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PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



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In the Spotlight: Africa

UN/DPI PHOTO

Story on page 2.

Exclusive Interview

Bush: 'We Care About Africa'

President Believes United States, Africa Forging New Relationship

When George W. Bush became president of the United States, few analysts around the world expected him to devote much of his first term to Africa. He had argued on the campaign trail that US foreign policy was spread too thin and the continent simply didn't have the same abiding national interest to the United States as the Middle East or Europe.

In his inaugural address in January 2001, President Bush made no reference to Africa at all. Earlier, on the campaign trail itself, he made it clear—in stark contrast to the Clinton administration—that he simply didn't think that Africa was a US foreign policy priority.

"It's an important continent," Bush said at the time. "But there's got to be priorities, and the Middle East is a priority for a lot of reasons. As is Europe and the Far East and our own hemisphere.

And those are my four top priorities should I be the president. That's not to say that we won't be engaged.... But we can't be all things to all people in the world."

But three years later, Bush has changed his tune and recently became the first sitting Republican president ever to visit Africa. In an exclusive White House interview with *Common Ground*, the Stanley Foundation's weekly public radio program on world affairs, the president told correspondent Simon Marks that he's now determined to keep Africa policy in the forefront of his administration.

"We care about Africa," Bush said. "We care about the people of Africa."

To the surprise of many, Bush has prioritized Africa policy in the months since the 9/11 terrorist attacks on the Pentagon and World

Trade Center, sensing that the continent has the potential to act as a breeding ground for terrorism but also seemingly drawn to taking on some of its toughest challenges.

Bush has surprised many in Washington by the vigor with which he has embraced the battle to combat HIV/AIDS, though some say he could do even more by fully embracing debt relief for Africa. Asked why he hasn't been more enthusiastic about debt relief for Africa, Bush first touted his efforts to deal with HIV.

"Enthusiasm to the tune of \$15 billion—that's pretty darn enthusiastic to deal with a pandemic," he said. "I also have agreed to increase with the direct developmental AIDS grants from the United States by 50 percent. However, we expect countries—whether they be in Africa or anywhere else—that are applying for this money to embrace the habits of a free country, transparency, anticorruption. Making sure people are educated, and receive healthcare. So we're doing a lot in America."

Addressing the issue of debt relief, Bush responded: "There is a program in place for debt relief, and I would like to see that program implemented in full. I also called for the World Bank to give more grants rather than loans, and so our program across the board in compassionate, in my judgment."

The president's openness to what he calls a policy of "compassionate conservatism" has been fueled by many Christian evangelical groups in the United States that have urged the White House to get

"My job is to make sure that America is secure," Bush said. "And if some don't like the tactics, that's the nature of a free world where people can express their opinion."



Common Ground correspondent Simon Marks meets with President Bush for a White House interview.

Cover photo:
Gaining Importance?
A young boy, his thin figure silhouetted against a setting sun, stands on the airstrip near Thiethou, Sudan.

involved in places like Sudan, where Christians and Muslims are fighting a bloody civil war.

But President Bush says his Africa policy is also focused in part on American self-interest. When African nations embrace democracy, he argues, they cause the United States fewer problems and cost it less money.

In Zimbabwe, for example, President Robert Mugabe stands accused of rigging elections, seizing land from white farmers, repressing his opponents, and cracking down on free speech. Bush said the failure of African democracies to help resolve the crisis in Zimbabwe, like neighboring South Africa, makes it much harder to advance the interests of the entire continent.

Secretary of State Colin Powell recently wrote in *The New York Times*, "South Africa can and should play a stronger and more sustained role in resolving matters in Zimbabwe."

Asked specifically what he would like to see South African President Thabo Mbeki do in Zimbabwe that he's not already doing, Bush said Mbeki should insist on free elections, the rule of democracy, and

"that the conditions necessary for that country to become prosperous again are in place."

Zimbabwe, Bush said, "has not been a good case study for democracy in a very important part of the world. And we hope that not only Mr. Mbeki but other leaders convince the current leadership to promote democracy.... Let me give you one reason why. There are a lot of starving people in sub-Saharan Africa, yet Zimbabwe used to be able to grow more than it needed to help deal with the starvation.

"We're a nation that is interested in helping people that are starving. We're going to spend a billion dollars this year on programs to help the hungry. It would be really helpful if Zimbabwe's economy were such that it would become a breadbasket again.... And yet the country is in such a condition that the agricultural sector of its economy is in shambles right now."

