

# PeaceWatch



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## Future Peacemakers

National Peace Essay Contest winners spend an illuminating week in D.C.

**C**indy Xia, of Central High in La Crosse, Wisconsin, participates in her school's marching band and its debate team, sells her paintings at professional art galleries, and swims competitively. **Renee Reder**, from Nashua, New Hampshire, volunteers with Habitat for Humanity and is the design lead for her school's robotics team. **Andrew Delong**, from Amanda, Ohio, is the vice president of his school's honor society and the captain of its golf team. These three— together with handfuls of valedictorians, Eagle Scouts, National Merit Scholars, and at least one bagpipe player—were among the forty-eight winners of this year's national high school peace essay contest, held annually by the Institute to promote civic education on international conflict resolution.



The National Peace Essay Contest, now in its nineteenth consecutive year, is the Institute's oldest continuing program. This year, more than 1,000 students submitted essays on "Controlling the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons." They were asked to compare two cases—one successful and one not—in which the international community attempted to control nuclear

weapons proliferation and analyze what contributed to the attempt's success or failure.

Forty-one of the state winners came to spend a week in Washington, D.C., in late June, where they met with senior U.S. government and foreign embassy officials, members of Congress, and experts involved in the making of American foreign policy. The students also visited

**Student state winners gather outside the Russell Senate Office Building.**

See *Future Peacemakers*, page 6



# Building the Future in the Philippines

The need for leadership and political will has never been greater

Resolution of the conflict in Mindanao, now in its fourth decade, will be a key factor in the Philippines's long-term political and social stability and economic development. For three years, the Institute has led an effort to facilitate the peace process between the Philippine government and the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and to build a public constituency for a durable peace. The Institute has applied its resources to helping the two sides find new ways to settle critical issues related to ancestral domain, such as the territorial extent of the Bangsamoro Homeland, devolution of political

power, and the sharing of economic resources in Muslim Mindanao.

The future of three communities—Muslim Moros, Christian settlers, and indigenous peoples—is at stake. Reaching an agreement that addresses historical grievances and developing a detailed implementation plan will take time and strong political leadership. It is not yet clear if the Philippine government and the MILF have the political will and leadership to conclude a viable agreement.

The conflict in Mindanao is but one factor that has made the Philippines a laggard in development among countries in Asia. In a lecture in June at the Institute, Dr. **Astrid Tuminez**, the senior research fellow in the Institute's Philippine Facilitation Project, recalled that twenty years ago, the future of the Philippines looked bright. "Marcos had been deposed in the People Power Revolution of 1986, and Filipinos looked forward to real change," said Tuminez, who was a student activist in the Philippines in the early 1980s.

Corazon Aquino, who came to power with almost unanimous public support after Marcos' departure, had a unique historical opportunity to overhaul Philippine political institutions. Her personal mandate could have been used to address not only legitimate Moro historical grievances, but also the land and poverty crises of the majority population.

"Unfortunately, there was no revolution," said Tuminez. Detailing

the cumulative failures of the post-Marcos leadership, Tuminez observed that "the traditional political elite was temporarily dazed but quickly took up where it had left off." The lack of reforms alienated idealistic military officers, who launched coup attempts as a means to jump-start political and other reforms. Under the presidency of Fidel Ramos (1992-1998), economic growth and political stability gave many Filipinos a surge of hope, but Ramos' single term in office was too

See *Philippines*, page 12



A Filipino girl receives a shampoo from U.S. Navy personnel as they distribute relief goods and conduct free medical mission to residents in the southern Philippines.

**PeaceWatch**

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# Haiti's Future

## Clouded by its past?

“Haiti is the only failed state in the Western Hemisphere,” asserted **John Maisto**, U.S. ambassador to the Organization of American States, at the first meeting of the Institute’s Haiti Working Group. “It is therefore essential,” he continued, “to focus on the slender opportunity that now exists to help Haiti cross the abyss.”

The Haiti Working Group was formed for precisely that purpose. Convened under Institute auspices at the behest of former Senator **Malcolm Wallop**, it is directed by **Robert Perito**, a senior program officer in the Center for Postconflict Peace and Stability Operations. Created as a forum for open, frank discussion about the challenges facing Haiti and the U.S.-Haiti relationship, Senator Wallop said the focus of the Working Group, “is on how we can help this beleaguered nation.”

Maisto was one of four speakers at the first Working Group meeting, which focused on the February 2006 election of Rene Preval to the presidency of Haiti. The other speakers were **Jacques Bernard**, the director of the Haiti Provisional Election Commission; **Mark Schneider**, senior vice president of the International Crisis Group; and **Johanna Mendelson Forman**, the director of the Peace, Security, and Human Rights policy of the UN Foundation. **Richard Solomon**, the president of the Institute, delivered opening remarks. The Working Group session was broadcast on C-SPAN.

“Since the days of gunboat diplomacy, Haiti has defied outside attempts to impose solutions to its grinding poverty and chronic instability,” said Solomon. But the rise of narcotics trafficking, illegal immigration, and AIDS mean that Haiti’s problems quickly become America’s, Solomon observed. “We ignore future opportunities to progress [in Haiti] at our peril.”

Jacques Bernard spoke at the Institute only days after a mob had ransacked election headquarters and death threats forced him to flee Port-au-Prince. Despite the violence that followed the elections, Bernard insisted that the results were valid, “These were good elections,” he said. But he argued that supporters of President Preval could have followed legal procedure to resolve an ambiguity in the balloting—a sentiment that found consensus support from the other speakers.

