

# courier



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PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

children



**OF WAR**



PHOTO BY RON HANV/VVI

fighting, dying, surviving

A new Stanley Foundation documentary examines the latest efforts to better protect children victimized by war. (See story, page 2.)

# What Can the World Do?

Documentary Examines Ways to Help War-Afflicted Children

"Children of War: Fighting, Dying, Surviving" is the Stanley Foundation's latest public radio documentary produced in association with KQED Public Radio. Following is the last segment of the show, written by producer Matt McCleskey and host Charlayne Hunter-Gault. The entire program can be heard at [www.warchildren.org](http://www.warchildren.org).

**"By the time we're done talking about what we should be doing to protect the kids, many of them have already lost their lives or suffered in other horrible ways."**

Over the last decade, the United Nations has passed major agreements protecting the rights of children and banning child soldiers. But what impact do these kinds of treaties have in practice? And what role does the United States play in this all-important area?

The United Nations has made tremendous progress in raising awareness about issues affecting children of war, but there's a gap between what is written on paper and what happens in the field, one expert believes.

"The reality is that when you're talking about international policy, and you're talking about the UN Security Council and other big international bodies, the wheels of change are too slow for many of these kids," said Julia Freedson, coordinator of the Watchlist on Children and Armed Conflict, a network of nongovernmental organizations.

"By the time we're done talking about what we should be doing to protect the kids, many of them have already lost their lives or suffered in other horrible ways."

Take, for example, the issue of landmines. More than 130 countries have ratified a treaty banning



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

◀ **Treacherous Ground.**  
An unexploded Russian mortar lies dangerously close to Chechen children in Grozny.

▼ **Cautious Canine.**  
In Macedonia, this friendly dog is the centerpiece of a multimedia campaign to teach children about the dangers of unexploded weapons.

the use of mines. Jo Becker of the Children's Rights Division of Human Rights Watch says landmines can have a particularly devastating effect on children.

"When children step on landmines, they're much more likely to be killed than adults because of their smaller body size and their vulnerability to the kinds of injuries that landmines cause," she said.

### Safety Training for Children

Since 1997, when the treaty took effect, the use of landmines has declined around the world, Becker said. But many countries, including the United States, have not signed the treaty, arguing that they mark minefields and therefore their explosives aren't a danger to civilians.

But that's not how it looks to the victims.



GICOR/SKOPJE

## courier

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**Helping Hands.** More than 5,000 red cardboard hands were planted at the United Nations' office in Geneva last year to mark the introduction of a new UN treaty barring the use of child soldiers.

In Macedonia, once part of Yugoslavia, thousands of grade school children have seen a play in which animal characters discover an unexploded bomb. Many of the children live in Tetovo, a site of heavy fighting between ethnic Albanians and Macedonians during the Balkans conflict. In this region, landmines planted by both sides—as well as unexploded cluster bombs dropped by Holland, Britain, and the United States—still pose grave dangers to civilians.

Cluster bombs are made up of many small bomblets contained within one large delivery system. Experts estimate that between 7 and 11 percent of the bomblets do not explode on impact. Cluster bombs are not covered by the landmine treaty, but do pose a danger to children.

Education efforts, like the play put on by the International Committee of the Red Cross, are helping children understand the importance of not picking them up.

"The message from the play is not to touch unknown objects," said Emma, one of the students who watched the play. "Tell our parents if there is danger. And don't even get close to unknown objects."

### United States Opposes International Treaties

While many countries have not signed the landmine treaty, every country in the United Nations has ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child except Somalia and the United States. The treaty guarantees children's rights to education, housing, and a decent standard of living. The US Senate has refused to ratify the treaty because it bans the death penalty for anyone under 18 and allegedly takes rights away from parents.

Ambassador Michael Southwick, a US State Department deputy secretary, says the convention interferes with how countries treat children within their own borders.

