

# courier



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PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

Fall 2002



UNDP/PHOTO

## Rebuilding After War

Helping to put the pieces back together after violent conflict in a country remains a complex challenge for the United Nations. Above, Portuguese members of the UN Transitional

Administration in East Timor are accompanied by a group of local children as they conduct a security patrol during the country's transition to independence. (See story, pages 2 and 3.)



## United Nations Rebuilding After War

*Laying Durable Foundations for Peace*

Over the past decade, the United Nations has repeatedly struggled to help rebuild societies emerging from violent conflict. Whether in East Timor, Bosnia, Kosovo, Congo, or Sierra Leone, the complexity of post-conflict reconstruction has stretched traditional humanitarian and development assistance efforts.

At the Stanley Foundation's 37th annual United Nations of the Next Decade Conference in Carmel, California, last June, a group of distinguished policy experts focused on how the United Nations can better promote sustainable peace in such war-torn societies.

Rebuilding after a conflict presents challenges so particular that conventional development approaches are often inapplicable, according to a summary of the participants' discussion. Post-conflict societies often lack any workable governance structure, suffer from heavy penetration of external actors, are threatened by massive security problems, and face tremendous development challenges.

And even when the challenges are clearly identified, adequate tools to deal with them rarely exist.

"All these tasks—humanitarian, military, political, social, and economic—are interconnected, and the people engaged in them need to work closely together," UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan recently said. "We cannot expect lasting success in any of them unless we pursue all of them at once, as part of a single coherent strategy. If the resources are lacking for any one of them, all the others may turn out to have been pursued in vain."

Conference participants agreed that resources and commitment are essential requirements for sustainable reconstruction. "The bottom line is resources," noted one participant. "If you don't identify resources, you'll just end up with a checklist."

The international community also needs to have stronger follow-through with its assistance,

participants agreed. While dramatic conflict and emergency will typically mobilize resources and interest in the immediate aftermath, the international community tends to walk away prematurely once a crisis fades from the political radar screen.

Some conference participants also noted that reconstruction efforts have a link to the war on terrorism. As many weak states become havens for terrorists, investing early to help bolster stability in recent conflict zones would pay dividends in "draining the swamps" in which terrorists operate.

So what could the United Nations do better?

Despite its 50-year history, the United Nations continues to be a work in progress, though many participants expressed frustration at the organization's culture and resistance to change. But compared to where many of these issues were just a few years ago, the institution has shown great improvement, due in large part to the attention the secretary-general has given to reform. Unfortunately, the United Nations still cannot deliver what many nations emerging from conflict require.

Given Kofi Annan's moral authority and popularity, participants hoped that he will concentrate on



**New Student.** Hadija, 13, listens as her teacher reads the alphabet at a women's literacy class in Mazar-e-Sharif, Afghanistan. Girls who have never been to school are joining adult women in literacy classes all over the city since the Taliban regime, which banned education for women, fell last year.

### courier

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strategically placing the organization in a better position to respond to post-conflict challenges. Among the participants' other recommendations:

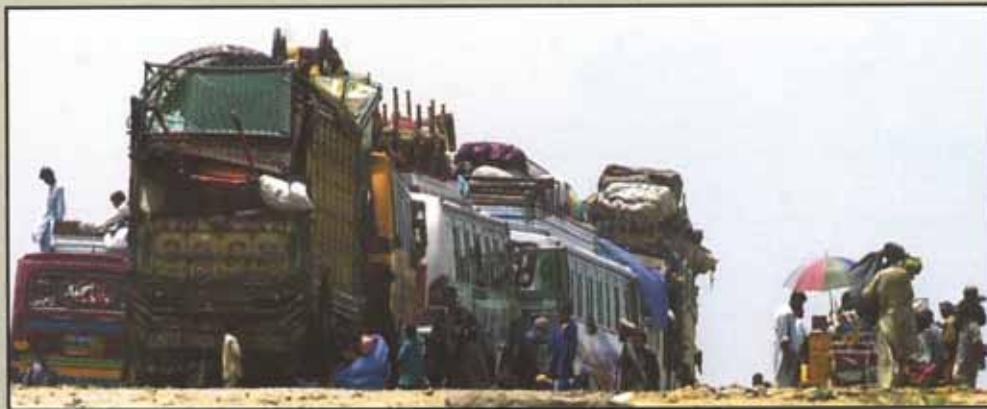
- Strengthen the mechanisms of the special representative of the secretary-general through increased authorities and budgets to make them more robust in the field.
- At the strategic level, support ongoing initiatives to promote broader Security Council and Economic and Social Council collaboration in peace-building operations.
- Support the full implementation of recommendations laid out in the Brahimi Report on peacekeeping reform regarding the enhancement of the international community's ability to provide rapid security and judicial assistance.
- Develop stronger institutional training opportunities among civilian, military, and police personnel working on reconstruction efforts.
- Support the secretary-general's ongoing efforts to develop a UN-wide system for strategic planning.
- Actively press for maximum devolution of responsibilities to the personnel in the field.

