

courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



The Stanley Foundation
Number 50
Spring 2006





"The United Nations is a creature of the post-World War II order but its future may be more important than its past."
Issue 5, Fall 1990

"...in the absence of a bipartisan consensus on America's global relations, the US could become fractured by competing regional, ethnic, economic, and political interests."
Issue 14, Fall 1993



"While governmental curbs on acquiring weapons of mass destruction have largely been successful, there are signs that the threats from these weapons are changing."
Issue 24, Spring 1997



"...global problems are no longer divided between the rich of the North and the poor of the South."
Issue 19, Summer 1995

Editor's Note

Fifty Issues of Courier

Provoking thought and encouraging dialogue since 1989

“Who Is Ready for the 21st Century?” reads a headline in the very first issue of the Stanley Foundation’s *Courier*—a great question to be asking in the spring of 1989. Now, 50 issues of *Courier* later, and six years into the new millennium, the question reminds us just how far we have come.

Those first few issues of *Courier* reveal us struggling with the remnants of the Cold War. The thaw between the United States and the Soviet Union was uncovering exciting new possibilities and revealing frightening challenges on the world stage. New hope for peace in Central America and Africa was emerging, UN peace-keeping operations were on a dramatic upswing, and the Stanley Foundation was exploring how to better integrate global education into school curriculum.

“For over forty years,” begins a story I wrote in Issue 2, in the fall of 1989, “US policy in the Persian Gulf has

remained basically the same: ensure access to the oil resources and prevent those resources from falling under the control of hostile forces.” Seventeen years later we can accurately report that little has changed.

Issue 3 began with a striking paragraph that continues to echo in 2006, “Two decades of improving US-China relations were deeply shaken on June 4, 1989, when tanks of the People’s Liberation Army rolled on Tiananmen Square. Two months of peaceful, prodemocracy demonstrations were halted as troops fired on the crowds gathered there, killing hundreds and wounding thousands.”

The foundation organized a group of experts to dissect the impact of the Tiananmen Square massacre. *Courier* reported, “...it is very significant that there was no group consensus on either the question of where China is going or where US-China relations should go.” China today looms larger than ever in

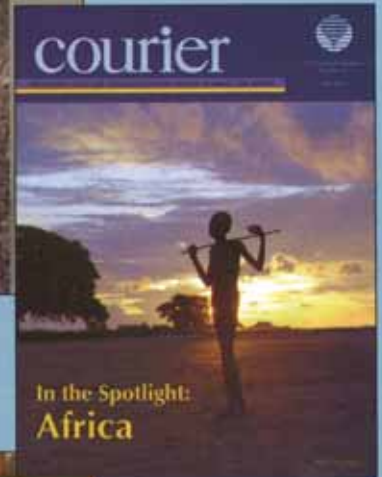
"Peacekeeping forces, like KFOR in Kosovo, do not even begin to address the historical events and injustices which lead to war."

Issue 32, Summer 2000



"An agency that controls enormous levels of wealth, by local standards, may be better protected if it is known it will be around longer than a few months."

Issue 37, Spring 2002



"You cannot have development without security and you cannot have security without development."

*Kofi Annan,
Issue 48, Summer 2005*



Courier has, over the years, always focused on promoting peace, security, and long-lasting solutions to complex global problems.

world affairs, but still there is no formal reconciliation between economic freedom and the lack of political liberties in the country.

Courier has been our attempt to share what we learn from foundation programming with a broader audience. The ideas, insights, and policy recommendations are highlighted rather than our role in organizing events. This effort was expressed by foundation President Richard Stanley in a note to readers in the first issue: "We want your focus to be on the many people who are acting on their desire to make the world a better place, not on us."

The work of the foundation and *Courier* continues to evolve. Some of the changes in both are reflected here in Issue 50. But the desire to make the world a better place remains stronger than ever.

—Keith Porter

courier

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In 2026

Outlook Uncertain

US must lead multilateral efforts to address security threats, globalization

The United States today faces a world as complicated and challenging as any time in its history. Almost two decades since the fall of the Berlin Wall—and nearly five years after 9/11—the international scene remains fluid and volatile.

Sound policy, however, must be informed by analysis of how the world might evolve. The choices we make today will influence the opportunities and challenges we will face in the future. Looking ahead, what will be the key drivers and dynamics shaping the international system 20 years from now?

At the broadest level, the world of 2026 appears to be one in which the international environment is characterized by diffuse threats and the roiling effects of globalization.

The Future of US Foreign Policy
Perhaps the single most important variable shaping the world of 2026 will be the choices the United States makes in conducting itself on the global stage.

No other country has the economic, political, military, technological, or cultural advantages of the United States. Nor is any significant competitor likely to emerge within the next two decades.

The Pentagon's 2006 Quadrennial Defense Review report opens with the statement that "The United States is a nation engaged in what will be a long war," a formulation echoed in speeches by senior military officers and the Secretary of Defense and in the president's last State of the Union address.

The "long war" envisages a 20-year strategy with a primary focus on

military responses to the threat of terrorism, with US troops deployed, often clandestinely, in dozens of countries to fight terrorists and other threats.

But even the Pentagon report acknowledges that military means alone will prove both ineffective and, ultimately, counterproductive.

"The Department of Defense cannot meet today's complex challenges alone," the report states in a section buried toward its end. "Success requires unified statecraft: the ability of the US government to bring to bear all elements of national power at home and work in close cooperation with allies and partners abroad."

