

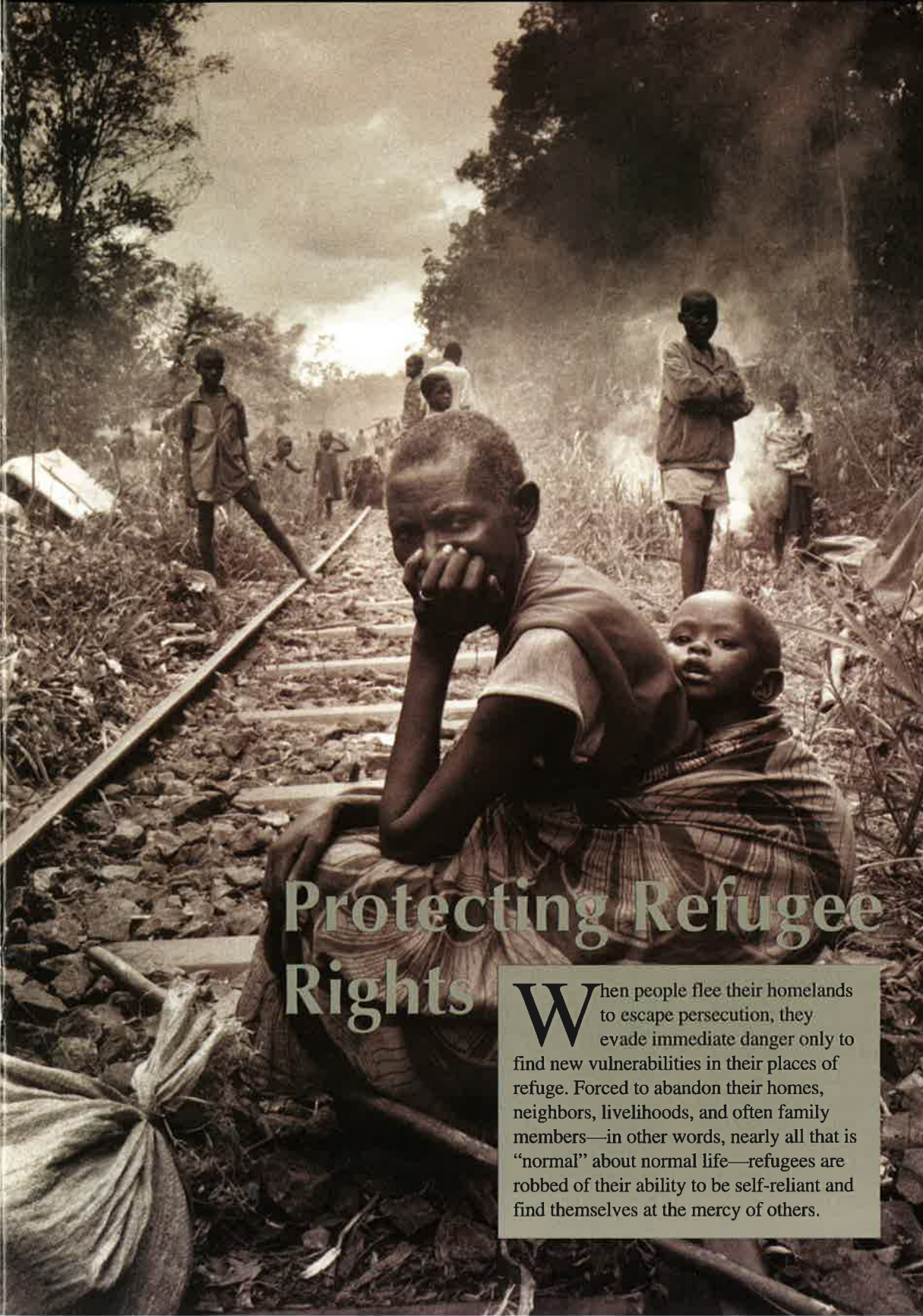
# courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



The Stanley Foundation  
Number 34

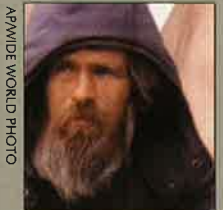
Spring 2001



## Protecting Refugee Rights

**W**hen people flee their homelands to escape persecution, they evade immediate danger only to find new vulnerabilities in their places of refuge. Forced to abandon their homes, neighbors, livelihoods, and often family members—in other words, nearly all that is “normal” about normal life—refugees are robbed of their ability to be self-reliant and find themselves at the mercy of others.