Rebuilding a country after war is neither easy nor quick. But failing to attempt to lay a durable foundation for peace is not morally tenable and does not serve anyone's national interest, participants concluded. Difficulty, past failures, and a seemingly endless supply of conflicts cannot be excuses for inaction.

—Loren Keller

### Resources

The full report and policy bulletin, *Laying a Durable Foundation for Post-Conflict Societies*, is available online at [reports.stanleyfoundation.org](http://reports.stanleyfoundation.org).



**Ready to Return.** Afghan refugees prepare to leave for Afghanistan from the UN High Commissioner for Refugees departure terminal in Islamabad, Pakistan. At least one million refugees have returned to the country since the fall of the Taliban last year, and UN officials predict another two million will return by year's end.

## 'The future is squarely on their shoulders'

**C**ommon Ground's Kristin McHugh recently talked to Julia Taft, the assistant administrator of the United Nation's Development Programme and director for the Bureau of Crisis Prevention and Recovery, about the United Nations' ongoing recovery efforts in Afghanistan. Here are some excerpts:

**Common Ground:** What are conditions really like on the ground?

**Taft:** One sees on the highways a number of Pakistani buses, stock full with beds and furniture and suitcases and hundreds of people trying to come back to Afghanistan.... In Kabul itself, it's a madhouse. There are more taxis, I think, in Kabul than there are in New York City. And you see lots of activity on the street. The stores are starting to open up, the markets are busy, and I think all of this can be attributed to the fact that there is a great international and growing presence there from the international relief agencies and the UN.

**Common Ground:** Afghanistan is actually starting to fade from our memory here stateside. We don't see pictures from Kabul anymore. Are you concerned that things will fade too quickly?

**Taft:** One of the most encouraging signs is that the donors consistently meet to discuss

their continuing commitment. The United States, Japan, the EU, Saudi Arabia, [and] other countries have made a long-term, visible, public commitment that this is not going to be a short-term investment.... That's never happened before. So while it's not on the nightly news, the donors do have it very much in their mind.

**Common Ground:** Do you think [the Afghan people] really want peace? We do hear stories about warring factions that are still happening, even outside Kabul. Is that hard to gauge at this point?

**Taft:** The whole United Nations approach for Afghanistan has been quite refreshing and quite different. What we have basically said is that the United Nations is not running Afghanistan. We do not have our own peacekeepers there. We do not run the country as we have done in East Timor or Kosovo. In fact, everything that we have been trying to do has been to enable the Afghans themselves to make decisions about their own priorities and how they want to manage things. So the future of Afghanistan is very squarely on their shoulders.

*Common Ground* is the foundation's weekly public radio program on world affairs. More of this interview is available on the Web, program #0228, at [commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org).





◀ **On Patrol.** An F/A-18 Hornet launches toward the sun from the flight deck of the aircraft carrier USS Constellation in the Persian Gulf in July 2001. The fighter jet is operating in support of Operation Southern Watch, which enforces the no-fly zone over southern Iraq.