"Some countries try to give it the status of a secular religion and say this is the only standard in the world; to me this is an absolutely silly position," Southwick said. "How people treat children in the world is a product of culture, it's a product of religious traditions, and so forth, and to say that one treaty negotiated at one particular time is the be-all and end-all on children is a little bit absurd."

But human rights activist Jo Becker says failure to ratify the

convention damages US credibility around the world.

"When I travel outside of the United States, I'm repeatedly asked by both government officials as well as people in civil society why the US, which purports to be a champion for children, has not ratified the most basic convention designed to protect them."

The United States has also angered human rights groups by opposing the International Criminal Court, which, among other duties, will prosecute individuals committing war crimes against children.

### American Progress

But those same groups concede America has made progress on other fronts. In 2002 the United States ratified the optional protocol banning child soldiers. The State Department's Southwick says US ratification of this treaty is significant.

"First and foremost, it breaks a cycle of the United States being outside some fundamental treaties, or treaties that are regarded as fundamental by a number of countries, on human rights issues," he said.

Southwick says the United States also helps children of war by funding agencies that provide emergency relief to parents and children during and after conflicts.

Such assistance is provided at a feeding center operated by the World Food Programme in the city of Kuito, Angola. After 27 years of vicious civil war in that country, the government and rebels agreed to settle their conflict in 2002. But as recently as July of that year, some 45 percent of children were chronically malnourished.

But today the situation has improved. Adalia Cacassava is among those receiving corn meal, beans, and cooking oil from the World Food Programme.



*"While we emphasize the importance of protecting [children]... there has to be a much bigger effort made to solving their problems."*

Her one-year-old baby is moderately malnourished, but she thinks the food will help her recover. Of her five children, the infant is the only sick one.

Angola could still face serious food shortages because landmines and war-damaged roads make it difficult to reach the former child soldiers and other civilians in remote areas.

### Short Attention Span

Sadako Ogata, a former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, worries that children in countries such as Angola suffer when world attention shifts to new crises, like the war in Iraq.

"When there is not the really big outflow of people, refugee crisis, the international attention seems to fade away a bit and the money doesn't come, people don't have the resources to be present in unstable areas," Ogata said. "In Africa I think there's a double problem, of not only security problems but also poverty problems."

These days Ogata, who is now a fellow at the Ford Foundation, focuses her efforts on the concept of human security. She says the best way to protect children and their parents from the ravages of war is to work with countries and communities so they avoid fighting in the first place.

"While we emphasize the importance of protecting their well-being, safety, and so on, I think there has to be a much bigger effort made to solving their problems," she said. "And it is really political negotiation insisting on peace, insisting on security, and insisting on stabilizing societies."

"You cannot just keep on protecting refugees in refugee camps for decades. That is not only bad for the children, for the refugees, but for the whole world."



**Aid In Afghanistan.** Olara Otunnu, special representative of the UN secretary-general for children and armed conflict, investigates conditions in Afghanistan.

### A Parental Problem

Certainly, children wouldn't suffer if their parents didn't wage war. And every country agrees that—at least in theory—nations must not conduct war against civilians. But has all this international attention helped promote those concepts in practice?

Olara Otunnu, the United Nations' special representative for children and armed conflict, said in an interview that ratifying international treaties has been a major and necessary step forward. Now, he said, the United Nations must apply these international norms to individual countries.

"We must translate these norms into a protective regime on the ground that can save a child in danger in situations of conflict," Otunnu said. "And we must now move to begin systematically monitoring, reporting, naming, and shaming parties in conflict that continue to abuse children and mobilize international pressure to lean on them to change their practices."

Otunnu said he is also worried that some nations continue to

ignore international laws protecting children. Whether they are Third World dictatorships or industrialized democracies, he offers this appeal:

No matter what quarrels we have among ourselves, children have not contributed to that. And so I hope we could agree that all our children are entitled to special attention and protection, and that we should create a world, especially the world of the 21st century, in which all these children can be safe and protected.

That's a beautiful dream. And a daunting challenge.

**"No matter what quarrels we have among ourselves, children have not contributed to that."**

### Resources

More information on the plight of children victimized by war is available at [warchildren.org](http://warchildren.org).

