

*file Hamburg
correspondence*

Carnegie Corporation of New York

437 Madison Avenue, New York, N.Y. 10022 • (212) 371-3200 • Fax: (212) 207-6342

David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President Emeritus

URGENT

November 25, 1997

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to The First Lady
Office of the First Lady
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

I have spent the weekend in Los Angeles at the wedding of our son, Eric. It was beautiful occasion. Along the way, I heard about the excellent article on you in the Washington Post. Congratulations!

I have been reflecting on the potential of preventing deadly conflict as a valuable theme for the President -- not just for a day in December but for the remainder of his term and even beyond that. Let us recall the historic significance of this theme in the great work of Franklin & Eleanor Roosevelt, Harry Truman and George Marshall a half century ago.

In my letter of August 11, 1997 to Hillary, I sketched some of the reasons for selecting this theme and their fit with the president's values. I attach a copy here with the passage marked.

Since then, a touching occasion reinforced this point. On the weekend when the President and First Lady went through incoming orientation events with Chelsea at Stanford, the President made some off-the-cuff remarks at the Christopher-Perry-Hamburg international relations dinner. He said he was struck by the capacity of the Stanford leaders to look beyond the current situation, even to look beyond anything they or their students had experienced before. He characterized this as leadership with authentic vision and compared it with some of his observations of Yeltsin and Mandela at their best. He spoke reflectively, cogently, and with evident positive emotion.

It strikes me that this is exactly the aspiration and the spirit of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. There are many strands of this report that resonate with the President's values and practical orientation -- not least his and the First Lady's deep commitment to human rights. After all, at the core, the protection of human rights is about preventing torture, maiming and killing. So Cy Vance and I are deeply convinced that this work provides a truly presidential theme.

All the same, there is no need for his embracing such a powerful, long-term theme for the December event. He might or might not wish to do so. All I am saying is that the December human rights event is intrinsically valuable, but could also develop into a longer term symbol of leadership for the President, the First Lady, or both.

I will call you tomorrow to discuss the immediate situation. Jane Holl and I are prepared to come over to visit with you at a moment's notice if you think this would be useful.

With every good wish,

As always,

David

*P.S. The media interest in the report
is remarkably strong and constructive.*

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*See marked passage
p. 3*

David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President Emeritus

August 11, 1997

Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Hillary:

I found our recent meeting exceedingly stimulating even though I was struggling with a sinus infection that day. You were thinking creatively and boldly about child care. That encouraged all of us to try to do the same.

Since then, Deborah Phillips and I have been discussing attractive possibilities for the meeting, and I had an excellent talk with Melanne a few days ago. As a result, Deborah and I will send you a mock-up of the October meeting on child care in a day or two. It will of course be highly tentative, since you and the President will have a great many factors to take into account in making your decisions.

I told Cy Vance and Jane Holl about our conversation on inter-group hatred and violence. We are deeply appreciative of your interest in the work of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. The Commission's work has proven to be distinctive in two respects – it takes a comprehensive approach to violent conflict, and it has struck a deeply resonant chord in analytic and policy communities alike. Let me summarize what we are trying to do.

Established in 1994, the Commission consists of sixteen international leaders and scholars long experienced in conflict prevention and conflict resolution. Cyrus Vance and David Hamburg are its co-chairmen, with Jane Holl as executive director. It has a global advisory council consisting of thirty-six scholars and distinguished practitioners. I attach a list of commissioners.

The Commission's focus on the prevention of deadly conflict follows directly from the Carnegie Corporation's abiding commitment to promote a deeper understanding of human conflict and conflict prevention. Over the last fifteen years, the Corporation has sponsored a variety of scholarly research projects and international activities that have stimulated fresh thinking about these problems that are crucial to human well-being.

Hillary Rodham Clinton
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The Commission has approached its tasks by asking several fundamental questions:

- What are the problems posed by deadly conflict and why is outside help often necessary to deal with these problems?
- What can be done to ensure that disputes are resolved peaceably? What political, economic, military, and social tools are at the disposal of the international community? Which strategies work best?
- Who should do the work? Who reaps the rewards?

The Commission has developed a novel and broad concept of prevention. Accordingly, prevention consists not only of avoiding escalation in a crisis, but also of creating a durable basis for peaceful alternatives. In the long run, we can be most successful in preventing ethnic, religious, and international wars by going beyond ways to avert immediate confrontation between hostile groups to promote democracy, market reform, and the creation of civil institutions that protect human rights.

Three inescapable observations form the foundation of the Carnegie Commission's report: First, deadly conflict is not inevitable. Violence on a scale such as we have seen in Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia, and elsewhere does not emerge inexorably from human interaction. Second, the need to prevent deadly conflict is increasingly urgent. The rapid compression of the world through breathtaking population growth, technological advancement, and economic interdependence – combined with the readily available supply of deadly weapons and easy contagion of hatred and incitement to violence – make it essential to find ways to prevent disputes from turning massively violent. Third, preventing deadly conflict is possible. The problem is *not* that we do not know about incipient and large-scale violence, it is that we often do not act. Yet, experience from "hot spots" around the world shows that the potential for violence can be defused through the early, skillful, and integrated application of political, diplomatic, economic, and military measures.

Effective preventive strategies rest on three principles: early responses to signs of trouble; a comprehensive, forward-looking approach to counteract the risk factors that trigger violent conflict; and an extended effort to resolve the underlying causes of violence. All of these are considered in the Commission's work.

The Commission has and will continue to produce a series of reports, background papers, and other materials on subjects related to its core agenda. In addition, it has sponsored international meetings drawing together academic experts and policy makers from around the world to consider these issues carefully. Its work will culminate in a final report to be disseminated worldwide. The report will serve as a guide to preventive policies and actions at national and international levels. Afterwards there will be a two-year follow-up period for dissemination.

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The recommendations of the report will be addressed to many elements of the international community, among them the democracies, the United Nations, regional organizations, the business community, the global scientific community, educational and religious organizations, the media, and nongovernmental organizations. Only with the active participation of all these groups can we move toward the vision of an international system for preventing deadly conflict. All must come to see that an ounce of prevention is worth a megaton of cure later.

Prevention of rotten outcomes -- outcomes usually foreseeable in advance -- is a great theme for presidential leadership. Fundamentally, prevention is based on our ability to anticipate events, apply the best available knowledge from research to devise effective coping strategies, and cooperate across boundaries between government and nongovernment institutions. The application of such an approach in the public health sphere is familiar, as illustrated by the widespread and successful program of childhood immunizations through the combined efforts of scientific research, health care, and education. We have found that a similar view of the prevention process is useful when thinking about mass violence.

President Clinton & Prevention: A Major Theme of Leadership

The Clinton administration has already shown extraordinary leadership in a far-sighted, preventive approach to economic problems. The same is true of the administration's innovations with respect to children and youth. In the latter case, the administration has set valuable precedents in diminishing the casualties of childhood and adolescence -- whether in disease and disability, ignorance and incompetence, or crime and violence -- by strengthening the pivotal institutions of family, schools health care, and community organizations that powerfully shape development. Similar logic applies to other problems.

In foreign policy, the President's first term struck a decisive, preventive orientation. For the first time in American history, "preventive defense" became an explicit pillar of defense policy. Similarly, preventive diplomacy became a prominent feature of our international relations. In the same spirit, our Commission seeks ways in which governments, inter-governmental organizations, and the institutions of civil society could help to build favorable conditions in which different human groups can learn to live together amicably.

At the final meeting of the Commission, the members were unanimously enthusiastic that the ideal launch event for our final report would be to present it to the President at the White House. Such an event is compelling in light of the President's clear preventive orientation -- highlighted in his 1997 State of the Union message -- and his singular position of world leadership.