### INSIDE



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Russia's Relationship 4

Ballistic Missile Defense 6

China 8

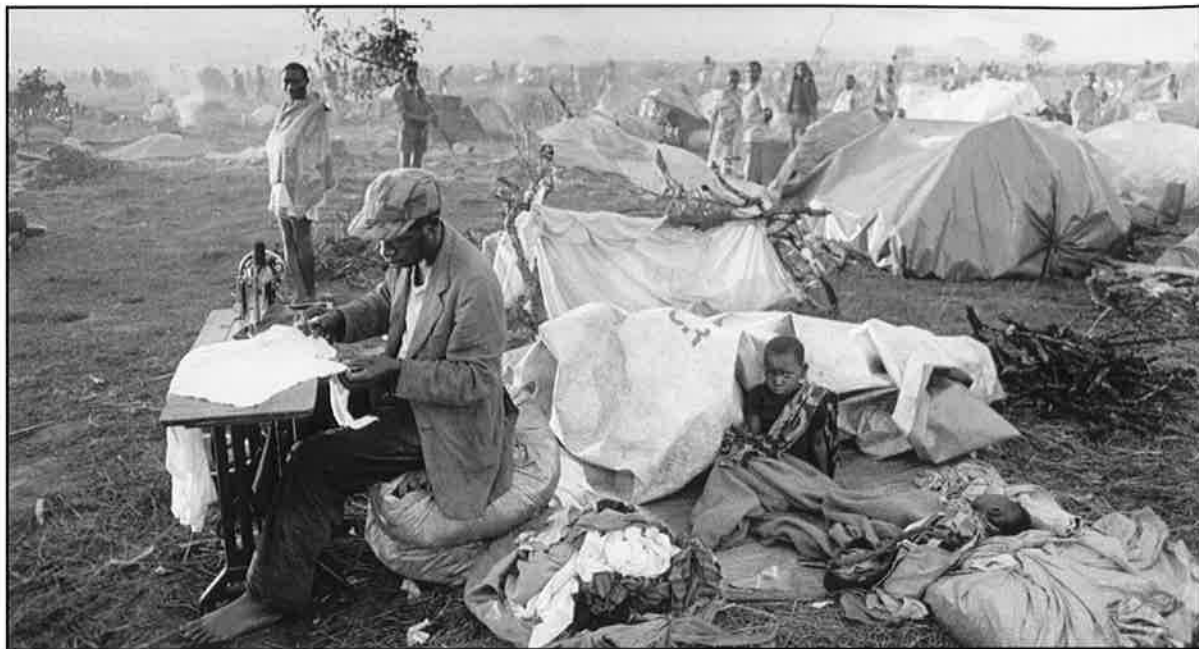
Carter 12

**Cover Photo  
Seeking Shelter.**

*These refugees were caught in the 1997 war in Zaire (now the Democratic Republic of Congo). They are moving toward Kisangani hoping to find food, medical assistance, and UN protection.*

► **Mending Lives.**

*Most refugees have only minimal belongings, but life goes on. This family in Tanzania is fortunate to have a sewing machine.*



PHOTOGRAPHER SEBASTIAO SALGADO/CONTACT PRESS IMAGES

**The international community bears a special responsibility for refugees.**

International media attention usually focuses on the urgent survival needs of refugees who have just fled, usually to areas that are ill-equipped to support them. We are all familiar with the images of tent cities, food distribution, or medical treatment for new refugees. But food, shelter, and medicine are merely the basics for the millions of people displaced by conflict and oppression around the world. As their time in limbo drags on, refugees need much more than the bare necessities to reclaim a measure of dignity and self-sufficiency.

The various treaties on international human rights and refugee law outline the rights of refugees and, therefore, the responsibilities of international governments to provide protection. Indeed, the international community bears a special responsibility for refugees. Having left their homelands, by definition refugees no longer come under the protection of their own governments (which, in most cases, were the original persecutors); the job of safeguarding refugee rights thus shifts to the international community.

**Erosion**

Yet as the world's governments have confronted a succession of

complex human rights and humanitarian crises, their commitment to uphold the full rights of refugees has flagged. There has been a distinct erosion in recent years in the level of protection provided by governments, particularly by those playing host to refugees.

Refugees require protection in three main ways:

- Refugees first need to be able to escape into another country without being forcibly returned to danger. The 1948 Universal Declaration of Human Rights, the founding document of modern human rights, affirms that "Everyone has the right to seek and to enjoy in other countries asylum from persecution."
- Refugees need to be protected from violence and other abuse in their place of refuge.
- Refugees must enjoy the same rights and freedoms—including economic and social rights, such as work and education—as everyone else. While refugees have some special rights in recognition of their predicament, for the most part they are covered by the fundamental human rights to which all are entitled.

An extensive set of international standards has evolved to address the diverse situations of refugees: be they at America's shores or in a country in their own region, camped out with tens of thousands of compatriots or alone in a foreign city, school-aged or elderly, newly displaced or in the process of returning home.

The threats to refugee rights similarly come from a variety of quarters. States that border on countries

**courier**  
 No. 34, Spring 2001 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  
 Director of Programs Jeffrey G. Martin  
 Editor Keith Porter  
 Creative Director Amy Bakke  
 Correspondent Kristin McHugh  
 Copyeditor Margo Schneider  
 Editorial Assistant Eileen Schurk  
 ©2001 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 • 319-264-0864 fax  
 info@stanleyfdn.org  
 www.stanleyfdn.org

from which refugees are fleeing sometimes forcibly push them back, in direct violation of basic norms. Meanwhile, some wealthier nations, such as the United States, have also chipped away at the principle of political asylum by erecting procedural barriers that prevent refugees from even asking for, let alone obtaining, protection. Some armed combatants infiltrate and use refugee camps as rear bases for their insurgency campaigns, usually accompanied by extortion, intimidation, and often rape. Even when countries provide a relatively safe haven, local governments frequently deny economic and social rights, such as access to work and basic education.

### US Role

Like so many other countries, the United States is a destination for thousands of people seeking asylum from persecution every year. To get a sense of the scale of the global refugee problem, compare the roughly 80,000 refugees whom the United States welcomes each year to the worldwide total of 13 million refugees, the great majority of whom remain in their own regions.

Nor does this tell the whole story, for there are another 20 million people who are displaced within their own countries (known as internally displaced persons) and are not considered refugees because they haven't fled across a border. The lack of legal protections or practical mechanisms for these internal exiles, who are often in the worst of living conditions, is one of the major issues facing the international community today.

