that are likely to spread via affiliate revolutions rather than invasion.

Russia and the Arms Trade, edited by Ian Anthony (Oxford University Press and SIPRI, 1998) Evaluates recent trends and developments in Russia's evolving role in the international arms trade system.

Science, Technology, and Ethical Priorities: Proceedings from Student Pugwash USA's Ninth International Conference, University of Wisconsin-Madison, June 16-22, 1996, edited by Jennifer Seltzer (Student Pugwash, USA, 1997)

Examines such global issues as alternative energy sources, natural resources, and the production, proliferation, and impact of

conventional and nonconventional weapons around the world.

The Future of Iraq, edited by John Calabrese (Middle East Institute, 1997)

Examines Iraqi politics and prospects for civil society, the future of the Iraqi economy, and the country's foreign relations at the regional and international levels.

The Integration of Non-Estonians into Estonian Society: History, Problems and Trends, by Aksel Kirch (Estonian Academy Publishers, 1997)

Discusses the problems and prospects for integrating the Russian community into Estonian society.

The Morality of Nationalism, edited by Robert McKim and Jeff McMahan (Oxford University Press, 1997)

Illuminates resurgent nationalism from a moral and evaluative perspective including the ideal of national self-determination, the permissibility of secession, the legitimacy of international intervention, and tolerance between nations.

The Protection Racket State: Elite Politics, Military Extortion, and Civil War in El Salvador, by William Stanley (Temple University Press, 1996)

A study of the actions and political strategies of the Salvadoran military that challenges the conventional wisdom that state-sponsored violence is simply a response to opposition, arguing instead that state agencies sometimes use violence to advance their parochial interests.

The Rise of Nationalism in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union (Special issue of *Uncaptive Minds*, Summer-Fall 1997) Examines the different kinds of nationalism that arose after 1989, their causes and consequences, and countermeasures to nationalism's anti-democratic forms.

Waorani: The Contexts of Violence and War, by Clayton Robarchek and Carole Robarchek (Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1998)

A study of why the Waorani people of Ecuador were traditionally so violent and why they came to renounce violence.

World Directory of Minorities (Minority Rights Group International, 1997)

A reference book on the contemporary situation of minorities worldwide, covering minorities in more than 200 states and dependent territories.

InstitutePeople

Former senior fellow **ADNAN ABU-ODEH** has been appointed political adviser to Jordan's King Abdullah. Abu-Odeh served as a cabinet minister and political adviser to the king's late father, King Hussein, for 24 years before coming to the Institute for his fellowship in 1996–97. In June, the Institute's Press will publish Abu-Odeh's book, *Jordanians, Palestinians, and the Hashemite Kingdom in the Middle East Peace Process*.

JON ALTERMAN, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, discussed "New Media in the Arab World" at the Middle East Institute in March. He discussed the same subject in his article, "Shrinking the World and Changing the Rules," which appeared in a recent issue of *Middle East Insight*. The March issue of *Transnational Broadcasting Studies*, a web-based journal (www.tbsjournal.org), published an excerpt from Alterman's recent book, *New Media, New Politics? From Satellite Television to the Internet in the Arab World* (Washington Institute for Near East Policy).

Board chairman **CHESTER A. CROCKER**, acting director of education and training **PAMELA AALL**, and former senior fellow **FEN HAMPSON** discussed "Complex Mediations: Practitioner Perspectives on Third Party Roles," on a panel at the 1999 International Studies Association annual convention in Washington in February. The panel was organized around a book forthcoming from the Institute's Press entitled *Herding Cats: Multiparty Mediation in a Complex World*.

PATRICK CRONIN, director of the Research and Studies Program, has been elected to the Editorial Advisory Board of the *International Journal of Korea Studies*. His chapter, "Worse Cases and Best Choices," was recently published in *Gulf-Asia Energy Security*, edited by John Calabrese and published by the Middle East Institute. In February, Cronin discussed "America's Economic Engagement with North Korea: Assessment and Prospects" at the Washington North Korea Roundtable, sponsored by the

Institute for Strategic Reconciliation. He also lectured on "Why Is Asia Important to U.S. Interests?" at Georgetown University's Institute for the Study of Diplomacy in February.

WILLIAM DRENNAN, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, discussed "The Future of the Korean Peninsula" at a conference in Illinois on the Korean War hosted by the United States Naval Institute in March.

Executive vice president **HARRIET HENTGES** lectured on "War, Peace, and Money" at Rosemont College, Rosemont, Penn., in February. She discussed developments in Kosovo at Johns Hopkins University in March.

DAVID LITTLE, senior scholar in religion, ethics, and human rights, has published a number of essays recently, including "Dealing with Human Rights Violations in Transitional Societies," in *Ethics and International Affairs* (April 1999); "Rethinking Human Rights," in the *Journal of Religious Ethics* (Spring 1999); "Religion and Ethnicity in the Sri Lankan Civil War," in *Creating Peace in Sri Lanka*; "Religion and Human Rights: A Personal Testament," in the *University of Richmond Law Journal* (Summer 1999). He discussed religion and peace-building at a conference on "Bosnia and the Balkans: Conflict and Reconstruction" on April 8–10, sponsored by the College of William and Mary and Friends of Bosnia.

