

Courier



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No. 12, Winter 1993

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33rd WHAT?

Throughout this issue you will see a symbol designating “33rd SPC.” This perhaps baffling bit of graphics derives from the fact that “SPC” is the acronym we use at the Stanley Foundation for our Strategy for Peace Conference. The thirty-third annual conference in that series was held last October.

SPC is our annual US foreign policy conference and is a major undertaking. Four discreet discussion groups meet simultaneously for two days. Four articles in this issue of the *Courier* summarize the reports from those discussion groups.

In the past, SPC groups often focused on problematic bilateral relationships involving the US. The 1992 conference was a bit different. As principal conference organizer David Doerge explains, topics this time were more about processes or themes. This is consistent with the foundation’s growing appreciation of the global nature of politics, economy, and social systems. Conference participants were challenged to think of problems less in terms of their national character and more in their global dimension. We hope you will work on making that same, often difficult, adjustment as well.

- Jeff Martin

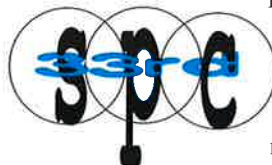


AP/Wide World Photos

A HUMAN RIGHTS RENAISSANCE?

While President Bill Clinton’s election campaign focused primarily on domestic issues, his first major tests may well be in foreign policy. Nearly all the international crises demanding attention—“ethnic cleansing” in the former Yugoslavia, trade relations with China, famine in Somalia,

refugees from Haiti—invariably involve issues of human rights. And the human rights community in the United States is anxiously watching to see what emphasis the new administration places on human rights.



At Least They’re Alive.

For many Iraqi Kurds, fleeing their homes and becoming refugees is the only way to escape repression.

(Continued on page 2)

One person likened the [human rights] community to geese dealing with intruders—they don't have teeth, but they can make a tremendous amount of noise.

Just weeks before the presidential election the Stanley Foundation brought together a group of prominent human rights activists and advocates to discuss their priorities in this new era. The meeting, chaired by Lance Lindblom, president of the J. Roderick MacArthur Foundation, was intended to give direction to the next administration on the role of human rights in US foreign policy.

In the past, Cold War concerns usually took precedence in US relations with other countries, while human rights violations were sometimes overlooked. Now, perhaps, this transitional period in international relations will allow human rights to play a more important and even-handed role in US policy.

Human rights violations still abound in the world, but there is room for optimism.

It has only been during the second half of this century that human rights issues have become firmly entrenched in international diplomacy, as well as within the consciousness of ordinary citizens. With continued action and coordination, human rights may one day become a predominant foreign policy consideration.

US and International Intervention

The choice for assistant secretary of state for human rights and humanitarian affairs may signal the Clinton administration's intentions in this area. This position was first established by Jimmy Carter and is responsible for overseeing US human rights policy. Unfortunately, the post has sometimes been misused. Instead of holding all countries to the same human rights standards, the position has at times been used to loudly denounce rights abuses of governments hostile to the US while whitewashing the record of governments the US favors. Several conference participants expressed hope that the assistant secretary of state would hold a more prominent position in the new administration,

be able to denounce human rights violations across the board, and coordinate human rights issues more effectively within overall US policy.

Most conference participants also advocated a world "war crimes tribunal" for the most egregious human rights violations. They pressed for the State Department and Congress to make its establishment within the United Nations framework a priority. However, many noted that the US would resist subjecting itself to the jurisdiction of an international tribunal.

With the unprecedented level of economic interdependence in the world, no country is immune from the effects of economic prods to improve their human rights records. Sanctions, trade embargoes, and withholding aid and loans are all tools that can be used to force compliance with human rights standards. (Although it is often debatable whether it is the offending governments or innocent people who are hurt more by such measures.)

It is not only the decisions by outside governments that can affect human rights violators. Individuals can have an impact as well. The human rights community can help individuals make personal investment and spending decisions by highlighting the links between various economic activities and human rights issues. With government and individual action, human rights violations could be made very costly for an abusive government.

