

# courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



The Stanley Foundation  
Number 36

Winter 2002



## Risky Regions

In the wake of the new battle against terrorism, American goals and alliances have been reassessed, redefined, and reaffirmed. Long-term success in creating a more stable world will require, among other things, a focus on regional security.

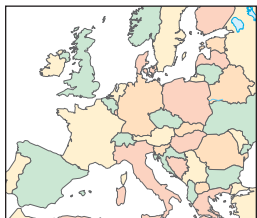
Since September 11 unresolved conflicts in the Middle East and South Asia have assumed a higher priority on the US foreign policy agenda. At the same time, the United States remains deeply involved in the Korean peninsula, one of the most dangerous places in the post-Cold War world. And there is still unfinished business in Europe, which remains a key ally of the United States in its worldwide campaign against terrorism.

The Stanley Foundation's 42nd annual Strategy for Peace Conference (SPC) held last October 25-27 in Airlie, Virginia, focused on these four critical regions. In this issue, we examine the tensions and concerns in each area and the positive steps US policymakers can take to promote regional security.

## Risky Regions

# Caught Off Guard

*Europe Seeks Ways to Address Threats*



After the end of the East-West conflict, it was widely believed that European countries—in spite of the Balkan wars—no longer faced serious regional or global threats and those remaining risks were easily manageable. Europeans, therefore, were unprepared for the cruel wake-up call of September 11 and have since begun a reassessment of their security policies that is likely to be thorough and fundamental in approach but not necessarily conclusive in action.

The terrorist attacks illustrated the high degree of both shared values and vulnerabilities of prosperous societies, concluded SPC participant Klaus Becher, senior fellow for European security for the London-based International Institute for Strategic Studies.

In the wake of the attacks, the transatlantic orientation of European security policies was reconsolidated, a regrouping best illustrated in the unprecedented invocation of Article 5 of the Washington Treaty. Under terms of Article 5, the attack on the United States constituted a military attack

against all members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and would be met by any assistance the United States would consider helpful.

Thus September 11 has awoken Europe to the danger of global threats, emphasized the need to find ways to address these threats, and renewed the importance of the Euro-Atlantic partnership.

For many countries, being considered European is a prize to be won. The promise that “Europe” holds is being included in the zone of peace, stability, prosperity, and democratic rule centered on the European Union (EU) and backed by NATO.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO



**Coin of the Realm.** Twelve European states changed their currency to the euro at the beginning of the year.

September 11, if anything, should have reinforced the awareness that the EU and NATO countries put their own national security at risk if they fail to prevent states in Europe and its periphery to slide into misery and anarchy. What remains at the top of the list of security priorities in European states is the desire to preserve internal security and stability with open borders and maintain a high degree of individual freedom. This means a number of things: minimizing the disruptive effects of large-scale migrations, such as those resulting from the Bosnian

war; cracking down on international crime rings; improving cooperation among law enforcement and intelligence agencies; fighting the possible spread of racist attitudes among European populations that could escalate into violence; fostering economic development across Europe; and enforcing peace and reestablishing order in war-torn countries and failed states.

But all of this will take time, and Europe has little choice but to stay the current course, concluded Christopher Makins, president of the Atlantic Council of the United States who chaired the SPC Europe discussion. All European governments should be urged to seek broader and more solid political consensus for such actions, with an eye toward integrating Russia and Turkey in the process. Meantime, there is some sense that the relationship between the United States and Europe is still delicately poised, given old arguments over trade and “societal” differences over issues such as the death penalty. But the threat of international terrorism has provided a golden opportunity and a clear incentive to build a stronger and more united transatlantic relationship that focuses in particular on European security issues.

—Loren Keller

**Cover:** A Russian Interior Ministry Special Force officer takes cover at the entrance of a graffiti-scarred apartment building as an elderly woman looks out during a raid in the Chechen capital of Grozny last year. More on Chechnya, pages 6-7.

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No. 36, Winter 2002 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.

