

THE WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION

BIENNIAL REPORT 1995-1996

Edwin Ginn, the successful Boston publisher of school and college textbooks who established the World Peace Foundation in 1910, believed that the "natural, peaceful development of the human race" could be enhanced by extended investigation and organized thought. He espoused a world congress, an international court, and an international police force. Most of all, he recognized the continuing importance of research into the ways and means of achieving, and then ensuring, world peace.

These troubled times require the kinds of deliberative but proactive study that Edwin Ginn envisaged for his Foundation. The conclusion of the Cold War ushered in an era of intense local warfare and turbulent peace. Instead of two or three hostile, adversarial powers with monolithic needs, today's international landscape is marked by a single dominant military power and a global confusion of vicious ethnic, religious, and intercommunal and intracommunal conflicts. "The refusal to live peaceably in pluralistic societies is one of the bloodiest problems ... of the twentieth century. No wizard, no fairy godmother is going to make this problem disappear."¹

In Africa, the cauldron of Central Africa continues to boil. Rwanda, Burundi, and eastern Zaire have experienced genocidal

¹ - Catharine R. Stimpson, "A Conversation, Not a Monologue," Chronicle of Higher Education (16 March 1994), B-1

mass killings, invasions, rebellions, large-scale transfers of populations, and continued instability and the prospect of much more. Civil wars, or the residue of civil wars, remain in Angola, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, and the Sudan. Hulking Zaire is ripe for an implosion which will unleash ethnic and regional attacks. Nigeria's harsh military dictatorship presides over widespread ethnic and pan-ethnic disaffection. Less cataclysmic ethnic conflicts simmer in Mauritania, Senegal, Mali, and Congo.

In Asia, Burma and Sri Lanka both harbor long-running ethnic disturbances, the former with as many as seven ethnic groups opposing the ruling military junta, the latter with a long-running civil war between renegade Tamils and dominant Sinhala. In Burma, too, the junta is opposed by a national movement of democrats who won the 1990 but were prevented from taking office.

The rest of Asia and most of the new nations of formerly Soviet Europe and Central Asia also harbor ethnically and communally based tensions that will not easily be absorbed or overridden by majority nationalisms. In Australasia there are potential flashpoints, too. Fiji is a case in point, as are many of the smaller island states. Afghanistan is a special, troubled territory of unremitting civil war with religious and ethnic components. Tibet is another very special, hard case.

These are not clashes of civilizations, but they and a myriad of other disturbances and potential disturbances are the likely lot of the post-Cold War world. Peoples and nations and

states on a broad arc from Fiji and Indonesia westward across Asia, the Middle East, the Balkans, and Africa to Haiti and Guatemala remain bitterly divided by culture, language, religion, class, and decades of distrust.

The Foundation, has been focused since 1993 squarely on such critical challenges to peace, as well as on more traditional sources of interstate and intrastate threats to peace. By doing so it maintains its long tradition of sponsoring rigorous analyses of difficult problems, and of influencing policy-making in the United States and abroad by drawing informed conclusions and recommendations from such analyses. The Foundation is determined to continue to seek world peace in keeping with the wishes of Edwin Ginn and the spirit of his ambitious bequest.

THE FORMATIVE YEARS

For eighty-five years, the Foundation that Ginn created (with Harvard President A. Lawrence Lowell and others as trustees) has endeavored to carry out his original design. In the early decades, Philip Jessup wrote American Neutrality and International Police (1928), and The United States and the World Court (1929), under the auspices of the Foundation. The Foundation also sponsored the publication of a bimonthly called A League of Nations (1917-1922), and studies of the British Commonwealth of Nations, the World Court (by Manley O. Hudson),

the Paris Peace Pact, China (1927), Nicaragua and the United States (1927), and U. S. investments in Latin America (1929).

THE 1930s

During the early 1930s, the Foundation published Kenneth Colegrove, International Control of Aviation; Warren Kelchner, Latin American Relations with the League of Nations; William Henry Chamberlin, The Soviet Planned Economic Order, and Denys Myers, World Disarmament. J. B. Condliffe wrote the significant China Today (1932). Two Foundation-sponsored books were responsible for shifting American policy toward the Caribbean: Haiti under American Control, by Arthur C. Millspaugh, and The United States and the Caribbean Area, by Dana Gardner Munro.

In 1938, the Foundation initiated the publication of the annual Documents on American Foreign Relations; the Council on Foreign Relations assumed responsibility for Documents in 1952.

Most of all, during the 1930s, the Foundation eschewed pacifism, fought isolationism, and favored military preparedness for the United States.

