

# Courier



The Stanley Foundation  
Number 30

SPRING 1999

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

AP PHOTO



**Human Touch.** *US Secretary of State Madeleine Albright helps Tran Thi-Cam Van in a wheelchair which Albright presented to the nine-year-old Vietnamese girl during her visit to a rehabilitation center near Ho Chi Minh City in 1997. In recent years, the US and Vietnam have moved a long way toward mending relations.*

## Vietnam a Model?

## Emerging From Conflict

*New Stanley Foundation push to improve US relations with current and recent adversaries*

In 1986 the Communist leaders of Vietnam cast aside a cherished belief. Their economy was going nowhere while, at the same time, the market economies of the countries around them were booming. Serious help from the Soviet Union, a Communist ally, was unlikely. So, Vietnam's leaders dropped central planning, introduced market reforms, and began to open up to the West.

That major policy shift set in motion a series of events which about four years ago made possible the normalization of diplomatic relations with the US. Today, Vietnam is still a Communist country but pursues market reforms. And, after first normalizing diplomatic relations with the US, Vietnam is now negotiating a trade agreement and pushing for normal trade relations.

*Conflict—continued on page 2*



## INSIDE

Cuba	2
Iran and Iraq	3
North Korea	4
Vietnam	5
Congo	6
Global Education	12



## The US and Cuba

The evolutionary pace of US-Cuban relations since 1962 has been maddeningly slow for many people and appropriately cautious for many others. This opinion split makes most efforts to expand US-Cuban interaction—at any level—complicated and vulnerable to suspicion from one side or the other.

Finding approaches to US-Cuban engagement that benefit both countries might be one way to tackle the policy problem. A group of policymakers, scholars, and analysts representing a range of views and experiences with US-Cuban policy set that as a goal. They gathered last October as part of the Stanley Foundation's Emerging From Conflict program.

Participants first examined US interests in Cuba. They reached broad consensus that a Cuban "implosion"—or complete social and/or economic collapse—would create serious problems for the US and threaten US interests in the region. But the group split sharply on whether the US embargo of Cuba increases or decreases the risk for "implosion."

Some participants criticized the process of finding small steps to encourage US-Cuban engagement. They pointed to serious domestic political realities in both countries which make meaningful change nearly impossible. Regardless, the conference did identify the following steps as worthy of further exploration.

The Cuban government could:

- Take steps toward salary reform which would allow

foreign investors to pay workers directly

- Allow the Catholic Church, or some other international organization instead of the US, to verify the human rights of rafters returned to Cuba

The US government could:

- Drop opposition to Cuban troop participation in UN peacekeeping missions outside the hemisphere
- Change Treasury Department licensing procedures to smooth academic exchanges and cooperation
- Make it easier for US artists to perform in Cuba
- License Cuban-Americans to invest in private businesses with family in Cuba
- Drop rhetoric which implies that the goal of engagement is to subvert the Cuban government
- Move forward on the issue of US "certified claimants" to pre-revolutionary property and assets in Cuba

The report issued following the conference concluded by saying that when the US national interest is defined as "... 'peaceful, rapid, democratic change in Cuba,' the Cubans respond that they are willing to sit down and talk about many issues, but that changing their regime at the behest of the US is not up for discussion. The group hoped, however, that eventually all the barriers to free and constructive interaction between the two neighbors might be eliminated and that the people of Cuba and the US might begin to build a relationship based on respect and cooperation rather than rivalry and intervention."

—Keith Porter

Conflict—continued from page 2

Can the course US-Vietnam relations followed over the last decade be replicated with other countries currently in or emerging from conflict with the US? Mark Sidel, Senior Program Consultant, and Sherry Gray, Program Officer, of the Stanley Foundation pose that question in the concluding essay to a new report, "Emerging From Conflict: Improving US Relations With Current and Recent Adversaries." The report also contains an explanation of the foundation's new Emerging From Conflict program and reports on discussion groups that covered US relations with Cuba, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, and Vietnam.

Emerging From Conflict is a project that takes on some of the US most troubling bilateral relationships. In introducing the project to groups who focused on these relationships last fall at the Stanley Foundation's 39th annual Strategy for Peace Conference, Richard H. Stanley, foundation president, noted that during the Cold War the foundation worked on US-Soviet relations even when that was not politically popular. The Cold War is gone, Stanley

**US national interest is defined as "peaceful, rapid, democratic change in Cuba...."**

### courier

No. 30, Spring 1999 ISSN 1044-5900

The Courier is published three times a year by the Stanley Foundation and mailed without charge to interested readers. The views expressed here are not necessarily those of the foundation.

President	Richard Stanley
Editor	Jeffrey Martin
Managing Editor	Amy Bakke
Correspondent	Keith Porter
Editorial Assistant	Bonnie Tharp

©1999 by The Stanley Foundation. Reprints of certain articles may be obtained upon permission from the foundation. To receive future issues, contact:

The Stanley Foundation  
209 Iowa Avenue  
Muscatine, Iowa 52761 USA  
319-264-1500, Fax: 319-264-0864  
info@stanleyfdn.org

[www.stanleyfdn.org](http://www.stanleyfdn.org)

## The US, Iran, and Iraq

said, “but the need for dialogue and understanding with other states remains. We have demonized some of them, and they have demonized us. Our government has labeled some of them rogue states, and they have expressed similar or stronger characterizations of us.”

