

PeaceWatch

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Economies and Conflict Center of Innovation Takes Shape

The Institute's new Economies and Conflict Center of Innovation recognizes something that the world's peacebuilders have long known: conflict flourishes in places of economic dislocation and that war is often a contest over resources.

"We've been largely focused on political, legal and security issues," says USIP Vice President Daniel Serwer. "We're well aware that behind the scenes in every conflict are money, weapons, control of resources and command of state assets. Now we'll look directly at those issues. We also think that robust economies can be an antidote to the outbreak of violent conflict."

The new center will be the "mouth, feet and brains" of a redoubled effort to prevent and end conflicts, says center director Raymond Gilpin. As "mouth," the center will speak to the peacebuilding community about policy developments, scholarly work and interventions worldwide,

he says. As "feet," it will provide on-the-ground training and technical assistance. As "brains," it will play an analytical role in developing knowledge and innovative thinking.

The new center will examine the role of the economy in all aspects of peacebuilding: prevention, peacemaking and post-conflict. The center will produce analyses and studies as well as toolkits that practitioners in the field can use to leverage local economic factors in support of peacebuilding rather than conflict. A survey course is also being developed as part of the expansion of the Institute's Education and Training Center.

Continuing Innovation

The center has already brought together senior and experienced advisers to examine the effectiveness of a U.S. Department of Treasury program that provides assistance to spur economic growth and builds capacity in developing and conflict-afflicted countries.

The center also investigates creative ways in which economic

development can support peacebuilding. According to Gilpin, See *Economies*, page 2



Economic troubles have been a major contributor to recent tensions in Zimbabwe. (AP Photo)

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Economies

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**Economics and Conflict Center
Director Raymond Gilpin**

many past approaches failed to take into account the economic dimensions of conflicts. In examining such creative solutions, the center is “shining the spotlight on an often neglected dimension of peacebuilding,” he says. “The key here is being able to transition assistance from a purely humanitarian basis to engendering economic growth, which is the bedrock of state viability.”

The center also supports USIP efforts to professionalize the field of conflict management. It is developing a pilot course to prepare practitioners who work on economic issues in fragile and post-conflict societies, and it is establishing a network of professionals working in areas where economics and conflict intersect.

The role of partnerships is critical in these initiatives. Today, the center is entering into partnerships with U.S. government agencies as well as prominent international affairs think tanks such as the Center for Strategic and International Studies.

It will also pursue strong relationships with the business

“In addition to conducting much-needed research and developing new peacebuilding tools, this new center will support practitioners in the field working on the tough challenges of building sustainable economies in fragile states.” —Patricia Thomson

community, with a particular focus on corporations that invest in conflict-prone areas. Gilpin points out that in many instances, companies are viewed as looters of resources and oppressors rather than opportunity creators.

The center is planning a symposium to identify strategies that are both economically viable and support conflict management and peacebuilding. The field has not paid enough attention to this topic, Gilpin says. “There are a lot of smart people thinking about ways to re-engineer the supply chain in conflict operations in a manner that improves peace and improves governance in conflict environments. That’s another area where we can exercise some smart catalytic leadership,” he says.

Gilpin’s Background

Raymond Gilpin brings unique qualifications to his new position. The Sierra Leone native was responsible for banking research and monetary policy at his country’s central bank in 1997. That year, rebels overran the capital, Freetown, and torched a number of buildings, including part of the central bank. Eager for funds to pay their militia and purchase weapons and ammunition, the rebels tried to coerce senior bank officials into providing access to the vaults and the nation’s foreign accounts.

“I wasn’t prepared to do either, so eventually I had to leave,” Gilpin calmly reflected. “Constitutionally, I had problems. Morally, it was abhorrent. That sort of economic activity would have led to more insecurity. Did it stop the rebels? No. Did it slow them down and make life difficult for them? Absolutely.”

Gilpin’s experience transcends his native country. Prior to joining

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“There are a lot of smart people thinking about ways to re-engineer the supply chain in conflict operations in a manner that improves peace and improves governance in conflict environments. That’s another area where we can exercise some smart catalytic leadership.” —Raymond Gilpin



Getting to Zero

Ambassador Max Kampelman's Path to a Nuclear Weapons-Free World

At age 87, Ambassador Max M. Kampelman is pursuing a new mission. The former vice chairman of USIP's board seeks to "go to zero" by eliminating all nuclear weapons. Kampelman acknowledges this is a lofty goal. "I'm not suggesting what I've proposed is simple," he stresses. "But we're facing a threat to the human race. If we're smart enough as human beings to create this destruction, we ought to be smart enough as human beings to come to grips with it and not permit it to destroy us." With UN estimates that 27 states now possess or are pursuing nuclear weapons, the initiative is more timely than ever.

The Presidential Medal of Freedom winner's personal experiences in nuclear negotiations give him an unparalleled perspective on the issue. During the 1980s, Kampelman led the teams of American diplomats that negotiated the U.S.-Soviet INF Treaty banning intermediate-range nuclear weapons and the START I Treaty, which ultimately reduced strategic nuclear weapons by 80 percent. Kampelman was also a member of the U.S. delegation to the 1986 Reykjavik Summit, where President Ronald Reagan first proposed to Soviet Premier Mikhail Gorbachev that the U.S. and the USSR rid themselves of nuclear weapons entirely.

In a recent conversation with *PeaceWatch*, Kampelman discussed this proposal.

His initiative has its roots in the events of Sept. 11, 2001. After the Pentagon was hit, he

"If we're smart enough as human beings to create this destruction, we ought to be smart enough as human beings to come to grips with it and not permit it to destroy us."