Sixty years ago the United States played a leading role—indeed *the* leading role—in formulating a suite of multilateral political, economic, and security institutions, including the United Nations, international financial institutions, and NATO, that helped guide the world through the perils of the Cold War era.

With new threats emerging—and alternative visions for the future of the world challenging the notion of free markets and democracy—the United States must once again play a leadership role in shaping multilateral rules and institutions for a stable, just, and prosperous world order.

Many challenges lie ahead.

Globalization

As the world's population is expected to top 7 billion people by 2020, the flow of goods, labor, services, technology, capital, ideas, and culture around the world will be even faster, creating significant stress and fissures.

Globalization will continue to contribute to significant economic gains for many. But those left behind will inhabit a world of increasing volatility, where competition over resources, the lack of economic opportunity, environmental degradation, infectious diseases, and other stresses may raise the threat of societal collapse—and in turn, may raise a host of ethical and security concerns for those in the globalized world. Over the next 20 years, the United States and its allies must work to enhance the benefits of an integrated world while maintaining their traditional allies.

Political Islam

Across much of the Islamic world, demographic pressure, poor economic performance, nonresponsive governance institutions, and globalization's mix of highly traditional societies and modern Western culture has the potential to create an unstable situation for generations to come.

For the culture of political Islam, the challenge will be to create political space from the inside and to establish open political systems that can produce both economic opportunities and legitimate pathways for political differences to be arbitrated. Conversely, a failure to provide legitimated political space will further heighten the domestic pressures that lead from political and social alienation to radicalism, and which can in turn eventually lead to both domestic and international violence.

Rising Powers

In the next two decades powerful states will develop across Asia—India and China in particular—and in other regions, with countries such as Brazil and South Africa

Even the Pentagon acknowledges that military means alone will prove both ineffective and counterproductive.

gaining momentum. As new powers begin to play a more prominent role on the global stage, international trade, politics, and culture will gain increasingly Confucian and Hindu (and other) characteristics with results still difficult to fathom.

In a January 2006 speech at Georgetown University, Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice acknowledged that “in the 21st century, emerging nations like India and China and Brazil and Egypt and Indonesia and South Africa are increasingly shaping the course of history,” and that the 21st century will not be a second “American century” but rather a global century.

Energy Security

Increasing demand for energy in China, India, and other developing nations has sparked renewed global interest and competition over what could be one of the defining characteristics of the 21st century. China’s thirst for oil in 20 years alone will equal that of what the United States consumes today.

The complex interplay of these changing patterns of global demand and supply—with Africa, Central Asia, and Latin America all poised to play greater roles as energy suppliers—will further complicate energy security calculations in Delhi, Beijing, Washington, and elsewhere. Although most estimates assume that energy supplies “in the ground” are sufficient to meet demand, without a legitimate system to adjudicate disputes, competition and friction could lead to instability and conflict.

Global Warming

With incontrovertible evidence mounting that as the 21st century progresses the impact of global warming will become increasingly pronounced, environmental factors stand to play an influential role in shaping global politics.



Energy Insecurity. Recent attacks on Nigeria’s oil pipelines, like those shown here, and President Bush’s State of the Union address have made it increasingly clear that energy supply and demand will be of great importance to foreign policy in the coming decades.

And with global warming comes an increased potential for more intense floods, stronger hurricanes, and longer droughts. Rising temperatures will also cause decreases in agricultural productivity and threaten the world’s food supply.

Global warming is also projected to significantly increase the range of tropical and other infectious diseases including dengue, yellow fever, and malaria. The World Health Organization is projecting tens of millions more cases of malaria and other infectious diseases due to climate change.

Nonproliferation

In 1963, President Kennedy predicted that by 1975 some 15 to 20 countries would have nuclear weapons. Today only eight do, and several states (such as Brazil and South Africa), which had started down the path toward developing weapons, have voluntarily turned back.

Yet the interlocking web of institutions centered on the Non-Proliferation Treaty that comprises international nonproliferation

norms are coming under increasing stress and appear to many to be on the verge of collapse. If the political will to commit to a new “Grand Bargain” that addresses the interplay between security and legitimate energy needs and the dangers of horizontal and vertical proliferation is lacking, the world of 2026 may well be the one that President Kennedy feared: tens of nations possessing nuclear weapons technology, and nonstate actors and terrorist groups more able to acquire nuclear weapons as well.

Perhaps most critically—and as the cases of Iran and North Korea both illustrate—dealing with nuclear nonproliferation in the new century also demands a renewed focus on the regional and global issues that drive proliferation dynamics.

The future is not dark yet. And with principled US leadership to address this myriad of issues, there is the potential for a promising rather than foreboding next 20 years.

—Michael Schiffer

With principled US leadership to address this myriad of issues, there is the potential for a promising next 20 years.

Budget Priorities

Raising the Bar

Diplomacy, International Affairs budget key to US leadership

National defense is only one way of protecting and defending the American people.

In 2005 the US Agency for International Development (USAID) provided \$2.5 million of aid to Romania following a flood that killed two and left thousands without homes. This money was used throughout the country to buy everything from hygiene kits to kitchen stoves to rubber boots for those who were left with nothing. It allowed the Romanian government to look beyond immediate needs to long-term rebuilding projects such as schools and bridges. And it provided the start-up money for social and health service systems.

USAID is just one of the many organizations and programs funded by the United States' International Affairs budget. The State Department, the Peace Corps, student exchanges, funding for international organizations, and international humanitarian assistance also fall within this budget.

