courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND ENCOURAGING DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



Stanley Foundation

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Moving Forward in Southeast Asia



The United States and Lebanon Global Counterterrorism Efforts Looking Beyond Iraq



Southeast Asia US Lacks Strategy Aid, trade, infrastructure

The nations of Southeast Asia have made considerable progress in poverty alleviation, literacy, transparent and accountable governance, and in forging a genuine regional community in recent years. Their commitment to a comprehensive approach to the region's key challenges is crucial when looking at ways to narrow the economic gap in the region. Even as these countries place greater emphasis on regional integration and coordination, the United States seems to lack an overall strategy that coordinates trade, assistance, and investment with its broader goals in Southeast Asia.

Social, economic, and political stability form the foundation of a durable peace in Southeast Asia according to experts at a recent weeklong dialogue in Cambodia sponsored by the Stanley Foundation, in collaboration with the Cambodian Institute for Cooperation and Peace and the Asia Foundation. This stability, on the one hand, requires economic growth and development, poverty alleviation, literacy, and transparent and accountable governance.

Cover Photo.

The Importance of Infrastructure. Workers bring electrical services to the village of Nung in the Hoang Su Phi district of Vietnam. (Photo by: Alexandra Boulat / VII)

Sources of economic instability, on the other hand, range from structural changes affecting the entire Pacific economy to the struggle of individual countries to contend with rural poverty, the rural/urban divide, environmental degradation, and lack of education. The dialogue in Cambodia produced several useful recommendations for policymakers on both sides of the Pacific.

Aid

- The United States and the nations of Southeast Asia should strive for greater coordination and transparency among and between aid donors in order to better leverage their efforts, particularly with respect to new donors such as China and India.
- The United States and other donors should recognize and appreciate that the region's diversity means aid programs should be tailored to meet the needs of individual countries. In addition, donors should consider imbalances within countries and encourage economic growth that is more equitable at provincial and local levels.
- On a bilateral basis, the United States must also meet its longstanding goal of providing targeted, traditional assistance with a view toward closing development gaps in the region. The United States must improve interagency coordination of assistance programs to ensure more effective engagement in the region.
- The United States and other donors should place greater emphasis on long-term regional reform through a variety of capacity-building measures, including encouraging greater stakeholder engagement from the outset. Likewise, Southeast Asian governments should cultivate a philanthropic environment that is more conducive to corporate and social responsibility.

Trade

- US policy should support regional economic integration, which may include improvement and strengthening of domestic investment environments, regulations, standards, and infrastructure development.
- The region's governments should work harder to ensure that the lesser-developed markets become more competitive.
- The United States should strengthen its systematic engagement with the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). The president should take part in regular ASEAN summits and he should nominate, and Congress should confirm, a US ambassador to ASEAN.
- The United States should consider trade preferences for the region's least-developed countries similar to measures already in place in Africa and the Caribbean.

Infrastructure

- ASEAN and its trade partners should establish a uniform code of standards to encourage regional infrastructure development. US and other donor assistance should support this process, particularly in the construction and power sectors.
- The United States and other donors should recognize the importance of and provide support for smaller-scale infrastructure projects, especially those that stimulate environmentally sustainable economic development in individual countries.
- US policy should acknowledge the longterm importance of development of the Mekong River Delta and encourage adherence to environmental standards.

The dialogue series is part of a multiyear Stanley Foundation project, New Power Dynamics in Southeast Asia: Issues for US Policy. The project examines the impact of changing power relations in the Asia-Pacific region on Southeast Asian politics, security, and economics and the implication of these trends for US policy. The Stanley Foundation project will culminate with recommendations for a new US administration following the 2008 elections.



Cambodia and the World

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[W]e've had relations with this country for 56 years now, and they have been marked if nothing else by being abnormal. There's never been any real normalcy to the relationship. In fact, to be normal would be very weird and abnormal.

[Cambodia] has not had a very normal existence since its modern beginning when it was decolonized and the French left. It's had very difficult times. There have been other countries with genocides; there [have] been other countries with civil wars. But here you have a unique situation, I think, in the world where never have there been so many sort of modern plagues bestowed upon one country as has been Cambodia's lot for the last three or four decades.

The Khmer Rouge [was] very efficient. When they said they were going to bring this country back to year zero, they succeeded. It wasn't just a political breaking of the country or an economic breaking; it was a spiritual breaking, a cultural breaking, a social breaking, a familial breaking of the country.

