

courier



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PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

Which Way USA?

As the world's only remaining superpower, how should the United States wield its influence in the international system? Should it be a benevolent collaborating partner, using its muscle to strengthen the rule of law, build allies, and make room for the concerns of others? Or should it dominate others with its military might? **Inside:** The case for multilateralism.



Strategy for Peace Conference

The Case for Multilateralism

'What Kind of Country Do We Want to Be?'

Much has changed since Cold War days and the early post-Cold War period. Today the United States is, by a wide margin, the wealthiest and most militarily powerful nation in the world. Concurrently, traditional US values of democracy, individual freedom, justice under the rule of law, and market economics find resonance in many parts of the world. This power and values orientation places the United States in a position to wield tremendous political influence within the international system.

Such a predominant role for a single country is a new phenomenon in modern times. It raises fundamental questions about how we should conduct ourselves in the world. Our policies and actions are highly visible and carefully scrutinized. Others have understandable concerns about how our power and actions will affect their futures—whether the outcomes will be beneficial or threatening, both to them and to the greater world community. And how others perceive us affects our ability to act in the world and the response of others to us.

Hence it is not surprising that our sole superpower status is prompting us to introspection on how we should use that power within the international system. It is not surprising that we hear conflicting voices and recommendations from

within and outside our country and government. Are we to be a benevolent collaborating partner, using our power and influence to strengthen the rule of law, build friends and allies, and provide guidance and aid throughout the world, making room for the interests of others? Or, at the other end of the spectrum, are we to become an imperialist hegemon, dominating others with our military power and acting without consideration of the views of others? Do we see ourselves as a part of an interconnected positive-sum world or as a zero-sum competitor who perceives that its own gains come only at the expense of others? Are we inclined toward multilateral or unilateral actions? Do our national interests conflict with achieving the interests of the international community, or do the two go hand in hand? In short, what kind of country do we want to be?

US Values and the Connection to Universal Values

Strategy is guided by one's value system. Values describe what is important and worth protecting and maintaining. Who one is determines what one does. Therefore, a discussion of our global posture should begin with a review of our traditional values.

Our political culture is characterized by both liberal individualism and principled negotiation. We place a high value on the rights of people to act as they choose within the confines of the law. On the other hand, we exalt the virtue of working with others to resolve common problems and overcome seemingly impossible impasses.

Similarly, US foreign policy has emphasized the value of negotia-

tion and multilateral action within the international system while reserving the right to act unilaterally when appropriate. Both approaches are valid in the right context and have their own advantages and disadvantages. But now, the dynamics of our relationships within the international system are asymmetrical. The right to act alone is a privilege afforded only to the powerful. And this underscores the need to give extra attention to how we use our influence.

The United States can best maintain its influence and power as a global leader and justly avoid accusations of neo-imperialism if it is committed to working multilaterally. Consistent with the US system of governance and its internal practices, we should lead by example within the international community, placing emphasis on open dialogue, consideration of the needs of others, negotiation, and compromise. Multilateralism offers legitimacy, tempering of excesses, and burden-sharing.

Last year, the Bush administration released its National Security Strategy. One section of it reads:

We are guided by the conviction that no nation can build a safer, better world alone. Alliances and

Do our national interests conflict with achieving the interests of the international community, or do the two go hand in hand?

On the cover: President Bush addresses the UN General Assembly on September 12, 2002, as UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan looks on. A day after marking the first anniversary of the 9/11 attacks, world leaders opened their annual debate in the UN General Assembly with US threats of action against Iraq at the top of the global agenda.

courier

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multilateral institutions can multiply the strength of freedom-loving nations. The United States is committed to lasting institutions like the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, the Organization of American States, and NATO as well as other longstanding alliances.

This paragraph recognizes that our national interests and values—such as democracy, peace, and free markets—are best advanced through cooperative action and negotiated agreement. It also makes it clear that the United States must demonstrate a genuine respect for multilateralism in order for it to be effective. This is true even though multilateral organizations, and the rules that govern them, are sometimes cumbersome, and even though international laws and norms impinge on absolute national sovereignty.