The panelists also agreed that elections should not be seen as the end-point of the transitional process. As Mark Schneider argued, “Elections, followed by a quick exit by peacekeepers and a sharp drop in aid, will put Haiti in the same status as Somalia or Afghanistan a decade ago—a permanent failed state vulnerable to a quick takeover by gangs or worse.” And Johanna Mendelson Forman contended that Haiti would enjoy a small window of opportunity in the post-election period to build forward momentum. In the long term, she said, “We must move beyond elections to create citizens.”

*Elections should not be seen as the end point of the transitional process.*



**An unidentified Haitian woman carries a basket past UN peacekeeper in Port-au-Prince.**

Speakers at the March meeting of the Working Group focused on the critical issue of security. Speakers included **Timothy Carney**, recently chargé at the U.S. Embassy in Port au Prince; Commissioner **Mark Kroeker**, the UN’s senior police advisor; and **Carl Alexandre**, Director of the Office of Overseas Prosecutorial Development and Training, at the U.S. Department of Justice.

Senator Wallop opened the meeting by observing that restoring order was the essential building block for reconstructing Haiti. “Without security,” he said,

*See **Haiti**, page 13*



# Iraq's New Government

Can it overcome the country's daunting challenges?

The new leaders of Iraq, propelled to power in that nation's first democratic elections in February 2006, face daunting challenges, said a panel of experts at a recent Institute briefing. "On the political track, there has been remarkable progress," said Ambassador **Samir Sumaidae**, "but on the security side it is fair to say that there is a huge deficit."

In addition to Sumaidae, Iraq's newly appointed ambassador to the United States, other speakers on the panel were **Laith Kubba** of the National Endowment for Democracy, **Karim Al-Musawi** of the Supreme Council for Islamic Revolution in Iraq, and **Carole O'Leary**, a professor at American University. Institute vice president **Daniel Serwer** moderated.

Sumaidae said that the legacy of Saddam Hussein's regime continues to reverberate, not just in the nation's dilapidated infrastructure and decayed institutions but in the very social fabric. "The previous regime left a culture of violence," he said. And what happened after the war only made violence more likely: "The country was on its knees. Criminals had been let free. Millions of young men were left unemployed. The army was disbanded. The police were disbanded and then rehired, without adequate vetting. Mistake compounded mistake. Remnants of Saddam's regime found ideal circumstances [to cause trouble]."

Yet Sumaidae was moderately optimistic. The new government represents every major faction and



Iraqi Prime Minister Nouri Al-Maliki speaks during a press conference in Baghdad, June 2006.

interest except for the insurgents, he said. Prime Minister Al-Maliki knows that security is the key to success. "Once the security situation is resolved," Sumaidae said, "progress will be made."

Karim Al-Musawi emphasized the country's political success in forming a government of national unity. "This was a great achievement—the election of a permanent government under a new constitution. For the first time, the Iraqi government represents all the people." The unusually large cabinet reflects the concerns and interests of every significant faction in Iraq, he said, and the prime minister will enjoy wide support among the people—especially in the fight against insurgents.

Laith Kubba sounded a more somber note. "Is there a way out in spite of all the mess?" he asked, framing his talk in terms more dire than the previous speakers. "Yes," he answered—but only if the "political process goes one step further." For Kubba, the

underlying problem is the divide within the Arab world between the Shia and the Sunni. "There must be a political deal," if this problem is to be resolved. In addition, Al-Maliki must create a strong prime ministership—one that is able to govern over and above the political parties and the ministries—if he is to succeed.

The balance sheet so far is mixed, said Kubba. On the positive side, there is some Sunni participation and buy-in; there are more trained police and army troops, although these are taking casualties; and there is a functioning political process, albeit not very effective. On the negative side, there continue to be serious political divisions, with both the Sunni and the Kurds feeling that they are in a strong political position and therefore do not need to compromise. In addition, the government is staffed with many weak and/or incompetent administrators, and corruption is widespread. Finally, many of the political elite are

*"The new government represents every major faction and interest except for the insurgents."*



immature and more interested in advancing their personal interests than the national interest.

Kubba ended by outlining the urgency of the problems Iraq faces. The country is at war. Last week alone, he said, there were twenty car bombs, and 800 in the last year. But it is a murky war, and it is not clear who the enemies are or what they want. The middle class is fleeing. There are two Iraqs at the moment: a prosperous, reasonably safe, Kurdish region and a “burned-out rest.”

O’Leary, a student of modern Kurdish history, had recently returned from a trip to Iraq’s Kurdish region. Overall, she said, the reunification process is moving forward. There is a serious effort under way to establish the terms of the relationship between the Kurdish region and the rest of the country. Kurds occupy two key ministries in the national government—the municipalities and health ministries. But there is a disconnect between the two regions, and only a small percentage of Kurds bother to study Arabic at the university level. Ultimately, said O’Leary, an Iraqi government will “only get the Kurdish region on its own terms—not as a subregion of Iraq.”

In response to a question about the ramifications of Haditha—the town in western Iraq in which U.S. military personnel are alleged to have committed a massacre—the ambassador made a startling acknowledgment. “I have family from that town. As a child I spent my summer holidays there. So I had heard the allegations early on. But I didn’t believe them. They were too incredible.” It was only when *Time* magazine broke the story that he revisited the issue and linked it to the rumors he had heard. 🌐

## Historian’s Perspective

**P**hebe Marr, a senior fellow at the Institute and the author of the indispensable *Modern History of Iraq*, recently returned from a visit to the country, where she conducted research and interviews for her current project on Iraq’s new leadership. She gave a press briefing on her findings at the Institute in April.

Marr began by sketching out the scope of her project. “I wanted to find out, Who are these people? What shaped them? What are their visions of Iraq? How do they identify themselves—as Shia, as Iraqi, as Muslim? What are their economic policies—and how important is economics to them? How do they view their neighbors?”