Human Rights Advocates

Many see that publicizing human rights abuses is the most important contribution of the human rights movement. One person likened the community to geese dealing with intruders—they don't have teeth, but they can make a tremendous amount of noise. The ideal scenario would be for the human rights community to send out early warnings before massive violations occur. There is generally enough monitoring and evidence to predict where problems will occur. Unfortunately, it's difficult enough to gain attention to ongoing violations, much less

potential problems. Still, early warning remains an important goal if the human rights community is to become proactive rather than reactive as it is now.

Conflicting Agendas

Two major hurdles for human rights activists in the world involve differing priorities and the ever-growing question of national sovereignty. Advocates in the countries of the developed North often place their emphasis on civil and political rights; while in the developing countries of the South, attention is more often on social and economic development. These issues are actually complementary, but their advocates must work to find common ground.

Perhaps most delicate are issues of national sovereignty. No longer is the world community willing to turn away when a government abuses its own citizens. But, as yet, there are no established mechanisms for intervening in a country's internal affairs. There are countries which even refuse humanitarian aid for

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President Richard Stanley
Editor Jeffrey Martin

Managing Editor Kathy Christensen
Correspondent Mary Gray
Correspondent Keith Porter
Editorial Assist. Bonnie Tharp

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The Stanley Foundation
216 Sycamore Street, Suite 500
Muscatine, Iowa 52761-3831 USA
(319) 264-1500

their citizens, and the world community has been helpless to respond.

There is still no consensus at the United Nations on how and when to intervene in a country's "internal" affairs or whether force should be used in certain circumstances. But within the past two years, the Security Council has acted on an ad hoc basis in such areas as Northern Iraq and Somalia, indicating that the issue is at least being raised and debated and, occasionally, even acted upon.

Increasingly, a minority group—such as the Kurds in Iraq or the non-Serbian populations in parts of the former Yugoslavia—is being singled out for punishment, or even extermination, by its government or a more powerful group. There are also more and more situations where minority or ethnic groups are actively pushing for self-determination and even the right to secede from the larger country.

These issues are challenging not only because it's often difficult to

define what minority rights are but also because minority rights sometimes conflict with individual rights. The Stanley Foundation conferees agreed that when a group's rights conflict with individual rights, human rights advocates must focus on the individual's rights. The larger group issues, which inevitably become political issues often involving who-gets-what territory, simply extend beyond the capacity of the human rights community.

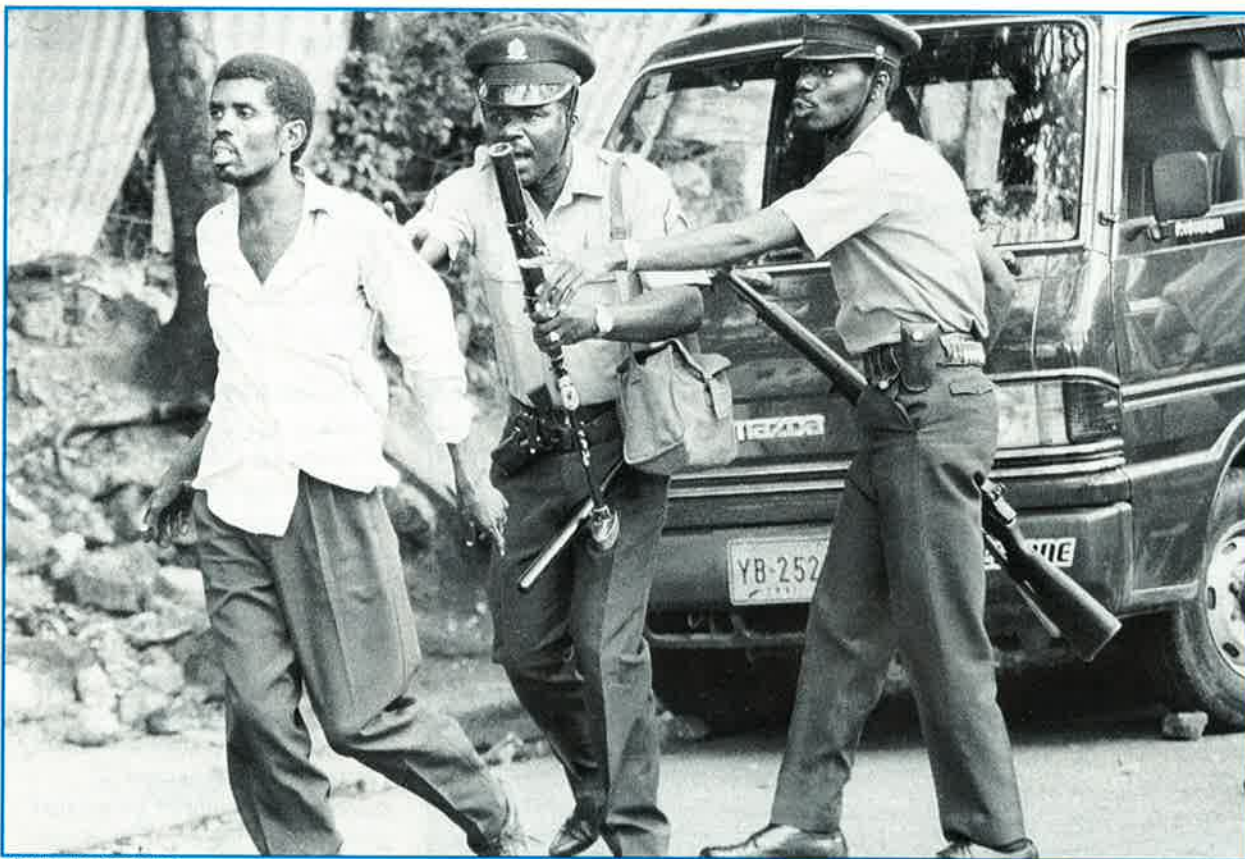
The efforts of the human rights community to put a face on the victims of abuse is paying off, however slowly. Their vigilance prevents governments from denying or covering up abusive practices. With more effective coordination and pressure by individuals, governments, and international institutions for all countries to adhere to certain standards of human rights, the long-sought goal of preventing human rights abuses may be reached.

