

courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



The Stanley Foundation
Number 49
Fall 2005

ON THE OTHER SIDE

Journalism Training

Lunch With Hezbollah, Tea With Hamas

American and Middle Eastern reporters mix it up in Lebanon

They hate us.

It's a common misconception many Americans have about Arabs living in the Middle East. But it didn't take long for a half-dozen American journalists who recently visited Beirut, Lebanon, to hear the real story.

From taxi drivers to high-level political leaders to inhabitants of a Palestinian refugee camp, the refrain was nearly harmonious: "We LOVE Americans! It's your government's policies and arrogant attitudes that we despise."

The six American reporters—from Georgia; Wisconsin; Washington, DC; California; and Indiana—heard

much the same from their Arab colleagues during an intensive, weeklong journalism training course on "Writing International News" held at the American University of Beirut in mid-September.

In turn, the transatlantic mix of participants offered journalists from Egypt, Iraq, Lebanon, Palestine, Iran, and Jordan the unprecedented opportunity to learn firsthand from a group of US journalism's front-line practitioners.

A Journalism First

The workshop—led by the Reuters Foundation and cosponsored with the Stanley Foundation as part of its effort to promote US-Muslim

world understanding—was the first joint effort of its kind.

Two veteran journalists from the Reuters news agency began the workshop with a review of journalism basics: Be thoroughly prepared for interviews. Be sure your sources are reliable. Assume nothing.

But the reporters also had plenty of time to exchange their own views on the journalistic issues and stereotypes in each country. The Arab journalists told their American counterparts about their struggles to gather news amid a lack of access to government officials, restrictions on what they may publish, the absence of a code of ethics, low newsroom

Reporters had plenty of time to exchange their own views on the journalistic issues and stereotypes in each country.

Cover Photo:

South Korean soldiers remove huge panel used for propaganda near the demilitarized zone between North and South Korea. Last year the countries agreed to work toward reducing tensions on the divided peninsula.