In the face of such concerns, we need to remember that no deliberative body, including the Congress of the United States, is a model of crispness and efficiency. Yet deliberation and negotiation are a necessary part of democratic governance, and we would have lost our way if we sacrificed democracy to achieve efficiency. Negotiation and compromise do not limit national sovereignty, but rather accord respect to other nations. They can advance our national interests and values because our positions will be less suspect of imperialist designs. Also, we should remember that, as Joseph Nye, currently dean of the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard, has observed, “International rules bind America and limit its freedom of action, but they also serve US interests by binding others as well.”

Many of today’s challenges—such as terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, climate change, and others—are

global in nature. They are beyond the capacity of any one nation, even the most powerful, to resolve. Hence fulfilling our national security interests and robust multilateralism are in concert. Nurturing multilateralism and investing in the relationships that make it productive are a necessary part of promoting our national security.

Application of Multilateralism

While there are compelling reasons to develop and establish a rule-based international order that aligns closely with US and universal values concerning the rule of law and respect for human dignity, post-Cold War US foreign policy has shown reluctance to give those international laws agency or legitimacy. In fact, in the aftermath of the Cold War, the United States could have worked vigorously to reform and reenergize the international system. But for the most part, it has passed up that opportunity.

Inconsistent with its affirmation of multilateralism, the new National Security Strategy expressly shifts US military strategy toward preemptive and unilateral action against hostile states and terrorist groups. It dismisses efforts to enforce or amend international treaty regimes to deal with weapons of mass destruction. It articulates intent to remain militarily preeminent and unchallengeable. Eerily, it suggests the creation of a “Pax Americana” built not on the rule of law, but rather on the power of our armed forces.

The ledger of our recent dealings with international treaty organizations is heavily balanced away from multilateralism. While we have just rejoined UNESCO, we caught up with our delinquent



AFP PHOTO/Saeed KHAN

Pleas for Peace. *Pakistani school children carry paper doves to protest against possible US military strikes on Iraq.*

dues at the United Nations only after the tragedy of September 11 put us in the position of seeking allies in the attack on Al Qaeda. We have withdrawn the US signature on the International Criminal Court, an instrument that could be an effective tool against terrorism. We refused to sign the landmine treaty and have pulled back on efforts to establish enforcement mechanisms for the biological weapons treaty. We have withdrawn from the 1972 Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the Kyoto climate change accords.

Perhaps the greatest danger of withdrawal from multilateral agreements and disregarding the rules and norms of multilateral organizations is how we come to be perceived within the international community. How do we encourage a fair and fairly applied rule of law if we ourselves do not wish to be held to the same standards? Being the world’s sole superpower may allow us not to follow international law, but what message does that send to the rest of the world?

These excerpts were taken from remarks delivered by Stanley Foundation President and Chair Richard Stanley at the 43rd annual Strategy for Peace Conference at Airlie Conference Center, Warrenton, Virginia.

Being the world’s sole superpower may allow us not to follow international law, but what message does that send to the rest of the world?

Resources

The policy bulletin, *Stabilizing Regions in a Post-9/11 Era*, is available online at reports.stanleyfoundation.org.

Cooperating in the Post-9/11 Era

Bilateral Relationships With China, Iran, and Russia Examined

Participants attending the Stanley Foundation's 43rd annual Strategy for Peace Conference discussed and analyzed changes in relations among the United States, China, Iran, and Russia in the first year of the post-September 11 era. One separate roundtable was devoted to each bilateral relationship: US-China, US-Iran, and US-Russia. In particular, roundtables focused on the countries' various responses to the United States' war on terrorism. Participants were asked to think about possible policy steps the United States could take to enhance cooperation with China, Iran, or Russia on key issues of concern while still addressing each country's interests and needs in its immediate regional environment.

United States and China

Participants saw both divisive and binding forces in Sino-American relations as a result of the 9/11 attacks. On the positive side, the US and Chinese governments agreed to cooperate against terrorism. But participants also saw negative results, with one member of the group declaring that 9/11 had been a "disaster" for China's position in Asia. Always concerned about encirclement by hostile powers and uncomfortable with a world dominated by a sole superpower, the Chinese leadership became more so after 9/11. The following recommendations emerged:

- The United States should accept Chinese efforts to create a regional identity so long as this does not

exclude a role for extra-regional states and nonstate actors. Washington should seek to create mechanisms through which the United States can interact with regional organizations, either by obtaining observer status or through ad hoc consultations.