Although she is still in the first stages of her work, she had already reached a few provisional conclusions. First, compared with the leadership under Saddam, the new leaders are truly revolutionary. “People don’t realize how traumatic this has been,” Marr said. “There are few if no Ba’athists at the top of the regime.” She indicated that she was still exploring the extent to which this was true within the bureaucracies as well as at the ministerial level.

Second, there has been an astonishing degree of turnover since 2003. “Between 2003 and 2005, 63 percent of ministries are under new, inexperienced leadership.” (This is not true of the Kurds, however. Kurds have been semi-autonomous for the past fifteen years, and maintained their institutions throughout the war and subsequent occupation.)

This lack of experience explains in part why “it is so hard to get things done,” said Marr. “There has been no time to build institutions or build networks.”

On the positive side of the ledger, many of the new leaders are accomplished professionals. Fully half have doctoral degrees. Some 70 percent are college graduates. Forty percent studied abroad. Fifteen percent are women. Nearly one-third have lived abroad.

One important divide within the government is between people who suffered and whose families were targeted under Saddam, and those who acquiesced. “The victims don’t want reconciliation,” she said. But the most important distinction is between the political parties, which increasingly represent ethnic and sectarian groups, most of them with their own militias. “The seculars are getting squeezed out,” she said.

Perhaps surprisingly, Marr found that attitudes toward the United States are becoming more attenuated. “The urgency of getting us out is diminishing,” she said. “A more burning issue is dealing with the sectarian violence.” Also surprising, given the need for jobs and economic development, is the intensity of focus on identity over economics. The United States has attempted to neutralize the sectarian partisanship by appointing key people to the ministries—technocrats who can “get the critical decisions out of the government.”

Al-Maliki is “tough, brusque, and straightforward,” said Marr. “He’s from outside of Hallah, he’s relatively new, inexperienced. A local boy made good, educated in Arab literature, and a strong federalist.”

Will Iraq break up? If it does, said Marr, the consequences could last decades. “Iraqi identity is weaker than before, and in the end, this will be a decision Iraqis have to make—not us.” 🌐

*Compared with the leadership under Saddam, the new leaders are truly revolutionary.*



## Future Peacemakers

continued from page 1



**Students participate in a simulation exercise on nuclear weapons proliferation.**

museums, dined at a wide range of ethnic restaurants, and participated in a simulation focusing on issues, such as the international community faces preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

“This contest challenges students to consider some of the most pressing issues confronting international peace and our country’s security,” said Institute President **Richard H. Solomon**. “This year’s topic of nuclear proliferation could not be more timely—and it is also a challenge that the international community will confront for decades to come. The lessons these students take away from researching and writing on the essay topic and from awards week will endure.”

Over the years, more than 1,300 state winners have participated in the Washington Awards Week. Many of these “alumni” have gone on to study

foreign policy issues in college, and have pursued careers in international affairs.

First-, second-, and third-prize awards were announced at the banquet on June 22. **Kona Shen** of Seattle, Washington, was awarded the first prize \$10,000 college scholarship for her essay comparing the decision of Argentina and Brazil to forego nuclear arms development with the nuclear arms race between India and Pakistan.

**Christopher Svetlik** of Texas was awarded the \$5,000 second prize scholarship for his essay “Striking at the Source: Confronting the Dual Sources of Nuclear Proliferation,” and **Eugene Kim**, from Minnesota, won the \$2,500 third prize scholarship for his essay, “Comprehensive Approaches to Nuclear Nonproliferation.”



*This year, close to 1,000 students submitted essays on “Controlling the Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons.”*

**Joyce Neu**, who worked with former President Jimmy Carter at the Carter Center in Atlanta and is currently director of the Joan B. Kroc Institute for Peace and Justice at the University of San Diego, gave the keynote speech at the banquet. Neu spoke eloquently on the power of words to move people to action.

“Every day, every hour, every minute, people are dying in violent conflict,” she said. “And you have the opportunity to do something about that through your words—to issue a silent shout of hope.”

The students were enthusiastic about their experiences. “The past few days have been engaging, inspiring, tiring, and fun,” said **Shelby Williams**, of Aiea High School, in Hawaii. “It was not only educational but a great social experience as well. Connecting to so many different people was a great first lesson in peace.” 🌐



*“This contest challenges students to consider some of the most pressing issues confronting international peace,” said Institute President Richard H. Solomon.*



From left to right:  
U.S. Senator Patty Murray (D-WA) with Washington state and national winner Kona Shen.  
Institute President Richard Solomon with from left, second place winner Chris Svetlik, first place winner Kona Shen, and third place winner Eugene Kim.



Students assemble for a group photo before the Awards Banquet.



From left to right:  
Students try out African drumming after hours with the River Nile Band.  
Gurjeet S. Guram (left), from Irmo High School in Columbia, SC, and Gerardo A. Flores (right), from Ladue Horton Watkins High School in St Louis, MO, participate in a simulation on nuclear weapons proliferation.



# The World's Deadliest Conflict

## Will elections help bring peace to the Democratic Republic of Congo?

The peacekeeping mission in the Democratic Republic of Congo is the largest and most expensive the United Nations has ever assembled, yet perilously small compared with the size of the task it confronts. This was the central message **William Swing**, the UN Secretary General's Special Representative to the Congo, delivered at a public meeting held at the Institute in mid-May.

Congolese journalist **Mvemba Phezo Dizolele**, of the World Security Network, served as discussant at the event, and **Chester Crocker**, former chair of the Institute and assistant secretary of state under President Reagan, introduced the speakers and moderated the discussion that followed.

The meeting was held prior to the Congo's presidential elections held at the end of July, which international observers hailed as free and fair. Because no candidate won an outright majority of the vote, a run-off was scheduled for the end of October between the current president, Joseph Kabila, and the vice president Jean-Pierre Bemba.