America's posture toward refugees consists of two sets of policies. Asylum policy, a component of immigration control, governs the granting (or denial) of political asylum for those who have arrived in America and seek such protection. Meanwhile, US diplomats work closely with the United Nations and other governments in responding to

the needs and rights of refugees around the world. The United Nations' refugee agency, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), attends to the front lines of humanitarian crises, but it is important to remember that governments provide the key material and political resources for this effort.

While the immigration and foreign policy spheres are separate, they are also closely related. As a leader of the international community, the US asylum policies attract attention from other governments looking for signs of what is considered acceptable. In this way, American regulations and practices take on a symbolism far beyond their practical effect. The United States and the industrial powers do a great deal to host refugees and provide for them, but there are significant blots on their record of protecting refugee rights—failures that lower the bar for refugee protection globally.

### Closing the Door

Refugees are often domestic political scapegoats, and the governments of wealthy states have increasingly taken active steps to keep refugees from their borders. Whether through the blunt instrument of border closures or more insidiously through restrictive laws and procedures, host states are developing mechanisms to deflect asylum claims.

The United States, for instance, has an unrealistically short deadline for asylum seekers to file their claims and also frequently incarcerates asylum seekers for long periods, partly in hopes of discouraging others from coming. In 1996 Congress enacted an immigration reform law that created a summary deportation mechanism called "expedited removal." The new procedure gave relatively low-level immigration inspectors the power to deport anyone arriving at an airport with false or insufficient travel documents. The problem is that the failure to produce valid documents

## Washington Conference Focuses on Refugee Protection

On November 14, 2000, over 300 refugee policy advocates gathered in Washington and discussed how to stem and reverse the erosion of refugee protection. Participants heard from leaders of refugee and internally displaced person communities, as well as senior US and UN officials, including UN High Commissioner for Refugees Sadako Ogata. Mrs. Ogata summarized the wide-ranging challenges involved saying, "Protecting refugees does not only mean encouraging governments to sign the Refugee Convention and to adopt refugee laws, it also means facing down hostile border guards—who likely have never heard of these instruments—making sure refugees are allowed to enter and are not detained, mistreated, or abused." The conference was organized by the Stanley Foundation together with nearly 30 other organizations. Details can be found on the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights Web site: [www.lchr.org/conference/trial\\_new.html](http://www.lchr.org/conference/trial_new.html).

is often a direct result of the repression that the asylum seeker is trying to escape.

Compassion fatigue is often cited as an explanation for the weakening commitment to refugees and the internally displaced. A focus on refugee protection can serve as a reminder that the dispossessed are not merely unfortunate victims deserving of charity, but they are essentially the same as people everywhere, with *rights* that represent the world community's agreed principles. Any failure to uphold these rights comes at a significant cost to the international rule of law.

—David Shorr

*The author drew on his earlier work on a recent Lawyers Committee for Human Rights report, In the National Interest 2001: Human Rights Policies for the Bush Administration.*

### Resources

*The State of the World's Refugees: Fifty Years of Humanitarian Action* is available online at [www.unhcr.ch/sowr2000/toc2.htm](http://www.unhcr.ch/sowr2000/toc2.htm).

*World Refugee Survey 2000* can be ordered from [www.refugeesusa.org/store/individual1.cfm?item\\_id=2032](http://www.refugeesusa.org/store/individual1.cfm?item_id=2032).

The *Common Ground* radio program #0106 "Afghan and Serbian Refugees" is available online at [commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org) or see page 11 to order.

## Russia and the United States

# Uncertain Partners

*A Relationship in Transition*

It has been nearly nine years since Russia embarked on ambitious reforms to establish a democratic political system and free-market economy. The road to these goals has not been easy, nor has the task of building relations with the United States following the Cold War. What is Russia today and what will it be in the future—a partner or a competitor?

**...40 percent of Russians live below the poverty line....**

The answer, according to experts convened by the Stanley Foundation, is complex. They say the nature of current US-Russian relations; Russia's troubled domestic, security, and foreign policies; and the level of US commitment to improve relations with Russia will impact ties between the two countries.

### The Road to Capitalism

In January of 1992 Russian President Boris Yeltsin embarked Russia on a path to transform the country's economy from a centralized command economy to a free-market system. The economic program Yeltsin laid out followed the "shock therapy" model promoted by Western economists and consisted of three main policy thrusts—privatization, price liberalization, and macroeconomic stabilization. Since 1992 the economic program has been implemented in fits and starts, and its success has been mixed. Russia's gross domestic product (GDP) has shrunk 45 percent since 1991, 40 percent of Russians live below the poverty line, and life expectancy and birth rates have steadily fallen.

Despite these problems, the Russian economy is showing signs of growth, although attitudes among conference participants were split on whether this positive growth is



**Cosmetic Changes.** A homeless man sits beneath an ad outside Moscow's GUM department store. Russian economic woes are closely tied to Russian security concerns.

real or virtual. This diverse group of policymakers and policy watchers—including representatives from US government departments and agencies, nongovernmental institutions, and academia—met last fall as part of the Stanley Foundation's 41st annual Strategy for Peace Conference.

Signs that Russia's economy is improving include a 7 percent increase in GDP, a 10 percent increase in consumer spending, a decline in barter trade, and increased consumption and investment in 2000. However, troubling signs remain. To some participants, high oil prices, the devaluation of

the ruble, and the Russian government's practice of partially paying wage arrears are the virtual explanations for Russia's economic growth. These indicators point to economic growth that is largely temporary and unsustainable and are signs that economic restructuring is still largely incomplete.