-Mary Gray

1993 HUMAN RIGHTS EVENTS

The United Nations General Assembly has declared 1993 INTERNATIONAL YEAR FOR THE WORLD'S INDIGENOUS PEOPLE. There are an estimated 300 million indigenous peoples in the world. By its declaration, the General Assembly recognizes the unique problems faced by indigenous peoples, particularly violations of their human rights, as well as the diversity of their cultures. The International Year for Indigenous Peoples coincides with a major World Conference on Human Rights to be held this June 14-25.

The full conference report is available—see page 15. A radio program with the head of Human Rights Watch giving a history of human rights in Somalia is also available, #9301...see page 14.



AP/Wide World Photos

Standing Too Close.

Haitian police arrest a man who was standing too near a burning blockade put up by antigovernment demonstrators.

SEEKING COMMON APPROACHES

Curbing Weapons Proliferation

Weapons of mass destruction and the missiles that deliver them have long been a global security threat. Even large conventional arsenals, like that used by Iraq to invade Kuwait, are seen as major concerns. The world community has developed a number of systems and treaties—known as “regimes”—for controlling such weapons. But the gaps between the regimes, the lack of coordination among the inspection and export control mechanisms, and the varying membership of the regimes create loopholes and duplicate efforts.

An unprecedented meeting to examine how these regimes might be consolidated, integrated, or harmonized was part of the Stanley Foundation’s 33rd annual Strategy for Peace Conference. Leonard S. Spector from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace brought together, for the first time, experts and practitioners

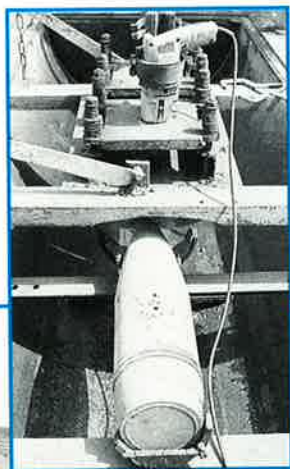
from a variety of nonproliferation areas in a session titled, “Preventing Weapons Proliferation: Should the Regimes be Combined?”.