The 2006 budget proposed by President Bush estimates these "nonmilitary" programs would cost the United States \$32 billion. In comparison, his 2006 proposal for defense spending was approximately \$492 billion, including \$50 billion to support the war in Iraq. These two types of spending combine to finance America's pre-eminent position on the world stage. But the spending gap between military and nonmilitary spending is vast, and it has become wider in the past few years.

The challenge, then, is to weigh the importance of defending the United States by military means and rec-

ognize the significance of establishing long-term, respectful relationships with allies, neighbors, and adversaries alike.

Assessing Military Defense

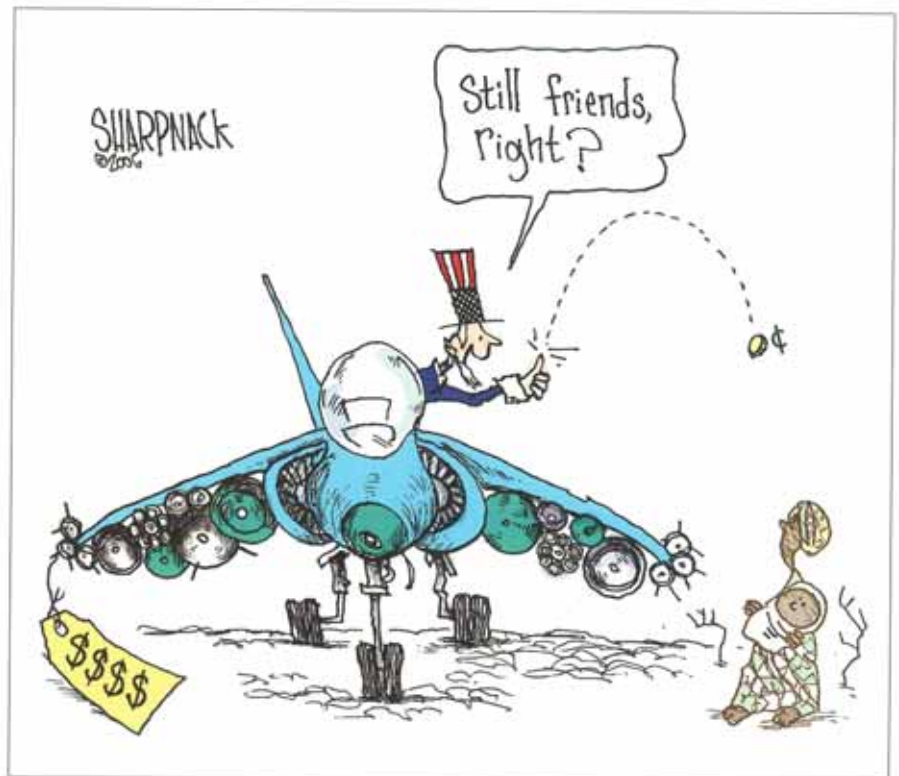
The United States spends more than any other nation to guarantee its military superiority and, in turn, its security. In fact, the United States' budget for defense is more than half of the *global* total for military spending. Military spending supports active duty military personnel, submarine technology, research and development of fighter jets, and the staffing and maintenance of the Department of Defense. It allows the American armed forces to patrol American borders and ports, the open seas, and the coasts and airspace of international allies.

But national defense, many experts note, is only one way of protecting

and defending the American people. Policymakers characterize defense spending as a "preemptive" means of security. It serves to deter those who may want to harm the United States.

And while military capability is, without a doubt, necessary in the defense of the United States, a debate has begun to develop over whether there is a way—or a need—to decrease the financial support of weapons development and maintenance. These discussions have brought out the most important points in support of defending the United States through military means as well as a greater understanding of the importance of "hearts and minds" campaigns.

The wars in Afghanistan and Iraq changed the way the United States is viewed in the eyes of the world.



Above all, Muslims from Pakistan to Tunisia fear that the war in Iraq is symbolic of a greater ideological war against Islam. Indonesians, for example, despite their recent relationship with democracy, largely felt the same following the invasion of Iraq—its citizens frequently expressed frustration and hostility toward the United States. But after the country was devastated by the tsunami in 2004—and after the United States responded quickly with volunteers, assistance, and nearly \$1 billion in aid supplies—Indonesian public opinion toward America changed significantly for the better.

Root Causes

This brief example shows that the United States can make great strides in reclaiming its position as a leader in the world by aiding countries rather than invading them, assisting rather than commanding. The idea that addressing “root causes” around the globe may contribute to American security is slowly gaining stature in Washington. “Root causes” are those issues that contribute to weak states and disaffected populations: lack of education, poor sanitation, unavailable resources, and human rights violations.

These “root causes” are only occasionally addressed by the US military. Instead, they are attended to by the diplomatic corps of the United States. This corps extends beyond the American ambassadors and their staffs stationed around the globe. It includes Peace Corps volunteers and USAID staff in international offices, as well as the humanitarian aid workers who distributed food after the tsunami and officers who run student and professional exchange programs.

The Peace Corps currently has 115 volunteers in Kazakhstan, for example, who promote education and business development in towns and villages. Since 1993 the Peace



International Assistance. *In Cairo, the World Health Organization (WHO) provides medical aid to women and children during and after pregnancy. The WHO is just one of the many international organizations that receives funds from the US International Affairs budget.*

Corps has worked with government ministries and local organizations to transition from communism to market systems within this Central Asian state. These volunteers are American representatives to the country and personify the United States’ softer approach to international cooperation and diplomacy.

