

Courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



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AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTO

HELP WANTED

Food, shelter, and medicine needed for victims of war, ethnic clashes, terrorism, and economic collapse. Provider must be able to overcome warlords, militiamen, and bandits.

Continued on page 2.

Relief and Protection

The Role of Nonstate Actors

Armed Conflict Produces Profitable Opportunities

Over the past 15 years, humanitarian emergencies worldwide have increased in frequency, severity, and complexity. And humanitarian aid agencies seeking to help the victims of such crises face their own complicated set of hurdles, often involving warlords and others looking to cash in on chaos.

In hopes of making humanitarian aid efforts more effective and sensitive to the needs of recipients, the Stanley Foundation's "UN on the Ground" project has initiated a year-long dialogue that will recommend steps to improve and support UN humanitarian action. The project is aimed at avoiding the unintended consequences that might strengthen warlords and, instead, designing programs that build local capacity to meet human needs.

In a paper written for the project, Professor Ken Menkhaus of Davidson College examined the causes of humanitarian emergencies—predicting that such crises are likely to worsen in nature and increase in number—and explored some of the obstacles faced by those trying to help.

Man-made humanitarian crises, as distinct from natural disasters, are usually the product of two or more precipitating cause—including interstate war, civil war, anti-insurgency campaigns, ethnic clashes, collapsed states or warlordism, terrorism or sabotage, political impasse, economic collapse, and sanctions.

The prototypical contemporary humanitarian crisis has, unfortunately, involved a combination of some of those most problematic scenarios. The most numerous and

urgent crises in recent years have tended to fester in zones of protracted internal armed conflict, state collapse, ethnic clashes, and warlordism. Such emergencies have also tended to strike communities with the least ability to handle them and in environments where some players are hostile toward external aid agencies. Massive levels of displacement either as internationally displaced persons or refugees crossing into other countries are almost always a feature of these crises.

This prototype of contemporary humanitarian crises is generically referred to as a "complex emergency." It is easily recognizable in any one of a dozen or more recent hot spots—Congo, East Timor, Bosnia, Kosovo, Rwanda, Burundi, Liberia, Sierra Leone, Somalia, Southern Sudan, Afghanistan, and Angola. Complex emergencies, Menkhaus writes, are without question one of the most vexing and problematic contexts imaginable for effective humanitarian response.

As for what will define humanitarian crises of the future, a few trends appear likely. First, there is little evidence to suggest that the complex emergency scenario is likely to diminish in frequency. Most current complex emergencies show few signs of abating; most are likely to continue to require aid for years to come. This is due in part to warlord dynamics, in which powerful parties have a vested interest in seeing the crises perpetuated. Also, the same conditions that led to such emergencies in the 1990s appear to be ripening in a number of other states. And the next generation of complex emergencies will likely include at least one case of state collapse and civil war of an unprecedented magnitude,

Menkhaus projects. Were a state the size of Nigeria, Pakistan, Indonesia, or Kenya to become the site of a complex emergency—and each has at times exhibited worrisome signs—those situations would dwarf the crises of the 1990s.

And it is not unlikely that at some point in the future a complex emergency will produce a major epidemic of an Ebola-type virus. This nightmare scenario is probably just a matter of time, Menkhaus believes, since complex emergencies tend to produce ideal environments for such epidemics—large concentrations of weakened and malnourished displaced persons in highly unsanitary conditions.

Cashing in on Chaos

Recent research on zones of humanitarian crisis and protracted war has shed new light on the local political and economic interests that aid agencies must confront. Contemporary civil wars and complex emergencies, far from being senseless or irrational, are perpetuated by parochial

Complex emergencies, far from being senseless or irrational, thrive on lawlessness.

Cover:
An Afghan man holds a handmade flier depicting a Northern Alliance soldier handing a humanitarian aid to an Afghan family in Hairaton, northern Afghanistan, last December.

courier

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interests that thrive on opportunities generated by war economies and lawlessness, even as the war brings calamity to society as a whole.