**“...security must be increasingly based on mutual confidence and trust... as well as the punitive deterrent threat of US military might.”**

## New Foundation Program **Going Solo?**

*Strategies for National Security Initiative to Explore US Policy Options*

**I**t may be the world’s only remaining superpower, but the United States can’t go it alone.

This concept drives the Stanley Foundation’s new US Strategies for National Security (SNS) program, which will explore a range of foreign policy and defense approaches open to the United States in the post-Cold War world.

The other major working assumption of the SNS initiative is that the security debate shouldn’t be defined in military terms alone.

President Bush has proposed, in essence, that the best defense is a good offense. In order to protect its people, his administration has said, the United States must reserve the option of making quick, preemptive strikes against perceived enemies—such as Iraq—in a world where terrorists may operate in unconventional ways.

The SNS program proposes that in the evolving security environment,

the realities of economic and political globalization are creating the need for a coherent, balanced mixture of multilateral commitments and unilateral defense programs.

“That means security must be increasingly based on mutual confidence and trust—through treaties and alliances, for example—as well as the punitive deterrent threat of US military might,” said Michael Kraig, the Stanley Foundation program officer who will direct the initiative. “The optimal mix of those two will be determined in a series of project dialogues.”

In today’s global environment, advanced technologies with military applications are spreading both legally and illegally, and both middle powers in the developing world and nonstate actors have increasing policy influence. The SNS program assumes that a strategy that relies at least in part on mutual confidence between adversaries will be more feasible and

less expensive than an approach that is completely reliant on maintaining US military superiority in all parts of the globe.

The program will therefore put special emphasis on security strategies that integrate foreign, defense, and higher economic policies across the major bureaucratic agencies, and which rely on cooperative and preventive policy methods alongside traditional military tools. Such measures could include peace operations, arms control agreements, disarmament treaties, and confidence- and security-building measures.

As part of its mandate, the SNS program will also incorporate strategic economic aspects of security alongside traditional military concerns. The initiative will address the increasing role of commercial dual-use technologies that are utilized for multiple purposes, such as space programs, nuclear energy programs, and chemical and biological industries.

Underlying all of this, the SNS program will investigate the very basis of post-Cold War security planning: the ever-present threat assessments that emphasize “rogue states,” regional hegemony, international uncertainty, and nonstate terrorism as the defining realities confronting security experts and policymakers.

—Loren Keller

*Courier*



## Servers at Sea

# Online, Offshore

Web Entrepreneurs Seek Haven on Former Gunnery Platform

As governments extend the global war on terrorism to cyberspace, an abandoned military platform in the waters off the south coast of Britain claims to have found a new way to give authorities the slip.

So-called Sealand is making a sizable profit by renting out space on its many computer servers to clients worldwide who want to keep their data from prying eyes. Those who claim ownership of Sealand insist it is legal because they declared independence from Britain before territorial waters were extended.

Common Ground correspondent Suzanne Chislett recently visited the offshore portal to the Internet.

An often bumpy seven-mile speedboat ride over the choppy waters of the English Channel is the only way to reach the principality of Sealand. It may sound like the mythical Atlantis, but it actually consists of a concrete and metal platform about the size of a tennis court, which stands an impressive 50 feet above the waves.

It's a paradise to the nameless clients who want to ensure their Web servers and confidential documents are virtually hidden from the eyes of the world's governments.

Sealand began life as a World War II gunnery platform before it was abandoned, fell into disrepair, and was almost forgotten by the British government. But then in the 1960s, pirate radio took off and the sea giant became the home of Radio Essex. Suddenly, the abandoned defense post, away from the licensing laws of the UK, was an ideal base.



**Untouchable?** Sealand, a converted military platform, sits seven miles off the coast of Britain. It is home to large banks of computer servers used by clients who want to keep a low profile in cyberspace.

The current self-styled "prince" of Sealand is Michael Bates, whose interesting take on entrepreneurship has transformed the platform into a moneymaker.

In just one year, Sealand's computer deck has grown from three servers to row upon row of machinery, which keep the secrets of its clients 24 hours a day. Bates flatly refuses to reveal who is doing business there.

"I can't discuss the clients," Bates told *Common Ground*. "That's just a confidential thing. That's the whole idea. It's a secure location with secure clients."

It is widely believed that the majority of clients are finance and gaming companies. Bates' only stipulation for use of the servers is no child pornography.