- The United States should urge the countries of the area to bring their influence to bear on Pyongyang to abandon its nuclear weapons program and accept a full-scale, strict verification process. This effort should include a broad program to help North Korea develop economically and meet the human rights standards of the international community.
- The United States should encourage China and its neighbors to pursue long-term stability through promoting the rule of law and the development of a civil society.
- In resuming its human rights dialogue with China, the United States should urge China to treat its ethnic minorities in accordance with international norms on human rights and minority rights and not use terrorism as a justification for persecuting individuals or groups. To avoid charges of double standards and prevent the rise of future anti-US terrorist groups in Central Asia especially, the United States should also apply this same message toward its friends in Central Asia and other neighboring regions.

United States and Iran

Many Iranians are wondering if the new presence of US bases in Central Asia, when combined with nascent plans for invading Iraq, is the final ingredient of a



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

A Good Sign? A billboard in northwest China reads "China's ethnicities are one family." Conference participants say that the United States should encourage China to treat its minorities in accordance with international norms on human rights.

strategic encirclement of Iran. However, a US war with Iraq is not likely to change present dynamics in US-Iran relations, nor will it necessarily have a dramatic impact on the domestic situation in Iran. Moreover, fear of a chemical weapons attack by Saddam on Tehran will dictate a largely neutral foreign policy toward the conflict.

Meanwhile, the Bush administration has done little to implement its major July 12 foreign policy address, which gave strong rhetorical support for the progressive “reformers” within Iran. Instead, the United States has been focused on Iraq and has “put Iran in a box” for the time being. Conference participants offered these recommendations:

- Public US statements for or against particular Iranian political factions are unlikely to be helpful. Such statements will inevitably enrage conservatives and undermine the position of reformists in Iran, further undermining chances for improved bilateral relations and domestic political reform.
- Rather than short-term policies of targeting factions, the United States should adopt a long-term, strategic viewpoint that does not hinder the development of a reformed Islam both in Iran and in the larger Arab world. A philosophical, cultural, and political debate is taking place in Iran and elsewhere about the feasibility of synthesizing traditional nationalist sentiments, liberal democratic ideals, and Islamic law. In this regard, the United States should not assume that the solution to all problems in the region is the onset of secular regimes.
- In creating a stable environment for formal or informal dialogue, the United States must understand that dignity, or “face” issues, are central concerns for all Iranians.

- Reassurance measures are needed to prevent the consolidation of worst-case perceptions in Iran about ultimate US intentions in the region. While most factions, including that of Supreme Leader Khamenei, are willing to live with a “nonhostile” Iraq as a final outcome and would not impede US efforts if this minimum condition is met, more radical voices in both the reformist and conservative camps are anxious that US actions are part of a grand plan to encircle Iran. In contrast, most US legislators view the recent military deployments in Central Asia as temporary and purely tactical in nature, and the administration itself has stated that it does not intend to use Iraq as a launching point for invasion of Iran. Insofar as these policy stances are true, they need to be communicated more clearly and with more urgency to key Iranian decision makers.

United States and Russia

As a result of the September 11 terrorist attacks on the United States, US relations with Russia have undergone what seems to be a major transformation. The two countries have embraced each other as allies in a common war on terrorism, and in Central Asia, traditionally a region of Russian influence, the United States has established political and security ties and bases to support the military campaign in Afghanistan. But participants concluded that the US war on terrorism is not a sufficient basis for lasting relations between the United States and Russia and offered these suggestions:

- The original military objectives of the campaign in Afghanistan must now be complemented by long-term efforts to promote regional political and economic development. Mechanisms will have to be found to ensure that the United States remains fully engaged in the region—through the State Department and other

agencies—when the military moves on to the “next mission.”