The foundation’s goal, Stanley added, is to strengthen dialogue and understanding. “Our premise is that we, as a nation and as citizens, can deal with conflict more effectively—manage it better—if we improve our knowledge of the circumstances, develop a better understanding of the needs and situations of our adversaries, and facilitate their increased knowledge of us and our concerns.”

Sidel and Gray acknowledge the hazards involved in taking on politically charged relationships. “One added challenge to this project is that the problem of improved US relations with current adversaries is one that many involved do not wish to see resolved,” they write.

Reflecting on the conference discussions on Cuba, Iran, Iraq, North Korea, and Vietnam, they observed that the participants in all the discussion groups agreed that “the leaders of some states under discussion may be dictatorial, repressive, dangerous to their citizens’ well-being, and disruptive of international peace and stability. Many participants also agreed that the leadership of certain states should be replaced.... Nevertheless, these discussions all began from the premise that improved bilateral relations may be possible even before leadership transition takes place, and that responsible domestic and foreign policies begin in peace.”

The fall 1998 conference discussions (see accompanying stories about individual groups)

The US has long and ongoing strategic and economic interests in the Persian Gulf. US foreign policy and military efforts to protect those interests have increased sharply over this decade. Yet, policymaking in the Gulf is hampered by the fact that the US is engaged in deep conflict with two of the Gulf’s leading states—Iran and Iraq.

Identifying ways to ameliorate tensions between the US and Iran and Iraq was a key task for a discussion group convened last October as part of the Emerging From Conflict program. The group of Gulf experts agreed that decision making on US policy toward Iran and Iraq is hampered by a lack of adequate information from and communication with the two countries.

The group also said some change in US policy toward the region is occurring while other elements remain the same. The latter include the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, multilateral sanctions against Iraq, and ongoing US military action in Iraq. The changes include a perceived shift away from the American “dual containment” policy toward Iran and Iraq.

### Iran

The 1997 election of Iranian President Mohammed Khatami is seen as having the potential for improving the US-Iran relationship. The US State Department has signaled a willingness to cautiously recast US policy.

According to the report issued from this conference, “...Iran’s foreign policy seems moderated and...Khatami appears much less bellicose in his world view. Nonetheless, there is little evidence of real change. Some

participants went further arguing that they see no significant change other than a realization by many Iranians that the country must break its isolation.”

### Iraq

The group found consensus around two main points regarding the US and Iraq. First, the US struggles to maintain its large military presence in the Gulf. And second, Gulf War allies are increasingly unwilling to respond militarily to Saddam Hussein.

The majority of the group also expressed concern about the dismal conditions facing most Iraqi citizens. But they were unable to agree on specific changes to the sanctions policy. The group also discussed the possibility of opposition groups inside Iraq fomenting political upheaval, but failed to reach strong consensus on the likelihood of such activity or the appropriate role the US could play in those events.

### Recommendations

Various group members made policy recommendations. They said, among other things, that the US should:

- Thoroughly review overall policy in the Gulf region
- Move on rapprochement with Iran before the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act expires in 2001
- Reevaluate and, in some cases, ease unilateral sanctions
- Include Iran in Caspian Sea development discussions
- Foster civil society in Iran by supporting community development, civil society connections across borders, and people-to-people exchanges
- Establish common goals with Iraq and open discrete venues for negotiations

—Keith Porter



***US foreign policy and military efforts to protect those interests have increased sharply over this decade.***



## The US and North Korea

*Conflict—continued from page 2*

**Clinton Administration policy on North Korea is heading for a "train wreck," particularly in regard to Congress.**

The 38th parallel, the line dividing North and South Korea, remains the most heavily militarized border in the world. There are 1.1 million North Korean soldiers on one side; 660,000 South Korean and 37,000 American troops are on the other. No formal peace agreement ending the Korean War has ever been reached.

The prolonged state of military tensions is only one factor complicating US relations with North Korea. Economic collapse has created intense food shortages in the North. Positive overtures from the North indicating a desire for better relations are alternated with provocative military actions.

Policy experts, scholars, and relief providers gathered last October to discuss ways to diffuse tensions on the Korean Peninsula and engage the US and North Korea in a more positive dialogue. The group, part of the Stanley Foundation's Emerging From Conflict program, agreed that engaging North Korea is difficult because North Korea is extremely secretive and closed, resulting in little reliable information for the outside world.

### US Policy

Group members agreed that Clinton Administration policy on North Korea is heading for a "train wreck," particularly in regard to Congress. [Note: Since this conference, President Clinton has announced that former Secretary of Defense William Perry will lead a complete review of US policy on North Korea.]

All conference participants agreed on the need for further engagement with North Korea.

Among the recommendations put forward by one or more members:

- Going over the heads of the current negotiating team from North Korea and dealing directly with military leaders
- Getting the US military and intelligence community to support a North Korean education and training program at the Department of Defense
- Changing US policy blocking North Korean access to the World Bank and International Monetary Fund
- Making reunification of Korea a US foreign policy priority

The group also examined ways to improve nongovernmental organization (NGO) engagement with North Korea. One or more of the participants suggested:

- Improving the accountability of NGOs delivering aid to North Korea
- Increasing interconnectedness between North Korea and the outside world at all levels, including NGOs and the business community
- Engaging Korean War veterans, as was done in the US-Vietnam normalization process

Finally, participants gave a number of suggestions for creating more interest and dialogue in the US on North Korean issues. These included:

- Focusing the attention of high-level US government officials
- Building public support
- Developing strong NGO and citizen advocacy groups necessary for building a domestic issue constituency
- Emphasizing that avoidance of war is the key issue by highlighting the potential human and economic costs of war on the peninsula

—Keith Porter

were the first major events in the Emerging From Conflict project. Numerous follow-up programs are planned for 1999 and beyond.