# A Step Up

*Cambodian Rehab Center Helps Landmine Victims, Amputees*

In 1999 the World Bank estimated that nearly 10 percent of Cambodia's population was disabled, although experts say poor infrastructure makes the actual number of disabled citizens difficult to track.

A countless number of the disabled end up begging for food and money at locations popular with foreigners. But less than a mile across Phnom Penh's Japanese Friendship Bridge, an American-funded medical clinic is helping thousands of Cambodians get back on their feet.

The Kien Khleang Physical Rehabilitation Center for Veterans International, a program of the Vietnam Veterans of America Foundation (VVAF), was founded in 1991. It has since grown into a multiservice facility for amputees, landmine victims, and persons with a host of other physical disabilities including polio, scoliosis, and congenital deformities.

In the past decade, the center's workers have fitted more than 10,000 legs, each made to specifications on site. The center's six physical therapists and one rehab worker do massage and help the patients exercise in preparation for a prosthesis. More than 250 patients pass through Kien Khleang each month, roughly half of whom are children.

Among the recent patients receiving care at the center was 13-year-old Deu Sreipheak, brought in by her parents after she developed a high fever that led to nearly full-body paralysis.

While she could barely move when she arrived, five months

later she was swiftly pedaling an exercise bike with a bright smile on her face. She now wears a brace and can walk a little.

"If she couldn't come here, her life would be very different. She wouldn't be able to move," said the girl's grandmother. "I'm very happy that I brought my grandchild here and that she can walk. I am very happy with the treatment."

Poverty and malnutrition remain major problems for Cambodia as it slowly rebuilds after nearly three decades of civil war. So every morning, Deu Sreipheak and other child patients are provided with noodle soup at Kien Khleang's outdoor eating area. The center is assisted by the World Food Programme.

In addition to medical treatment, the center's workers build wheelchairs, craft custom prosthetic devices, and produce a wide range of artificial feet.

Nearly a third of Kien Khleang's production employees are themselves disabled, including more than a dozen landmine victims who are blind or amputees.

But fortunately, business appears to be slowing, said Larrie Warren, the country director for Veterans International's Cambodia Rehabilitation Program.

"There are probably 60,000 to 70,000 amputees in Cambodia, one of the highest rates in the world," Warren said. But "our prosthetic work, thank God, is slowly starting to decline, which has something to do with the post-conflict peace that has come to this country."

Since the early 1990s, Kien Khleang and VVAF's other Cambodia programming have received nearly all of its financing from the Patrick J. Leahy War Victims Fund. But the \$1 million annual grant is being phased out. Warren said the VVAF is now in the process of setting up a private endowment to keep the center and other programs up and running.