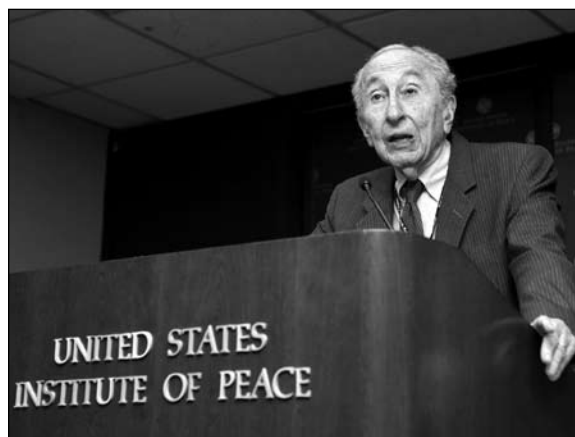
—Max M. Kampelman

realized how exponentially larger the damage would have been if the terrorists had carried nuclear weapons with them that day. "My family could have been gone. That's the reality," he reflected. Kampelman calls for a "serious and deep" initiative to eliminate nuclear weapons before terrorists have another chance.

Kampelman seeks an outright ban on nuclear weapons that would make their production and distribution crimes against humanity. States that engage in nuclear proliferation would face total economic, political and cultural isolation.

In Kampelman's vision, the United States would propose a resolution calling for elimination of all nuclear weapons and increased weapons monitoring before the UN General Assembly. The UN Security Council would set up an inspection tribunal to monitor compliance with the resolution, consider evidence of "cheating" and enforce sanctions against outlaw states.

Going to zero is the only practical alternative, Kampelman stresses. Half measures and treaties that allow some states to continue holding nuclear weapons while requiring others to back down are out of the question. This approach is inherently flawed, argues Kampelman. "Here we are with



Kampelman spoke on nuclear disarmament issues at a recent USIP event titled "A World Without Nuclear Weapons."

more nuclear weapons than the whole world combined but trying to tell this country and that country they shouldn't have them. You can't sell that. It's like a teacher telling his students how terrible it is to smoke while he's got a cigarette dangling from his mouth."

Kampelman acknowledges that addressing the specifics of enforcement remains an open question. Regardless of how the system unfolds, however, American leadership will be indispensable. "It seems to me that a society like the U.S., which has really been a leader in so much of technology, politics and human dignity should also be a leader in facing the threats to our survival," Kampelman says.

The decorated diplomat emphasizes he is not advocating that the U.S. unilaterally

See *Kampelman*, page 14



The Cycle of Theory and Practice

In a Team Effort, USIP Develops Toolkit for Measuring Post-Conflict Stabilization



Senior Program Officer Michael Dziedzic

A new measurement framework developed by USIP, with the input of several key partners, merges theory and practice to enable policymakers and practitioners to track progress toward self-sustaining peace in conflict zones. Known as the “Metrics Framework for Assessing Conflict Transformation and Stabilization,” the tool better enables policymakers to establish realistic goals, identify necessary resources and capabilities, focus efforts strategically and enhance prospects for enduring peace.

According to Mike Dziedzic, senior program officer in the Institute’s Post-Conflict Peace and Stability Operations program, “The metrics framework is intended to help decision makers ask the right questions as part of the baseline assessment process and avoid overlooking problems that will come back to bite them. It is intended to provide a clear-eyed diagnosis of what fuels conflict. To wring violence out of the equation, not only must the dynamics that perpetuate violence be diminished but more attractive peaceful means of managing conflict must be nurtured.”

The focus of the effort is on outcomes—for instance, determining whether the steps taken to train a police force in a particular country have actually resulted in advancing the rule

of law. The framework provides measures for the five desirable end states outlined in USIP’s *Framework for Fragile States* and *Societies Emerging from Conflict*: stable governance, safe and secure environment, rule of law, sustainable economy and social well-being.

The Framework’s Theory of Change

In 2005, the Institute published *The Quest for Viable Peace: International Intervention and Strategies for Conflict Transformation*. The book describes how conflict transformation entails both diminishing the means and motivations for violent conflict and establishing peaceful, institutionalized alternatives to resolve conflicts over power, wealth and other resources.

At the Department of State, the Office of the Coordinator for Reconstruction (S/CRS) and Stabilization has adopted USIP’s model of conflict transformation as a fundamental approach for planning across the U.S. government.

Over the last four years, a number of organizations have contributed to the metrics framework originally laid out in *The Quest for Viable Peace*: the U.S. Army Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute (PKSOI); the Fund for Peace;

the Research and Development Directorate of the Army Corps of Engineers; the Office of the Secretary of Defense; S/CRS; the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID) and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS).

In late 2004, recognizing the need for an interagency capability to measure outcomes, USIP established a Working Group on Measuring Progress as part of the Institute’s Filling the Gaps project. The group, under the direction of Dziedzic and Frederick Barton, co-director of the Post-Conflict Reconstruction Project at CSIS, met through the spring of 2005. The resulting USIP Special Report, *Measuring Progress in Stabilization and Reconstruction*, recommended a framework to address the causes of and institutional solutions to violent conflict.

PKSOI and the Dwight D. Eisenhower National Security Series, sponsored by the U.S. Army, also supported USIP’s initial efforts. In 2006 the Army Corps of Engineers, USAID, and the Office of the Secretary of Defense combined to fund a full-fledged \$1.6 million development effort called Measuring Progress in Conflict Environments (MPICE), which includes the USIP metrics framework, a user handbook and a software tool to aggregate, statistically correlate and display the data. This MPICE package was designed to enhance decision

“This [process] is too complicated an issue for any single individual.” —Mike Dziedzic

making in stabilization and reconstruction operations.

