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Global Grassroot Peace Initiative

UNITED STATES INSTITUTE OF PEACE ■ WASHINGTON, DC

‘Total War’ Targets Civilians

Winners of the Institute’s peace essay contest say that although they have grown up in a violent world, they have great hopes for contributing to world peace.

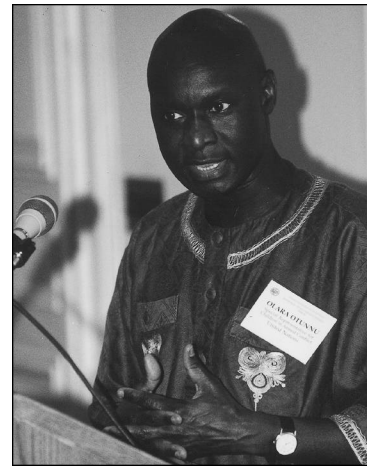
In war today, some 90 percent of casualties are civilians, most of them women and children. In comparison, during the two world wars only 5 percent of casualties were civilians. The goal of warring factions today is no longer for one side to assert itself over the other, but rather to humiliate the other, to destroy its livestock, its granaries, to decimate its community, says **Olara A. Otunnu** of Uganda, the United Nations special representative for children and armed conflict. Anything goes in what has been termed “total war,” he says. “This is the world turned upside down.”

Otunnu was the keynote speaker at the U.S. Institute of Peace awards banquet for the winners of its 1999 National Peace Essay Contest. The banquet was held June 23 at the Meridian International Center in Washington, D.C.

More than 2,500 students from 50 states, the District of Columbia, U.S. territories, and



American high schools overseas participated in this year’s contest, writing an essay on various measures that can be taken to prevent violent international conflict. Some 50 state-level winners visited Washington June 19–24 to participate in an educational program, including a three-day simulation exercise focused on the war between Ethiopia and Eritrea and current negotiations to end it. The winners also met with senior U.S. government and foreign embassy officials, members of Congress, and other experts. Each state-level



winner received a \$1,000 college scholarship. The contest and related programs were organized by **Heather Kerr-Stewart**, education specialist, and **Janice Hoggs**, program assistant.

Institute president **Richard H. Solomon** announced the three national winners at the awards banquet. **Jeanmarie Hicks** of Rapid City, S.D., won first place and a \$10,000 scholarship; **Anika Binnendijk** of Bethesda, Md., won second place and a \$5,000 scholarship; and **Rebecca Bradburd**

Top left (left to right): Rebecca Bradburd, Richard Solomon, Jeanmarie Hicks, and Anika Binnendijk.

Top right: Olara A. Otunnu

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Peace Essay

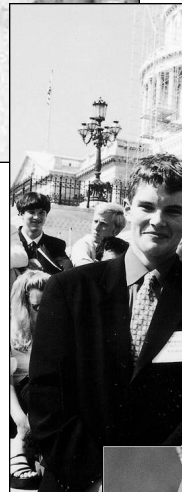
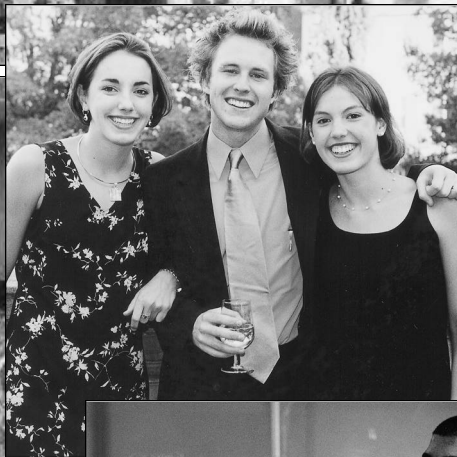
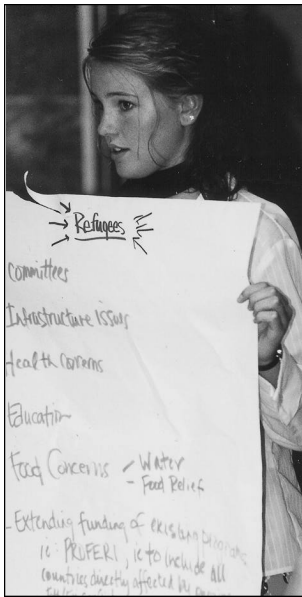
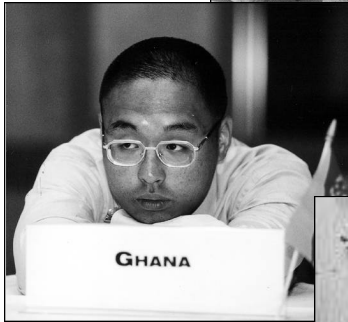
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Peace essay contest winners met with policy-makers and government officials and engaged in simulation exercises.

of Williamstown, Mass., won third place and a \$2,500 scholarship.