—Kristin McHugh

***"There are probably 60,000 to 70,000 amputees in Cambodia, one of the highest rates in the world!"***



**Wheelchair Workshop.** A man blinded by a landmine works on a wheelchair bearing at a Kien Khleang workshop.

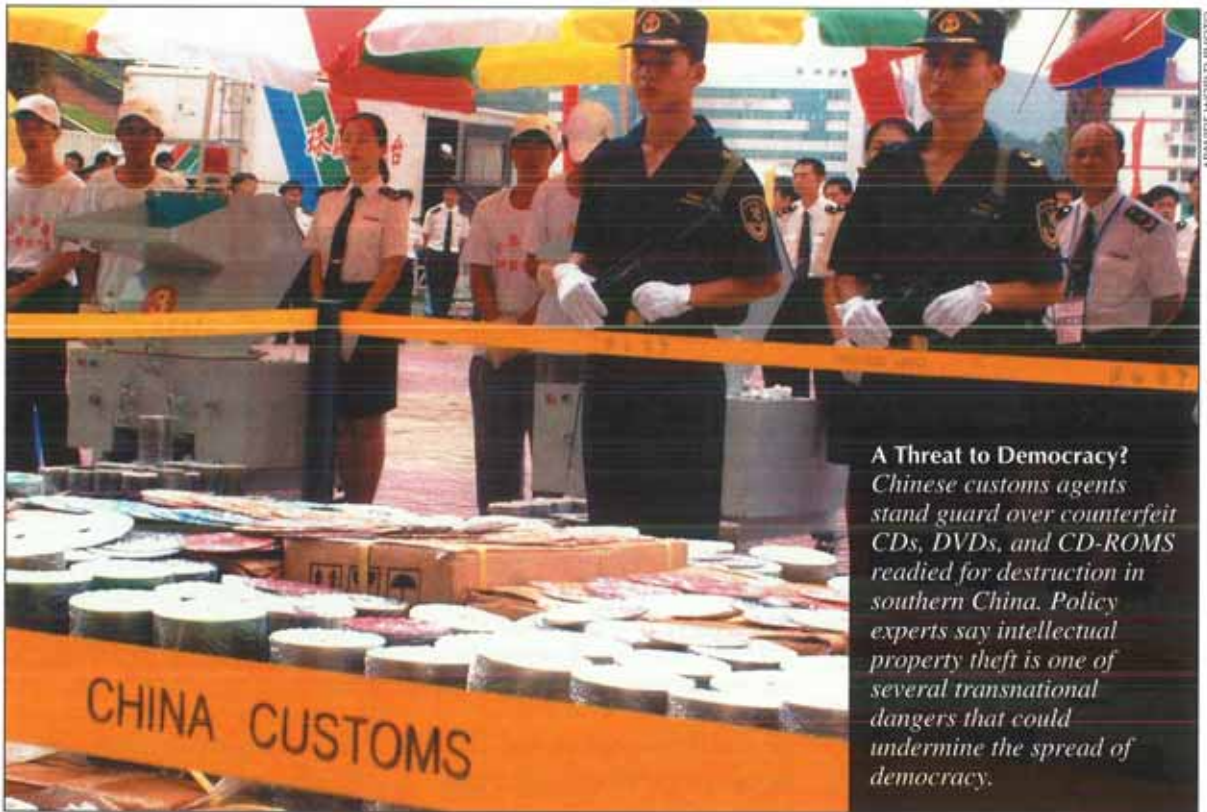
## Resources

*Common Ground* is the foundation's weekly public radio program on world affairs. To hear more about Kien Khleang, this interview is available on the Web, program #0313, at [commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org).

# Securing Peace in the 21st Century

Task Force Examines US Power, Democracy-Building, and Threats to Both

*The United States is the most responsible for a healthy global economy, which has a direct bearing on security.*



**A Threat to Democracy?**  
*Chinese customs agents stand guard over counterfeit CDs, DVDs, and CD-ROMs readied for destruction in southern China. Policy experts say intellectual property theft is one of several transnational dangers that could undermine the spread of democracy.*

**C**an the United States afford to remain the world's pre-eminent superpower responsible for keeping the peace in every region of the globe? How should it go about spreading liberal democracy? And what role do transnational threats such as terrorism play in those efforts?

Those are among the questions being asked in a series of task force meetings sponsored by the Stanley Foundation's US Strategies for National Security program—questions especially relevant in light of recent US military operations in Iraq and Afghanistan and nascent US policy toward North Korea and other potentially troublesome regions of the globe.

Led by former assistant secretary of defense Lawrence Korb of the

US Council on Foreign Relations, the 25-member task force has framed its discussion starting with the Bush administration's US National Security Strategy (NSS).

### Is It Affordable?

Participants at a March task force meeting generally agreed that the economic portion of the Bush administration's "Grand Strategy"—which states that free trade and free markets lead to more jobs, higher incomes, and greater freedom—is workable.

One participant stated that the United States is overwhelmingly the most responsible for a healthy global economy, which has a direct bearing on security and is compatible with the administration's military strategy.