The failure of South Africa to take more of a leadership role in resolving Zimbabwe's problems has contributed to strained ties between South Africa and the United States. And those strains have been exacerbated by some very personal criticisms of President Bush by Africa's most prominent statesman, Nelson Mandela.

"What I'm condemning is that one power, with a president who has no foresight, who cannot think properly, is now wanting to plunge the world into a holocaust," Mandela recently said.

But Bush insisted that he has done the right thing.

"My job is to make sure that America is secure," Bush said. "And if some don't like the tactics, that's the nature of a free world where people can express their opinion. I admire Nelson Mandela. As a matter of fact, my administra-



Help on the Way? A malnourished child in Liberia is weighed. Despite the peace deal signed in August that formally ends the country's brutal civil war, hundreds of thousands are awaiting desperately needed food.

tion was the one that gave him the Medal of Freedom as a result of his courage and bravery. I just happen to disagree with him on his view about how best to secure America. But you can be rest assured that if I think America is threatened, I will act."

That view of American foreign policy finds many detractors in Africa. The president's footsteps on the continent were dogged by protestors angry over his invasion of Iraq and, like Mandela before them, firing accusations that he acts like a cowboy on the world stage.

But Bush seems both committed to, and convinced by, his view that the United States and Africa are forging a new relationship—one that will bring mutual benefits and a new US commitment to a long-marginalized part of the world.

—Excerpted by Loren Keller

Resources

Common Ground is the foundation's weekly public radio program on world affairs. The full interview is available on the Web, program #0330, at commongroundradio.org.

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United Nations

Who Rebuilds After Conflict? It Depends.

World Community Better at Handling Post-Conflict Crises, But More Is Needed

The United States is having at least as much trouble with the post-conflict operation in Iraq as it had with the war to remove Saddam Hussein. In the weeks after President Bush declared “major combat operations” over, the United States and

In fact, the politicians and practitioners of the international community have learned a lot about post-conflict operations in the last 10 to 12 years. They have learned it in places like Bosnia, Kosovo, Afghanistan, East Timor, Somalia, Haiti, Sierra Leone, the Congo, and others. But converting that learning to more effective operations continues to be an elusive goal.

Familiar Problems

This June, the Stanley Foundation continued a two-year focus on post-conflict operations with a conference entitled “Who Rebuilds After Conflict?” Twenty-two participants, including senior UN officials, diplomats, experts, and nongovernmental organization leaders took part.

The short answer to the who question is, “It depends.” Participants noted that every conflict is unique and so are the post-conflict situations. However, the combination of actors involved almost always includes the United Nations, individual nations or groups of nations who have an interest in the situation, and relief and development institutions—both intergovernmental and nongovernmental. Leadership depends on circumstances, but more often than not the United Nations has a prominent role. (In that regard Iraq, where the UN Security Council formally acknowledged the United States and United Kingdom’s roles as occupying powers, is atypical.)

There have been varying levels of success in recent operations. But there are also common, recurring problems. Those problems include:

- Uncertainty about what “success” is. Some post-conflict actors want to get in and out as quickly as possible and make it look like the situation on the ground is better. Others get into the effort to achieve long-term political stability and economic growth.
- Underestimation of the time required. Political stability and economic growth take much longer to achieve than most actors are willing to commit.
- Inadequate financing. This is the companion piece to the short time horizon. Money tends to pour into new situations but rapidly diminishes as operations grind on.
- Inflexibility. The international community is unable to react nimbly to surprising and quickly changing situations on the ground.
- Shortage of skilled and experienced people for senior and mid-level leadership posts.
- Overreaching on the Security Council. Too often the council yields to the pressure to “do something” in the face of a crisis even when council members know that nothing the council does will make a difference. This produces operations with so little political and financial support that they are guaranteed to fail.

Working on the Problems

Many participants noted that the international community has gotten a little bit better at handling post-conflict crises, but much more is needed. A big part of the solution is for the international community—particularly the

PHOTO BY KRISTIN MCHUGH



Open For Business. A clothing vendor setting up shop on the streets of Pristina, Kosovo, is a positive sign of economic recovery for the war-torn region.

its ally, the United Kingdom, struggled to bring order and stability to Iraq. Moreover, the prospects for economic reconstruction and political stabilization appear to be on a longer-term horizon than optimists in the administration had promised.

The fact that the United States took a go-it-alone approach—eschewing significant political and operational roles for its allies and the United Nations—certainly complicated matters. The United Nations and other elements of the international community could have brought experience to the operation from other post-conflict situations, though that experience certainly would not have guaranteed success.