The Commission members would be delighted to assemble at his convenience for such an occasion. One propitious date would be December 10, 1997 since that is the date of adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, and could kick off a year-long emphasis on these issues culminating in the 50th Anniversary celebration of the

Hillary Rodham Clinton
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Universal Declaration on December 10, 1998. Our report is in the spirit of that prescient document -- a document that never would have come to pass without the visionary leadership of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Today, women's rights constitutes a very important part of that agenda throughout the world. Since human rights are best protected by democratic institutions -- and democratic institutions have a lot to do with preventing deadly conflict -- this agenda bears strongly on what our country stands for in the world. Therefore, I very much hope that you and the President will consider using this one year period to renew on a world-wide basis our leadership for these great aspirations of humanity.

In its most fundamental sense, the Carnegie Commission is about decent human relations and human groups learning to live together. In these matters, the earth is still flat; but it cannot remain flat forever. Knowing you and the President, I believe this has been central to your outlook and constitutes a superb theme for leadership throughout the White House years and beyond.

With every good wish,

As always,



P.S. I have prepared an overview as you requested and it is enclosed. I hope you will find it useful.

Enclosure

CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT MEMBERS

Her Excellency Gro Harlem Brundtland
The Labour Party's Parliamentary Group
Former Prime Minister

The Right Honorable Lord David Owen
Chairman
Humanitas

The Honourable Virendra Dayal
Former Under Secretary General and
Chef de Cabinet to the Secretary General
of the United Nations

The Honorable Shridath Ramphal
Co-chair
Commission on Global Governance

The Honorable Gareth Evans
Deputy Leader of the Opposition and
Shadow Treasurer
Former Foreign Minister

Roald Z. Sagdeev
Distinguished Professor
Department of Physics
University of Maryland

Alexander L. George
Graham H. Stuart Professor Emeritus of
International Relations
Department of Political Science
Stanford University

John D. Steinbruner
Senior Fellow
Foreign Policy Studies Program
The Brookings Institution

David A. Hamburg
President Emeritus
Carnegie Corporation of New York

The Honorable Brian Urquhart
Carnegie Corporation of New York

The Honorable Flora MacDonald
Former Foreign Minister of Canada

The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance
Partner
Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett

Ambassador Donald F. McHenry
University Research Professor of
Diplomacy and International Affairs
School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University

The Honorable John C. Whitehead
Chairman
AEA Investors, Inc.

Olara A. Otunnu
President
International Peace Academy

Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan
Chairman
Board of Trustees
Aga Khan International University, Karachi
Former Foreign Minister of Pakistan

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David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President Emeritus

November 20, 1997

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

Here is our tentative plan for the December 9 event at the Willard that I mentioned in yesterday's letter. It suddenly occurred to me there is a remote possibility that the First Lady might prefer to have this event at the White House -- e.g. in the EOB auditorium. If so, we would of course be delighted to rearrange in anyway she might prefer.

But this is a long shot and the main questions are still those of yesterday's letter.

Once again, welcome home and all the very best!

As always,



P.S. I am also sending a copy of yesterday's letter just to be safe.

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David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President Emeritus

November 19, 1997

URGENT

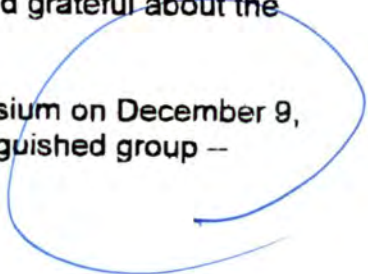
Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

Welcome home!

I caught glimpses of your trip on CNN. It must have been fascinating and worthwhile. I'm sure it must have been highly meaningful to people who have long felt isolated. I am especially concerned about the plight of the community in the former Soviet Union and I believe your visit must be good for their morale -- even a rekindled basis for hope.

We are waiting eagerly to hear whether the human rights meeting will be on December 8 or 10 and where. We have put our worldwide commissioners on hold and will alert them as soon as possible. They are very enthusiastic and grateful about the prospect of this meeting.

We have tentatively scheduled a press briefing and symposium on December 9, from 10 a.m. - noon at the Willard Hotel. We plan inviting a distinguished group --


Cy Vance and I, along with several key commissioners such as Gro Brundtland, will concisely explain what the commission has said and why. This will be followed by a luncheon reception at the Willard. We would be delighted if you could drop by for any or all of this event.

Incidentally, the media interest -- both print and non-print-- far exceeds anything we had anticipated. So too is the high level governmental interest in Europe and Asia. So maybe our message is timely as well as significant. I hope so.

In any event, I would be most grateful for a call as soon as feasible to get your reflections and practical guidance.

We are deeply grateful for the interest of the President and First Lady as well as your own. This gives us a great boost as we undertake the two year worldwide mission of stimulating interest in the prevention approach.

With every good wish,

As always,

David

CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT**Final Report Launch**

Willard Hotel, Washington DC
December 9, 1997

AGENDA

8:30-9:00am **Registration - Coffee**
Ballroom Foyer

9:00-9:50am **Findings and Recommendations of the Commission**
Ballroom

Welcome: Human Rights as a Foundation for Prevention
Vartan Gregorian
President, Carnegie Corporation of New York

The Basic Message of the Commission
David A. Hamburg, Cochair
President Emeritus, Carnegie Corporation of New York

Cyrus R. Vance, Cochair
Former U.S. Secretary of State

Overview of Commission Findings
Jane E. Holl, Executive Director

9:50-10:00am **Break**

10:00-10:50am **Session One: Operational Prevention**

Chair: John Whitehead
Chairman, AEA Investors, Inc.

Presenters: Gro Harlem Brundtland
Former Prime Minister of Norway
*Preventive Diplomacy and Government
Responsibility*

Donald F. McHenry
University Research Professor of Diplomacy
and International Affairs, Georgetown University
Strengthening Sanctions for Prevention

Brian Urquhart
Former United Nations Under Secretary-General
A Rapid Reaction Capability

10:50am-11:40am Session Two: Structural Prevention

Chair: Olara A. Otunnu
President, International Peace Academy
and Special Representative for Children in
Armed Conflict

Presenters: Gareth Evans, QC MP
Deputy Leader of the Opposition and Shadow Treasurer
Australian Parliament
Justice and Prevention

Flora MacDonald
Former Foreign Minister of Canada
Well-being and Prevention

John Steinbruner
Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution
Security and Prevention

11:40-12:00pm Closing Remarks: Prevention as a Foundation for Human Rights
David A. Hamburg

12:00-1:00pm Luncheon Reception
Crystal Room

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David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President Emeritus

November 6, 1997

Melanne Verveer
The Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Office of the First lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

I very much hope that you and Hillary had a good visit in Ireland and England. I imagine you must have had a very stimulating meeting with Tony Blair and his colleagues. I continue to be deeply impressed with the value of Hillary's international trips.

I have been getting excellent feedback on the child care meeting. It clearly served a valuable social purpose with more to come.

At the last PCAST meeting, my education panel was the leading activity and promises to be significant in the coming year. At my request, Duane Alexander made an excellent presentation on the children's initiative and there was very strong support for our pursuing it in any way we can. Yesterday, a leadership group of PCAST members discussed this with Jack Gibbons. The upshot is that I am to select priorities from this comprehensive document which can then become the focus of White House science and technology activity. I believe you and Hillary were also interested in these priorities so I will try to do it in a way that will be maximumly useful to you. There is a great opportunity here and we must not miss it. //

With respect to the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict, there is some urgency now as we rapidly approach the magical date of December 10. All signs are remarkably positive since you and I last discussed the enterprise. Last week I gave the Godkin Lectures at Harvard which have a wonderful audience since these lectures go back a century and have featured a galaxy of world leaders. The feedback was terrific. I had a similar experience with a recent lecture at Stanford and also an international meeting in New York. In short, there is a kind of "aha" reaction -- this is an exceedingly important topic, one that has had much less attention than it deserves over the past half century, and is addressed with vision in our report.

We've also had detailed private reviews with a number of distinguished people such as Bill Perry, George Shultz and others. All these responses have given us great encouragement both on the substance and the exposition of the final report. Moreover, several of the collateral publications have had similar reviews with similar responses. These publications go into greater depth on many facets of the subject than is possible in the final report.

We are delighted and frankly surprised by the high level interest in this report in Japan, Britain, Germany and Russia. This is occurring with very little pushing on our part so far, though we expect to do more later. In addition, Kofi Annan has firmly embraced the report and invited us to have a major meeting at the UN in early February at which he will make an important speech on prevention.