AFTER WORLD WAR II

In the wake of World War II, the Foundation supported surveys of Soviet Russia and the Far East, and a study of the effects of air bombardment. It prepared short booklets on the United States' relations with Argentina, Australia, Canada, Eastern Europe, and the Netherlands. It investigated collective security and economic policy. Negotiating with the Russians (1951), analyzed the difficulties that had been and would be experienced during the Cold War.

A series of books focused on the United Nations. The Foundation published the first edition of the authoritative Charter of the United Nations: Commentary and Documents (1949). In 1947, the Foundation also established International Organization as a leading, authoritative journal of studies of world order.

Throughout the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s, the Foundation focused on key issues of international concern, as well as on problems of multilateral peacemaking. The Foundation sponsored the writing of a noteworthy early treatment of Africa by Rupert Emerson and Norman Padelford, a pathbreaking study of Canada's relations with the United States, subtitled Transnational and Transgovernmental Relations (1976), and a central treatment of the Arab-Israeli dispute, oil, and petrodollars (1976). It also actively examined Franco-American relations, building upon the book, Diversity of Worlds (1957), that Raymond Aron and August Heckscher had organized and edited for the Foundation. In the

late 1960s and early 1970s, the Foundation sponsored several meetings at which leading French and American foreign policy leaders discussed the issues which threatened to divide their nations.

THE 1980s and 1990s

More recently, the Foundation sought to influence the debate on how the West should respond to apartheid in South Africa; co-sponsored several dialogues across the racial and political divides in South Africa; analyzed whether and how Namibia should and could achieve independence, and what the consequences of that independence would be; examined how change for the better could be accelerated in Mozambique and Angola; scrutinized Soviet interests in the southern Africa and asked how big power and regional power conflict could be reduced throughout the region; and proposed a set of guidelines for United States policy toward all of Africa during the 1990s. Six books on related aspects of African politics, economics, security, health, and peacekeeping emerged from these related activities, as did a wealth of informal contacts, a variety of newspaper opinion pieces, and -- finally -- policy changes which in some cases took years to come to fruition.

Richard J. Bloomfield, the executive director of the Foundation from 1983 to 1992, organized a pathbreaking review of the status of Puerto Rico, subtitled The Search for a National

Policy (1985). Jorge Dominguez, Robert Pastor, and R. Delisle Worrell edited Democracy in the Caribbean (1993), another important book with the same regional focus. Richard J. Bloomfield and Gregory F. Treverton edited Alternative to Intervention: A New U.S-Latin American Security Relationship (1990), as a part of the Foundation's concern for issues affecting United States and Latin American policy.

During the same period the Foundation also sponsored Rosemarie Rogers' Guests Come to Stay: The Effects of European Labor Migration on Sending and Receiving Countries (1985), and Thomas G. Weiss' Collective Security in a Changing World (1993). In that edited book, Ernst B. Haas and other authors attempted to forecast the shape of the new world order. Two years before, Weiss and Meryl Kessler's Third World Security in the Post-Cold War Era focused on a particularly vexing set of actual and potential conflicts, and on how to strengthen the capacity of the United Nations to handle them. John Holmes edited Maelstrom: The United States, Southern Europe, and the Challenges of the Mediterranean (1995), which focused on problems and options for U. S. policy in and around the Mediterranean basin. He and his Maghrebi and southern European collaborators examined the future of the region as insiders.

RECENT PROJECTS

From 1994 through 1996, the Foundation completed seven newly developed projects, all of which led to published Reports in the Foundation's new series and five of which have or will produce books. Of the seven, one concerned with the role of the media in improving policy responses during complex humanitarian emergencies. It held a wide-ranging meeting in late 1994. The results of the meeting were discussed in **Report 7** in the Foundation's new series. Revised chapters arising out of the conclave and the far-ranging dialogue there were published in Robert I. Rotberg and Thomas G. Weiss (eds.) From Massacres to Genocide: The Media, Public Policy, and Humanitarian Crises (Washington, D. C., Brookings Institution Press, 1996). The Thomas G. Watson Institute of _____ at Brown University was a co-sponsor of this project.

As an integral part of the second project, in early 1995, about forty-five leaders of non-governmental organizations, academics, journalists, and other practitioners convened at Harvard to examine how local and international NGOs working in troubled states could effectively sound the bells of early warning and thus contribute to preventive diplomacy in areas like Sri Lanka, Rwanda, and the Sudan. **Report 9**, written by Emily MacFarquar, Martha A. Chen, and Robert I. Rotberg summarized the discussions of the meeting. Subsequently, with several chapters deriving from papers presented to the meeting and a number written afresh, appeared Robert I. Rotberg (ed.), Vigilance and

Vengeance: NGOs Preventing Ethnic Conflict in Divided Societies

(Washington, D. C., Brookings Institution Press, 1996).