Forty-six years after its first and only elections, the Congo again faces a "watershed moment," said Crocker. The country, which has been riven by conflict for most of the last decade and which was grossly mismanaged during the previous three, will hold national elections at the end of July. The elections are meant to put an end to the transitional political arrange-



Election workers take a break next to election boxes and tallies at a central election processing station in Kinshasa.

ment that brought several warring factions into a coalition government in mid-2003.

Although news about the Congo rarely appears in U.S. media, the country has been mired in the deadliest conflict since the Second World War, with more than four million dead since violence broke out in August 1998. (See Sidebar, "The Cost and Origin of a Hidden War.")

Both Crocker and Swing took pains to emphasize that the Congo deserves more attention than it has gotten from the international community. The Congo "is at least as important as Sudan," said Crocker, "though Sudan has gotten the lion's share of attention." Swing observed that the Congo is not only a major humanitarian crisis, but the linchpin for central Africa—the only region in the continent that lacks a stabilizing force. "Success in the Congo would change the entire face of Africa," he said.

The UN mission in the Congo—or MONUC, in the French acronym—is the largest peacekeeping mission in UN history. Its current budget, \$1.3 billion, supports some 17,000 blue helmets from nineteen different nations. The elections alone are expected to cost \$440 million. But as Swing made clear, these figures pale before the size and complexity of the challenge the peacekeepers face.

With the exception of Ethiopia/Eritrea and Sudan, all of the United Nation's previous peacekeeping missions were in small countries that, combined, could fit inside the Congo—with "room left over for a Germany or France," as Swing noted. And even that understates the size of the challenge facing MONUC, since the Congo has virtually no passable intercity roads or countrywide media, magnifying the difficulties of keeping the peace and organizing elections.

*The Congo has been mired in the deadliest conflict since the Second World War, with more than 4 million dead.*



And yet the peacekeeping force there is scarcely larger than the ones the UN sponsored in Liberia, Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Haiti, Afghanistan, the Ivory Coast, or elsewhere.

Despite these challenges, Swing was hopeful that the elections would proceed successfully. The transitional government has passed all the necessary laws, establishing the legal framework for holding elections; the United Nations has encouraged and sanctioned the vote through numerous Security Council resolutions; and the international community has obligated the necessary funds.

In addition, the Congolese themselves are eager for elections, said Swing. Whether because of or in spite of their suffering, the Congolese have a strong sense of national identity. Nearly 25 million have registered for the election, out of an estimated total of 28 million potential adult voters in the country. A referendum that was held on the constitution in December 2005 was voted on by two-thirds of the population and passed by 82 percent of those who voted.

The most regrettable development in the lead-up to the elections, said Swing, was the decision by perpetual opposition candidate Etienne Tshisekedi not to participate. Tshisekedi, who earned a name for himself during the Mobutu era as the Congo's leading dissident, has said he regards the elections as illegitimate. "The Secretary General [Kofi Annan] and other international figures all urged him to participate," said Swing. "We argued that whatever his political agenda, it was much better accomplished from within the political process than from without."

Swing's greatest concern was that the international community

would regard the successful holding of elections as an excuse to disengage from the Congo. "The inauguration of a democratically elected president will mark the official end of the transitional government, but it will hardly mark the end of the country's transitional process."

Indeed, he said, it would be hard to prioritize the country's needs, because "everything is a priority." Swing ticked off a few examples:

- The need to rebuild the country's infrastructure, which has all but completely collapsed.
- The need to reconstitute a national army, to integrate the various armed factions into a

coherent force that respects human rights.

- The need to develop a democratic political culture.
- The need for vast improvements in the capacity of virtually every state institution.

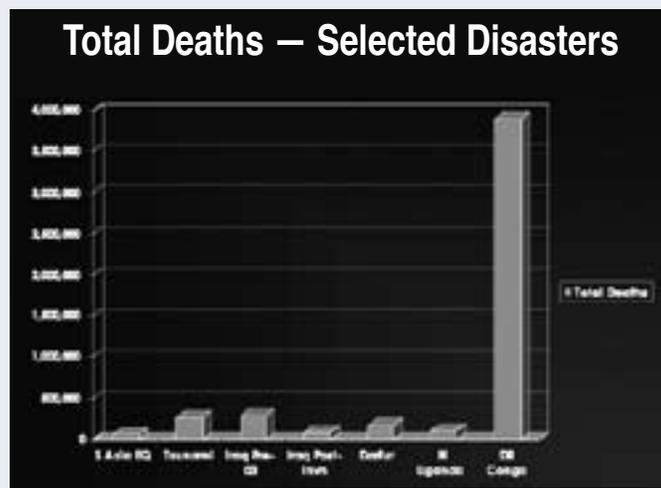
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*"The inauguration of a democratically elected president will mark the official end of the transitional government, but it will hardly mark the end of the country's transitional process."*

## The Hidden Toll of a Neglected War

In a series of detailed demographic mortality reports, the International Rescue Committee has estimated that four million people have died in the Congo since the war began in 1998, most from the disease and hunger caused by war rather than from the violence itself. In fact, the depth of the humanitarian crisis in the country is difficult to exaggerate:

- Of the country's 60 million people, some 20 million have no access to any form of health care. Almost as many suffer from serious malnutrition.
- Tens of thousands of women and girls have been tortured and raped, and thousands more kidnapped by militias and used as sexual slaves.
- During the worst of the fighting, as many as 75 percent of children in some regions were dying before their second birthday.
- An estimated 2.4 million people are infected with HIV.
- Per capita income shrank from \$250 in 1990 to \$85 in 2000. In the eastern half of the country, per capita income is 20 cents a day.
- Despite the 2003 peace agreement that ostensibly put an end to the fighting, more than 1,000 people continue to perish each day from violence and the resulting disruptions to health services and the food supply. 🌐



Source: International Rescue Committee



# Former Adversaries Team Up for Cold War History Project

Insider accounts of how the Cold War ended



Richard Schifter (l) and Anatoly Adamishin (r) reminisce about the Cold War at their Senior Fellows presentation. Moderating is Virginia Bouvier, senior program officer for the Grants and Fellowships program.