- The United States should undertake a long-term commitment to the reconstruction of Afghanistan that addresses economic development and political stability in a regional context, factoring in the Central Asian states as well as Russia, China, and other players.
- US policy in Central Asia should become part of the United States’ ongoing dialogue with China and Russia to avoid misperceptions of motives and identify areas of potential cooperation. For example, cooperation in Central Asia could become a central element in the new US-Russia energy dialogue, with a focus on infrastructure development.
- The United States should work directly with the Central Asian states to help define and shape a strategy for regional cooperation. This could involve a review and analysis of current regional organizations to see how their memberships and agendas could be modified to meet the needs of economic development and political stability.
- While approaching Central Asia on a regional basis, the United States should continue to press Central Asian governments bilaterally to proceed with critical economic and political reforms. Without a commitment to reform from the states themselves, no outside engagement will bring results.

—Loren Keller

Resources

The policy bulletin, *Stabilizing Regions in a Post-9/11 Era*, is available online at reports.stanleyfoundation.org.

...the United States should not assume that the solution to all problems in the region is the onset of secular regimes.

The Pied Piper of Kosovo

Instruments of Peace

Music teacher helps children forget the horrors of war

PHOTOS COURTESY OF THE SHROPSHIRE MUSIC FOUNDATION



“Now they are thinking about the music, how to play harmonica, or how to learn a new song. Now they don’t have time to talk about the war.”

All Together Now. *Shropshire leads 400 children in song at the Pushmorije Ereniku summer camp in 2001.*

In 1999, Slobodan Milošević’s relentless 10-year drive to ethnically cleanse Kosovo of all Albanians and other non-Serbian minorities was brought to a violent end with a 78-day NATO-led military campaign.

More than 10,000 people died. Another 500,000 were left without homes. At the height of the bombing campaign, nearly one million people fled Kosovo—many ending up in squalid refugee camps in nearby Albania and Macedonia.

The chaos in the Balkans struck a cord with Los Angeles composer and music teacher Liz Shropshire. And what started as a four-week humanitarian trip has turned into a lifetime passion for teaching music

as an instrument of peace to children in war-ravaged Kosovo.

Shropshire was planning a month-long backpacking trip to Europe in 1999 when she heard a story on National Public Radio about Kosovo refugees fleeing to Albania.

“And they were telling a story that I heard again and again when I got here from people who had the same experience.... The men and women were separated from each other and the women and children were forced to walk to Albania. They weren’t allowed to even look back.

Already planning to go to Europe, Shropshire thought, “I always wanted to help someplace. I could just go to Albania and help in the camps.”

Unfamiliar with foreign aid work, Shropshire searched the Internet for humanitarian organizations responding to the Kosovo crisis. A few referrals later, she found Balkan Sunflowers, a grassroots organization originally founded to help refugees of the war in Kosovo. The group helps people like Shropshire set up Kosovo reconstruction efforts.

A friend suggested that Shropshire do what she does best—set up a music program for kids.

With several small donations and proceeds from church yard sales, Shropshire finalized her musical humanitarian relief plan.

She took with her about \$5,000 worth of instruments, including four donated keyboards, 100 pennywhistles, 100 harmonicas, and 50 pairs of drumsticks.

The pennywhistles and harmonicas, she figured, would be easy to carry and simple to learn.

Shropshire grew up in a military family and was always on the move, living in a variety of places. After college she settled in Los Angeles, sharing her passion for music with as many people as possible. She taught emotionally disturbed children for half a decade and helped youth affected by the 1992 riots and the 1994 Northridge earthquake.

But she said nothing prepared her for what she was about to experience in Kosovo.

“I’d never done anything like this. Just going into Albania was enough of a shock to me, and then to come up here (to Kosovo), where everything was destroyed, was quite a shock.”

Then she began teaching music. Within days, she knew where she belonged.

Resources
Shropshire was profiled on *Common Ground*, the Stanley Foundation’s weekly public radio program on world affairs. See show #0252 at www.commongroundradio.org.

"I just thought this feels really right to be here. It feels more right than anything I've done for the past ten years. I could do more to help here than I could do anywhere else I could imagine."

Her trip was scheduled for four weeks. She stayed for six.