In general, programs fall into two categories—national-level dialogues on US policy and bilateral or multilateral programs that involve US nationals and representatives from the targeted countries and/or their neighbors. In 1999 it is anticipated that there will be national policy dialogues on Iran, Cuba, and China. (China is much further along than the other countries in the evolution of its relationship to the US, but it is included in the project because it too has gone from conflict to normalization.) It is also possible that the foundation will help support the formation of a Korea Policy Group to focus on North Korea.

Bilateral or multilateral meetings are also in the planning stages. A meeting in Havana may focus on US-Cuba relations. A conference on China's national interests is scheduled for San Francisco. Other possible conferences include a meeting on US-Vietnam relations in Hanoi and a look at prospects for enhancing security through economic cooperation in Northeast Asia.

Of course, the bilateral relationship between the US and each of these countries is unique. However, in their essay, Sidel and Gray postulate that, at least on some general points, the Vietnam experience can instruct. "Vietnam's experience," they write, "highlights the successful strategies used by pro-normalization factions on both sides that could be adapted to other similar situations. Nonetheless...each case is unique, and two countries can be divided by conflicting national interests and divergent historical experiences that militate against any common situation, project, or solution."

# The US and Vietnam

Once Vietnam decided to change its economic direction, they note, it moved without hesitation. The government and Communist Party organs were consistent in implementing the new policy. For its part, the US was ready to respond because the Soviet Union was collapsing, Vietnam seemed less of a threat to the region, and on the domestic political front, opposition to an opening to Vietnam had waned.

Sidel and Gray write, "One country enmeshed in a deeply antagonistic relationship with the US was able to make dramatic and positive changes in that relationship within a relatively short period of time. Vietnam resolved to improve its relations with the US, which is the decision that must precede any action."

Similar actions may not be possible with the other countries included in the Emerging From Conflict program. For internal reasons, they may not be ready to move toward the US. And, even if they did, in some instances the US may not be able to respond for its own reasons.

Still, the premise of the Emerging From Conflict program is that trying to move relations forward is worth the effort, even when it seems very difficult. "Relations between any two countries," according to Sidel and Gray, "rest upon layers of cultural understanding, historical precedent, conceptions of national interest, and the capacity to exercise political, military, or economic power. The challenge is to continue to create forums—direct and indirect, governmental and nongovernmental—for peaceful resolution."

—Jeffrey Martin

**T**he process of fully normalizing relations between the US and Vietnam is moving forward. But the pace is slower than many interested parties would like.

A quarter century after the end of the war and three years after reestablishing diplomatic relations, some of the mistrust from the war years still lingers. Both sides—but particularly the Vietnamese—periodically sense hostility and wonder about the ultimate goals of their counterpart. Nevertheless, there is an ongoing dialogue between the two countries and a process for addressing bilateral issues that in many respects is typical of any country-to-country relationship. US-Vietnam relations were the topic of a Stanley Foundation conference held last December.

## Economics and Politics

At the top of the two countries' agenda is the negotiation of a bilateral trade agreement and the extension of Most-Favored Nation status to Vietnam. Vietnam is a poor and heavily populated country; its 80 million people have a per capita income of \$320 per year. US-Vietnam trade is very modest, and US investment in that economy is still small.

From the US side of things, economics alone cannot drive the relationship. But the US has an interest in peace and stability in Southeast Asia and wants Vietnam contributing to that.

Conference participants said the negotiation of the terms of the trade agreement is difficult in and of itself. But reaching an agreement is also complicated by its implicit relationship to US concerns over human rights, workers' rights, and religious freedom issues.

Politically, Vietnam and the US share a wariness about China, Vietnam's neighbor. Participants observed that in the complex, tripartite relationship, Vietnam slides

back and forth between the two large powers depending on how its relationship with the other is going.

## Legacy of the War

Perhaps surprisingly, contacts between military officials from Vietnam and the US have proceeded quite well. In fact, one participant said these contacts are "a cornerstone of the relationship."

Those contacts had their beginning in the effort to deal with one of the legacies of the war—the search for the remains of US soldiers missing-in-action (MIA). While the MIA issue is still important to the US, it does not have the overwhelming power to dominate the relationship as it once did.

Another thorny issue left over from the war is the problem with Agent Orange—the defoliant US forces used. There is interest in both countries in a research program on the long-term effects of Agent Orange because military and civilian personnel on both sides were affected. Beyond research, however, the Vietnamese are interested in getting humanitarian assistance from the US because of the high incidence of birth defects found in areas where the defoliant was used.

## The Way Ahead

Groups in the US interested in Vietnam are not as focused now as they were several years ago when they were pressing for political normalization. Nevertheless, participants identified a lengthy series of recommendations for improving relations. Among them are:

- Both countries should show flexibility in reaching a trade agreement.
- Visits should be intensified by cabinet officials, members of Congress, and eventually the president.
- New effort should be put into educational, professional, academic, and nongovernmental exchanges.