Essay contest winners said that Otunnu's speech really touched them, as they have grown up in a world deeply troubled by violence, ethnic cleansing, and genocide. Hicks said in an interview that many in this country have become desensitized to violence through vicarious and excessive exposure in the media and popular culture. Still, she says she is hopeful about the future because she has met so many people who want to help those who are suffering.

Bradburd, one of the participants who spoke at the banquet, said that the Washington program, especially the simulation and role-play exercises, "made peace messier, no longer the shining thing I wrote about in my essay, but more of an imperfect reality." She said she now knows that achieving





peace and changing the world is a lot more complicated than it seems at first.

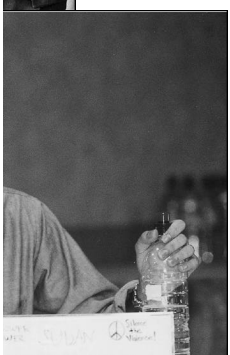
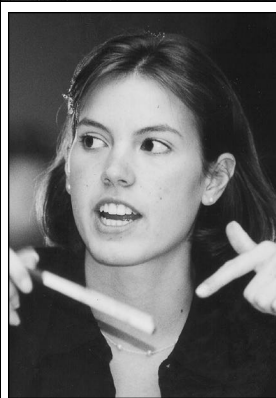
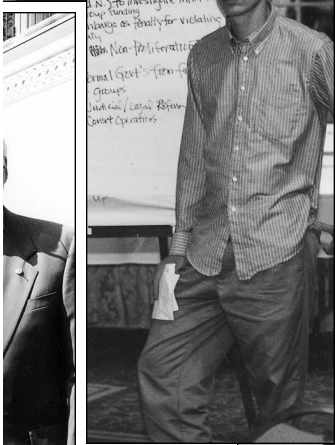
Binnendijk said in an interview that growing up during a time of genocide in Rwanda and ethnic cleansing in the Balkans has given her a more negative view of humankind. "I have seen the violence and human rights violations as the way things are. It definitely presents a challenge."

Most recently, seeing children and youth like herself as victims of ethnic cleansing in Kosovo made the challenge "much more real and immediate," she said. "It has inspired me to try with my life to prevent that sort of thing from happening again." The other students who came to Washington are also totally involved in wanting to save the world, she said. "You caught us at an idealistic stage of our lives."

The Institute Trains Police for Deployment to Kosovo

While the fighting in Kosovo is over, violence and ethnic hatreds continue to erupt throughout the Serbian province. NATO peacekeepers stationed in Kosovo to monitor the cease-fire are anxiously waiting for the promised deployment of 3,000 international police to maintain civil order. In an effort to quickly prepare U.S. civilian police to participate in the international force, a U.S. Institute of Peace training team is providing training in conflict resolution to some 400 civilian police officers from all over the United States who are scheduled to ship out to Kosovo in August. The trainees will be part of the United Nations peacekeeping mission in Kosovo (UNMIK), which will comprise police from 42 other countries.

Barbara Wien and **Lewis Rasmussen**, program officers in the Institute's Training Program, are helping to prepare the U.S. police for the challenges and conditions they will face on the ground in Kosovo. They are teaching methods to de-escalate conflicts and techniques for negotiating difficult situations through role-plays and simulations. Two trainings were held in July and another two are scheduled for August.



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.

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Prospects for Peace in Central Africa

Focused, strategic assistance can help stabilize the region.

The international community can help bring about a lasting peace in the Congo by providing strategic, focused assistance that would help implement and sustain the recent peace agreement there, says Africa specialist **David R. Smock** of the U.S. Institute of Peace.

Smock, who is director of the Institute's Grant Program and head of its Africa initiative, traveled to eastern Congo, Burundi, and Rwanda for two weeks in July to assess the prospects for the July peace agreement, still awaiting final signatures from rebel leaders. Smock was accompanied by **John**

At the end of the trip, Prendergast joined U.S. special envoy Anthony Lake in another round of shuttle diplomacy in Addis Ababa and Asmara in an effort to end the war between Eritrea and Ethiopia. After that, Prendergast went to Algiers, where he worked with United Nations and Organization for African Unity representatives to draw up a detailed peace plan between the two countries. He also closed out the Central African mission by traveling to Uganda and Kinshasa.