Because armed conflict produces profitable war economy opportunities for both government army officers and rebels, shocking levels of collusion among combatants are commonplace, sometimes even involving sales of weapons and fuel across enemy lines. “War” in this context is quite different from classical war, in which opponents seek particular political outcomes. Parties to conflicts do not fight to win, but rather to perpetuate a level of “durable disorder” enabling them to carry out their illicit economic activities at a minimum of risk. Direct armed clashes are avoided, minimized, or simulated. Strategic towns are not taken. Armed violence is mainly directed at unarmed civilians. Looting of civilians is the primary form of payment for both soldiers and rebels, leading to the rise of “sobels”—soldiers by day and rebels or bandits by night. Militias in both “government” and “rebel” forces operate virtually independent of a command structure, pursuing their own interests locally, frequently switching sides and fighting against one another as often as against the “adversary.”

Besides warlords, militiamen, and bandits, other nonstate actors may include self-declared political leaders; legitimate business interests; “Mafioso” interests; traditional leaders; unemployed people desperate for work; nonindigenous commercial interests, such as foreign oil companies; mercenaries; or nonindigenous political movements, such as terrorist networks.

Such self-interested “free agents” may create a number of obstacles for aid agencies, such as “taxation” on emergency relief passing through, extortion, demands for jobs or contracts, diversion of aid at entry points, manipulation of

refugees for use as “bait” to attract aid, creation of bogus local nonprofit counterparts, theft, kidnapping, threats, assassinations, and other efforts to undermine aid efforts.

Managing Hostile Nonstate Actors

Humanitarian aid agencies have a limited number of options to consider when working in a hostile environment. Confrontation is rarely successful, since the given interlocutors are well armed and on their home turf while the aid agency is not. The more common tactic is for an aid agency to “make a deal with the devil” and agree to the demands of the warlord in order to get at least some help to those who need it. Because this policy is the “easiest,” least risky way of managing the short-term problem of uncivil parties, it remains a popular option.

An aid agency may also try to outsmart local actors on their own playing field, though this rarely works as planned. But there are a few tactics that can be worth trying. One tactic is to replace aid like rice or wheat with lower-value food staples such as sorghum or millet, and then halving food rations but distributing them twice as often. Such attempts at circumvention are most effective when transparent, and when responsibility for the policy can be attributed to UN authorities at a higher level.

Or an aid agency may try to co-opt those trying to undermine relief efforts. The agency may introduce a demobilization program that trains young gunmen to seek legitimate work, or contract out the delivery of food aid to businessmen. Finally, an agency may try to cultivate a long-standing relationship and continued presence in communities where help



Difficult Delivery. *Young ethnic Albanian refugees struggle for packages and sleeping bags from a US Navy helicopter delivering humanitarian aid near the town of Kukes, Albania, in 1999. Aid agencies providing supplies often face challenges of their own.*

is needed. The very short-term nature of an emergency response invites local actors to grab whatever resources they can while the agency is there. An agency that controls enormous levels of wealth, by local standards, may be better protected if it is known it will be around longer than a few months.

—Loren Keller

Resources

The *Common Ground* radio programs #0208—“Kenya’s Clean Water” and #0217—“Burkina Faso” are available online at www.commongroundradio.org, or see page 11 to order.



If the United States has forgotten Cuba—or at least turned its attention from the island—Cuba remains obsessed with the United States.

'Ironies Are Everywhere'

Cuba, the United States, and the World

Americans and Cubans Meet in Havana

The Stanley Foundation's Emerging From Conflict program concluded a project titled "Cuba and the US in the World" with a February conference in Havana. More information about the meeting and other Cuba projects is available on the Web at www.emergingfromconflict.org.

The Havana meeting attracted a range of scholars and foreign policy specialists from the United States and Cuba. Among them was Peter H. Smith, professor of political science and Latin American studies at the University of California-San Diego. His reflections on US-Cuba relations are reprinted below. His views are not necessarily those of the foundation or other conference participants.

Cuba seems surreal these days. The beaches are glorious, the sun is strong, the sea a sparkling blue. International travelers can watch CNN in English and surf the Internet from commodious business centers. Prices are listed in dollars. And in upscale shops, prominent signs invite visitors to pay for purchases with credit cards.

Reality then intervenes. You can't use those MasterCards or Visas if they're from American banks. You have to have cash.

Don't you remember? Cuba is our enemy. There's an economic embargo in effect, justified as an effort to strangle the Cuban economy and overthrow the Fidel Castro regime.