—Jeffrey Martin



**At the top of the two countries' agenda is the negotiation of a bilateral trade agreement....**

## Resources

Visit

[www.stanleyfdn.org](http://www.stanleyfdn.org) for the Emerging From Conflict: Improving US Relations With Current and Recent Adversaries report or see page 10 to order. Common Ground radio programs #9907 and #9910 may be heard at [www.common-groundradio.org](http://www.common-groundradio.org) or see page 11 to order.

The flags on these pages were created by Mark Sensen and Zeljko Heimer (Vietnam) courtesy of FOTW Flags of The World [www.fotw.digibel.be/flags](http://www.fotw.digibel.be/flags).



Courtesy of The University of Iowa Museum of Art, Mask, Chokwe peoples, The Stanley Collection.

## De Facto Partitioning

# The Congo Maze

*Shifting political and military alliances have made the Democratic Republic of Congo insecure, causing economic devastation*

*Editor's Note: Reese Erlich is a regular contributor to the Stanley Foundation's public radio program on world affairs, Common Ground. Tapes and transcripts of his recent Common Ground reports from Congo are available on our Web site: [www.common-groundradio.org](http://www.common-groundradio.org).*

**The eventual outcome will set a precedent for central Africa and possibly the entire continent.**

**M**ention of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC), formerly Zaire, brings to mind images of still another African mess—a seemingly intractable civil war, economic collapse, and horrific tribal conflict. But it is important to understand the war in the DRC, because it may well become a turning point in post-Cold War Africa.

For the first time black-ruled nations have invaded and occupied portions of another country. Fifteen years ago the US and USSR would have lined up behind opposing forces. But today the US just plays a behind-the-scenes role, and no less than nine African armies are now fighting on Congolese soil.

Rwanda and Uganda, with the tacit support of the US, have invaded the DRC from the east and support rebel forces opposed to the government of President Laurent Kabila. Angola, Zimbabwe, Chad, and Namibia have come to Kabila's military aid. The war appears to be in a stalemate.



AP PHOTO

**Home to Stay?** A Congolese family returns to their home in Makobola, in southeastern DRC, Jan. 9, 1999. Civilians have reportedly been targeted in the village, which has been the site of battles between forces loyal to Congo President Laurent Kabila and Congolese rebels.

The eventual outcome will set a precedent for central Africa and possibly the entire continent. If the DRC fragments into separate areas under foreign control, it could lead to chaos and long-term instability in the region. If Kabila wins the war, his supporters will claim a victory for national sovereignty and against Western domination.

**T**he DRC sits on an estimated \$58 billion in mineral wealth—including enormous deposits of gold, diamonds, cobalt, and copper. The DRC is also strategically located in the center of Africa, bordering eight countries.

In 1960 when the Congo won independence from Belgium, the US and Western powers recognized the country's strategic importance. After free elections in June led to leftist Patrice Lumumba becoming prime minister, the US, France, and Belgium swung into action. In September they backed a coup led by Col. Joseph Mobutu. Lumumba was jailed and later murdered, many Congolese believe, at the instigation of the US.

Col. Mobutu, who changed his name to Mobutu Sese Seko,

became the country's iron-fisted dictator, ruling from 1965-1997. His rule was marked with corruption, brutality, and profitable mining concessions for Western companies. Mobutu strongly supported the US against the Soviet Union, including allowing his country to become a staging area for right-wing guerrillas opposed to the neighboring Angolan government. But by 1997 Mobutu's regime was collapsing. Inflation hit 260 percent, the army degenerated into roving bands, and corruption virtually eliminated mining production.

**E**nter Laurent Kabila, a leftist Eguerrilla leader in the 1960s, who reinvented himself as a populist and began a campaign against Mobutu. Kabila secured military backing from Rwanda and Uganda and came to power mainly with the aid of Rwandan and Ugandan troops.

The US government initially backed Kabila with US diplomats welcoming Kabila's calls for foreign investment and promises to end corruption. One American-headquartered mining company even paid Kabila \$1 million in advance taxes and provided him with its private airplane. During

his first year in power, Kabila brought inflation down to 6 percent and reversed the trend of negative economic growth.

Kabila, however, also instituted a series of populist measures inspired by his leftist past, including public works projects and sending volunteer youth brigades to farm in the countryside. Most significantly, he refused to pay World Bank loans run up during the corrupt Mobutu years, arguing that the money had not benefited the Congolese people. Kabila began to fall out of favor with the US.

In August 1998 Uganda and Rwanda invaded the DRC from the east and instigated disgruntled Congolese soldiers to form a rebel group. The US criticized the invasion. But a US diplomatic source interviewed for this story couched the criticism in terms that were considerably milder than in other cases of foreign aggression. "The presence of foreign troops, specifically Rwandan and Ugandan," he said, "is cause for concern."

Some Congolese directly blame the US and the West for the war. "The current war in Congo is a war of the Westerners' making," said Charles Abedi, a Kabila supporter. "They supported Mobutu for a very long time. But with Kabila's program, it's tough for them to get something from Congo."

As proof of the anti-Kabila bias, Abedi and others point to an International Monetary Fund (IMF) \$2.5 billion loan recently extended to Uganda, one of the invading parties. But that same institution halted payments on an already promised loan to Zimbabwe, which backs Kabila. The US diplomatic source said the IMF decision was based strictly on economic criteria and was unrelated to the Congo war.

Kabila's government argues that a rebel victory could lead to partition of the country, with the valuable mining areas of the east and southeast splitting off from the DRC.