Peace in Congo

Smock notes the complexity of the war in the Congo, which has affected a large part of the continent. While it looks like a civil war between the Congolese government and Congolese rebel forces, foreign troops from six countries in the region are also involved, including government forces from Angola, Burundi, Namibia, Rwanda, Uganda, and Zimbabwe. Additionally, rebel groups from four of those countries are also fighting in the Congo; and Sudan is supporting government forces and some of these rebel militias. On top of that, opportunistic warlords of various backgrounds have their own troops in the fray.

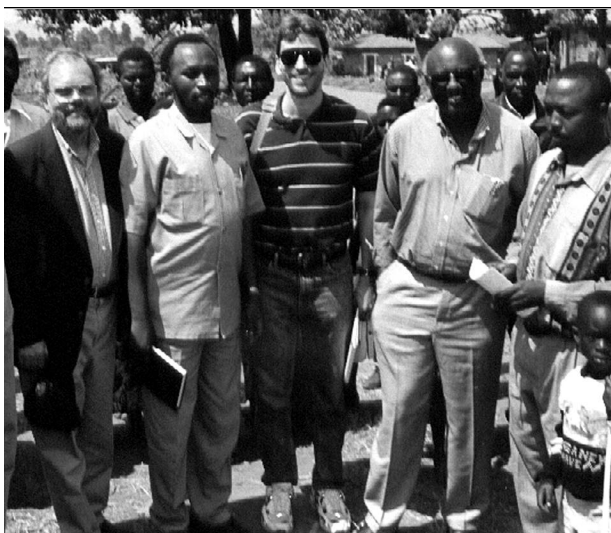
The situation is further complicated by parallel civil wars in Angola and Burundi and cross-border insurgencies involving

Rwanda and Uganda. In signing the Lusaka peace agreement in July, the countries and various other parties to the conflict have committed to disarm the militia groups, but it is not clear that they have the will or the capability to do so, Smock says.

"Despite the complexity and difficulty of implementing the agreement, this is the best anyone can expect," Smock says. Prendergast adds, "It's not a panacea, but it is an important first step and requires robust international support."

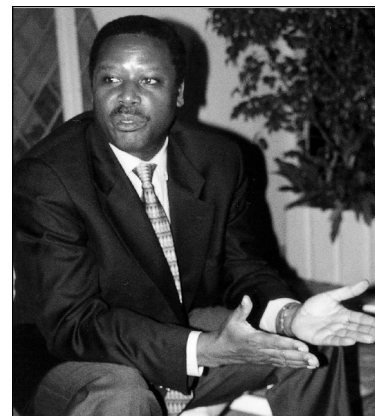
Smock and Prendergast met with over 150 leaders in the four central African countries where they traveled. Throughout the region they met with rebel leaders, government officials, civil society leaders, military officers, and businesspeople.

While the willingness of the parties to sign the agreement is commendable, they need support to encourage follow-through on



David Smock and John Prendergast met with officials in Ruhengeri, Rwanda.

Prendergast, an executive fellow at the Institute and special adviser to the State Department. Prendergast served as director of African affairs at the National Security Council in 1997-99 as part of his executive fellowship.



Pierre Buyoya, president of Burundi



the terms of the accord. It is unlikely that the international community will send in troops to enforce the peace and disarm militias, Smock stresses. At the same time, “we can’t just wash our hands and say ‘let the Africans do it,’ so resources must be provided to support the provisions of the agreement that allow regional governments to undertake this difficult task.”

To help disarm the militias, the international community can provide transportation and technical advice, including intelligence about militia troop movements. Resolving conflict in surrounding countries would also help build the peace in Congo. In Rwanda, reconciliation between the Tutsi and Hutu, further progress toward democratization, and economic measures—providing better roads, agricultural supplies, and credit, for example—would persuade some of the Rwandan Hutu



With a grant from the Institute, Youth in Reconstruction of the World in Destruction, a civil society group, is working on reconciliation and rebuilding of homes in Burundi.

rebels, particularly the younger ones who were not participants in the genocide, to return and settle down, Smock notes.

He concludes that these and related measures would not

require large amounts of assistance, but rather carefully focused, strategically allocated assets that could make a significant difference in bringing peace to Congo and the region.