"The last week of classes, the kids said 'you can't quit'...so I promised them all that I would do everything I could to come back. I thought I would go home, save my money, and come back in the future.... And then I went back to the US, I was at a loss. I really felt I needed to be here."

Shropshire kept her promise. Back in the United States, she shared her Kosovo experience in speaking engagements and found that people responded with donations for her return. Soon she had a volunteer accountant, a pro bono lawyer, and nonprofit status, leading to the creation of the Shropshire Music Foundation.

Volunteer training is a hallmark of the foundation. Once a week, Shropshire trains interested local youth to assist her in teaching music to students in Gjakove, a town of 60,000 residents—97 percent of whom are ethnic Albanian—where nearly every child has lost a family member.

"I teach them how to use a lesson plan just like I did in America," she said. "Sometimes I watch them teach and I'm just blown away."

After nearly three years in the Balkans, Shropshire has a strong command of the Albanian language. But she still conducts class in English. A volunteer provides translation, meaning the children learn to sing in both languages.

When Shropshire packs up her Gjakove home and heads back to the United States each winter to launch another round of fund-

raising, it is her dedicated core of volunteers who keep the program running. Her goal is to eventually turn over the program to them and set up similar programs in other countries.

Among her volunteers is 21-year-old Burim Vraniqi, a handsome, well-mannered ethnic Egyptian. Prior to meeting Shropshire, he had no idea how to play the harmonica. Now he can't imagine life without it.

"The music is something like magic," Vraniqi said. "(The students) didn't have anything like this before.... Now they are thinking about the music, how to play harmonica, or how to learn a new song. Now they don't have time to talk about the war."

—Kristin McHugh



Music Lessons. Above, a Sheremet student concentrates on learning the harmonica. Left, volunteer trainer Rreza helps a pennywhistle student.

children OF WAR



fighting, dying, surviving

PHOTO BY RON HAVIVVI

In March the Stanley Foundation will release a one-hour public radio documentary and Web site that will take listeners to the battlegrounds and refugee camps that shape the lives of millions of children around the globe.

In "Children of War: Fighting, Dying, Surviving," listeners will hear about child soldiers, children fleeing conflict, and the physical and psychological rehabilitation of children touched by war.

Also, the documentary will include surprising reports about teenage recruits in the British army and the danger depleted uranium ammunition poses for children, plus the latest policy developments.

Charlayne Hunter-Gault, CNN's Johannesburg bureau chief and correspondent, hosts and reports for the program.

"The radio documentary will cover important issues that have not received the attention they deserve," said Hunter-Gault. "I'm pleased to be associated with this compelling project that not only sheds light but also offers solutions."

Keith Porter and Kristin McHugh, co-hosts of the Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program on world affairs, *Common Ground*, are among the reporters providing stories for the program.

"Children of War: Fighting, Dying, Surviving" is produced by Reese Erlich in association with KQED Public Radio, San Francisco, and made possible by the Stanley Foundation.

www.warchildren.org

Refugee Protection

A 'Numbers Problem'

Better Management of African Population Migrations Needed

Once welcomed with hospitality and sometimes solidarity, African refugees today are increasingly being seen as a problem for the countries in which they seek asylum. The largest concentrations of refugees in Africa occur in East Africa, particularly the Great Lakes region. But there are also sizable refugee populations in western and southern Africa.

Most refugees are fleeing ongoing conflicts, and since many of these wars drag on for years, so does the refugees' time in asylum. Prominent among those conflicts are intra- and interstate wars in Rwanda, Burundi, Sudan, Ethiopia, and the Congo in the East, Sierra Leone in the West, and Angola in the South. Uganda, Tanzania, and Kenya are major host countries in the East; Côte d'Ivoire and Guinea have sizable refugee populations in the West; Zambia is a major host country in the South.

Many African countries have hosted refugees since they gained independence in the mid-twentieth century. But in the early years, most of the refugees were fleeing what were seen as glorious wars of liberation and, consequently, often had hero status. Moreover, they were seen as resourceful, well educated, and highly skilled. As such, they were assets to their host countries.

Today's refugees are still resourceful, educated, and skilled. But now they are fleeing ugly and seemingly intractable—certainly not glorious—conflicts. Many of these wars involve rivalries that are ethnic, tribal, confessional, or resource based.