While the war began as a power struggle between Kabila and the rulers of Rwanda and Uganda, both sides quickly played the tribal card.

Tens of thousands Tutsi—Rwanda claims as many as 300,000—live in eastern Congo. Known as the Banyamulenge, they form a minority in the DRC's total population of about 46 million. Many of these Tutsi emigrated from Rwanda generations ago and hold Congolese citizenship. But many Congolese still consider them foreigners.

When Kabila came to power, backed by the mainly Tutsi Rwandan Army, he also had strong support from the Banyamulenge. After Kabila took the capital many outside observers say that the Rwandan Tutsi soldiers in Kinshasa acted as arrogant occupiers rather than liberators. "They would take away people's food," says Olivier Kungwa, a researcher with the human rights group Voice of the Voiceless. "They would rape women. So people were pretty angry at them."

By the middle of 1998 resentment of the Rwandan Tutsi army was severely undercutting Kabila's popular support. He kicked out the foreign political advisers and troops. The Rwandans and Ugandans responded by sponsoring the rebellion and were on the verge of winning in August.

Some of Kabila's ministers mobilized popular support by giving speeches attacking all Tutsi. They played into the popular prejudices against Banyamulenge. The population hunted down and murdered Banyamulenge or anyone who even looked like a Tutsi. The

government eventually reversed course and sent out troops to protect the Banyamulenge. However, many Tutsi had to flee from the capital.

Foreign diplomats and human rights groups confirm that the anti-Tutsi violence has stopped in Kinshasa. The Kabila government now proclaims itself an opponent of ethnic hatred and tribal war. But the tribal-based conflicts continue in the east of the country.

For its part, the Rwandan and Ugandan soldiers have been accused of tribal-based massacres of civilians in eastern Congo. Rwanda is seeking to make a wide swath of eastern Congo into a secure zone against cross-border attacks from opponents of the Rwandan government. Many diplomats worry that such a zone could become permanent and destroy Congolese sovereignty.

The Kabila government argues that it is fighting for an important principle—to stop foreign invaders and keep the Congo united. Finance Minister Mwanga Nanga Mawampanga wonders why Western countries launched a massive war when Iraq invaded Kuwait but "did nothing when Rwanda and Uganda invaded my country."

But fighting for a principle doesn't travel any further in Africa than it does anywhere else. In reality, the rebel Rwandan-Ugandan coalition controls about one-third of the country. The war is also causing economic collapse in the DRC. Large-scale mining has stopped. Inflation is back up to 250 percent.

Peter Bashinga, an accountant, expresses the sentiments of many Kinshasa residents. "Kabila sticks to his position," he said. "The rebels stick to their position. The economic situation is really very bad. So what's going to be the future?"

—Reese Erlich



Courtesy of The University of Iowa Museum of Art. Mask: lukwakonga, Lega, Congo, The Stanley Collection.

**The war is...causing economic collapse in the DRC.**

#### Resources

Common Ground radio program #9905 may be heard at [www.common-groundradio.org](http://www.common-groundradio.org) or see page 11

# At War With Children

**COMMON  
GROUND**  
RADIO'S WEEKLY  
PROGRAM ON  
WORLD AFFAIRS



UNDP PHOTO



*Olara Otunnu*

**O**lara Otunnu, the UN Secretary-General's Special Representative for Children and Armed Conflict recently appeared on the Stanley Foundation's public radio program, *Common Ground*. Otunnu spoke with Executive Producer Jeff Martin. *Common Ground* is heard each week on more than 100 public radio stations across the US. A full transcript of this program, #9904, is available on the *Common Ground* Web site: [www.common-groundradio.org](http://www.common-groundradio.org)

## **Olara Otunnu**

[My office is responsible for] all aspects of the victimization of children in situations of conflict—children who are killed; children who are displaced. The largest number of refugees and those who are displaced within their countries are children. Children who are traumatized as a result of being exposed to violence. Children who are used as child soldiers. Children who are sexually abused. Children who suffer disproportionately from the impact of land mines. So all of those aspects come within our mandate.

*In your report to the General Assembly that you did earlier this fall you talked early on about a breakdown of values. Can you expound on that a little bit?*

## **Otunnu**

There are two pillars, two normative pillars, pillars of standards on which we can fasten the claim for the protection of children. The one is the standards which have been developed internationally. Especially in the last fifty years beginning with the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the Geneva Convention, the Convention of the Rights of the Child, to even very recently the Rome Treaty on the statute of the International Criminal Court. So there is a whole repertoire of very impressive international standards providing for the protection of children. That's one level.

But locally, within most societies, are local value systems that speak to the same ethos, the protection of children and the welfare of children. It provided taboos. It provided the do's and don'ts even in situations of conflict. And what we are seeing is that the international norms, by and large, have not taken root. They are not being applied on the ground. The local values, which called people to order for so long within their own societies, have been undermined radically. In some cases they have collapsed altogether because of prolonged exposure to conflict. The result then is an ethical vacuum. It is a free-for-all in which women, children, and the elderly all become fair game in this absolutely ruthless struggle for power in so many situations of conflict in the world.

*Do you have any idea why this has happened?*

## **Otunnu**

Well, I think it is in part because most of the conflicts today happen within countries. They are civil wars. And the conflict, the struggle, and the fighting between brother enemies and sister enemies and neighbors, and compatriots tend to be the worst. You are pitting communities against communities, neighbors against neighbors. And with this comes the phenomenon of demonization, where you are not simply seeking to disable the enemy army as tends to be in situations of interstate conflict [but] where you've got set armies fighting each other. You tend, increasingly, to be seeking to annihilate the so-called enemy community—whether you define it along ethnic, religious, or regional lines.