Altogether, Cy Vance, Jane Holl and I are deeply encouraged by the responses we have had so far. We want this work to have a stimulating effect for many years to come. We will have an intensive worldwide dissemination program in the next two years, explaining what we have said and why, and trying to stimulate better ideas throughout the world.

This spirit of this report is very much akin to the American led efforts of a half century ago -- the thinking that went into creation of the UN, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Marshall plan, NATO, and the initial focus on decolonization and development throughout the world. That intellectual and moral legacy pervades this effort and I certainly hope that it will be useful for contemporary leaders.

As a practical matter Jane Holl, Cy Vance and I have a number of questions for you. Is the December 10 date firm yet? Would it be possible to use the auditorium in the Old Executive Office Building, I believe room 450? We do have space reserved for a half day event at the ANA Hotel on December 10 and could of course do the whole thing there if you prefer. Or we could do it partly there and partly at the White House. In any event, the absolutely vital element is Hillary's participation. Needless to say, it would add immeasurably if the President also participated in the event even if it were a brief appearance. That would have world-wide significance for the prevention outlook.

I have just put together a brief statement on the commission in a nutshell. Perhaps it will be useful as we come down to the wire.

I will call you tomorrow morning to follow up on this or you can call me at your convenience, home or office. Jane and I would love to get together with you to discuss the whole situation, if that would be helpful to move ahead with our planning. Since I know all the pressures on you during the week, we would be glad to come in on Saturday if your prefer. In any event, we are simply at your disposal to solve problems that may arise and to move ahead in the best way possible.

I cannot adequately express my gratitude to you and Hillary for taking such a thoughtful and constructive interest in this enterprise. We have come to believe that it is indeed a rare and special effort that may be helpful throughout the world for years to come. We surely hope so.

I look forward to talking with you very soon.

With every good wish,

As always

P.S. I enclose a new statement on the commission in a nutshell.

The Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict in a Nutshell
David A. Hamburg & Cyrus Vance

We have had the privilege leading a unique effort over the past three years. This effort has been rooted in the spirit of Andrew Carnegie's quest for peace in the early part of the twentieth century. We have deliberately sought a world-wide, long-term view, facing many fundamental issues of human conflict in all their complexity. The Commission is producing a series of reports, background papers, and books, culminating in the final report to be disseminated widely throughout the world over the next two years as a stimulus to preventive policies and actions. The publication date is December 10.

We have worked closely together as co-chairs and with Jane Holl (formerly of the National Security Council) as Executive Director. We have drawn upon the extraordinary membership of sixteen international leaders and scholars with long experience and accomplishment in conflict prevention and conflict resolution. The Commission also has a distinguished advisory council consisting of 36 eminent practitioners and scholars from a variety of countries. Altogether, the contributions of members, staff and advisers have been immense. It is particularly interesting that many of us have tried to help resolve very bitter conflicts, often at a late stage. We challenged ourselves in this enterprise to ask what might have been done at an early

stage to avert mass violence and achieve a just outcome. These are very hard problems. If it were otherwise, prevention would have gained ascendancy long ago.

The human species has a virtuoso capacity for making harsh distinctions between groups and for justifying violence on whatever scale the technology of the time permits. Moreover, fanatical behavior has a dangerous way of recurring across time and locations. Such behavior is old, but what is historically new and very threatening is the destructive power of our weaponry and its ongoing world-wide spread. Also new is the technology that permits rapid, vivid, widely broadcast justification for violence. This is what will make the world of the next century so dangerous. In such a world, human conflict is a subject that deserves the most careful and searching inquiry. It is a subject par excellence for fresh thinking and public understanding.

All these considerations are made more complex by the rapid and drastic world transformation in which we are living as the twentieth century draws to a close. The contemporary world transformation with all its modernizing impacts, intense pressures, and unforeseen dislocations tends to pull people toward strongly supportive groups; and these in turn, particularly with charismatic, inflammatory leadership, may easily become harsh, separatist and depreciatory toward others. A deadly combination of predisposing cultural characteristics plus severe social stress, plus distinctively hateful, fanatical leadership can lead to mass killing, even genocide.

In view of these momentous developments, the recent rash of "internal" wars and genocides, and the wide scope of our mandate, the Commission has developed a novel formulation of preventing deadly conflict. Accordingly, prevention consists not only of avoiding escalation in a crisis, but also of creating a durable basis for peaceful alternatives. In the long run, we can be most successful in preventing ethnic, religious, and international wars by going beyond ways to avert immediate confrontation between hostile groups to promote democracy, market reform and the creation of civil institutions that protect human rights. Effective preventive strategies rest on three orientations: early responses to signs of trouble; a comprehensive, forward-looking approach to counteract the risk factors that trigger violent conflict; and an extended effort to resolve the underlying causes of violence. All of these are considered in the Commission's work.

The recommendations of this report are addressed to many elements of the international community, among them the democracies, the United Nations, regional organizations, the business community, the global scientific community, educational and religious institutions, the media, and nongovernmental organization. Only with the active participation of all these groups can we move toward the vision of an international system for preventing deadly conflict. What we seek is a way of thinking that becomes pervasive in many institutions and in public understanding.

As we examined the relevant institutions, we found them all to be modest in preventive achievements and not strongly oriented to this great mission. Indeed,

several have probably done more harm than good in regard to hatred and violence. Yet the people of the world cannot let that record stand. The stakes are simply becoming too high, the dangers in the next century too great. So we have sought ways to strengthen each actor for prevention, to find good examples (even if rare), and to identify best practices through which their potential could be fulfilled.

We have come to the conclusion that the prevention of deadly conflict is, over the long term, too hard -- intellectually, technically and politically -- to be the responsibility of any single institution or government, no matter how powerful. Strengths must be pooled, burdens shared, and labor divided among actors. This is a practical necessity. We have tried to clarify the tasks and strategies, the tools available, and the opportunities for various actors; who can do what to make a truly civilized world.

This Commission is distinctive in several ways: its broad approach to prevention, encompassing political, economic, military, social and psychological considerations; its use of a public health model, with emphasis on primary prevention; its wide ranging delineation of strategies and tactics of prevention, including operational prevention dealing with incipient crises as well as structural prevention dealing with long-term, underlying factors conducive to peace and equitable development (linking security, well-being and justice); putting great emphasis on the potential of institutions of civil society for these missions --in addition to governments and inter-governmental organizations; its long-term and world-wide view of emerging problems and unprecedented opportunities.

In its most fundamental sense, the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict is about decent human relations and human groups learning to live together. In these matters, the earth is still flat; but it cannot remain flat forever.

Members of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict

Dr. David A. Hamburg, *Cochair*
President Emeritus
Carnegie Corporation of New York

The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance, *Cochair*
Partner
Simpson Thacher & Bartlett

Her Excellency Gro Harlem Brundtland, MP
Former Prime Minister of Norway

The Honorable Virendra Dayal
Former Under-Secretary-General and
Chef de Cabinet to the Secretary-General
United Nations

The Honorable Gareth Evans, QC MP
Deputy Leader of the Opposition and
Shadow Treasurer
Australia

Alexander L. George
Graham H. Stuart Professor Emeritus of
International Relations
Stanford University

The Honorable Flora MacDonald
Former Foreign Minister of Canada

Ambassador Donald F. McHenry
University Research Professor of Diplomacy
and International Affairs
School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University

Olara A. Otunnu
President
International Peace Academy

The Rt. Honorable Lord David Owen, CH
Chairman
HUMANITAS

The Honorable Shridath Ramphal
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Commission on Global Governance

Roald Sagdeev
Distinguished Professor
Department of Physics
University of Maryland

John D. Steinbruner
Senior Fellow
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Sir Brian Urquhart
Former Under-Secretary-General
for Special Political Affairs
United Nations

The Honorable John C. Whitehead
Chairman
AEA Investors, Inc.