And if you think of Cambodia that way, then you know that Cambodia is still an adolescent. It's only 12 or 14 years old. Given its background,

given the genocides, the civil wars, the invasions and incursions, and other problems it's had to deal with, it has come a remarkably long way in a remarkably short period of time.

This is not something that goes over well in Washington, because Cambodia usually is just ignored, as you would expect. It's a very small country with only limited interest sometimes counterterrorism, some economic matters, human rights, trafficking in persons—so the only time Cambodia gets attention is when it does something wrong, never when it does things right.

We're trying to fix that.

Resources: www.stanleyfoundation.org/resources

- Policy Memo: Economic Dimensions of New Power Dynamics in Southeast Asia
- Keynote Address of US Ambassador to the Kingdom of Cambodia Joseph A. Mussomeli

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Building Support Support for a Multilateral Approach Challenges and recommendations

year ago Lebanon was on the verge of an economic and political resurgence. Today experts say rising violence and sectarianism there could result in a conflict that rivals what is currently happening in Iraq and mark a return to civil war.

Averting another crisis in the Middle East seems prudent. Yet the political impasse in Lebanon, the United States' commitments in Iraq, NATO's endeavors in Afghanistan, Iran's emergence as a regional power, and the challenges facing the Middle East peace process have limited US efforts to address the underlying factors, which add greatly to Lebanon's instability.

Critical Challenges

A recent Stanley Foundation workshop examined how the world might bolster multilateral efforts to bring about more sustainable stability and security in Lebanon. Three challenges emerged as the greatest threats to sustainable stability and security in Lebanon:

Negative foreign intervention. Other countries seem to use Lebanon for their own interests and even as a "card to play" for gaining leverage in other Middle East negotiations.

Factionalism. With competing strategic visions for Lebanon, groups inside and outside the country have fragmented the political process, making any kind of coordination or commitment difficult to maintain. Factionalism is also closely tied to the country's lack of a national identity, without which it will be very hard to unite the agendas and concerns of the Lebanese people.

Weak state institutions. Foreign interests, combined with Lebanon's political factionalism and the lack of a national identity, make it difficult to build a strong state without crushing important community identities.

A Softer, Multilateral Approach

Future US efforts in Lebanon must face the very real negative perceptions and suspicions generated by US security policies (or perceived lack thereof) toward Lebanon, the larger Levant, and the wider Middle East region. Multilateral policies that limit the direct role of the US government are more likely to meet



Taking the Lead. French President Nicolas Sarkozy and Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah are promoting regional peace efforts. (AP/Wide World Photo/B. K. Bangash)

with acceptance and success. These should focus on burden-sharing with key allies and international institutions, development assistance, and roles for US civil society organizations and the private sector. This "softer" approach offers the United States an opportunity to bring about a change more in line with Lebanese society trends and with existing international stabilization and reconstruction efforts. At the same time, this approach emphasizes positive attributes of US culture and downplays what are seen as militaristic tendencies.

Key Workshop Recommendations

Bolster local programs. We should find ways to support programs already working at local levels without weakening the already frail central government of Lebanon. The European Union (EU) currently offers programs focusing on local municipalities and the United Arab Emirates (UAE) also offers assistance directly to communities. The United States should bolster the EU's efforts by offering technical and financial assistance and should also encourage regional institutions such as the Gulf Cooperation Council and the Arab League to take on similar multilateral community programs.

Strengthen the Central Bank. The Central Bank is one of Lebanon's strongest institutions, is less controversial to support than the military, and helps keep the country unified. Saudi Arabia's past support has met with success; this may offer an avenue for greater multilateral support.

Support security sector reform. Even given its sectarian dynamics, the military is one of the strongest state institutions. Longer-term security sector reform strategies

and efforts must be developed and supported if Lebanon's military and police are ever to have the capacity to provide national security.

Evaluate the UN's peacekeeping force in Lebanon. The mandate for this force is too complex and there are concerns that the important and positive pre-2006 roles performed by the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL)—monitoring, conflict prevention, and mediation—are being lost due to a shift in mission focus and in the types of troops deployed. This could eat away at international community interest in expanding or continuing support, especially if there is a significant attack on the UNIFIL.

