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Pathways to Peace

An Institute conference on Israeli-Palestinian relations struck a rare note: optimism.

Prospects for resuming the Arab-Israeli peace process are brighter than at any time since 2000, according to participants in Pathways to Peace, a half-day research symposium convened by the Institute's **Scott Lasensky**. The meeting, held in late January at a Washington-area hotel, included presentations from Ambassador David Satterfield, a senior State Department official; Martin Indyk, director of the Saban Center at the Brookings Institution and a former U.S. ambassador to Israel; and several distinguished scholars, including current senior fellow **Jacob Shamir**.

Participants expressed cautious optimism that Israeli-Palestinian negotiations could be renewed, pointing to an exceptional confluence of events, including the death of Yasser Arafat, Israel's disengagement plan, Palestinian elections and the emergence of new leadership, and the entry of Israel's Labor Party into a coalition government.



David Satterfield, former deputy assistant secretary of state for Middle East affairs, and Martin Indyk, former U.S. ambassador to Israel and now director of the Saban Center at the Brookings Institution.

The meeting was the first installment in the Institute's expanding research efforts into the Middle East peace process. As part of the Arab-Israeli Futures research project, a number of reports to be published in 2005 will examine a variety of local, regional, and international factors shaping the peace process. The Institute has long been involved in activities to promote Arab-Israeli peace. *How Israelis and Palestinians Negotiate*, the latest volume in the Institute's series on cross-cultural negotiation, was published this spring. Support continues

for the Alexandria Declaration and follow-on programs to promote interreligious dialogue. The Institute is also working with the Middle East Children's Association on peace education, and has a number of grant recipients working on both academic and applied subjects related to the conflict.

"It is widely asserted that the Arab-Israeli issue is critical to America's position in the Middle East," Lasensky noted, "but what are the specific linkages? And how does the peace process impact our larger agenda?" These broad

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Pathways to Peace

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questions—as well as the narrower but vital question of what strategies and tactics the United States might employ to advance the peace process—dominated the meeting.

Satterfield opened the conference by emphasizing that the Bush administration remains actively engaged in the Middle East: “We are committed to trying



Former National Security Adviser Zbigniew Brzezinski talks with Chester Crocker and Institute Board Chair J. Robinson West prior to the symposium.

to make this conflict come to an end,” said Satterfield, who called the present moment “the greatest opportunity for peace in years.” But he insisted that the basis for constructive negotiations is still—as the Bush administration has long maintained—that Israel cease settlement work and the Palestinians end violence. Settlement activity must stop, said Satterfield, because it “ultimately undermines Israeli as well as Palestinian interests and futures.” He was equally forceful about Palestinian options: a Palestinian state, he said, “can’t be built on the foundation of terrorist violence.”

Three leading experts, David Makovsky, of the Washington Institute for Near East Policy; Steven Spiegel, of the University of California at Los Angeles; and Robert Malley, of the International Crisis Group, prepared detailed policy papers and debated their recommendations for U.S. policy. Makovsky argued

that the best way forward is to focus on a defined, short-term agenda that can restore trust and enable both peoples to “reaffirm their faith in the very enterprise of peacemaking.” He urged the United States to re-activate the first phase of the Roadmap and ensure that a complete Israeli pullout from Gaza does not leave Israel vulnerable on security. He urged greater support for economic assistance for post-withdrawal Gaza, and suggested U.S. support for a new UN resolution ratifying Gaza withdrawal. Progress on this conflict, said Makovsky, would vindicate the president’s policies, which predicated U.S. engagement on the removal of Arafat and reform of Palestinian leadership.

At the same time, however, Makovsky warned against too ambitious an agenda. Final Status talks could endanger the entire process, he said, by energizing rejectionists opposed to the Abbas government, undermining the political dynamics on the Israeli side, and precipitating a crisis before either side was fully ripe to proceed to final status talks. He also rejected the notion that there is a “grand linkage” between events in Iraq and the broader Middle East and progress on the Palestinian-Israeli conflict. Arab resentment of the United States stems from complex historical and cultural forces unrelated to Palestinian grievances. (On the other hand, he did note a “negative linkage”—in that if U.S. forces are defeated in Iraq, this will no doubt embolden rejectionists throughout the region.)