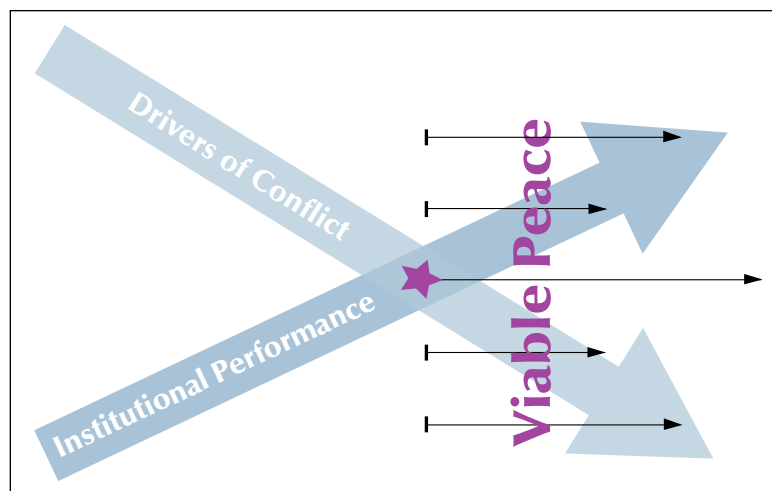
To complete the USIP framework, it was essential to have expert input from each of the sectors involved. “This [process] is too complicated an issue for any single individual,” Dzedzic emphasized, discussing early meetings on the measurement framework. “It was surprising how many people would come [to USIP for discussions], how long they would stay, how much they really cared. They had seen policy fail to address critical issues in the past, and they were passionate about correcting that.”

In 2007, the measurement framework entered the peer review phase, with critiques by the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, the Carr Center at Harvard University, the Center for Law and Military Operations and the Naval Postgraduate School.

A procedure was developed to pinpoint the indicators most relevant to each case in which MPICE would be used. As Barb Sotirin, deputy director of research and development at the Army Corps of Engineers, explained, “Because the framework was developed as generic and comprehensive, with over 800 individual measures, tailoring procedures were created to facilitate the selection of appropriate measures for specific environments.”

Current Use and Future Directions

After field-testing in Sudan and Afghanistan, MPICE was first put to use in a real world environment in late 2007 in support of the U.S. Haiti Stabilization Initiative (HSI), an S/CRS-facilitated interagency effort. HSI aims to integrate key diplomatic, security and



In order to reach a viable peace, institutional performance in conflict zones must balance drivers of conflict.

development assistance in the Cité Soleil neighborhood of Port-au-Prince, the most persistent source of instability in the country. MPICE provides baseline analysis of the five main end states for the project.

The next phase of the project will entail using MPICE in a variety of countries and regions, including Guinea, the Balkans, Haiti and the Philippines. Objectives in these countries range from conflict prevention to stabilization and reconstruction. MPICE will provide feedback to policymakers to determine the effectiveness of intervention strategies.

Oscar DeSoto, director of planning at S/CRS, remarked, “The value of the MPICE project for the U.S. government has been its ability to get the right people around the table repeatedly to work toward a common goal—better understanding of how we see and measure progress in these

“The value of the MPICE project for the U.S. government has been its ability to get the right people around the table repeatedly to work toward a common goal . . .” — Oscar DeSoto

complex, dynamic and critically important types of operations.”

The MPICE User’s Handbook, which USIP will publish and place online along with the measurement framework, describes four specific data collection techniques: content analysis, expert opinion, statistics and survey and polling data. The MPICE software tool will support the U.S. government policy and planning community. Additional work is under way to use focus groups to enhance data collection.

As the project advances, MPICE may evolve into a database focused on the steps most effective in peacemaking.



USIP Interactive

- **Strategic Framework: Fragile States and Societies Emerging from Conflict**
www.usip.org/pubs/peacebuilding_toolkit.pdf
- **Special Report: Measuring Progress in Stabilization and Reconstruction**
www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/srs/srs1.html



The Lansdowne Group

NGO With USIP Origins Promotes Kosovo Reconciliation

Kosovo achieved independence and U.S. diplomatic recognition in February 2008. Serbia, and some Serbs who live in Kosovo, reacted angrily. After a legacy of war, ethnic mistrust and division, can Serbs and Albanians coexist?

Members of the Lansdowne Group, a Kosovo-based multiethnic professional organization consisting of both Kosovar Albanian and Serbs have proved that such cooperation in Kosovo is possible.



The Lansdowne group provides Albanian language instruction to Serbian children and vice versa. Both groups learn English.



The Lansdowne Group is named after a Virginia conference center where a 1999 USIP-facilitated dialogue laid the groundwork for interethnic cooperation in Kosovo after the war between Serbia and NATO forces.

With origins in USIP’s work, the Lansdowne Group has carried out interethnic cooperation initiatives for more than eight years. Most recently, Lansdowne supported a project called “Language is Unity,” in which the group brought Serbian and Albanian children together to learn each other’s languages and to learn English.

The Institute is quick to point out that while it convened and facilitated the Lansdowne Group, credit for its long-term success should be directed to those who were directly involved on the ground. “What you’ve got here is a good news story in which USIP plays a positive catalytic role, one which depended for its effectiveness on a lot of other people doing the right thing,” USIP Vice President Daniel Serwer says. “We were a minor perturbation in a much bigger picture that was really being managed by the U.S. soldiers and locals.”

The group is a successful example of track 1.5 diplomacy. Track 1 diplomacy traditionally depends on diplomatic interaction between governments and track 2 means diplomatic activity through informal means. Track 1.5 diplomacy, according

to Serwer, consists of dialogue involving official and nonofficial entities.

Origins and USIP’s Role

The Lansdowne Group has its origins in the U.S. military presence—specifically the 2nd Battalion, 2nd Infantry Division—based in Kosovo in 1999 as part of the post-war NATO peacekeeping presence. The headquarters of this group was Camp Montieth, once a Yugoslav Army base near Gnjilane/Gjilan (Serb and Albanian names for the town, respectively) in southeastern Kosovo.

That region has a history of Serbs, Albanians, and members of other groups cooperating on issues such as agriculture and commerce. To spur economic cooperation after the war, the American commander persuaded Serb workers to resume work with their Albanian neighbors at a nearby quarry. He also established a weekly market on the base where soldiers could buy local crafts. People came from as far away as Bosnia to sell their wares.

The commander also hosted five local civil leaders—three Albanians and two Serbs—who met secretly to discuss issues of mutual interest, especially security, according to Serwer. “Merely by meeting together, the members of the small group were risking their lives,” he noted.