Host Countries Taxed

More than anything else though, it is the sheer number of refugees that is causing them to be labeled as a "problem." That, combined with mounting despair over whether and when peace will be reached to end the conflicts that trigger refugee flows, is taxing the hospitality of host countries.

That was one of the major assertions from host country representatives who attended a Stanley Foundation conference on refugee protection in Africa November 10-14 in Entebbe, Uganda. In the worst moments, the numbers can be staggering.

For example, after the Rwandan genocide in 1994, hundreds of thousands of people poured across borders in the matter of a few days. Compounding the problem, many of the forces responsible for the genocide dominated the refugee camps in then-Zaire and Tanzania and used them as rear bases for a continued insurgent campaign.

Typically in Africa, refugees are fleeing to countries that are chronically underdeveloped and poor themselves. The governments of these host countries regularly struggle, and often fail, to deliver services to their native populations. Aiding refugees is an added burden. Historically, that responsibility has been taken on quite willingly, and it still is today. But pressure is mounting.

Refugees by definition are an international problem, since they are people who flee their own country to another seeking protection of their basic rights. International agencies supported by governments such as the United States—

most prominently the UN High Commissioner for Refugees—bring considerable aid to these situations. But finding the proper "responsibility-sharing" between host countries and the wealthy industrial nations (referred to as "donor governments") is still a work in progress.

While sheer numbers are a big problem, they aren't the only one. Sorting out refugees from combatants is another. Rebel forces sometimes come across borders to regroup, recuperate, and restage for another attack, often mixing in with legitimate asylum seekers, as in the case of Rwanda. Their presence may strain host country relations with the country from which they fled,

Finding the proper "responsibility-sharing" between host countries and the wealthy industrial nations...is still a work in progress.

► On the Run.

Refugees fleeing the ethnic bloodbath in Rwanda in 1994 make their way back to their huts at the Benaco Refugee Camp in Tanzania, near the Rwandan border. Refugee flows continue to burden host countries that are chronically underdeveloped and poor themselves.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

and these combatants sometimes threaten and forcibly conscript the populations in refugee camps.

Similarly, criminals who steal or commit sexual violence against women and girls strain the policing capacity of host countries. While usually small in number, criminals sometimes provoke a police response that is too sweeping and repressive, and becomes a problem itself.

Help Needed

The participants at the Entebbe conference identified a number of approaches to improving management of the refugee issue:

- More resources are needed. The international response is



inadequate for the scope of the problem.

- Resources need to be used more effectively. Of late, too much emphasis has been placed on relief aid to supply the bare essentials—an approach that can create dependencies—rather than building refugees' ability to sustain themselves. General economic development is needed to ease the burden on host country populations and refugees alike. A development approach also focuses on the assets that refugees can be (for instance as consumers) and de-emphasizes the characterization of them as burdens.
- Deal with the root causes—the conflicts and human rights abuses—that spawn large-scale migration.
- Bolster regional approaches to conflict management and the management of asylum seekers. Small groups of host nations working together—with good international support—stand a better chance of ending conflicts with all their negative consequences than do individual nations acting separately.
- Develop more effective governance and leadership capability for all of Africa. Participants said Africa desperately needs leaders with vision and a commitment to resisting and rooting out corruption. African leaders recently decided to create the African Union. Participants noted that, in doing so, these leaders committed themselves to the development of better governance. And those leaders should be challenged to make good on that promise. Nothing would help refugees and host country populations more.

African refugees may never be seen as heroes again. But with a larger and more effective effort to manage population migrations, they need not be seen as a big problem either.

—Jeff Martin

Global Education

'A Compelling Story'

Alternative students organize seminar on the Middle East

A year ago, student Jeremy Kieffer admits, he had little idea of what was going on in the world. For him, the September 11 terrorist attacks “just happened.”

But today, after studying Middle Eastern history dating back to an era when the Shah of Iran was still in power, he can tell you a lot more about the “how” and “why.”

Kieffer was one of three Dubuque Central Alternative High School students who undertook an ambitious project to expand their Iowa community's understanding of complicated political, cultural, and security issues in the Middle East and Persian Gulf region.