Steven Spiegel was more critical of the Bush administration—and indeed, of previous administrations as well. Until President Bush, U.S. presidents have consistently believed that resolving the Palestinian-Israeli conflict

was the key to American success in the Middle East, he said. Bush has made the opposite mistake: He assumed that since the Arab-Israeli conflict was not identical to resolving our problems in the Middle East, he could safely ignore the former. The challenge, said Spiegel, is to get the balance right. And the problem with the Bush administration’s policies is that the long-term promotion of democracy is doing nothing to stifle terrorism or proliferation, while the wars on terrorism and proliferation are doing nothing to promote democracy. Spiegel recommended a less ambitious agenda. The immediate task, he said, is to do what is necessary to ensure that Israel withdraws from Gaza and the northern West Bank and that President Abbas stems the violence and advances political



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reforms. If this mutual disengagement is successful, then the next step would be to convene an international conference by the Quartet to plot out future confidence-building reinforcing measures. As to the broader agenda of the United States—building democracy, limiting the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and fighting terrorism—the jury is still out, but the likelihood is that these goals are mutually contradictory and will end by undercutting one other.

Robert Malley proposed a more ambitious agenda. Putting off efforts to forge a comprehensive settlement until the Palestinian leadership can demonstrate improved governance and real security for the Israelis is the old, familiar, and failed path, he said. Conditions today require a more aggressive posture, one that takes advantage of the unique conjunction of events. Malley recommended that the United States present the parameters for a comprehensive Israeli-Palestinian agreement, in concert with forward momentum on the Syrian-Israeli track.

In the subsequent panel, Jacob Shamir and Khalil Shikaki, who have worked together under Institute grants before, presented the findings of their latest joint Palestinian-Israeli public opinion survey. Those findings pointed to a significant trend toward more dovish views among both the Palestinians and the Israelis than 12 and 18 months previously. For example, on a host of basic elements of the Israeli-Palestinian permanent status negotiations—such as the issue of borders and territorial exchange, a demilitarized Palestinian state, and a desire to end the conflict—the percentage in support rose from 47 percent to 64 percent among Israelis, and from 39 percent to



Robert Malley of the International Crisis Group, David Makovsky of the Washington Institute of Near East Policy, Steven Spiegel of UCLA, and Institute program officer and symposium organizer Scott Lasensky offered contrasting views of the most effective path to a viable peace.

54 percent among Palestinians. In addition, there has been a significant rise in the number of Israelis and Palestinians who support a “mutual recognition of identity” proposal, in which both groups would recognize the legitimacy of each other’s state after the major issues have been resolved. The overall conclusion: Palestinians and Israelis are as “ripe” as they have ever been to proceed with peace negotiations.

Ambassador Martin Indyk delivered the keynote address. He echoed prior speakers in emphasizing the present window of opportunity. For the first time, both sides seem to agree on the idea of a two-state solution. He also insisted, as prior speakers had, that the United States has an indispensable role to play in bringing about that peace. The new Palestinian leader has the will, but not the means, to achieve peace, said Indyk, and the United States should do everything reasonable to help him. On the thornier questions of refugees, Jerusalem, and Gaza and the West Bank, the U.S. must be prepared to play the role of midwife—even as it uses its clout to persuade other Arab nations to acknowledge the state of Israel.

There was intense media interest in the conference. The Asso-

ciated Press ran an article that was reprinted in dozens of media outlets, including ABCNews.com, CNN.com, and the *San Francisco Chronicle*. Other print media that mentioned the conference included the *New York Times*, the *Financial Times*, the *Jerusalem Post*, and *Haaretz*. In addition, C-SPAN aired the entire proceedings of the conference at least four times over the five days immediately following the event.

“I have always believed in two fundamental truths about the conflict,” said Lasensky. “At its core, this is a local struggle over territory; and second, outside actors remain an essential element of the peace process.” He added, “As the old anxieties give way to a new sense of optimism, however fragile, the United States has a major role to play in maintaining the present momentum.”

For more information on the Pathways to Peace conference, please visit the USIP web site (www.usip.org/pathways), which has copies of the policy reports by Makovsky, Spiegel, and Malley, the text of Ambassador Satterfield’s speech, further information about the Shamir-Shikaki polling data, and audio files of all the presentations.