Support the French and Saudi-Iranian initiatives. Initiatives led by French President Sarkozy and Saudi Arabia's King Abdullah are better positioned and more likely to meet with success than other US- or European-led attempts to mediate the conflict and broker a power-sharing deal.

Engage youth via ongoing education and citizenship programs. New organizations sprang up during the Cedar Revolution and after Syria's withdrawal. The international community, especially NGOs, can work with these organizations to institute programs that encourage young Lebanese to enter politics and help create a nonsectarian national identity. University exchanges between Lebanon and the United States, involving both students and faculty, should also be supported as a way to engage and educate youth interested in public policy and international affairs.

Encourage private sector and civil society economic development. Encourage private sector initiatives such as the Partnership for Lebanon, which was launched by five US multinational companies and now includes a Lebanon Online Portal sponsored by the US Chamber of Commerce, and *KIVA.org*, a grassroots micro-loan portal that connects entrepreneurs with individuals wanting to support small business development.

Help Lebanon review the Taef Agreement. In 1989 the Taef Agreement ended Lebanon's civil war, reformed Lebanon's political system, and redefined the country's relationship with Syria. New efforts should determine if the agreement's provisions can be decentralized in order to reconcile sectarian and community demands for greater influence with the overall need for a central government.

This June 2007 workshop included experts from across the Middle East as well as Europe, Canada, and the United States. The Stanley Foundation's larger project on Levant Security will culminate with a final project report in August 2007.

-Kathy Gockel





Making Human rights vs. "war on terror"? Counterterrorism a Global Effort

any foreign policy analysts and US citizens alike are probably unaware that the United Nations has any sustained agenda, program, or structure for fighting terrorism at the global level. The United Nations is often in the news regarding global crises of the moment. But more quietly, both the Security Council and the General Assembly have been gradually building a strategic global framework for an integrated, cooperative, and sustained response to terrorism in an age of globalization.

In September 2005, the UN Security Council adopted Resolution 1624, condemning all acts of terrorism irrespective of their motivation, and calling on member states to prohibit by law terrorist acts and incitement to commit such acts, and to deny safe haven to anyone guilty of such conduct. And in September 2006, the UN General Assembly unanimously adopted a Global Counter-Terrorism Strategy. Shortly thereafter, the UN secretary-general established the Counter-Terrorism Implementation Task Force to foster coordination and coherence among at least two dozen relevant parts of the UN system.

A Matter of Definition

But despite this historical agreement that terrorism must be countered via consistent global efforts—as opposed to purely bilateral, unilateral, or regional efforts—there are big hurdles in the way of further progress.

First, there is no binding definition of *terrorism*. And this makes it hard to shape truly global law enforcement efforts, intelligence roles, and universal rules of engage-

ment. And it hurts efforts to measure the results for UN programs and other training and assistance programs.

Given the vast disagreements between UN member states on what constitutes a terrorist ideology or a terrorist group—in religious, ethnic, or nationalist terms a successful global framework should make a legal statement about what constitutes a *terrorist act*. The common ground for global action on terrorism is not based on any one terrorist group's agenda and ideology, but rather the violation of a victim's basic human rights.

Clashing Agendas?

Unfortunately, there is a perception that an inherent antagonism exists between the counterterrorism and human rights communities, which makes them predisposed to work against each other. At the extreme, human rights activists are seen as "pro-terrorist" or indirectly aiding and abetting terrorism. The fact that the aims of these two communities actually complement one another is often lost.

To successfully implement the strategy, the counterterrorism and human rights communities need to recognize and promote the inherent synergies between their two frameworks. Toward this end, the two should create a joint communication program that presents their common ground and objectives. The primary UN entities spearheading global counterterrorism efforts could lead the way.

More generally, UN member states should work to develop more effective and fair criminal justice systems

Security Training. Better training of judicial, law enforcement, and security personnel can mean significant progress in counterterrorism. It can also lead to greater respect for human rights and contribute to development goals. Here, security forces in the West Bank receive martial arts training. (AP/Wide World Photo/Muhammed Muheisen)

across the developing world that can deal simultaneously with domestic, transnational, and international terrorists. Toward this goal, existing human rights protocols and mechanisms should be incorporated into counterterrorism training on a consistent and universal basis. There should be full integration of human rights representatives on UN and donor state technical assistance teams.