Diplomacy as Leadership

According to Cindy Williams at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, “The nation would be well served by a more integrated strategy of global engagement that shifts budgets and actions toward the nonmilitary side of the ledger.” This request is another way of asking the United States to take a more principled role in global leadership. Military might protects the United States now, but there is an increasing need to develop a strategic view of diplomacy, aid, and leadership for the future.

There is no simple formula that can dictate to leaders how much should be spent on a diplomatic mission versus the F-22 fighter jet. Instead, US policymakers are tasked with the unenviable duty of setting defense priorities and parameters.

They are asked to assess the importance of military systems, diplomatic missions, and humanitarian aid—sometimes on their individual merits, but more often in competition with each other. But by recognizing that these two lines in the budget are complementary rather than contradictory, it may be easier for policymakers to take a long-term view of planning for the defense of the United States in ways both military and diplomatic.

—Jen Maceyko

The idea that addressing “root causes” around the globe may contribute to American security is slowly gaining stature.

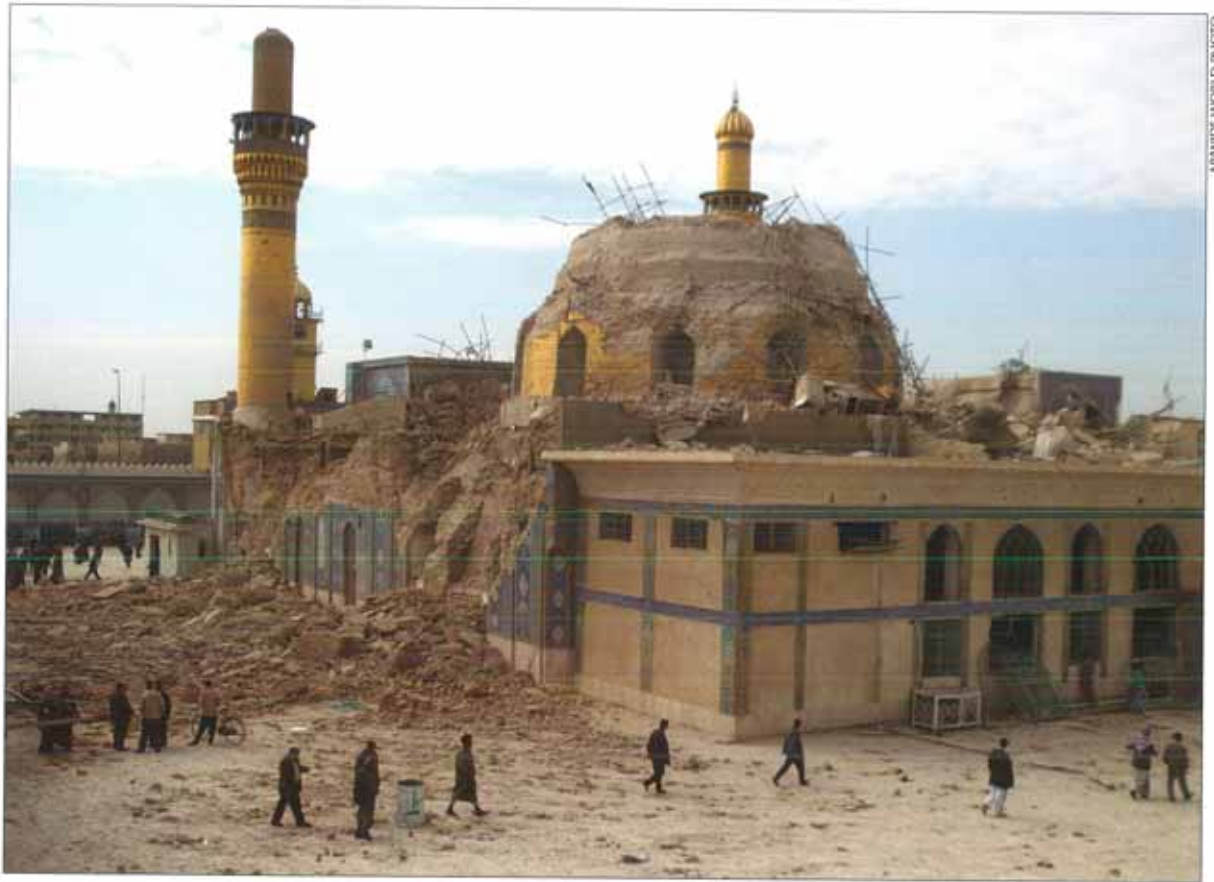
Find Out More

Beyond Preemption and Preventive War: Increasing US Budget Emphasis on Conflict Prevention
www.stanleyfoundation.org

US Agency for International Development
www.usaid.gov

Peace Corps
www.peacecorps.gov

US State Department
www.state.gov



The poll data suggest that Iraqis want to make their way forward on their own—or with the assistance of neighboring countries....

PIPA Poll

What Do the Iraqis Think?

A multilateral plan needed for country's rebuilding

The history of Iraq over the last two years has been marked by moments of hope followed by months of death, destruction, and stalemate. Hope rose due to large turnouts for the Iraqi referenda of October and December as voters were asked to approve a constitution and then elect political leaders. But low points between referenda have been marked by a tenacious, violent insurgency and protracted political disagreements that have prevented the formation of a strong central government.