The Regimes

There are six broad-based international regimes that seek to control military capabilities. Three of them—nuclear, chemical, and biological nonproliferation regimes—try to prevent additional countries from being able to produce these weapons and in some cases prohibit the weapons entirely. Three other regimes seek to limit rather than freeze proliferation. These are the Missile Technology Control Regime, the Coordinating Committee on Multilateral Export Controls, and a just-starting effort by the international community to regulate the transfer of conventional armaments. The report from this conference, written by Spector and Virginia Foran, assistant director of the Non-Proliferation Project at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, details these regimes:



Bomb Drill. Most international efforts to limit weapons of mass destruction are centered around treaties. Here in an exception, Iraq aerial bombs formerly armed with chemical munitions, are drilled and destroyed under UN supervision. The destruction is part of the agreement that ended the gulf war.



UN Photo (inset is UN Photo)

1. The nuclear nonproliferation regime. The hallmark of this regime is the 1970 Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). Under this system, all countries that had nuclear weapons were allowed to retain them, but non-nuclear parties to the NPT must renounce nuclear arms and agree to inspection of their nuclear facilities by the International Atomic Energy Agency. In addition, two international groups exist to prohibit the export or transfer of all nuclear materials. In 1992, one of those, the Nuclear Suppliers Group, began to regulate “dual-use” goods and technologies—meaning those that had both nuclear and non-nuclear end uses.

2. The biological weapons regime. The Biological Weapons Convention of 1972 prohibits all members from developing, producing, stockpiling, or acquiring biological and toxin weapons. They are also prohibited from helping non-members acquire or develop such weapons. There is no inspection or verification provision, but it allows states to call on the UN Security Council to investigate alleged violations. The Australia Group was formed by a number of Western countries in 1985 to control exports of materials and equipment that might be useful in the manufacture of biological weapons. Some nonmember states have agreed to follow the group provisions.

3. The chemical weapons regime. The Geneva Protocol of 1925 prohibits the use (but not the production or stockpiling) of both biological and chemical weapons. In 1993 the Chemical Weapons Convention (CWC) banning the development, production, possession, use, and preparations to use chemical weapons will be opened for signature and perhaps brought into force in 1995. Existing stocks of chemical weapons will have to be destroyed in countries taking part in the CWC. The treaty also calls

for intrusive inspections, including challenge inspections, of all chemical weapons stocks, production facilities, and even potential dual-use facilities. Inspections will be carried out by the Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons. The Australia Group, as it does in the biological weapons regime, regulates the equipment and materials useful for chemical weapons production as well.

4. The missile technology regime.

Because missiles are viewed as legitimate parts of a military arsenal, they are not prohibited in the same way nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons have been (or will be). A number of Western countries formed the Missile Technology Control Regime (MTCR) in 1987. China and the former Soviet Union are not members, but they have, like several other countries, agreed to apply the MTCR guidelines. The MTCR restricts the transfer of missiles able to carry payloads of 500 kilograms (thought to be the weight of a rudimentary nuclear weapon) to a range of 300 kilometers. However, the gulf war raised concerns that missiles might be used to deliver lighter chemical or biological payloads. There is now a move in the MTCR to regulate missiles that can deliver any payload 300 kilometers or more.