### **Fundamental Problems**

The Russian government must address three fundamental problems to achieve sustainable economic growth, according to participants.

First, relational capital—the use of informal connections to carry out economic activity—must be curbed. Relational capital perpetuates the problems associated with the barter system, crowds out small innovative businesses, and allows large industries to avoid needed structural reforms.

Second, the misuse of subsidies needs to be curbed. Energy subsidies may be the largest problem because low energy prices do not provide incentives for industries to become more efficient or competitive.

Finally, there must be more incentives for economic reform. The prospect of joining the European Union motivated many of the East European countries to carry out economic reforms. Russia has had few incentives for economic reform, and the West must help Russia find incentives to continue the painful transition process.

The economic reform package by German Gref, the Minister of Economic Development and Trade, was widely applauded by participants. This package contains a mixture of policies and incentives that could move Russia through its economic transition process and help ensure sustainable economic growth. Furthermore, a number of participants noted that President Vladimir Putin's high

approval ratings and good relations with the Duma would aid his effort in implementing a comprehensive economic reform package. However, economic success will only come at the expense of enacting tough reform measures.

### **Who Lost Russia?**

The relationship between the United States and Russia over the past nine years has vacillated between periods of camaraderie and friendship to suspicion and distrust. However, most participants noticed a cooling of relations during this nine-year period to the point where cries are being heard in Washington of "Who lost Russia?"

Domestic politics are increasingly playing an important role in Russia's security policy. In particular, Russia's economic reforms and internal conflict are the major contributors. There was agreement among participants that the United States has failed to understand the prominent role domestic politics now plays in shaping Russian foreign policy. With this in mind, participants highlighted some major thrusts in Russian foreign policy.

First, Russia's uncertain economy will continue to hamper military restructuring efforts. Thus Russia's security doctrine will most likely emphasize a greater reliance on nuclear weapons over conventional forces. Continuing economic turmoil will also make it more difficult for Putin to undertake necessary military reform policies.

Second, Russia's relations with former states of the Soviet Union will depend on which major powers emerge in those regions. For example, the Baltic States, which have close relations with the United States and Europe, have largely been left alone while countries in Caucasus have witnessed Russian intervention. In Central Asia, Russia and China have been

cooperating out of common concern over Islamic fundamentalism, while Russia and the United States may become competitors in the Caspian region over proposed oil pipelines.

Third, Russia is cautious of NATO expansion, and a number of participants feared that NATO's plans to expand in 2002 could undermine US-Russian relations. Most agreed that the United States should not make NATO expansion a high priority in its foreign policy.

Finally, Putin's view of Russia's role in the world is important. While Yeltsin seemed content with Russia's diminished role on the world stage and was eager and willing to work with the West, Putin seems less comfortable with Russia's status. Putin has been more assertive of Russia's interests and believes the West has ignored Russia's national security interests. Furthermore, he has been turning to the institution that dominated Soviet foreign policy—the Federal Security Service (formerly the KGB). This is likely an effort to bring coherence and consistency to Russian foreign policy that was, at times, fragmented and disjointed under Yeltsin. Many participants said these actions demonstrate that Putin will more aggressively promote Russia's interests, and these interests may conflict with the interests of the United States.

After nine years Russia is still a state in transition—a theme that was often repeated. What role Russia will play on the international stage will depend on what course it charts in its reform efforts. At the beginning of the relationship, the United States overestimated its influence on Russia's reform policies. Now, the United States should be cautious not to underestimate its ability to influence Russia's direction.

—Kristin McHugh  
and James Henderson

***Domestic politics are... playing an important role in Russia's security policy.***

The *Common Ground* radio program #0103 "Russia's Security and Economic Interests" is available online at [commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org) or see page 11 to order.

## Tangled Web

*Deterrence and Destabilization*

China faces possible leadership changes at its Communist Party conference in 2002. Japan's political system has been weakened by a decade of economic underperformance. Democracy in Taiwan has, in part, risen on the tide of nationalism and the desire for independence—a phenomenon that raises the temperature of relations between China and Taiwan. North Korea has started to emerge from decades of isolation, but its future course is still unclear.

*...the Chinese suspect BMD is "aimed" at them....*

These are some of the uncertainties of the political situation in Northeast Asia. Many observers see it as a dangerous area and worry about the possibility of high political tensions or even open hostilities, particularly across the Taiwan Strait or on the Korean peninsula.

What effect would the deployment of ballistic missile defense (BMD) systems—either in the region as theater missile defense (TMD) or in the United States as national missile defense (NMD)—have on the security situation in Northeast Asia? That question was examined in a series of conferences last fall. They were organized by the Stanley Foundation's Emerging From Conflict program in partnership with the Center for Nonproliferation Studies at the Monterey Institute of International Studies and the National Defense University.

The project consisted of three meetings. In the first, a group of American experts on the region and other experts on missile defense was assembled to examine the issues. Subsequently, a core group from the first meeting met successively with experts from China, and then from Japan.

### Different Perceptions

Supporters of BMD deployment say it is a necessary response to the spread of missiles to more and more countries, particularly "states of concern" such as North Korea. In Northeast Asia, they argue, defensive systems complement deterrence in protecting vital US interests, including security guarantees for allies such as Japan and South Korea. It also fits with US interests in trying to help Taiwan defend itself.

Opponents of BMD say the systems could be politically destabilizing and potentially trigger an arms race with serious repercussions in the region and beyond. Their reasoning is that defensive systems will be countered with more offensive systems—including increased missile deployments—beginning a spiral that heightens military and political tensions.