But also the number of parties involved in conflict, it isn't two sides. Often there are many parties within a conflict, with a varying degree of autonomy and authority over those who fight for them. Hmm? So that the level of organization and authority varies a lot in these situations. There's been a qualitative shift in the very nature and conduct of warfare. And that explains why, if you look at World War I which was a particularly bloody conflict in Europe, thousands of people were sent in and died. The percentage of civilian casualties was about 5 percent. It was a bloody war, soldier-on-soldier violence. World War II, where too, a bloody, bloody conflict, including the aerial bombardment of Europe. You know, it was the end of war. The figure rose up sharply to over 45 percent. But today, in the kind of conflicts I am describing to you in some thirty theaters of conflict around the globe, fully ninety percent of the casualties in these conflicts are

***It is a free-for-all in which women, children, and the elderly all become fair game in this absolutely ruthless struggle for power....***





**Fighting "Men."** *These child soldiers in Liberia are typical of the youth engaged in conflict in more than two dozen locations around the world.*

civilian populations. It has the world upside down. Most of these are woman and children. Most of these are deliberate targeting of homes, civilian sites, and civilian populations. You see?

*Let's talk a little bit about child soldiers. How young are some of these kids, and how do they get involved? How do they get started? How do they get recruited?*

#### Otunnu

Well, the reasons vary. Some of them are forced, quite often kidnapped. Many are enticed through deception. But also there are those who are attracted by ideological maneuvering, ideological manipulation. They are told, "You are fighting for a cause, for self-determination, for democracy, for the rights of our people, for our religion." There are many ways by which they are attracted. But there are also those who simply go to the fighting groups because everything else has broken down. There is no economic system in place. Schools

are not functioning; the family has broken up. And these organized fighting groups look more attractive than the alternative. They provide food. They provide a gun which gives instant power. So there are many reasons. There are political reasons. There are economic and social reasons, but there are also ideological reasons in addition to children who are simply forced to go and fight. As you may know, today we estimate that 300,000 children below the age of eighteen are under arms around the globe. So that is the kind of situation which we are facing.

In terms of their ages, it varies. But most of the children I've seen in the field from the various places I've been, they would be, some are barely ten, twelve. Others are thirteen, fifteen. Of course, when you ask any of these kids "How old are you?" they all say, "Twenty-one." Because somebody has primed them to say twenty-one.

to try to heal them from that is very, very difficult.

Take children who lose out on schooling. Even when the war has ended, how to reintroduce them to productive lives. How to work out some vocational training for them. Very difficult.

Take just the sheer trauma that children suffer being exposed to this, and how that can live with them for so long. In many ways, these children who are exposed to violence can then become the vehicle for transferring violence from one generation to another, unless we are able to heal them and cut the cycle.

So the ways in which a society is affected economically, socially, and politically is enormous. The future of our society and our civilization is very much at stake if we do not protect children from the impact of war.

—excerpted by Keith Porter

*Finally, we just have a couple of minutes left. I wonder if you'd talk about the long-term effect of children in conflict.*

#### Otunnu

It is the future of our society which is being blighted when children are involved in conflict. When children are abused in conflict situations. Take children who take up guns and fight. They lose their innocence, they lose their youth. They become instruments of destruction and atrocities. And later

**COMMON GROUND**  
RADIO'S WEEKLY PROGRAM ON WORLD AFFAIRS



***It is the future of our society which is being blighted when children are involved in conflict.***

#### Resources

Common Ground radio program #9904 may be heard at [www.common-groundradio.org](http://www.common-groundradio.org) or see page 11

# Publications at [www.stanleyfdn.org](http://www.stanleyfdn.org)

*These reports and a wealth of other information are available instantly on our Web site: [www.stanleyfdn.org](http://www.stanleyfdn.org) or use the order form on page 11. Blue entries indicate new publications.*

## **United Nations**

### **Emerging From Conflict: Improving US Relations with Current and Former Adversaries**

A new, multifaceted Stanley Foundation program examines ways to build better relations between the US and some of its most recent adversaries. The program's first report includes an explanation of the project and examines Cuba, North Korea, Vietnam, and Iran/Iraq. 4/99, 68pp.

### **US and European Policy Options in the Persian Gulf: Time for Precrisis Management**

Experts from both sides of the Atlantic met to discuss the state of play of US-European policies toward the Gulf region. They worked toward formulating policies while anticipating crises. 2/99, 40pp.

### **Getting Down to Cases: Enforcing Security Council Resolutions**

An international panel of high-level experts discussed the UN Security Council's role in three major conflicts this decade. Lessons from those cases guided exploration of options for strengthening enforcement of council resolutions. 6/98, 32pp.

### **US-European Policy in the Persian Gulf: Beyond the Friction**

Experts from both sides of the Atlantic discussed the differences between US and European approaches to dealing with challenges in the Persian Gulf. 9/97, 27pp.

### **Making UN Reform Work: Improving Member State-Secretariat Relations**

If UN reform has a chance of succeeding, the relationship between member nations and the UN Secretariat will require attention. Experts analyzed the state of those relations and developed recommendations. 2/97, 36pp.