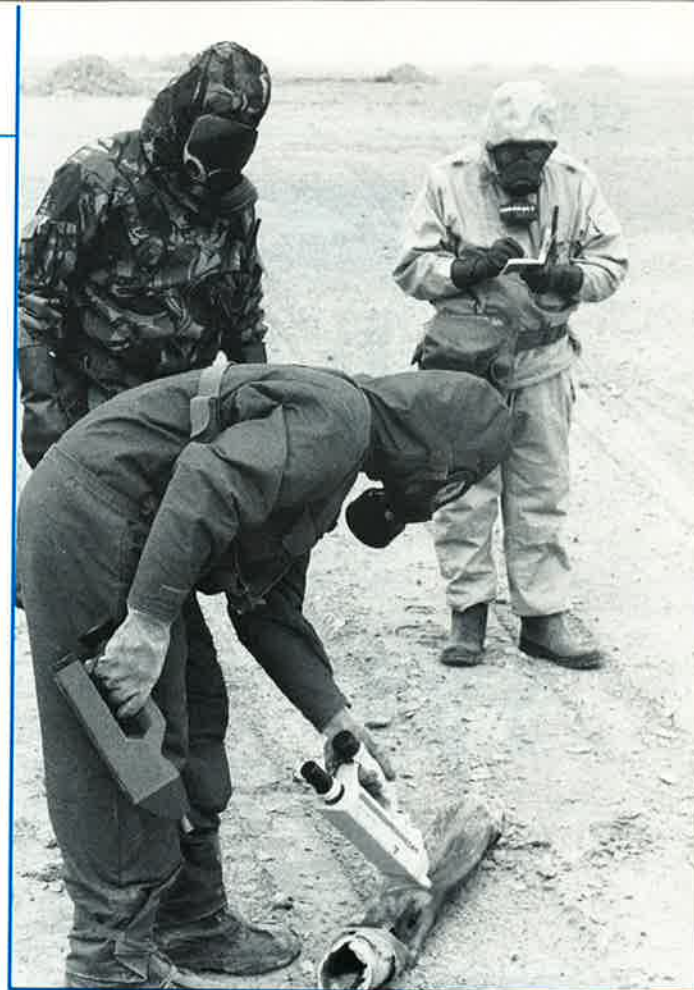
5. CoCom. The Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (CoCom) began in 1949 as a way to limit Soviet, Warsaw Pact, and Chinese military capabilities. NATO (except Iceland), Australia, and Japan maintain these export controls on dual-use industrial and nuclear items, items for nuclear-weapon design and testing, and conventional arms. The list of countries proscribed and items regulated has been greatly changed by the Cold War's end; in fact, the very purpose of CoCom has been questioned.

6. The conventional weapons regime. China, France, Great Britain, Russia, and the United States (the permanent members of the UN Security Council) have agreed to advise each other of all major arms sales and endorse global efforts to slow the spread of weapons of mass destruction. Each, however, has continued to make significant arms sales. China dropped out of the arms transfer talks after the US sold F-16 aircraft to Taiwan in October 1992. There is also now an arms transfer registry at the UN designed to publicly document rather than regulate arms sales. Because arms transfers have been so lucrative and such an expression of international sovereignty, there are no international treaty limits on conventional weapons sales—other than the embargoes against Iraq, South Africa, and the former Yugoslavia.

Consolidation?

Conference participants mentioned a number of factors that intuitively seem to support consolidating these six regimes. Overall efficiency and effectiveness might be improved of transfer regimes by allowing exchange of data among inspectors and licensing officials. A consolidated regime might be more politically important and more permanent. It might also address conflicts among the regimes and reduce their competition for manpower and resources.

But drawbacks to consolidation were also mentioned. Unduly uniform standards might not work with varied proliferation problems that require different approaches. Consolidation might also give the false impression that the different types of weapons covered were of equal importance to international security. In addition, such an overarching regime might give the appearance that the developed world was colluding to “keep the less-developed countries in a state of technological inferiority and dependency,” according to the conference report.



UN Photo

Testing.

As chemical weapons are destroyed, inspectors check for air contamination.

While wholesale consolidation of these regimes might appear impractical, conference participants identified other, smaller steps that can be taken to improve the weapons non-proliferation system. Inspectors from the different regimes can informally share data and experiences, as well as report suspect activity they may observe. Export controls can be improved by wider adoption with “common steps to improve coordination and consistency among” the systems. Greater coordination of sanctions policy through the UN and broader support for US sanctions would also be improvements.

The report, which extensively details consolidation options, acknowledges the huge difficulties facing integration of the weapons regimes—and the huge benefits. In conclusion, the report states, “...important opportunities exist to strengthen the global regimes through consolidative measures and improved harmonization, but goals must be set realistically.”

—Keith Porter

Special Edition

The report from this conference, prepared in a larger format than usual foundation publications, can serve as a useful reference for anyone working on proliferation issues. See page 15 to order a free copy.

Stopping Short of War

IMPOSING PENALTIES

Withholding a team from the Olympic games, stopping the shipment of grain, freezing assets, setting up a blockade, barring the sale of technology, withdrawing financial investments—all are coercive foreign policy alternatives to using military force, and all can be identified by the term “sanctions.” Conventional wisdom holds that such sanctions are generally ineffective. Too often sanctions are

either a symbolic move by countries already intent on military measures, or they are imposed by reluctant leaders hoping to pacify domestic pressure.