Recently a group of Canadian students investigated the prospect of following in the footsteps of

online music swap site Napster by renting server space on Sealand.

But international legal experts are not convinced that Sealand really is a safe haven. E-commerce lawyer Barry Sookman believes individual nations could take action if they wanted to.

"The courts in the United States and elsewhere don't look to where the server resides," he said.

"What's really more important is where the damage caused by using the server results or where the person resides who controls the server. The courts in those countries have made it very clear that where infringement results from activities in foreign places, but that have implications in the United States or Canada, that they have jurisdiction to deal with it."

But so far, Sealand and its mysterious clients appear to have escaped prosecution and business is reportedly booming.



PHOTOS BY MARK LEE

### Resources

*Common Ground* is the foundation's weekly public radio program on world affairs. To hear more about Sealand, this interview is available on the Web, program #0227, at [commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org).

## What's in It for Youth

# Thinking Globally, Playing Locally

*Summer Programs Offer Global Perspectives*

They were only playing games, of course, and the instructions sounded easy enough.

*Follow each other's lead.*

*Balance out the space and be careful not to run into anybody.*

*The mission will never be accomplished if you don't have the trust of the crew.*

**"... if you can bring it down to what's happening very specifically in their own environment, then they'll be able to understand why there are kids in the Middle East having conflicts."**

**T**hat was among the advice offered to more than 40 young people participating in the Summer Special program in Muscatine, Iowa, sponsored by the Stanley Foundation's Global Education initiative.

As part of the two-week program, students who had completed fifth or sixth grade participated in a variety of activities designed to teach them more about their communities—both local and global.

This included learning to write in Chinese, listening to musicians from Togo, and going on a scavenger hunt for products imported from foreign countries.

For one lively afternoon, members of the Iowa City-based Graffiti Theatre company taught the students theater techniques designed to break down the wall that separates spectator and actor, encouraging them to take the stage and create strategies that work in real-life situations.

Activities ranged from using "improv" techniques to act out skits featuring a school bully to building "human machines" to games of trust involving pairs of students, one blindfolded, moving about in a shrinking space without bumping into others.