In the meantime, USIP facilitated two 1999 dialogues with Albanian and Serb participants—meeting separately—who were interested in promoting coexistence in Kosovo. The meeting with the Albanians was at the Lansdowne conference center, near Leesburg, Va., while the session with the Serbs was in Sofia, Bulgaria.

Shortly after these meetings concluded, USIP asked the U.S. office in Pristina if there was a location in Kosovo where Serbs and Albanians might meet



“I believe that workshops like the one you conducted here have the potential to make a real difference in the safety and stability of our area of responsibility. . . . [They] could very well save the lives of American soldiers.”—U.S. commander

locally. The Americans suggested Gnjilane/Gjilan, where the Lansdowne Group was already meeting under the auspices of the U.S. military. “The American military at that point in Gnjilane/Gjilan really understood what some of the requirements [for intraethnic dialogue] were,” Serwer emphasized.

With the support of the U.S. Army, USIP led a workshop in coexistence in a multiethnic society with the groups in May 2000. Conditions at the time were trying. E-mail communication between USIP and Camp Montieith was primitive and unreliable. For their protection, the Serb participants and three USIP representatives were transported to Camp Montieith in military convoys.

The Lansdowne Group selected 19 Albanians and 14 Serbs to participate. The group members—former Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) fighters, Serbian police and Yugoslav army soldiers—shared “dramatic and moving” accounts, especially concerning Serbs and Albanians helping each other during and after the conflict. The result of this meeting was the Gnjilane/Gjilan Declaration, which laid the framework for interethnic cooperation.

In his message following the workshop, the U.S. battalion commander praised the Institute’s work. “I believe that workshops like the one you conducted here have the potential to make a real difference in the safety and stability of our area

of responsibility. . . . [They] could very well save the lives of American soldiers.”

Serwer highlighted the success of the Institute’s conflict mitigation work in such a post-conflict situation, and the “amazing amount of collaboration” achieved at this initial meeting. “Locals responded with great enthusiasm,” he remarked.

In November 2000, the Lansdowne participants celebrated a “Day Against Violence” in Kosovo. Both KLA leader Hashim Thaci and Kosovo President Ibrahim Rugova, as well as representatives of various minority communities, participated in the celebration.

In a second meeting with Institute representatives in April 2001, 11 Serbs and 22 Albanians from Gnjilane/Gjilan took part, including local officials. The participants focused on developing their negotiation skills and formulating objectives for the Lansdowne Group. “Most striking in comparison to the previous year was the spirited participation of Serbs in the debate, giving us the feeling that we had turned a corner in terms of Serb perceptions of the practical utility of the enterprise,” Serwer said.

Additional Projects

In February 2004, the group, in cooperation with the World Conference on Religion and Peace, organized a debate on interreligious tolerance with representatives of Kosovo religious organizations.

The next month, rioting between Kosovar Serbs and

Albanians erupted throughout the country. According to Serwer, the group’s history of promoting reconciliation helped to limit the amount of damage in the area.

The Lansdowne Group has also facilitated improved agricultural and commercial ties between Serbs and Albanians. Another critical project, shortly after the group’s founding in 2002, was the construction of a multiethnic school. In the village of Pasan, the group constructed a clinic, two bridges and a carpet factory that now employs 40 Serbs.

In the village of Livoc, group members organized sports activities for more than 2,000 youth from Albanian, Serb, Turk and Roma backgrounds. The U.S. ambassador and representatives of British and German governments attended.

In July 2007, the group organized Kosovo’s first Global Youth Service Day.

Last fall, the Lansdowne Group organized language courses in Albanian, Serbian, Turkish, and Roma, with 10 representatives of each of these ethnic communities participating. Those attending included members of Kosovo’s police and security forces.

The Lansdowne Group plans to expand throughout the country. It aims to establish a multiethnic professional youth organization to combat societal ills such as drug and alcohol abuse, prostitution, violence, unemployment and extremism in young people of all nationalities. The group also aspires to establish multiethnic media such as radio, magazines and Web sites.

Eight years after its founding, the Lansdowne Group is “still trying to do the right thing,” Serwer says. 🌐



USIP Addresses

“REKNITTING THE SOCIAL FABRIC OF DARFUR”

Diaspora Representatives Convene at USIP

More than 30 leaders of the Darfurian diaspora community in North America recently came to USIP for a ‘Reclaiming Common Ground’ conference on addressing peace in the region. The Institute sponsored the meeting in partnership with Concordis International and the Preparatory Committee for the Darfur–Darfur Dialogue and Consultation (DDDC).

USIP Vice President David Smock and Abdul Mohammed, the DDDC primary representative, facilitated. The meeting addressed five key topics: a safe and secure environment in Darfur; rule of law; stable democracy; sustainable economy; and social well-being.

USIP Program Officer Susan Hayward called the diaspora’s effort to address such a wide scope of issues a “Herculean effort.” Abdel-

hady Abushanab, a Darfur peace activist from New Jersey, hoped the conference would help in “reknitting the social fabric of Darfur.”

Smock added, “This conference accomplished the Institute’s purpose of reaching out to a representative group from the Darfur diaspora.”

A key feature of the conference was the participation of Darfurian Arabs and Africans, as well as Sudanese from outside Darfur. The participants stressed the need for constituencies within the Darfurian diaspora to work together and thereby catalyze unity within Darfur itself. One of the participants declared to his fellow attendees, “By working with you, it educated me that evil power has no race. It could be black. It could be white. I’ll take this message back to my people.”



Vice President David Smock (left) and DDC primary representative Abdul Mohammed.

Institute Executive Vice President Patricia Thomson said, “The tragedy of Darfur is of enormous importance to the international community and particularly to USIP. The workshop we organized is just one of our efforts to contribute to peace in Darfur. The Darfurian diaspora seemed to be appreciative that we took this initiative and felt that it is an important step toward peace.”