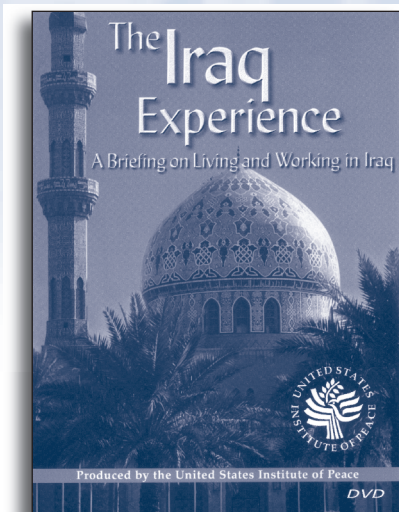


Learning from IRAQ

Identifying the lessons is only half the job.



Robert Perito



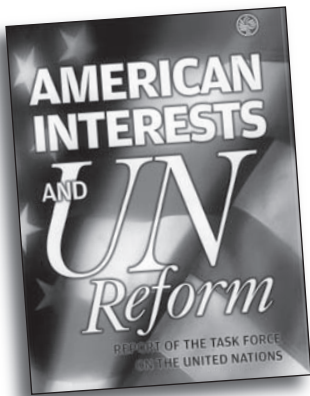
According to **Robert Perito**, coordinator of the Iraq Experience Project at the Institute, there is a bright line to be drawn between lessons that are merely “identified” and lessons that are actually “learned.” Perito, who is working on a systematic analysis of the Coalition Provisional Authority’s (CPA’s) experience in Iraq, says that before lessons can be learned, they must first be recognized, integrated into training programs, and internalized by participants. Unfortunately, he says, lessons from earlier attempts at postconflict nation building too often have been ignored. “Large-scale breakdowns in public order should be anticipated in the aftermath of international interventions in conflicted states,” says Perito. “We knew that from our experience in Panama and elsewhere. Unfortunately, we didn’t plan for that possibility when we mounted our postconflict stabilization and reconstruction efforts in Iraq.”

The Iraq Experience Project is an ambitious attempt to catalog

the lessons identified by American civilian officials and soldiers who served in the CPA in Iraq. Interviews with returnees will become part of a database of experience for preparing training programs in the future. “The military makes it a practice to routinely debrief their officers,” says Perito. “Civilian agencies do not, which means that they’re always going in to these operations as if for the first time.” With funds from the \$10 million Congress appropriated for the Institute’s Iraq programming in November 2003, the Institute interviewed 113 Americans returning from tours of duty in Iraq. The interviews, conducted by the Association for Diplomatic Studies and Training, focused on security, governance, and economic reconstruction.

Perito’s group wrote three Special Reports based on the interviews, sponsored a workshop for returnees in January, and held a final, postpublication briefing in mid-April. The January workshop featured keynote speaker Stephen Browning, the director of infrastructure for the CPA and

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Reforming *the* United Nations

Congress asks the Institute to help develop a plan of action.

In December 2004, the Institute was directed by Congress to create a task force on the United Nations. Its purpose: to examine the extent to which the UN is fulfilling the mission stated in its charter and to recommend an actionable plan for the United States to help the UN reform. Although this is not an official U.S. government report, the Institute was obliged to report back to Congress by June 6, 2005. “The task force is motivated by a conviction that a United Nations that functions effectively within the limits of the charter is in the best interests of the United States,” says **George Ward**, director of the Professional Training Program, who is coordinating the project. [N.B.: The Task Force published its report as this issue of *Peace Watch* went to press; the next issue will feature a lengthy article on its findings and recommendations. To view the report, go to www.usip.org/un/report/index.html.]

The task force itself is composed of a diverse and bipartisan group of distinguished Americans from a variety of professions and backgrounds. Heading it are **Newt Gingrich**, former speaker of the House of Representatives, and **George Mitchell**, the former majority leader of the Senate. Other members include: Wesley K. Clark, Edwin Feulner, Roderick Hills, Donald McHenry, Danielle Pletka, Thomas Pickering, Anne-Marie Slaughter, A. Michael Spence, Malcolm Wallop, and R. James Woolsey. Senior advisors to the task force are Charles Boyd and **J. Robinson West** (chair of the Institute’s board of directors).