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## Risky Regions

# A Strategic Pivot

*Korean Peninsula Presents a Complex Challenge*

The September 11 terrorist attacks may have pushed concerns about Northeast Asia to the back burner, but the United States remains deeply involved in the Korean peninsula. The region remains one of the most dangerous places in the post-Cold War world—a “strategic pivot” where major changes could have a big impact on the rest of the globe.

Four of the world’s largest and most heavily armed militaries continue to face off here: two across the Taiwan Strait and two others along the peninsula’s demilitarized zone (DMZ). The United States has an abiding interest in deterring conflict and maintaining peace and prosperity in the region. If war broke out at either flashpoint, the United States would be swiftly involved, according to a summary of Strategy for Peace Conference (SPC) discussion on the Korean peninsula written by Andrew Scobell, research professor of national security affairs at the Strategic Studies Institute of the Army War College.

It is Korea that poses the greatest challenge to the balance of power in Northeast Asia. Hostilities would immediately put the United States at war by virtue of the approximately 37,000 military personnel stationed in South Korea and a 1954 mutual defense treaty with the republic. Any military action on the Korean peninsula could begin with little warning since North Korean forces and long-range artillery are deployed near the DMZ, well within striking distance of the densely populated South Korean capital of Seoul.

But how much at odds are these two countries? Some SPC partici-

pants remarked that Korea has appeared to be on the brink of momentous change on several occasions over the past decade, only to end in disappointment. Resolution of a nuclear crisis in the early 1990s and the North Korean famine of the mid-1990s—and then the inter-Korean summit of mid-2000 and the flurry of diplomacy by Pyongyang in recent years—appeared to herald historic breakthroughs that ultimately fizzled.

What the United States hopes to achieve on the peninsula remains unclear. Some say that the United States is far more comfortable with the status quo—a divided but seemingly stable Korea—than it is with the prospect of a dramatic change there. A unified Korea threatens to alter the geostrategic landscape of Northeast Asia considerably, while raising tough questions about the disposition of the United States toward it.

South Korea has vigorously pursued a policy of engagement with North Korea. Inside its own borders the country is trying to nurture economic reform in hopes of alleviating the economic crisis and averting a political collapse in North Korea that would be a major shock to its own economy.

Understanding North Korea’s intentions and the nature of the regime are not easy tasks. SPC participants agreed that North Korea’s fundamental goal is survival, but hotly disputed the country’s foreign policy goals. Most likely, the regime still harbors the ambitious goal of seeking union with Seoul, but the critical question is whether the strategy to achieve this is peaceful or violent. Pyongyang has

purported to desire a peaceful coexistence with its neighbor to the south, but that has yet to translate into any reduction in size of its military forces or any pullback just north of the DMZ. Still, the propaganda broadcasts at the DMZ have ceased, and North Korea has offered some sympathetic statements to the United States in the aftermath of September 11.

There was general consensus among SPC participants that the United States ought to be engaged in a dialogue with North Korea, and should perhaps outline the steps that North Korea could follow to reach its goal of being taken off the list of states that sponsor terrorism. The United States could also make clear that it has no



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO



“hostile intent” toward North Korea, while making a concerted effort to reassure Seoul that the US-South Korea alliance is rock solid. Finally, participants concluded, the United States should maintain its ongoing dialogue on Korean security with Japan to ensure that Washington, Seoul, and Tokyo are reading from the same page as they deal with Pyongyang.

The challenge then is for the United States and South Korea to develop a coordinated approach that is finely tuned and flexible enough to deal with any possible North Korean strategy—one that Pyongyang itself may be unsure of.

—Loren Keller

**Together Again.** A North Korean man clutches his 91-year-old father from South Korea, whom he had not seen in a half-century, as they are reunited in August 2000. Their countries remain at odds.