Ironies are everywhere. Cuban kids play baseball—our national pastime—in the shadow of billboards exhorting citizens to sustain their revolutionary fervor. The elegant Hotel Nacional de Cuba, constructed in the mid-1950s, boasts full-size murals on its walls with likenesses of former celebrities—old-time movie stars like Errol Flynn and Rita Hayworth; Frank Sinatra, of course; and, revealingly, mafia gangsters such as Meyer Lansky. A socialist enterprise thus titillates and provokes American sensibilities with recollections of a decadent capitalist past.

Recently I visited Cuba to take part in a seminar entitled "Cuba and the United States in the World." I saw suggestive signs of change—and continuity. For one thing, there's a palpable sense of

◀**Strike up the Band.** *Cubans play conga music during last year's national championship baseball game between Santiago and Pinar del Río in Santiago, Cuba. Americans may love baseball and may have even beaten Cuba at the Sydney Olympics, but probably do not know how to dance to a curveball.*

relief. Cuba and its government somehow managed to survive the ending of the Cold War and the collapse of the Soviet Union—thought by many observers to be Fidel Castro's principal source of political strength. During the mid-1990s, by contrast, I found widespread apprehension. The economy was in shambles—so was much of downtown Havana—and thousands of desperate citizens were setting out in tiny rafts to cross the Florida Straits as Washington openly declared its intention of bringing down the Castro government.

But Cuba survived. Tourism expanded. New autos came from Europe and Korea. Parts of Havana have been refurbished. Prostitution has declined.

Not only that, but politics have changed. Castro remains the “jefe máximo,” but governmental decision making has become more and more institutionalized. A new generation has come into power, people in their 40s and 50s who are bright, pragmatic, and purposeful. The revolution is aging and so is its maximum leader.

And if the United States has forgotten Cuba—or at least turned its attention from the island—Cuba remains obsessed with the United States. Understandably so. As the saying goes: Just because you're paranoid doesn't mean they're not out to get you.

What we heard from leading Cubans—academics and government officials, young and old—was a sense of bewilderment and frustration. They wonder why the embargo is still in existence, ten

years after the implosion of the Soviet Union and four years after the US Department of Defense reported that Cuba's once-vaunted armed forces pose no more than “a negligible threat to the United States or surrounding countries.”

They complain that Cuba's condemnation of the September 11 terrorist attacks was ignored by the American media and government. So was its offer of airspace and airports for American planes still in flight on that dark day. Not to mention its silent acceptance of the US decision to detain Taliban and Al Qaeda prisoners at the US naval base at Guantánamo Bay, its prompt ratification of all twelve UN resolutions resulting from 9-11, and its proposal for a joint US-Cuba agreement on antiterrorist action. (Objectively speaking, though, it is not a very creative proposal.) They also point out that Cuba has suffered a 30 percent decline in tourism as a direct result of the September attacks.

To top it off, President Bush declared in January that the US government will continue to list Cuba as a state sponsor of terrorism—just like the “axis of evil”—“due to its continued support for terrorism.”

So they plaintively ask: What do we have to do to get a break?

The US government has a clear answer. Cuba has to move toward democracy—as defined by the United States. According to the Helms-Burton Law of 1996, Cuba has to dismantle the current regime, move toward open elections (with international monitors), adopt free-market policies, return property to pre-1959 owners—and get rid of Fidel Castro and his brother Raúl. This is a remarkably intrusive prescription, evoking what one Cuban scholar sees as the underlying theme of US-Cuba relations: the tension between sovereignty and submission.

In our seminar discussions, we Americans offered an alternative view. It's politics, we explained. It's about the Cuban-American community in Miami, the Florida vote, last year's presidential election and, not coincidentally, the president's brother and his campaign for reelection as governor. Foreign policy won't change unless the domestic politics change. Under the present circumstances, we solemnly declared, there's really nothing you can do.

Neither perspective proved very gratifying to Cubans. The official US position is seen as imperious and even imperialistic. And in a way, the emphasis on domestic politics seems cynical and even demeaning. You could almost hear them ask: Don't we deserve to be more than pawns in US electoral contests?

But the seminar participants generally agreed that, in the long run, the blockade will vanish and the United States will eventually extend diplomatic recognition to the Cuban government. After all, we've already done that with Vietnam. What we don't know is when that will happen—or whether it could ever happen so long as Fidel Castro remains in power or remains alive.