### A Few Conclusions

The conferences provided an opportunity to air out the issues in groups that seldom have the chance to meet. No attempt was made to reach hard agreements. However, there were several prominent and recurring themes.

First, missile defense systems with greater capabilities, quite naturally, raise more concerns for the Chinese than do less capable systems. However, the capabilities of individual systems were less important to the Chinese participants than were US reasons for deploying them.

Despite being told that the systems are mainly needed because of a perceived North Korean threat, the Chinese suspect BMD is "aimed" at them with US designs on dominating China. As the project report says, "Washington views missile

defense as a solution to a serious problem which limits US ability to maintain peace and stability around the world. Beijing views missile defenses as part of a US effort to guarantee its ability to act anywhere in the world with impunity."

Second, much attention has been given in the United States to Russian objections to NMD because of the effect deployment of a system would have on the Anti-Ballistic Missile (ABM) Treaty. However, Chinese objections to NMD may be as strong or stronger. The Chinese know that even a limited NMD will take away their nuclear deterrent. They suggest strongly that NMD will force them to expand and modernize their offensive missile capabilities. Many American experts suspect the Chinese plan to do that anyway. However, Chinese participants made it clear that there is more than one path to force modernization. Some paths are more destabilizing than others. Those might be chosen if China feels seriously threatened by NMD.

Third, Japan has not decided to develop or deploy any TMD systems. However, it is conducting joint research with the United States. The question of ultimately deploying a system is vigorously debated in Japanese government and citizen circles. Concerns include how new systems would impact Japan's testy relations with North Korea, how closely Japan should tie its defense to the United States, and the possible perception of Japan as a more aggressive regional actor.

Finally, the Taiwan issue remains the most intractable political conflict in the region. The deployment of any new weapon system (or, for

that matter, the buildup of existing weaponry) must be analyzed for the effect it will have on that dispute. Chinese and Taiwanese officials eye each other warily. And US efforts to bolster Taiwan's defenses are among the most contentious issues in Sino-US relations.

### A Bigger Dialogue?

Clearly, there are wide differences between the United States and

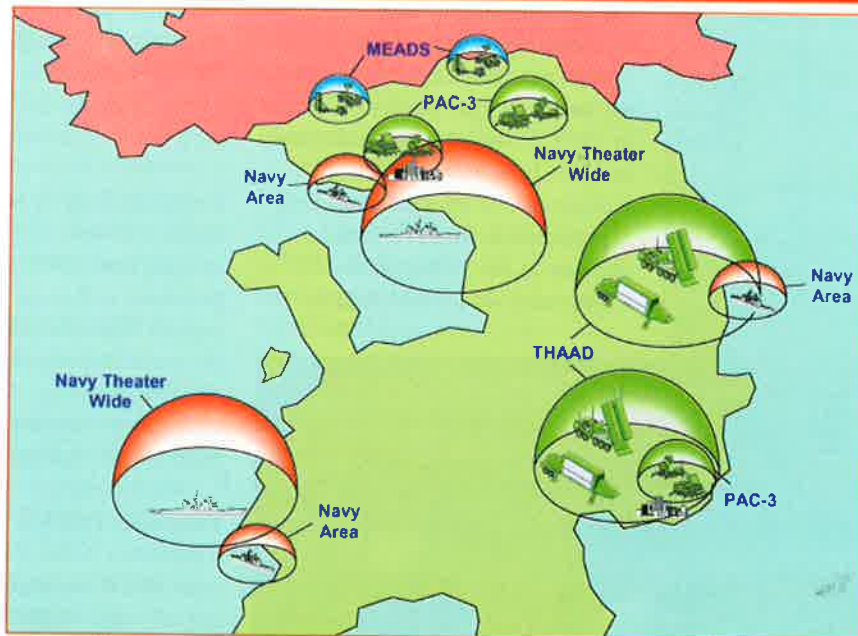
China on BMD. However, several Chinese participants said the time might be ripe for a formal dialogue between the two countries, particularly focused on NMD and broad concepts of strategic stability. As the project report notes, "This comment...stands in stark contrast to much of the anti-BMD campaign orchestrated by Beijing and the stilted nature of official US-China dialogue on this issue."

If such a dialogue were to take place it would also be affected by the status of US-Russian negotiations on NMD and nuclear arms control. So, as if regional politics aren't complicated enough, they also have to be considered in a wider global context.

—Jeffrey G. Martin



## LAYERED DEFENSE TMD LOWER AND UPPER TIER IN THE FUTURE



US BALLISTIC MISSILE DEFENSE ORGANIZATION/DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE/PENTAGON

This chart, prepared by the Pentagon's Ballistic Missile Defense Organization, shows how military planners are thinking about layers of defensive systems deployed in any given region. Five TMD systems are in various stages of research and development. They are the PAC-3 system, the Navy Area Wide, the Navy Theater Wide, the Air Force's Theater High Altitude Area Defense, and the Air-borne Laser.

Here are a few key points to remember about these systems:

1. The least capable of these systems may be operationally ready in one to three years. The more advanced systems are at least five to fifteen years away.
2. Even if and when fully deployed, these systems would not provide an impenetrable shield against attack. Military planners envision using them in combination with offensive forces sufficient to deter attack.

3. The layered concept of defense is designed to counter missiles with varying ranges. Generally, the upper-tier systems intercept longer-range missiles and the lower-tier systems are targeted at shorter-range systems.

A fuller explanation of the layer concept and more detailed descriptions of the various TMD systems are available at [www.stanleyfdn.org/BMD/](http://www.stanleyfdn.org/BMD/).

