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Negotiating with North Korea

In negotiations with the outside world, does North Korea behave irrationally, or does the regime in Pyongyang just seek to maintain its power?

While many observers have called the North Koreans “crazy” or “irrational” in their dealings with the “outside” world, an expert on the country says that the self-isolated North Koreans follow a clear and consistent pattern of threat, and occasionally of force, to achieve their government’s goals in a purposeful way. “Contrary to conventional wisdom, . . . close study shows that their behavior is internally consistent in method and approach,” notes **Scott Snyder**, former Korea program officer at the U.S. Institute of Peace. However, although the country’s unilateral tactics and displays of brinkmanship may have worked in the past in gaining negotiating leverage from a position of weakness, they do not suit current circumstances and even jeopardize Pyongyang’s desired outcomes, he says.

The USIP Press recently published Snyder’s book on the sub-



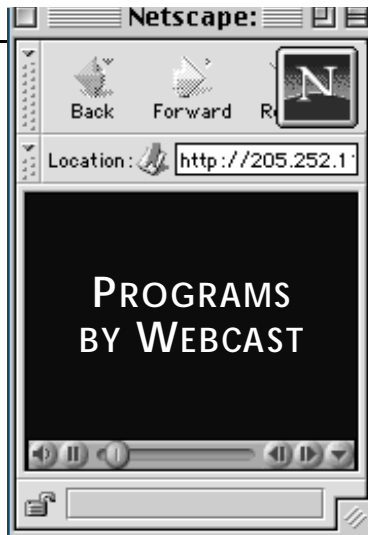
ject, *Negotiating on the Edge: North Korean Negotiating Behavior*, which analyzes North Korean negotiating behavior in the post-Cold War period. The book is part of an Institute project led by president **Richard H. Solomon** that explores the national negotiating styles of such countries as China, Japan, Russia, and other states important to U.S. interests.

Snyder—currently the Asia Foundation representative in Korea—discussed his research findings at a Current Issues Briefing organized by the Institute on February 18. Other panelists included former congressman **Steve Solarz**, who specializes in East Asian affairs and cofounded the International Crisis Group in 1995; **Patrick Cronin**, director of

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Above: North Korean dock workers load U.S. wheat onto trucks at Hungnam port in May 1999.

Left to right:
Patrick Cronin,
Richard
Solomon, Scott
Snyder, William
Drennan, and
Steve Solarz.



Programs by Webcast —A First for the Institute

The Institute “webcast” the North Korea Current Issues Briefing live on February 18, the first time the Institute has used its own equipment and expertise to broadcast live over the web. The North Korea briefing was also the first time the Institute used its own technology to solicit questions from its “netizen” audience. The Korea session is still available on the Institute’s website at www.usip.org. During the question and answer period, questions for the panelists came in live via the Internet from Mongolia and Belgium, enabling participants to respond to inquiries from around the globe.

The Institute now regularly webcasts its public meetings so that audiences everywhere can view the presentations and participate in discussions. Webcasting is an example of how the Institute is creating global outreach for its programs in an efficient and cost-effective way. This and other capabilities for worldwide outreach will be an essential component of the Institute’s permanent headquarters facility. (For details on the Capital Campaign to build the new headquarters, see the profile on p. 4.)



North Korea

Continued from page 1

the Institute’s Research and Studies Program; and **William Drennan**, the Institute’s Korea program officer.

Snyder pointed out that, whereas in the past North Korean negotiators could afford to simply get up and walk away from a negotiating table, today, due to a severe economic crisis and famine in the country, North Korea needs positive results from negotiations more than the other parties do. Thus, there is now a mismatch between the country’s

threatening tactics and desired outcomes.

Snyder summarized selected North Korean negotiating tactics, which are discussed in detail in his book. For example, he said, Pyongyang often creates a crisis before negotiating, and then uses the crisis to shape the negotiating agenda and to raise the stakes for the other side. Brinkmanship is then used to gain concessions from the other side or sides. Also, the North Koreans always forge compromise at informal meetings away from the negotiating table; then at the end of the negotiating process, they tend to harden their position again to try to get additional concessions from their negotiating counterparts.

Snyder offered counter-strategies for negotiating with North Korea, including the following:

- Don’t confuse North Korea’s rhetoric with its reality.
- Resist North Korean attempts to search for weaknesses within a negotiating team or to exploit divisions among negotiating counterparts.
- Signal negotiating objectives, but don’t overinvest in them, or the price for North Korean cooperation may become inflated.
- Develop a detailed negotiating strategy based on common interests, but leave North Korean officials with a face-saving way out of any corner.

In his presentation, Solarz called Snyder’s book “well researched, comprehensive, and in parts even brilliant—a seminal



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text.” However, he challenged some of the book’s conclusions, in particular the characterization of North Korea’s negotiating behavior as “rational.” Even serial killers act in persistent, predetermined ways, he argued, but that doesn’t mean they are rational.

To assess the effectiveness of North Korea’s negotiating tactics, it is important to first examine one’s assumptions about the North’s goals, Solarz said. For example, if one assumes that North Korea’s objectives are the withdrawal of U.S. troops from the demilitarized zone, the reunification of Korea under communist control, and the creation of a better life for its people, then the country has failed on all counts. However, if one assumes that North Korea’s goal is to perpetuate the power of a small clique, then so far it has succeeded.

“The objective of Pyongyang is its own survival as a regime,” Solarz argued. The North hasn’t reached agreement in negotiations with the South, for example, because maintaining tensions with the “outside” is essential to convincing the North Korean people that they are under siege and that the leadership is justified in maintaining totalitarian control. The regime in North Korea could not survive without ruthlessly suppressing the aspirations of its own people, he said.

Cronin noted that in its negotiations with the United States, the North seeks to gain maximum leverage by, first, ramping up

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Rethinking the Cross-Strait Dialogue

Constructive dialogue between the mainland and Taiwan can help to ease tensions.

Mainland China and Taiwan need to focus on developing practical areas of cooperation that over time would help to lessen cross-Strait tensions, say a group of leading scholars and officials from the mainland, Hong Kong, and Taiwan. The group noted that the impending membership of both sides in the World Trade Organization (WTO) offers an opportunity to develop such cooperation. With that in mind, they drew up an agenda of issues that are of interest to both sides of the Strait at a meeting on “Rethinking the Cross-Strait Dialogue,” February 10–13 in Tarrytown, N.Y. The event was convened by the Council on Foreign Relations, with the support of the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the U.S. Institute of Peace.

Twenty-two Chinese scholars and officials and eight American experts on Asia attended the meeting, hosted by **David Rockefeller**. Chinese participants included, from the mainland, **Yang Jiemian**, director of the Department of American Studies at the Shanghai Institute of International Studies, and **Wu Xinbo** of Fudan University in Shanghai; and from Taiwan, **Ma Ying-Jeou**, mayor of Taipei, and **Hsiao Bi-Khim** of the Democratic Progressive Party. **Richard H. Solomon**, president of the U.S. Institute of Peace, **Patrick Cronin**, director of the Institute’s Research and Studies Program, and **Jerome Cohen**, senior fellow for Asia at the Council on Foreign Relations, also participated in the meeting. **Gen. Brent Scowcroft** (ret.) delivered the keynote address at the opening session.

Cronin noted after the meeting that military conflict across the Strait will not serve anyone’s interest, as all of the participants in the dialogue recognized. Both the mainland and Taiwan share a strong motivation for deepening economic relations, he said. The mainland’s economic modernization depends on good trade and investment ties with Taiwan, which for the past decade has enjoyed well over a \$100 billion trade surplus with the mainland. Membership in the WTO would put Taiwan and the mainland on an equal footing in trade relations, and thus facilitate the building of a new bureaucratic infrastructure and legal framework for expanding economic relations and other ties.

Further, Cronin said, the March 18 presidential elections in Taiwan provide an opportunity for the mainland to start a fresh dialogue with the new president.

Chinese participants in the meeting expressed strong concern about the remilitarization of the area and the decline in constructive dialogue between the mainland and Taiwan. They noted a number of opportunities for enhancing cross-Strait cooperation, including the development of direct postal, air, and sea links across the Strait. They also noted that it would be useful to establish a dialogue on security issues affecting both sides that would include confidence-building measures such as the installation of a hotline.



His Heart is in His Work

The Rev. Sidney Lovett has served the Institute of Peace from its founding. Now he's helping to raise funds for our new permanent home by the National Mall.

The Rev. **Sidney Lovett** has been on the scene at the U.S. Institute of Peace for a very long time—indeed, from the start. And, notes Institute president **Richard H. Solomon**, he's one of those true, blue friends one hopes will never go away.

A retired minister with the United Church of Christ, Lovett was a childhood friend of the late Milton "Mike" Mapes, who headed the public campaign that lobbied Congress to establish the Institute. Lovett had helped his friend in that endeavor—"I was just a go-fer for Mike," he explains with unwarranted modesty. After Mapes passed away and Congress in 1984 enacted the legislation creating the Institute, Lovett decided he wanted to serve on the Institute's first board in honor of Mapes. The White House and Congress agreed.

On February 25, 1986, when the Institute's board held its first meeting, Lovett was there. Today, he continues to devote himself to the Institute's growth and to the cause of international peace.

Lovett is the "clerk" of the Institute's Capital Campaign to build a permanent home near the National Mall, helping to identify potential individual and institutional donors. The campaign is raising \$50 million for the new headquarters, which will be

located at 23rd Street and Constitution Avenue NW, within view of the nation's most important war memorials.

In his fundraising efforts, Lovett is quick to point out that contributing to the Institute makes a lot of sense. "While it is very important to support social issues, health issues, environmental issues, nothing flies in the face of all those goals more than a world in the throes of armed conflict," he says. "Diplomacy and conflict prevention, management, and resolution are clearly our nation's top foreign affairs priority in the post-Cold War world."

Lovett got his grounding in history, economics, and political science as an undergraduate at Yale, and then honed his ethical concerns in a master's degree program under Reinhold Niebuhr at the Union Theological Seminary in New York City. He was ordained in the United Church of Christ in 1953 and served as a minister in four major parishes, including the Union Church of Hinsdale, Ill., and Rock Spring Congregational Church in Arlington, Va.

Lovett retired with his wife Joan to their summer home in Holderness, N.H., in 1986, when he began his first three-year term on the Institute's board. His second term ended in 1991.

Not one to take life easy, Lovett ran for the New Hampshire state legislature representing Holderness and surrounding towns, and was elected to two terms, 1994–98. His unsuccessful bid for governor in 1996 used the catchy campaign slogan, "New Hampshire: Live Free and Lovett," which echoed the state's famous motto, "Live Free or Die."

Lovett takes pride in remembering the work of the Institute's original board of directors. "We had the challenge and the satisfaction of setting some of the pillars of the Institute in place in terms of priorities, grantmaking, the National Peace Essay Contest, the selection of Ambassador Sam Lewis as the first president." The board also set as priorities work in the areas of religion, ethics, and human rights and the rule of law.

Lovett chaired the Institute's future development committee, and along with board member Morris Leibman, first conceived of a permanent headquarters for the Institute. Lovett and Leibman worked for legislation, passed in 1992, that enabled the Institute to raise funds from the private sector to build a permanent home. Those efforts eventually led to Lovett's current fundraising involvement. Lovett says he is impressed by the hands-on conflict resolution work the Institute is now doing in areas like the Balkans, Africa, and South Asia, which reflects the high regard in which the Institute is held by the State Department, the National Security Council, and the administration.

"We have come very far," Lovett notes of the Institute. "Our mandate from Congress makes it very clear that we are charged to help educate the public. Our new headquarters on the Mall will help us truly fulfill the enormous potential envisioned by all those early crusaders for a Peace Institute."

The Seeds of Peace Experience

A new Institute Press book celebrates and describes the Seeds of Peace conflict resolution program for Arab and Israeli youth.

Bushra Jawabri, an 18-year-old Palestinian, says that meeting the “enemy” face to face has been “the greatest experience of my life.” Thanks to the Seeds of Peace summer program in Maine, this meeting did not take place on a bloody battlefield but instead deep in the New England woods that stretch along Pleasant Lake, so named to reflect the tranquil setting.

Since 1983, Jawabri and some 1,500 other Arab and Israeli youth have had a chance to get acquainted—even to become friends—participating in the Seeds of Peace conflict resolution program founded by **John Wallach**, a senior fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace in 1998–99.

Now the USIP Press has published Wallach’s book, *The Enemy Has a Face*, which vividly describes the Seeds of Peace experience and the camp’s conflict resolution process. The book also follows the youngsters’ return home, where despite criticism from friends and families, many of them continue to promote Arab-Israeli coexistence. Wallach spent his fellowship year researching and writing the book, published recently by the Institute Press.

Jawabri and several other graduates of the Seeds of Peace program discussed their experiences, and the importance of spreading the program’s methods and insights through the book, at a publication event held on Capitol Hill on February 8. Several hundred guests attended, including Senators **Chuck Robb** (D-Va.)

and **Paul Sarbanes** (D-Md.)

“The Seeds of Peace program is a hands-on, on-the-ground, attitudes-changing program,” Wallach told the guests. “It is a conflict resolution program in the most serious sense of the word. . . . This is the only place in the world where Arab and Israeli youth are in touch on a daily basis. I believe deeply there has to be a way to prevent war and conflict before it erupts.” One of the best ways to secure a peaceful future is to work with tomorrow’s leaders today, he said.

At the camp, the youth share rooms, eat meals together, compete in sports, and learn to trust each other. Two hours each day they also engage in coexistence sessions run by professional facilitators. The campers learn negotiating skills and develop understanding and empathy for one another. “We create the environment for them to succeed,” Wallach said.

With help from an Institute grant, Wallach is developing a CD-ROM on the camp experience and methods. Last year, he opened a center for the youth in Jerusalem, where they can meet and use e-mail to continue to build their relationships and sustain the sense of community developed at camp in the Maine woods.

“This is an amazing program,” said **Abigail Shahm**, 16, of Israel. The youth come to the camp from a hate-filled environment where they have been told and believe “bad things” about people



they have never met. At camp, “I realized how sad it was, our reality, and how badly I want to change it and how badly it needs to be changed,” she said.

“It’s hard to replace [hateful feelings] with love and respect and be together and feel comfortable about it,” Shahm said. That’s why the idea of the camp is “so amazing, so clever.” Camp leaders don’t try to make the youth change. Instead, “they let us be together for the first time in our lives.”

Top, left to right: John Wallach, Richard Solomon, and Joseph Klaitz. Bottom, left to right: Abigail Shahm, Bushra Jawabri, and Rami Qubain.

The Way Forward in Kosovo

Building civil society in Kosovo cannot be done overnight; the international community must “stay the course.”

It is unrealistic to expect that Kosovo would be “a perfect civil society” just one year after the start of the allied air campaign in Serbia, says U.S. State Department spokesman **James P. Rubin**. “We achieved our objective [putting an end to the Bel-



Right: Christopher Hill. Below: James Rubin.

grade regime’s ethnic cleansing of Kosovar Albanians]. To build civil society, we have to stay the course.”

Rubin and **Christopher Hill**, special assistant to the president and senior director for Southeast European affairs with the National

Security Council, discussed “Kosovo: The Way Forward” at a Current Issues Briefing at the U.S. Institute of Peace on March 23. They had just returned from Kosovo. The briefing was moderated by Institute executive vice president **Harriet Hentges**, who had participated with Hill and Rubin in a roundtable discussion among a number of Kosovar political and civil society leaders in Pristina, Kosovo, on March 2. The

roundtable was a follow-up to previous Institute-sponsored meetings with Kosovar Albanian leaders held in the United States and Bulgaria, and with Kosovar Serbs in Washington.

At the briefing, Rubin stressed that the international community achieved a number of important goals in Kosovo, including the delivery of urgent humanitarian aid that saw the populace through a very difficult winter. The international community fed 600,000, provided temporary housing for 400,000, and made it possible for 90 percent of school children to return to school, he said. Further, the demilitarization of the ethnic Albanian Kosovo Liberation Army (KLA) was accomplished in record time. The KLA handed in 8,000 weapons and another 4,000 were confiscated. “Never before in history . . . have rebels formally given up their weapons and ammunition so quickly,” Rubin said.

Like Rubin, Hill stressed the current need to focus on building democratic institutions in Kosovo.

“The U.S. Institute of Peace is an important part of that effort,” he said. The Institute provides training in conflict prevention, management, and resolution; facilitates meetings; and awards grants and fellowships.

Hill noted that Kosovo needs more international police to reduce crime and more magistrates to beef up the criminal justice system. Work is being done in the areas of law, courts, and holding jails, he said.

“Kosovo is a very tough place to set up civil structures. . . . Nothing that is done overnight doing it now. . . . We believe it will be made to function in the same way with a market economy.”

The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) will help to prepare the populace and register voters for the first post-conflict municipal elections, slated for September. The OSCE will see that the elections take place “in an atmosphere free from intimidation,” Hill said. With the elections, “Kosovo will truly become a democracy. . . . transferring responsibility to the leaders in Kosovo.” One of the goals is to “make sure that Kosovar Serbs see there is a future for them.”

Both Hill and Rubin stressed the need to take a strong public stand to curb such violence. Hill and Rubin also stressed that it is premature to discuss the permanent status of Kosovo, which is still a province of Serbia. And they had harsh words for Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic. “Milosevic is an indicted war criminal.” Rubin said. “We . . . only support his going to The Hague [to face trial]. I’ve not heard anyone suggest that we meet with him, work with him, deal with him.” Hill added that the Serbian people need to understand that they have no future with Milosevic at the helm.





Preventing Conflict in Montenegro

The NATO allies need to warn Serbian president Slobodan Milosevic that they will use military force to protect Montenegro from aggression, says **Gareth Evans**, president of the International Crisis Group (ICG). This and related measures are necessary, he said, to prevent Milosevic from using force to install a pro-Belgrade government in Montenegro, the small, democratic republic that, together with Serbia, constitutes the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia.

Evans discussed the growing threat to Montenegro and a



Shadow of the Volcano.

“Here we are all over again,” Evans said, anticipating possible aggression from Milosevic in the Balkans, yet to date failing to take adequate preventive action. “We look as though we learned absolutely nothing” from Milosevic’s other aggressions in the Balkans, he said. “Nobody is really seriously addressing or coming to grips with these issues [facing Montenegro].”

NATO’s North Atlantic Council should formally task the NATO military command to plan a military

response, and NATO should move forces in the region to signal that its intentions are serious, Evans said.

While tensions have simmered between the two republics since President Milo Djukanovic was democratically elected in 1997, recent events indicate that Milosevic is taking steps that will give him the political and military capabilities to move against the government, Evans noted. For example, Serbia recently opened three transmitters on army territory in Montenegro to broadcast Belgrade TV, a major propaganda arm of the Milosevic regime, to Montenegrins. Also, Milosevic has replaced Yugoslav army officers serving in Montenegro with some 120 “ex-Kosovo hard men,” who are more likely to carry out his orders in Montenegro. Additionally, there are numerous reports that Milosevic is sending Serb paramilitaries into the area.

As a result, Djukanovic faces increasing pressure to hold a referendum on Montenegro’s independence. However, some fear that such a referendum would be the very thing that would prompt Milosevic to attempt a takeover of the republic.

Government officials in Podgorica, the capital city, expect that Milosevic will use paramilitaries or other irregular units to create disturbances, then claim that the Djukanovic government is unable to contain them and send in the federal army “to re-establish stability,” Evans said.

To prevent such an occurrence, he also recommends increasing the international community’s presence and visibility in Montenegro, including that of governmental and nongovernmental organizations, to raise the stakes for any potential military/subversive action. Further, a broad range of economic measures is needed to give Djukanovic the financial support currently being denied by organizations such as the International Monetary Fund and World Bank on the grounds that Montenegro is not an independent entity.

“The fifth war of the breakup of Yugoslavia may not be far away,” Evans concluded. “Montenegro’s friends need to act quickly, decisively, and visibly if this prospect is to be avoided.”



Gareth Evans

Conflict Management for Southeast Europe

Romania Prepares for OSCE Chair

Many countries in the region are struggling out of war or trying to not slip into war. The teaching of conflict management skills offers one solution for the long term.

As Romania continues to build democratic institutions, the Romanian government is readying its officials to take the chair of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), scheduled for 2001. To this end, some 28 mid-level Romanian government officials and representatives of nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) attended a conflict resolution training seminar presented by the U.S. Institute of Peace in Bucharest January 17–21. The seminar, entitled “The OSCE and the Functions of the Chairman-in-Office,” was given at the request of the Romanian government and the U.S. Department of State.

As part of the OSCE’s “troika” system—in which three countries are in leadership positions at a time: the past chair, the current chair, and the outgoing chair—Romania joined the troika this year.

Seminar trainers included **George Ward**, director of the Institute’s Training Program; **Pamela Aall**, director of the Education Program; **Jeffrey Helsing**, program officer; and consultant **P. Terrence Hopmann**, OSCE expert, former Institute senior fellow, and professor at Brown University. The training was designed to help strengthen the capacity of Romanian government and NGO personnel to work in a multilateral situation and improve their negotiation and conflict management skills, Ward says. Participants



included officials from the Romanian foreign ministry, ministry of defense, justice and interior departments, office of the presidency, and the parliament. In addition to lectures, readings, and discussions, attendees also engaged in a four-stage simulation exercise designed by Hopmann on the OSCE chair’s role in resolving the dispute between Russia and Ukraine over the Crimea.

The Institute also brought guest lecturers to the event, including **Jerzy Nowak**, coordinator for OSCE affairs for the Polish foreign minister when Poland served as chair, and **Robert Frowick**, former head of the OSCE mission in Bosnia.

Teaching Conflict Resolution in Southeast Europe

Southeast Europe is undergoing a dramatic transition, especially the Balkans region, where countries are either struggling out of war or trying to not slide into war, notes Pamela Aall. Conflict management as an academic discipline and professional skill is a new subject to most of the region.

With this in mind, before the OSCE training workshop, the same Institute team met outside Bucharest with 12 academics from Southeast Europe on January 14–15 to explore collaborative conflict resolution projects. This meeting was cosponsored by the Black Sea University Foundation of Romania, headed by **Mircea Malitza**, former Romanian ambassador to the United States and author of numerous books on diplomacy, negotiation, and the peaceful settlement of disputes. The foundation brings together leaders in the teaching of conflict resolution from universities around the Black Sea.

Participants in the January meeting came from Albania, Bulgaria, Croatia, Greece, Macedonia, Moldova, Romania, Slovenia, and Turkey. All of the participants have access to outside conflict management resources, including via the Internet, and are well versed in both European and American work in conflict resolution, Aall notes.

The presence of academics from Greece and Turkey helped to broaden the perspective of the



InstitutePeople

group, as their countries are close neighbors to the others but have not been caught up in the same conflicts or transitions, she says.

“We want to help develop indigenous resources for conflict management,” Aall notes. “The best way to do so is through teaching. The professors can give their students the tools they need to deal with conflict management situations.”

The event served primarily as a brainstorming session focused on the teaching of conflict resolution in the greater Balkans region and the creation of a conflict resolution network. Participants also explored the impact of conflict in the region on education systems and future generations, and discussed what will be needed in terms of education and training to address the sources of conflict and to create or support efforts at conflict prevention and resolution. Attendees also considered developing curriculum for conflict management, joint research efforts, information sharing, and building civil society organizations and networks.



JON B. ALTERMAN, program officer in the Research and Studies Program, published an op-ed, “Iranian Change Deeper Than Mere Election Results,” in the *Christian Science Monitor* on February 23. The piece was reprinted as “Iranian Gridlock” in *Nando Times* (www.nandotimes.com). The same month, he discussed “The Future of Arab Programming” at the Columbia School of Journalism/SIPA. In January, Alterman discussed the information revolution in the Middle East at the National Defense University in Washington, D.C., and at the Institute for Political and International Studies in Tehran, Iran.

SALLY BLAIR, program officer in the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, discussed “Bridging the Academic and Foundation Worlds: A Program Officer’s Story” on March 8 as part of American University’s Women and Foreign Policy series.

PATRICK M. CRONIN, director of the Research and Studies Program, discussed “The Declining Art of Statecraft” at a National Defense University symposium on “Innovation in National Security Education” in March. His essay, “Seizing the Moment: China’s White Paper on Taiwan,” appeared in the *Straits Times* of Singapore on February 25.

JEFFREY HELSING, program officer in the Education Program, developed and moderated a two-day faculty seminar on “Teaching and Implementing Conflict Management: From Community to International Settings” for a faculty seminar March 10–11 cosponsored with the University of Baltimore.

JOSEPH KLAITS, director of the Jennings Randolph fellowship program, published an article, “EU Tries to Contain Far-Right Infection,” in *USA Today* on March 1.

DAVID SMOCK, director of the Grant Program, helped facilitate the National Summit on Africa February 16–19 in Washington, D.C.

Institute president **RICHARD H. SOLOMON** addressed the U.S.-Iran Council in Washington on March 17 on the challenges of normalizing relations with an adversary state. He drew on the experience of normalizing relations with the People’s Republic of China in the 1970s as an analog to current problems and possibilities in relations with Iran. And on March 19 Solomon made a presentation to the annual meeting of the American Council on Education in Chicago, discussing the Institute as a national resource for institutions of higher education in developing teaching and research programs in international conflict resolution and peace studies.

BARBARA WIEN, program officer in the Training Program, delivered two conflict resolution training workshops in February and March for more than 90 U.S. police officers being deployed to Bosnia, Kosovo, and East Timor as part of the United Nations peacekeeping missions in those countries. Later in March, she taught an eight-hour workshop on “Careers in the Field of Peacemaking” at the annual conference of the Consortium on Peace Research, Education and Development (COPRED), held in Austin, Texas.

BRCKO'S ETHNIC GROUPS WORKING TOGETHER

The Institute explores community-based reconciliation projects in Brcko and throughout the Balkans.



Right: U.S. soldiers and a priest discuss the murder of a prominent Serb doctor with Daniel Serwer (center).

Below, left: Representatives of NGOs in Brcko. *Right:* Jacob Finci of Bosnia's Inter-Religious Council.

In the Brcko District of Bosnia, Croats, Muslims, and Serbs demonstrate a growing commitment to make the return of displaced persons possible, says **Daniel Serwer**, director of the U.S. Institute of Peace's Balkans Initiative. "There is a real feeling that the new district and its government present an opportunity for a new start," he says. As a result of post-Dayton arbitration, Brcko is now under the administration of William Farrand, deputy high representative and supervisor. He will appoint government officials during a transi-

tion period. "Many of Brcko's leading citizens see the new district as a model for Bosnia as a whole, and they want it to be a success." Serwer says.

Serwer and **David Smock**, director of the Grant Program, traveled to Brcko as part of a nine-day trip to the Balkans early in March to explore the potential for working with or initiating community-based reconciliation projects in areas of special concern to the United States. They also assessed recent developments in the region.

In Brcko, Smock met with the

leaders of two nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) working to encourage Serb refugees living in the homes of displaced Muslims to voluntarily return to their places of origin, and the Muslim families to return to Brcko.

Serwer and Smock also visited Zagreb, Croatia; Zvornik, Republika Srpska; and Sarajevo, Bosnia. Throughout the trip, they met with government officials including Croatia's new president, Stipe Mesic; religious leaders; and representatives of NGOs. At the end of the trip, Serwer spent a day in Macedonia, where he met with the new president and the prime minister, foreign minister, and leader of the Albanian Democratic Party, among others. He also traveled to a U.S. military base near Gnjilane/Gjilan, Kosovo, where he discussed with military officials the possibility of providing conflict resolution training to Serbs and Albanians living in that area.

In Sarajevo, Serwer and Smock met with the Inter-Religious Council, whose formation the Institute facilitated. The leaders of the council meet regularly, travel together to make joint appearances around the country, and appear together on television to further the message of religious tolerance. The council urges ethnic groups to work together on reconstruction and reconciliation. "The council is a real success story," Serwer says.

Serwer and Smock note that Croatia's new president supports a range of moderate policies likely to have a positive impact on other countries in the region. Mesic plans to recognize the citizenship of Serbs who fled during the 1995 war in that country and to facilitate their return. Further, he will end subsidies to the Croat Defense





Council in Bosnia. This measure may encourage Bosnian Croats to integrate military forces with the Bosnian army, Serwer says.

In Macedonia, officials are “hoping against hope” that there won’t be another conflict in southern Serbia, Serwer says. While progress is evident in the areas visited, Serwer and Smock conclude, continued unrest in Kosovo and the possibility of violence in Montenegro (see the stories on pp. 6–7) remain a focus of strong concern for the region.

A recent Institute Special Report on Macedonia, *Macedonia: Prevention Can Work*, is now available free of charge.

North Korea

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tensions in order to increase the value of making peace and, second, by bargaining the North’s weapons of mass destruction threat one piece at a time.

Drennan pointed out that, given the North’s severe internal crisis, the leadership has to determine if survival is enhanced by opening up to the outside world and reform or threatened by it. Whatever the answer might be, because the country badly needs fuel and food aid, North Korea has little choice but to engage with the outside world, particularly the United States.

The North has recently initiated contact with several countries. A planned June summit of North Korean leader Kim Jong-Il and South Korean president Kim Dae Jung, and the planned visit of high-level North Korean officials to Washington are steps the North is taking down the path of negotiating with the outside world.

New Palestinian Legal System

As negotiations proceed regarding the future status of the Palestinian territories, the challenges in developing a new and integrated legal system in the West Bank and Gaza are central to the nature of the future Palestinian polity and the development of a democratic system. **Freih Abu Meddien**, minister of justice of the Palestinian Authority, and **Tawfiq Abu Ghazala**, chairman of the Palestinian delegation to the Israeli-Palestinian Joint Legal Committee, addressed these and related issues at an Institute meeting January 19.

“We have laws now, but a lot of people don’t respect them,” Meddien said. Ghazala noted that the current legal system is inadequate because it is a patchwork of Ottoman codes, British mandatory regulations, and Egyptian law, among others. “The challenge is to create Palestinian laws based on Palestinian needs,” he said. The event was held as part of the Institute’s special initiative on a Palestinian-Israeli legal dialogue. At the request of senior Israeli and Palestinian officials, the Institute’s Rule of Law Program is organizing a series of meetings between Israeli and Palestinian jurists to enable them to jointly explore a range of legal issues. **Neil J. Kritz**, director of the program, and **Amjad Atallah**, adviser for the initiative on Palestinian-Israeli legal dialogue, have recently conducted extensive discussions in the region to develop this series of legal exchanges.

Women Building Coalitions

More than 100 women leaders from 10 major conflict areas shared their experiences in peacemaking efforts and built support networks at the Women Waging Peace conference, held at Harvard University’s Kennedy School of Government in Cambridge, Mass., December 5–18, 1999. The initiative was chaired by **Swanee Hunt**, director of the Kennedy School’s Women and Public Policy Program. **Harriet Hentges**, Institute executive vice president, chaired a roundtable during the program, and **George Ward**, director of the Training Program, chaired the meeting’s coalition-building working group.

The five-day coalition building segment of the conference consisted of small group discussions in which 20–25 women told their stories, gained each other’s trust, and formed ties that will reinforce their peacebuilding efforts and help them to establish support networks.

Since the conference, some 90 percent of the women have stayed in touch with each other over the Internet, and some have participated in joint meetings to discuss specific issues, Ward said. In November, approximately 20 of these women will return to Cambridge for a meeting with women from four new conflict areas.

OSCE Mission in Bosnia and Herzegovina

The Training Program offered four conflict management training workshops for 121 personnel from the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) mission headquarters in Sarajevo and from four field regions in November and December 1999. The three-day seminars—taught by program officers **Lewis Rasmussen** and **Robert Schoenhaus**, and assisted by contractor **Jaco Cilliers**—were designed to enhance participants’ skills in conflict analysis, problem solving, negotiation, and mediation. They consisted of presentation and discussion sessions, small working groups, and five role-play exercises. The seminar was designed to address directly field concerns and needs.



virtual Diplomacy

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