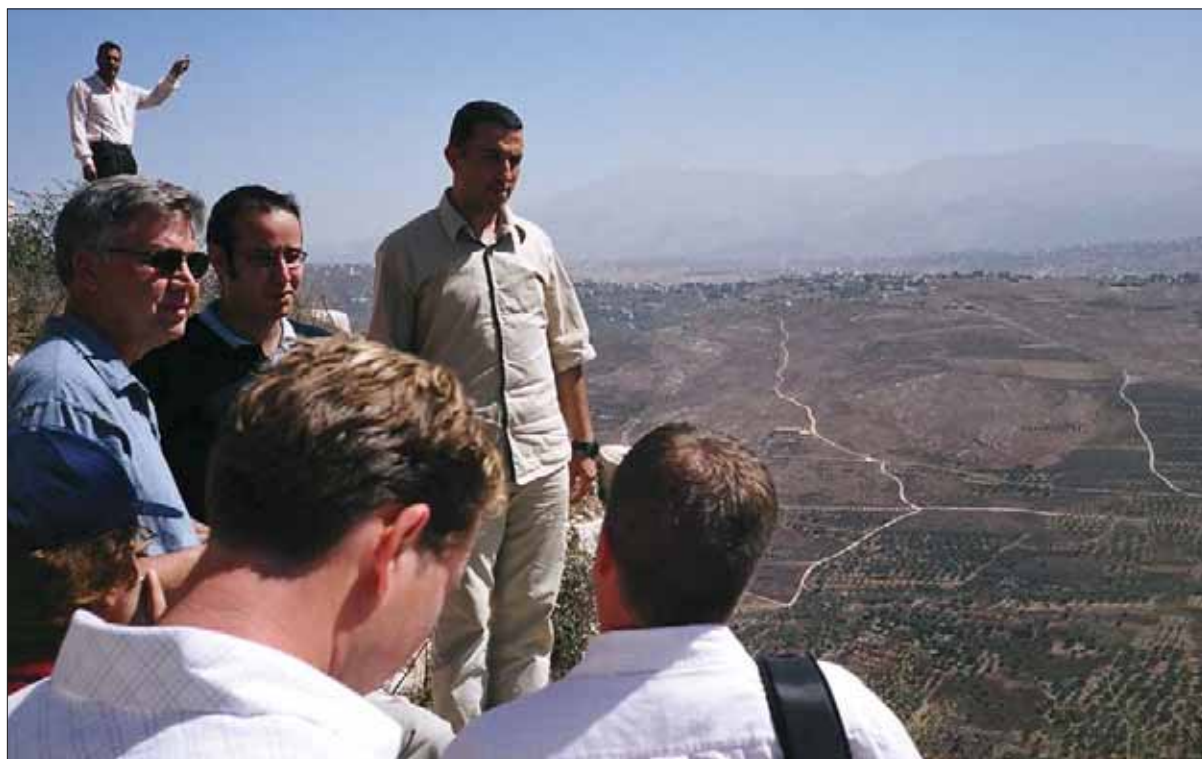


PHOTO CONTRIBUTED BY AMELIA HANSEN

Commanding Heights. American and Middle Eastern journalists stand atop the craggy ruins of Beaufort Castle in southern Lebanon. The twelfth-century fortress was built during the Crusades and used as a military base by Israel during its occupation of the region until 2000. The castle, now controlled by Hezbollah, overlooks the disputed Shebaa Farms; Syria lies beyond the mountain range.

budgets, and a shortage of training opportunities.

The Americans outlined the challenges they face stateside with the corporate consolidation of the media, the fragmentation of their audience, and the tabloidization of news stories at the expense of in-depth international news coverage.

We Need to Talk

A field trip to the south Lebanese border region offered the dozen reporters the rare chance to interview a leader of Hezbollah, a militant resistance group. In Beirut they met with a representative of Hamas and an ex-member of Lebanon's parliament who worked closely with slain former prime minister Rafiq Hariri. Another bus ride took them to meet people living in Beirut's Sabra and Shatila refugee camps.

Lebanon, which ended a 15-year civil war in 1990, offered plenty for the reporters to write about. More than a dozen bombings have taken place in the wake of Hariri's assassination in February, the subject of an ongoing UN investigation.

The journalists' week in Beirut was in fact bookended by a bombing the weekend before and a car bomb that exploded the weekend after-



PHOTO CONTRIBUTED BY AMELIA HANSEN

Broken Hopes. *The sprawling, dilapidated Sabra and Shatila refugee camp on the southern outskirts of Beirut is home to an estimated 12,000 Palestinian refugees. In 1982, Lebanese Christian militiamen, backed by Israel, killed between 1,000 and 3,000 men, women, and children at the site.*

“I’ve come away with one conclusion: Americans and Middle Easterners need to talk.”

courier
 No. 49, Fall 2005 ISSN 1044-5900

Courier is published quarterly by the Stanley Foundation and mailed without charge to interested readers within the United States. The views expressed here are not necessarily those of the foundation.

President Richard H. Stanley
 Executive Editor Jeffrey G. Martin
 Editor Keith Porter
 Deputy Editor Loren Keller
 Managing Editor Jen Maceyko
 Copyeditor Margo Schneider
 Creative Director Amy Bakke
 Production Artist Elizabeth Pomeroy

©2005 by The Stanley Foundation

To receive future issues, contact:
 The Stanley Foundation
 209 Iowa Avenue • Muscatine, Iowa 52761 USA
 563-264-1500 • 563-264-0864 fax
 info@stanleyfoundation.org

www.stanleyfoundation.org

ward that severely injured a prominent Lebanese television journalist.

But American reporter Sean Harder, whose visit to Lebanon was his first, wouldn't hesitate to go back.

“I’ve come away with one conclusion: Americans and Middle Easterners need to talk,” Harder wrote for readers of the *Savannah Morning News*.

“Not at the government level, where the dance of diplomacy and politics occurs, but citizen-to-citizen where

frank and visceral exchange of ideas can take place. Only then will our mutual stereotypes be shattered, and true diplomacy be given the change to prevail.”

—Loren Keller

Read More Online

More accounts of the Beirut trip are available on the Stanley Foundation Web site at www.stanleyfoundation.org/usmw.

Dateline: Lebanon

Terrorists or Freedom Fighters?