*Several Chinese participants said the time might be ripe for a formal dialogue on NMD and broad concepts of strategic stability.*

### Resources

The full report and Policy Bulletin titled "Ballistic Missile Defense and North-east Asian Security: Viewpoints From Washington, Beijing, and Tokyo" will be available at [reports.stanleyfdn.org](http://reports.stanleyfdn.org). See page 10 to order.

## China Enters World Market

# New Storm Approaching?

*Improved US-China Relations May Suffer a Backlash*

The stage is set for yet another potentially rocky period in the US relationship with China. Relations have improved since the United States granted permanent normal trade relations (PNTR) status to China which cleared the way for China to enter the World Trade Organization (WTO).

This breakthrough, however, also contains the seeds of possible new economic and trade disputes between Beijing and Washington, DC, according to a group of China specialists convened by the Stanley Foundation.

According to these specialists, several key issues could fuel a backlash in the United States against

improved trade relations with China. These include the rising trade deficit, rising US unemployment, and foot-dragging by China over compliance with the terms of the WTO. This could lead to disputes with the United States and rising discontent among those parts of the economy most affected.

### A Growing Trade Deficit

There has been a dramatic rise in the US trade deficit with China. One specialist at the Stanley Foundation event calculated that the deficit, which was \$17.8 billion in 1989, would soar to \$80 billion in 2000. It is anticipated that China will join the WTO in 2001, which is predicted to lead to a further increase in the deficit. With US-China relations already strained by

a number of foreign and security policy disagreements, a majority of the participants felt the larger trade imbalance would be politically damaging.

### The Link to US Unemployment

Some specialists argued that a backlash against China might occur if the American public thinks the downturn in the US economy and growing unemployment is caused, in part, by China's WTO entry. As one group member said, "If WTO accession requires that China create 20 million new jobs a year, we're in trouble."

### China and the WTO

China's history, bureaucracy, legal system, leadership, and social problems will make it very difficult for China to comply with all the terms and regulations required of WTO members. The specialists called this "one of the most critical flash points" on the horizon.

### Domestic Politics

The debate in the US Congress over PNTR highlighted the unrealistically high expectations many in the United States have for the mutual economic benefits of China's entry into the WTO. Conference participants did not predict much change in US policy toward China, but felt that friction between the countries is likely to grow when American expectations are not met.

These China specialists—including human rights activists, trade lobbyists, journalists, business people, and scholars—met last fall as part of the Stanley Foundation's 41st annual Strategy for Peace Conference. The group went on to discuss a number of policy options which could help avoid or minimize these

**There are things the US government can do to make it easier for US companies to trade and invest**



**The Real Thing?** *The US-China economic relationship has improved, but some experts see new strains just ahead. Here, American brands are available at this Beijing stall.*



areas of potential conflict between the United States and China.

### Leveling the Playing Field for US Business

There are things the US government can do to make it easier for US companies to trade and invest in China. One suggestion from conference participants is that the United States find new ways to provide trade assistance to China. US law, created in response to the 1989 Tiananmen Square incident, currently makes such help difficult.

The United States could also help China draft antimonopoly laws that would protect both Chinese and American businesses. The United States could help China improve its current tax collection system. This would help level the playing field for all businesses in China and generate more government revenues. Encouraging freedom of information in China could also have great benefits for business.

### Leveling the Playing Field for Chinese and US Workers

Conference participants suggested that the US Congress should consider helping US workers who are displaced by increased trade with China. For Chinese workers, the United States should continue pressuring China on its human rights and labor record. "Just as greater market access to China for American businesses is needed, greater access for nongovernmental organizations—such as human rights groups, labor organizations, and churches—should also be encouraged," according to the report generated after the conference.

China is struggling to provide pension relief to retirees. US officials and money managers could provide assistance to China's social security system.

### Providing Comprehensive Support for the Rule of Law

Many specialists proposed that the United States could provide money and technical support to promote systemic legal change in China. They warned, however, that US support for the rule of law in China should not be limited to enforcing just those laws required to carry out the WTO agreement.

The United States should work with China to develop "public interest law," which allows the government to be held accountable for its actions. "The Chinese government is already...allowing legal aid clinics to exist independently. The United States should also offer support in this area. Legal aid for China's poorest citizens is a means to address human rights and labor concerns," said the report.

These recommendations are intended by the conference participants to address the potential "flash points" they identified in US-China trade relations. These steps could improve the prospects for a smooth transition as China enters the WTO and the American and Chinese economies enter new eras.

—Keith Porter and Sherry Gray

### Resources

The full report from this event, "*China, Russia, and the United States: Partners or Competitors?*" is available online at <[reports.stanleyfdn.org](http://reports.stanleyfdn.org)> or see page 10 to order.

The *Common Ground* radio program #0102 "China's Security and Economic Interests" is available online at <[commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org)> or see page 11 to order.

## US-China Security Concerns

US-China security relations have grown increasingly tense in recent years. The key areas of dispute are:

- US efforts to build a missile defense system.
- US concerns about sales of Chinese missiles.
- Chinese concerns about US support for Taiwan.
- Chinese fears of containment by US regional alliances.

A group of policy analysts and government officials, convened by the Stanley Foundation, met last fall to discuss these issues and suggest policy changes for improving US-China relations. The group made four policy recommendations.

### Conduct a China Policy Review

The new US administration should conduct a thorough review of the strategic issues relating to China so new US policymakers are fully informed about any recent changes to US policy and the implications for China's security situation.