The Honorable Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan
Former Foreign Minister of Pakistan
Chairman, Board of Trustees
Aga Khan International University–Karachi

Special Advisor to the Commission
The Honorable Herbert S. Okun
Visiting Lecturer on International Law
Yale Law School
Former U.S. Representative to the German
Democratic Republic and to the UN

Jane E. Holl, *Executive Director*

Members of the Advisory Council

The Honorable Morton Abramowitz
Acting President
International Crisis Group

His Excellency Ali Abdullah Alatas
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Republic of Indonesia

Graham T. Allison
Douglas Dillon Professor of Government
John F. Kennedy School of Government
Harvard University

The Honorable Robert Badinter
Senator of Hauts de Seine, Senat
France

Carol Bellamy
Executive Director
United Nations Children's Fund

The Honorable Harold Brown
Counselor
Center for Strategic and International
Studies

McGeorge Bundy*
Scholar-in-Residence
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The Honorable Jimmy Carter
The Carter Center of Emory University

Lori Damrosch
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Columbia University School of Law

Francis M. Deng
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Foreign Policy Studies Program
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Sidney D. Drell
Professor and Deputy Director
Stanford Linear Accelerator Center
Stanford University

The Honorable Lawrence S. Eagleburger
Senior Foreign Policy Advisor
Baker Donelson Bearman & Caldwell

Leslie H. Gelb
President
Council on Foreign Relations

David Gompert
Vice President
National Security Research
Director
National Defense Research Institute
RAND

General Andrew J. Goodpaster (USA, Ret.)
Co-Chairman
The Atlantic Council of the United States

The Honorable Mikhail S. Gorbachev
The International Foundation for
Socio-Economic and Political Studies

James P. Grant*
Executive Director
United Nations Children's Fund

The Honorable Lee H. Hamilton
United States House of Representatives

Reverend Theodore M. Hesburgh, CSC
President Emeritus
University of Notre Dame

Donald L. Horowitz
James B. Duke Professor of Law and
Political Science
Duke University School of Law

Sir Michael Howard
President
International Institute for Strategic Studies

Karl Kaiser
Director
Research Institute of the German Society
for Foreign Affairs

The Honorable Nancy Landon Kassebaum Baker
Baker Donelson Bearman & Caldwell

The Honorable Sol M. Linowitz
Honorary Chairman
The Academy for Educational Development

The Honorable Richard G. Lugar
United States Senate

Michael Mandelbaum
Christian A. Herter Professor of
American Foreign Policy
The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced
International Studies
The Johns Hopkins University

The Honorable Robert S. McNamara
Former U.S. Secretary of Defense

William H. McNeill
Professor Emeritus of History
University of Chicago

The Honorable Sam Nunn
Partner
King & Spalding

General Olusegun Obasanjo
President
Africa Leadership Forum

Her Excellency Sadako Ogata
The High Commissioner for Refugees
United Nations

His Excellency Javier Pérez de Cuéllar
Former Secretary-General
United Nations

Condoleezza Rice
Provost
Stanford University

The Honorable Elliot L. Richardson
Milbank, Tweed, Hadley & McCloy

The Honorable Harold H. Saunders
Director of International Affairs
Kettering Foundation

The Honorable George P. Shultz
Distinguished Fellow
Hoover Institution on War, Revolution,
and Peace
Stanford University

The Honorable Richard H. Solomon
President
United States Institute of Peace

James Gustave Speth
Administrator
United Nations Development Programme

The Most Reverend Desmond Tutu
Archbishop Emeritus of Cape Town
Chair
Truth and Reconciliation Commission
South Africa

Admiral James D. Watkins (USN, Ret.)
President
Consortium for Oceanographic Research
and Education

Elie Wiesel
President
The Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity

I. William Zartman
Jacob Blaustein Professor of International
Organizations and Conflict Resolution
Director of African Studies and Conflict
Management Programs
The Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced
International Studies
The Johns Hopkins University

* deceased

cc: Melanne
from HRC

cc: Melanne
me

Carnegie Corporation of New York

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David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President Emeritus

August 11, 1997

Hillary Rodham Clinton
First Lady
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Hillary:

I found our recent meeting exceedingly stimulating even though I was struggling with a sinus infection that day. You were thinking creatively and boldly about child care. That encouraged all of us to try to do the same.

Since then, Deborah Phillips and I have been discussing attractive possibilities for the meeting, and I had an excellent talk with Melanne a few days ago. As a result, Deborah and I will send you a mock-up of the October meeting on child care in a day or two. It will of course be highly tentative, since you and the President will have a great many factors to take into account in making your decisions.

I told Cy Vance and Jane Holl about our conversation on inter-group hatred and violence. We are deeply appreciative of your interest in the work of the Carnegie Commission on Preventing Deadly Conflict. The Commission's work has proven to be distinctive in two respects -- it takes a comprehensive approach to violent conflict, and it has struck a deeply resonant chord in analytic and policy communities alike. Let me summarize what we are trying to do.

Established in 1994, the Commission consists of sixteen international leaders and scholars long experienced in conflict prevention and conflict resolution. Cyrus Vance and David Hamburg are its co-chairmen, with Jane Holl as executive director. It has a global advisory council consisting of thirty-six scholars and distinguished practitioners. I attach a list of commissioners.

The Commission's focus on the prevention of deadly conflict follows directly from the Carnegie Corporation's abiding commitment to promote a deeper understanding of human conflict and conflict prevention. Over the last fifteen years, the Corporation has sponsored a variety of scholarly research projects and international activities that have stimulated fresh thinking about these problems that are crucial to human well-being.

The Commission has approached its tasks by asking several fundamental questions:

- What are the problems posed by deadly conflict and why is outside help often necessary to deal with these problems?
- What can be done to ensure that disputes are resolved peaceably? What political, economic, military, and social tools are at the disposal of the international community? Which strategies work best?
- Who should do the work? Who reaps the rewards?

The Commission has developed a novel and broad concept of prevention. Accordingly, prevention consists not only of avoiding escalation in a crisis, but also of creating a durable basis for peaceful alternatives. In the long run, we can be most successful in preventing ethnic, religious, and international wars by going beyond ways to avert immediate confrontation between hostile groups to promote democracy, market reform, and the creation of civil institutions that protect human rights.

Three inescapable observations form the foundation of the Carnegie Commission's report: First, deadly conflict is not inevitable. Violence on a scale such as we have seen in Rwanda, Somalia, Bosnia, and elsewhere does not emerge inexorably from human interaction. Second, the need to prevent deadly conflict is increasingly urgent. The rapid compression of the world through breathtaking population growth, technological advancement, and economic interdependence -- combined with the readily available supply of deadly weapons and easy contagion of hatred and incitement to violence -- make it essential to find ways to prevent disputes from turning massively violent. Third, preventing deadly conflict is possible. The problem is *not* that we do not know about incipient and large-scale violence, it is that we often do not act. Yet, experience from "hot spots" around the world shows that the potential for violence can be defused through the early, skillful, and integrated application of political, diplomatic, economic, and military measures.

Effective preventive strategies rest on three principles: early responses to signs of trouble; a comprehensive, forward-looking approach to counteract the risk factors that trigger violent conflict; and an extended effort to resolve the underlying causes of violence. All of these are considered in the Commission's work.

The Commission has and will continue to produce a series of reports, background papers, and other materials on subjects related to its core agenda. In addition, it has sponsored international meetings drawing together academic experts and policy makers from around the world to consider these issues carefully. Its work will culminate in a final report to be disseminated worldwide. The report will serve as a guide to preventive policies and actions at national and international levels. Afterwards there will be a two-year follow-up period for dissemination.

The recommendations of the report will be addressed to many elements of the international community, among them the democracies, the United Nations, regional organizations, the business community, the global scientific community, educational and religious organizations, the media, and nongovernmental organizations. Only with the active participation of all these groups can we move toward the vision of an international system for preventing deadly conflict. All must come to see that an ounce of prevention is worth a megaton of cure later.