Today they are the first senior fellows jointly admitted to the Jennings Randolph program, but when **Anatoly Adamishin** and **Richard Schifter** first met it was as Cold War adversaries representing their governments' hardline positions on human rights. This was in the deep political freeze of the mid-1980s, before Gorbachev's reforms began to thaw the relationship between the two superpowers; the two diplomats found they had much to discuss. Over time, their relationship helped bring about significant improvements in the Soviet's human rights record, and helped lay the groundwork for a radical transformation in U.S.-Soviet relations. Their project seeks to reconstruct those historical developments, and chart an "insider's history" of the era that brought the world a reprieve

from the threat of a permanent nuclear stand-off.

*Peace Watch* recently sat down with Adamishin and Schifter to discuss their project, and to explore the lessons their experience might hold in today's vastly different world.

**PW: How did you two come to know each other?**

**RS:** We met in April 1987 at the Soviet Foreign Ministry. I had arrived in Moscow as a member of a delegation led by Secretary of State George Shultz, concerned principally with arms reduction. I was at that time the assistant secretary of state for human rights. Secretary Shultz had included me in the delegation to underline the importance of human rights in U.S.-Soviet relations and had asked Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze to appoint an appropriate official to discuss human rights issues with me. Anatoly was the person whom Shevardnadze picked for that task. By the time we met, Gorbachev had been in power for two years.

**PW: Ambassador Schifter, what did you seek to do as assistant secretary of state for human rights under President Reagan?**

**RS:** I chose to focus on three issues. Rather than wait for the Soviets to turn themselves into Switzerland overnight, I focused on specific individual human rights abuses. For me, the most heinous issue was the abuse of

psychiatry, the commitment of perfectly sane people to mental institutions because they violated the laws regulating religious or political behavior. The second was the wrongful imprisonment of dissidents, often as a lesson for others. The third item was the right to emigrate; the refusal to allow people, mainly Jews, the right to leave the country even though they were severely discriminated against.

**PW: Ambassador Adamishin, as Schifter's counterpart and interlocutor on the Soviet side, what was your reaction to his mission?**

**AA:** It used to be when Americans said to us, "You don't have democracy," we would say back to them, "And you kill your negroes." For a long time, there was no Soviet-American dialog, only accusations. That changed in 1985 with Gorbachev, when they agreed to discuss human rights for the first time with Reagan in Geneva.

By the time I arrived at my post, there was the start of a division in the Soviet establishment between the majority that said, "Tell them to go home," and a small group of us who said that it was not a concession to stop psychiatric abuse; it was in our interests. I belonged to this small group. I tried to decrease or at least correct the damage caused by the system from within. I was given more space to do this by Gorbachev and Shevardnadze.



*“It used to be that when Americans said to us, ‘You don’t have democracy,’ we would say back to them, ‘And you kill your negroes.’”*

It also helped that Richard’s topics played into hands of liberals, but it was not something that challenged the legitimacy of the system. Our concessions met our own interests. It took craftsmanship and some art from Richard’s side so it didn’t irritate those opposed to it.

**PW: How did human rights figure-in to the broader dimensions of U.S. foreign relations?**

**RS:** Human rights had become an essential element in U.S. foreign policy. We recognized that there were situations in which human rights should take a back seat to overriding national interests, but wherever we could advance human rights, we were very involved. This was largely at the insistence of Congress. In Chile, for example, we pressed hard for clean electoral procedures, which led to the toppling of Pinochet. In Egypt and Kuwait, we focused on the rule of law and on human rights for women. The best way to deal with the issue, I found, was through quiet diplomacy.

**PW: Why do you think there was such an extraordinary change in the U.S.-Soviet relationship during those years—why do you think the Cold War ended?**

**AA:** I have developed a renewed appreciation for how courageous Gorbachev was. Here was this country that had followed this authoritarian Asiatic matrix

that goes back to the Mongol Empire centuries ago. Gorbachev became secretary general at age 56 or so. He could have held power for twenty years or more. But he chose to act in the interest of his country—it is a very rare politician who chooses his country’s interest over his own. I cannot think of any other person or group who surrendered power voluntarily—no pressure from other countries, no pressure from the bottom. There is no precedent to this.

Of course, the U.S. helped, Ronald Reagan helped. He didn’t see world in stark, realist terms, like Kissinger, in terms of a balance of power. He realized that the end of the Cold War was a victory for the United States and for the Soviet Union—for both of us over totalitarianism. But for his successors, unfortunately, it was triumph of the United States over the Soviets.

**PW: How do you assess developments since Gorbachev?**

**AA:** In a sense, Gorbachev did not understand the country and he made childish mistakes. He didn’t appreciate how strong, how influential the Soviet military industrial complex was. When Gorbachev tried to break this, someone told him he had given power to the people. He answered, “let’s hope the people know how to use it.” But people were not accustomed to this and in the end the bureaucrats were stronger than reformers.

Marx hailed the commune of 1871 as people who tried to “storm the heavens,” and I think that describes what Gorbachev attempted to do.

The paradox today is that freedom and human rights are deteriorating in Russia, but people don’t care about it. For most people, the economy is improving. Even many of my liberal friends say Russians were probably never better off than they are today. People remember how badly economy went down under Yeltsin. They connect democracy to the turmoil of those years.