An Indiana reporter seeks answers

Fran Quigley, an attorney and freelance journalist living in Indianapolis, Indiana, was one of six Americans who participated in a weeklong journalism training course in Beirut, Lebanon, in September. His story below is based on field interviews conducted during the course.

Hezbollah, which represents Lebanon's large population of Shia Muslims, is quite popular there.

Before the assembled reporters could ask the first question, Sheikh Nabil Kaouk posed one to us.

"How do you define a terrorist?" the Hezbollah leader asked.

When you've been officially labeled a terrorist group by the US government and you are visited by US and Arab journalists, apparently there is not much point in beating around the bush. So the interview at the Hezbollah compound in dusty southern Lebanon began right on point.

Despite his seizing of the initiative, Kaouk spent most of the hour speaking softly and politely. Wearing a white turban and beige and brown robes, he sat flanked by Lebanese and Hezbollah flags in his office near the village of Khiam. He smiled often and offered his condolences for the US suffering in the wake of Hurricane Katrina. We reporters, in Lebanon for a week as part of a Reuters Foundation and Stanley Foundation program bringing together US and Middle Eastern journalists, gathered around him on brightly colored couches. My seat was almost directly below a large portrait of Ayatollah Khomeini.

When the Sheikh brought up the definition of *terrorism*, I thought of an old bumper sticker that showed

two silhouetted figures of armed men. Below the figures was the caption, "One is a freedom fighter, one is a terrorist. Can you tell the difference?"

The A-Team?

When it comes to Hezbollah, Arabic for "Party of God," the Bush administration says it can indeed tell the difference. The US government links Hezbollah to the 1983 suicide bombing attack that killed 241 US troops in Beirut, and to hostage-taking, including the kidnapping and murder of CIA Station Chief William Buckley in 1985. The State Department has placed Hezbollah on its formal list of foreign terrorist organizations and has demanded that Lebanon freeze Hezbollah's assets. "Hezbollah may be the A-Team of terrorists," deputy secretary of state Richard Armitage said in 2003.

But not everyone shares the Bush administration's certainty. Hezbollah, which represents Lebanon's large population of Shia Muslims, is quite popular there. The party's military army, the Islamic Resistance, is credited by most Lebanese with driving Israeli troops from southern Lebanon in 2002 after a 22-year occupation. Hezbollah members and allies hold 23 seats in the Lebanese parliament, and the group, apparently with financial support from

Iran, provides a great deal of social services in the area.

As a result, Lebanon has refused to follow the US demand to freeze Hezbollah assets. Most European countries have also resisted following the US lead in labeling Hezbollah a terrorist organization.

No Limits to Resistance

The Palestinian issue is not an abstract one for Lebanon, which is home to 300,000 Palestinian refugees whose families originally came here after the 1948 Arab-Israeli war. Many of them live, without the rights to vote or own property, in the cramped and



High Profiles. Posters of current Hezbollah leader Sheik Hassan Nasrallah and the previous leader Abbas Al-Musawi, left, are displayed on electrical poles in Baalbek, in eastern Lebanon.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO/DARKO BANDIC

battered Sabra and Shatila refugee camp in Beirut. We drove just a few blocks from the camp to meet with Hamas leader Usama Hamdan in his air-conditioned apartment.

Accused terrorists are no slouches in the PR department these days. Sheikh Khaouk had the press meeting filmed for Hezbollah's Al-Manar television cameras and lined up for group photos afterward. The 40-year-old Hamdan, who seemed awfully calm for a man rumored to be targeted for assassination by Israel, served juice and tea and distributed business cards after the interview. Hamdan's assistants also passed out a sheet so that the visitors could be added to the Hamas e-mail list—I'm not sure of the consequences if Hamas messages are victims of my spam filter.

Hamas, also known as the Islamic Resistance Movement, is the largest Palestinian militant Islamic group, formed with the goal of driving Israel from the occupied territories. To achieve that goal, Hamas has launched attacks that include suicide bombings and has been responsible for the deaths of scores of civilians. Like Hezbollah, Hamas is a prominent member of the State Department's official list of terrorist groups.

Hamdan told us that he agreed with Sheikh Kaouk's definition of *terrorism*, but added a key distinction on the targeting of civilians. After first claiming that Israel is targeting civilians for attacks and the United States is committing terrorism in Iraq, Hamdan said that "I believe that killing civilians *in their homelands*"—and here he tapped his forefinger on his chair arm for emphasis—"is terrorism. I believe taking people's land is a terrorist attack."