The third and seventh of the new projects were concerned with the post-peace reconstruction of states that have overcome internal conflicts or have at least some prospect of doing so. Those projects, and a project to be launched in 1997, discuss the economic, political, and social determinants of peaceful reconstruction and ask how larger powers (especially the United States) can contribute to the peaceful development of such nations in the future. The first of these efforts was a large meeting on Haiti, held in western Puerto Rico. The second was a timely conference on Burma, held at Harvard in late 1996, and co-sponsored by the Harvard Institute for International Development. The third will be a similar meeting on Sri Lanka in 1997. Each has the title of "The Political and Economic Reconstruction of...;" each situation is different. The political, economic, and social milieux are vastly different. Each assumes, possibly optimistically, a regime change or an end of hostilities. But comparable questions cut across the cases and can inform different methods of policy making.

The results of the Haiti meeting were summarized in **Report 10**, Jennifer McCoy, Haiti: Prospects for Political and Economic Reconstruction, and in **Report 11**, a translation of that **Report** into French, with a Kreyol summary. Haiti: Renewed: xxxx?, edited by Robert I. Rotberg, and published by the Brookings Institution

Press, appeared at the end of 1996. A report of the Burma meeting, and a book about Burma were anticipated in 1997.

A project with an agenda complementary to the three Reconstruction efforts held a meeting in Johannesburg in mid-1996. It focused on interrelationships and role in the peaceful development of southern Africa of regional trade, migration, crime, drugs trafficking, policing methods, demobilization of armies, and regional peacekeeping -- thus encapsulating in one meeting many of the recent themes of Foundation activities. That project also continued the Foundation's long involvement with the evolution of southern Africa and its cooperation on projects with the South African Institute of International Affairs. South Africa's Institute for Defence Policy was a second co-sponsor.

In 1996, the Foundation sponsored (along with the Thomas S. Watson Institute of at Brown University) a study of the United Nations system, and how it could be pruned of obsolete and ineffective organizations in order to save relatively significant sums of money. Professor Leon Gordenker wrote that study, which was reviewed at meetings at Brown University and the United Nations, and released to the press in late 1996 at the UN as a Foundation **Report**. Its title is: xx

The other 1996 project, also to be released in the form of a **Report**, is the edited transcript of a meeting held at the Harvard Law School (in cooperation with the Law School's Human Rights Program) about the role of Truth Commissions in preventing

conflict and in obtaining justice and reconciliation in post-traumatic, post-conflict situations (like those in contemporary South Africa or Bosnia). Professor Henry Steiner, of the Human Rights Project, edited the transcript. The title of the **Report** is xxx. In 1997, the Foundation intends to continue its work on Truth Commission by sponsoring a book-length project to explore the philosophical and practical results of truth commission activity.

In addition to the several co-sponsorships, the new projects from 1994 have all benefited from financial support from sources additional to the Foundation's endowment. The NGOs and Preventive Diplomacy project was assisted materially by the United States Institute for Peace. The Haiti project was a joint effort of the Haitian Studies Association of the United States and the University of Puerto Rico. Financial assistance came from those sources as well as the Ford and Mellon Foundations and the U. S. Army War College. The War College also contributed to the success of the meeting on War and Peace in Southern Africa, as did the two co-sponsoring institutes in South Africa and the U. S. Department of State's Bureau of Narcotics and International Law Enforcement ???. The Carnegie Corporation Project on Deadly Conflict helped support the project on Truth Commissions. The Foundation, its Trustees, its editors, and the participants in all of its projects during this period remain immensely grateful for the backing of its collaborating entities and the institutes

and foundations which helped extend the Foundation's own program resources.

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The United States and Southern Europe

The premise of Maelstrom: The United States, Southern Europe, and the Challenges of the Mediterranean (1994), published by the Brookings Institution Press, is that both the United States and Southern Europe have significant, even vital, interests in the areas to the south and east of what is conventionally described as southern Europe. Cooperation between the powers of Europe and the United States in pursuit of these interests is essential: for the United States because, without Southern European help, access to the Middle East would be difficult; for Southern Europe because the United States, for the foreseeable future, is the only power capable of effective intervention in the area in the support of common interests.

Maelstrom brought to the surface less well known issues as well. The end of the Cold War has expanded the political sphere of the Mediterranean area: the largely Turkish-speaking republics of Central Asia are part of an interacting Middle Eastern whole, and the Balkan states, once sterilized by Soviet dominance, are again turbulent neighbors.