### **The Role of the United Nations in Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction**

Is the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction a feasible goal? Conference participants examined this question and set out concrete, short- and long-term strategies for improving the UN's performance in this area. 2/96, 36pp.

## **General Interest**

### **Accountability and Judicial Response: Building Mechanisms for Post-Conflict Justice**

Experts considered options for helping to build or rebuild justice systems in countries that have been torn apart by civil war. 10/97, 24pp.

### **Building Multilateral Cooperation in the Americas: A New Direction for US Policy**

Policy experts assessed the prospects and obstacles to increased multilateral cooperation in the Western Hemisphere. 10/97, 20pp.

### **Human Rights in a New Era**

Foundation President Richard Stanley addressed the role that an expanded understanding of human rights plays in US foreign policy today. 10/97, 14pp.

### **The Pros and Cons of NATO Expansion: Defining US Goals and Options**

The advisability and prospects for expanding NATO were explored by a group including proponents and opponents of expansion. 10/97, 32pp.

### **US Sanctions Policy: Balancing Principles and Interests**

The efficacy of unilateral and multilateral sanctions were examined from the political and business perspectives. 10/97, 16pp.

### **Building on Beijing: United States NGOs Shape a Women's National Action Agenda**

This is a compilation of recommendations for national policy that grew out of discussions among American women's organizations in the wake of the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. 7/97, available on the Web only.

### **Post-Conflict Justice: The Role of the International Community**

In countries torn apart by war, there is a need for order, justice, and hope for reconciliation. To what extent can and should the international community try to fill those needs? What tools does it have at its disposal? A panel of experts discussed those issues. 4/97, 28pp.

### **Educating for the Global Community: A Framework for Community Colleges**

Community college leaders and government officials met last fall to consider how to support effective global education in community colleges. They identified attributes of a globally competent learner and institutional requirements to produce such learners. 11/96, 36pp.

### **Human Rights: Bridging the Communities**

Leaders of international human rights groups and US civil rights organizations met to explore common interests. 10/96, 16pp.

### **The Persian Gulf: Challenges for a New Administration**

Experts met for a fresh assessment of a volatile region in which the US has major interests. 10/96, 16pp.

### **Rebuilding Russia: The Next Phase**

A straightforward assessment of post-communist Russia's strengths and weaknesses. Participants discussed prospects for Russia's integration with the West. 10/96, 16pp.

### **Weapons of Mass Destruction: Are the Nonproliferation Regimes Falling Behind?**

On the one hand, intergovernmental agreements to limit the use and possession of these weapons have worked well and are getting stronger. On the other hand, the new threat from these weapons lies with terrorists and rogue regimes. 10/96, 16pp.

# COMMON GROUND

RADIO'S WEEKLY PROGRAM  
ON WORLD AFFAIRS

[www.commongroundradio.org](http://www.commongroundradio.org)

Transcripts and RealAudio files are available on our Web site: [www.commongroundradio.org](http://www.commongroundradio.org).

**9913—Hanan Ashrawi; Better Help.** Hanan Ashrawi gives us an inside look at life in what would be Palestine. And later, a new effort to more effectively target economic assistance to poor countries has reined in the UN's sprawling bureaucracy. 3/99

**9912—Vanessa Redgrave's World.** Academy Award-winning actress Vanessa Redgrave discusses her work on behalf of Kosovo Albanians and other voiceless peoples. 3/99

**9910—Vietnam's Economy.** A report on the prospects for Vietnam's efforts to emerge from desperate poverty. 3/99

**9909—Wheels for the World.** War and disease have left 20 million people in the developing world in need of something as simple as a wheelchair. Here we see how one man's vision is providing better wheelchairs—and much better lives—to people around the world. 3/99

**9908—Rebuilding South Africa.** Nelson Mandela's term as president of South Africa will soon end, and the nation will enter yet another phase of post-apartheid life. Here we see how heavy industry, agriculture, tourism, and health care are being rebuilt in South Africa. 2/99

**9907—Vietnam: Legacy of the War.** It's been a quarter century since the war between the United States and Vietnam ended. But, despite efforts to put it to rest, the conflict lives on in the cultures of both countries. This program looks at the legacy of the Vietnam War. 2/99

**9906—Hope for Nigeria.** Hafsat Abiola has lost both her mother and her father in the fight for democracy in Nigeria. Here this remarkable young woman talks about the potential for change in Nigeria and her own upcoming return to the nation. 2/99

**9905—Inside the Congo.** Civil war, foreign invasion, and tribal massacres have become a part of life in the Congo. This program looks at wealth, poverty, corruption, and revolution in central Africa. 2/99

**9904—At War With Children.** To a shocking degree, children are caught up in armed conflicts around the world. Here we talk with the UN's chief advocate for children in war. 1/99

**9902—Rio Grande; Defense '99.** First, a movement in the US and Mexico seeks to counter the damage done to the Rio Grande River. Later, we see how defense spending in 1999 will affect US security. 1/99

**9901—Women's Vital Voices.** More than 400 women from throughout the Americas and the Caribbean met in Uruguay to share ideas about strengthening their democracies. On this edition we hear from many current and emerging leaders of the Americas. 1/99

**Common Ground is the Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program on world affairs. A catalog of available programs and a list of broadcasting stations are available free of charge. See ordering information below.**

TO ORDER call 319-264-1500 or e-mail [info@stanleyfdn.org](mailto:info@stanleyfdn.org) (Have Visa or MasterCard number ready for cassette orders.)