Aiding the task force are experts drawn from six of the leading foreign policy think tanks, including the American Enterprise Institute, the Brookings Institute, the Center for Strategic and International Studies, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Heritage Foundation, and the Hoover Institution.



Newt Gingrich



George Mitchell

“What distinguishes this task force from others examining reform at the UN is that this one is distinctively American in outlook—it’s looking at the UN in terms of American interests. It’s also emphatically bipartisan, and it aims to make recommendations that Congress and the Executive branch can put into effect to help the UN in its reform efforts,” says Ward. “The study was prompted by congressional concerns over the UN’s performance in Darfur, the oil-for-food scandal, and revelations of continuing sexual abuse by UN peacekeepers. Congressman Frank Wolf, who, as the chairman of the Commerce/Justice/State Appropriations Subcommittee, authored the legislation establishing this task force, has been particularly concerned about the situation in Darfur.”

The task force has organized its work around five thematic areas, each of which is led by task force members and comprises several experts. Each of these teams has conducted research and undertaken fact-finding missions to the UN and to its missions abroad.

The five thematic areas are as follows:

- Preventing and ending conflicts and building stable states;
- Preventing and responding to genocide and gross human rights violations;

See *Reforming the UN*, page 10



20th Anniversary Reception

The Institute held a reception on Capitol Hill on March 16, 2005 to salute current and former members of Congress for their roles in creating and supporting the Institute over the past two decades. In his remarks to the more than 250 guests at the reception, Institute president Richard H. Solomon reaffirmed the Institute's commitment to fulfilling its congressional mandate to "search for nonviolent approaches to dealing with international conflict."

Remarks by Richard H. Solomon
President, U.S. Institute of Peace
Addressed to attendees of 20th Anniversary reception
March 16, 2005

We are honored to have this impressive turnout to mark the 20th anniversary of the U.S. Institute of Peace. Here tonight are many of our friends, supporters in Congress, Board members, and staff to help us celebrate. I should also note with appreciation the presence of 50-some diplomats from more than 25 countries. In its origins the Institute was not conceived as an operational organization; its primary purpose was public and professional education. But the world, and the Institute, has changed. Over the past decade we have been active in more than 100 countries all over the globe!

Tonight we have the special opportunity to express our appreciation to Congress—for its foresight in establishing the Institute, and for its ever-increasing support of our work.

In public service, it is not often that one has the opportunity to help build a national institution, one dedicated to dealing with perhaps our greatest foreign policy and national security challenge—indeed a challenge facing all of humankind: getting control of international violence, learning to deal with conflicts by political and other nonviolent means. In

times past, military conflicts among states seemed part of the natural order of things, but we live in an era threatened by weapons of mass destruction, a time of a weakened nation-state system, and of ineffective international organizations. If we fail to transform the way we deal with conflict, we—the world—face a bleak future.

Congress has entrusted the Institute with the heavy responsibility of meeting this challenge. Our creators, people of great vision such as Senators Spark Matsunaga and Jennings Randolph, and Congressman Dan Glickman—whom you'll be hearing from shortly—saw the need for an independent federal institution that would train peacemakers. They foresaw a "national peace academy" that would train professionals in the skills of conflict management, just as our military academies train professionals in the skills of war fighting.

The Institute has come some distance in meeting the challenge of professionalizing peacemaking, and tonight we want to reaffirm our dedication to this great challenge, to the obligation of supporting policymakers in Congress and the administration in the search for nonviolent approaches to dealing with international conflict.

1984
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*Twenty Years of
Progress in Peacemaking*



Top left: Senators Daniel Inouye (D-HI), Ted Stevens (R-AK), Richard Lugar (R-IN), and Tom Harkin (D-IA), as well as Associate Justice Stephen Breyer addressed the anniversary reception. *Top right:* Sandra Willett Jackson, president of Vital Voices, and Representative Nancy Pelosi (D-CA). *Center row:* John Richardson, former board member, and Institute president Richard Solomon. *To*

their right: Institute vice president Charles “Chick” Nelson and former staff member Ken Jensen. *Third row from bottom:* Institute board members Holly Burkhalter, Laurie S. Fulton, Chester Crocker, Mora McLean, and María Otero watch as Richard Solomon cuts the ceremonial cake. Richard Solomon addresses the assembled audience. *Second row from bottom:* former Institute chair Chester Crocker, current chair J. Robinson West, former board member and current Director of Policy Planning for the State Department Stephen Krasner, Institute Vice Chair María Otero, Richard Solomon, and board member Barbara Snelling. *Bottom picture:* Chester Crocker, Richard Solomon, and Institute adviser Tara Sonenshine.