Prevention of rotten outcomes -- outcomes usually foreseeable in advance -- is a great theme for presidential leadership. Fundamentally, prevention is based on our ability to anticipate events, apply the best available knowledge from research to devise effective coping strategies, and cooperate across boundaries between government and nongovernment institutions. The application of such an approach in the public health sphere is familiar, as illustrated by the widespread and successful program of childhood immunizations through the combined efforts of scientific research, health care, and education. We have found that a similar view of the prevention process is useful when thinking about mass violence.

The Clinton administration has already shown extraordinary leadership in a far-sighted, preventive approach to economic problems. The same is true of the administration's innovations with respect to children and youth. In the latter case, the administration has set valuable precedents in diminishing the casualties of childhood and adolescence -- whether in disease and disability, ignorance and incompetence, or crime and violence -- by strengthening the pivotal institutions of family, schools health care, and community organizations that powerfully shape development. Similar logic applies to other problems.

In foreign policy, the President's first term struck a decisive, preventive orientation. For the first time in American history, "preventive defense" became an explicit pillar of defense policy. Similarly, preventive diplomacy became a prominent feature of our international relations. In the same spirit, our Commission seeks ways in which governments, inter-governmental organizations, and the institutions of civil society could help to build favorable conditions in which different human groups can learn to live together amicably.

At the final meeting of the Commission, the members were unanimously enthusiastic that the ideal launch event for our final report would be to present it to the President at the White House. Such an event is compelling in light of the President's clear preventive orientation -- highlighted in his 1997 State of the Union message -- and his singular position of world leadership.

The Commission members would be delighted to assemble at his convenience for such an occasion. One propitious date would be December 10, 1997 since that is the date of adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, and could kick off a year-long emphasis on these issues culminating in the 50th Anniversary celebration of the

Hillary Rodham Clinton
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Universal Declaration on December 10, 1998. Our report is in the spirit of that prescient document -- a document that never would have come to pass without the visionary leadership of Franklin and Eleanor Roosevelt.

Today, women's rights constitutes a very important part of that agenda throughout the world. Since human rights are best protected by democratic institutions -- and democratic institutions have a lot to do with preventing deadly conflict -- this agenda bears strongly on what our country stands for in the world. Therefore, I very much hope that you and the President will consider using this one year period to renew on a world-wide basis our leadership for these great aspirations of humanity.

In its most fundamental sense, the Carnegie Commission is about decent human relations and human groups learning to live together. In these matters, the earth is still flat; but it cannot remain flat forever. Knowing you and the President, I believe this has been central to your outlook and constitutes a superb theme for leadership throughout the White House years and beyond.

With every good wish,

As always,



P.S. I have prepared an overview as you requested and it is enclosed. I hope you will find it useful.

Enclosure

**CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT
MEMBERS**

Her Excellency Gro Harlem Brundtland
The Labour Party's Parliamentary Group
Former Prime Minister

The Right Honorable Lord David Owen
Chairman
Humanitas

The Honourable Virendra Dayal
Former Under Secretary General and
Chef de Cabinet to the Secretary General
of the United Nations

The Honorable Shridath Ramphal
Co-chair
Commission on Global Governance

The Honorable Gareth Evans
Deputy Leader of the Opposition and
Shadow Treasurer
Former Foreign Minister

Roald Z. Sagdeev
Distinguished Professor
Department of Physics
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Alexander L. George
Graham H. Stuart Professor Emeritus of
International Relations
Department of Political Science
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John D. Steinbruner
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David A. Hamburg
President Emeritus
Carnegie Corporation of New York

The Honorable Brian Urquhart
Carnegie Corporation of New York

The Honorable Flora MacDonald
Former Foreign Minister of Canada

The Honorable Cyrus R. Vance
Partner
Simpson, Thacher & Bartlett

Ambassador Donald F. McHenry
University Research Professor of
Diplomacy and International Affairs
School of Foreign Service
Georgetown University

The Honorable John C. Whitehead
Chairman
AEA Investors, Inc.

Olara A. Otunnu
President
International Peace Academy

Sahabzada Yaquub-Khan
Chairman
Board of Trustees
Aga Khan International University, Karachi
Former Foreign Minister of Pakistan

CARNEGIE COMMISSION ON PREVENTING DEADLY CONFLICT OVERVIEW

THE PREDICAMENT: INTERGROUP VIOLENCE IN A WORLD SATURATED WITH HIGHLY DESTRUCTIVE WEAPONS

The post-Cold War world has experienced a rash of violent ethnic, religious, and nationalist conflicts. In the "peaceful" period since World War II, there have been more than 150 wars, with millions killed. The human species has long had a virtuoso capacity for making the very worst of prejudices based on ethnic, religious, and national distinctions. What is new, and uniquely threatening in our time, is the destructive power of the weaponry: conventional, chemical, biological, above all nuclear. One of the most serious problems of the early twenty-first century will be the worldwide proliferation of large quantities of deadly modern weapons, and their relatively easy acquisition by hostile groups.

Human societies have a pervasive tendency to make distinctions between in-groups and out-groups in ways that are highly susceptible to harsh interpretations that justify violence. Groups have been specified in many ways: religion, race, language, region, tribe, nation, and various political entities. The worldwide historical record is full of hateful and destructive activities based on such distinctions -- often associated with deeply felt beliefs about superiority, a sense of jeopardy to group survival, or justification by supernatural powers. The sense of belonging to a valued group is a fundamental part of our long human heritage -- linked in many ways to survival itself. Yet, there is no need to assume that membership in a supportive group must be hateful, let alone lethal toward others. On the contrary, it is reasonable to assume that we can indeed learn to live together, in spite of very bad habits from the past, and that we must now avidly seek ways to do so.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the post-Cold War world is that wars within states vastly outnumber war between states. Yet, all of these "internal" conflicts have the clear potential for spillover. In fact many outsiders have become involved in these conflicts, either through participation with organized forces on the ground or by supplying weapons and support for one side.

These wars are being fought with conventional weapons and with strategies of ethnic annihilation and population expulsions. Soldiers kill more civilians than other soldiers (at the rate of about 9 to 1), using strategies and tactics that deliberately target women, children, and the elderly. Modern conventional weapons, including small arms, are enormously destructive and can be bought as easily as food -- indeed, in some places where food is scarce, more easily.

Many factors can create conditions prone to warfare: despotic leaders, weak, corrupt, or collapsed regimes; sudden economic and political shifts; acute repression of

major ethnic groups or other portions of society; politically active religious elements that promote hostile and divisive messages, large stores of weapons and ammunition; political and economic legacies of colonialism or the Cold War, illegitimate governmental institutions; threatening regional relationships; social cleavages derived from poorly managed religious, cultural, or ethnic differences; widespread illiteracy, disease and disability; lack of resources such as water and arable land; political repression, cultural discrimination, and systematic economic deprivation. When long-standing antagonisms are exploited by political demagogues, such conditions are ripe for violence. New global political and economic forces may exacerbate these predisposing factors.

OPERATIONAL PREVENTION: STRATEGIES IN THE FACE OF CRISIS

Operational prevention emphasizes early engagement to help create conditions in which responsible leaders, societies, and their institutions can resolve the problems they face without violence. It is facilitated by three key elements: 1) an international organization or leader around which an international effort can mobilize; 2) a coherent plan of action designed to arrest the violence, address the humanitarian situation, and integrate all political and military elements, taking account of outsider parties and insiders at all levels; 3) adequate resources for the implementation of the concept.

Early Warning and Early Response

The circumstances that give rise to violent conflict can usually be foreseen. The first critical task in prevention is to determine where and when the most disastrous conflicts and confrontations are likely to occur. Indicators include widespread human rights abuses, increasingly brutal political oppression, inflammatory use of the media, the accumulation of arms, and sometimes, a rash of organized killings. These indicators were clear in Rwanda and in Bosnia.

But in addition to receiving early warning of signs of trouble, policy makers need to identify those individuals, institutions and concepts that if strengthened or supported, could defuse the potential for violence. In particular, moderate and responsible leaders need to be strengthened at a time when events are increasingly dominated by less constructive leaders.