Greece has been orphaned by the end of the Cold War, which extinguished its old strategic significance for the United States, but it remains of considerable concern because of its

potential embroilment in the Balkans. Turkey is still a strategic glacis, but now faces the Islamic world, rather than the Soviet Union; and the stability of its own allegiance to the West is being undermined. Several factors, including the end of the Cold War and fears generated by the rise of Islamic fundamentalism, have created the promise of Israeli-Palestinian peace. But as that prospect develops into reality, the U.S. government's willingness to turn a blind eye to the repressive practices of its friends, the moderate but authoritarian regimes of the Arab world, will decline.

Europe is half mesmerized by the prospect of the establishment of culturally, and possibly politically, inimical regimes across the Mediterranean, but has been unwilling to pay the price of averting this development. Now it may be too late; accommodation or containment may be the only options. The United States, in turn, has tended to ignore developments in North Africa, despite the danger that they could turn into the flash point for a clash of cultures from which the U.S. and its global interests would not be immune.

Whereas Southern Europeans continue to hope for the development of a common European foreign and security policy – renationalization of defense is not for them an attractive option – for the moment their security is tied to relations with the United States. Given the fading of old institutions and the lack of vigorous new ones to deal with the problems in this area,

bilateral relations between the United States and the nations of Southern Europe (coupled with ad hoc alliances between the U.S. and groups of like-minded Islamic countries along the lines of the Gulf War coalition) seem more than ever important.

Maelstrom was edited by John W. Holmes, during 1992 and 1993 acting executive director of the Foundation. Among the participants in the search for a new southern European policy were leading politicians and political thinkers from Portugal, Algeria, Italy, Spain, Greece, and the United States, including Dr. Roberto Aliboni, Ambassador Antonio Badini, Professor Dimitri Conostas, Dr. Jaime Gama, and Professor Nadji Safir. The World Peace Foundation's project was co-sponsored by the Luso-American Foundation of Lisbon, and partially supported by the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

The United States and Europe

Six years have passed since the fall of the Berlin wall. But not only is there no "new world order;" a new European order is still to be established and a fundamental revision of the Atlantic Alliance has not yet taken place.

John Holmes' book, A New Alliance?, to be published by the University of South Carolina Press in 1995, argues that the end of the Cold War removed the original raison d'être for the transAtlantic relationship, but left both the United States and Western Europe in need of each other. Holmes believes that a new

American-European relationship will have to be founded on a basis other than the continued presence of substantial U.S. military forces in Europe; it will have to take account of the increasing integration of the nations of the European Union; and it will have to be more equal than in the past. Holmes suggests that this new alliance should be based on something approaching a formal economic union between the U.S. and the European union (a NAFTA writ large); on that foundation should rest an alliance that also encompasses politics and security.

Controlling Conventional Weapons Proliferation

There were 153 wars between 1949 and 1994, with the loss of more than 25 million lives. The end of the Cold War has had the perverse effect of accelerating the level of armed conflict; without an East-West geopolitical straitjacket, latent antagonisms have become martial contests. Along with the new global disorder of ethnic, territorial, and religious conflict has come a world increasingly awash with conventional, non-nuclear arms.

Policy-makers are appropriately still worried about the transfer of nuclear weapons and components to lesser powers, and about nuclear proliferation more generally. Yet the focus on weapons of mass destruction has served to mask the massive spread of conventional arms.

Conventional armaments remain at the heart of the battlefield and of the military planning of nations. With the new generation of "smart," computer-controlled weapons, such arms are becoming far more sophisticated, accurate, and lethal. At the same time, they are becoming more diffused and available. More than forty-five countries produce conventional arms and almost all of them seek export markets.

The acquisition of large quantities of arms can easily result in the destabilization of a region. Iraq, for example, accumulated billions of dollars worth of conventional weapons prior to attacking Kuwait. The delicate geopolitical balance in the Middle East and South Asia is also influenced by the indiscriminate transfer of weapons and by escalating arms races. Arms purchases also drain the scarce budgetary resources of nations. Within the developing world, spending on military programs is greater than combined expenditures on education and health.

Cascade of Arms, edited by Andrew J. Pierre of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is a comprehensive survey by an international group of analysts of conventional weapons proliferation. Brookings Institution Press will publish Cascade of Arms in 1995.

The overall conclusion of Cascade of Arms is that without the development of restraints on arms transfers, future interstate and intrastate conflict will be both more deadly and

less containable. The control of conventional weapons is thus more urgent than ever before and should be given a higher priority than the world system and individual countries now want.

Regionally based approaches are essential and should be pursued, but they are difficult to achieve because of deep-seated local animosities and fears. They should be complemented by global initiatives employing a variety of economic and diplomatic instruments. Arms selling governments should be encouraged to accept some immediate economic costs in exchange for longer term political benefits, and peace. The end of the Cold War and the termination of East-West rivalry in the Third World have provided new opportunities for limiting the trade in conventional weapons which have not yet been, and should be, seized.