## Risky Regions

# Subcontinental Shakeup

*United States Finds New Ally in Pakistan*

In South Asia, the primary policy conundrum for the United States in recent months has been trying to balance three competing security goals: the need to quickly win the war in Afghanistan; the need to ensure the security of South Asian nuclear stockpiles against terrorist theft; and the broader, longer-term requirement of preventing operational nuclear deployments in the region. In turn, these related concerns drew special attention to the roots of the India-Pakistan rivalry: the battle for Kashmir.

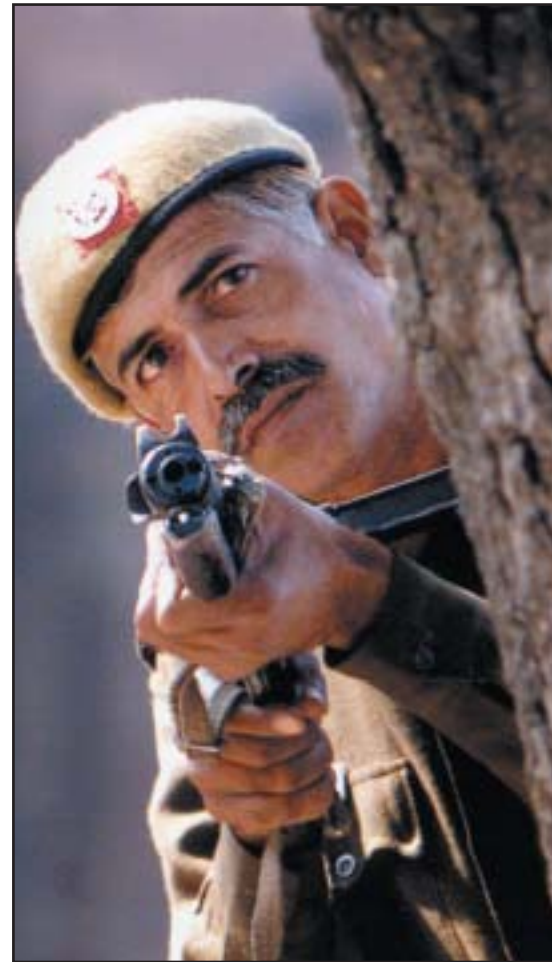
From a US perspective, things changed quickly in South Asia following the terrorist attacks. Suddenly, after more than a decade of estrangement from the United States and growing international isolation, Pakistan became a principal Islamic ally in the fight against terrorism. But the new-found alliance has raised a lot of questions. What would the impact of Pakistan's abrupt abandonment of the Taliban be on the stability of the Pakistani government? Would Islamabad feel pressure to increase support for insurgency in Kashmir in return? Would the new US-Pakistan relationship be a short-lived tactical realignment, or would Washington remain engaged in Pakistan over the long term?

Meanwhile, Washington's rediscovery of Pakistan has tested the strength of America's budding relationship with India and has raised a different set of questions. Would Delhi view Pakistan's gain as India's loss, or would it instead seek to leverage Washington's influence on its western neighbor to contain Pakistani extremists?

The shifting geopolitical furniture on the subcontinent has placed the United States in the unusual position of having good relations with both India and Pakistan at the same time, according to Lee Feinstein, a visiting scholar with the Carnegie Nonproliferation Project who chaired the Strategy for Peace Conference (SPC) discussion on South Asia.

So the US role in promoting regional stability on the subcontinent has grown, as has the importance of managing tensions between these two newly nuclear rivals. The presence of nuclear weapons in the two countries raises key questions. How will these realignments affect efforts to deny terrorists weapons of mass destruction? Would reaction to the US-Pakistan alliance lead to the replacement of the current government by radical Islamists, who would then have control of Pakistan's small but relatively sophisticated nuclear arsenal? Even if the radicals do not come to power, can any Pakistani government prevent the flow of know-how and materials to terrorists and, for that matter, are India's nuclear secrets safe from theft or misuse? The long struggle over Kashmir also loomed large in the SPC discussion. Are the risks of nuclear confrontation over Kashmir greater now?