Wealth is tied to peace and security; poverty leads to weak institutions and fosters corruption. A functioning economy, the participant noted, creates more stakeholders and leads to the demand for predictable rules, stronger institutions, and financial stability. Negative examples include most of the Middle East and sub-Saharan Africa, both unintegrated regions that serve as havens for drug trade and terrorism.

But can the United States afford to maintain military primacy? The answer, one participant said, is a mix of yes and no. Yes it can, if the United States can continue to follow the NSS economic plan, limit military responses, and opt instead for using its "soft" power, such as economic sanctions. Over the last two decades, the partici-

participant noted, “the military hammer has often been used when the problem isn’t a nail.”

But maintaining military primacy could be problematic given high US budget deficits and consumer debt overhang, which could make the US economy less attractive to foreign investors.

Another participant argued that there has been unwillingness in some parts of the administration to confront cost issues, such as how to pay for the war in Iraq.

And if the United States relies less on multilateral institutions, such as NATO and the European Union (EU), as it did before and during the Iraq war, it will instead rely on “mercenaries” or a “coalition of the bribed and coerced,” a practice that could quickly drain the US treasury.

But based on economic growth projections, the percentage of gross domestic product spent on defense will drop from 3 or 4 percent to 2 percent, the participant said. The “guns-or-butter” tradeoff will become less of an issue if that assumption holds true.

However, two wild cards remain: possible wars of preemption (against countries such as North Korea or Iran) and the EU’s economic leverage. While EU hostility is unlikely, it is worth noting that the EU accounts for more than two-thirds of all foreign direct investment and could use its “soft” power to hurt the United States.

### Expanding Democracy

The military action in Iraq was quick and relatively simple. Democratization and maintaining the peace will be much more difficult, one participant said.

But democratization may not bring about real reform, and the level of success in implementing democracy is highly subjective.

Democracies such as the United States, Europe, and Japan are not only concerned with the free elections but also want liberalism—a free press, the rule of law, and an independent judiciary—that lead to free markets.

And even in free market democracies, one small group can reap 90 percent of the benefits. In Russia, free markets have produced oligopolies, not ideal democratic development.

Another participant noted that half of the planet’s states—about 100—are seriously deficient when viewed through a democratic lens. The United States doesn’t have a policy to reengineer all of those countries, but is prepared to align itself with these states according to its interests, such as the Saudis and Uzbeks.

“We’re rewarding some ugly regimes in the Middle East while professing democracy,” the participant said. “Democracy is ignored in general but proclaimed broadly.”

Iran, another participant noted, “is more democratic, with all its deficiencies, than all of our Arab friends put together times six, but we’re not willing to acknowledge the democratic quality of Iran even begrudgingly.”

Another cited the example of Palestine. “We support the creation of a democratic Palestinian state as long as Yasser Arafat doesn’t win the election.”

And as one analyst recently told the *Christian Science Monitor*, “the US record of installing democracy is very dubious, with less than a 20 percent success rate.”

But there may be a back door to building democracies, one participant said. One way to avoid the simple binary choice of democracy versus dictator is to support things such as education, women’s rights, and a free press—which could lead

to richer democracies beyond free election. “If we support things like this,” the participant asked, “what is the downside?”

### Transnational Threats

Perhaps the greatest threats undermining democracy are transnational dangers—including ones that go beyond terrorism.

A recent article in *Foreign Policy Magazine* listed “The Five Wars of Globalization,” including the illegal—and booming—trade in drugs, arms, intellectual property, people, and money. Like the war on terrorism, the article stated, the fight to control these illicit markets pits governments against agile, stateless, and resourceful networks empowered by globalization.

Today’s international order actually consists of two systems: one of consolidated nations with clearly defined borders and values that know how to resolve internal conflicts, and another made up of unconsolidated states that can’t solve their own problems, have boundaries affected by warfare, and are ruled by shaky constitutions.

Another noted three larger trends that may cause trouble when used in combination: globalization/open borders, the diffusion of technology that may fall into the hands of hostile actors, and the collision between modernity and traditionalism. Terrorist groups fighting against modernity have broad, unlimited goals that can only be met through the destruction of the existing order.