Along with students Julie Allendorf and Andrew Koons, Kieffer wrote a lengthy research paper and helped organize a seminar titled “Shifting Sands: A Seminar on the Middle East.”

As the students got deeper into the story—using magazine pieces, video documentaries, and other sources to piece together a history of what led to the attacks—the more they wanted to share their findings.

“Once these kids see it, and they understand it, and they can articulate it, they want to tell other people,” said teacher John Adelman. “It's a compelling story.”

Adelman attended one of the Stanley Foundation-sponsored Central Asia Educator seminars last year designed to provide teachers with knowledge and materials to help explain the September 11 attacks to their students. The project culminated with an evening seminar last fall featuring speakers from the Stanley Foundation. About 100 people paid the \$5 admission to attend the student-organized event.

“You give them the power and the responsibility, and they rise to the occasion. The behavior problems go away,” Adelman said.

What resulted was a public discussion of issues rarely debated in any detail outside the US capital or university halls.

Student Julie Allendorf said she learned something about herself and the world around her. “I didn't think in a million years I could do this,” she said. “My eyes were opened.... I know now that there is more to the world than what happens in the United States.”

—Loren Keller

Resources

Stanley Foundation Publications

On the Web at reports.stanleyfoundation.org

Colored entries indicate new publications.

Stabilizing Regions in a Post-9/11 Era

How have relations between the United States and China, Iran, and Russia changed in the first year of the post-September 11 era? This Policy Bulletin examines each bilateral relationship: US-China, US-Iran, and US-Russia. Policy experts offer recommendations that address each country's interests and needs in its immediate regional environment. 10/02 policy bulletin (forthcoming 3/03).

Fostering Regional Cooperation and Reconciliation in Serbia and Southeastern Europe

As part of the ongoing project "Serbia and the Challenge of Regional Integration," a group of policy experts were asked to consider ways to create and foster an environment of popular thinking in Serbia for constructive approaches to its integration into Southeastern Europe. This Policy Bulletin offers recommendations in the areas of business and investment, local governance and agriculture, and media and youth. 10/02 policy bulletin.

Implications of Enlarging the Euro-Atlantic Space: Problems and Prospects for Northeastern and Southeastern Europe

On the eve of dual enlargement of NATO and the European Union at the end of the year, questions remain over the future of NATO and the impact dual enlargement will have on these two institutions and the regions they will affect. The Policy Bulletin highlights the potential opportunities and challenges for NATO and the European Union and the regions. 9/02 policy bulletin.

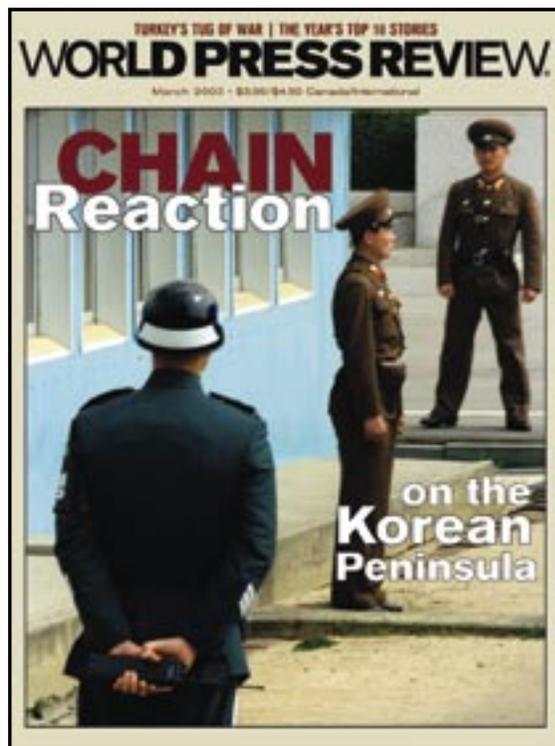
Domestic Politics and America's Russia Policy

What is the role of US domestic politics and America's foreign policy on Russia? A joint task force of the Century Foundation and the Stanley Foundation was formed to answer this question by examining four critical areas in the relationship: the war in Chechnya, US democracy assistance to Russia, US nuclear assistance to Russia, and the United States' and Russia's policy toward Iran and Iraq. 2002 full report.