Over time, such efforts will allow more effective counterterrorism at the domestic level in developing states, prevent the radicalization of innocents, and ensure greater overall legitimacy for government efforts. In fact, the training of judicial and law enforcement branches throughout the world is a potentially significant development goal, since it will result in more robust, transparent, and democratic criminal justice institutions in developing states. If donor assistance and training programs are developed with human rights goals in mind, counterterrorism efforts are but one component of the larger goal of sustainable development.

Modern Media

Modern media has changed the nature of social and political movements. Terrorist organizations use the Internet to transform themselves into truly organic social movements and gain new access to recruits. Disgruntled citizens everywhere can become producers, not simply consumers, of terrorist ideologies.

More traditional media can, by repeatedly showing graphic images of destruction over prolonged periods of time, publicize the terrorists' cause; add to societal perceptions of the terrorists' "success"; and exaggerate the importance and magnitude of the acts, ultimately spreading precisely the kind of fear and insecurity among the public that the terrorists want to create.

While it is not likely or even desirable that civil society or governments can influence media coverage, UN member states and entities can still heighten awareness of acceptable standards of journalistic practice. The United Nations could facilitate discussions on best practices and monitoring for the media that might lead to a universal but voluntary code of conduct for the media and the Internet.

Education and Dialogue

More educational initiatives are needed to weaken support and sympathy for terrorist activities and groups. But heavy-handed government involvement in "education" activities can undercut the legitimacy of the moderate groups it might be supporting in the community. Instead, the United Nations, with the cooperation of other groups, can facilitate intercultural and interfaith dialogues by convening global and regional events where counterterrorism may be better couched in terms of meeting *human security needs*. Such dialogues should be held in non-Muslim countries as well as in the Arab or Islamic world, since terrorism as a tactic also occurs in Christian, Orthodox, Hindu, Buddhist, and secular societies.

Finally, a human face should be put on the impact of terrorist activities to underscore mankind's vulnerability and illustrate the value of life that terrorism destroys. UN initiatives should create a platform for victims' voices via a global forum, perhaps starting with a major public conference. Communication is needed from victims to victims, victims to governments, and governments to governments. Such testimony, distributed widely, would create a public image narrative and serve as a powerful means to counteract terrorist recruitment and incitement activities.

Will UN Member States Please Step Up?

Ultimately, all UN action depends on member states taking meaningful action. Real progress on counterterrorism at the global level is possible, especially if influential UN member states step up their efforts to put political and financial capital behind a strategy that emphasizes the benefits to be gained by all.

—Michael Kraig

Resources

To order *Implementation of the UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy*, see page 10 or visit *www.stanleyfoundation.org*.



Media Matters. Al-Qaeda's number two leader, Ayman al-Zawahari, uses a variety of technologies to communicate with followers and the broader public. New media production and distribution methods mean new challenges for counterterrorism. (AP/Wide World Photo/B. K. Bangash)

Commentary

Looking Beyond Iraq

Other battles and issues must be addressed



ith the flurry of diplomatic activity and commentary on recent US Middle East policy, it's easy to feel overwhelmed by information. But the crush of information can also make it difficult to notice what's missing.

Unfortunately, what's often missing is the larger context in which US decisions are made—context that includes interlinked issues spanning much of the globe, such as energy security, counterterrorism, and domestic politics.

As much as we'd like to think the United States can control the situation in Iraq by focusing so intently on a solution there, we can't. Our allies inside and outside the Middle East are struggling with a myriad of political developments, not the least of them the conflicts in Afghanistan, Lebanon, Israel, the Palestinian territories, and numerous countries in Africa.

Given the many US men and women serving in Iraq and our overwhelming desire to support them, focusing so much on this one country may seem like the only honorable thing to do. At the same time, if those of us writing commentary and shaping policy don't look at the situation through a broader lens, we may limit good decision making.