Some would argue, another participant concluded, that the United States has severely strained the international mechanisms—treaties, alliances, and organizations—that could be used to counter these threats.

—Loren Keller

**Some would argue that the United States has severely strained the international mechanisms that could be used to counter these threats.**

### Resources

For more information online, visit [www.stanleyfoundation.org](http://www.stanleyfoundation.org).

## After Iraq

# What's Next for Iran?

*Saddam's Downfall Brings Joy, Apprehension to Iranians*

*Roxana Saberi recently reported from Tehran on what could happen next in Iran for Common Ground, the Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program on world affairs.*

The news of Saddam Hussein's downfall at the hands of US-led forces lifted the spirits of many Iranians. They remember how Hussein attacked their country in 1980, sparking a devastating eight-year war. But their joy is tempered by uncertainty.

Along with Iraq and North Korea, the Islamic Republic of Iran is part of President Bush's so-called "axis of evil." Tehran has not had diplomatic relations with the United States since Washington cut ties after the 1979 Islamic Revolution.

During the US-led war on Iraq, Iran was torn between two enemies. It took a position of active neutrality and publicly denounced the attack on Iraq.

"Iranians are waiting to see what will happen in Iraq," said Mohammad Hossein Hafezian, an Iranian researcher of Middle Eastern studies.

He says Iran faces three main scenarios in post-war Iraq. The best situation for Iran's ruling authorities would be a Shiite Iraqi government sympathetic to Iran's interests, but he believes the United States will likely prevent this from happening.

"So for this reason, they consent to the middle, so-so scenario, a government elected by the Iraqi people and is not hostile," he said.

Iran's worst-case scenario, Hafezian said, would be an Iraqi government completely in American hands and unfriendly to Iran.

The uncertain future of Iraq is making many of Iran's leaders, especially those in the clerical establishment, wary of American objectives in the region. Many are anxious about US military build-up on Iran's doorsteps in the Persian Gulf.

Iran's Supreme Leader Ayatollah Ali Khamenei condemned the war as a military offensive with imperialist goals. The ayatollah, who sets the direction of the country's domestic and foreign policies, said while he welcomes Hussein's departure, he opposes US plans to install a military government in Baghdad.

The fear of many Iranian authorities is that after Iraq, the United States will turn its attention to its neighbor—if not militarily, then culturally, politically, or economically.

US Secretary of State Colin Powell has warned Iran—along with Syria—to stop pursuing weapons of mass destruction and supporting terrorist activities, charges that Iran and Syria deny.

Powell says these warnings do not mean the US military will attack those countries. But Hafezian said many of Iran's leaders are not convinced.

"They think the US will not stop at this station," he said. "It will proceed to expand its hegemony, in their words, and will try to contain Iran and perhaps repeat the Iraqi scenario in Iran."

Some of Iran's reformists say if the United States starts to seriously threaten Iran, it will give powerful hardliners an excuse to crush reforms. The reformists themselves say the US and British victory in Iraq should be a strong impetus for change at home. They say if the Iranian government accelerates reform through democratization, there will be no need or excuse for the United States to attack.

As Iranians wait to see what happens next door, they remain in a sort of limbo. While some don't believe assurances from the United States that it has no plans to attack *their* country, many know Iran is on America's radar screen.

They realize the US-led attack on Iraq and the events that follow will shape their region, their country, and their future.

### Resources

To hear more about Iran, this interview is available on the Web, program #0317, at [commongroundradio.org](http://commongroundradio.org).

**"Iranians are waiting to see what will happen in Iraq."**



**End of Era.** Iraqis in Tehran stormed the Iraqi Embassy after the fall of Saddam Hussein.



## North Korea and Iran Pose Challenges

# Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty at Risk

*Could it become a "hollow shell"?*

**C**ould the North Korea crisis be the undoing of a 33-year-old treaty? Could Iran also soon join the ranks of the world's nuclear powers?