Polls show that Americans are growing weary of the costs of this uncertain situation to the United States. But what do Iraqis think? A new poll released by the Program on International Public

Attitudes (PIPA) sheds light on that question. The Stanley Foundation supported the survey of 1,150 Iraqis conducted over four days in early January.

Among the poll's notable results:

- A strong majority of Iraqis oppose attacks on Iraqi police forces and civilians, while 89 percent of Sunnis and 41 percent of Shia approve of attacks on American and US-led forces.
- Sixty-four percent of those polled believe that crime and violent attacks will decrease when the United States leaves the country.
- Eighty percent of those polled believe the United States will

maintain military bases in Iraq even after US forces depart.

- A majority of those polled would prefer that the United Nations, not the United States, oversee Iraq's economic reconstruction.
- Across the board, Iraqis are interested in an international conference that could more widely address security issues throughout the region.

While there are still widely disparate views between the major ethnic groups in Iraq on many issues, there seems to be overall agreement that the situation on the ground will improve in almost every way when US-led forces pull out of the country. What's more, the poll data sug-

◀ **Shrine Attacked.** *Although a recent poll shows that a majority of Iraqis would welcome outside help in stabilizing and developing their country, violent discord between Sunni and Shia groups continues, evident here in the February bombing of a Shia mosque in Samarra.*

gest that Iraqis want to make their way forward on their own—or with the assistance of neighboring countries—rather than live under what they see as the threat of never-ending occupation.

The US role in a peaceful Iraq is clearly over. The United States can no longer carry out the battle against terrorism with any legitimacy from the Iraqi people. Thus the lens then turns to the Iraqis themselves. Poll results suggest that if violent, extremist, transnational terrorists are to be jailed, killed, or kicked out of the country, it is the Iraqis themselves who are going to do it.

While Iraqis believe the United States is ill-suited to do the job itself, most remain open to other outside help in stabilizing their country—provided that assistance unites rather than divides domestic factions. If current Iraqi authorities will allow for it, there is actually widespread popular support for a comprehensive multilateral process to address the country's many woes.

The polls suggest Iraqis support a recovery process that is founded on a series of principles that sectarian leaders agreed upon in a December 2005 conference convened by the Arab League. They agree that:

- Terrorism should be rejected (99 percent of those polled).
- All groups should participate in the political process (97 percent).
- There should be a timetable for withdrawal of US-led forces in Iraq (87 percent).

Spring 2006

It remains to be seen, however, whether the current government will abide by the public opinion expressed in the poll and whether they will accept international support for the reconstruction of Iraq. If the government does not, the United States will have to reconsider its support for the current government.

It also remains to be seen what role Iraq's neighbors will play in the country's reconstruction. Will external support of terrorism and violence continue to be given covertly from the slew of neighbors who have contradictory goals in the region? Or will neighbors cooperate in a unified international front along with institutions such as the Arab League or United Nations?

The most vexing concern may be the simple fact that Iraqi public opinion does not line up with the views held by the current government in Baghdad. And if the divide between public and official opinion widens, there may be little the international community can do to rebuild the country. Domestic support of and cooperation with the international community is the most necessary component of a future stable Iraq.

—Michael Kraig

Find Out More

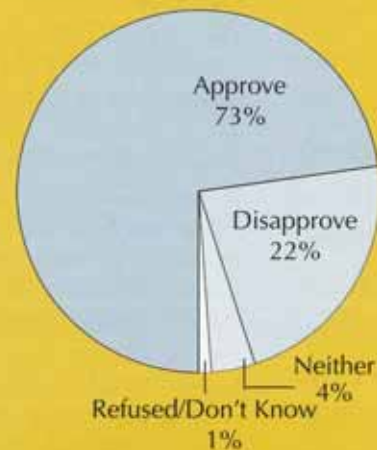
The full PIPA poll results and the questionnaire and methodology are available at WorldPublicOpinion.org.

Iraqi Opinions on International Cooperation Within Iraq

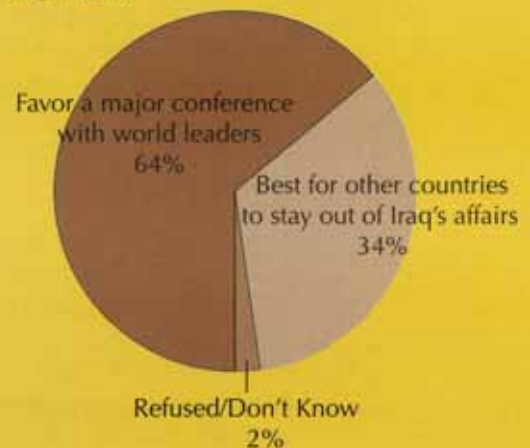
Would you prefer to have the US or UN take the lead in Iraq's economic reconstruction?



Do you approve or disapprove of the recent efforts of the Arab League to help Iraqi leaders achieve national reconciliation?



Would you favor having a major conference where leaders from the US, Europe, the UN, and various Arab countries would meet with leaders of the new Iraqi government to coordinate efforts to help Iraq achieve greater stability and economic growth, or do you think it is best for other countries to stay out of Iraq's affairs?



DATA TAKEN FROM WWW.WORLDPUBLICOPINION.ORG

Iran

Critical, But Not a Crisis

International community still has the chance to lead, not react

Iran and the international community are in the midst of a downward spiral of rhetoric, suspicion, and accusation concerning Iran's nuclear activities. And it forces a number of difficult questions: how do we control the spread of nuclear programs and nuclear weapons? How do we deal with countries that do not comply with international rules? What would an Iran with nuclear weapons mean to global security? The global non-proliferation regime, most clearly spelled out in the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, is under severe strain. Many doubt the universal commitment to abide by it.