### Pay More Attention to Chinese Concerns

The United States should take Chinese security concerns more seriously when planning missile defense systems or strengthening regional alliances. "Poor understanding of Chinese security concerns will only worsen, not improve, US security interests," according to a policy bulletin issued following the conference.

### Build a New Consensus on China

The Bush administration needs to shape a new consensus view on China among the American public. To do this, it will need to offer praise for Chinese moderation on proliferation while continuously explaining the dangers to the United States and its regional allies of destabilization in China and the Taiwan Strait.

### Lower Expectations

The group argued that the United States should expect only incremental—not dramatic—improvements in relations with China. Unrealistic hopes of a security partnership with China should be downplayed.

The group agreed that conflict between the United States and China is hardly inevitable, but it remains a serious concern. A thoughtful US policy that builds a domestic consensus on China, leverages areas of cooperation, and moves cautiously and realistically on sensitive issues will help shape a more stable US-China security relationship.

—Keith Porter and Sherry Gray

## Resources

# Stanley Foundation Publications

On the Web at [reports.stanleyfdn.org](http://reports.stanleyfdn.org)

*Rust-colored entries indicate new publications.*

### **China, Russia, and the United States: Partners or Competitors?**

The 41st annual Strategy for Peace Conference drew together 75 participants in four concurrent, roundtable discussions. Reports from each of the discussion groups are available. Three Policy Bulletins summarizing the discussions and highlighting specific policy recommendations are available as well. 10/00

### **Conference Reports**

- US-Russia Economic Roundtable
- US-Russia Security Roundtable
- The Storm After the Storm: China's WTO Accession and the US-China Trade Relationship
- Uncertain China: Dealing With a Potential Great Power

### **Policy Bulletins**

- The United States and Russia: Partners or Competitors
- The Storm After the Storm: China's WTO Accession and the US-China Trade Relationship
- Uncertain China: Dealing With a Potential Great Power

### **Problems and Prospects for Humanitarian Intervention**

The 35th United Nations of the Next Decade Conference weighed the justifications used for military-led humanitarian intervention and explored ways to make such missions more successful. 6/00, policy bulletin or full report.

### **The United Nations and the Future of Disarmament and Nonproliferation**

Foreign policy experts met to examine the future prospects of nuclear disarmament and nonproliferation. Discussions also sought to clarify the role the United Nations can play in achieving these goals. 2/00

### **Report of the Fortieth Strategy for Peace, US Foreign Policy Conference**

Experts met to discuss the following topics:

- Balancing the rights of nation-states, groups, and individuals.
- Relations between NGOs and the United Nations.
- Humanitarian intervention.
- Post-conflict reconciliation. 10/99

### **Global Governance: Defining the United Nations' Leadership Role**

This report from the Stanley Foundation examines the ways regional groups, economic alliances, security arrangements, treaty regimes, and development organizations are changing the atmosphere in which the United Nations operates. 6/99

### **Creating the International Legal Assistance Consortium**

The International Legal Assistance Consortium is being created to facilitate national and international accountability mechanisms and rehabilitate national judicial systems. This paper sets out the mission, guiding principles, and structure of ILAC. 2/00

*These reports and a wealth of other information are available instantly on the Web at <[reports.stanleyfdn.org](http://reports.stanleyfdn.org)> or use the order form on page 11.*

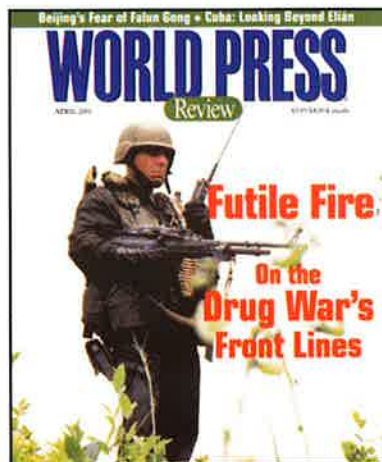
## The Iran Project

On January 20, 1981, 52 American hostages left Iran after 444 days in captivity. Since then, Iran has largely disappeared from the consciousness of most Americans.

The Iran Project, including a one-hour public radio documentary, examines the changes in modern Iran. To learn more, visit our Web site <[iranproject.org](http://iranproject.org)>.

Made possible by The Stanley Foundation in association with KQED Radio, San Francisco.

**To find out more about the work of the Stanley Foundation, visit our Web site: [stanleyfdn.org](http://stanleyfdn.org)**



*The foundation's monthly magazine, World Press Review, features excerpts from the press outside the United States. Portions of the magazine are available on the Web at <[worldpress.org](http://worldpress.org)>. For a free sample of the magazine, please use the order form on page 11.*



# COMMON GROUND

RADIO'S WEEKLY PROGRAM ON WORLD AFFAIRS

Transcripts and RealAudio® files are available on the Web at [commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org).