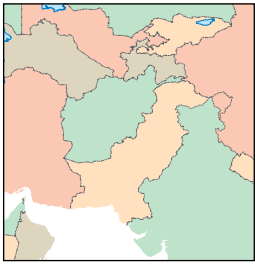
SPC participants agreed on at least a few of the answers. They concluded that regional and nuclear issues in South Asia are now inextricably linked and that US policy



**After the Attack.** A Delhi police officer stands guard outside Parliament house in New Delhi, India, after it was attacked by terrorists December 13, 2001. India has accused Pakistan of being behind the attack and tensions between the two rivals have escalated.

has suffered over the years due to an overemphasis on the nuclear issue, which brought limited results in any event. They also agreed that nuclear sanctions, which the United States lifted on both countries within two weeks of the terrorist attacks, had already run their course before the Afghan crisis. Finally, there was consensus that the most effective nonproliferation measure would be for India and Pakistan, with a discreet assist from Washington, to get serious about a process to address the half-century-old dispute over Kashmir.

—Loren Keller



**The US role in promoting regional stability on the subcontinent has grown, as has the importance of managing tensions between these two newly nuclear rivals.**

## Risky Regions

# A Battle for the Moderates

*Understanding Arab Culture Is Key*

The war on terrorism began with military action in Afghanistan, but another important battle will be fought in the Middle East for the hearts and minds of moderate Muslims. In the wake of September 11, unresolved conflicts in the Middle East have assumed higher priority for the United States. The United States has become acutely aware of the politics of Afghanistan and Pakistan and their growing links to the Middle East and the Persian Gulf region. Despite American economic and financial assistance, rampant anti-Americanism continues to poison relations with moderate Arab regimes who were US allies during the Gulf War.

For this reason, the Bush administration should initiate a new effort to understand Arab culture and society, according to an analysis of Strategy for Peace Conference (SPC) discussion provided by Geoffrey Kemp, director of regional strategic programs at the Nixon Center. The United States must come to understand the anger of the Arab “street”—those who remain wary of the global influence of America’s secular and materialistic forces. At the same time, Kemp said, the United States must engage in an improved public relations campaign if it hopes to win over moderate Arab people. But the administration must also recognize that such an effort will not be achieved without some cost to Israel.

In defining its Middle East policy, the Bush administration must clearly identify its objectives and realize the compromises involved in maintaining its coalition, SPC participants agreed. The United States will have to tread carefully when proceeding with phase two

of its campaign against terror. Iraq’s role in the terrorist attacks continues to raise suspicions, yet only ambiguous evidence has emerged. If Saddam Hussein is implicated in the September 11 attacks and Iraq is subsequently attacked by the United States, the United States should recognize that it would lose support from some of its Arab partners. Moreover, securing support of many European allies may prove to be difficult, leaving the Bush administration no choice but to go it alone. And such



**Driven Out.** Afghan children play at a refugee camp in Iran, home to several thousand Afghans who have fled their war-torn country. Iran has sent mixed signals about its position on the US campaign there, but has a major stake in the war’s outcome.

an attack could further destabilize the regimes of Egypt, Jordan, and Saudi Arabia, all of whom have strong fundamentalist populations. Confronting Iraq will not be easy, Kemp concluded, but must ultimately be done.

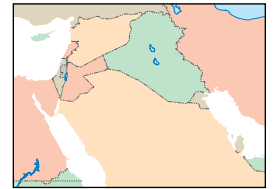
The need for a consistent US foreign policy should be emphasized, SPC participants concluded. The United States has more often than not overlooked the undemocratic nature of Arab regimes in exchange for their political support. It was noted that the United States has

been too passive on blatant human rights abuses, the repression of women, and political oppression in some Middle Eastern states. By allowing these Arab governments to suppress dissent, the United States has fueled the fire of Islamic radicals by not practicing what it preaches. Either the United States must stand by the democratic principles it espouses or accept the contradictory and often vacillating Arab support.