When asked why young Palestinians are willing to sacrifice themselves for a suicide bombing,

Hamdan invoked a picture of youthful desperation, a picture that removed Hamas from direct responsibility for the motivation or reward for the attacks. "Their lives are destroyed by Israelis; their houses are destroyed by Israelis; their families are killed by Israelis. They believe they have to kill themselves," he said. "They are facing the fact that this is the only way they can make a difference against the Israelis."

Moving Toward Politics

Hamdan's chilling hostility toward Israel was echoed by many others during our week in Lebanon, even by seemingly more moderate and apolitical Lebanese. Particular contempt is held for Israel's prime minister Ariel Sharon, who commanded Israeli troops that stood by in 1982 while Christian militia members massacred hundreds of Palestinians in Beirut's Sabra and Shatila refugee camp.

Even though Sharon recently ended 38 years of Israeli occupation of Gaza, it galls many Lebanese and Palestinians that he ever rose to leadership of the country—and that the United States so conspicuously supports the Israel he leads. A concrete barrier a few feet from Lebanon's border with Israel is spray-painted "Sharon the Dog."

Israel's supporters are no less contemptuous of the Hezbollah and Hamas record and their claims to be waging a legitimate struggle. "They are both terrorist organizations, period," says Marcia Goldstone, executive director of the Jewish Community Relations Council of Indianapolis. "They both have blown people up at Passover Seders, discotheques, and coffee shops. That is terrorism.



PHOTO BY LOREN KELLER

Terrorist? Hamas representative Usama Hamdan (right) speaks to the group of reporters at his apartment in Beirut.

"They put out reasonable-sounding spokespersons in Western clothes who are presented as the organizations' face to the world. But you can turn on CNN and see their true face: masked men with guns."

Mark Sirkin, a professor at Wright State University in Dayton, Ohio, and an expert on the contemporary Middle East, says that those Hezbollah and Hamas images may be changing. In Sirkin's view, Israel's withdrawal from Lebanon and now Gaza is likely to be the impetus for both organizations to transition away from their violent legacies.

"They are moving toward a political situation rather than a military situation," Sirkin says. "Hezbollah has already done this, and I suspect Hamas will be following this path too. There are likely some hotheads in Hamas who don't want the war to stop, but I think the leaders want it to become a respectable political organization."

Resources

To read Fran's Quigley's full article and more about the journalist training program visit www.stanleyfoundation.org/courier.

"They put out reasonable-sounding spokespersons in Western clothes.... But you can turn on CNN and see their true face: masked men with guns."

Conversation vs. Isolation

Engaging North Korea

International community moving forward, with or without the United States

When the news media covers North Korea, it usually focuses on the six-party negotiations involving North Korea, its neighbors, and the United States. North Korea is often painted as a political monster, a demon the United States must conquer or tame. Politicians have described the country as part of the “axis of evil,” a “rogue” set on attacking the United States.

China understands, perhaps more than any other country, the challenges North Korea is facing.

While the situation between the United States and North Korea is never without tension, many of North Korea’s neighbors and many nongovernmental organizations are making a concerted effort to work with and within the country to provide aid, assistance, and support. It is a step many hope will help stabilize the region for decades to come.

North Korea’s Neighbors

South Korea has undoubtedly played a more active role in North Korea over the last ten to fifteen years. As the generation that experienced the Korean War grows older, younger generations are more likely to prefer cooperation over coercion. South Korean groups have been setting up joint ventures in the corporate world, while the government provides the North food aid and energy assistance.

China, however, has become the most active supporter of North Korean development and integration. And it understands, perhaps more than any other country, the challenges North Korea is facing. Once a closed state, China was isolated from the United States and much of the world. But in the 1980s and 1990s, China began to open up to the world and the world began to work with China to grow its economy and social structure.



WFP/GERALD BOURKE

World Food Programme. Numerous international organizations like the WFP have been working with North Koreans to collect data and address food, medical, and social needs. The WFP has 40 international staff and six offices in the country.