Since the dawn of the atomic age, the world has struggled to control the spread of nuclear weapons, material, technology, and know-how. At the core of the Manhattan Project (which developed the first nuclear weapons the world ever knew) was a fear among American scientists and political leaders that if the United States did not develop and use this terrible new weapon, then Nazi Germany or the Soviet Union surely would. But the awesome proof of power over Nagasaki and Hiroshima fueled only more concerns: how to prevent the spread of these weapons around the globe and how to encourage peaceful uses of nuclear technology—nuclear energy, medical treatments, research—without it leading to the development of nuclear weapons.

Significant challenges remain. Since the Cold War began, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom, France, China, India, Pakistan, and Israel have followed the United States and developed nuclear weapons. Nearly 20 other countries have conducted nuclear weapons



Nuclear Rights? *Iran's nuclear ambitions have taken center stage in the nuclear proliferation debate. For many Iranians, such as the women in this photo, the state's nuclear program has become an issue of national pride.*

research. Notably, South Africa remains the only independent country that has developed nukes and then given them up.

A Nuclear Debate

This diverse geography of nuclear weapons brings us back to Iran. Iran began its nuclear research in the 1970s under an ambitious program to build nuclear reactors for energy production. The war with Iraq in the 1980s severely delayed Iran's efforts, but dealings with the A.Q. Khan network in the 1990s encouraged Iran and added momentum to its nuclear aspirations.

In 2004 Iran agreed to suspend all activities while negotiations were under way with the international community (represented by the United Kingdom, France, and Germany—the so-called "EU-3"). But it has rejected the latest offers to resolve the nuclear issues and has restarted its activities, with the failed negotiations as justification. Faced with growing concern over heated rhetoric and newly uncovered suspicious documents, the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) decided to send the Iranian nuclear case to the UN Security Council. In response, Iran

Faced with growing concern over heated rhetoric and newly uncovered suspicious documents, the IAEA decided to send the Iranian nuclear case to the UN Security Council.

has announced that it will stop cooperating with the IAEA and will allow only the most minimal inspections required by international law.

Beyond Security Council actions and IAEA meetings, the international community has an ongoing opportunity to work with—rather than against—Iran. Nevertheless, debate centers on responding rather than negotiating.

Considering the Options

At one end of the spectrum is the possibility of restricting Iran's interaction with the international community. Symbolically, countries would end diplomatic relations with Iran, effectively labeling it a pariah state similar to North Korea. At a time when Iran is attempting to integrate more fully into the Muslim world and proclaim its identity as a technologically advanced and modern country, such diplomatic shunning would likely have some effect—although not enough to force Iran to change course.

Another option is sanctioning Iran's imports and exports. Iran is the world's fourth largest exporter of crude oil, presenting an opportunity to severely hamper their economy by curtailing cash from the sale of that oil. And ironically, as Iran exports most of its crude oil, it also imports most of its gasoline, leading to another opportunity to starve Iran of a vital energy resource.

Yet sanctions would not be without cost. Russia and China each have large-scale energy projects under way with Iran and for their own economic and strategic reasons hope to boost—not end—trade with Iran. And because Iran is a major player in the international oil markets, sanctions would likely destabilize already jittery oil prices. Economic penalties would hurt Iran, but they will also almost certainly hurt the international community as well.

And then there are military options, which neither President Bush nor Israel has ruled out. Options discussed in the press involve tactical strikes against nuclear sites at Natanz and Esfahan, perhaps along with coordinated attacks on Iran's military infrastructure conducted by US or Israeli bombs. Yet strikes carry risks as well. Intelligence inside Iran is notoriously shaky, and there is little solid evidence that military strikes would have the effect of neutralizing Iran's activities. Furthermore, Iran has threatened to retaliate against any attack, either by missile strikes against Israeli civilian targets, increased assistance to Iraqi insurgents, or both. And military attacks against Iran are likely to drive remaining programs further underground and solidify public support for nuclear activities, leaving the potential for an even more dangerous situation in the long run.

A Nuclear Iran?

Faced with this mixed bag of options, some have begun imagining the possibility of a nuclear-armed Iran. But Iran is not the Soviet Union or China, and many fear that a nuclear Iran would spread its weapons to terrorists or use its growing power to further destabilize the Middle East.

If a nuclear Iran is beyond the pale, better solutions must be found. One potential avenue is to reconsider combining carrots and sticks. This would allow Iran a way out of the current diplomatic predicament while providing assurance to the international community. Within the range of unsatisfying and difficult options, offering Iran concrete benefits in return for concrete action may be the most fruitful way forward.

As the IAEA's Mohamed ElBaradei recently stated, "We are reaching a critical phase, but it is not a crisis situation. It's about confidence-building, and it is not about an imminent threat." Iran does not have nuclear weapons now, and the most pessimistic appraisals of how long it will take for Iran to enrich enough material to make even one weapon is at least five years. While the IAEA is still on the ground in Iran and able to monitor events as they unfold, the international community has the opportunity to lead rather than react in dealing with Iran. We should do so before the moment passes.

—Matt Martin

Economic penalties would hurt Iran, but they will also almost certainly hurt the international community as well.



On-the-Ground Support. In Tehran, a student signs a banner in support of Iran's nuclear program. The IAEA recently decided to refer Iran to the UN Security Council due to Iran's lack of cooperation with IAEA regulations.