Such has been the case with Iran, which was quick to condemn the September 11 attacks but has since wavered in its support of the US campaign in Afghanistan, primarily because of the uncertainty about the ultimate goals of US policy. Nonetheless, Iran has major stakes

in the outcome of the war in Afghanistan, as it has hosted a continuing influx of Afghan refugees, tried to curb drug trade with the country, and has harbored former Afghan President Rabbani. Iran’s strategic interests favor a more rational relationship with the United States, but its continued support of Hezbollah, Hamas, and the Palestinian Islamic Jihad—and its strident rejection of the state of Israel—continue to stand in the way of rapprochement with the United States.

—Loren Keller



***The United States will have to tread carefully when proceeding with phase two of its campaign against terror. ...Confronting Iraq will not be easy....***

### Resources

The full report titled “US Strategies for Regional Security” will be available at [reports.stanleyfoundation.org](http://reports.stanleyfoundation.org). See page 10 to order.

## Ten Years After the Soviet Collapse

# Terrorists in Chechnya?

*Putin Says Bin Laden Is Involved; Refugees Believe Otherwise*

**K**ristin McHugh, co-host of Common Ground, the foundation's weekly radio program on world affairs, traveled to Ingushetia last fall to report on Russia's ongoing war in neighboring Chechnya. Her stories aired on Common Ground and the foundation's two-hour radio and Web documentary, *the Russia Project*.

Long before the United States declared its war on terrorism, Russia launched its own campaign against terror in Chechnya. But unlike the United States, Russia did not muster global support for its military action in the break-away republic.

Russian President Vladimir Putin is trying to change that in the wake of the September 11 attacks, claim-

ing that Osama bin Laden and his followers are also responsible for the Chechnya conflict. But as interviews with some Chechen refugees reveal, the war in Chechnya is far more complicated.

Tempieva Hasan tearfully recalled the day she and her family fled their home in Gudermes, Chechnya, when it was bombed. "Gudermes was one of the first places hit. On that very day we happened to be in the center of town when the planes started to bomb," she said. "My jaw was injured, and I lost my teeth in the explosion. I am only 39 years old, and I don't have one tooth."

Now living in a makeshift tent in the nearby republic of Ingushetia, about 70 miles away, Hasan is one

of the estimated quarter million Chechens displaced by two wars in the past seven years. Hasan now lives with her eight children, son-in-law, and two grandchildren in a tattered tent in Sputnik—one of several camps in Ingushetia set up by the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees.

Chechnya, a predominately Muslim area of southern Russia, declared its independence in 1991 in the wake of the collapse of the Soviet Union. Russia responded in 1994 by waging a brutal war.

A peace agreement granting Chechnya de facto independence ended Russia's military campaign in 1996. Chechens quickly elected war hero Aslan Maskhadov president. But his weak, secular government was unable to control criminals and fundamentalists. Muslim fundamentalists here are known generically as wahhabis, although they are not necessarily connected to the Saudi Arabian Islamic movement of the same name. The wahhabis want to establish a strict Islamic state, but their views are rejected by much of the local population.

"For our Chechen society, it was unacceptable," said Aza, a petite 41-year-old Chechen who also fled her homeland for neighboring Ingushetia. "They were demanding the women wear very strict hijab outfits, and they were also saying that people could not smoke.... For centuries and centuries our women didn't wear the hijab, and we didn't have such strict rules. We were free people. We had pure Islam. We prayed five times a day."



PHOTO BY VERA SOBOLEVA, UNHCR

**Home Away from Home.** A woman enters a tent in the Sputnik camp, the oldest and largest of tent camps in Ingushetia. More than 500 tents there are home to some 9,000 refugees.

Putin claims the wahhabis are terrorists with ties to bin Laden and his Al Qaeda network. The Russian president blames the wahhabis for masterminding a brief 1999 invasion into the Russian territory of Dagestan and a series of Russian apartment bombings that killed nearly 300 people.

“There was a lot of proof bin Laden was supporting them financially,” said Dr. Vyacheslav Nikonov, a former deputy chair of a state Duma committee on Chechnya and a supporter of Putin’s policies. “So now...I think Americans understand a little bit more the complexity of terrorists and probably the Russians are not that evil in what they are doing in Chechnya because that is the place where they faced the same problems America faced on September 11th.”