## Order Form (mail or fax this form or call)

### Bill to

Name \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
Address \_\_\_\_\_  
City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

### Method of Payment

MasterCard \_\_\_\_\_ Visa \_\_\_\_\_ Check \_\_\_\_\_  
Card Number \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. Date \_\_\_\_\_  
Name on Card \_\_\_\_\_  
Phone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

### Publications (free in single copies)

Quantity	Title	Cost
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

### Cassettes (\$5.00 each) and Transcripts (free)

Quantity	Number/Title	Cost
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
	<b>Total</b>	_____

### Also available

<i>World Press Review</i> sample	Free	_____
<i>Common Ground</i> catalog	Free	_____
<i>Courier</i> sample	Free	_____

### Quantity Orders

These items are available in quantity for postage and handling charges as follows:

Individual copies	FREE	11-25 copies	\$4.00
2-10 copies	\$2.00	26-50 copies	\$6.00

Over 50—Contact the foundation for special pricing.

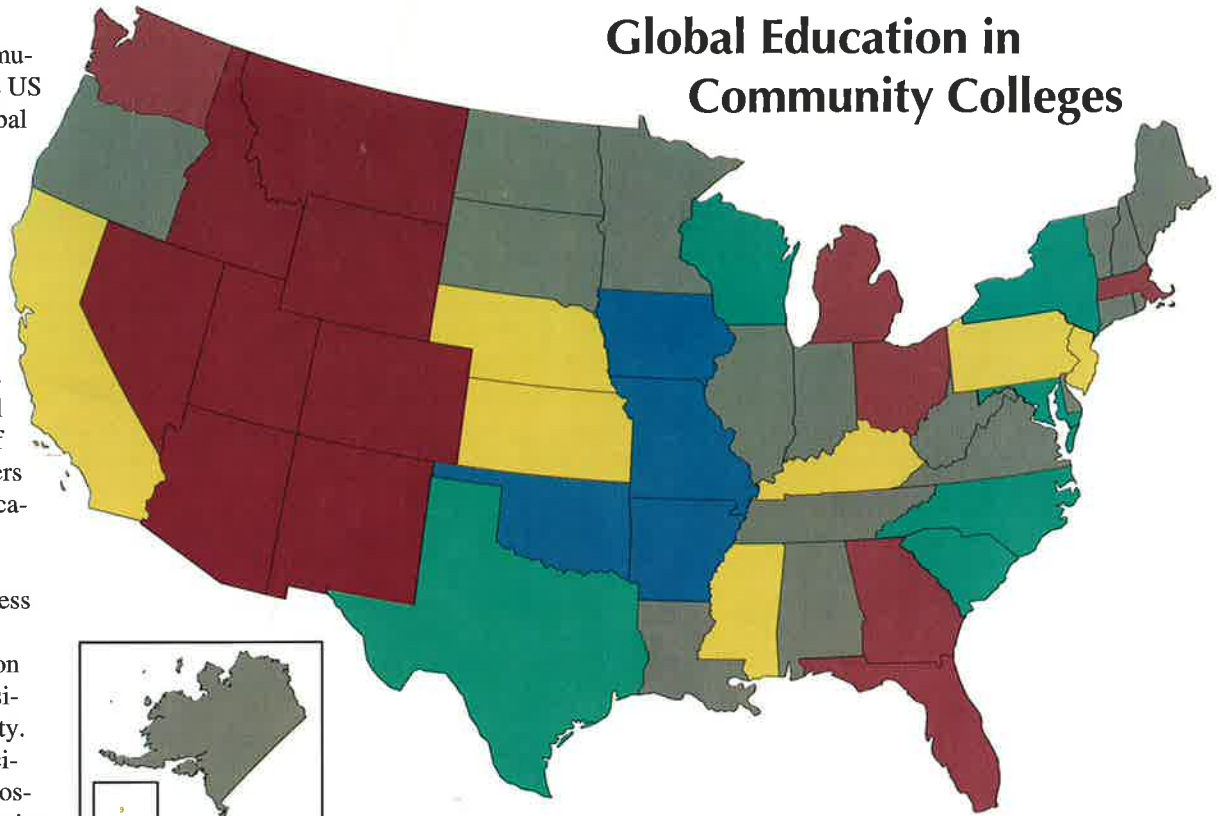
Please mail or fax completed form to:  
The Stanley Foundation  
209 Iowa Avenue • Muscatine, IA 52761  
319-264-1500 • 319-264-0864 fax

# Global Education in Community Colleges

State-by-state, community colleges in the US are integrating global education into their curriculums. The Stanley Foundation is in its fifth year of working with community colleges to accomplish this goal. In the current phase of the project, the foundation is working at the state level to help build networks of community college leaders committed to global education.

An early step in the process is the organization of statewide global education seminars for college presidents, trustees, and faculty. At those meetings, participants develop plans for fostering international education efforts that are appropriate to their state. In several states, international education associations have been formed in the wake of the global education seminar.

The map shows where each state is in the process.



- Stanley Foundation sponsored global education seminars convened
- States forming international education associations as a result of the seminars
- Seminars scheduled for 1999
- Combined eight state seminar scheduled for 1999
- States currently in discussion for future seminars
- States not yet in discussions

**The Stanley Foundation**  
**209 Iowa Avenue**  
**Muscatine, Iowa 52761**

Address Service Requested

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