Trygve Lie
Norway, 1946-1952
As secretary-general, Lie supported the foundation of Israel and Indonesia and worked for the withdrawal of Soviet forces in Iran.



Dag Hammarskjöld
Sweden, 1953-1961
In 1956 Hammarskjöld established the United Nations Emergency Force. He died in 1961 when his plane crashed suspiciously en route to negotiating a cease-fire between UN troops and Northern Rhodesian troops.



U Thant
Myanmar, 1961-1971
During his first term, he was widely credited for his role in defusing the Cuban Missile Crisis and for ending the civil war in Congo.



Kurt Waldheim
Austria, 1972-1981
Waldheim's reputation at the United Nations was marked by his commission in the German military during World War II. Following his two terms as secretary-general, it was discovered that he had lied about his involvement with the Nazi party.



Javier de Perez de Cuellar
Peru, 1982-1991
During his two terms, he led mediations between Great Britain and Argentina following the Falklands War and promoted peace and stability in Central America.

United Nations Who's Next?

The search for a new secretary-general is under way

Kofi Annan's term as the seventh secretary-general of the United Nations is set to end this December. Finding his replacement is the subject of quiet campaigning and loud speculation in capitals around the world.

Patience, diplomacy, determination, and thick skin are among the desirable qualifications for anyone hoping to take the job. Unfortunately, the selection process is largely shrouded in secrecy.

We do know that the successful candidate will be nominated by the UN Security Council and approved by the UN General Assembly to serve a five-year term. We also know the veto power of the United States, United Kingdom, France, China, and Russia allows them to stop any potential nomination they do not like. And tradition says no citizen of those five permanent members of the Security Council will be seriously considered as a candidate.

Other traditions say all secretaries-general must be fluent in English and French, that overt campaigning for the job is taboo, and that the job should rotate among the largest regions of the planet: Asia, Europe, the Americas, and Africa. By most calculations, it is "Asia's turn" for the job this year.

Like all traditions, however, these are subject to revision and abandonment. Gossip mentions certain citizens of the "Permanent Five" nations as serious candidates. Others say because of the Cold War, Eastern Europe never got a real chance to field a secretary-general candidate in the rotation system.

Regardless of which traditions hold this time, longtime UN watchers say the backroom selection process almost always leads to a compromise candidate. They say smaller states want a "general" who can stand up to the big nations, while the larger states look for more of a "secretary" who will dutifully carry out their instructions.

The person ultimately chosen for the job will have the difficult task of balancing those two conflicting roles. He or she can ponder this dilemma while enjoying the magnificent views from the executive offices on the top floor of the UN's New York headquarters.

—Keith Porter

Find Out More

To learn about the candidates currently being discussed, visit www.unsg.org.



Boutros Boutros-Ghali
Egypt, 1992-1996
Boutros-Ghali is often criticized for the failure of the United Nations to act during the 1994 Rwandan genocide and for being unable to garner support for intervention in the civil war in Angola. However, during his tenure, the United Nations supervised elections in Cambodia and raised worldwide awareness of environmental and gender issues through high-profile global meetings.

Another Chance for Diplomacy

“No Such Thing as the United Nations”

World body a forum for member countries, not an independent entity

The longer the Stanley Foundation has focused on the United Nations, the more we have seen a basic problem in how we talk about it. US Ambassador to the United Nations John Bolton once said, “There is no such thing as the United Nations,” and he has a point. The United Nations is not a *thing*.

This may or may not be what Bolton meant, but the image of the United Nations as an independent entity—taking actions, making decisions—is a phantom. In reality, the United Nations is a diplomatic forum for its 191 member states and a vehicle for whatever actions are agreed upon.

The United Nations puts a set of tools at the disposal of the national governments that belong to the world body. The world’s political leaders can turn to the United Nations for decision mechanisms, norms, agendas, fundamental approaches, and implementation programs to deal with almost any international problem. For all of its difficulties, it is remarkable what can be accomplished through the United Nations when governments close ranks behind it: keeping pressure on Syria over Lebanon, immunizing children and helping get them into school, inspecting nuclear programs, caring for millions of

refugees, reversing Saddam Hussein’s invasion of Kuwait.

International political will is the engine and the brakes on the United Nations, which will only be as active and effective as member states want it to be. The world has seen many changes in the 60 years since the United Nations’ founding, but one fact remains: nation-states and their governments still hold the real power in this world, and therefore hold the key to a more secure world.

Our image of the United Nations is especially important at a time when significant steps to boost its impact are under debate. The times certainly demand greater international action and effectiveness on urgent problems such as extreme poverty and disease, terrorism, and the spread of the most deadly weapons. But where does the onus lie? Is it the United Nations that must change itself, or is it governments that must equip themselves for serious combined efforts?

The reforms prepared for the United Nations’ September 2005 summit pointed the way forward for stronger action on human rights, economic development, terrorism, response to genocide, and UN management reform. As if to

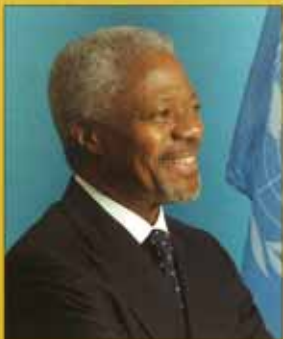


Diplomatic Dish. *UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan; Vaira Vike-Freiberga, president of Latvia; and Vladimir Putin, president of Russia, discussed UN reform at the 2005 World Summit of the United Nations. World leaders have been called on to reinvigorate the world body in the coming months and years.*

prove the point, diplomatic representatives were not able to reach agreement in time for the summit. Fortunately, world leaders endorsed the reforms in principle and set timelines for their adoption, so negotiators at the United Nations have another chance.