In years past, the United States was quick to criticize Russia’s alleged human rights abuses in Chechnya. But in the days following the September 11 attacks, the Bush administration abruptly reversed its policy and acknowledged Russia was fighting its own battle against terrorists and bin Laden in Chechnya.

But Aza and other refugees firmly deny that the independence fighters are terrorists and scoff at the bin Laden connection.

“It’s stupid to link these rebels with bin Laden,” Aza said. “I don’t link the attack on the two buildings in America with Chechnya and the Chechen children. It’s a shame if Bush believes Putin when he says there is a link between the Chechen rebels and the terrorist act.”

While Chechens say bin Laden isn’t a player in their war, many are afraid of the wahhabis.

“The Russian soldiers make people suffer during the day. During the night, the wahhabis burst in,

and they treat us in the same way,” said one refugee who didn’t want to identify herself.

But the refugees have hope in Aslan Maskhadov, a separatist leader who enjoys widespread support in his drive for a secular, independent state.

“Maskhadov is our president,” said Aza. “He protects our motherland.”

But experts believe Maskhadov controls less than 20 percent of the armed resistance. The wahhabis have more men with guns but far less political support. And some wahhabis do engage in terrorist acts.

“There are so-called wahhabis who are pure criminals,” said Ruslan Badolov, Maskhadov’s former sports minister. “They kill and kidnap people.... So there are terrorist groups here in Chechnya. They exist in other parts of Russia as well, but the Russian government doesn’t conduct antiterrorist operations by killing civilians in other parts of Russia.”

And there’s the irony. Brutal Russian tactics drive many Chechens into the arms of any independence group—even the extremist wahhabis.

Lawyer Sasita Muradova, who works in the Ingushetia office of Memorial, a Russian human rights group, said Russian troops are very corrupt. She has documented numerous cases of soldiers kidnapping people, and even dead bodies, for ransom.

“Soldiers can approach any food market and take everything,” she said. “Another problem is the trading and selling of people. We know they also trade corpses. This is awful.”

Ordinary Chechens are caught in the middle of a tug of war between Russian troops and rebel extremists. Putin has indicated he might



**Map.** Historically part of the Soviet Union, Chechnya is a predominantly Muslim area slightly larger than the state of Connecticut. Ingushetia severed its ties with Chechnya in 1992.

talk with rebel leaders, but experts question whether either side is ready to seriously negotiate.

For now, daily armed clashes between Russian troops and rebel soldiers continue, and losses on both sides continue to mount. With the territory still in turmoil, Chechens like Hasan can only dream of the day she and her family can safely pass through the Kavkaz border checkpoint and return home.

“We want to lead a normal life,” Hasan said. “If we were guaranteed today that there would be no more bombing, today, with my entire family, I would walk to Chechnya. I would not have spent a night here otherwise.”

#### Resources

The *Common Ground* radio program #0150—“Chechen Refugees/Civilians in War” is available online at [www.commongroundradio.org](http://www.commongroundradio.org), or see page 11 to order. Visit [www.russiaproject.org](http://www.russiaproject.org) to learn more.

**“We want to lead a normal life. If we were guaranteed today that there would be no more bombing... with my entire family, I would walk to Chechnya.”**



## Ten Years After the Soviet Collapse

# Hope for the Russian Media?

Two Titans Meet

**“Our press isn’t perfect in this country by far but, quite clearly, as far as freedom of speech in the press goes, I do think that the United States is probably paramount in the world.”**



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

**I Want My NTV.** Demonstrators surround the Ostankino broadcast center during a rally in support of Russia’s only independent television network, NTV, in Moscow last year. One holds a sign that shows the NTV logo and reads “Children of Russia for NTV.”

**I**s Russia’s president, Vladimir Putin, cracking down on the media? Are Russian reporters truly independent these days?