Resources

A full report of the conference discussion will be available soon at reports.stanleyfoundation.org.

United Nations—to make more realistic assessments of what can and cannot be done in post-conflict situations. Then, when a decision to launch a new operation is made, policymakers need to do so with a clear understanding of the time, money, and political capital needed to achieve the operation’s objectives.

Those concepts may seem so obvious that they would be easy to attain. But international politics makes it remarkably difficult. Policymakers need frequent reminders about the need to be straightforward about these matters. Some participants suggested that a UN Security Council watchdog group should be set up to hold the council accountable for such things as passing unrealistic mandates and taking other politically expedient actions.

Beyond those principles, the participants identified a number of measures to strengthen the United Nations’ capabilities in this area.

- Develop a standby constabulary force able to be quickly deployed in order to help reestablish law and order. (See adjacent story.)

- Encourage troop-contributing countries to strengthen peace-keeping training.
- Pull together a crosscutting policy planning and analysis unit in the UN Secretariat to capture lessons from operations and to propose remedies for recurring problems.
- Establish an annual report from the secretary-general to the Security Council on emerging conflicts and upcoming post-conflict challenges.
- Reform cumbersome and politicized personnel policies that hamper the creation and management of effective operational teams.

The network of governmental, intergovernmental, and nongovernmental actors that makes up the international community is an unwieldy beast. It is not realistic to think that it will easily and automatically handle explosive and chaotic post-conflict situations. But enough experience has been gained so the policymaker should be better prepared than they are now to respond more effectively.

—Jeffrey Martin

United Nations

Security to Do What?

War-Fighting vs. Policing

Security is a prerequisite for any post-conflict rebuilding. But there are many possible levels and kinds of security, and the security requirements change depending on what you are trying to accomplish.

One participant at the foundation’s most recent conference on post-conflict reconstruction enumerated three levels:

1. Security to allow the resumption of humanitarian operations. This is a rather low level of security and, as such, is quite often attained. That is because local populations usually welcome humanitarian aid workers and because those workers have accepted the risk of entering perilous circumstances.
2. Security to allow the resumption of normal economic activity. This is a higher standard—one in which an environment is created where people feel free to reopen markets and make investments.
3. Security that allows democratic political development. This is a very high standard—one in which debate can take place between political groups without fear of intimidation. It is a standard that requires much time and is rarely attained in post-conflict operations.

However, work on all three levels needs to happen at the same time. Economic and even political activity resume quite quickly after open conflict ends. So, occupying and/or peacekeeping forces need to quickly switch roles.

A similar switch for which the international community seems poorly prepared is from war-fighting to policing. The tasks of defeating an enemy and enforcing law and order are very different. Soldiers who are trained and equipped to do the former are not prepared to do the latter. Several participants said a standby constabulary force is required. Such a force could be quickly inserted into post-conflict settings and would essentially be more heavily equipped than typical police officers.

—Jeffrey Martin



Healthy Recovery. An International Committee Red Cross official directs the construction of the new Kroobay clinic in Freetown, Sierra Leone.

Youth Programs

Thinking Globally, Connecting Locally

*Foundation Summer Programs Focus on Dreams, Team Work,
and Creativity to Develop Global Citizens*



“Dreams” was the theme of this year’s Summer Arts Experience program for middle school students in Columbus Junction, Wapello, and Williamsburg, Iowa. Activities included a visit to the Field of Dreams in Dyersville, Iowa; construction of dream boxes; and an interpretive dance performance of the story of Sadako, which incorporated making origami “peace” cranes.
Photos by Loren Keller



Summer Arts Experience



The Summer Special program for 5th and 6th graders in Muscatine, Iowa, included team-focused activities such as canoeing, working at the Muscatine County Environmental Discovery Center, a puppet-making workshop, learning to dance the tango, and a trust-building ropes course. Photos by Loren Keller and Jeremiah Whitehall.