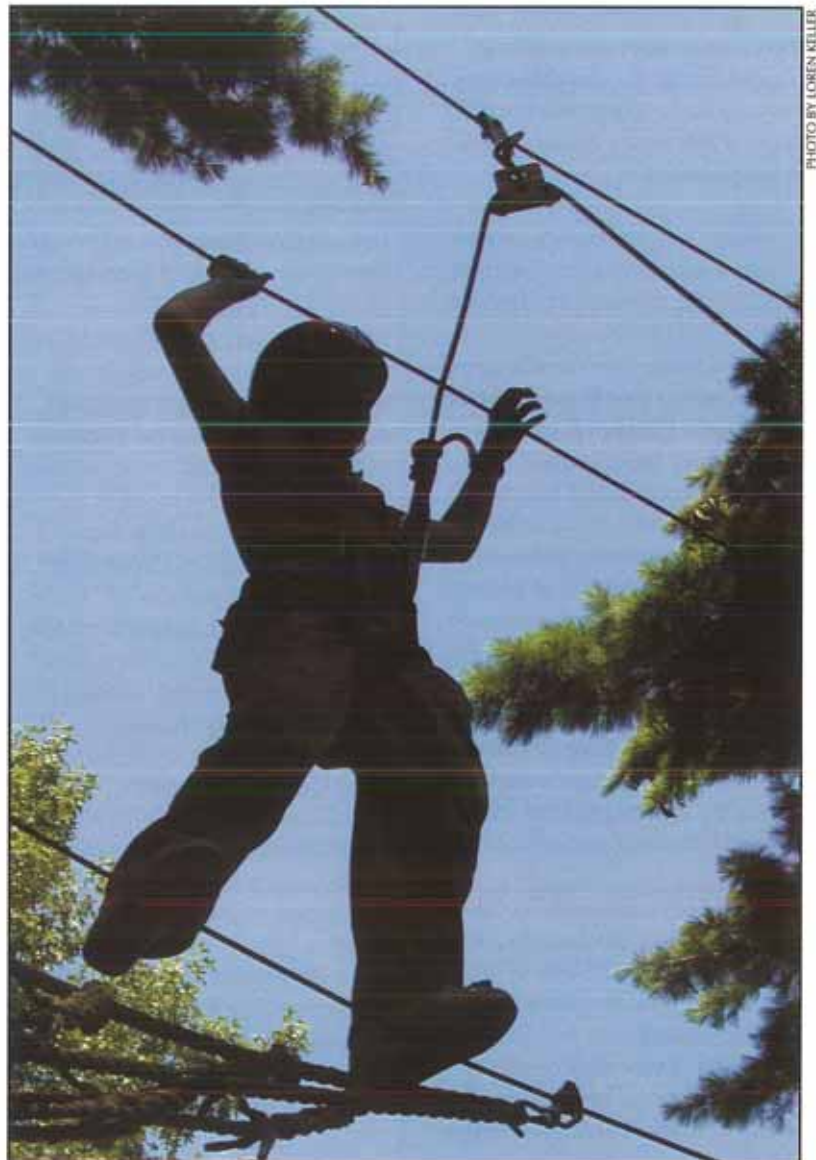


PHOTO BY LOREN KELLER

**Watch Your Step.** A Summer Explorations participant braves the skies in a ropes course at Four Mounds Conference Center in Dubuque, Iowa.



But the lessons learned—such as storytelling, listening, and teamwork—also apply to the larger world.

“I think if you can bring it down to what’s happening very specifically in their own environment, then they’ll be able to understand why there are kids in the Middle East having conflicts,” said Mara McCann, cofounder of Graffiti Theatre.

The foundation’s Summer Explorations program in Dubuque, Iowa, shared a similar goal of providing young women with multiple perspectives.

The week’s activities included a visit to the International Crane Foundation in Baraboo, Wisconsin, to learn about grassland conservation efforts, a trip to the Dubuque Museum of Art to view Haitian metal sculptures, and playing “Ioteria,” the Mexican version of bingo.

Daily discussion and reflection sessions connected their activities to actions of real women, among them a Kenyan women’s rights advocate, Arab teens in Chicago, and a Japanese peace activist.

“We want girls to think about themselves and their own talents and compare them with how other women are using their talents to affect the world,” said Angie Sauer, an associate program officer who managed the two summer programs.

“It’s about global citizenship and getting the girls to think about themselves in the global context—that they’re a person in the world and there are lots of different ways to be a person in the world. If they can get themselves to take a few risks, they might risk thinking about people in ways they didn’t before.”



**Connecting.** Summer Explorations students paint a mural, play a trust game, and learn Chinese calligraphy.

At the Four Mounds Conference Center in Dubuque, the fun included scaling new heights in a ropes course.

For the 15 middle school-age girls, the challenge involved strapping into a harness, clambering to the top rung of a ladder, walking across a 20-foot high cable strung between two tall pines, and then letting go to be lowered down.

Everyone was at least a little nervous before taking their turn, but all said they would do it again.

For anyone brave enough to try it for themselves, one eighth grader offered this advice: “Never give up and keep trying. That’s really the only way you’ll get anywhere. And just remember you’re attached to a harness and trust the people on the ground.”

—Loren Keller



PHOTOS ON THIS PAGE BY KARE FUCHSBERGER



# Terrorism and Weapons of Mass Destruction

*Ideal Terrorist Tools Must Be Both Dramatic and Available*

**F**irst the bad news: terrorist organizations want the cheapest weapons that will make the greatest statement. The good news is the most devastating weapons of mass destruction (WMD) are quite difficult to manufacture or acquire. And export control regulations on technologies that have both military and peaceful uses can make it even harder for terrorists to create or obtain WMD.

This is one conclusion of an international group of experts and government officials gathered earlier this year at the Stanley Foundation's 33rd annual United Nations Issues Conference. The discussion focused on how export controls and national security concerns can lead to the denial of new, peaceful technologies to the developing world. But the group also examined the connection between export controls and the war on terrorism.