Group Dynamics

Hailing from different tribes and regions of their scarred homeland in western Sudan, the participants referred to each other as “brother” and “sister.” The main discussions were in English, but when the Darfurians huddled during breaks and in small group sessions, they spoke a blend of English and Sudanese Arabic. After the laborious daylong sessions at the Institute, the representatives reconvened in their hotel well into the night to discuss the diaspora community’s contribution to peace.

Dr. Hamid E. Ali, a participant from Dallas, received his doctorate from the LBJ School of Public Affairs at the University of Texas, where recently deceased USIP

See *Darfur*, page 14

“By working with you, it educated me that evil power has no race. It could be black. It could be white. I’ll take this message back to my people.”—conference participant

Conference participants and USIP staff



the Darfur Crisis

A “WIN/WIN/WIN” EFFORT

Institute Specialists Train Rwandan Forces for Darfur Peacekeeping

For Rwandans, the painful memories of their 1994 genocide make the tragedy of ongoing atrocities in Darfur that much more disturbing. Galvanized by its own haunting past, Rwanda is sending troops to participate in an African Union (AU)/UN peacekeeping mission in Darfur (UNAMID), and USIP is helping them prepare for the challenge.

In Gako, Rwanda Senior Program Officers Keith Bowen and Ted Feifer recently delivered a training workshop to 47 Rwandan Defense Forces (RDF) officers for their spring 2008 deployment to Darfur. The training was conducted in partnership with the U.S. Department of State’s African Contingency Operations and Training Assistance Program (ACOTA).

“The Rwandans have put a huge effort into training for this mission,” notes Bowen.



Feifer and Bowen (first row, left and right) in Rwanda with members of that country’s officer corps.

“They have a critical mission,” says Feifer. “They understand the difficulties of being a third party in a conflict environment. They’re professionals.”

Rwandan Motivation

Rwanda has sent officers and regular troops to Sudan for several years, both in Darfur and as part of the AU peacekeeping mission in South Sudan. At present an estimated

9,000 Rwandan troops are stationed in Darfur, constituting approximately half of the mission’s projected troop strength.

The country’s recent past has no doubt shaped the perspective of its officer corps. At the same time, these soldiers have a very healthy appreciation for the complexity and challenges of peacekeeping, says Feifer.

“During the training sessions,
See Rwanda, page 15

“During the training sessions, the Rwandans were very, very interested in the subject matter. As trainers, we found that extremely satisfying.” —Ted Feifer

Rwandan officers prepare to deploy to Darfur.





“Dream Team” Produces New Book on Middle East Peace

USIP Press recently published *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace: American Leadership in the Middle East*, coauthored by Ambassador Daniel Kurtzer and Dr. Scott Lasensky, senior research associate in the Institute’s Center for Conflict Analysis and Prevention.

Designed primarily as a guidebook for future American negotiators, the book sets forth a compelling, interests-based framework for American engagement in the peace process and provides a critical assessment of U.S. diplomacy since the end of the Cold War. The centerpiece of the study is a set of 10 lessons to guide future peacemaking efforts.

Kurtzer and Lasensky set out to produce much more than another book on the peace process. Rather, they wanted to create a tool that

can be used by current and future policymakers involved in the process. Together, they have briefed senior U.S. officials on the project, including Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice.

Though only recently released, the book has generated significant media attention. “*Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace* is a well-reasoned, realistic study setting out what works and what does not in this distinctive diplomatic arena,” said *Foreign Affairs* in a review of the study. “Today’s leadership (and tomorrow’s) could usefully build on the lessons presented here.”

Kurtzer, a former U.S. ambassador to Israel and Egypt, holds the S. Daniel Abraham Chair at Princeton University’s Woodrow Wilson School. Since late 2006, he has served as chair and codirector of USIP’s Study Group on Arab-Israeli Peacemaking—which conducted interviews with more than 100 policymakers, diplomats and civil society leaders as part of the research for this book. Lasensky codirected the study group. The effort brought together what Kurtzer describes as a “dream team” of some of America’s most respected and experienced authorities in the field, including Professors William Quandt (University of Virginia), Steven Spiegel (UCLA) and Shibley Telhami (University of Maryland and Brookings Institution). The group is presenting the book’s findings at several public forums in major U.S. cities.



Ambassador Daniel C. Kurtzer and Scott B. Lasensky

The interviews for the book, which included leading Americans, Israelis, Arabs and representatives of the international community, produced more than 700 pages of transcripts, an unprecedented historical database of information on the peace process. In fact, so much material was compiled that a second volume is now in the planning stages.

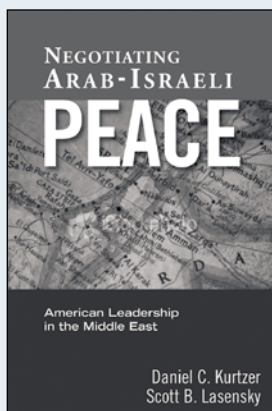
The project was motivated by a desire to explain the poor U.S. track record in these negotiations and then apply these lessons for future negotiators. “The existing memoirs and insider accounts are incomplete,” said Kurtzer and Lasensky in a recent interview. “Moreover, none of the numerous analytical works offer a dispassionate, prescriptive account.”

Kurtzer emphasized that the extensive, high-level interviews strengthen the book’s credibility. He said the book is “very much an appraisal looking backward but with the intention of moving forward.” He stressed the importance of the U.S. effectively using its “diplomatic toolbox” with instruments such as summitry and foreign aid. 🌐

Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace

American Leadership in the Middle East

Daniel C. Kurtzer
Scott B. Lasensky



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USIP Interactive

- Read an interview with Kurtzer and Lasensky at www.usip.org/newsmedia/lasensky_kurtzer_press/index.html
- Book launch event of *Negotiating Arab-Israeli Peace*: www.usip.org/events/2008/0313_lasensky_kurtzer.html#audio



Fellowship Spotlight

Radwan Ziadeh

USIP Senior Fellow Radwan Ziadeh, a Syrian human rights activist, is focusing his year at the Institute on Syria's democratic transition. He recently spoke with *PeaceWatch* about his research and related developments in his country, the U.S. and the Arab world.