These are just two of the questions asked in the *Russia Project*, a new radio and Web special report produced for the Stanley Foundation. The project examines the changes in Russia a decade after the collapse of the Soviet Union. Transcripts, audio, and

additional information about the project are available on the Web at [www.russiaproject.org](http://www.russiaproject.org).

The host of the *Russia Project*’s two-hour radio documentary is legendary CBS News anchor Walter Cronkite. In one report, Cronkite discusses press freedom with Russian journalist Vladimir Pozner. Pozner became well known to Americans from his

appearances on *Nightline* in the 1980s and when he co-hosted a CNBC current affairs program with Phil Donahue in the 1990s. Today Pozner hosts Russia’s most popular news interview program. Here are some excerpts from the Cronkite-Pozner conversation.

**Walter Cronkite:** Vladimir, about the so-called journalists who learned their trade under Stalin and the dictatorship. As your country turned more and more toward democracy, were they in any way prepared to be good reporters, good journalists in a democratic society?

**Vladimir Pozner:** You know you ask, Walter, a very interesting and complicated question. First of all, when Gorbachev came to power and the policy of glasnost [openness] began to be practiced, the heroes, if you will, of the change were the journalists. The very same journalists who had been trained in a totalitarian society were the ones who came riding out like knights in white armor fighting for democracy, for openness, for freedom of the press, and all of that. And it was rather amazing to see how these people suddenly turned around.

They became very partisan in what they did. They saw themselves not so much as journalists but as people who took sides—as people who espoused certain causes. Almost, in some cases, like Messiahs, if you will, who were there to “save the nation.” So that instead of getting the news, period, or getting two sides of a story, what you’d be getting would be the news as seen by so-and-so and you’d only be getting one side of the story. And that is





Vladimir Pozner



Walter Cronkite

PHOTO COURTESY OF CBS NEWS

still, to a very great degree, the situation here today.

**Cronkite:** In your opinion, did the takeover of Vladimir Gusinsky’s NTV, the country’s largest private television station, represent an attack on freedom of the press?

**Pozner:** The whole NTV story is basically one of personal enmity. Almost a vendetta between then Prime Minister Putin and the owner of NTV and of the whole MediaMost, as it was called, holding Mr. Gusinsky. The two of them had two very serious falling-outs. The reason was not because of what NTV was showing or saying; the reason was because of a personal relationship between these two men.

However, what happened was seen as a kind of signal. It was seen as the possibility of cracking down on local independent television, and that has happened.

**Cronkite:** Vladimir, it’s a very discouraging report that you give us. Our press isn’t perfect in this country by far but, quite clearly, as far as freedom of speech in the press goes, I do think that the United States is probably paramount in the

world. And I’d like to feel that that was going to be true in a democratic Russia as well.

**Pozner:** What you say about the American media may be true, but I worked for six years in the United States doing television with Phil Donahue. We did a show on CNBC that was called *Pozner and Donahue*.

I remember once, this was a few years back, I think maybe ’94, when there was a lot of Japan-bashing going on in the United States because Japan was not allowing American cars to be sold in Japan. And on our show, Phil one day said look, instead of going after the Japanese, the United States should make better cars. Japanese have better cars than the US. Now, if the US starts producing better cars, cheaper cars, more reliable cars, then I think the Japanese will start buying them. Well, it so happened that on our show we had advertising by General Motors. They pulled their advertising. We were called up to the top management and told in no uncertain words that we should never again allow ourselves to criticize in a way that would scare off advertisers. Now, let’s talk about freedom of the press. Well, that’s that.

So, I agree with you that there is much more freedom of the press in the United States than there is in Russia, clearly that’s the case. But I wouldn’t idealize it at all. I want to make that point. And I do believe that in Russia, down the road it will happen. But it didn’t happen overnight in the United States. You look at the US press back in the 19th century and the early 20th century, and you see that it was a very different kind of media.

I think that down the road in Russia, it will also become what you would easily call an independent free media. But that’s going to take a couple of generations because it calls for a change in the mindset.