Laying a Durable Foundation for Post-Conflict Societies

A group of distinguished policy experts examine the challenges of promoting sustainable peace in war-torn societies and the related role of the United Nations. Recommendations focus on security, justice, economic, and governance issues. 6/02 policy bulletin and full report.

These reports and a wealth of other information are available instantly on the Web at reports.stanleyfoundation.org, or use the order form on page 11.



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.

Drawing on newspapers and magazines around the globe and a network of correspondents in dozens of countries, WPR illuminates and analyzes the issues and perspectives that rarely see the light of day in the mainstream US press.

Visit WPR's Web site at www.worldpress.org, where you'll find samplings from the latest issue of WPR, daily news updates from around the world, special reports, and more.

For a free sample of WPR, please use the order form on page 11.

To find out more about the work of the Stanley Foundation, visit our Web site at www.stanleyfoundation.org

This list includes programs aired in the last several months. To hear these programs or obtain a transcript, visit our Web site: www.commongroundradio.org.



Radio's Weekly Program
on World Affairs

Program 0301

- Iraq Water
- Arab Development
- Muslim Ads
- World AIDS Crisis
- Greek Americans
- Right to Tell
- Berlin Philharmonic

Program 0302

- North Korea
- Underground Railroad
- London Congestion Toll
- Moscow Driving School
- US-UN Relations
- Cyprus
- Information Awareness Office
- London Jazz

Program 0303

- Kosovo Power
- Kosovo Reconstruction
- Border Colonias
- Russia Press Pressure
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International Editor of the Year

Zimbabwe Newsman Confronts Abuses by Powerful Ruling Elite

Iden Wetherell, editor of the *Zimbabwe Independent*, has been named the 2002 *World Press Review* International Editor of the Year.

He is the 33rd recipient of the award since it was established in 1975. *World Press Review* presents the award each year to an editor or editors outside the United States in recognition of enterprise, courage, and leadership in advancing the freedom and responsibility of the press, enhancing human rights, and fostering excellence in journalism.

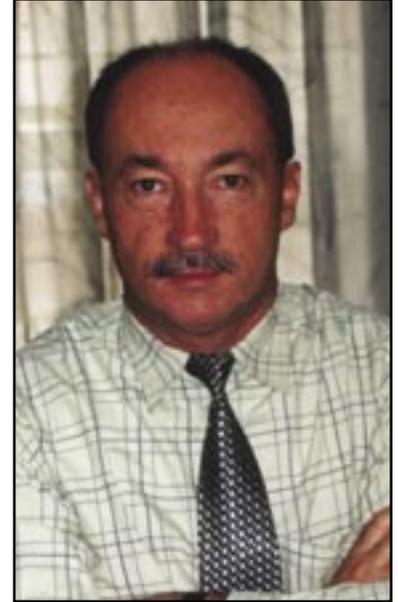
The *Zimbabwe Independent* is a leading political and business weekly published in Harare, located in a country of political and economic turmoil where independent institutions are under threat.

“Our duty is to expose and confront the powerful ruling elite that has abused power in order to retain it,” Wetherell told *World Press Review*.

“In a context where so much of the media act as a megaphone for the president [Robert Mugabe] and his followers and where formal opposition is manacled, we have a particular duty to speak out on issues of governance and economic management.”

In citing Wetherell for the award, *World Press Review* paid tribute to his courageous work on behalf of the independent press in Zimbabwe, given the highly repressive atmosphere for freedom of expression in a country that was once a beacon of hope for the region.

“Your persistence in reporting and decrying the Mugabe regime’s despotism, despite official reprisals, and the leadership role you have taken in the formation of the Zimbabwe National Editors’ Forum have rightly earned you the admiration of your journalistic colleagues in Zimbabwe and beyond,” *World Press Review* said in its citation.



Iden Wetherell

World Press Review is a New York City-based monthly magazine published by the Stanley Foundation.

—Loren Keller

“Our duty is to expose and confront the powerful ruling elite that has abused power in order to retain it.”