Democracy and Authoritarianism

The first part of Ziadeh's research project seeks to outline how Syria can rebuild an active democracy based on its own democratic history. From 1949 to 1958, Syria had more than 270 newspapers and magazines and established fledgling democratic institutions. In 1951, Syria became the first Arab country to grant women suffrage.

Yet after the 1963 coup that brought the Ba'ath Party into power, the situation changed dramatically. The revolution swept away pre-existing democratic institutions, and the basis of legitimacy transferred to a new authoritarian regime. Today, the country has only three state-run newspapers, and the parliament is not independent. The repressive internal security apparatus, the *mukhabarat*, is the most effective institution nationwide, Ziadeh says.

According to Ziadeh, the regime of Syrian President Hafez al-Asad, who died in 2000, differs significantly from that of his son and successor Bashar. Although the systems of government are the same, the younger al-Asad's rule has taken place in conjunction with the growth of the Internet. The Web has altered methods of both dissent and repression. Activists have coordinated and increased their protests through blogging and e-mail, while authorities have

sought to stifle such activity and prosecuted dissidents for seditious Web postings.

Ziadeh believes that a chapter in Syria's modern history may provide lessons for the present. When Protestant Christian Fares al-Khouri became prime minister in 1956, he was a minority within a minority (the majority of Syrian Christians are Orthodox). However, the Muslim Brotherhood supported him. More than half a century later, an urgent political crisis in Syria involves minorities such as the Kurds and Druze and a struggle between Sunni Muslims and the ruling Alawites. In this contemporary situation, the al-Khouri experience holds a lesson for the present. "The only way for reconciliation among groups nationwide is within the democratic process," said Ziadeh.

In the second part of his research, Ziadeh explores how democratic transitions in other countries might serve as examples for Syria. In post-Franco Spain, the political elite chose a representative democracy because of a strong desire to integrate with European institutions. Czechoslovakia had the smoothest transition to democracy of all countries in the Eastern Bloc because of its history of democratic institutions prior to the communist regime. Syria may follow such an example in the future.

Ziadeh also is examining transitional justice in Argentina, Chile and South Africa and how

their lessons, in particular their experience with truth commissions, might apply to Syria.

Democracy and Regional Dynamics

According to Ziadeh, a fundamentally sound relationship with Lebanon is critical to Syria's democratic future. The two countries share historic and cultural bonds that predate the Ottoman Empire. Yet Syria has sent troops to Lebanon in various roles since the onset of that country's civil war in 1975, and the two countries do not have bilateral ties.

Yet the future of both Damascus and Beirut depends on democracy. "I think when we have a strong democratic system in Lebanon, that helps Syria more than a weak one," observed Ziadeh. Syria should respect Lebanese borders and institutions and establish diplomatic ties with its neighbor.

Syria has had five UN Security Council resolutions directed against it concerning the assassination of former Lebanese Prime Minister Rafik Hariri. Some in Syria believe it can bargain its way out of this situation with a change of administration in Washington. However, Ziadeh contends that Syrian cooperation with international institutions, rather than bargaining, is unequivocal.

Public Outreach

While at USIP, Ziadeh also has written for a range of Arabic

See *Ziadeh*, page 15



Radwan Ziadeh



USIP Interactive

- **USIPeace Briefing: Resurrecting the Wall of Fear: The Human Rights Situation in Syria**
www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace_briefings/2008/0410_syria_human_rights.html



Grants Spotlight

Kenya's Concerned Citizens for Peace

USIP recently invested in a grant to Concerned Citizens for Peace (CCP), a Kenyan organization devoted to ending the postelectoral conflicts that recently roiled the country.

CCP, which is led by mediators, peace builders and diplomats, was launched in early 2008 as the crisis in Kenya broke out. CCP has facilitated dialogue and contacts between the two major contending parties in Kenya, as well as international efforts to mediate the crisis. The organization also has worked to promote reconciliation in the national media, mobilizing radio stations to broadcast messages of nonviolence, using new media such as the Web, blogs and text messaging to promote discussion of the crisis. It has worked with women's and youth groups and has assisted with burial and mourning ceremonies.

CCP is an ad hoc group led by five well-known Kenyan peacemakers: Dhekka Ibrahim, a 2007 winner of the Right Livelihood Award; Ambassador Bethuel Kiplagat, executive director of the Africa Peace Forum; Lt. Gen. Daniel Opande, (retired) a force commander for the UN Mission in Liberia; Lt. Gen. Lazarus Sumbeiywo, who served as a lead negotiator of Sudan's Comprehensive Peace Agreement; and George Wachira, senior research and policy adviser at the Nairobi Peace Initiative-Africa (NPI).



Daniel Opande
and Senior
Research
Associate
Dorina Bekoe
at USIP

While CCP does not mediate directly, it emphasizes the role of facilitator. "It's important to understand that their goal is to build and coordinate a network of different organizations, such as women, youth and concerned writers," says USIP Senior Research Associate Dorina Bekoe.

Before the crisis, USIP had worked with NPI on the Eastern Sudan Peace Agreement. Once the violence broke out, USIP contacted NPI to see what they were doing about the situation. After the formulation of the CCP, USIP responded quickly to make the grant.

First-Hand Insights into the Crisis

Opande, the former vice chief of the general staff of the Kenyan armed forces, recently spoke with *PeaceWatch* about his experiences during the crisis. When the crisis broke out, he was at his home in Eldoret, in western Kenya. Two hundred people sought refuge in his backyard.

"When it happened, it shocked me. It upset me. I was very angry," he says. The scene reminded him of his experiences commanding UN peacekeepers in other African countries that had been struck by violent ethnic conflict. Recalling a phone conversation with Lt. Gen. Sumbeiywo, Opande recalled saying, "I see our country is completely going to the dogs. We need to do something." Such informal discussions led to the emergence of the CCP.