In the opening section of Cascade, Ian Anthony of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute outlines contemporary trends in the world arms trade. Michael Klare of Hampshire College explores the shadowy world of black market sales. In the second section, Ethan Kapstein of the Organization for Economic Development and Cooperation discusses the changing economics of arms production in the advanced industrial countries, and Andrew Ross of the Naval War College examines the emergence of arms industries in the developing world.

The export of arms by the world's four largest suppliers is analyzed by Janne Nolan of the Brookings Institution (writing about the United States), Lawrence Freedman and Martin Navias of

King's College, London (Western Europe), Julian Cooper of the University of Birmingham (Russia and the Ukraine), and Gerald Segal of the International Institute of Strategic Studies (China).

The accumulation of conventional weapons is most dangerous in the world beyond Europe and the Western Hemisphere. The situation in the Middle East and the Persian Gulf is discussed by Gerald Steinberg of Bar-Ilan University (Israel) and by Abdel Monem Said Aly of the Center for Political and Strategic Studies (Egypt). The Asian-Pacific region is analyzed by Andrew Mack of the Australian National University, and South Asia by Rodney Jones of the Washington Council on Non-Proliferation.

Cascade of Arms closes with an examination of what can be done internationally to restrain the flow of conventional weapons. Nicole Ball of the Overseas Development Council analyzes the utility of conditionality and other economic instruments employed by the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund to discourage arms transfers and reduce military budgets. Pierre's concluding chapter weighs the efficacy of international arms control regimes, including strengthening of the United Nations Register of Conventional Arms. Pierre also suggests that the supply of weapons to less developed countries could be controlled by increased cooperation among the world's largest suppliers. Additionally, each of the authors of regional surveys makes proposals regarding the reduction of arms

within his or her geographical area. For any or all of these restraints to be effective, Pierre and his colleagues argue, a combination of bilateral and multilateral actions will be necessary.

Democratic Transitions in Central America

The last decade witnessed the struggle of the nations of Central America to establish and strengthen democratic institutions. This project, directed by Jorge Dominguez and Marc Lindenberg, features the analyses, reflections, and recollections of several of the persons who directly shaped the political processes of change that proved so successful in the region's transition to democracy.

How has progress toward peace and participatory governance and market economies been achieved? Central America's leaders employed a variety of strategies to effect the transition from authoritarianism to democracy: they fashioned formal and informal assurances for key actors to lead them to accept the uncertainties inherent in democratic practice. They forged coalitions between hardliners and reformers. Detailed and complex negotiations created new institutions (especially electoral agencies) and new rules (electoral laws) to ensure the rights of key participants.

Opposition movements changed their behavior, and succeeded in persuading their national armed forces and the United States

that those on the left would respect the new institutions and rules. Social movements curtailed their militancy; guerrillas laid down their weapons. Parties of opposing ideological orientation collaborated in parliaments for specific ends.

Another key change was the constitutionalization of the military -- putting armies and police forces under the rule of law. This process remains incomplete, but has advanced considerably.

At critical moments, acts of statesmanship advanced the process of peacemaking and hence the transition to democracy. It also helped that in several countries the parties of the right proved to have substantial political support, and were capable of winning sharply contested free elections.

Democratic Transitions in Central America will be published by Westview Press in 1995. The book includes the following chapters: "Democratic Transitions in Central America and Panama," Jorge I. Domínguez (professor of government, Harvard); "The Political and Economic Transition in Panama, 1978-1991," Nicolás Ardito-Barletta (former President of Panama); "The Search for Democracy in Panama," Eduardo Vallarino (former Panamanian ambassador and leader of the opposition to Ardito-Barletta); "Revolution and Democratic Transition in Nicaragua," Jaime Wheelock Román (Commander of the Sandinista Front for National Liberation); "Democratic Transitions in Nicaragua," Silvio de Franco and José Luis Velázquez (staunch opponents of the

Sandanistas and subsequently cabinet ministers in the successor government); "Political Transition in Guatemala, 1980-1990: A Perspective From Inside Guatemala's Armed Forces," Héctor Alejandro Gramajo Morales (then Minister of Defence); "Democratic Transitions in Guatemala: An Incomplete Project that Postpones the Social Agenda," Rodolfo Paiz-Andrade (then Minister of Finance); "Democratic Transition or Modernization? The Case of El Salvador in the Last Decade," Rubén Zamora (a civilian insurgent leader during the 1980s); "Recent Central American Transitions: Conclusions and Policy Implications," Marc Lindenberg (Vice-President, CARE).