So ordinary Cubans suffer, tensions linger, and US investors lose out on lucrative opportunities. It all seems so unnecessary. As a high-ranking official in the Cuban Foreign Ministry said to us with evident exasperation, “There would be only one thing for us to quarrel about if the United States would lift the embargo and establish diplomatic relations. It is who has the better baseball team.”

Now that's a quarrel worth having, and that's a baseball series I would like to watch.

—Peter H. Smith

...seminar participants generally agreed that, in the long run, the blockade will vanish....

Resources

The Policy Bulletin entitled “Beyond the Impasse: A Framework for Rethinking US Policy Toward Cuba” is available on the Web at emergingfromconflict.org, or see page 10 to order.

Promoting “Habits of Cooperation” in Southeastern Europe

A Plan to Rebuild Serbia

Recommendations Inspired by the Marshall Plan

For the last two centuries, Southeastern Europe has been a bastion of great power conflict and ethnic violence interspersed with short periods of peace and stability. Will the latest outbreak of violence that started with the disintegration of Yugoslavia in 1991 and ended with the overthrow of Slobodan Milošević in the fall of 2000 break this trend?

In October 2000, Vojislav Koštunica and the Democratic Opposition of Serbia, a coalition of 18 democratic political parties, defeated Milošević in a general election. Then in June 2001, Milošević was extradited to The Hague to stand trial for war crimes stemming from Yugoslavia’s military action in Bosnia and Kosovo. After a decade of war and diplomatic isolation that had led Serbia to the brink of economic collapse and its pariah status in the world, Serbia’s journey toward lasting peace and stability seems possible.

Serbia is now a state in transition. Following the elections in 2000, Serbia’s political leaders embarked on a reform strategy to transform Serbia into a democratic political state and a free-market economy. But to ensure lasting peace and stability in Serbia and Southeastern Europe, regional cooperation is vital.

Regional cooperation is important for several reasons. The breakup of Yugoslavia has led to economic hardship for many of the newly formed states. Economic cooperation in trade, finance, and business is necessary to restore the health of these economies and improve the lives of its people. Furthermore, ethnic groups do not fall neatly within country borders.

Cooperation among the states of the former Yugoslavia is necessary to dampen ethnic nationalism that could destabilize the region as a whole.

A regional approach to Serbia is the surest way to promote lasting peace and security. Many neighboring countries in the region embarked on their own political and economic reforms a decade ago. They therefore offer an opportunity to mentor Serbia through the transition process and apply “lessons learned” from their own experiences. Furthermore, as much as the people of Southeastern Europe—or particularly of former Yugoslavia—are not ready to see one another as partners in peace, they will undoubtedly have to work together. Political reform in Serbia will inevitably lead to an opening up of society and increased contact with people in the region through trade, sports, culture, and educational exchanges as travel barriers are relaxed. These would be the first steps in a long journey toward a process of regional reconciliation.

The regional approach toward Serbia and Southeastern Europe was at the heart of a Stanley Foundation project to examine ways to promote peace and stability in the region. Drawing from the spirit of the Marshall Plan, the project recom-



After a decade of war and diplomatic isolation... Serbia’s journey toward lasting peace and stability seems possible....

mended initiatives to promote “habits of cooperation” among countries in the region. These initiatives promote the idea that increased collaboration among countries on a wide range of issues will benefit not only

recommendations are aimed at the international community (especially the United States and Europe), Serbia, and the international non-governmental organization community that has been heavily involved in the region.

ance for others. Furthermore, the recommendations stress that US engagement in the region must continue and that the international community focus on initiatives that promote “Habits of Cooperation” within the region.



From the Ground Up. Serb villagers carry wooden floor tiles while rebuilding their destroyed houses in the village of Osojane, about 35 miles west of Kosovo’s capital of Pristina last year.

Southeastern Europe but the Euro-Atlantic and international communities as a whole. The project “Serbia and the Challenges of Regional Integration” encourages the development of regional ties in three areas.