War and Worry. Seaman Steven Barksdale, a member of Naval Mobile Construction Battalion 74, travels via convoy from Kuwait into southern Iraq in the opening days of the Iraq war. (Photo by US Navy Petty Officer 1st Class Aaron Ansarov) Whatever your feelings about the current situation in Iraq, three hard facts should be acknowledged:

- First, other countries in or near the region remain in danger of failing, including those critical to global stability and counterterrorism efforts, such as Afghanistan and Pakistan. Lebanon and the Palestinian territories are nearly as important.
- Second, the resources of the United States are limited, and few other military forces in the world are eager to help us in Iraq, like it or not.
- Third, even though there are signs the US military is making positive gains in Iraq, the Iraqi government is shaky. It may fail or be replaced. In his testimony before members of the Senate, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff nominee Admiral Mike Mullen offered this blunt assessment: "I believe security is critical to providing the government of Iraq the breathing space it needs to work toward political national reconciliation and economic growth, which are themselves critical to a stable Iraq. Barring that, no amount of troops and no amount of time will make much difference."

Of course, we'd like the political situation in Iraq to show some forward movement similar to what we're hearing about the military efforts. But at the same time, our breathing space is getting smaller, and serious questions need to be addressed. Great Britain's new prime minister, Gordon Brown, recently stated his view that the front line against terrorism is Afghanistan.

Is it time to look at the broader context of what we want to accomplish? If our ultimate goals are countering terrorism and enabling our military to succeed in at least one of the two countries deemed critical in doing so, what happens if our efforts in Afghanistan or Iraq fall short? That remains a possibility. Would we be better served putting the majority of our forces into Afghanistan, where we have NATO support? Or what would happen if conflict erupts in Pakistan, Lebanon, or Gaza?

Any conversation about Iraq forces us to ask painful questions. But it's essential to remember that there are other battles to be fought and other important issues to be addressed. Yes, Iraq is critical to the region and to us, but it's not the only front on which we need to succeed. —*Kathy Gockel*

This commentary is adapted from an opinion piece that originally appeared in The Des Moines Register, August 2007.



New Stanley Foundation President

ladimir (Vlad) P. Sambaiew, the new president of the Stanley Foundation, comes to Muscatine following a distinguished 30-year career as a Senior Foreign Service Officer with the US Department of State. His service includes postings in countries throughout the world, including Mexico, France, Canada, Russia, Japan, and Great Britain.

He served almost three years as Diplomat in Residence at the University of Oklahoma, engaging students, faculty, and civil society across seven states on issues related to 21st-century challenges and US leadership. He speaks Russian, Spanish, French, and Japanese.

"I look forward to building on the outstanding performance and reputation of the foundation and extending its reach and effectiveness," Sambaiew (pronounced *sam-buy-ef*) said. "The foundation has a highly capable staff and board, and I expect a productive and rewarding relationship with them and with Dick Stanley, who will continue as an active chair of the foundation's Board of Directors."

Richard H. Stanley, foundation chair and outgoing president, said, "Vlad brings us demonstrated leadership ability; substantive expertise in international affairs; a record of successful management; and a commitment to the vision, mission, and core values of the Stanley Foundation. I look forward to working collaboratively with him in the months and years ahead. His leadership will advance our vision and mission."

Now Available Stanley Foundation Resources

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East Asia Community-Building: Time for the United States to Get on Board

by Ralph A. Cossa

Current US policy toward institutional architecture for Asia is still evolving and will be determined by the outcome of several simultaneous debates: Asia-Pacific versus East Asia regionalism, the role of Washington's traditional alliance-oriented strategy in Asia, and the debate over institutionalized versus "ad hoc" multilateralism. In *East Asia Community-Building: Time for the United States to Get on Board*, Ralph Cossa outlines US views and argues that Washington will continue to prefer trans-Pacific institution-building to purely regional arrangements and that while Washington continues with a "wait-and-see" approach to regional institutions, the train is leaving the station and it's time for Washington to get on board and demonstrate its commitment to regional prosperity and stability and underscore its support for East Asia community-building.

PUBLICATIONS

Restructuring America's Ground Forces: Better, Not Bigger

The core defense debate of our time is how to make the US military more effective at irregular warfare, as well as stability, security, transition, and reconstruction operations in weak or failing states, while still retaining some of its strategic capabilities for major power warfare. Authors Steven Metz and Frank G. Hoffman analyze the best configuration for America's ground forces in the coming decade. September 2007 analysis brief

The High Road to Damascus: Engage Syria's Private Sector

A new policy analysis brief by Andrew Tabler offers how the United States may begin to engage Syria by emphasizing private sector development as an area of common interest. To do so, the United States needs to revisit certain policies that have had the ultimate effect of turning Syria toward other suppliers and investors including the Islamic Republic of Iran. August 2007 analysis brief