Building an Inter-American Community

Are the countries of the Western Hemisphere and the area's regional organization, the Organization of American States, ready for a more activist and intrusive defense of democracy?

Published in 1994 spring issue of The Washington Quarterly was an essay by Richard J. Bloomfield, "Making the Western Hemisphere Safe for Democracy." It concluded that the record of the OAS in defending democracy was less than a success. There were coups against three Latin American democracies – Haiti, Peru, and Guatemala. Only in the case of Guatemala was OAS counter-pressure – along with other factors – capable of reversing a coup. On the other hand, the OAS's 1991 decision actually to do something about threats to democracy, and

subsequent efforts to implement that decision, represented a conceptual near-revolution.

Bloomfield argued that giving the OAS more teeth, by providing for the automatic escalation of sanctions and the option to use military force, would be a mistake; it would fracture the consensus that existed within the OAS and abort the renaissance of the organization. He suggested, instead, that the OAS be given the capability of monitoring the state of democracy within the Hemisphere. If such monitoring could not be accomplished within the official OAS framework, then a non-governmental inter-American organization might be created. The OAS should also be encouraged, Bloomfield wrote, to address the question of official corruption -- the single issue that underlies the region's democratic fragility and extreme poverty.

HUMANITARIAN CRISES, POLICY MAKING, AND THE MEDIA; STRENGTHENING INTERACTION

At the end of 1994, forty humanitarian leaders, media representatives, policy makers, and academics met in Cambridge, MA, to discover how, if at all, reporting on complex humanitarian crises like Bosnia and Rwanda could be improved and how humanitarian organizations and the media could help each other improve their performances and inform the public and policy makers.

The conferees concluded that close cooperation between international relief agencies and all varieties of the media was essential to prevent and contain the many humanitarian emergencies that threaten to overwhelm our logistical and emotional capacity to assist, and to care, in the post-post-Cold War period.

They agreed that future Bosnias, Rwandas, and Somalias could be avoided if there were more and better targeted sharing of information between the media and relief agencies.

Although public opinion too often reflects the latest capsule summaries of distant conflicts as they are portrayed on television, that same public opinion, well-informed or not, influences decision-making in Washington and other capitals.

In an oversimplified sense, television images of starving Somali forced the U.S. to send troops, and equally dramatic shots of Somali attacks on American soldiers compelled Washington to withdraw. The challenge was to harness that dramatic power for understanding complexity and presenting nuance, not to decry it as a medium.

The process by which a particular tragedy becomes a crisis demanding a response rather than being ignored is less the result of the rational weighing of what was fixable than of what places and events appeared on nightly news shows. Washington Post columnist Jessica Tuchman Mathews says that the international

responses to tragedies are "usually a function of where governmental relief workers have been able to lure reporters."

There are numerous reasons why the United States intervened in Somalia and not in the equally horrific African killing fields of Sudan, Angola, and Liberia, where relief agencies were also active. One was the logistical difficulty of covering these other crises. When Zaire, or another equally endangered African country, becomes the next humanitarian crisis, coverage may be equally hard to arrange.

Working together, relief agencies and the media can educate the American public and leaders - even the present administration and the new Congress - about the complexities of ethno-nationalistic and religious wars. Improved awareness of potential and ongoing conflicts can help forestall crises and cope effectively with whatever hostilities break out despite energetic preventive efforts.

Media representatives want humanitarians to understand deadline pressures and the need for compelling photos and appealing human interest stories. They also need to understand clearly the focus and concerns of individual agencies. UNICEF and Save the Children are about more than Christmas cards and children but those images predominate even among high-powered and sophisticated media personnel who also want to find the kind of public information awareness and logistical efficiency that few relief groups have the time and funds to provide.

Humanitarian representatives want the media to train developmentally-sensitive journalists, and to send into the field writers and cameramen who understand the complexities of emerging or ongoing crises, both impractical suggestions.

There is consensus on the need for mutual education about global trouble spots and about the differences among the many humanitarian organizations. However, because "gatekeepers" -- producers, editors, and publishers -- often control what the public sees and reads, more vigorous attempts are required to educate them, as well as reporters, about the need for thoughtful international news coverage both before and during major crises.

There was widespread, and surprising, skepticism about the public's professed lack of interest in international news. Supplying information about the world's hot spots sometimes stimulates demand.

Exceptional photo-journalism captured the horrific impact of the Ethiopian famine in the 1980s. This work aroused the public and relief policy-makers. Equally exceptional humanitarian officials have often alerted journalists or television producers to particular crises in Bosnia and Rwanda; others have been less successful in Burundi or Liberia.