U.S. Policy Toward North Korea

Former secretary of defense **William Perry** (second from left) briefs the Institute's Korea Working Group on his recommendations for U.S. policy toward North Korea at a June meeting. President Clinton assigned Perry to assess U.S. policy on North Korea and to make recommendations for future policy. Perry is expected to make his recommendations public late this summer or in the fall.



The working group, chaired by **Patrick Cronin**, director of research and studies, and program officer **William Drennan**, brings together top policymakers, government officials, and academic and think tank experts to discuss critical issues on the Korean peninsula.

U.S.-Russia Relations

Ashton Carter (left), Ford Foundation professor of science and international affairs at Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, presided over a July meeting of the Institute's Russia Working Group. Carter, who served as assistant secretary of defense for international security policy in 1993–96, had just returned from a fact-finding trip to Russia. The working group session was organized by **Tara Sonenshine** (right), the Institute's senior adviser, and program officer **Lauren Van Metre**.



Among a broad range of issues, participants explored how the U.S.-Russia security relationship will be defined in the decade ahead, when each country is governed by a new president; actions the United States can take to avoid crises or a sharp deterioration in relations during the election period stretching from late 1999 through 2000; and what presidents Clinton and Yeltsin still might accomplish in the areas of European security, arms control, and military-to-military relations.

Capital Campaign Tops \$1 Million Mark

recent months, the U.S. Institute of Peace received a number of donations that bring the Capital Campaign coffers over the million-dollar mark. In addition, a strong group of supporters has offered to help with the campaign, including former U.S. senators **Nancy Kassebaum Baker** and **Paul Simon**, Washington entrepreneur and builder **Abe Pollin**, Gen.

Colin L. Powell (ret.), and former national security adviser Lt. Gen. **Brent Scowcroft** (ret.). Former president **George Bush** has also pledged his support.

The Institute is raising \$50 million from foundations, corporations, and individuals to build a center dedicated to the peaceful management and resolution of world conflicts. The building will be constructed at the northwest corner of the National Mall in Washington, D.C.

The **William and Flora Hewlett Foundation**, a private California foundation with a strong commitment to conflict resolution, recently granted the Institute \$150,000 in support of the Capital Campaign. One of the top 20 foundations in the country, the Hewlett Foundation seeks to promote the well-being of humankind. Also, individual donors recently contributed over \$50,000 that will be matched dollar-for-dollar, thanks to the generosity of **Arthur and Barbara Crocker** of Naples, Fla., who made a \$180,000 challenge grant to the campaign.

“The Hewlett Foundation and the Institute of Peace share a deep commitment to research and training in conflict resolution in international affairs,” says Institute president **Richard H. Solomon**. “We are grateful for their generous support and the gifts of many individuals for whom world peace is a major goal.”

Former secretary of state **George Shultz** serves as honorary chair of the Institute’s Capital Campaign, and the Rev. **Theodore M. Hesburgh**, president emeritus of the University of Notre Dame and Institute board member, serves as honorary co-chair. The Rev. **Sidney Lovett**, a long-time Institute supporter who served on the Institute’s inaugural board of directors, is now clerk of the campaign’s advisory committee.

An impressive list of volunteers joins the Institute of Peace’s efforts to raise \$50 million to build a new headquarters near the National Mall.

Other volunteers who have recently joined to help the campaign include:

Chester A. Crocker, Institute board chair, James R. Schlesinger professor of strategic studies at Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, and former assistant secretary of state for African affairs (1981–89);

Stephen J. Hadley, a partner in the law firm of Shea & Gardner, Washington, D.C., and former assistant secretary of defense for international security (1989–93);

Max M. Kampelman, former ambassador to the negotiations on nuclear and space arms in Geneva, ambassador and head of the U.S. delegation to the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE), and vice chair of the Institute’s board of directors;

Marc E. Leland, head of Marc E. Leland and Associates and former assistant secretary of international affairs at the U.S. Treasury (1981–84);

Seymour Martin Lipset, Hazel professor of public policy at George Mason University’s Institute of Public Policy and member of the Institute of Peace’s board;

Peter R. Rosenblatt, president of the Fund for Democracy and Development and former ambassador to negotiations on the future political status of the Trust Territories of the Pacific Islands (1977–81);

Elsbeth Davies Rostow, Stiles professor of American studies emerita at the Lyndon B. Johnson School of Public Affairs, University of Texas, and former Institute board member, who served as both chair and vice chair;