Rwanda Book Garneres Honors



U.S. Institute of Peace grant recipient **Philip Gourevitch** recently received the National Book Critics Circle Award for his book, *We Wish to Inform You That Tomorrow We Will Be Killed with Our Families*, which deals with the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. (For an interview with Gourevitch, see the December 1998 issue of *Peace Watch*.) A staff writer for *The New Yorker*, Gourevitch supported much of the research for his book with an Institute grant. The book also has been selected one of the best books of 1998 by the *New York Times* and by a number of other organizations.



KATE McCANN, program assistant in the religion, ethics, and human rights initiative, discussed the role of religious communities in the pursuit of peace at a March forum sponsored by the Interfaith Coalition for Peace, a subgroup of the Central Maryland Ecumenical Council.

Senior fellow **ANDREW NATSIOS** was recently appointed as secretary of administration and finance for Massachusetts by Governor Paul Cellucci. In that capacity, Natsios will be principal fiscal officer for the state, in charge of revenues, the state budget, and the personnel system. Natsios was vice president of World Vision U.S. before coming to the Institute in 1998.

BOB SCHMITT, information systems manager, discussed the Institute's Virtual Diplomacy initiative at the State Department's Secretary's Open Forum in February. The talk explored how foreign policy and national security agencies can rise to the challenge of the "wired world."

BARBARA WIEN, program officer in the Training Program, discussed "Ethics and Integrity in Public Service" at a February meeting of interns working in the public sector, organized by the Friends Committee on National Legislation (FCNL). The event was part of FCNL's regular Brown Bag Lunch Series for Interns, which is part of the organization's program to provide educational and professional development opportunities for young adults.

USIP PRESS NewBooks

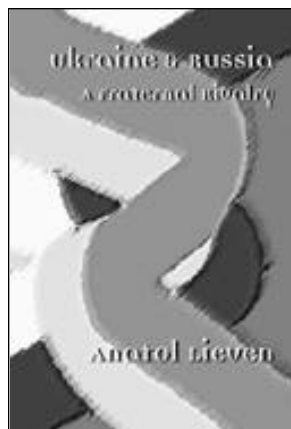
To order, call 800-868-8064 (U.S. only) or 703-661-1590

Coercive Inducement and the Containment of International Crises

Donald C. F. Daniel and Bradd C. Hayes
with Chantal de Jonge Oudrat

Explores four recent UN operations (in Somalia, Rwanda, Bosnia, and Haiti) in which coercive inducement was particularly relevant, and presents operational guidelines for its use.

March 1999 • 288 pp. • 6 x 9
\$14.95 (paper) • 1-878379-84-4
\$35.00 (cloth) • 1-878379-85-2



Ukraine and Russia A Fraternal Rivalry

Anatol Lieven

Journalist Anatol Lieven here explores the complex ethnic and political relationship of Ukraine and Russia. Based on extensive interviews, Lieven provides a fascinating portrait of the diversity that is contemporary Ukraine and of its efforts to forge a national identity after three centuries of Russian rule. Lieven examines the policy implications of Eastern Europe's new political geography.

May 1999 • 208 pp. • 6 x 9
\$19.95 (paper) • 1-878379-87-9

Recent Publications

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

- ✓ *Territorial Disputes and Their Resolution: The Case of Ecuador and Peru*, by Beth A. Simmons (Peaceworks no. 27, April 1999)
- ✓ *NATO at Fifty: New Challenges, Future Uncertainties*, by Andrew J. Pierre (Special Report, March 1999)
- ✓ *A New Approach to Peace in Sudan: Report on a USIP Consultation*, by David R. Smock (Special Report, February 1999)
- ✓ *Thinking Out Loud: Policies Toward Iraq*, by Jon B. Alterman (Special Report, February 1999)
- ✓ *The Quest for Democratic Security: The Role of the Council of Europe and U.S. Foreign Policy*, by Heinrich Klebes (Peaceworks no. 26, January 1999)
- ✓ *Southern Mexico: Counterinsurgency and Electoral Politics*, by Michael W. Foley (Special Report, January 1999)
- ✓ *Montenegro—And More—At Risk* (Special Report, January 1999)
- ✓ *The Genocide Convention at Fifty*, by William Schabas (Special Report, January 1999)
- ✓ *Bosnia Report Card: Pass, Fail, or Incomplete?* (Special Report, January 1999)

New Web Site feature

Truth Commissions Web Page

The Institute's Library is developing a new Truth Commissions web page, which contains background explanations and descriptions of truth commissions in 17 countries, including Guatemala and South Africa. The page includes sources used, links to the peace agreement establishing the Guatemalan commission, a link to a summary of the commission's report in English, and a link to the South African commission's web site. Our web page will continue to undergo development. Please check it out at: www.usip.org/library/truth.html

GET ON OUR *LISTSERV* FOR UPCOMING EVENTS AND PUBLICATIONS

A new U.S. Institute of Peace listserv will inform subscribers of upcoming Institute events and publications. To subscribe, send an e-mail to listserv@usip.org. Leave the subject line blank, and in the body of the message type:
subscribe pingme [<your e-mail address>]



United States Institute of Peace
1200 17th Street NW, Suite 200
Washington, DC 20036-3011

Nonprofit Org.
U.S. Postage
PAID
Washington, DC
Permit No. 2806

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED