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## Institute Launches Major New Initiative on Iraq

Congressional appropriation aims to promote peace and stability.

A recent congressional appropriation authorizes the Institute to bring the full range of its analytical and operational experience to bear on the complex challenges facing Iraq in the post-Saddam Hussein era. The Iraq supplemental bill signed by President Bush in November 2003 includes a \$10 million appro-

priation for the Institute over the next three years. The bipartisan congressional appropriation was sponsored by Senator **Tom Harkin** (D-Iowa) and Senator **Ted Stevens** (R-Alaska). The Institute is using these funds to work with Iraqis to prevent and reduce inter-ethnic and interreligious violence, speed up stabilization and democratization, and reduce the need for a continuing U.S. presence in Iraq.

"This appropriation constitutes a tangible acknowledgment by

congressional leaders of the relevance and value of our programs," said Institute president **Richard Solomon**. "We are committed to ensuring that these funds have a meaningful impact on the situation in Iraq."

**Harriet Hentges**, Institute executive vice president, said, "the Institute staff will draw on considerable knowledge of and experience in environments emerging from intense violence to develop

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*From left:* George Ward, Institute Professional Training director; Paul Bremer, CPA Administrator; Dan Serwer, Peace and Stability Operations director; and Ray Salvatore Jennings, Institute chief of party in Iraq.



# Initiative on Iraq

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General David Petraeus, former commander of the Army's 101st Airborne Division, spoke at an Institute-sponsored event in March.



## Lessons learned

and implement projects in the context of Iraq's shifting political circumstances." The Institute's goals are clear, she said: preventing interethnic and interreligious violence, promoting the rule of law, training and educating leaders for a democratic Iraq, and training incoming U.S. civilian and military leadership on lessons learned from former U.S. staff in Iraq. According to Hentges, the Institute is launching programs in response to demands from Iraqis while taking the security situation into account.

The logistics of working in what remains a very dangerous environment have necessitated an unusual degree of preparation for Institute staff. **Ray Salvatore Jennings**, a postwar development specialist and former Institute senior fellow, has been hired as the Institute's chief of party in Iraq. He has been in Baghdad conducting an assessment of security and logistical needs and making plans for activities on the ground. Jennings has established an Institute presence in Baghdad—a combined office and residence provided by the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA). Benefiting from the experience

*"We are committed to ensuring that these funds have a meaningful impact on the situation in Iraq."* —Richard Solomon

of other organizations that have operated in hostile environments, the Institute has developed a detailed security manual to guide Institute staff on issues ranging from vehicle safety to kidnapping and hostage situations. "Ensuring the safety of our staff is our highest priority," said Solomon.

### The Institute's Activities

The Institute's prospective projects for Iraq continue to be defined as more information becomes available and as staff are added, but several are already underway. Led by **George Ward**, director of the Professional Training Program, interviews were conducted to capture the lessons learned by key U.S. personnel as they return from Iraq. "There have been very few lessons-learned projects undertaken by civilian agencies," said Ward. "This project will debrief civilian and military personnel who have worked on a range of reconstruction projects." The interviews—recorded on video—have been packaged into a briefing module along with other relevant material for distribution via DVD to personnel newly assigned to Iraq. The result will be the effective transmission of lessons learned and best practices from those returning from Iraq to new personnel assigned to reconstruction efforts in that country and other conflict zones.

The Institute has also initiated a training program for officials of the new Iraqi government charged with national security responsibilities. Led by Ward and program officer **Michael Lekson**, the training will help Iraqi offi-

cial build their conflict management skills to support the policies of their new democratic leadership—after decades of dictatorship that gravely damaged the human infrastructure needed for effective governance. "The success of the political leadership of the new government will depend on having top-quality, nonpolitical civil servants who can carry out their professional responsibilities," said Ward. The first two workshops in this series were held in April in cooperation with the National Defense University, with two more workshops planned for May and June. Later, the Institute plans to conduct the program in Iraq.

The Professional Training Program is also preparing to launch

Training



Conflict management



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Ayad Allawi (left), chairs his first meeting with the new Iraqi interim government in Baghdad, Iraq, on June 2, 2004.

a multiphase project designed to reduce tensions among Iraq's ethnic and religious groups by training Iraqi facilitators to conduct results-oriented dialogues among government and civil society leaders. The first phase of the project, which is being organized by program officer **Anne Henderson**, took place in May, when the Institute conducted a conflict management skills workshop in Baghdad for forty Iraqis from the capital and outlying cities, including Kirkuk. In July, the Institute will conduct a follow-up workshop for twenty alumni of the initial trainings, which will complete their preparation as conflict management facilitators. These Iraqi facilitators will then organize and conduct dialogues among leading civil society and government representatives of all ethnic and religious groups in their governorates. The dialogues will help participants develop constructive approaches to governance that transcend ethnic and religious divisions.

Another project, developed by **David Smock**, director of the Religion and Peacemaking Initia-

*The Institute's goals are clear: preventing interethnic and interreligious violence, promoting the rule of law, training and educating leaders for a democratic Iraq, and training incoming U.S. civilian and military leadership on lessons learned from former U.S. staff in Iraq.*

—Harriet Hentges

tive, in partnership with Coventry Cathedral, contributes to the establishment of an Iraqi Center for Dialogue, Reconciliation, and Peace. The religious landscape of Iraq—with a long oppressed but fragmented Shiite majority, a once-privileged Sunni minority, a substantial Kurdish population habituated to a de facto autonomy, and a small Christian community—is the setting for an intense and sometimes violent competition for political dominance. “The successful transformation of Iraq to a pluralistic and tolerant democracy will require vigorous efforts to promote religious peace,” said Smock. Key religious leaders in Iraq have already given the center their blessing and indicated a willingness to participate in it. They have already played a role in some tense mediations in connection with kidnappings.

The Rule of Law Program, led by **Neil Kritz**, held its first seminar in April for high-ranking Iraqis to help in the design and establishment of an Iraqi Special Tribunal to prosecute the perpetrators of atrocities under the former regime, including Saddam Hussein himself. The seminar, which was held in Amsterdam, brought together a broad range of international experts with Iraqi lawyers and judges, and focused on the legal and practical aspects of establishing a tribunal. Further technical assistance will be provided to Iraqis who will work on the tribunal.

The Research and Studies Program, in cooperation with the U.S. Army's Center for Peacekeeping and Stability Operations, will seek to identify the military police structures that will need to

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Dialogue

Special Tribunal

Reconciliation

Focus On







## Initiative on Iraq

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be created to integrate coalition military efforts with the growing Iraqi security forces. The program will also sponsor a series of discussions on Iraq and its neighbors to anticipate and prevent regional conflict. The Grants Program anticipates seeding many new local nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) as they begin the process of developing a civil society long suppressed by Saddam Hussein's regime. The program hopes to make its first grants this summer and is focusing initially on interethnic and women's issues. It will eventually focus on a broad array of goals:

- Promoting intercommunal and interreligious reconciliation, through such local NGOs as the newly formed Iraq Council for Dialogue, Reconciliation, and Peace.
- Training officials and civil society leaders in conflict management techniques and strategies.
- Designing educational activities and programs to help the transition to democracy and reduce conflict.
- Creating Iraqi institutions committed to religious and ethnic coexistence.
- Supporting programs that promote the rule of law.

The initial focus of the Institute's Education Program, led by **Pamela Aall**, will be to launch a curriculum project to support a broad transformation in the teaching of conflict resolution in higher education. It will work to identify and develop curriculum and curriculum materials in relevant disciplines and will prepare, print, and disseminate resource materials in Arabic and Kurdish. The Institute builds on the belief that educators are essential par-

ticipants in disseminating information and knowledge of conflict resolution and peacebuilding, and that students constitute a necessary network of present and future beneficiaries of civic peace. Its recommendations for a curriculum in higher education in Iraq consist of an emphasis on conflict resolution and peace studies, and on democracy-enhancing and -sustaining issues such as academic freedom, institution building, civil society development, rule of law, women's studies, religious and ethnic diversity, and human and civil rights.

The Institute continues to serve as an important forum for discussion and information shar-

ing for the policy, academic, and NGO communities in Washington. It has been expanding its professional network through important sessions with central players such as General David Petraeus, former commander of the U.S. Army's 101st Airborne Division in the Mosul area; Scott Carpenter, who led the CPA governance team; and David Gompert, who had the defense and security portfolio for the CPA. In addition, the Institute has held sessions on the use of oil revenues and the critical role of the middle class in Iraq, among other topics.

*See [www.usip.org/iraq](http://www.usip.org/iraq) for more information on the Institute's activities.*



## Iraqi Women Visit U.S.

A delegation of influential Iraqi women visited the United States in early November, on a trip sponsored by the Institute, the World Bank, and other organizations. At a get acquainted session in Washington, **Harriet Hentges**, executive vice president of the Institute, praised the women's efforts to bring peace and stability to their country and spoke of the Institute's desire to help them achieve that goal. She added that the Institute intends to spend a significant portion of its \$10 million congressional supplemental appropriation on programs that focus on Iraqi women.





## Focus On Iraq Meeting the challenges of postconflict stabilization

In the fall of 2003, Congress assigned the Institute the task of assisting in peacebuilding initiatives underway in Iraq. The Institute is applying its resources, expertise, and knowledge base to advance postconflict stabilization and peacebuilding efforts by the international community in Iraq. [ [More on the Institute's Focus On Iraq](#) ]

### Reports



**Postconflict Iraq: A Race for Stability, Reconstruction, and Legitimacy**  
**Special Report, May 2004**

Senior fellow Faleh A. Jabar chronicles the evolution of the Coalition Provisional Authority and the Governing Council.

[more reports](#)



**Building Civilian Capacity for U.S. Stability Operations: The Rule of Law Component**  
**Special Report, April 2004**

This Special Report proposes that the U.S. government develop a civilian capacity to establish public order in the aftermath of international interventions.

### Events



**The U.S. Mission in Iraq after June 30: Views from State and Defense**

This briefing examined the transfer of responsibilities to the new U.S. embassy and the challenges ahead for the U.S. in assisting the Iraqi interim government reconstruct and stabilize Iraq.

Ambassador Frank Ricciardone



**Formative Forces in the Development of the Modern Iraqi State**

Senior fellow Faleh Jabar discussed the nature of Iraq's social and political environment.

[Event Audio](#) | [Report Summary](#)

[Event Audio](#) | [Newstide](#)

[more events](#)

### Specialists



**Faleh Abdul Jabar** is author of *The Shiite Movement in Iraq* and editor of other volumes on tribes and power in the Middle East and on social movements in Iraq. His published works in Arabic include *State and Civil Society in Iraq* and *The Impossible Democracy: The Case of Iraq*.

*Impossible Democracy: The Case of Iraq*



**Amatzia Baram** is an author and editor of several books and articles on Saddam Hussein and Iraqi politics. He testified about Saddam Hussein and weapons of mass destruction and has consulted widely about Iraq with U.S. administration officials.

Baram's 1998 report: [Between Impediment and Advantage: Saddam's Iraq](#)

[more specialists](#)

### Library Resources



**Iraq Web Links**

Links by topical categories to resources providing information on Iraq concerning conflict, weapons inspections, and postwar reconstruction.



**Peace Agreements:**

**Memorandum of Understanding between the United Nations and the Republic of Iraq**  
Agreement between the United Nations and Iraq signed in 1998.

1998

[more library resources](#)

### Teaching Materials



**International Terrorism: Definitions, Causes, and Responses**

This teaching guide provides lesson plans, bibliographic sources, and factual material that address terrorism definitions and origins.

definitions and origins.



**Rebuilding Societies after Conflict**

Through use of the guide, students analyze the postconflict reconstruction process in both historical and contemporary conflicts.

[more teaching materials](#)

### Books



**Where is the Lone Ranger When We Need Him?**  
Sample chapter available: "Nation Building: Being the Bullet in Afghanistan and Iraq"



**Guide to IGOs, NGOs, and the Military in Peace and Relief Operations**

Gives readers with a basic understanding of the leading players—intergovernmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations, and the military—in peace and relief operations.

[www.usip.org/iraq](http://www.usip.org/iraq)



# NEEDED:

## *A New Regional Security Arrangement*

**How will a transformed Iraq affect its neighbors—and how will they seek to affect Iraq?**

U.S.-sponsored regime change in Iraq has reconfigured the political landscape in the Middle East. But has it increased or diminished that already fragile region's political volatility? Two long-standing Middle East experts examined that question at a meeting held at the Institute in mid-February. Moderated by the Institute's **Daniel Serwer**, the speakers were **Goffrey Kemp** of the Nixon Center and **Giandomenico Picco** of GDP Associates, Inc.

Each of Iraq's neighbors has a different set of concerns regarding developments in Iraq, said Kemp. For Turkey, the primary consideration is the status of Iraq's Kurdish population. Too much autonomy for Iraqi Kurds may prompt demands for independence from Turkey's own Kurdish population. However, said Kemp, their demands are not likely to provoke the sort of backlash that Turkey's Kurds have faced in the past. Ankara's hope of starting negotiations for mem-

bership in the European Union will likely moderate its response.

Syria and Iran, by contrast, are under much greater political pressure, as both regimes face crises of legitimacy that will only deepen if Iraq emerges as a stable and democratic country in their midst. Saudi Arabia will face a similar political challenge and an economic challenge as well, once Iraqi oil exports begin to reach their potential. Further complicating the picture are the ethnic and sectarian divisions within Iraq, agreed the participants, which are likely to tempt neighboring regimes to intervene, discreetly or overtly, in Iraq's internal affairs.

The best way to resolve these concerns is through a regional approach involving Iraq and its neighbors in an effort to develop a suitable architecture for negotiating their differences and stabilizing their relations. One model may be the Helsinki pro-

cess in Europe, which negotiated the transition from Soviet-bloc regimes to more democratic states. A Helsinki-type architecture under UN auspices would develop a code of conduct to regulate relations among Iraq and its neighbors and provide all with assurances of stability and security, even as it allowed Iraqis to develop their democracy free of outside intervention.

*For audio of this event, see [www.usip.org/events](http://www.usip.org/events).*







# The Devil's Lifeblood

Few of those living in oil-rich countries have ever benefited from their nation's oil revenues. Will Iraq be any different?

An Institute conference convened in late January focused on the challenge of managing Iraq's oil revenues once the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) hands over power to Iraqi governing institutions. The panel included **Jill Shankleman**, senior fellow at the Institute; **Fareed Mohamedi**, senior director and chief economist at PFC Energy; **Svetlana Tsalik**, director of Revenue Watch at the Open Society Institute; and **Vernon Smith**, Nobel prize winner and professor of economics at George Mason University.

Shankleman opened the conference by noting how rarely oil-rich countries develop genuine market economies or well-governed states. Instead, she said, they fall prey to the "oil curse," a combination of corruption, underdevelopment in other economic sectors, ethnic conflict, and ever-deepening debt. Nigeria, which receives 90 percent of its revenues from oil exports, is a case in point, with a tiny but enormously rich elite, volatile ethnic tensions, and corruption and mismanagement

on a scale that have left the vast majority of its people in abject poverty. In Sudan, conflict over who controls the nation's oil wealth was one of the causes of a civil war that has cost 2 million lives. The few countries or subnational units to have escaped the oil curse—such as Norway and Alaska—had strong state institutions in place before their oil was discovered.

In Iraq, managing the oil revenues responsibly will pose especially strong challenges, participants agreed. Decades of gross mismanagement by the Baathist regime—and twelve years of evading UN sanctions—spawned massive corruption and severely damaged the oil infrastructure. In addition, the oil-rich provinces are likely to demand a greater share of the wealth, leading to potentially bitter ethnic conflict in a country already riven by sectarian interests.

Nobel prize winner Vernon Smith was particularly emphatic about the need to privatize the oil resources, calling oil revenues the "devil's lifeblood." He proposed that oil assets be auctioned

off to private companies, with the revenue invested in index funds around the world, and the earnings distributed equitably to each Iraqi. The government, thus starved of oil revenue, would have to tax its citizens in order to raise money to provide services. And because a taxed citizenry is a vigilant citizenry, the government would be more disciplined, and corruption and mismanagement would be kept to a minimum.

Participants made a number of other recommendations. They warned that oil revenues should not be distributed along ethnic lines and suggested that the oil sector be designed in a way that diffuses control; that the ministry of oil be kept separate from national oil companies and overseen by the Iraqi parliament; and that a strong legal framework be developed that encourages a maximum amount of transparency and supports privatization and economic development outside the oil sector.

*For an audio of this event, see [www.usip/events](http://www.usip/events).*

Fires flare off the gas from crude oil at an Iraqi processing plant outside of Kirkuk.





# How to Rebuild Iraq

The key is reconstituting Iraq's once-flourishing middle class, says a noted Iraq specialist.

**P**hebe Marr, a leading Arabist and the author of *The Modern History of Iraq*, spoke at the Institute in mid-December on the likely impact of ethnic and sectarian factionalism on the viability of the Iraqi state following the American occupation. The meeting, titled "Iraq: E Pluribus Unum?", was chaired by **Daniel Serwer**, Peace and Stability Operations director.

The challenges to rebuilding a sense of national identity in Iraq are daunting, said Marr. In a country held together for decades by the tyrannical rule of Saddam Hussein, Iraqis' sense of national—as opposed to ethnic and sectarian—identity has eroded as severely as the country's infrastructure. For the long-oppressed Kurds, who have enjoyed a de facto autonomy in the decade since the Gulf War, the prospect of reintegrating into the Iraqi state is bound to be unappealing. "You have an intensified sense of Kurdishness," said Marr, "with textbooks laying the basis for an independent Kurdistan." On the other hand, she said, most Kurds understand that true independence is not really viable, given the geopolitical constraints of the region. "If we can put forth an attractive vision of a modern Iraq, this would mollify Kurdish sentiment," she said.

The Shiites' position became increasingly difficult after 1991, said Marr, as Hussein surrounded himself with Sunni loyalists. Despite constituting some 60 percent of Iraq's population, the Shiites were a marginalized and oppressed minority. The predictable consequence was an intensified sense of Shiite identity, and they now seek a predominant role in the new Iraqi government, corresponding to their numerical superiority. However, they are divided into secular, moderate, and clerical/fundamentalist elements, and it remains to be seen which faction will prevail in a new Shia-dominated government.

The Sunnis will almost inevitably be the losers in the new dispensation. Long the privileged elite of Iraq, they have come to feel entitled to run things, said Marr. "It's this group Hussein drew on for his leadership, and it's fair to say that his Baath party was progressively 'Sunni-ized' in recent years. With the U.S. engaged in a de-Baathification of Iraq, it is the Sunnis who will feel left out." The key to co-opting them, said Marr, is to seek out and incorporate the Sunni middle class, which is less sectarian and clerical.

Given these fissiparous divisions within Iraqi society, three possible scenarios exist for the







future, said Marr. First, there could be a resurgence of pan-Arab nationalist identity of the sort that flourished in the 1960s and 1970s. But Hussein himself discredited this ideology, having evoked it to such disastrous effect during the Iran-Iraq War, the Gulf War, and the Iraqi War. In addition, events elsewhere in the Arab world have left most Iraqis profoundly skeptical about the promise of a unified Arab political bloc.

Second, the country could develop a new religious Iraqi identity; indeed, it is given that Iraq will identify itself culturally and politically as an Islamic society. But how fundamentalist this identity will be and whether it will be able to reconcile its Sunni and Shiite divisions remain to be seen. “There could be civil war between the two factions, or they could paper over their differences long enough to evict us from the country,” said Marr.

The third scenario—in many ways the most promising—is

that the Coalition Provisional Authority (CPA) will build on the once-flourishing, now greatly diminished middle class to create something approaching a modern western state. “This middle class, which flourished from the 1950s through the 1970s, is greatly weakened and suffered a massive exodus of talent during Hussein’s rule. But it cuts across sectarian religious lines and in many ways represents the interests of the silent majority of Iraqis,” said Marr. One challenge to building up the middle class is the fact that Iraq has an oil-based economy—Marr cautioned that national economies based on extractive industries tend to create pronounced economic divisions. “The backbone of any society is an independent middle class and civil society, which is very difficult to build up in an oil-dominated economy,” she said.

Marr concluded with a few recommendations for a long-term strategy for the country. First, she said, it is important to move Iraqis

away from a politics based on cultural identity to one focused on programs and policies. Second, the CPA should keep its eye on revitalizing the middle class. Third, it should focus on civic education, particularly the social sciences and humanities. Fourth, it should develop broad-based civic institutions—raising the standards and capacities of journalists, judges, political activists, and so on; teaching people how to mobilize and develop constituencies; and making sure these constituencies cut across sectarian lines. Fifth, it should give the Kurds a major role in the central government—some key cabinet positions, for example—to increase their stake in the government and lessen their enthusiasm for independence. Finally, said Marr, we should remember that you get what you pay for: “If you put a lot of time and effort in, you’ll get a lot out.”

*For a report on Postconflict Iraq, see [www.usip.org/reports](http://www.usip.org/reports).*



**Cars try to make their way through Baghdad’s al-Jumhuriyah street, which has become the capital’s busiest thoroughfare.**





# The Missing Weapons

The former weapons inspector finds no WMDs, but plenty of other reasons for concern.

David Kay, chief weapons inspector, spoke about the failure to find weapons of mass destruction in Iraq at an Institute meeting in mid-February.



*"We discovered after the first Gulf War that we had seriously underestimated Iraq's nuclear capacity, so no one believed them when they told the truth."*

**David Kay**, the former chief weapons inspector of the Iraq Survey Group, spoke at the Institute in mid-February about the U.S. failure to find weapons of mass destruction (WMDs) in Iraq, despite the fact that eliminating the threat posed by Iraq's WMDs was the Bush administration's primary rationale for going to war. "We got so used to being deceived by Iraq that it became the only reality we could imagine," explained Kay.

Kay outlined the thinking behind the assessments that Iraq possessed a significant stockpile of WMDs. "We discovered after the first Gulf War that we had seriously underestimated Iraq's nuclear capacity," said Kay, "so no one believed them when they told

the truth." In the years through 1998, a robust UN inspections force on the ground in Iraq kept the United States well apprised of the status of Iraq's WMD programs—despite Iraq's constant efforts to "lie, cheat, and deceive." But when the weapons inspectors departed, the United States was deprived of key intelligence, and in the absence of countervailing evidence, it was "difficult to believe that Iraq had relinquished its weapons programs." Nor did it help, said Kay, that the United States had few human intelligence sources in Iraq. Above all, he said, analysts simply failed to appreciate the depth of Iraq's political and economic degeneration in the decade after the Gulf War. "Hussein's totalitarianism destroyed all sense of moral values and led to a situation where everyone was cheating—including the scientists, who were taking money for weapons projects they had no intention of completing."

Kay also addressed the highly politicized questions of whether members of the Bush administration "cherry picked" intelligence, bullied analysts to give them the information they wanted, and exaggerated the extent of the threat as it was presented to them from the intelligence community. Kay downplayed these allegations, saying that he saw no evidence of officials selectively using the data and that, to the best of his knowledge, analysts never felt pressured to change their analyses—although he conceded that this was an issue the independent panel should investigate.

Despite his resignation from the survey group, Kay urged that the investigators be allowed to continue their work, saying that while it was unlikely that any stockpiles of WMDs would be found, important lessons remain to be learned from continuing the search.

First, he said, the international community needs to learn more about the extent of the foreign assistance provided to Iraqi scientists. "We have generally done a good job at tracking large imports of equipment and supplies," said Kay, "but the real heart of any weapons program is the intellectual capital that's needed to make these weapons—the people with the expertise. And we've not done a great job of tracking them."

Second, Kay said, investigators need to follow up on the documents and individuals involved in the WMD programs that did exist.

And third, he said, we need to learn more about why the United States missed signs of the disintegration of Iraqi society—including its weapons programs.

Asked by an audience member whether the failure to find WMDs had undermined American credibility abroad, Kay strongly concluded, "There's no doubt we've shot ourselves in the foot. We'll have a credibility gap for a generation."

*For audio, transcript, and newsbyte on this event, see [www.usip.org/events](http://www.usip.org/events).*



# The Politics of Religion in Iraq

Religious divides have the potential of igniting major conflict in Iraq.

What role does religion play in contemporary Iraq? Is it a largely secular country, like Turkey, its neighbor to the north? Or does it tend more toward theocratic rule, like Iran, its neighbor to the east? With sectarian conflict looming as an ever-present danger and Iraq seemingly undergoing something of a religious revival, the Institute held a workshop in mid-December to address these questions.

The presenters at the workshop were **Faleh Jabar**, senior fellow at the Institute and author of several books on religion in Iraq; **Amatzia Baram**, senior fellow at the Institute focusing on state-mosque relations in Iraq; and **Ahmed al-Rahim**, who teaches Arabic at Harvard University. The workshop was moderated by **David Smock**, director of the Institute's Religion and Peace-making Initiative.

Baram started the workshop by noting that Iraq's current religious revival began as a political survival strategy engineered by Saddam Hussein more than a decade ago, in the aftermath of the disastrous Gulf War. Hussein, who had previously governed as a largely secular Arab leader, began putting Islamic clerics on the payroll; favored the Sunni with state-sponsored construction of large mosques; and, in 1994, introduced sharia into the Iraqi penal code.

The overthrow of Hussein has given new political space to the Shiite community, and into this



space have emerged several highly regarded ayatollahs. The most important of these is the Grand Ayatollah Ali Muhammad Sistani, known recently for rejecting the Coalition Provisional Authority's proposal to institute democracy via a caucus system of elections. Yet Sistani is among the moder-

ates; unlike religious leaders such as Muqtada Sadr, he does not advocate an Islamic republic or Iranian-style clerical rule.

The workshop participants agreed that it is tempting to regard the three major religious blocs—the Sunni, the Shia, and the Kurds—as monolithic and mutually antagonistic, but this is to oversimplify. The majority of the Shia, for example, think of their religion as a private matter that should not intrude into state affairs and governance. In addition, as Jabar noted, such crosscutting divisions as social classes, clans and regions, urban and rural areas, and secular and religious orientations are likely to become increasingly salient as parties form and the political process matures.

After decades of privilege, the Sunnis now find themselves underrepresented in the political discourse—even in relation to their numbers. Proportionately more of them were implicated in the process of de-Baathification and, in contrast to the Shia, they lack charismatic religious leaders to trumpet their interests. But there is little doubt that Sunnis, both secular and religious, will find their way back into politics. Secular Iraqis, too, will become more assertive over time, enhancing the prospect that a moderate secularism will emerge as the nation's dominant ideology.

For a report on state-mosque relations in Iraq, see [www.usip.org/reports](http://www.usip.org/reports).

Iraqi Shiite men hold a banner that reads: "Islam is the religion of peace" as they march to the Al-Rohman mosque for prayers in Baghdad, Iraq, Friday May 2, 2003.





# Afghanistan's Constitution

Without greater Western investment in Afghanistan's infrastructure and judicial system, the new constitution may offer little more than hollow promises.

Afghanistan's **Loya Jirga** passed the most liberal constitution in the region stretching from Syria to Pakistan late last year. In addition to guaranteeing freedom of speech, faith, movement, and a host of other civil rights, the constitution also provides for the equality of the sexes and requires that 25 percent of the seats in the legislative branch be set aside for women.

Yet the Constitution's protections may prove illusory—unless quick action is taken to restore Afghanistan's infrastructure and judicial system. So concluded a

panel of experts convened by the Institute for a briefing held on Capitol Hill in late January.

The panelists were Said **Tayeb Jawad**, Afghanistan's ambassador to the United States; **Barnett Rubin**, director of studies at the Center for International Cooperation at New York University; **Laurel Miller**, a program officer in the Institute's Rule of Law Program; and **Robert Perito**, a special adviser to the Rule of Law Program.

Of the panelists, the ambassador was perhaps the most sanguine, lauding the outcome of the constitutional process and

expressing hope that the remaining challenges could be met. He identified three of these challenges as particularly important: first, that Afghanistan's state develop the capacity to provide local and regional services; second, that the state properly prepare for national and regional elections currently scheduled for mid-year; and third, that the state expand its jurisdiction and administrative control over the full extent of its territory. These are daunting challenges, he said, but he was optimistic they could be met.

The remaining panelists also viewed the constitutional Loya Jirga as a milestone in rebuilding Afghanistan. But they were less hopeful about the national reconstruction project. Rubin noted that early disbursements of aid went mostly to emergency humanitarian needs rather than to reconstruction, and argued forcefully that much more aid—on the order of \$15–20 billion—was needed to build an Afghanistan that contributes to rather than threatens global security.

Laurel Miller and Robert Perito provided a generally pessimistic overview of current security conditions in Afghanistan and the absence of an even nominally adequate judicial system. "The rule of law was never strong in Afghanistan," Miller said, "but after 23 years of warfare it has been displaced almost completely by the 'rule of the gun.'" In most of the country outside of Kabul, regional power-holders—or, less politely, warlords—exer-

## AFGHANISTAN'S LEGAL SYSTEM

### A View from the Inside

The condition of Afghanistan's legal system is bleak, and not enough is being done to help improve it. This was the message delivered by a group of senior Afghan lawyers and judges at a meeting held at the Institute in early December. Twenty-five years of war and the shadow of Taliban rule have left the legal system in shambles. Many of the courts don't even have buildings in which to operate, and while there have been some positive developments over the past two years, these have been few and far between. Outside of Kabul, local warlords mete out customary forms of justice with little regard to sharia or international humanitarian law. Afghanistan desperately needs more law professors, more institution building, and greater control over its provinces. The irony, participants said, is that Afghanistan has a rich legal tradition that could become the backbone of a coherent and stable society if the resources to rebuild it are made available.

Among those attending the meeting were **Ataullah Lodin**, president of the High Court, Kabul province; **Khuda Bakhsh**, chief judge, City Court, Herat; **Mohammad Ismail Makhdoom**, president of the Rustaq District Court, Takhar province; **Baba Kalan**, president of the Criminal Court, Kapisa province; **Abdul Raoof**, dean, Faculty of sharia, Herat University; and **Ansarullah Said**, president, Office of the Chief Justice, Supreme Court, Kabul.



# Workshop held for *Middle East Children's Association*

cise political, police, and judicial authority. Indeed, the most powerful warlords continue to exercise influence over key ministries and institutions, including the Supreme Court. Meanwhile, the opium trade is flourishing, earning an amount equal to half the nation's legitimate gross national product and nearly five times the government's budget. It will take years—and an enormous investment—before the Afghan government can put in place a counter-narcotics capacity robust enough to make a dent in the drug trade.

Despite the growing danger, said Miller and Perito, little is being done by Western nations to address these problems, aside from some work in police training. No strategy has been developed for reforming and rebuilding the justice sector; few legal training programs are underway; virtually nothing has been done to update the court system or repair the courts' physical infrastructure. The vast needs of the corrections systems have been almost entirely ignored.

The slow pace of reform stems from a number of factors, Miller and Perito said, including the inherent difficulties of conducting post-conflict reconstruction in a country that has suffered two decades of warfare. But they also criticized the United States and the United Nations for abdicating their responsibilities and placing an unrealistic burden on Afghans to provide for their own security and reconstruction—jobs, they said, that Afghans have little capacity to execute.

**Jeff Helsing** and **Pamela Aall**, both of the Institute's Education Program, delivered a workshop for the Middle East Children's Association, a network of teachers from Palestine and Israel, on the experiences of teachers in other zones of conflict in developing learning materials to promote peace and tolerance. The workshop was held in Cyprus in late November and drew more than thirty teachers from Israel and Palestine. "We wanted to get them to think beyond their own conflict," said Aall, "and to help spur new ideas by showing them what other teachers in similar situations have developed."

*To achieve that, the workshop brought in educators from Northern Ireland, Macedonia, and Kenya to address a core set of questions:*

- How did they and their colleagues develop learning materials appropriate for many subject areas that incorporated concepts of peace, tolerance, and human rights?
- In doing so, what has worked best?
- What do students find most relevant and interesting?
- What teaching methods have proven most successful?
- What role did educational authorities play, or what obstacles did they present?

In addition, the workshop sought to help participants develop their facilitation skills as team leaders dealing with difficult issues. How could they best work to achieve the goals of their binational group, given the context of conflict between the two communities?

"The participants were definitely more open to us because we were outsiders," said Aall. "Above all, the workshop provided people who are terribly frustrated with something to do and something to be hopeful about. It was beneficial to renew the momentum of the organization and renew the spirit of cooperation."

Ironically, for a meeting that was designed to try to transcend immediate political realities, it almost didn't happen at all. "The Palestinian coordinator was stopped at the Jordanian border," said Aall. "It took considerable diplomatic efforts on the part of the U.S. embassy and others to allow him to cross the border."



# The Path to Peace in Kosovo



Meeting internationally established standards could help resolve the status of Kosovo.

When the international community intervened to stop ethnic cleansing in Kosovo five years ago, an ongoing debate ensued about how to resolve its final status. Would Kosovo remain a province of Serbia or would it become an independent state? There was not even a process in place to address this fundamental issue. Concerned that Kosovars might exact retribution against Serbs living in the area, the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) in April 2002 established eight objectives that would have to be met before Kosovo's final status could be resolved. The objectives included the establishment of functioning democratic institutions and the rule of law, guarantees regarding sustainable refugee returns and minority rights, and the beginning of a dialogue with Belgrade. In November 2003, UNMIK announced that a review would take place in mid-2005 to determine whether sufficient progress had been made toward these objectives for final status talks to begin.

**Michael Dzedzic**, program officer in the Research and Studies Program at the Institute,

recently completed work with UNMIK to operationalize the standards that will be used as the basis for the 2005 review. Dzedzic returned to Pristina in early November at the request of **Harri Holkeri**, the UN secretary-general's special representative for Kosovo, to complete his work on the "Standards for Kosovo" and to launch the process that will be used to work toward their attainment. He spoke at an Institute briefing in early December.

"Surprisingly, the interim government of Kosovo was adamant that the requirements be spelled out in precise detail," he said. "It was not a matter of selling them on the idea." However, he said there was an urgent need to create a partnership between the provisional government and UNMIK, so that the process of fulfilling the standards is seen as a mutual endeavor.

The challenge, said Dzedzic, was to make sure that these goals were not merely words on paper but had concrete outcomes that could be objectively measured. "It's one thing to propose that all ethnic groups enjoy equal access to the justice system, but how do you measure equal access to justice?"

asked Dzedzic. "One of the solutions we proposed was to measure crime clearance rates, so that, for example, the percentage of murders solved is comparable regardless of the ethnicity of the victim." Another important indicator is to see that effective action is taken to deal with assaults on police, judges, and prosecutors—again, regardless of the ethnicity of the victim or the assailant. Some outcomes were harder to define. For example, the standards call for "full and fair" representation of minorities in such government agencies as the police. But what percentage of minorities constitutes "full and fair" representation?

Dzedzic's work was praised by observers and participants alike. "We are building a partnership for success between the international community and Kosovo," said **Charles Brayshaw**, principal deputy special representative of the secretary-general. "Mr. Dzedzic and the Institute provide[d] essential foundation stones for that effort."



# A War Averted

**The UN's experience in Macedonia shows that preventive action can make a difference.**

**C**an violent conflicts be prevented and contained, like epidemics caught in the early stages, or are they like earthquakes, unpredictable eruptions that the international community is helpless to stop? As Yugoslavia crumbled and then imploded in waves of ethnically inspired violence, one province, Macedonia, made the transition to independence without disaster, thanks in large part to the efforts of the United Nations. **Henry J. Sokalski** led the UN Preventive Deployment Force in Macedonia from 1995 to 1998. At a forum held at the Institute in mid-November to launch his book, *An Ounce of Prevention: Macedonia and the UN Experience in Preventive Diplomacy*, he gave an insider's account of those critical years, when a small UN deployment force held off the chaos from neighboring Balkan states. "The UN drew a thin blue line around Macedonia and proved that, under the right circumstances, prevention can succeed," said Sokalski.

Critical to the UN's success was its three-pronged approach, Sokalski said. First, it monitored the border areas, particularly in the north and west, and reported any developments that could pose a threat to the country. Second, by its presence it deterred threats from such external sources as Serbia and prevented clashes that might otherwise have occurred between Macedonian and other forces. And third, it contributed to the maintenance and stability of law and order in the republic. Perhaps most impressively, the

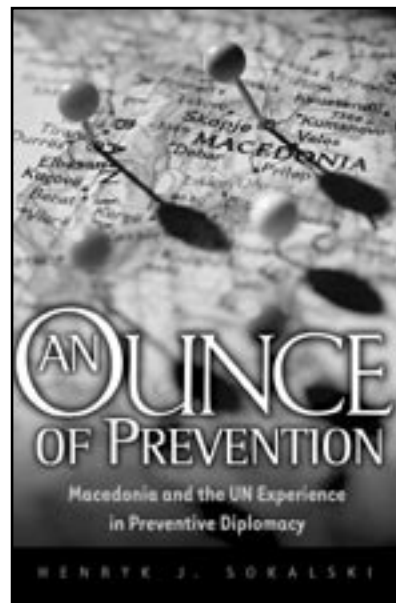
UN accomplished these feats with a force that numbered, at its peak, only in the low hundreds, with soldiers drawn from Scandinavia and the United States.

Three lessons emerge from the Macedonian experience, Sokalski said. First, prevention can make a difference. The deployment of a small force prevented the Balkan tragedy from spilling over into Macedonia. Second, such an intervention need not be a threat to national sovereignty. In this case, the UN was invited into Macedonia by the government itself. Third, the UN works best when it partners with others—in this case, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Also speaking at the forum were **Michael Lund**, senior specialist for conflict and peace building at Management Systems International; **Bruce Jentleson**, director of the Terry Sanford Institute of Public Policy at Duke University; and **Johanna Mendelson-Forman**, senior program officer at the UN Foundation. **Harriet Hentges**, executive vice president of the Institute, served as moderator.

While there was broad agreement that the UN's work in Macedonia was a success, there was no corresponding agreement on whether this experience would turn out to be a precedent or merely an exception. Lund noted that the idea of conflict prevention was a long time in coming to fruition. Ten years ago, he said, conflict prevention was an idea in search of a strategy; now, he

said, it is a strategy in search of an application. The reason interventions are so rare, he said, is that it is hard to find the conjunction of circumstances—not least, permission from opposing parties—that made the Macedonian experiment a success. Jentleson said that preventive action was a "pay now or pay later" proposition, like changing the oil in your car before the engine seizes up. "Prevention is possible, difficult, and necessary," he asserted.



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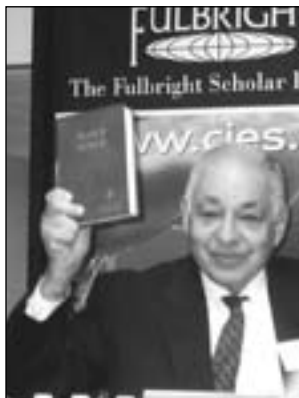
### Afghanistan's Security: Playing for High Stakes

**Zalmai Rassoul**, national security adviser to President Hamid Karzai of Afghanistan, visited the Institute in mid-November to discuss how the international community could help “win the peace” in Afghanistan at this critical moment in the country’s history. Afghanistan’s security is threatened by three interrelated problems, he said. The first is the continued fight against terrorism, with both the Taliban and al Qaeda receiving money and volunteers from neighboring countries. Second is the continued threat of “warlordism,” which is in many ways a “side effect” of the war against the Taliban. The third threat comes from narcotics trafficking, with drugs now being bartered directly for weapons. Balanced against these threats, said Rassoul, is a “tremendous will” among the people of Afghanistan to work for peace. The stakes are high: “If we succeed, we will have created a democratic regime with moderate Islam and become a model for the region. But if we fail, the region will be pushed further to extremism.”

### Fulbright Scholars Plenary Session

The Institute hosted a plenary session of Fulbright New Century Scholars in mid-November to focus on “Fanning the Flames, Putting out the Fire: Ethnic Conflicts and the Peace Process.” The session was the culmination of a year-long project that brought together a group of thirty top scholars and professionals from around the world and supported their research on various aspects of protracted conflicts and the efforts to resolve them.

Institute executive vice president **Harriet Hentges** opened the session by welcoming the scholars, noting that it seemed a natural fit for the Institute to host the event, because the Institute is “devoted to advancing the analysis of conflict and how to end it.” Indeed, she said, “Like the Fulbright program, the Institute’s mission is global in scope and is built on the principle that American national interests are served by securing peace among the peoples and nations of the world.”



### Central African Bishops Visit Institute

Four Catholic bishops, including **Frederic Cardinal Etsou**, the archbishop of Kinshasa in the Democratic Republic of the Congo, spoke on war and peace at a meeting held at the Institute in early November. The bishops urged greater U.S. involvement in the region’s troubled path to peace and reaffirmed the church’s commitment to human rights and economic development. Also visiting were **Bishop Nicolas Djomo**, **Archbishop Augustin Misago**, and **Archbishop Simon Ntamwana**. **E. Michael Southwick**, former U.S. ambassador to Uganda and program officer in the Research and Studies Program at the Institute, moderated the event.



### Kosova members of parliament visit Institute

Two prominent Kosovars, **Ismajl Karteshi**, a member of parliament, and **Sabri Hamiti**, head of international cooperation for the Assembly of Kosovo, visited the Institute in mid-December to discuss their vision for the future of their region. Both expressed concern that Belgrade was interfering in Kosovo’s affairs, making promises to the Serbian minority that encouraged them to pursue an obstructionist and separatist agenda. Neither glossed over the potential dangers: “We will do our best to comply with the human rights standards proposed by the international community,” said Hamiti, “but if they are seen as just another strategy to buy time and prevent Kosovo from moving towards independence, we will be headed toward a crisis.” **Dan Serwer**, director of Peace and Stability Operations at the Institute, hosted the meeting; he said that, from Washington’s perspective, “the best strategy for the Kosovo provisional government is to focus on implementing the standards.” Karteshi and Hamiti agreed that the best approach would be for all parties to work together to implement the standards and thus avoid a crisis, but, said Karteshi, “Two months, five months, two years from now, Kosovo will be independent, and this will solve the crisis in Kosovo—and in Serbia for that matter.”



# Track One– Track Two Cooperation

“Only a few years ago, Track Two diplomacy was seen as a marginal endeavor. That has totally changed, and today we recognize it as cutting-edge activity.” So said Institute president **Richard Solomon**, opening an all-day symposium held at the Institute in late November on “Track One–Track Two Cooperation.” The symposium was cohosted by four groups: the Alliance for Conflict Transformation, the Alliance for International Conflict Prevention and Resolution, the Federal Mediation and Conciliation Service, and the Institute. Solomon pointed to the success of the campaign to prohibit the use of land mines as an example of the potential for Track Two, or nonofficial, negotiations. Conversely, he said, the failure of the Camp David peace talks between Palestinians and Israelis demonstrated that there has to be a public foundation for peace if Track One (official) diplomacy is to succeed.

Undersecretary of State for Global Affairs **Paula Dobriansky**, who gave the keynote address, praised the deepening cooperation between public and private peacemaking efforts. “Every single area I work on is bridged or affected by public-private partnerships,” she said, citing work in Guatemala, Afghanistan, and the Niger River Delta.

Symposium organizers **Andrea Strimling** and **Susan Allen Nan** sketched a history of the development of Track Two diplomacy, a field they said has been bedeviled by conceptual difficulties. Track Two implies the involvement of nongovernment intervenors in peace negotiations, but there is no consensus about the specific strengths each track brings to the process or how they can best cooperate. Setting the stage for the daylong symposium Strimling suggested that “there is a broad agreement that we should do a better job of coordinating, but as yet little consensus on how to do it.”

The symposium featured several of the pioneering theorists in the field, including **Joseph Montville** and **John McDonald**, who are widely credited with articulating the original concept of multitrack diplomacy in the early 1980s. An afternoon session involved breakout groups on Afghanistan, Sudan, and the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, facilitated by experienced negotiators in these areas.

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## Grants for Iraq

USIP is now accepting grant applications for research, education and training projects relating to Iraq. Applications can be submitted at any time throughout the year and will be considered on an expedited basis. For more information, please contact the following individuals:

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## Two New Board Members Join Institute



**J. Robinson West** and **Laurie S. Fulton** became the Institute's newest board members when they were sworn in for the board meeting held in late January. They replace outgoing board members **Marc E. Leland** and **Harriet Zimmerman**.

Fulton is a distinguished attorney with a national trial practice in federal and state courts in complex civil litigation and criminal defense. She has served as counsel in product liability litigation, mass tort litigation defense, and class action lawsuits. Her criminal defense practice includes federal criminal antitrust, bank gratuities, and wire fraud. A graduate of the University of Nebraska at Omaha and Georgetown University Law Center, Fulton previously served as the executive director for Peace Links and for ACCESS, a security information service. Her government service includes work for Senator James Abourezk (D-South Dakota) and Representative (now Senator) Thomas Daschle (D-South Dakota). She is on the board of directors of Bright Beginnings and formerly served on the boards of both Peace Links and ACCESS.

West is the chairman of PFC Energy Team, a leading consulting firm on the international energy industry, which he founded in 1984. Before founding PFC, he served in the Reagan administration as assistant secretary of the interior for policy, budget, and administration, with responsibility for U.S. offshore oil policy. He was a first vice president of Blyth, Eastman, Dillon & Co., an investment banking firm, from 1977 to 1980. Before that, he served in the Ford administration as deputy assistant secretary of defense for international economic affairs and on the

White House staff. He is a member of the Secretary of Energy Advisory Board, the National Petroleum Council, and the Council on Foreign Relations, and is president of the Wyeth Endowment for American Art. He received a BA from the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill and a JD from Temple University.

## New Public Affairs Director Kay King

**Kay King** joined the Institute in February 2004; she directs outreach to Congress, the media, and the public. Previously, she was president of King Strategies, a government and international relations consulting practice. She served in the



U.S. Department of State as deputy assistant secretary of state for legislative affairs, the State Department's primary liaison to the U.S. Senate. King was the first executive director of the Association of Professional Schools of International Affairs, a not-for-profit organization of international affairs graduate schools worldwide. She was senior legislative assistant to Senator Joseph R. Biden (D-Delaware) when he was the ranking member of the European Affairs Subcommittee. She has held several positions at the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) in New York, including associate director of its Project on European-American Relations. She is a member of CFR, Women in International Security, and the American Council on Germany, and has served in several key roles in the Women's Foreign Policy Group. She is co-author of two studies on international affairs education. King earned a bachelor's degree in political science from Vassar College and a master of international affairs from Columbia University's School of International and Public Affairs.



## Recent Publications

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- *Macedonia: Understanding History, Preventing Future Conflict*, by Violeta Petroska-Beska and Mirjana Najcevska (Special Report 114, February 2004)
- *Civil Society under Siege in Colombia*, by Virginia Bouvier (Special Report 115, February 2004)
- *WWW.terror.net*, by Gabriel Weimann (Special Report 116, March 2004)
- *Establishing the Rule of Law in Afghanistan*, by Laurel Miller and Robert Perito (Special Report 117, March 2004)
- *Building Civilian Capacity for U.S. Stability Operations: The Rule of Law Component*, by Robert Perito, Michael Dziedzic, and Beth deGrasse (Special Report 118, April 2004)
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# In Memoriam

## Ronald Wilson Reagan

1911–2004

The Institute of Peace mourns the passing of former President Ronald Reagan and acknowledges with great appreciation that in 1984 he signed into law the act establishing the Institute and nominated our first Board of Directors. In recognition of his contribution, the Institute awarded him—together with President Jimmy Carter—the first Spark Matsunaga Medal of Peace in 1994.



Above: President Reagan receives the Spark Matsunaga Medal of Peace from former Institute board member Max M. Kampelman, December 15, 1994.



Left: President Reagan meets with the Institute's Board of Directors, February 26, 1986.



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