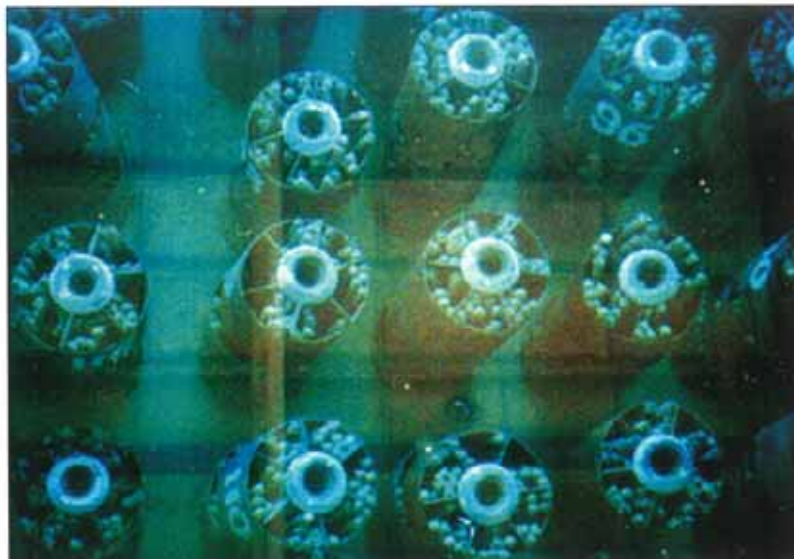
The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) aims to stop the spread of nuclear weapons. Under the terms of the NPT, the United States, Russia, China, France, and the United Kingdom were allowed to keep their nuclear weapons, at least temporarily. All other countries involved pledged to forgo developing or acquiring nuclear weapons.

The NPT was born in 1970, and 188 nations around the globe have signed it. But, like many treaties, it is most notable for who has not signed. In this case, India, Pakistan, and Israel stayed out and have since developed—or are strongly suspected of developing—nuclear weapons.

Now, North Korea may already be the first signer of the NPT to actually become a nuclear power. North Korea withdrew from the treaty late last year, and experts consider this breach almost as alarming as the weapons themselves.

At the Stanley Foundation's 34th annual United Nations Issues Conference earlier this year, experts and policymakers met to discuss "Global Disarmament Regimes: A Future or a Failure?" Much of their attention focused on North Korea's challenge to the global norms established by the NPT.

The fear that Iran might also become a de facto nuclear power also drew the attention of conference participants and highlighted what some see as a flaw in the



**Power Struggle?** North Korea's spent nuclear fuel rods, kept in a cooling pond, are shown in this 1996 photo released in February.

NPT. The treaty allows—even encourages—nations to develop nuclear power as a source of energy. But it makes no distinction about the kind of nuclear power processes used. In particular, many participants believed that there is no conceivable rationale for permitting countries to develop nuclear power programs that rely on uranium enrichment or plutonium reprocessing—the kind Iran is building—since these processes are central to constructing nuclear weapons. They believe other forms of nuclear power carry much lower risks.

Foundation program officer and conference organizer Michael Kraig said, "Some conference participants asserted that the NPT regime is on the verge of becoming a 'hollow shell' if the North Korea problem is not addressed and if Iran succeeds in building either an enrichment or reprocessing capability while technically staying in compliance with the treaty. Yet others at the table hotly disputed this view."

A further problem facing the treaty is its call for current nuclear powers to reduce their nuclear stockpiles and ultimately eliminate their nuclear arsenals entirely. These countries may hope to avoid this discussion, but conference participants said nations in the developing world will not let the issue go away. The view of many participants was that nonproliferation cannot be separated, politically or conceptually, from the goal of general nuclear disarmament.

The conference also addressed the roles of the Chemical Weapons Convention, more intrusive inspections, counterproliferation military efforts, multilateralism, and preventive efforts to address regional sources of conflict.

—Keith Porter

**North Korea may already be the first signer of the NPT to actually become a nuclear power.**

### Resources

A full report of the conference discussion will be available soon at [reports.stanleyfoundation.org](http://reports.stanleyfoundation.org).