China’s development continues, but it is a prime example of the progress a society and a government can make over time and with a vote of confidence from global partners.

Chinese government officials and scholars have taken these lessons on development and integration to heart. In addition to funding and supporting small factory and business development projects, the Chinese government sponsors language and training programs for North Koreans in an effort to introduce concepts and ideas that will benefit their state and society in the future. China also provides food aid and energy assistance to North Korea, particularly important during cold winters and dry growing seasons.

Russia and Japan, also members of the six-party negotiations, are beginning to play a role in North Korea. Factories have been set up on the Russian-North Korean border, North

Koreans a source of cheap labor. The goods produced flow both ways. Japan is one of North Korea’s largest trading partners, and despite apprehension of the Japanese government over North Korea’s nuclear weapons, the Japanese are making slow strides to keep dialogues with the North open.

International Aid and Support

Although the attention paid to North Korea has focused largely on the state’s relationship with its neighbors and those states participating in the six-party talks, a number of “second circle” countries—those not involved in the six-party talks but still have an interest in North Korea—have been instrumental in working with North Koreans in areas of education and economic and social development.

The Swedish and Australian governments, for example, sponsor training programs for mid-level North Korean diplomats and civil

servants to teach them about management, economics, and business. Sweden and Australia—along with Switzerland, Italy, Germany, the United Kingdom, and Canada—have maintained diplomatic relations with North Korea and have built respectable relationships with the leaders in Pyongyang, a step that will hopefully lead to more trusting relationships in the future.

The United Nations' World Food Programme has been instrumental in feeding North Koreans and teaching them sustainable methods of food production since the program was allowed in the country in 1995. The efforts have helped prevent large-scale food shortages and have increased nutrition levels not only among rural poor but also in the cities.

The World Health Organization, another branch of the United Nations, has taken a lead role in working within the country to prevent disease and provide basic health care. Numerous other groups, such as Global Civic Sharing (South Korea) and welt hunger hilfe (Germany) have worked to gain access into North Korea or at least the right to provide assistance from outside.

A Long Way to Go

Despite the progress of these international organizations, there is still a long way to go before real successes can be claimed. The North Korean government remains suspicious of foreign aid workers, as was shown in late September when leaders ordered foreign aid workers out of the country.

This declaration has been toned down since then, with the North Korean government now demanding that the number of aid workers decrease before January 1. And while the prospect of fewer aid workers and evaluators is daunting, a complete ban on foreign workers would be worse.



WFP/GERALD BOURKE

More Than Food. Food aid is just one of many ways that the international community is engaging North Korea. Countries such as Sweden and Switzerland have also maintained relationships with the North Korean government in education and development.

Such suspicion is not unique to the North Korean government. As one Chinese scholar said, even in China there is skepticism over NGO participation in its society. Involvement by these external actors needs to be gradual, to avoid the appearance of threatening the leaders, he said. In other words, anything new and different takes time to get accustomed to. In North Korea, as in China in the 1980s and 1990s, the government is still working to understand exactly what role international aid workers play in their country.

Change of Heart?

In the face of growing international involvement with North Korea, US politicians and government officials are slowly beginning to accept a new policy of engagement with North Korea. This is perhaps best

illustrated by the number of congressional leaders who have visited the country in the last few months.

At the beginning of September, Congressmen Jim Leach and Tom Lantos visited Pyongyang and met with North Korean government and military officials. And in October, New Mexico Governor Bill Richardson visited Pyongyang prior to the continuation of the six-party talks.

Signs point to a changing US policy toward North Korea that places more emphasis on conversation and progress and less importance on isolation. North Korea's neighbors and the international community are setting a worthy example for such a move.

—*Jan Maceyko*

The World Health Organization... has taken a lead role in working within the country to prevent disease and provide basic health care.

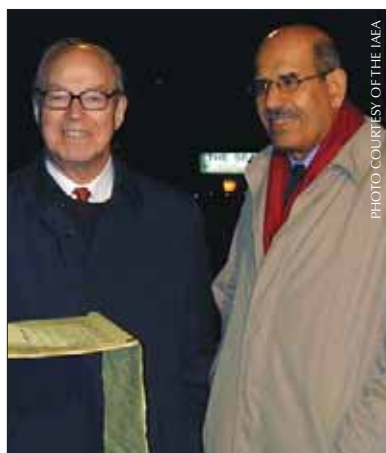
Award Given for Peace, Not Politics

ElBaradei and IAEA show the potential of peaceful multilateral compromise

ElBaradei and his team of IAEA experts declared... that Iraq was absolutely free of nuclear weapons and the ability to construct them.