The movement of people with WMD expertise is one area that needs more attention after 9/11, according to a report issued following the conference. The United States has tried to focus on the issue in the past without much success, in part because the issue raises fundamental constitutional questions. There is a lot of "know-how" that the United States does not want disseminated. However, the report warns that in practical terms this means potentially interfering with phone calls, conferences, and academic presentations.

## What Role Might Export Controls Play in Counterterrorism Measures?

When comparing the threats addressed by export controls and the threats posed by terrorists, the

differences are more striking than the similarities. Export controls are generally linked with known weapons sought by nation-states. On September 11, 2001, no such weapons were used, and the terrorists were not connected with a specific country. This has raised skepticism about using state-based export controls to affect the actions of groups like freedom fighters, which act autonomously despite receiving aid from one or more nations.

A majority of the conference participants agreed that:

- There is no need for a new set of export controls to deal with the threat of terrorism. State and nonstate threats should be conceptually separated. Terrorism is generally not a state-to-state threat, so nations need to be careful about using state-to-state tools to combat the threat. Export controls can be helpful in some circumstances, but they cannot be the only tool for counterterrorism, and they are unlikely to make a dramatic impact in the short term.
  - However, for businesses and other groups involved in commercial transfers, some steps to combat terrorism could assist export control regimes and vice versa. Steps now being taken to combat terrorism include information-sharing, police work, border control, and banking control. The United States has already created lists of suspect organizations and is freezing their assets, examining visas, and monitoring their activities. Similarly, some preexisting WMD export controls have already mandated the collection of information on
- companies, research institutes, and individuals within countries. In these specific cases, some features of these export controls could be brought to bear on the counterterrorism issue.
- Although new controls are not required, there is a need for better information-sharing on existing export controls. In the future, supplier countries must work harder to facilitate the exchange of valuable information on individual companies or institutes.
  - The physical security of materials during storage and transport is important in deterring terrorist access to WMD. In this regard, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has identified four primary threats: theft of nuclear weapons; theft of nuclear fissile material; theft of other radioactive material; and attacks on, or sabotage of, nuclear facilities. Nations hold the primary responsibility for dealing with physical security issues, but international regimes and institutions like the IAEA also have an important role to play.
  - Indirectly, export control regimes can help scrutinize the laws countries implement to prevent transfer of technologies to terrorist organizations within their own borders.
  - Nations must learn to monitor technology transfers to businesses and other nongovernment groups regardless of what country may be involved. For instance, the United States gives licenses for controlled items to friendly or allied states, and executive branch review requirements for these "friends and

*The movement of people with WMD expertise is one area that needs more attention after 9/11....*





**Uncovered.** *Export controls regulate the technology that creates weapons—like these lethal mustard-filled bombs found at an Iraqi air base by UN inspectors a decade ago—but do not directly address terrorism.*

allies” are lower than for other countries, if a review is required at all. However, if the United States is concerned about the activities of nonstate, transnational actors, it should be equally rigorous in monitoring how that technology is used in all cases. According to the conference report, “There is no reason why a terrorist organization would not want to set up a front company in a ‘friendly’ state.”

- Currently, US technology lists for antiterrorist export controls already overlap with US nonproliferation sanctions toward states

such as Iran or North Korea. Antiterrorist considerations will not have a practical impact unless they are also targeted toward groups operating out of countries other than just those suspected of proliferating nuclear weapons technology.

In the end, export controls may not be an effective tool for deterring terrorists or addressing their grievances. But these controls can play an important role in denying terrorists access to the most dramatic and deadly weapons available.

—Keith Porter and Michael Kraig

#### Resources

The report and policy bulletin, from this conference, *Technology Access for the Developing World: Reconciling Global Regimes and National Security Mandates* are available on the Web at [reports.stanleyfoundation.org](http://reports.stanleyfoundation.org).



## Resources

# Stanley Foundation Publications

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

*Colored entries indicate new publications.*

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

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

### **Domestic Politics and America's Russia Policy**

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

### **Laying a Durable Foundation for Post-Conflict Societies**

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

### **Beyond the Impasse: A Framework for Rethinking US Policy Toward Cuba**

Two workshops developed a new framework for US policy toward Cuba, one grounded in an up-to-date and honest assessment of US interests in Cuba that recognizes actors in both the domestic and Cuban political landscape. 6/02 policy bulletin.