Enid C. B. Schoettle, former head of advocacy and external relations at the United Nations Department of Humanitarian Affairs and former director of the Ford Foundation’s international affairs program;

John Wallach, journalist and author, former senior fellow at the Institute (1997–98), and founder of the Seeds of Peace program;

John C. Whitehead, former Goldman, Sachs co-chair, former deputy secretary of state, and noted philanthropist;

Frank G. Wisner, vice chair for external affairs at the American International Group and former ambassador to Zambia (1977–82), the Philippines (1991–92), and India (1994–97); and

Harriet Zimmerman, vice president of the American Israeli Public Affairs Committee and a member of the Institute’s board.



Cora Weiss

The Hague Appeal for Peace

A grassroots movement is organizing globally to end a culture of war and violence.

How insane is this idea that you can stop war?" asks **Cora Weiss**, president of the Hague Appeal for Peace. "Well, how insane was it to think you could stop apartheid? Or colonialism? Or slavery? . . . We have a chance now to define the new century before it starts."

Weiss, who has devoted most of her life to the international peace movement, is the leader of the Hague peace campaign, a worldwide effort to put an end to war. The campaign seeks to create a culture of peace for the new millennium in which violent conflict is seen as illegitimate, illegal, and fundamentally unjust, she explains.

Weiss—along with **John Cavanagh**, director of the Institute for Policy Studies, and

Jonathan Dean, adviser on international security issues for the Union of Concerned Scientists—discussed the Hague Appeal for Peace's recent conference at a U.S. Institute of Peace current issues briefing on May 25.

The conference—held May 11–15 in The Hague, Netherlands—brought together nearly 10,000 participants from 100 countries, including United Nations secretary general Kofi Annan, Queen Noor of Jordan, Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa, and more than a dozen Nobel Peace laureates.

Joseph Klaitis, director of the U.S. Institute of Peace's Jennings Randolph fellowship program, and **William A. Stuebner**, adviser to the rule of law initiative, also attended the event.

Most conference participants represented nongovernmental organizations. "These are the new abolitionists," Klaitis observed, "and like earlier movements the impetus for change is coming from civil society, not from government." The conference organizers chose to do their post-event Washington briefing at USIP, Klaitis said, because they believe that the Institute, with its unique bridge-building mission linking governments and citizens, has a role to play as this grassroots campaign develops.

Participants at the conference attended more than 400 working groups, panel discussions, and related activities. The conference's organizing and coordinating committees, in consultation with the participating organizations and individuals, drew up a 50-point plan—The Hague Agenda for Peace and Justice for the 21st Century—which is available on the organization's website: www.haguepeace.org. The agenda, adopted by the United Nations after the conference,

addresses the root causes of war, humanitarian and human rights law and institutions, the prevention of violent conflict, and disarmament.

The conference launched several major initiatives, including a global campaign for peace education. Indeed, peace education was one of the most popular issues discussed at the conference, Weiss said. "We need the fourth R—reading, writing, 'rithmetic . . . and reconciliation," she said.

Cavanagh stressed that, to build momentum for a global peace movement, it is necessary to include those who are fighting the economic root causes of war, including the widening gap between rich and poor that has resulted in part from economic globalization.

Although issues like economic globalization may seem overwhelming to confront, it was visionary leadership that helped mobilize citizens on behalf of civil rights, women's rights, and human rights generally in the last century, Cavanagh said. Today, it is extremely difficult to bring people together because of increasing social fragmentation, but the remarkable success of the conference served as "a reminder of the need to think big and do big."

In addition to leadership, people and organizations need "immediate and specific objectives, . . . a practical program to make armed conflict rare," Dean said. The conference's initiatives and agenda for peace seek to help do that. Also, a series of regional conferences is planned to maintain the momentum of the conference.

Over the course of the four days, Dean said he heard some extraordinary discussions among people about their hopes and plans for a more peaceful and just world. "I never heard so many dreams."

Daniel Serwer . . .

The Institute welcomes Daniel Serwer as director of the Balkans Initiative. A noted Balkans expert formerly with the State Department, Serwer will oversee and coordinate all Balkans work at the Institute and will chair the Balkans Working Group, which brings together representatives of government agencies, think tanks, and nongovernmental organizations who are expert on Balkans matters. Serwer was a senior fellow at the Institute in 1998–99.



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Foreword by William B. Quandt



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—Shimon Peres, Former Prime Minister of Israel

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