The Action Plan, “Reconnecting Serbia Through Regional Cooperation,” identified three issue areas where Serbia and the region could benefit greatly through increased cooperation: regional economic cooperation, regional reconciliation, and agriculture and rural development. The

The recommendations encourage regional approaches to solve common problems, such as infrastructure and transportation, energy, and commercial institutions. The plan also highlights the need for a consistent, long-term partnership among the international community, the private sector, NGOs, governments, people, and civic groups in the region. It recognizes the need for viable and sustained participation of civic groups in the political and economic life of the countries of the region and the promotion of multiculturalism or simple toler-

However, US engagement to the region does not have to come solely at the federal level. The Action Plan identifies in the area of agriculture and rural development important roles Midwestern states, such as Iowa, can play in promoting peace and stability in the region. Serbia needs assistance in agricultural modernization, especially in association building and micro-financing. These are areas where Iowa and agricultural states of the Midwest have plenty of expertise and resources to assist Serbia. Furthermore, these first steps may ultimately lead to greater commercial ties as well as cultural and educational exchanges.

Due to the war on terrorism and the increasing commitment by the United States to that war, the European Union (EU) will have to bear a greater responsibility in the stabilization process of the region. However, US presence and continued engagement in the region is vital. The road to regional stabilization will be long and difficult. The United States and Europe should work together to make sure Serbia and the region continue the process that will lead to regional stability as well as integration into the EU and NATO. Integration of Southeastern European countries into Euro-Atlantic structures is important not only for stabilizing the region but also for demonstrating the commitment by NATO and the EU of a “Europe whole and free.”

—Zana Friganovic and
James Henderson

Resources

The report entitled “Reconnecting Serbia Through Regional Cooperation” is available on the Web at euro-atlanticinitiatives.org, or see page 10 to order.

The plan encourages regional approaches to solve common problems....

The Globalization of Sky and Space

Eyes in the Sky Provide Detailed Views of Earth

Once used mainly by superpowers for military intelligence, sharp-focused pictures from satellites orbiting high above the earth are now available to just about anyone who has the money to buy them. That includes a growing number of nongovernmental groups and developing states that are using satellite and aerial photography for a number of purposes.

What are the policy implications? For starters, such photos can be used to determine if the government is telling the truth about military deployments in other countries. Anyone from members of nongovernmental watchdog groups to a military adversary or terrorist could use such photos to determine the location of munitions storage areas and runways, for example. Used in tandem with the right computer software, the photos can be used to determine the length and size of runways, which in turn may indicate what sort of planes might be deployed there. Even U2 spy planes, B-52s, or F-16 fighters themselves can be distinguished—if the photo is sophisticated enough and software is applied to calculate measurements.

For nongovernmental organizations, that kind of information is power.

“For decades, the nongovernmental public policy community has labored under a profound, and growing, disparity between the information that is publicly available and the classified information that is available within the government,” said John Pike of *GlobalSecurity.org*, a prominent critic of “Star Wars” missile defense in the 1980s who has worked with nongovernmental agencies.

“Too often the nongovernmental sector has been reduced to chewing on the scraps that emerge from the government, while decision makers dine on a splendid repast. Given this disparity in knowledge, it is far too easy for government officials to dismiss the public policy community as ill-informed. Commercial satellite imagery has a significant potential to reduce this disparity in knowledge, and to greatly enhance the ability of the nongovernmental community to influence government decisions.”

Over the past several years, medium- and high-resolution imagery has become available from a variety of sources. These products require detailed and professional analysis to be truly useful, but they can be bought openly on the commercial market by most groups or nation-states.

Photos can be obtained from a number of sources. The United States Geological Survey and other domestic sources of aerial imagery of the United States provide high-resolution aerial photography coverage of some US facilities—including fissile material plants, naval ports, and civilian properties—for \$10 to \$30 per image. A wealth of declassified literature on US military and nuclear facilities exists to back up photo analysis.

Foreign-owned satellites provide medium-resolution imagery from around the globe with a resolution from 5 to 15 meters. Medium-resolution photos are used primarily for resource monitoring, land-use planning, and water flow, although such photos also can be used to determine the overall layout of large military facilities and to find the

exact locations of suspected facilities. Infrared technology and multispectral sensors are also used by global disarmament organizations that wish to monitor the heat outputs of chemical products associated with suspected nuclear facilities.