Cooperation between both the media and humanitarian agency leaders depends first of all on mutual trust, and second on networking over an extended period of time. In order to enhance reliable coverage of crises, and therefore to inform more

accurate policy-making, humanitarian organizations themselves have to compete less among themselves for media attention and enhance the many ways in which they can work mutually with the media.

The 50 million people displaced by current humanitarian emergencies are overwhelming the post-post-Cold War world's ability to cope with the debris of war. The United Nations and regional groups have tried, but cannot manage the proliferation of tragedies without greater public awareness of what is at stake for the world, and how much more it costs to act later rather than earlier.

The media, if their efforts can be focused and sustained by collaboration with humanitarians, can decisively alter both public attitudes and the actions of policy makers. It should be possible to augment the tensile strength of the international humanitarian safety net protecting the suffering.

Foundation President Robert I. Rotberg and Thomas G. Weiss, associate director of Brown University's Thomas J. Watson Institute, co-conveners of the meeting, will edit the report and book that emanate from this project. They together wrote an opinion page article about the project which appeared in several newspapers; two of the participants also wrote articles about the project for their own newspapers.

CURRENT PROJECTS

As Edwin Ginn hoped, near the end of the twentieth century a world congress, an international court, and, in one sense, a world police force all exist. Yet, as sophisticated as the keeping of world order has become since Ginn's day, many of today's preeminent challenges to global peace lie within state borders rather than between states. Conflicts within states often arise out of deep-seated, easily aroused ethnic, religious, and cultural antagonisms, many of which have shown themselves capable of precipitating complex humanitarian and peacekeeping crises. Because these are among the most critical and unremitting world order issues of our day, and because they demand and deserve an innovative search for ever more creative methods of preventive security, the World Peace Foundation intends largely, but not exclusively, to devote its efforts during the current era to fostering greater understanding of the sources of ethnic, religious, and other intercommunal tensions and to devising new means of preventing and containing the conflicts which flow from those divisions.

The Foundation's current projects include:

Early Warning and Preventive Action: The Role of Non-Governmental Organizations

The Foundation will examine and make recommendations concerning the efficacy of preventing or reducing ethnic, religious, and other intercommunal conflict by creating an early

warning/early action network based on the activities and cooperation of local non-governmental organizations.

Representatives of NGOs from Sri Lanka, Macedonia, Guatemala, Rwanda, the Sudan, Nigeria, and South Africa will meet in April to prepare recommendations on crisis avoidance and containment, and on preventive diplomacy and preventive security.

This project hypothesizes that indigenous non-governmental organizations are uniquely positioned to sense when intrastate and interstate conflicts are apt to escalate into violence. It seeks to ascertain the capacity of indigenous NGOs to sound the alarm bells of early warning in a timely manner, and to explore how such early warnings should be translated into a facility for early multilateral action and effective preventive diplomacy.

The project will bring together leaders of indigenous NGOs and international NGOs as well as representatives of intergovernmental and academic institutions to consider seven cases of complex humanitarian crises which either grew out of or gave rise to ethnic conflicts. The project is a collaborative effort with the Harvard Program on Non-Governmental Organizations.

**WORLD PEACE FOUNDATION HANDBOOK OF ETHNIC AND
INTERCOMMUNAL CONFLICT**

The Foundation is preparing a Handbook of Ethnic and InterCommunal Conflict for publication in 1996. The handbook

will include entries on approximately seventy of the world's countries where there are significant contemporary and/or prospective intrastate hostilities. In addition, each entry will explain the nature and history of a conflict or a set of tensions, and the grievances which divide groups, and provide pertinent geographic, demographic, economic, and political detail.

PEACEMAKING, PEACEKEEPING, AND DEMILITARIZATION IN AFRICA

The Foundation is also sponsoring a project (with several scheduled meetings) on peacemaking and peacekeeping in Africa, and will search for ways to encourage the reduction of the size and use of armed force in Africa (with the official Costa Rican model very much in mind).

Costa Rica shed its army 45 years ago and lives happily ever after. Since there are hardly any interstate conflicts in Africa, do African states need armies? For the most part the armies in Africa have been used by politicians to repress their own peoples or, directly, to take over governments and create new ruling classes. Maintaining even small armies eats up precious foreign exchange and developmental potential, while admittedly providing employment.

If Africa shed its armies, would police mobile units or riot squads provide sufficient protection against internal disorder? How would border incursions be handled? Would the small and

fragile states of Africa, as well as some of the larger ones, function as well as they now do without the existence of technically efficient military forces? Would the democratic process still be interrupted by coups, now led by police chiefs instead of military commanders?