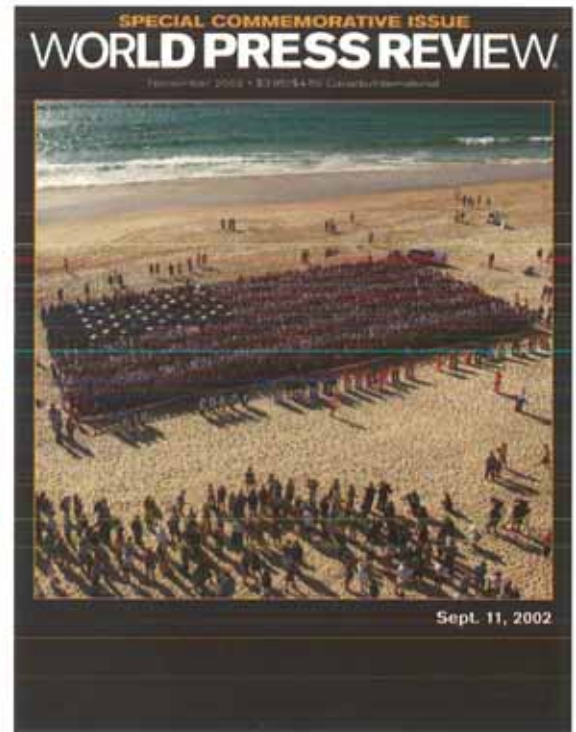
### **US Strategies for Regional Security: Europe, Middle East, South Asia, and the Korean Peninsula**

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 full report.

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

The Action Plan is a result of the project "Serbia and the Challenge 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. 2/02 full report.

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



## WORLD PRESS REVIEW

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

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

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- Sustainable Development Preview
- Uganda Dam
- Jason Carter
- Israel's Options
- Afghan Music

**Program 0233**

- Russian Oil
- Takalani Street
- Michela Wrong
- Dracula World
- Silkroad

**Program 0234**

- Brazil Economy
- Bernard Aronson
- Temeline Revisited
- Islamic Charity
- Zimbabwe Torture
- Whale Woes

**Program 0235**

- British Neo-Fascism
- Arab Stereotypes
- Pest Radar
- China Learns English
- Globalization of Baseball
- Spy Museum

**Program 0236**

- United States on Iraq
- Europe on Iraq
- Persian Gulf Update
- Seeds of Peace
- Pakistan Economy
- Swiss Neutrality
- Russian Mob

**Program 0237**

- Chinatown
- Europe-US Relations
- Robert Fisk Remembers
- Afghan Musicians
- Pakistan's New Role
- Tracking Terrorism
- Russia's War on Terror

**Program 0238**

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- India-Pakistan Journey
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- Uganda AIDS Worker
- Unmanned Aircraft
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**Program 0239**

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**Program 0240**

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- Salvador Dance Troupe
- Foreign Policy Morality
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More Common Ground

## World Affairs Matter

*Foundation Expands Radio Show to Hourlong Format*

**W**orld affairs have never mattered more. Every day seems to bring new evidence that events around the globe are closely connected to our own communities.

In response, *Common Ground*, the Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program on world affairs, has expanded to an hourlong format to bring listeners more about their world.

Hosted by Keith Porter and Kristin McHugh, the program features news and in-depth analysis on critical international issues from correspondents and experts worldwide.

"The new one-hour *Common Ground* further demonstrates the commitment by the foundation to excellence in public radio journalism," said Jeff Martin, the foundation's vice president and director of programs. "In the past three years, the Stanley Foundation has made possible noted public radio documentaries

*World Affairs Matter*



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

**common  
ground**

Radio's Weekly Program  
on World Affairs

on Vietnam, Iran, and Russia. The expansion of *Common Ground* is our response to increased listener and station demand for international coverage on a regular, weekly basis."

Created in 1980, *Common Ground* is now heard on more than 150 radio stations in the United States and Canada. A complete station list is available on the Web at [commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org).

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