Implementation of the UN Global Counterterrorism Strategy

Participants in the foundation's 42nd conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade examine how the international community of intergovernmental organizations, governments, and transnational actors could better implement the global counterterrorism strategy. August 2007 report

After the Unipolar Moment: The Fragility of World Order

A recent Stanley Foundation/International Institute for Strategic Studies conference examined two scenarios with great potential to disrupt the international order: a "perfect storm" of Middle East conflicts and a financial crisis originating in Asia. This brief assesses the hazards such seismic events could pose. August 2007 Web dialogue brief

New Power Dynamics in Southeast Asia: Issues for US Policymakers

At the 47th Strategy for Peace Conference, four panels assessed the political, security, economic, and regional aspects of the changing power dynamic in Asia, with particular attention to Southeast Asia. Participants considered the regional challenges, as well as opportunities, for US policy. May 2007 dialogue brief

Bridging the Foreign Policy Divide Series

• In Defense of Values

As Americans grow wary of efforts to spread democracy, and realism becomes fashionable, Derek Chollet and Tod Lindberg examine the relationship between values and interests in foreign policy. They offer six key principles rooted in American ideals and serving American interests as guideposts for a bipartisan foreign policy. Released June 2007

- Should Democracy Be Promoted or Demoted? Francis Fukuyama and Michael McFaul present an argument for continued US efforts to promote democracy (and respond to a number of oft-heard counterarguments) as well as a plan to strengthen policy tools for those efforts. Released June 2007
- How to Keep From Overselling or Underestimating the United Nations

Mark Lagon and David Shorr resist both the skeptics and boosters of the United Nations by pointing toward appropriate expectations for the world body and other intergovernmental forums. Released March 2007

• The Cost of Confusion: Resolving Ambiguities in Detainee Treatment

Kenneth Anderson and Elisa Massimino address the need for a clearer, more consistent, and balanced legal basis for the handling of suspected terrorists. Released March 2007

RADIO DOCUMENTARY

Beyond Fear: America's Role in an Uncertain World Hosted by David Brancaccio, this new radio documentary will go beyond the headlines with expert insight and field reporting from Africa, Asia, and Europe and will explore new scenarios for US global leadership built on common action, trust, and hope.

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The Stanley Foundation offers Now Showing event-in-abox toolkits to community and student groups that are looking for a way to hold an easy to plan, successful event in their community or on their campus.

The Now Showing toolkits are designed to encourage discussion about the most urgent global issues today. These toolkits are available FREE to interested groups:



Beyond Fear: Securing a More Peaceful World

This toolkit features a DVD with two segments that explore US leadership in today's uncertain world.

Control Room



This toolkit features Control Room, a documentary examining Al Jazeera's coverage of the current Iraq conflict.

For more information, visit *ww.stanleyfoundation.org/now showing*. Please provide a telephone number and/or e-mail address when you order a Now Showing toolkit.

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Event-in-the-Box Exploring US Leadership in Today's Uncertain World

Resource available for community discussions

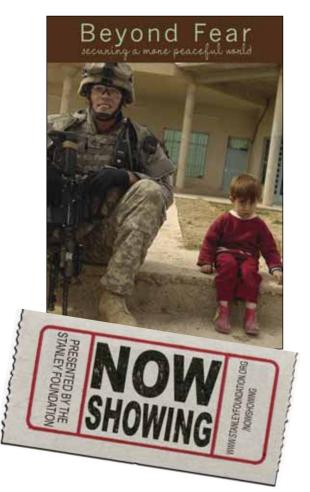
In September 2007 the Stanley Foundation will make available the latest of its Now Showing event-in-a-box toolkits. *Beyond Fear: Securing a More Peaceful World* provides everything groups need to put together an event that will explore US leadership in today's uncertain world.

Each toolkit features a DVD with a segment entitled, "Djibouti: Building, Not Fighting," which explores how the US military is approaching counterterrorism in the Horn of Africa. It also includes "Nuclear Nation," a segment of *The NewsHour with Jim Lehrer* about the recent US-India nuclear deal.

In addition to the DVD, the toolkit includes a moderator's guide chock-full of helpful tips and resources for putting together a successful event as well as materials that provide further background on the discussion topics.

Resources

Visit our Web site to learn more or to sign up to receive further information about the toolkit when it becomes available. *www.stanleyfoundation.org*.





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