**PW: Are there lessons for today in terms of promoting human rights?**

**RS:** No one size fits all—you should look at individual situations and apply the appropriate solution. For example, with dictatorships in Arab countries it’s important to work cautiously, so as not to help totalitarians replace the authoritarians in power now.

**AA:** The more generic the complaints you make, the more opposition you will get. Focus on something concrete—that’s when things get done. You should be practical, pragmatic, precise. Do not make people defensive. Russians are a proud people, not accustomed to hearing criticism from foreigners. Our great poet Pushkin in the 19th century said, “I have contempt for my fatherland, from head to heel, but I don’t like it when others criticize us.” 🌐



## Philippines

*continued from page 2*

short to effect lasting change. Joseph Estrada, a movie star who succeeded Ramos in 1998, wasted no time dismantling Ramos' reforms. Crony capitalism returned, as did renewed conflict against the Moros in the southern Philippines.

The current president, Gloria Macapagal Arroyo, who came to office following a public uprising against Estrada in 2001, will have the longest term of any president since Marcos. However, her controversial 2004 election and the subsequent impeachment proceedings against her have weakened her ability to make the hard, controversial decisions needed to address national problems, including reaching and implementing a durable peace agreement with the MILF. Her political debts to those who oppose significant political and economic devolution to a Muslim entity in the south make it likely that the present "neither war nor peace" situation will persist. For Tuminez, the lesson of recent history is clear: The Philippines needs strong, competent administration. "Under good leadership, the Philippines has prospered in the past and can do so again. It has an educated population and a wealth of natural resources." She gave examples of effective leadership at the national, regional, and local levels to show the positive results of technical competence and minimal corruption.

Also in June, **Steven Rood**, the Asia Foundation's Philippines country director, gave an equivocal assessment of developments in the Philippines. "The Mindanao region is home to widespread separatist sentiments fueled in part by discrimination, poverty, and religious divides," he said. "It is of

special interest to the United States because it has been the staging ground for terrorist groups like Abu Sayyaf and Jemaah Islamiyah."

Rood argued, however, that it is simplistic to see conflicts in the region primarily through the prism of Muslim separatism. In fact, most respondents in a recent survey cited family and clan violence as being more salient to them than the larger political conflict. In addition, the region suffers from conflicts over outsider control of natural resources and mining rights, as well as from a communist insurgency.

This multiplicity of overlapping conflicts is mirrored by a complexity of organizational interests. "There are at least four different versions of the Muslim armed conflict," said Rood. Governmental authority is widely dispersed, and while the traditional local governments in the autonomous region have a bad reputation, "some are actually pretty good, and some are okay." In short, said Rood, no effort to solve the Mindanao's problems will succeed without appreciating their complexities.

With Rood's admonition in mind, Tuminez and **Eugene Martin**, the executive director of the Institute's Philippines project, have recently conducted a diverse series of programs in the Philippines. In conjunction with **Ted Feifer**, **Jackie Wilson**, and **Alison Milofsky**, all of whom work in the Institute's Training program, Martin held six three-day sessions on conflict management, negotiation, and communication skills for 200 senior Philippine military officers. The Institute's vice president for education, **Pamela Aall**,

together with **James Williams** of George Washington University and **Tony Gallagher** of Queens University, Belfast, joined Martin and Tuminez in leading a three-day workshop on "Educational Reform in Divided Societies" with senior Philippine Department of Education officials and educators from Mindanao and Manila. Williams and Gallagher subsequently accompanied Martin on a visit to Mindanao State University in Marawi.

During his July visit to Mindanao, Martin met with the chairman of the MILF, **Al-Haj Ibrahim Murad**, to discuss the Institute's facilitation project and to explore future areas of cooperation. Also in July, Tuminez conducted the second in a series of forums with young Moro leaders from diverse ethno-linguistic and professional backgrounds. The series seeks to: 1) enhance the candid exchange of views among young Moro leaders on critical issues that matter for the Bangsamoro future—e.g., religion, education, and leadership; 2) strengthen the operational network of young Moro leaders who will play an important role in present and future efforts to improve the welfare of the Bangsamoro; and 3) solicit ideas for future collaborative activities among young Moro leaders, and between them and other national and international organizations.

In June, Gene and Astrid met with the Capitol Hill-based study group, "Security for a New Century" to explain the status of the peace talks and encourage Congressional understanding of the complexities of the Mindanao situation. 🌐



## Haiti

*continued from page 3*

“no government can operate responsibly and the people cannot go about their business.”

But it became clear during the meeting that achieving that goal would be a difficult task. In the urban areas, particularly the infamous slum in Port-au-Prince known as the Cité du Soleil, gangs, drugs, and guns are rife. Haiti’s only security force, the Haitian National Police, are corrupt and politicized. The 8,500 troops and police assigned to MINUSTAH, the UN mission in Haiti, do not have the capacity to maintain order throughout the country.

Kroeker said that shortly after he arrived in Haiti, police shot a man for complaining about the fire department’s failure to save his house. As the UN’s advisor on police operations, he felt it was his role to tell Haitian police that the “first rule of policing is not to shoot the customer.” It was not, he said, a lesson that the police seemed amenable to: “It’s a grim situation, and the police are dysfunctional, demoralized, disorganized, and dishonest.”

Other speakers were equally bleak. One reported a conversation he had with a Haitian lawyer, who told him that without foreign assistance, which has underwritten the construction of much of the penal and judicial system, “We Haitians would be doing justice under a tree.” Another speaker acknowledged that “recent history reveals that not much progress has been made in terms of respecting human rights.”

Yet the speakers were united in arguing for continuing intervention. “The situation can seem overwhelming,” said Kroeker, “but we must continue, because the alternative is unacceptable.” 🌐

## Congo

*continued from page 9*

■ Not least, the need to address root causes of conflict—intense poverty, corruption, and impunity.