**Cronkite:** Well, I’m delighted if you feel a couple of generations would do it. Then there is hope.

—Excerpted by Keith Porter

**“...down the road in Russia, it will also become what you would easily call an independent free media. But that’s going to take a couple of generations....”**

## Humanitarian Work Honored



Each year the five leading engineering societies in the United States award the Hoover Medal to an engineer who has both advanced the profession and given unselfish, non-technical service to humanity. The 2001 medal was given to

Stanley Foundation President and Chair Richard Stanley. Stanley also serves as chair of the Stanley Group, one of the nation’s leading architecture/engineering firms. Previous recipients of the Hoover Medal include former Presidents Herbert Hoover, Dwight Eisenhower, and Jimmy Carter; business leaders Alfred Sloan, David Packard, and Stephen Bechtel; and renowned inventor Dean Kamen.

## Resources

# Stanley Foundation Publications

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

*Colored entries indicate new publications.*

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

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

### **Reconnecting Serbia Through Regional Cooperation**

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

### **Using "Any Means Necessary" for Humanitarian Crisis Response**

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

### **Report of the UN Civil Society Outreach Symposium**

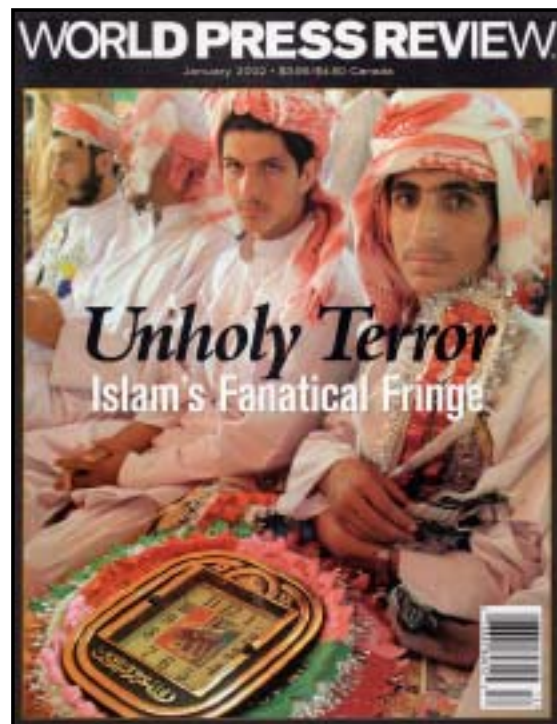
The working relationship between NGOs and the United Nations was the subject of a recent conference bringing together NGO leaders, UN officials, and a number of ambassadors to the United Nations. A range of ideas and proposals were explored for how NGOs and the United Nations can cooperate more effectively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

### **Strengthening the Nonproliferation Regime: The Challenge of Regional Nuclear Arsenals**

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

### **Ballistic Missile Defense and Northeast Asian Security: Views from Washington, Beijing, and Tokyo**

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Alliance At Work

# Eyes in the Sky

Article 5 Invoked

For the first time in US history, NATO Airborne Warning and Control System (AWACS) planes are patrolling American skies, watching for suspicious aircraft and ready to direct fighter jets if necessary. The flights began after Article 5 of the NATO treaty was invoked following the September 11 terrorist attacks. The agreement states that an attack on one member constitutes an attack on all of them. *Common Ground* Associate Producer Cliff Brockman recently joined a 12-hour AWACS mission above the New York-Washington, DC, corridor.

—Loren Keller

### Resources

The *Common Ground* radio program #0152—“NATO AWACS” is available online at [www.commongroundradio.org](http://www.commongroundradio.org), or see page 11 to order.



PHOTO COURTESY OF TINKER AFB

One of five NATO E-3A AWACS planes at Tinker Air Force Base in Oklahoma City. This plane is a modified Boeing 707 with a six-ton radar dome mounted on top. The jets carry no weaponry and refuel in mid-air.



Brockman aboard an AWACS jet.



Several of the 17 crew members aboard monitor radar screens.

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