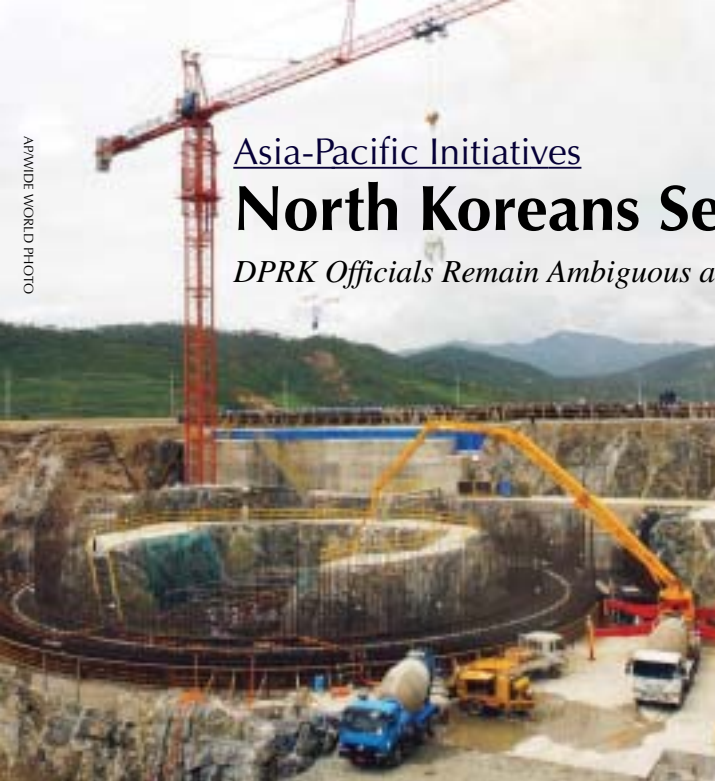


Summer Special



North Koreans Seek Nukes, Economic Help

DPRK Officials Remain Ambiguous at Meeting in California



▲ **Slow Going.** Construction of North Korea's light water reactor project, shown in this 2002 photo, has been hampered by military and political attention as well as funding problems. The project is part of a 1994 US agreement with North Korea that is aimed at achieving a nuclear-free Korean peninsula.

North Korea believes it must have nuclear weapons to protect itself from an attack by the United States but is willing to abandon that pursuit if the United States shows it has given up its hostile intent toward the country.

And despite the North Koreans' hardening of their nuclear policy, they are continuing with economic reforms that began a year ago.

Those were the main conclusions drawn from a recent bilateral dialogue on US-North Korea relations between a group of 16 East Asia specialists from the United States and four North Korean government officials.

The June 1-3 talks in La Jolla, California, were cosponsored by the University of California-San Diego's Institute on Global Conflict and Cooperation (IGCC) and the Stanley Foundation.

The La Jolla meeting offered a more informal atmosphere for discussion following the April 23 meeting among US, North Korean, and Chinese officials in Beijing. That meeting represented the first time in six months that US officials and their North Korean coun-

terparts met to discuss North Korea's suspected nuclear weapons program.

"There is a genuine sense of insecurity there," said Susan Shirk, the IGCC research director who chaired the La Jolla talks and led a recent Capitol Hill briefing on what was discussed.

"They said quite explicitly that they had concluded from the Iraq war that the only way to prevent the United States from attacking North Korea is to have a nuclear deterrent, and they are accelerating their efforts to develop one."

But the North Koreans did not reveal specifics about how far along they are in their nuclear reprocessing efforts or whether they have already produced nuclear weapons.

According to the US government, North Korea has admitted the existence of a gas centrifuge nuclear weapons program. Its missile program and exports continue, and the country has rebooted its nuclear reactor, which can manufacture weapons-grade material.

US officials have said they cannot confirm North Korea's recent claim that it has finished reprocessing about 8,000 spent nuclear fuel rods, an action that would yield enough plutonium to produce about six nuclear weapons.

Shirk said the Americans involved in the talks gave the North Koreans "lots of good reasons to take back to Pyongyang about why this course that they have now set themselves on was self-defeating from the standpoint of their own

interests and advised them what they should do instead."

The Americans made it clear to the North Koreans that making threats won't work, said Frank Jannuzi, democratic professional member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations who was involved in the talks.

"The bottom line is that the dialogue drove home the extent to which the United States and North Korea mistrust each other and how difficult it's going to be to realize the present objective of peacefully and diplomatically resolving the crisis," he said.

Despite that disconnect, Jannuzi characterized the talks as "very constructive, without any theatrics. There was no table-pounding or walkouts or any of the other stunts that have occasionally accompanied discussion with North Koreans in the past."

Bradley Babson, a consultant who specializes in North Korean economic issues and worked for the World Bank for 26 years, said North Korea is serious about reforming its economy but must see those efforts as part of the larger security equation.