Disintegration in the Ivory Coast?

The situation in the Ivory Coast raises serious questions about the viability of the African state and the role of the international community in African crises,” says David Smock, director of the Religion and Peacemaking Initiative at the Institute. In mid-December, Smock moderated a Current Issues Briefing on a country that had once been viewed as an oasis of stability and prosperity in West Africa. The briefing was held to draw attention to the crisis in the Ivory Coast, where a contingent of French, UN, and West African troops currently maintains an uneasy truce between the government of Laurent Gbagbo in the south and various rebel groups in the north. Speaking at the briefing were Daniel Chirot, a senior fellow at the Institute; Jeanne Toungara, of Howard University; and Jennifer Widner, of Princeton University.

Toungara noted the sad irony that after many decades of one-party, one-person rule under Felix Houphouët-Boigny, the country’s launch into multiparty democracy has resulted in the “re-ethnicization” of politics, as

leaders seek their constituencies from their own ethnic groups. Widner observed that a disintegration similar to the Ivory Coast’s almost occurred in Kenya, but that quick intervention from indigenous civil society groups and the international community helped prevent a similar outcome. Unfortunately, she said, the conflict in the Ivory Coast is becoming harder to resolve as ethnic hatreds become more intense. Chirot began his presentation by saying that he was “quite gloomy,” and proceeded to explain why: The economy, he said, is increasingly given over to plunder; the north-south divide is growing and becoming more factionalized; the exodus of whites is worsening employment prospects for the young, leaving them with little alternative to violence; and while it is not a religious war now, it could degenerate into one, with the potential of spreading across West Africa.

Since the Institute forum on the Ivory Coast, some new developments have raised hopes that perhaps a solution might be found. President Thabo Mbeki of South Africa brokered a negotiated agreement between the major political forces in the country. They have accepted, in principle,

holding elections in October of 2005. However, much remains to be done if the Ivory Coast is to survive as a viable entity.

Crunch Time in Mindanao?

The conflict in Mindanao, in the southern Philippines, has its roots in the tangled history of the colonial era, explained Eugene Martin, executive director of the Institute’s project to facilitate peace talks between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. When Spain sold the Philippines to the United States in 1898, it included in the deal several predominantly Muslim islands that the Spaniards had never conquered. Using modern weaponry, the U.S. Army succeeded in subduing these islands. Although the U.S. colonial authorities administered the Moro Islands separately from the rest of the country, when the United States granted the Philippines commonwealth status in 1935, it ceded these formerly autonomous islands to Filipino control. Today, a continuing insurgency launched decades ago has cost more than 120,000 lives. At a Current Issues Briefing in February, several experts discussed what it might take to end the conflict.

Benedicto Bacani, a senior fellow at the Institute and dean of the College of Law at Notre Dame University in Cotabato City, Mindanao, expressed confidence that recent peace talks would lead to an agreement. The parties realize, he said, that “fighting it out” does not work, and the leaders of the guerilla movement appear to be open to a solution. The challenge, he warned, would be implementing the agreement and making sure it “stuck.” Zachary Abuza, also a senior fellow and a professor of political science at Simmons College, was more skeptical. While there is a lot of “war

IN MEMORIAM

Stojan Cerovic

Former senior fellow Stojan Cerovic died in late March in Paris after a long illness. A psychologist by training, a journalist by choice, and a democracy advocate in Belgrade by fate, Stojan was cofounder and first president of the Center for Antiwar Action, an anti-nationalist NGO (and USIP grantee) that opposed Milosevic’s wars against other former Yugoslav republics. Stojan was a senior fellow at the Institute in 2000, when he wrote a special report on “Serbia and Montenegro: Reintegration, Divorce, or Something Else?” (<http://www.usip.org/pubs/specialreports/sr68.html>), published in April 2001. Ever the voice of reason, he returned to Belgrade after his fellowship to continue his journalism career and also to help with the transformation of Serbia’s institutions to a democratic system. Said Dan Serwer, then-director of the Balkan Initiative at the Institute, “We’ll miss his sharp critical mind and his commitment to making the world a more decent place.”