The international community must stay the course, said Swing, and continue to produce demonstrable results. While the challenges ahead are admittedly formidable, the Congo, said Swing, could “become a success story waiting to be told.”

Dizolele sounded a more pessimistic note. “The word I keep thinking of is ‘credibility,’” he said. The peace process was misconceived from the beginning, according to Dizolele, when the international community invited into the central government warlords who had little claim to legitimacy aside from their guns. “These people had no interest in holding elections, and they were guilty of massive human rights abuses. They should have been put on trial, not asked to become vice presidents of the interim regime.”

Dizolele was also critical of MONUC’s performance. The peacekeepers have failed repeatedly to keep the peace, he said, citing the example of a dissident rebel faction that briefly occupied the eastern town of Bukavu. “The UN had plenty of warning that the rebels were going to attack, yet did nothing, despite the fact that they were operating under a Chapter VII mandate, which gives them the authority to enforce peace.”

The United States and the international community have also failed to bring sufficient pressure to bear on Rwanda and Uganda, whose invasion of the Congo spawned the multiplicity of warlords who continue to devastate the eastern Congo. These two countries continue to profit financially from the exploitation of the Congo’s mineral wealth, said Dizolele. Although their troops quit the Congo under the terms of the 2002 peace agreement, the commercial networks they left behind link the local warlords to the global commodities markets. Elements within these governments have benefited substantially. (Indeed, the International Court of Justice ruled in December 2005 that Uganda had violated the Congo’s sovereignty and ordered it to pay reparations for having plundered the Congo’s natural resources.)

The audience, which included a large number of Congolese expatriates, asked several questions suggesting their unhappiness with MONUC’s decision to proceed with the election. They were particularly distressed that arrangements could not be reached to include Tshisekedi, and that many of the worst violators of human rights have been incorporated into the government rather than treated as war criminals. One audience member cited the old Congolese saying that you should listen to what the catfish tells you about the crocodile, because both live in the water. In other words, it pays to heed the voices of Congolese expressing skepticism about the internationally engineered peace agreement and election, because the Congolese are the ones who will have to live with the consequences. 🌐



### Liberian Warlord in the Dock

**C**harles Taylor, the notorious Liberian warlord whose violent career brought death to more than 200,000 people in West Africa during the 1990s, was arrested in Nigeria in late March and extradited to the Special Court for Sierra Leone. His arrest, while widely heralded, raises delicate questions about where and how to try him, questions the Institute addressed in a briefing held in early April.

Among the participants at the briefing were **Jacques Klein**, former UN special representative for the secretary general in Liberia; **David Crane**, former prosecutor for the Special Court for Sierra Leone; **Philip A. Z. Banks**, legal advisor for the Liberia Institute for Peace, Democracy and Good Governance; and **Ismail Rashid**, associate professor, Vassar College. Institute researchers **Laurel Miller** and **Dorina Bekoe** moderated the discussion.



Former Liberian President Charles Taylor, center, makes his first appearance at the courtroom of the Special Court for Sierra Leone for a hearing aimed at paving the way for his war crimes trial, The Hague, The Netherlands, Friday, July 21, 2006.

Participants agreed that the successful prosecution of Taylor—whose signature contribution to the litany of twentieth century horrors was the amputation, by machete, of victims' hands—would represent a major advance for the international human rights community. It would show, said David Crane, that “international criminal justice can be delivered in a politically acceptable time frame.”

Crane observed that the civil wars that wreaked havoc on Sierra Leone and Liberia in the 1990s

were motivated not by political considerations but by simple lucre. Libyan chief Moammar Qaddafi trained many of the warlords and then exchanged arms for the diamonds they brought in, but the warlords themselves had no agenda other than their own self-enrichment.

“When these criminals are sitting in the dock,” said Crane, “and the victims point their stumps at the tyrant and say ‘You did this’ and walk proudly out of the court with their heads held high—that’s justice.”

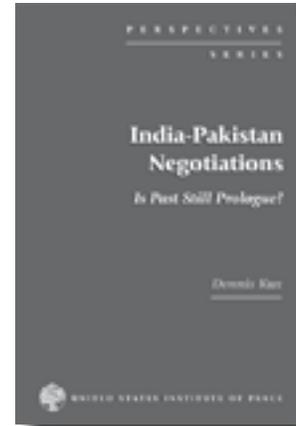
Klein seconded Crane’s call for a speedy trial, but said he feared that too much focus on Taylor might detract from Liberia’s pressing need for international investment. “The Liberian government operates on \$84 to \$85 million—and the entire medical, police, and educational systems need to be completely reconstructed,” he said. “The capital city has no water, electricity, or sewer system.”

Klein spoke forcefully about Taylor’s crimes. “He criminalized and corrupted an entire society,” he said. “What he did was unconscionable. Even now I find it hard to understand how violent and cruel and barbaric he was—how thin the veneer of civilization really is.”

### Past as Prologue

**T**he relationship between India and Pakistan has been fraught with tension and occasional descent into open warfare. A new book by **Dennis Kux**, a retired State Department South Asia specialist, was recently published by the Institute press. Titled, *India Pakistan Negotiations: Is Past Still Prologue?*, it reviews six key negotiations between the two countries. The Institute held a briefing in May to help launch the book.

**Salman Haidar**, a senior fellow at the Institute, and **Touqir Hussain**, a research fellow at the George



Washington University, served as discussants. Institute program officer **Christine Fair** moderated.