"It was pretty clear to all of us that without an agreement on the security side, North Korea is not going to get the help that they need on the economic side," he said.

The DPRK government introduced economic reforms in July—in their own view, the most significant economic step since the country's land reform initiatives of the 1940s—in hopes of shaking off its Soviet-style economy and moving

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For more information about the Asia-Pacific project, visit <http://api.stanleyfoundation.org>.

toward a market economy. But North Korea realizes it needs outside help to make economic reform work.

Babson said there is some hope that economic reform efforts could influence the security issue.

“I do not think we should assume that the decision making is monolithic, despite the centrality of Chairman Kim Jong Il,” he said. “We need to find ways to help reform-minded people in the top echelons to influence the internal debate.”

Robert Einhorn, who served as assistant secretary for nonproliferation at the State Department from November 1999 to August 2001 and is now a senior advisor of the Center for Strategic and International Studies’ International Security Program, outlined the proposal offered by the North Koreans at the La Jolla meeting.

The North Koreans want the United States to pledge “nonaggression” against North Korea, eventually establish diplomatic relations with the DPRK, provide assurance that Japan and South Korea will cooperate economically, compensate North Korea for the suspension of fuel oil shipments, and complete the light water reactor project.

North Korea, in return, would pledge to stop making nukes (though they did not necessarily say they would destroy any existing nuclear weapons), accept inspections, eventually dismantle all nuclear facilities, maintain the moratorium on missile flight testing, and stop missile exports.

But the Koreans would not admit there is a parallel uranium enrichment program under way, or even address the issue hypothetically.

“We picked up on the lack of clarity in North Korea’s purposefully ambiguous and evasive posture.

We told them that these evasions only raise questions in our minds,” Einhorn said. “Why should we negotiate with North Korea if it’s not clear that at the end of the day that they are going to be prepared unambiguously to give up their entire nuclear weapons program?”

Einhorn also noted that there is disagreement within the Bush administration over the idea of even engaging the North Koreans in negotiations.

“But there is no difference whatsoever within the US government on what the US approach should be if and when North Korea makes the wrong decision and pursues the path of nuclear weapons unambiguously,” he said. “There is agreement within the US administration, probably the US Congress, and everywhere else that the US would have to respond by pressuring them, isolating them, imposing certain kinds of restrictions on them.”

Einhorn said the Americans drew a distinction between the US reaction to India and Pakistan going overtly nuclear in 1998 and what would happen if North Korea does the same.

“With India and Pakistan, these countries didn’t violate any international obligations. They weren’t members of the NPT [Non-Proliferation Treaty]. They made no bones about their insistence on keeping these options open. In short, sanctions were imposed, but after two or three years were mostly removed. That wouldn’t be the case with North Korea.”

Instead, the United States would continue to pressure North Korea economically and ultimately seek its collapse.

Victor Cha, associate professor of government at Georgetown University’s School of Foreign Service, said the North Koreans were less than straightforward

about the nuclear issue despite the Americans asking them the “same questions many different ways, many different times.”

“We made clear to them...that the burden of proof in many ways, in spite of what they say, is really on them now to take some sort of step that might at least raise more of a debate about how serious they are about getting out of this crisis.”

But the North Koreans denied that the burden is on them to demonstrate that they are “on good behavior” and insisted that they’ve already taken the steps necessary to show that they are.

“Somebody raised the point that you can say good things, but if you lace every good statement with a threat, the message is not getting across,” Cha said.

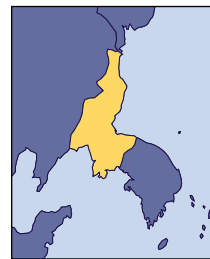
Instead, he said, such threats conveyed that the North Koreans fundamentally misunderstand how the 9/11 attacks affected US security concerns.

The North Koreans refused to say whether they would ever come into full compliance with the Non-Proliferation Treaty or allow inspectors from the International Atomic Energy Agency back into their country, dismissing the IAEA as a “biased” organization.

But “they made it very clear that they were proceeding with their nuclear weapons program.... If they have to make a choice, it’s the bomb,” Henry Sokolski, executive director of the Nonproliferation Policy Education Center, said.

At one point one of the North Koreans, when pressed with questions about his country’s intentions, “finally relented and said, ‘You know, I’m not in the military. They’re in control.’ That’s pretty bad news.”

—Loren Keller



North Korea

▼ **Standing Alone?**
North Korean leader Kim Jong Il in an undated photo released by the government in 1994. Despite Kim’s undisputed rule, one expert believes he could be influenced by reform-minded colleagues.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Resources

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Who Rebuilds After Conflict?