weariness” among the population and considerable progress on the elements of an accord, there is also a growing gap between the leadership of the movement and a younger generation impatient for change. Finally, Astrid Tuminez, a senior research associate at the Institute, argued that the thorny issue of “ancestral domain” will be pivotal to the outcome of the peace process. It encompasses Moro demands for territorial restitution, control over economic resources, and governance with minimal interference by Manila. Prospects for an effective resolution in the near-term are “grim,” but could improve over time.

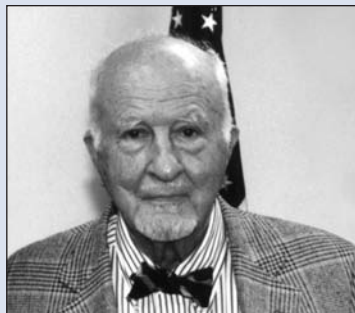
Simulating Conflict Makes It Real

The time is six months in the future. The place is Hawaii. The cast of characters includes a hardheaded counter-intelligence officer in the U.S. Navy, a Filipino archbishop respected for bringing Catholics and Muslims together to work for peace, a high-ranking general in the Philippine army, and the leader of a Muslim insurgency who’s been fighting for his homeland since the age of 15.

You are one of these characters. Together with a dozen or so other interested parties, you have come together under the auspices of the U.S. Institute of Peace to negotiate an end to the long-standing conflict between the government of the Philippines and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front. (See story above for more information about the conflict.)

For students studying international relations at Georgetown and George Washington Universities, this was no mere thought experiment. Thoroughly briefed on the latest details of the conflict in the Philippines by Institute staff and scholars, the students participated in a day-long simula-

IN MEMORIAM Arthur M. Crocker



The Institute observes with deep sadness the passing of Arthur M. Crocker, a retired investment banker and generous early donor to the Institute’s Capital Campaign for the construction of a permanent headquarters building on the National Mall. Crocker, the father of former Institute board chairman and continuing board member Chester A. Crocker, passed away peacefully in his sleep at his home in Naples, Florida, in January of this year at the age of 95. “My father was a global steward who implored those in positions of responsibility to think about the future of the global commons, the generations to come,

and our responsibility to leave behind something worth saving on this earth,” said Chester Crocker in his eulogy.

Arthur Crocker’s contribution of a \$180,000 challenge grant was among the earliest monies given to the building fund, and prompted Institute president Richard H. Solomon to note at the time that Arthur Crocker had once again “made a significant contribution to the future of this nation and the future of our beautiful planet.”

Crocker is especially remembered for his lifelong dedication to the cause of environmentalism. As a boy exploring the seashore near Oyster Bay, New York, where he grew up, and hiking in the Adirondacks where his family vacationed, Arthur Crocker developed a love of nature that would shape many of his adult preoccupations. He graduated from Princeton in 1931, and served as a lieutenant in the U.S. Naval Reserve on duty in Iceland and the Pacific during World War II. He became an early proponent of the conservation movement, joining the newly formed Nature Conservancy in the early 1950s and assuming the presidency of the Association for the Protection of the Adirondacks in 1964. He maintained a 40-year commitment to the Association.

His commitment to the cause of international peace developed out of his experiences in World War II and the necessity of stopping Hitler to preserve democracy. His son, Chester Crocker, continued that family tradition as Assistant Secretary of State for African Affairs under President Ronald Reagan and Secretary of State George Schultz, and then as the long-term chair of the Institute’s board of directors.