This year's Nobel Peace Prize was awarded to Mohamed ElBaradei, a move many US and international pundits believe to be a response to the largely unilateralist Bush administration. ElBaradei led the international inspection effort in Iraq prior to the US invasion in 2003. He and his team of IAEA experts declared, in the face of intense US pressure, that Iraq was absolutely free of nuclear weapons and the ability to construct them. Others—particularly those critics of Iran's nuclear policy—argue that the Nobel decision reflects criticism of attempts by “rogue states” to gain nuclear weapons under the guise of a peaceful energy program.

Of course, recent history has shown the largely bureaucratic, multilateral IAEA to be more accurate than that of US intelligence practices. But how could such a bureaucratic organization trump a notable figure such as Bono and his high-profile global antipoverty efforts?



Leading Men. *ElBaradei (right) and Hans Blix (left) were key figures in the inspections that first uncovered the Iraqi nuclear program following the 1991 Gulf War.*

The right place to start is to consider the focus of the award: peace.

No Absolute Security

Peace is defined in countless ways: the absence of war and armed interstate aggression; more ambitiously, the absence of the *threats* of war and coercion; or the presence of generally harmonious relations between states and nonstate groups in international affairs. These are all fairly straightforward. But note what the definitions of peace do not assume: that all of the competing political actors have secured their “ideal” political outcomes, or that any one state has achieved “absolute security” through seeking the insecurity of all competitors and opponents.

In international relations, the concept of *peace* is often opposed to any one side winning a competition through the achievement of all their interests via threats, coercion, and violence against their competitors. After all, *compromise* and *peace* are strongly associated terms—and *compromise* is usually thought of as an agreement in which all sides get some of what they want, though no one gets everything they desire.

American and global history have shown that coercion and violence are sometimes necessary tools to create a foundation for real peace. In particular, the US civil war shows that pursuit of harmonious relations would have been even more immoral (and ultimately more conflictual over the long term) than a decisive war. World War II offers a similar case: Japanese and German imperialism had to be defeated unconditionally in order to lay the foundation for

stable, just, and prosperous European and Asian security in the twentieth century.

But these examples are few and far between. They are, in fact, absolutely rare. Instead, conflicts like the Vietnam, Korean, and second Iraq wars would suggest that war and attempts to achieve “peace through victory” do not always result in peaceful resolution.

Violence Sometimes Needed

Attempting to establish peace on the Korean peninsula by completely eradicating all traces of communism is what got General MacArthur fired by President Truman. Although MacArthur was a popular figure with the American people, what is undisputed among credible historians is that MacArthur's advances to the Chinese border in northern Korea—and his desire for peace through the absolute defeat of the communist enemy—guaranteed escalation of the conflict when China responded to protect its own borders. China's involvement resulted in millions of Asian and thousands of American dead before the ambiguous armistice was finally signed, leaving both sides where they started: the original borderline between North and South Korea.

Similarly, attempts to completely eradicate all leftist influences in Vietnam left roughly four million Vietnamese and more than 54,000 Americans dead. In turn, this conflict also produced a drag on the US economy for years to come.

No Peace Through Coercion

Today the present debacle in Iraq shows the folly of trying to create Middle East peace through the coercion or “transformation” of an



PHOTO COURTESY OF THE IAEA

Nuclear Hunt. *ElBaradei and the IAEA were instrumental in seeking out nuclear weapons caches in Iraq between 1991 and 1998. The searches were carried out without violence or unrest.*

entire region’s culture, economics, and politics. American actions in Iraq, as with its Vietnam experience, are now undermining global US leadership and US economic well-being.