High-resolution imagery is available via old Russian spy images and new commercial companies. Russian satellite imagery, initially having a resolution of two meters and taken in the late 1980s and early 1990s, provides useful coverage of selected targets. Some of this imagery is available through the TerraServer Web site at terraserver.com.

This older imagery has proven extremely useful for monitoring changes over the last 10 to 15 years at some sites. Comparisons can be made between these images and pictures made with newer commercial imagery. For example, Space Imaging’s IKONOS satellite began commercial operations in January 2000. But the images don’t come cheap: a minimum customer order for a scene outside the United States is \$3,000. By 2005 the company plans to introduce technology that would offer improved resolution, to almost half a meter. Another company, ImageSat International, began commercial operations a year later as a joint venture among Israeli and American companies and offers a similar product.

Satellite images, new and old, can be put to a number of uses.

Satellite images can be used by foreign policy specialists to analyze US threat assessments for foreign missile, nuclear, chemical, and biological programs. Such

“Commercial satellite imagery has a significant potential to...enhance the ability of the nongovernmental community to influence government decisions.”



View From Above. *This satellite image of Washington, DC, including the Potomac River, was one of the first high-resolution commercial satellite images of the earth taken by Space Imaging's IKONOS satellite in 1999.*

images can also be used to analyze nonproliferation policy toward “proliferators” such as India, Pakistan, Iran, North Korea, and Iraq.

Much of the United States' \$379 billion yearly military budget is based, directly or indirectly, on US threat assessments based on

satellite photography. And the debate over national missile defense, the costliest military program in US history, is akin to the debate over threat assessment in the security community.

Satellite photos can be used to provide more reliable information in this debate and can help answer other geopolitical questions. Israel, for example, has claimed that Iran could be capable of producing nuclear weapons within about three years. But based on satellite imagery, Pike has concluded that no demonstrable progress has been made on building a plutonium production plant in Iran in almost a decade. He also concludes that no reprocessing plant for extraction of weapons-grade plutonium exists. Based on images, it appears that the

more conservative CIA estimate that Iran might be capable of developing nukes on its own in 10 to 15 years is more likely.

Commercially available satellite images can also help level the playing field among technology “haves” and “have-nots.” China, for example, doesn't have the high-resolu-

tion military satellites. Its military is covertly buying US commercial satellite photographs of Taiwan that US intelligence officials say will be used to target the island with the mainland's growing arsenal of cruise and ballistic missiles. Most of these photos are being bought through Space Imaging's South Korean affiliate in Seoul. US companies are not legally prohibited from selling the photos. But while the US government allows China to buy IKONOS images, it prohibits the company from selling them to Iran.

“This sort of imagery is fundamental in attack planning,” Pike recently told a Washington newspaper. “It's the basis for any sort of targeting work for missile targeting, for any airborne assault planning they might be doing. You really could not think about doing serious military planning without this sort of imagery.”

There are some limits and constraints to using commercial sources. Production and delivery of IKONOS images takes up to 30 days. Government and military contracts have priority, and an entire area and time frame can be “bought out” by the military, as was the recent case in Afghanistan. Some national governments can limit corporate sales, and the photos can be expensive. Professional analysis requires training, expensive desktops, and software. With photos, natural and man-made obstacles can limit their meaningfulness. They don't track people very well. The US government, of course, still has better intelligence capabilities than commercial photos can provide. The best available technology on the market can provide one-meter photo imagery—which can show security perimeters, roads, storage depots, and vegetation growth over time—compared to the closeup 3-centimeter imagery used by the US government.

—Loren Keller and Michael Kraig

...satellite images can help level the playing field among technology “haves” and “have-nots.”

Resources

Stanley Foundation Publications

On the Web at reports.stanleyfoundation.org

Colored entries indicate new publications.

Beyond the Impasse: A Framework for Rethinking US Policy Toward Cuba

Two workshops developed a new framework for US policy toward Cuba, one grounded in an up-to-date and honest assessment of US interests in Cuba that recognizes actors in both the domestic and Cuban political landscape. 6/02 policy bulletin

US Strategies for Regional Security: Europe, Middle East, South Asia, and the Korean Peninsula

The 42nd annual Strategy for Peace Conference drew together experts in four concurrent, roundtable discussions. The report from each of the discussion groups is available on the Web. 10/01

Reconnecting Serbia Through Regional Cooperation

The Action Plan is a result of the project "Serbia and the Challenge of Regional Integration." It explores and identifies issues to foster and create an environment of popular thinking in Serbia for its integration into Southeastern Europe. This plan serves as a potential strategy with recommendations to the international community and the region for promoting cooperation on three specific issues: economics, rural and agriculture development, and reconciliation. 2/02 full report.