But advocates of international cooperation should remain vigilant about how the United Nations is portrayed. The idea of the United Nations as an independent entity is perpetuated so that the United Nations can be a scapegoat for international discord and inaction. Even some of the famous “failures” of the United Nations—the Rwandan, Bosnian, and Sudanese genocides and weakened pressure on Saddam Hussein—were really failures of powerful countries to pull themselves together. So the next time you hear “the UN failed...,” dig deeper to find out which countries blocked action or could not agree.

—David Shorr



Kofi Annan

Ghana, 1997-present

Despite efforts by Annan early in his term to take on HIV/AIDS, his tenure may be discolored by the rise of scandals such as sexual harassment by UN peacekeepers and the Oil-for-Food investigation. He has championed the Millennium Development Goals and a review of the United Nations’ role in 21st-century global security.

Information gathered from the United Nations Web site and Wikipedia.

PHOTOS COURTESY OF UNEDP

Teaching the Teachers

The Global Classroom

Explorer Awards send K-12 instructors worldwide

Travel, writes popular travel guide author Arthur Frommer, is “experiential education of the finest sort. It impacts the mind in a way that no other activity is quite capable of doing.”

Teachers who travel, according to social studies education research from the University of Kentucky, report that they teach “with more accuracy, authority, creativity, enthusiasm, and understanding about places they visited.”

The Stanley Foundation married those two concepts in 2004 with the creation of the Explorer Awards, a program aimed at promoting professional development through travel for K-12 educators in its local community of Muscatine, Iowa. The program awards two teachers an educational trip to a location of their choice.

In 2005 one recipient went to Greece and the other to the Galapagos Islands. This year’s recipients will travel to Peru and Tanzania.

“Learning about the culture, people, and history of Greece has greatly impacted me both personally and professionally,” said teacher Robin Fields, one of last year’s Explorer Award recipients. “It is



PHOTO COURTESY OF ROBIN FIELDS

Exploring Greece. Muscatine teacher Robin Fields traveled to Greece in 2005 to learn more about its art, architecture, and culture. Since her return to Muscatine, she has shared her experiences with her students and colleagues.

my goal to become more globally conscious and to share that awareness with others.”

“It’s the trip of a lifetime,” said 2005 winner Betty Wood, who took a study tour of the Galapagos Islands. “I would never have been able to do this on my own.”

The change in environment, even if only for a couple weeks, has provided participating teachers with much-needed time for reflection and the opportunity to be creatively inspired.

Teacher Carol Kula will join a research team on an Earthwatch Expedition in Cuzco, Peru, this

summer. “It’s not often we teachers get to travel. This is an excellent opportunity,” she said.

This year’s other winner is teacher Karen Hartman, who recruited her fifth-grade students to help plan her trip by assigning each to write two paragraphs about the country she should visit and why. Hartman decided on Tanzania and her class will research background information about the region and help plan her trip.

The Explorer Awards are aimed at widening global perspectives in school curriculums but may also inspire students to travel internationally someday themselves.

—Jill Goldesberry

The change in environment has provided participating teachers with much-needed time for reflection and the opportunity to be creatively inspired.

Resources

Stanley Foundation Publications

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by David Shorr

The reforms proposed at the United Nations' 60th anniversary summit pointed the way forward for stronger action on global issues. This brief examines the challenges to reform and the opportunities to build a more secure world. February 2006

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by Dr. Cindy Williams

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OTHER RESOURCES

Our United Nations

Order this book of photos, historic quotes, and resources on the United Nations. Photographer Judah S. Harris was commissioned by the foundation to spend a week within the halls of the UN Headquarters capturing the daily happenings of this international organization.

The Peacekeepers

The Stanley Foundation is seeking student and community groups that are interested in partnering to show *The Peacekeepers* to their campuses, members, and communities in an effort to open up a discussion about issues related to peace and security. *The Peacekeepers* is a documentary exploring the work and experiences of the United Nations Mission to Congo from 2002 to 2004. For more information, contact us at info@stanleyfoundation.org.

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24/7

The Rise and Influence of Arab Media

Coming in April

24/7: The Rise and Influence of Arab Media

New Public Radio Documentary

The dramatic expansion of open media in the Arab world and its effect on the political landscape of the region will be the subject of a new Stanley Foundation radio documentary set for release in April.

For better or worse, the Internet and scores of pan-Arab radio stations and satellite television channels are fostering the free flow of information and opinion in ways unthinkable two decades ago.

How does this rapidly changing spectrum impact the United States, the Middle East, and the world? Will it lead to greater understanding or fuel tension, fear, and hatred?

Contact your local public radio station to find out when this program will air in your area. "24/7" will also be available online in April at www.stanleyfoundation.org.

"24/7: The Rise and Influence of Arab Media" will examine these questions with reporting from across the region and analysis from a wide range of political and media experts.

David Brancaccio, host and editor of the PBS weekly series *NOW*, hosts and reports for this special one-hour documentary.

"24/7: The Rise and Influence of Arab Media" is produced by Simon Marks, Kristin McHugh, and Keith Porter. The documentary is a Stanley Foundation production in association with KQED Public Radio.



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