The retired general spoke of the deep polarization within the country and the need for domestic dialogue. At the grassroots level, confidence-building is possible, but 600,000 internally displaced persons have worsened the situation. Meeting this challenge should be a priority of the new government, he said. Domestic-based pressure is critical to achieving national reconciliation, Opande says. It is critical for Kenyan stakeholders to maintain pressure on national leaders to uphold the agreement.

Opande expressed the hope that a truth and reconciliation commission will eventually examine the roots of the crisis. "This is what the majority of Kenyan people want to see—Justice." 🌍

USIP Interactive

- **USIPeace Briefing: Kenya: Setting the Stage for Durable Peace?**
www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace_briefings/2008/0415_kenya.html
- **On the Issues: Kenya**
www.usip.org/on_the_issues/kenya.html





Economies

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USIP, Gilpin served as academic chair for defense economics at the Africa Center for Strategic Studies, National Defense University, where he pioneered work on development economics and resource management in Africa's security sector. He was also the lead faculty for the center's work on energy, maritime security and China.

His prior employment also includes roles as director for international programs at Intellibridge Corporation (now part of Eurasia Group), senior economist at the African Development Bank Group and economist at the World Bank. Gilpin holds a doctorate from Cambridge University and an executive certificate in international finance and capital markets from Georgetown University.

Gilpin brings "a remarkable combination of practical experience and academic respectability to the Economies and Conflict Center of Innovation," Serwer says. "He came to the Institute because of the opportunity to contribute to a critical aspect of both peacebuilding and development from the ground up."

Aspirations

Over the next two years, Gilpin seeks to weave economic considerations more closely into all phases of peacebuilding, help USIP achieve international recognition as a thought leader in the field, and make the center both a resource clearinghouse and a practical asset for all who work on the topic.

Patricia Thomson, USIP executive vice president, says, "In addition to conducting much-needed research and developing new peacebuilding tools, this new center will support practitioners in the field working on the tough challenges of building sustainable economies in fragile states." 🌐

Snapshots

Snapshots: Encouraging Dialogue on Kashmir

USIP recently sponsored a dialogue in Colombo, Sri Lanka, focused on enhancing business, academic and civil society ties between residents of the disputed territory of Kashmir, at the border between India and Pakistan. The Institute partnered with the Pugwash Conferences on Science and World Affairs and with India's Institute of Peace and Conflict Studies to carry out these projects. USIP had the initial idea for the conference and funded it, while Pugwash organized the event.

USIP Vice President David Smock commented, "Based upon wide consultation, USIP concluded that the most promising current opportunity for reducing tensions and moving toward lasting peace in Kashmir lies in economic cooperation and new investment. With cross-border trade and a greater awareness of the economic benefits that will accrue for all of South Asia from peace in Kashmir, new avenues for a peace agreement will open up."

The discussion in Colombo was part of the Kashmir Economic Dialogue, which has engaged civil society and business leaders to produce feasibility studies on areas of potential cooperation across the line of control (LoC) dividing Indian and Pakistani territory. The meeting included sessions on enhancing economic and civil society cooperation, the role of international donor organizations, education and natural disaster cooperation and planning for future initiatives. Participants, who represented the academic, business and civil society communities, came



Participants at the Colombo Conference (Coyne is at the back, second from left.)

"This [process] can benefit both sides, without crossing red lines that the governments have set for any resolution of the dispute." —A. Heather Coyne

from Indian and Pakistani Kashmir and other regions of their countries.

The representatives also identified sectors for practical collaboration, highlighting tourism. Business leaders noted that the strong desire in Indian and Pakistani Kashmir to visit religious holy sites and ancestral homes in the other country could prompt further openings on the economic front.

The dialogue is timely, according to USIP Senior Program Officer A. Heather Coyne, who participated in the event. The governments of both India and Pakistan increasingly view economic cooperation as a means to reduce regional tension, she said. Indian officials recently announced a timeline of 90 days for agreement on starting cross-LoC, trade, although obstacles to implementation remain. Ultimately, business leaders on both sides may lobby for a comprehensive regional peace.

"This [process] can benefit both sides, without crossing red lines that the governments have set for any resolution of the dispute," Coyne observed.

USIP has worked on the Kashmir dispute for four years. Using recent Institute scholarship on the economic approach to peacebuilding, USIP has drawn interest from the policy and business communities in cross-LoC collaboration. 🌐



Kampelman

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Ambassador Kampelman (right) and USIP President Richard J. Solomon

relinquish nuclear weapons. In fact, as long as other states hold nuclear weapons, he is in favor of the U.S. modernizing its nuclear arsenal. His preferred

option is that the U.S. initiate the “go to zero” proposal and persuade other states to commit themselves to the effort. “I don’t want to weaken our country in the slightest in a world in which there are forces that possess weapons of mass destruction. We’d be crazy to give up ours when others possess the capacity to destroy us,” Kampelman says. “But it’s time for the United States to represent and symbolize what we stand for as a government based on human dignity.”

Kampelman is not alone in his call for nuclear elimination. He has joined with former secretaries of state George P. Shultz and

Henry Kissinger, former secretary of defense William J. Perry and former senator Sam Nunn, who have collectively called for the same goal in recent *Wall Street Journal* and *New York Times* editorials. Kampelman has also raised this issue with senior White House staff. “They know exactly where we stand,” he says. Kampelman has recently spoken on the topic at a number of conferences and events, including talks at Stanford, Princeton, Harvard, the University of California, the February 2008 International Conference on Nuclear Disarmament in Oslo and a March 2008 USIP panel discussion. 🌐

Darfur

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Board Member Elspeth Rostow served on the faculty for many years. As the meeting opened, he recalled that Rostow urged her students to take advantage of “windows of opportunity” when they appear. Ali pleaded with his compatriots to heed that lesson.

Addressing the Tragedy in Darfur

Although the participants have settled in the relative safety of North America, their agonized homeland remains fresh in their minds. Simmering emotions and occasional outbursts characterized the meeting. The participants told stories of women squatting in the desert with no possessions, of disunity among various Darfuran resistance groups and of

sexual abuse at the hands of both Janjaweed assailants as well as the African Union peacekeepers sent to protect them.