Preventive Diplomacy

When crisis threatens, traditional diplomacy continues, but more urgent efforts are also made -- through unilateral and multilateral channels -- to pressure, cajole, arbitrate, mediate, or lend "good offices" to encourage dialogue and facilitate a nonviolent resolution of the crisis.

Diplomacy and politics need to find ways to cope with grievous circumstances occurring anywhere in the world because not only are they tragic in themselves but they

have an increasing capacity to effect others in profoundly adverse ways. The efforts needed today are therefore tied, perhaps as never before, to a complex web of economic and social relationships that span the globe.

Economic Measures

In circumstances of incipient conflict, a number of economic measures are at the disposal of states and international organizations in a position to influence the potential belligerents to avoid violence. Under certain conditions, sanctions, incentives, economic conditionality, and the dispute resolution mechanisms of international trade organizations may influence potential belligerents to avoid a violent course.

Forceful Measures

Situations arise in which diplomatic responses, even supplemented by strong economic measures, are insufficient to prevent the outbreak or recurrence of major violence. What principles then apply?

First, any threat or use of force must be governed by universally accepted principles, in accordance with the UN Charter.

Second, the threat or use of force should *not* be regarded only as a last resort in desperate circumstances. For example, an international rapid deployment force can separate the hostile parties.

Third, states -- particularly the major powers -- must accept that the threat or use of force, if it does become necessary, must be part of an integrated, usually multilateral strategy, and used in conjunction with political and economic instruments.

STRUCTURAL PREVENTION

Structural prevention addresses underlying root causes of conflict. It involves a long-term approach using multiple strategies to create and sustain an environment that protects fundamental human rights, and provides circumstances in which citizens can secure a livelihood with opportunities for development and non-violent resolution of disputes.

The Commission's work has illuminated the preventive value of several long-term measures that governments can take:

- ▶ Control, reduce and eventually eliminate weapons of mass destruction: nuclear, chemical, and biological;
- ▶ Control the trade in conventional weapons;
- ▶ Control terrorism;
- ▶ Advance the rule of law as the basis for regulating social interaction at all levels;
- ▶ Promote democratic, accountable governance;

- ▶ Promote equitable economic development in ways that can be indigenously absorbed and sustained;
- ▶ Strengthen institutions and processes for nonviolent dispute resolution and promote conflict resolution strategies based on mutual accommodation;
- ▶ Establish health standards and practices;
- ▶ Minimize illiteracy;
- ▶ Protect the environment;
- ▶ Manage resources and technologies to derive the greatest benefit for the greatest number, especially husbanding land and water resources to help ensure adequate food production.

The Commission's final report offers recommendations for developing concrete policies that can implement measures of this kind.

Constructive Approaches to Intergroup Conflict Resolution

What can the international community do to prevent intergroup violence within states? There is an urgent need to create conditions under which different groups (ethnic, religious, or whatever) will be treated fairly so that they can come to believe in their own worth and the value of their harmonious interaction with neighbors. The aim is to develop positive identity not based on harsh depreciation of other people. A fundamental attribute of such mutual accommodation lies in a genuinely free civil society.

An upsurge of egregious human rights violations is a powerful warning signal of dire events to come, including massive refugee flows. The best protection against such disasters is the building of democratic institutions, capable governments, and free civil societies. Therefore, the international community must find ways to help in the building of such indigenous capacity. It involves technical assistance and financial aid to build the requisite processes and institutions, including widespread education of publics about the actual workings of democracy. It also involves fostering of trade and investment, building of technical competence, perception of opportunity, and a sense of belonging in the international community.

WHO CAN DO WHAT?

The best approach to prevention of deadly conflict is one that emphasizes local solutions to local problems where possible, and new divisions of labor based on comparative advantage, augmented as necessary by help from outside. The array of those who have a useful preventive role to play surely involves governments and international organizations but also the vast expertise and resources of the private sector. Nongovernmental organizations, educators, religious leaders and institutions, business, the scientific community, media and educational institutions can contribute much more than they have in the past.

Because circumstances of incipient violence do not usually improve by themselves, outside actors often have a role to play even within states, provided that the conditions for such action are clearly defined and agreed upon by the international community. Moreover, outsiders with special capabilities -- including but not limited to well-established democratic societies may have special responsibilities in this regard. Indeed, because of its unique position at the end of the Cold War, the United States may -- in certain circumstances have a singular role to play in helping to prevent deadly conflict.

Outside actors -- e.g., the United Nations, regional organizations, coalitions of concerned states, and NGOs -- can assist efforts to build capable states with support for development, democratization and education. These efforts can be facilitated by effective linkage of governmental and nongovernmental efforts. But outside help cannot substitute for a functioning government concerned with the fundamental welfare of its citizens. Therefore, the building of indigenous capacity is vital.

United Nations

The legitimacy of outside assistance is important to its success. The UN plays a vital role in establishing the criteria for the terms of outside intervention. UN authorization is usually necessary but certainly not sufficient for multilateral international action. The strength of the UN lies first in its role as a legitimating forum that facilitates international collaboration, and second in its capacity to reflect the interests and intent of member states, including their collective action. Against the backdrop of UN authorization, states, regional institutions, and nongovernmental actors can help local efforts to solve local problems, using both private and public assets.

When should the UN Intervene? The UN Charter gives the Security Council a great deal of latitude in making such decisions. With respect to preventive diplomacy, the Charter authorizes the Secretary General to bring to the attention of the Security Council any development that may threaten international peace. An early alert and analysis by the Secretary General with consideration of plausible options by the Security Council can head off some conflicts before serious damage is done. The following circumstances could provide appropriate precipitating events for Security Council action upon the alert of the Secretary General: the possibility that a regional dispute might entail weapons of mass destruction; evidence of emerging genocide; large flow of refugees threatening to destabilize neighboring countries; strong evidence of systematic human rights violations; the forcible overthrow of democratically elected governments; widespread, growing damage to the environment.

In recent years, a basic extension of prior doctrine has occurred: the international community is now seen as having not only a justifiable rationale but a constructive responsibility for intervening in serious internal disputes. Sovereignty no longer entitles tyrants to oppress their own populations with mass violations of human rights. So the UN has gradually been involved in applying global norms to conflicts within nation-states. This cannot mean a constant intrusion on the internal affairs of

every country, or the domination of the weaker by the stronger. Therefore it is essential that the international community work out the criteria for intervention, as well as procedures and practical implementation.

Prevention is compelling substantive theme for UN reform. The UN has a pivotal role to play in various areas of prevention, and the commission has formulated a number of specific recommendations regarding ways to strengthen the preventive role of the US -- e.g. the Secretary-General's capacity to foster preventive diplomacy can usefully be strengthened by upgrading the mechanisms for envoys and special representatives, as well as by organizing "friends" of the Secretary General to help promptly in light of early warning.

States and Their Leaders

Because states remain the most important political units in the international system, governments bear the primary responsibility for preventing deadly conflict. When preventive action is needed it is governments who must initially decide whether they do nothing, act alone, act in cooperation with other governments, work through international organizations, or work with elements of the private sector. Nongovernmental organizations may decide to become involved regardless of government decisions, but major preventive action remains the responsibility of governments.

While leaders, governments, and people closest to potentially violent situations must bear the primary responsibility for preventing the outbreak of deadly conflict, many other parties, however, have interests and responsibilities as well as the capacity to play a useful role in heading off disaster. It should be an accepted principle that those with the greatest capacity to help have the greatest responsibility to help.

Rampant, unchecked slaughter undermines the rule of law as an instrument for the protection of basic human rights, as the basis for governance, and as a means of regulating relations between states. Moreover, the lack of a response to mass slaughter -- particularly by states that have an obvious capacity to act -- will encourage a climate of lawlessness in which disaffected peoples or opposing factions will increasingly take matters into their own hands. The effort to help avert mass violence is thus not only a matter of humanitarian obligation but also of enlightened self-interest.

Governments ignore violent conflict, wherever it occurs, at great risk. The bills for post-conflict reconstruction and economic renewal inevitably come due, and there are only a limited number of states willing and able to pay them. States with comparatively longer experience with representative governance and market economic practices can promote democratization and peaceful economic interchange and may have a particularly important preventive responsibility.