## Resources

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Prevailing views of security practices and concepts are undergoing changes worldwide. This Policy Bulletin examines the relative utility of strengthening, reforming, or abandoning global security frameworks and offers recommendations. 3/03 Policy Bulletin (forthcoming 6/03).

### **Refugee Protection in Africa: How to Ensure Security and Development for Refugees and Hosts**

When people flee their homelands, they evade immediate danger only to find new vulnerabilities in their place of refuge. This Policy Bulletin offers both economic and security recommendations based on discussion that included six major host countries in Africa. 11/02 Policy Bulletin.

### **US Foreign Policy and Chechnya**

In this essay, Stanford Professor Michael McFaul offers a detailed analysis of US policy on Chechnya during the Clinton and Bush administrations. The Chechen wars, he writes, "rank as the most serious scars of Russia's troubled transition." 3/03 Web report only.

### **At Odds With Iran and Iraq: Can the United States and Russia Resolve Their Differences?**

As the possibility of war with Iraq looms larger, how would it affect US relations with Russia? Drawing heavily from first-hand accounts, Stephen Sestanovich examines US-Russia relations vis-à-vis Iran and Iraq during the 1990s. 2/03 Web report only.

### **Stabilizing Regions in a Post-9/11 Era: US Relations With China, Iran, and Russia**

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### **Fostering Regional Cooperation and Reconciliation in Serbia and Southeastern Europe**

In this Policy Bulletin experts consider constructive approaches to Serbia's integration into Southeastern Europe. Recommendations in the areas of business and investment, local governance and agriculture, and media and youth are included. 10/02 Policy Bulletin.

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

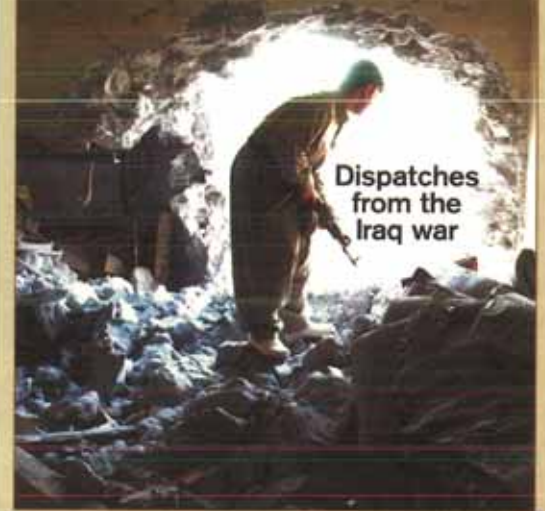
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### The End (To Be Continued)



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## Post-Conflict Reconstruction

# Leading in War's Aftermath

Foundation Conference Convenes UN Leaders, Diplomats



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

**T**he reconstruction of societies riven by war, such as Iraq, poses formidable and complex challenges to outside governments and international organizations trying to help.

The difficulty is that the stability sought by international actors requires, at a minimum, basic security. Then issues of justice and reconciliation stemming from the conflict must be resolved. Finally, stability requires the establishment of social, political, economic, administrative, and physical infrastructure that is difficult to build or reconstruct.

This wide range of issues, as well as the multiplicity of actors and stringent resource constraints, put a

premium on thorough planning, disciplined prioritization, effective implementation, and coordinated effort—all of which in turn calls for leadership of the highest quality.

In the UN context, this leadership often takes the form of a special representative of the secretary-general (SRSG). On April 25-27, the Stanley Foundation convened a number of former and current SRSGs, as well as other diplomats and experts, for a discussion of "Leadership of Post-Conflict Operations."

The conference developed broad-based and pragmatic policy recommendations for how post-conflict operations and their leadership can be made most effective.

—David Shorr

◀ **A New Day.** *The flag of East Timor is raised for the first time at the United Nations after the country became its 191st member in 2002. Participants at a foundation conference are hoping that flags from other postwar nations will fly alongside it.*

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