Despite more than a decade of painful experience, the international community still has a spotty record at best when it comes to post-conflict rebuilding in places like Afghanistan, Bosnia, and Iraq. In order to ensure that these challenges are properly addressed, a group of policy experts who gathered for the Stanley Foundation's United Nations of the Next Decade Conference called for greater strategic direction, commitment, and discipline. 2003 full report.

The UN on the Ground

A group of experienced humanitarian professionals and diplomats from inside and outside the United Nations met regularly over the period of nearly two years to discuss the challenges that humanitarian agencies confront in war zones. Their report includes 11 practical proposals to boost the effectiveness of such agencies, minimize unintended consequences, and make aid programs more sustainable. 2003 full report.

Global Disarmament Regimes: A Future or a Failure?

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.

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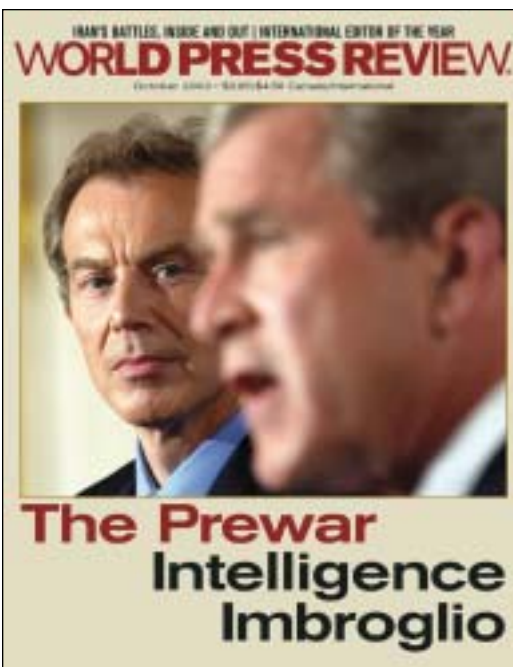


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'Destination Spotlight' Debuts

Premier Highlights Surprising Scene in Iran

Common Ground, the Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program on world affairs, is making it easier for listeners to travel the world without leaving the comfort of home.

This fall, the program is introducing an occasional series titled "Destination Spotlight." In the weeks and months ahead, Common Ground correspondents will take listeners on a personally guided tour of interesting, unusual, or unique global destinations. This could be a coffee bar in Moscow, a public square in Beijing, or a subway stop in London. The first segment in the series showcases one of Iran's oldest horse clubs.

The Shohada Riding Club in Tehran was built about 40 years ago as a private hunting ground for Iran's leader at the time, Mohammed Reza Shah. Today it is owned by the new Islamic government.

Horse riding is a source of pride for many Iranians, dating back 4,000 years. But after Iran's 1979 Islamic Revolution women found fewer opportunities to continue the sport.

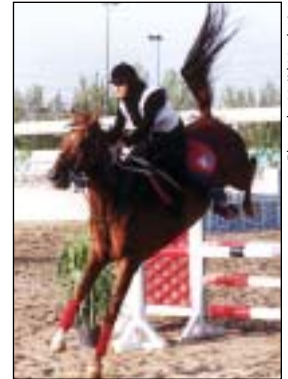
Club manager Soraya Bahrami says until six years ago, women could not ride there, mostly because they did not have the proper Islamic clothing. "Considering the situation and rules of the country and system, we designed a kind of riding outfit for women. It's beautiful, and women are very comfortable wearing it while riding. Women stopped riding until we prepared these clothes."

Women riders substitute the required long coat or chador for black, tight trousers, with long-sleeve shirts under vests. Like elsewhere in public, they must cover their hair—at the riding club they wear small black caps. Many Shohada Riding Club participants say there are still fewer women

than men in this sport, though the number of women is rising. Riders estimate maybe 10,000 women across the country are taking riding lessons at the nation's 80 or so clubs.

For women, including 30-year-old Shirin Asefi, the Shohada Riding Club takes them out of their everyday routines and gives them a sense of spirituality that affects other parts of their lives. "In my opinion, horse riding is the only sport that lets you exercise with an animal, and there is mutual cooperation between the horse and the person. It gives a sense of pleasure, power, and calmness."

—Kristin McHugh with Roxana Saberi in Tehran



Photos by Majid Mardanian



A Leap for Womankind. Riders at the Shohada Riding Club.

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