To understand the conflict between India and Pakistan, said Kux, one must understand the prelude to partition. After 1937, there was a bitter power struggle between leaders of the anticolonial movement, a struggle that erupted after the precipitous departure of the British with the “horror of the Punjab,” and the unresolved tensions over Kashmir. “Had the British done things differently, the two countries might have started as uneasy neighbors instead of avowed enemies.”

The first—and “arguably the only serious”—negotiation between India and Pakistan took place in 1962 and concerned water use. Later negotiations over Kashmir proved less fruitful, even though the United States and the Soviet Union attempted to mediate the problem. “We tended to see it as a technical issue—where to draw the border—while both India and Pakistan saw it as an existential problem that cut to the heart of who they are.” As a result, he said, neither Nehru (India’s prime minister) nor Ayub Khan (Pakistan’s president) was ready to compromise. “They were willing to talk, but not much more.”

The persistent failure of negotiations between the two countries poses the question of whether the current round of



talks is doomed to failure. “I hope not, but I suspect that they will run out of gas,” said Kux. On the other hand, public opinion has changed considerably since the early years of independence. Today, both populations are ready to move on. Kux concluded, “One day I hope India and Pakistan will successfully tackle the Kashmir issue.”

Salman Haidar, a senior fellow at the Institute and former foreign minister for India, gave a glowing recommendation of the book. “It is a pioneering, comprehensive analysis about the long-standing efforts of India and Pakistan to negotiate against a background of historical experience, psychological attitudes, and cultural perspectives. It shows how disputes became a theater for national politics and domestic ambitions.”

#### A Tinderbox in Central Asia

**B**alochistan is a large, arid region encompassing parts of Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Iran. Home to the Baloch people, it has been the site of recurring and unresolved conflicts over land, mineral rights, and autonomy. In 1948, 1958, 1973, and from 2004 on, low-intensity conflict has flared between Pakistan’s national army and Balochistan irregular forces. Whether these conflicts are more properly characterized as terrorism or nationalism depends on your point of view, said **Alex Thier**, a senior advisor in the rule of law program. Thier moderated a discussion in late May on the crisis in Balochistan featuring Senator **Sanullah Baloch**, of the Pakistan Senate; **Frederic Grare**, of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace; and **Selig Harrison**, of the Center for International Policy.

There are three reasons to be concerned about the conflict in Balochistan, said Thier. First, it puts at risk the stability of Pakistan, a nuclear state with a large population of fundamentalist Muslims. Second, Balochistan harbors Taliban fighters who seek to overthrow Afghanistan’s

elected government. Third, the region has vast mineral wealth and natural gas deposits.

Baloch, a lifelong Balochi activist who addressed the audience via video and telephone hookup because he was denied a visa, spoke first. The region was denied its destiny as a sovereign state because of the “unnatural borders” drawn by the British colonial office, he said. Pakistan’s primary interest in the region derives from the income it makes off the region’s mineral rights. It provides few social services in return for those receipts and has waged an increasingly brutal counterinsurgency campaign. Baloch argued that the current international borders should be “softened” and the people of Balochistan be united and allowed self-government.

Harrison began his talk by reporting that Iran had recently bombed and strafed Balochi villages to repress rebel activity in the region. But to understand the depth of anger that Balochi people feel, it is necessary to go back thirty years to the period from 1973 to 1977, when Pakistan sent 80,000 troops into the region and repressed 50,000 Balochi fighters. Today, he said, Balochis are better organized, more disciplined, and possess better weapons. The implications for U.S. policy are clear. Far from treating the Baloch problem as an internal matter for Pakistan, the United States should withhold aid to Pakistan until it ceases its military repression and starts to negotiate in good faith with the Balochis. “Stability in Pakistan is impossible until military rule comes to an end,” he concluded.

Grare largely agreed with the analysis of his two colleagues at the podium, and suggested that the Pakistani response was emblematic: it is a military dictatorship that favors military solutions over political ones. Nevertheless, he cautioned that an independent Balochistan was unlikely to be a viable entity. 🌐

#### Institute Mourns Passing of Alexander George

**T**he Institute was deeply saddened to learn of the passing of its good friend and long-time collaborator **Alexander George**, Graham H. Stuart Professor Emeritus of International Relations at Stanford University. George died on August 16 at the age of 86.

Alexander George was a leader in the study of political psychology and the development of case study methodology in foreign policy analysis. His concepts of coercive diplomacy and escalation control have become essential contributions to the field.

George began his conflict management studies in the 1960s at the RAND Corporation as part of research on the Vietnam War. His analyses of the Vietnam conflict, the Reagan administration’s diplomatic policies, and the 1991 Persian Gulf War influenced and informed scholars and practitioners around the world.

Alex was a two-term distinguished senior fellow in the Institute’s Jennings Randolph program after his retirement from Stanford in 1990. He used his time to promote groundbreaking studies on the gap between theory and practice in foreign policy. That work has been highly influential in the foreign affairs community and helped build the Institute’s standing as a center of research on international conflict management.

His many books include *Forceful Persuasion: Coercive Diplomacy as an Alternative to War* and *Bridging the Gap: Theory and Practice in Foreign Policy*, both of which were published by the Institute Press.

“Alex was a gem of a man,” said Institute President **Richard Solomon**. “He was an outstanding and creative political scientist, a lively and stimulating colleague, and a man who mentored many, many younger scholars and practitioners during his long and distinguished career. He will be sorely missed, but his contributions will endure in his writings and his influence on the many individuals who had the privilege of knowing him.” 🌐

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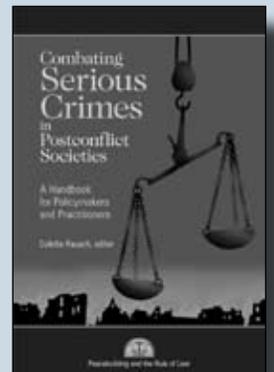
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