*Rust-colored entries indicate programs discussed in this issue of Courier.*

**0116—ICC/UN War on Drugs.** Among the many controversial actions taken by former President Clinton in his final days in office was that he moved the International Criminal Court one step closer to reality. Here we look at the timeline for creating the International Criminal Court and profile the UN's fight against drugs and organized crime. 4/01

**0115—Mexico: A Government in Transition.** Vicente Fox is ushering in a new era of government for Mexico. An update on President Fox's first 100 days in office and the struggle for peace in Chiapas. 4/01

**0114—The Tiananmen Papers.** Nearly twelve years ago millions of Chinese students in Tiananmen Square grabbed the world's attention with their bold defiance of the Chinese government. An editor of *The Tiananmen Papers* details decisions made at the highest level of China's ruling party during the crisis. 4/01

**0112—Global Warming/Hungarian Cyanide Terror.** New studies indicate global warming is increasing at an alarming rate. The executive director of the United Nations Environment Programme discusses this disturbing trend. Also, an update on Hungary's disastrous environmental spill. Partial 0039 repeat, 3/01

**0111—The Impact of Sanctions.** Secretary of State Colin Powell is adding fuel to the international debate on the effectiveness of sanctions. Doctors and relief workers inside Iraq discuss the impact sanctions are having on that country. Plus, an examination of the role sanctions play in international policy. 3/01

**0110—Human Rights in Romania/News Reporting in China.** Economic and social conditions are casting a shadow on Romania's bid to join the European Union. *Common Ground* investigates allegations of police violence and brutality in Romania. Also, two journalists give their insights on Chinese media. Partial 0040 repeat, 2/01

**0109—Argentina.** The globalization trend is alarming labor unions across the world. *Common Ground* explores how unions in Argentina are trying to protect workers from globalization's downside. Plus, learn why beef from Argentina isn't welcome in the US. 0044 repeat, 2/01

**0108—Border Air Pollution/World Bank.** Enormous growth along the US-Mexico border is reaping a harvest of environmental problems. Find out what both countries are doing to tackle the issue. Also, learn how the World Bank is fighting poverty. 2/01

**0107—Bosnian Hoop Dreams/AUBG.** Civil war in the former Yugoslavia forced thousands of Bosnians to flee their homeland for parts of Europe and the United States.

Find out how one Bosnian family is adjusting to life in America. Plus, learn how one American university is shaping young Bulgarians into future democratic leaders and freethinking journalists, 2/01

**0106—Afghan and Serbian Refugees.** *Common Ground's* Keith Porter visits a refugee camp just 50 miles from the Afghan border. And find out why some Serbian refugees are still stuck in Hungary. 1/01

**0105—Houston: The International City.** Learn more about the global connections of America's fourth largest city. 1/01

**0104—Carter Reflects/Middle East Conflict.** Former President Jimmy Carter reflects on the past and comments on the future. This program also explores the history behind the Middle East conflict. 1/01

**0103—Russia's Economic and Security Interests.** A discussion of economic and security threats facing this former Soviet republic. 1/01

**0102—China's Security and Economic Interests.** An examination of China's regional security threats and how its economic system is taking lessons from the Western world. 1/01

**0101—Domestic Violence.** Learn more about the domestic violence issues facing Pakistan and Uruguay. 1/01

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 \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_ Zip \_\_\_\_\_

### Method of Payment

MasterCard \_\_\_\_\_ Visa \_\_\_\_\_ Check \_\_\_\_\_

Card Number \_\_\_\_\_ Exp. Date \_\_\_\_\_

Name on Card \_\_\_\_\_

Phone (\_\_\_\_) \_\_\_\_\_

### Cassettes (\$5 each) and Transcripts (free)

Quantity	Number/Title	Cost
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

### Publications (free in single copies; for bulk orders, see below)

Quantity	Title	Cost
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

### Also Available (free in single copies; for bulk orders, see below)

_____	World Press Review sample	_____
_____	Common Ground catalog	_____

Total \_\_\_\_\_

### Quantity Orders

Publications 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
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

Twenty Years Later

# Jimmy Carter on Iran

*United States Should Reach Out*

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO



**Freedom.** Former President Jimmy Carter, one day after leaving office, greeted Bruce Laingen and other American hostages held in Iran. The hostage crisis lasted 444 days and consumed the final months of Carter's presidency.

**J**immy Carter, 39th president of the United States, dealt with a number of international events during his term in office. In the Middle East, he brokered the Camp David Peace Accords between Egypt and Israel. But in Iran he suffered his greatest foreign policy crisis with the capture of 52 American hostages held at the US embassy in Tehran for 444 days. Twenty years have passed since those hostages were released, yet relations between the United States

and Iran are as cold as ever. Common Ground recently spoke with Carter about the hostage crisis and the state of US relations with Iran.

*Why has the US policy toward Iran not changed, and should it change?*

**Carter**  
I think the United States' government, to a maximum degree possible, should reach out to Iran with an effort to restore full diplomatic relations, full trade relations, and to emphasize—maybe as an early phase—maximum exchange of citizen visits back and forth. Obviously, Iran would have to meet us...halfway before definite steps are taken. But we should not wait until Iran takes the first step; I think we should make it clear to the leaders of Iran, and to the world at large, that the United States is

ready and eager to restore full relations and friendly relations with Iran.

*If you had to do it all over again, would you handle the hostage crisis the same way?*

**Carter**

Yes, I think so. I've thought about this an awful lot. Although it lasted a lot longer than I had ever anticipated, longer than anyone had ever anticipated, I had two goals from the very beginning. One was not to do anything that would embarrass or betray the basic principles of my nation. The other goal was to make sure every hostage came back home safe and free. Both those goals were realized. I wish they could have been accomplished sooner, but I think the alternative was for me to resort to...massive military action. But I think in retrospect, had I done so, it would have resulted in the death of our hostages...and it also would maybe have caused the death or suffering of thousands, maybe tens-of-thousands, of totally innocent Iranians. So I think the patience that I decided to show did pay off rich dividends.

—Excerpted by Kristin McHugh

## Resources

The *Common Ground* radio program #0104 "Carter Center" is available online at <[commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org)> or see page 11 to order.

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

Address Service Requested

Nonprofit Org.  
U.S. POSTAGE  
PAID  
Cedar Rapids, IA  
Permit 214