Although the World Bank and the IMF tend to wring their hands about high levels of nonproductive expenditures on military equipment, conditionality has rarely been used effectively to curb African state expenditures on armies.

Many African states are perceived as representing the interests of particular ethnic or social strata, or do overtly represent an economic or military elite that controls the apparatus of a state. Support from all sectors of a population may therefore not be assured. Moreover, many states lack the capacity to provide for basic human needs and to maintain order.

So the real threats to a regime do come from within a state, even in those few cases where African governments are reasonably representative of their citizenry.

With the end of the Cold War, arms transfers to sub-Saharan Africa have increased. Intercommunal conflicts are on the rise.

The rise of participatory governance in Africa has slowed, and military regimes appear to be maintaining their hold on many of the sub-Saharan African states. Army juntas, once technocratic and a stabilizing influence in Africa, have tended in this decade

to be no less corrupt, and no more efficient in satisfying basic needs and economic growth than civilian-led regimes.

The task of demilitarizing Africa is both much more urgent, and much more difficult than ever before. Nigeria is the prime example of the praetorianization of Africa, but many of the smaller states exhibit similar tendencies.

There is a utopian quality about any attempt to demilitarize Africa, or even to study whether such an outcome is at all feasible. However, there is an emerging African effort to pursue such questions. "The one possible measure which could actually solve many of the problems connected with Africa's internal and inter-state conflicts," said Dent Ocaya-Lakidi at a conference on this subject in 1992 in Tanzania, "is the abolition of national armies and their replacement with sub-regional forces." Even if his idea -- that the substitution of multistate armies for national armies would end internal repression and regional instability -- will be difficult to achieve, and may even be illusory, he is not alone in attempting to find ways to reduce the power of state armies in order to reduce instability, hostile interventions, and frequent coups.

African armed forces are increasingly being involved in United Nations' endorsed and organized peacekeeping activities. Peacemaking by African militaries has also come into vogue, especially with the transfer of government in South Africa from a white minority to a black majority. Any dreams of downsizing

African armies, or of applying the Costa Rican model to very different circumstances both of sovereignty and of potential new uses for the militaries of Africa, must also consider how sub-Saharan African countries can and should prevent and contain insurgencies and control their own borders.

THE RECONSTRUCTION OF HAITI

In keeping with its recent concern for regional security and the transition to democracy in South America, Central America, and the Caribbean, and conscious of the urgent need to propose a medium and long term reconstruction program for Haiti, this project will recommend how Haiti, after President Aristide, can and should be helped to maximize its ability to create a functioning civil society and to develop a growing economy. The Foundation will collaborate in this effort with the Haitian Studies Association of the United States.

NEW OFFICES AND NEW PERSONNEL

After being located since its inception on Beacon Hill and in the financial district of Boston, the World Peace Foundation moved in 1993 across the Charles River to Cambridge. It now has offices in a building otherwise largely occupied by the Harvard Institute of International Development (our immediate landlord), and shares common facilities with the Institute. For many years the Trustees of the Foundation had sought closer intellectual and

physical ties to Harvard and M.I.T., as well as to other institutions of higher education in the Boston area. The move accomplished that goal, and the resultant synergy has already contributed significantly to a realization of the programmatic aims of the Foundation. The move also enhanced the Foundation's organizational visibility.

Professor Robert I. Rotberg, a long-time Trustee of the Foundation, became President of the Foundation in late 1993, after being President of Lafayette College. Rotberg also serves as a Research Associate of the Harvard Institute of International Development and an adjunct lecturer at the J. F. Kennedy School of Government. Professor Rotberg, who earlier taught for two decades at both Harvard and M.I.T., and was associated with Tufts and Boston universities, has begun to forge working relationships and develop joint projects with colleagues at these institutions. The Harvard connection has brought students as well as faculty into contact with the Foundation.

John Holmes, the Foundation's acting executive director from 1992 to late 1993, returned to Washington in mid-1994, after completing a three-year association with the Foundation. During that period he wrote A New Alliance? and edited Maelstrom. Holmes, a retired officer of the U. S. Foreign Service, last served as deputy-chief of mission in Rome.

Ann Barger Hannum, formerly of the International Office of the University of Arizona, joined the Foundation as Program

Associate in 1994. She is responsible for many of the Foundation's fund-raising and project activities.

Theresa Baranski, long the mainstay of the Foundation's administrative activities, supervised the transition of the Foundation from Boston's financial district to the Kennedy School environs of Cambridge, and managed the new office arrangements and our physical association with Harvard. She left the Foundation in mid-1994 to join the Cambridge-based Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies. She was succeeded as administrative associate by Mildred L. Allen, former director of graduate admissions at Harvard University.