Should democracies engage assertively to prevent deadly conflict? And if so, what principles should guide their engagement? By pooling strengths, these states can

make a major contribution to peace and well-being, drawing upon established standards, agreed-upon procedures, and an international culture of fairness. They can act flexibly in varying combinations depending on the degree of interest and competence to deal with a specific problem. Sometimes they can act entirely within the UN system and sometimes through other mechanisms.

In this report, we strive to clarify the responsibility of the international community, and, within that, the subset of states which are democracies -- i.e., states that have various inclusive, participatory mechanisms by which their own people have some say in major decisions that affect their lives. They have in common a respect for human rights, the dignity of the individual, and the protection of diverse groups. All this can contribute to coping with conflict in nonviolent ways.

"Preventive defense" is becoming a major strategy for the post-Cold War world. Emphasizing exchanges and collaboration among countries to mitigate against threats, the strategy rests on four pillars: alliances, regional confidence building, constructive engagement, and nuclear non-proliferation.

Preventive defense is derived from the policies successfully employed after World War II to turn adversaries into partners for economic development and maintenance of peace. The relevant programs make use of exchanges, technical collaboration, and joint military exercises to bring together officials and military staff from different countries to work on problems that could lead to conflict among them or destabilize their countries, while fostering understanding, openness and trust.

Increasingly states, many of them middle size or small but skillful in the art of coalition building for peace, have responded to the tide of worldwide violence. Certain countries -- the Nordic countries, for example -- have a distinguished record of deep commitment and sustained action to resolve conflict and foster development.

In addition, new initiatives are seeking to head off mass violence through anticipation and preparatory strategies. Canadian, Dutch, and Danish studies, for example, have explored ways to make a rapid reaction capability available for the United Nations to separate hostile parties and set in motion efforts to resolve the conflict. The United States Department of State established an Early Action Initiative to improve political and diplomatic anticipation of incipient violence; and in Great Britain, the Foreign and Commonwealth Office has taken steps to create a similar capacity. Norway has organized an innovative governmental-private sector approach to international crisis that can be mobilized quickly.

Pivotal Institutions of Civil Society

Traditionally, the development of strategies to cope with problems of conflict, mass violence, war, and peace have mainly involved governments, coalitions among governments, and intergovernmental organizations. Governments and intergovernmental organizations remain very important in the contemporary world, but

the record of unprecedented slaughter in the twentieth century suggests that the traditional system has not worked well in preventing deadly conflict. It is therefore necessary to look to relatively new and potentially effective groups to augment the efforts of governmental institutions in this vital task.

How can the contributions of various elements of the private sector -- nongovernmental organizations, religious leaders and organizations, the education and scientific communities, business, and the media -- contribute to the prevention of conflict? How can these various groups be strengthened in societies where violence threatens? It is important to identify elements of civil society that can reduce hatred and violence and to enhance attitudes of concern, social responsibility, and mutual aid within and between groups.

Nongovernmental Organizations (NGOs)

As one of the pillars of any thriving society, NGOs provide a vast array of human services and advocates for action on virtually all matters of public concern. The rapid spread of information technology, market-driven economic interdependence, and cultural pluralism within and among states, have allowed NGOs to become key transmission belts for ideas, financial resources, and technical assistance. In difficult economic and political transitions, the organizations of civil society can be of crucial importance in alleviating the dangers of mass violence.

Several categories of NGOs play different roles in the prevention process.

- ▶ Development and pro-democracy groups have become vital to effecting peaceful transitions from authoritarian rule to more open societies and, in the event of a violent conflict, in helping to make peace processes irreversible during the difficult transitions to reconstruction and national reconciliation.
- ▶ Human rights and "track-II" organizations can provide early warning of rising local tension, and protect the necessary political space between groups and the government that can allow local leaders to reach peaceful accommodations.
- ▶ The international work of NGOs based in the democracies and relying heavily on indigenous organizations throughout the world can reinforce a sense of common interest and common purpose.

The Commission strongly endorses the growing role of NGOs in helping to prevent deadly conflict. NGOs have the flexibility, expertise, and commitment to respond rapidly to early signs of trouble. They bear witness and give voice to the unfolding drama, and they provide essential services. Not least, they inform the public both at the national level and worldwide on the horrors of deadly conflict and thus help mobilize action for non-violent resolution.

Religious Leaders and Institutions

Religion and religious institutions have often played an exacerbating role in crisis situations and have sometimes even provoked the hatred that led to crisis and

bloodshed. Religious leaders and institutions must share in the responsibility to curb passions during times of crisis and to teach tolerance.

Five factors give religious leaders and institutions from the grassroots to the transnational level a comparative advantage for dealing with conflict situations: 1) a clear message that resonates with their followers; 2) a long-standing and pervasive presence on the ground; 3) a well-developed infrastructure that includes a widespread, often very sophisticated, communications capacity connecting local, national, and international offices; 4) a legitimacy for speaking out on crisis issues; and 5) a traditional orientation to peace and goodwill. Because of these advantages, religion could play a greater role in lessening tensions, and contributing decisively to the resolution of conflict.

Religious advocacy is particularly effective when it is broadly inclusive of many faiths. A number of dialogues between religions already exist -- the World Council of Churches as well as forums for Jewish/Christian, Christian/Muslim, and others. They provide opportunities for important interfaith dialogues on key public issues. International religious hierarchies should encourage frequent interfaith dialogue at local, national and regional levels to bridge religious differences.

The Scientific Community

One of the great challenges for scientists will be a much broader and deeper effort to understand the nature and sources of human conflict, and above all to develop effective ways of resolving conflict short of disaster.

The scientific community is the closest approximation we now have to a truly international community, sharing certain fundamental interests, values, standards, and a spirit of inquiry about the nature of matter, life, behavior, and the universe. This shared quest for understanding has overcome the distorting effects of national boundaries, inherent prejudices, imposed ethnocentrism, and barriers to the free play of information and ideas. Drawn together more than ever by recent advances in telecommunications, these attributes of the scientific community have been put to work in recent decades in efforts to prevent war and especially to reduce the nuclear danger.

The scientific community first and foremost provides understanding, insight, and stimulating ways of analyzing important problems. It can and must do so with regard to deadly conflict. Through their institutions and organizations, scientists and educators can strengthen research and education in a variety of areas: for example, the biology and psychology of aggressive behavior, child development, intergroup relations, prejudice and ethnocentrism, the origins of wars and conditions under which they end, proliferation, weapons development and arms control, and innovative approaches to mutual accommodation and conflict resolution. They can generate new knowledge and explore the application of such knowledge to urgent problems in contemporary society.

The Cold War experience makes clear that there is a useful role for the scientific and scholarly community in international conflict resolution -- acting both through governments and nongovernmental organizations. There are a few singular advantages: 1) drawing on the scientific base for accurate information, sound principles, and well-documented techniques; 2) acting flexibly, exploring novel or neglected paths toward conflict resolution; and 3) building relationships among well informed people who can make a difference in attitudes and in problem-solving and who are taken seriously by governments.

The Media

With so many post-Cold War conflicts instigated by harshly nationalist and sectarian leaders, the media's treatment of and role in promulgating inflammatory propaganda have become issues of great significance both within the journalism profession and beyond. Because small wars often occur in relatively remote areas and have complicated histories, the international view of them will depend to a large extent on how international journalists present and explain the conflict. The problem of distorted images is an important one.

A great challenge for the media is to report conflicts in ways that engender constructive public discussion in the search for conflict resolution. The media can stimulate new ideas and approaches to problems by involving independent experts in their presentations, seeking to understand the problem and paths toward solution. The media should develop standards of conduct in crisis coverage that include giving adequate attention to serious efforts under way to defuse and resolve conflicts, even as they give full international exposure to the violence itself.

Television need not be a school for violence. It can be used in ways that reduce intergroup hostility. It is important to encourage the constructive use of this powerful tool to promote understanding, nonviolent problem solving, and decent intergroup relations.