At the same time, the Cold War gave us eminent examples of peace through compromise, negotiation, dialogue, and securing of mutual interests. The Cold War was won not just through nuclear threats and conventional weapons along the Iron Curtain, but through the success of European economic and security integration, along with US-Soviet and Euro-Soviet détente. In the 1970s and 1980s, the multi-lateral Helsinki process between the United States, Western Europe, and the Soviet Union—which involved negotiations on security issues, human rights, and the borders of Europe—is still believed by many Europeans to have been a central enabler of the “bloodless revolution” that occurred when the

Iron Curtain finally fell. Many Germans credit the Helsinki negotiations for creating a stable institutional foundation that later allowed for a quick reunification of their divided country.

These examples get to the very heart of the Nobel Committee’s decision, which in the end was based on the potential for peaceful compromise.

Balancing Interests

ElBaradei has been accused of making unpopular decisions, but he cannot be accused of pandering to any one state’s interests or values. He is not one to resolve issues at the cost of unjust or unstable peace. The IAEA holds that despite the agendas of individual states and governments, peace can only be attained when *all* states stop pursuing nuclear weapons, nuclear dominance, and security through nuclear threats. While this stance does not let every nation get exactly what

they want, it does arguably lay a stronger foundation for peace than attempts by individual governments to achieve absolute victory over every one of its opponents.

The Nobel Committee’s decision was never about rebukes and covert slights, neither to the Bush administration or anyone else. It was about peace in its truest sense: a balance of interests and values, based on coexistence and mutual prosperity. And this kind of compromise approach, though sometimes discomforting in the short term because it means bargaining with authoritarian regimes, will bolster US global leadership in the long term and contribute more to the ultimate security of US citizens.

—Michael Kraig

ElBaradei has been accused of making unpopular decisions, but he cannot be accused of pandering to any one state’s interests or values.

2005 World Summit

The UN of the Future

Much left undone

International diplomacy seems so abstract, yet it affects people's lives every day. Among the issues on the agenda for the recent summit of world leaders at the United Nations were the struggle against terrorism, measures to protect human rights, the prevention of conflict, and the reduction of malaria—a preventable and treatable disease that kills more than one million children in Africa every year.

Such varied threats present tough challenges to the political leaders of the world community and to the United Nations, the international body through which they cooperate on these problems. Indeed, world leaders' best prospects for tackling such challenges is by working together, and the purpose of the 2005 World Summit was to equip them with a stronger United Nations for that very task.



Global Agreement? President George Bush, along with more than 160 other world leaders, attended the UN Summit in September to discuss the principles of a more secure future.

Collective Action

In his address to more than 160 presidents, prime ministers, and monarchs, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan said, “The challenges of our time must be met by action—and today, more than ever, action must be collective if it is to be effective.”

After more than 18 months of commissions, reports, and preliminary drafting, an ambitious draft reform agreement was presented to UN member states by then General Assembly President Jean Ping and a team of ten UN ambassadors. The package would have created two new UN bodies: a Human Rights Council to replace the controversial Human Rights Commission and also a Peacebuilding Commission to help conflict-torn countries rebuild and break the cycle of violence.

The agreement also included strong statements on terrorism and genocide. Its chapter on development pointed the way forward for developing and developed nations to work together to reduce poverty. And in the wake of scandals such as Oil-for-Food and sexual abuse by UN peacekeepers, there were provisions to improve management and oversight.

Salvage Operation

But while Kofi Annan and other proponents of sweeping reform called on UN member countries to focus on how such steps could help solve urgent problems, the reform discussions were marred in bickering and resistance to change. Wide-scale, last-minute amendments and deletions to the summit's draft Outcome Document were kicked off by American ambassador to the United Nations John Bolton, but

other nations joined the frenzy as well. Delegates were particularly stymied over the details needed to create the new human rights body, give new management authority to the secretary-general, define terrorism, and stem the proliferation of nuclear weapons.

In the days immediately prior to the summit, it appeared that disagreements might leave world leaders without any statement. So reform supporters performed a salvage operation, locking in what modest agreement could be reached and deferring many issues to the next session of the UN General Assembly, which opened during the summit.

Final Commitments

In the resulting summit statement, therefore, world leaders committed themselves to create the Human Rights Council and Peacebuilding Commission only after further discussion, rather than agreeing now on the particulars. The debate over whether terrorism is ever justifiable resurfaced, but leaders committed to sign a new comprehensive treaty against terror. The summit statement's language on genocide and ethnic cleansing acknowledged the need to intervene forcefully if peaceful means prove inadequate.