Using "Any Means Necessary" for Humanitarian Crisis Response

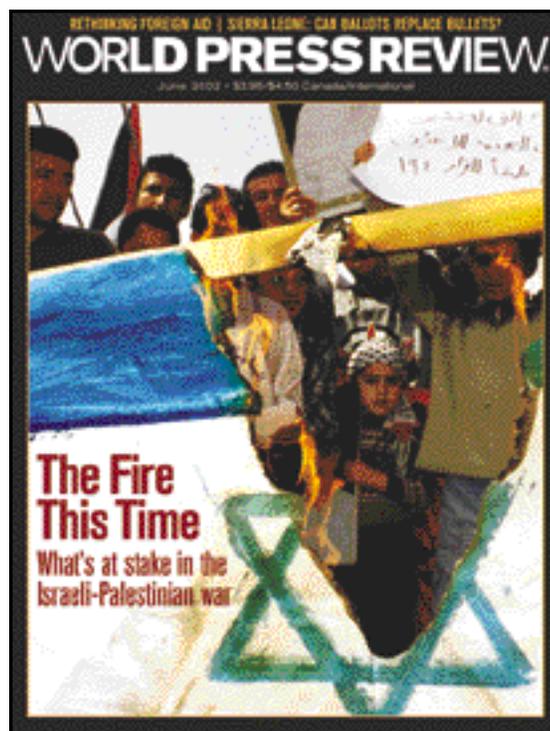
The 36th annual United Nations of the Next Decade Conference brought together experts wrestling with the political, legal, and practical challenges the world community faces when intrastate conflicts escalate into massive violence. While a broad consensus emerged supporting forceful intervention in the worst cases, the questions of who should intervene, when, and how was the subject of lively debate. 6/01 policy bulletin and full report.

Report of the UN Civil Society Outreach Symposium

The working relationship between NGOs and the United Nations was the subject of a recent conference bringing together NGO leaders, UN officials, and a number of ambassadors to the United Nations. A range of ideas and proposals were explored for how NGOs and the United Nations can cooperate more effectively to achieve their shared goals. 7/01 full report on the Web only.

Strengthening the Nonproliferation Regime: The Challenge of Regional Nuclear Arsenals

Is it possible to preserve the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons while still accommodating the regional security concerns of Israel, India, and Pakistan? This question was recently addressed by a group of international experts at the 32nd annual United Nations Issues Conference. 2/01 policy bulletin and full report.



WORLD PRESS REVIEW

World Press Review (WPR), the New York City-based monthly published by the Stanley Foundation, is the only English-language magazine focusing on the international press.

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COMMON GROUND

RADIO'S WEEKLY PROGRAM
ON WORLD AFFAIRS

Transcripts and RealAudio® files are available on the Web at www.common-groundradio.org.

0219—Fundamentalism/Sovereignty.

Fundamentalism is now synonymous with Islamic extremists and radical political movements around the world. This edition uncovers fundamentalism's American roots and discusses the role religion plays in modern foreign policy. 5/02

0218—Asian Affairs. This year marks the 30th anniversary of a trip that changed the world. Two former members of Richard Nixon's team recall the president's historic trip to China. Plus, a look at the US security and trade alliances with Japan. 4/02

0217—Burkina Faso. Prostitution is a way of life for many in Burkina Faso. In this program, learn how this West African country is trying to ward off an AIDS epidemic. Plus, hear how Burkina Faso is tackling its low literacy rate. 4/02

0216—World Racism/Latvia. Racism is a problem in almost every corner of the world. Learn how a simple game of chess can fight racism. Plus, Latvia rediscovers religion after the Cold War. 4/02

0215—Afghanistan 2. Afghanistan's role as the world's largest heroin exporter dried up during the last months of the Taliban rule. Find out why the drug trade is flourishing once again. Learn more about efforts to restore Afghanistan's ancient Buddha statues. And hear how the United States is attempting to build a coalition against terrorism in Southeast Asia. 4/02

0214—Afghanistan's Global Exchange.