The participants emphasized that diaspora members with ties to leaders within the particular resistance movements can use such connections to encourage peaceful cooperation and democratic practices.

In order to address the numerous crimes that have taken place in Darfur, participants discussed a potential regional truth and reconciliation process. They received copies of the USIP-sponsored film, *Confronting the Truth*, which documents the work of several truth commissions that have helped societies transition from conflict to peace.

One working group emphasized the resources, support and expertise that the diaspora community

can leverage in order to aid Darfuran resistance movements in the negotiation process. Participants also discussed the possibility of future leadership training for members of the diaspora community to strengthen its ability to mobilize for peace.

The participants discussed the role of media in building trust between civil society and resistance movements. Because Internet and print media have limited reach in Darfur, participants concurred that the use of radio is a critical element in raising awareness of peacebuilding initiatives.

The conference produced a report titled, “Reclaiming Common Ground: Addressing Long-Term Challenges to Peace in Darfur.” The DDDC has been convening similar meetings in Europe and the Middle East. The group will be taking recommendations from these regional diaspora meetings to inform future peacebuilding efforts in the region.

“We Darfurians are enormously grateful to USIP for organizing this meeting,” said one of the participants. 🌐

USIP Interactive



USIPeace Briefing: Engaging the Darfur Diaspora for Peace
www.usip.org/pubs/usipeace_briefings/2008/0221_darfur_diaspora.html



Ziadeh

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newspapers, including *al-Hayat*, *al-Mustaqbal* and *al-Abram*, based in London, Beirut and Cairo, respectively.

“I’m trying to continue my discussion about reform in the Arab world [with my articles],” Ziadeh said.

Responses to his commentaries have been mixed. Ziadeh often faces criticism for writing from Washington because of the poor U.S image in the Arab world. Nonetheless, his audiences are eager for insights about democratization.

Ziadeh also has spoken on democracy in Syria at several events in the Washington, D.C.,

area, including a USIP panel discussion, “Resurrecting the Wall of Fear: The Human Rights Situation in Syria.”

Reflecting on his efforts at the Institute, Ziadeh comments, “I think democracy promotion is valuable. Now Arab people are very hungry for change.”

Rwanda

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the Rwandans were very, very interested in the subject matter. As trainers, we found that extremely satisfying.”

Training Techniques

While other partners in the ACOTA program have provided the military side of the training, the USIP effort focused on communication, problem solving, negotiation and mediation skills. Although the Rwandan soldiers lack formal training in these skills, according to Bowen, they were quite eager to learn. “They understand that if they can solve a problem by talking it out, that is the best way,” he said.

The USIP workshop involved three days of communication and negotiation training, consisting of presentations, exercises and simulations. The RDF officers took part in role-play exercises involving meetings with leaders in internally displaced persons (IDP) camps, analysis and operational problem solving, cross-cultural communication, the use of interpreters and a final complex, multiparty crisis simulation of a Darfur-like scenario.

Before each scenario, Bowen and Feifer helped the participants analyze the conflict by identifying stakeholders, root causes and control over resources. The USIP specialists also helped

the participants differentiate between negotiating positions, fundamental interests and best alternatives. Each scenario was followed by a debrief in which Bowen and Feifer reviewed the initial analysis and strategy and compared that to what actually happened.

A highlight of the training was two-party exercises in which each peacekeeper held a simulated meeting with a leader of a group of IDPs, which Feifer called a “very Darfur” scenario. Feifer and Bowen’s preparation for the exercise was extensive. Feifer researched actual situations that Darfurians have experienced, including interviewing NGO staff who had worked in the region and representatives from military, governments and other organizations.

Throughout the session, Feifer and Bowen showed documentary videos on Darfur. “Adding graphic visuals is a powerful teaching tool,” Feifer observed. “The visualization of displaced people, the harsh terrain and the reality of genocide was extremely effective in familiarizing the Rwandans with the complexity of their Darfur mission.”

Peacekeeping Basics

A primary task of peacekeeping is to manage conflict so it does not escalate into violence. The job is trickier in Darfur because there is no genuine, comprehensive cease

fire agreement, even though the force in which the Rwandans will participate is authorized under UN auspices. Moreover, UN peacekeepers must make every reasonable effort to handle hostile situations through means other than force.

Peacekeeping differs significantly with combat situations. Peacekeepers are a neutral third party, directed to remain above the conflict. These troops are charged with working with the warring parties to achieve peace.

Another difference with combat situations is that while in warfare surprise and camouflage are critical elements, peacekeepers should be openly visible—hence the UN blue helmets and marked vehicles. This visible presence projects strength and facilitates building trust with local populations.

Evaluation

In their evaluations, the RDF officers said they found the workshop extremely useful. As one participant noted, the workshop was valuable because it provided additional approaches to dealing with problems in the conflict, how to deal with different cultures and how to handle an escalation of violence.

“Feedback was great,” Bowen commented. “Our partners in the State Department have called the effort a ‘win/win/win’, so we’re now organizing more sessions to come.”

Building for Peace Web Site Launched



Screenshot of the Institute's new "Building for Peace" Web site.

USIP's Headquarters and Public Education Center Campaign Web site contains detailed explanations of the new building and a donation feature. Visitors can preview some of the features expected once the Public Education Center is built, including:

- Theater and film exhibits
 - A "Conflict Zone" to learn about the stages of violent conflict
 - A Peace Lab to explore peacebuilding methodologies
- Viewers also will be able to see real-time progress at the site of the new building with the construction cam feature.

"These new Web pages are a significant addition to the Institute's Internet presence," said Director of Public Affairs Ian Larsen. "The headquarters project is moving forward, and these new pages give our friends and colleagues a sneak peek of just what an important contribution the building will make." 🌐

USIP Interactive

View the new USIP Headquarters and Public Education Center Web site:

www.usip.org/building



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