Institute president Richard H. Solomon said that the loss of Arthur Crocker left him deeply saddened. “Arthur had a thoughtful, independent, and original character and a first-rate intellect. His generosity and vision for the future of the Institute made a major contribution to putting us on the path to permanence in our nation’s capital. On behalf of the entire board and staff of the Institute, I send deepest condolences to Chet and his family.”

tion meant to mirror the complexity of real-world negotiations and to give the students an appreciation for the divergent points of view held by the different parties. “As they get into their characters and learn their positions, they develop a deepened sympathy for the real-life participants in these struggles,” said Pamela Aall, the director of the Institute’s education program. “They also learn about the dilemmas of leadership,

as each party worries about how compromises at the negotiating table will be viewed by his or her constituencies back home.”

*For more on the simulations, visit the Institute’s web site at <http://www.usip.org/class/simulations>. The book, *Taming Intractable Conflicts*, by Chester Crocker, Fen Osler Hampson, and Pamela Aall, is published by the Institute Press and available at <http://www.usip.org/pubs/catalog/tic.html>.*



Learning from Iraq

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winner of the Service to America Medal for Iraq reconstruction. Other speakers included Scott Carpenter, director of the governance group for the CPA, and David Gompert, senior advisor for national security and defense for the CPA. Outside speakers at the April briefing included Rick Barton, senior advisor at the Center for Strategic and International Studies; Rajiv Chandrasekaran, former *Washington Post* Baghdad bureau chief; and Martin Hoffman, director of the Afghanistan Reachback Office at the Department of Defense.

“Ultimately,” says Perito, “the most important lesson is that U.S. success in future missions depends on whether the U.S. government is prepared to move from lessons identified to lessons learned.” And that can only come about, Perito warns, if the United States has the means and motivation to implement these lessons.

Chandrasekaran, the current “Journalist-in-Residence” at the International Reporting Project at the Johns Hopkins University School for Advanced International Studies, says, “The USIP has done stellar work

in amassing a large collection of raw material from recently returned participants and in allowing them to speak openly about their experiences. This material—and the analysis that the Institute has conducted—will prove invaluable to scholars, journalists, practitioners, and historians for years to come.”

The oral histories project, including many of the original interviews, is available at the Institute’s web site at <http://www.usip.org/library/oh/index.html>.

Reforming the UN

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- Preventing catastrophic terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- Ensuring the effectiveness, integrity, transparency, and accountability of the UN system; and
- Fostering economic development and reducing poverty.

At a press briefing in early February, Gingrich emphasized the U.S. focus of the task force. “On the 60th anniversary of the creation of the United Nations, it is useful for the United States to assess what its interests are in international organizations in general, and then the UN in particular, and it is helpful for the United States to be able to approach the issue of rethinking and reforming the UN from the standpoint of our national interest and our national values.” Mitchell

seconded that sentiment, saying that “We are viewing this [task force] from the prism of American interests and seeing how we can make recommendations that will advance our interests by making the UN more effective. . . . We are determined to look at the UN without fear or favor, without any boundaries or restraints on either the subject matter that we look at or the approach that we take.”

Both task force leaders emphasized their desire to make *actionable* recommendations. “The libraries of the world are filled with studies, several of which I contributed to, which have gone largely unread and almost entirely unimplemented,” said Mitchell. “And it is our view that the more specific our recommendations the more likely they are to be both read and implemented.”

They also cautioned against turning the UN into a scapegoat for all the failures of the international community. “Rwanda was in part an American problem and in part a French problem. And it’s an exaggeration to say the UN failed when, in fact, two members of the Security Council, for very different reasons, were each behaving in ways that made it impossible for the UN mission to succeed,” said Gingrich. Mitchell agreed: “The UN is, of course, an entity in and of itself. But it is comprised of member-states, and its funding and resources come from those member-states. And we all have to be careful, as Newt has suggested, not to suggest that there is a simple solution that casts the blame entirely on the entity and exempts the member-states who comprise the entity.”



Letter from **Mindanao**

“Make Money, not War,” could be the battle cry for one brave effort to bring peace to the Philippines.

by Astrid S. Tuminez

Fighting to stay cool in the relentless, humid heat of the Philippines, **Gene Martin** and I drove up to Bumbaran, a town in the province of Lanao del Sur in Mindanao. Large sport utility vehicles are the only vehicles equipped to handle the winding, unpaved mountain roads. Rain was falling abundantly, and everywhere the landscape was wet and verdant. Tiny bunches of white and pink flowers freckled the panoramic green of the giant ferns that grew profusely on the mountainsides.