Tragedies tend to bring people together—even if they once were potential enemies. In this program, relatives of Americans killed on September 11 meet with relatives of Afghan civilians killed in US bombing raids. 3/02

0213—Domestic Views on International Affairs. Domestic issues seem to dominate recent presidential elections, but the war on terrorism may change that. Learn how candidates use foreign policy as a campaign tool. Plus, measuring public opinion about international affairs. 3/02

0212—Rockford/University Funding. Do Americans really care about world affairs? This edition examines how things have changed for at least one Midwestern city since September 11. We also update Great Britain's higher education funding crisis. 3/02

0211—Euro/Border Killings. Twelve European countries are now using the same currency. Find out how everyday citizens are adjusting to the Euro. Plus, Mexican authorities are hunting down serial killers along the US-Mexican border. 3/02

0210—Stansfield Turner/Iraq. The CIA is playing a high profile role in the US-led war on terrorism. Former CIA director Stansfield Turner examines the agency's role in the campaign. Two experts also assess Iraq's "axis of evil" status. 3/02

0209—Going Home/Madrasas. Life for many people of South Asian origin remains difficult in the face of the global war on terrorism. An Afghan refugee, a humanitarian worker, and a Pakistani-American are each coping differently with the post-September 11 realities. Plus, Pakistan is cracking down on fundamentalist schools. 2/02

0208—Kenya's Clean Water/Holocaust Museum. Nearly two billion people around the globe don't have access to clean drinking water. Learn how one program's simple solutions are turning river water into potable water in Kenya. Plus, assessing the global threat of genocide. 2/02

0207—Eastern European Entertainment. It's not exactly Disney World, but the creator of Stalinworld has high hopes. On this edition, tour an unusual Lithuanian theme park and hear the latest in high-tech music from Eastern Europe. 2/02

0206—Macedonia Meets West Liberty/Spinning the Globe. After years of ethnic conflict, Macedonia is striving to establish a more efficient and effective government structure. Six Macedonian mayors are looking to the American Midwest for guidance. And meet one New York man who spends his time spinning globes. 1/02

0205—Mexican Street Children/Japan's Pill Debate. Education isn't a priority for Mexico's child street vendors. Learn how one group is transforming the streets into classrooms for Mexico's child vendors. And we'll examine why Viagra is more popular than birth control pills in Japan. 1/02

0204—Border Security/Democracy in Africa. Countries around the world are stepping up security in the wake of the global war on terrorism. Learn why one Mexican security training program has human rights activists up in arms. Plus, hear a discussion on democracy in East African countries. 1/02

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Stalinworld

Marx Meets Magic Kingdom

Lithuanian Theme Park Preserves Soviet Statues

It's been more than a decade since the collapse of the Soviet Union, but its old leaders are being remembered in an unusual way on the outskirts of the popular resort, Druskininkai, in Lithuania.

Common Ground, the Stanley Foundation's weekly public radio program on world affairs, recently toured "Stalinworld." Visitors might be reminded more of a Soviet gulag than the happiest place on earth. In addition to a kids' playground, a gift shop, and a small zoo, the theme park features more than 60 bronze and stone statues of Stalin, Lenin, and other prominent Communist leaders—some up to nine meters tall and weighing as much as 70 tons.

To complete the feeling of being in a communist heaven, there is also Soviet music, barbed wire, and labor camp guard towers built in memory of 50 years of Soviet rule in the country. Nearly a third of Lithuania's entire population was deported and died in Siberian labor camps.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

The country regained its independence only ten years ago. And now the stone figures which once were angrily swept off city streets are back, but in a different place and with a very different mission.

"They are here to remind people about our history, about our

fathers," said park owner Vilumas Malinauskas. "It's our history, so it shouldn't be forgotten."

—Loren Keller

Resources

The *Common Ground* radio program #0207—"Stalinworld" is available online at www.commongroundradio.org, or see page 11 to order.

Monumental Shakeup. Pupils take a break from class on a toppled statue of Josef Stalin in a Moscow park after the collapse of the Soviet Union more than a decade ago. Similar statues have since been recovered for a new theme park in Lithuania.

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