On development, negotiators pushed to strengthen the US commitment to poverty reduction. After a last-minute effort by Ambassador Bolton to weaken the text, the goal for aid donor countries to give 0.7 percent of the gross domestic product in aid (to which the United States won't commit itself) remained in the document.

It was clear at the close of the summit that much work remained to be done. But it was equally clear that the work must continue. As the secretary-general put it, “Whatever our differences, in our interdependent world, we stand or fall together.”

—David Shorr

Resources

Stanley Foundation Publications

These reports and a wealth of other information are available at reports.stanleyfoundation.org

CONFERENCE REPORTS

US Policy in Southeast Asia: Fortifying the Foundation

The US policy community was not prepared for the sudden renaissance in relations with Southeast Asia that has occurred in the last five years. Security partnerships in the region reflect conventional Cold War patterns and do not necessarily capture the nature of counterterrorism. The result of a two-year-long project, this report reviews US policy and identifies gaps—in understanding as well as in action—that must be addressed in order to put US-Southeast Asia relations on more sound footing. December 2005

Future Multilateral Economic Cooperation With the Democratic People's Republic of Korea

Economic restructuring and development in North Korea (DPRK) requires a collective effort by international institutions. This report addresses the challenges for economic reconstruction and suggests how the international community can best engage the DPRK. September 2005

POLICY ANALYSIS BRIEFS

A Realist Policy for Managing US-China Competition

by Dr. Robert S. Ross

The United States and China are destined to be great power competitors. But, as they pursue their respective security interests, can they manage their competition to avoid the high economic and military costs of great power competitions of the recent past? This brief suggests that the United States can manage this relationship in a way that is beneficial for both states. December 2005

OTHER RESOURCES

Our United Nations

Order this book of photos, historic quotes, and resources on the United Nations. Photographer Judah S. Harris was commissioned, by the foundation, to spend a week within the halls of UN Headquarters capturing the daily happenings of this international organization. Limited supply.

The Peacekeepers

The Stanley Foundation is seeking student and community groups that are interesting in partnering to show *The Peacekeepers* to their campuses, members, and communities in an effort to open up a discussion about issues related to peace and security.

The Peacekeepers is a documentary exploring the work and experiences of the United Nations Mission to Congo from 2002 to 2004. The movie will be included in a "Now Showing...The Peacekeepers" event toolkit. In addition to *The Peacekeepers* DVD, the toolkit will include background information, a discussion guide, and event materials. For more information, contact us at info@stanleyfoundation.org.

TO ORDER, call 563·264·1500
or e-mail info@stanleyfoundation.org

ORDER FORM

(mail or fax this form or call)

NAME

ADDRESS

CITY

STATE ZIP

QUANTITY ORDERS

Publications and *Courier* are available in quantity for postage and handling charges as follows

| Individual copies | Free |
|-------------------|--|
| 2-10 copies | \$2 |
| 11-25 copies | \$4 |
| 26-50 copies | \$6 |
| More than 50 | Contact the foundation for special pricing |

PUBLICATIONS

(free for single copies; for quantity orders, see above)

| QUANTITY | TITLE | COST |
|----------------------|----------------------|----------------------|
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |
| <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> | <input type="text"/> |

PLEASE MAIL OR FAX COMPLETED FORM TO:
The Stanley Foundation
209 Iowa Avenue • Muscatine, IA 52761
563·264·1500 • 563·264·0864 fax

Visit www.stanleyfoundation.org/think
to sign up for our monthly e-mail, which announces the
newest issues of *Courier* as well as new foundation work.

think.

sign up here, now.

www.stanleyfoundation.org/think

think. is the new monthly e-mail from the Stanley Foundation. *think.* will bring you stories not addressed in the mainstream media and give you a chance to ask our experts questions. *think.* will introduce you to our friends—groups we know and trust—so that you can do more than think about global issues; you can act too.

The Stanley Foundation
209 Iowa Avenue
Muscatine, Iowa 52761

Address Service Requested

Nonprofit Org.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Cedar Rapids, IA
Permit 174