Television and radio have pervasive reach and unfulfilled potential for reducing tensions between countries or other disputants. They can demystify the adversary and improve understanding. Independent, pluralistic media can promote democracy by clarifying issues and helping the public to understand candidates. International election monitors should therefore observe access to the media as well as the voting itself. Models of professional standards for media in reporting on serious conflicts have recently been created and should be widely disseminated. The commission proposes new initiatives to focus the attention of media leaders on their responsibilities and opportunities in this field.

The Business Community

Recent years have been characterized by a growing share of GNP in international trade, increasing interaction of people across borders, electronic connection between the financial markets and globalization of investments, a growing

share of internationally produced and managed goods and services, free-flow of know-how, and the increasing openness of modern societies to economic interactions. These elements are inherently vulnerable to violent conflict because they can be disrupted with relative ease. Moreover, given the high degree of modern interdependence, crises which occur in one part of the system spread more easily throughout the entire system.

The business community may be coming to recognize its own particular interests and responsibilities in helping to minimize conditions that lead to deadly conflict, not least because successful business has a vital stake in stable, predictable situations based on general standards of equity in commerce and on the rule of law. In the global economy, a large and growing number of businesses have international commitments. Many businesses are in fact truly global in character, and violence or dangerously unstable circumstances will inevitably affect their interests. Major investments can be lost in a short time. Potentially attractive investments in emerging markets may readily be undermined by violence and its consequences. Simply put, conflict prevention is good for business in the contemporary world. This is a subject which should be taken seriously by all major domestic and international business organizations.

With their extensive knowledge of societies in which major investments are made, business leaders can recognize early warning signs of danger and help create conditions that reduce the likelihood of violent conflict. Business cannot be expected to be a substitute for governmental action. Yet the strength and influence of the business community gives it the opportunity both to act independently and to put pressure on governments to seek an early resolution of emerging conflict. For this purpose, it would be useful to have a multilateral forum on international conflict and market development.

The business community could also play a significant role in conflict prevention through involvement of corporate laboratories, utilizing the high technology industry's support of laboratory research in many parts of the world. The scientists and engineers who work in corporate laboratories have experience in cooperating with their peers across international boundaries, even in crisis situations.

The People

Finally, what of ordinary people -- the immediate victims of conflict and those who must endure the secondary effects of violent conflict, such as displaced persons, refugees, or those who lose economic opportunity or their own sense of stability and security? Their choices are few and not easy to exercise. Those in conflict can, at considerable personal risk, refuse to support leaders bent on a violent course; those more removed can demand that their governments undertake preventive action and hold them accountable when they refuse. Their main strength is in their numbers. As an example, the worldwide women's movement is beginning to utilize the reality of women's large numbers and shared interests.

THE CHALLENGE FOR LEADERSHIP

Nowhere should the responsibility for promoting peaceful relations and social tolerance be taken more seriously than among leaders of government, business, media, religion, and other powerful institutions. Time and again, the Commission encountered ways in which leadership would be required to implement the strategies and use the tools available for preventing deadly conflict. Without effective leadership of governments, inter-governmental organizations, and powerful institutions of civil society, the relentless and catastrophic recurrence of mass violence looms on the horizon.

Leadership matters over a wide range of institutions, circumstances, and structures, yet some institutional arrangements and decision-making processes are more conducive than others to effective, humane leadership. There is a growing body of knowledge on these matters, derived from systematic research on leadership decision making as well as close observation by expert practitioners who have served in leadership capacities. This knowledge can be put to use in organizing to tackle hard problems and take advantage of important opportunities -- in short, providing a highly informative, supportive, problem-solving context for leadership decision making on matters of utmost consequence.

Leadership for preventing deadly conflict is the specific focus of this report, but we place it in the broader context of leadership for humane, democratic values; not peace by repression, but peace with justice. We have seen in this century abundant examples of leadership that is brutal and effective, as well as leadership that is gentle and ineffective. The events leading to the carnage of World War II illustrate both kinds of maladaptive leadership.

The grim lessons of World War II's preventable onset alert us to the profoundly significant tasks of leadership responses to early warning. They also remind us of the worrisome, continuing existence of fanatical, paranoid, or otherwise deeply disturbed leaders who must be checked before it is too late. Yet there are many other leaders who are capable of learning, growing, responding to the dangers of contemporary circumstances, and accommodating the needs of other peoples.

The norms of the international community, especially in a time of world-wide spread of democracy, must emphasize the responsibility and opportunity of leaders for mutual accommodation and the prevention of deadly conflict. Leaders who show such tendencies should be visibly respected, widely recognized, and rewarded. By the same token, electorates should hold their leaders accountable for such behavior. The international community must find ways to educate publics everywhere that preventing deadly conflict is necessary and possible. To miss such an opportunity is a leadership failure.

Leaders can help to generate a constituency for prevention. There must be broad public understanding, especially in influential sectors, regarding rational and

constructive approaches. Such a constituency could be built by: 1) clarifying latent inclinations toward prevention in public opinion in democratic societies; 2) strengthening those latent opinions with substantial explanations of rationales, approaches, and good examples; 3) illuminating the message through analogies from familiar contexts: home, family community; and 4) clarifying vital and important interests for public understanding.

There are public interests, attitudes, and concerns that can be built upon to develop such constituencies. For example, a strong constituency for prevention in medicine and public health has emerged over several decades in a variety of democratic countries. In light of growing public awareness, concern about health risks, and emerging clarity about changes in behavior for prevention, there have been remarkable trends -- reduction of very high-risk behavior and improvement in health outcomes. Concepts like "an ounce of prevention is worth a pound of cure" have taken hold in the public consciousness and are concretely expressed in relation to immunization, cigarette smoking, diet, and exercise. In short, serious and substantial efforts have successfully been made to build healthy lifestyles in the service of disease prevention and survival. The same reasoning applies to the jeopardy to survival inherent in mass violence. These fundamental survival motivations can be meaningfully linked to prevention of violence in international and intergroup relations.

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David A. Hamburg, M.D.
President Emeritus

October 27, 1997

Melanne Verveer
Chief of Staff to the First Lady
Office of the First Lady
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Melanne:

Thank you so much for your kindness last Thursday! So what else is new?

I thought the child care meeting went exceedingly well, both the morning session and the lunch. There was a lot of insight, good sense and an authentic basis for hope. It was truly inspiring for those of us who have labored in the vineyards.

My only regret is that I had to miss the afternoon session because of my erratic esophagus. Dr. Darling was wonderful. His paving the way for GW worked perfectly. They gave me the necessary intravenous injection, I recovered rapidly and then spent the night at Peggy's house. Now I'm back at full speed.

I'm so glad Peggy's confirmation hearing is scheduled for Wednesday. I'm very grateful for the thoughtful attention you have given this matter.

Over the weekend, I saw part of a CNN program on parenting in which Hillary played an excellent part. My overall sense is that the child care conference – and especially Hillary's work on these problems – got extensive and mostly constructive coverage. Surely this effort will get the subject higher on our national agenda. Of course, there were some stereotypic attacks, essentially non-substantive and empty rituals. But the net effect is highly positive.

I'm glad I was able to deliver the two preliminary copies of Preventing Deadly Conflict. Cy, Jane and I are deeply grateful for your interest in this work. A roll-out on or about December 10 would be great. We can discuss options whenever you are ready.

We have been delighted with the high level interest in the Commission's work in Europe as well as Kofi Annan's serious engagement with us. So the early months of 1998 will feature a series of special events on this report.

This week I'm giving the Godkin Lectures at Harvard. In these three lectures, I will give my personal view of preventing deadly conflict. It's a fine opportunity for informed feedback.

One brief comment on the human rights perspective - A powerful warning indicator that an ongoing conflict is likely to turn massively violent is an upsurge of egregious human rights violations. This is useful information for mobilizing preventive diplomacy before it's too late. But it also has long-term implications for building democratic institutions that protect human rights in an enduring way. This is indeed a pillar of the structures that can prevent the deadliest conflicts.

I trust you will have a wonderful visit in Britain and Ireland.

With every good wish,

As always,

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