We were in the Philippines on behalf of the Institute’s Philippine Facilitation Project, which the State Department had commissioned to help expedite the peace process between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front, or MILF. The MILF, a 12,000-strong guerrilla force supported by many of the four to five million Muslims in the Philippines (known as Moros) has been fighting the government for decades—in a war that has so far cost more than 120,000 lives.

Bumbaran is a new frontier in what observers call the “Paglas experience,” referring to the astonishingly successful efforts of Datu Toto Paglas, a Moro chieftain, to turn former areas of ambush, kidnapping, and killing into profitable plantations. The experiment started in Toto’s village of Paglas, where his family had long enjoyed high status as clan leaders. Using the latest agricultural technology, developed and taught by Israeli technology officers, the Paglas plantation produced and exported millions of dollars worth of bananas to Japan and the Middle East. Muslims and Christians worked side by side and the plantation proved remarkably stable, even when

battles raged between the military and guerrillas in 2000 and 2003. Toto Paglas’ vision was to break the cycle of violence in his hometown by providing employment so people could spend their time working rather than settling vengeful scores with enemies—Muslim, Christian, or military. His motto was simple: “Introduce development first, then let’s talk about peace.”

The first plantation could not meet foreign demand, so Toto looked for land outside his clan’s territory. Bumbaran had witnessed murder and revenge killings, but the weather and soil conditions were good. Toto thought he could replicate his experiment in peace through economic development in Bumbaran.

One of his first actions was to facilitate the signing of a peace covenant among local Muslim, Christian, and tribal leaders. He and his colleagues also explained to locals the social benefits that would come with employment and income. When we visited, the plantation had 350 hectares of fertile highland and several hundred workers, with expansion planned to 1,000 hectares and more than 1,000 workers. Toto and his investors repaired the local mosque and school, and conducted a yearly lottery with winners chosen to go to the hajj in Mecca, all expenses paid. Winners wept at the first lottery, declaring that they had never in their wildest dreams thought of seeing Mecca.

We took pictures of ourselves with some of the plantation workers and guards. Toto noted that those with no affinity for planting, who had been guerrilla fighters or even kidnapers, were employed as guards for the plantation. Later, in the makeshift cafeteria where we all ate the traditional way—with our hands—an engineer told me

that he worked on Bumbaran while his wife and young child lived in the city of Davao, four hours away. “Why do you make this sacrifice?” I asked. He said, “I was well-employed before joining the plantation. But I am a Christian and sought a larger purpose. I knew this job would allow me to contribute to peace and create something above and beyond my technical expertise.”

Months later, shivering through a New York winter, I picture in my mind the banana incubation area of Bumbaran. Sheltered under a roof and protected by transparent plastic walls, these small shoots looked deeply green and hardy. I was told that modern methods of drip-feeding and fertilization shortened the incubation period by six to eight weeks. Toto’s men said they would plant the bananas in the field in April and harvest the sweetest fruit four months later.

Who would have thought that a Muslim chieftain could convince foreign investors to take a risk in lands torn by conflict? Who would have thought that a Jewish technologist and Christian engineer would live and work among Moro farmers and feel at home? “Highland Bananas—World’s Sweetest,” declared the sign in Bumbaran. Sweetest, indeed—to incubate peace through economic development, to harvest the dividends of employment even in the absence of a formal peace agreement, and to see hope among thousands of disenfranchised people because a leader with vision and commitment created for them a different path forward.

Astrid Tuminez is senior research associate and Gene Martin is executive director of the Institute’s Philippine Facilitation Project, commissioned by the State Department.

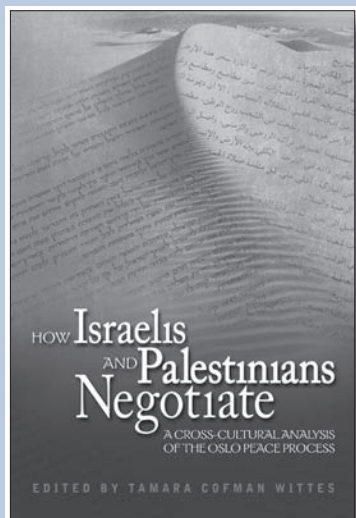
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