Yet the rise of international cooperation through institutions like the United Nations and growing awareness that military force will be ineffective to face many of the post-Cold War challenges make sanctions an attractive option—especially if their credibility and effectiveness can be improved. Widely supported sanctions are currently in place, with mixed reviews, against Iraq, Haiti, and the countries of the former Yugoslavia. Still, there is no widespread agreement on how sanctions best work and how

international cooperation can enhance their success. And little attention has been paid to finding the answers.

Searching for answers, analyzing the past, and defining future methods were the driving forces behind

the Stanley Foundation’s conference titled, “The United Nations and Multilateral Sanctions: New Options for US Policy?” Conference Chair Edwin M. Smith, professor of Law and International Relations at the University of Southern California, and seventeen participants from the diplomatic, policy-making, legal, and academic communities gathered as part of the foundation’s 33rd annual Strategy for Peace Conference.

The term “sanctions” is often vague, according to participants, and should be narrowed. The most basic distinction offered was between the use of force on one hand and sanctions on the other. Yet the use of blockades was quickly mentioned as a measure that wouldn’t fit in either of those categories. The group suggested sharpening the definition of sanctions by distinguishing between positive and negative sanctions (incentives versus penalties), multilateral and unilateral sanctions, and economic and noneconomic sanctions.

Making Sanctions Work

Participants discussed how appropriate sanctions can be chosen for various situations. They pointed to the broad range of goals that sanctions are currently trying to bring about. There was “deep skepticism that the same policy instruments could be equally appropriate for coercion (such as demands for withdrawal of troops, as in the case of Iraq), the enhancement of democratization and human rights (as in the cases of Haiti and South Africa), and peacekeeping and the promotion of negotiation (as in the case of Yugoslavia),” according to the conference report.

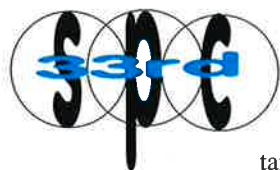
Four general goals for sanctions were identified:

- Avoiding the use of military force
- Appearing to take action
- Promoting human rights norms
- Creating incentives for collective action on global environmental problems

Each goal may require a different form of sanctions, yet the group was concerned that sanctions are too often used in situations where they have little chance to succeed. To remedy this, increased focus on specifying the target of each sanction was suggested. Targets can include private firms, corporations, banks, national leaders, civilians, and social groups who have some influence on government policy. Matching sanctions with targets, says the report, will help determine the vulnerability of the state as well as eventual success of the policy.

Multilateral cooperation was consistently mentioned as another factor necessary for the success of most sanctions. Significant changes at the United Nations are needed to increase its ability to generate international cooperation. The report suggests strengthening the UN Secretariat, changing the membership and procedures of the Security Council, building bridges between the General Assembly and the Security Council, developing ways to compensate unintended victims of sanctions, and strengthening the International Court of Justice.

Beyond the United Nations, participants offered suggestions that would foster international cooperation on sanctions through regional organizations like the European Community and the Organization of



...there is no widespread agreement on how sanctions best work and how international cooperation can enhance their success. And little attention has been paid to finding the answers.

American States, financial institutions like the World Bank and International Monetary Fund, and non-governmental organizations. The group, however, expressed skepticism that such changes in international organizations would take place any time soon. Some members thought that unrealistic expectations were developing that these organizations could generate “consensus among states that have different goals, interests, and domestic constraints....” But others thought the different goals were perhaps unimportant as long as states were willing to adopt sanctions to meet those diverse goals.

Global Interdependence

Finally, the group addressed the way the changing international economic and political situation may affect the use of sanctions. Increased global interdependence provides greater opportunities for economic sanctions but also raises new problems. Interdependence means that widespread cooperation and participation in sanctions are vital for success.

Issues such as human rights and biodiversity are becoming more important on the international agenda and often generate the need for sanctions since force is rarely justified in those cases, according to the report. This change in international politics is also important because government action on these issues is usually motivated by domestic pressure like the call for sanctions and divestment in South Africa.

The report calls for these changes as well as the development of “a more sophisticated understanding of the costs and benefits of using sanctions.” With the difficulties of international progress in mind, the group was nonetheless optimistic that sanctions could be developed into a more effective—and necessary—policy tool for a changing world.

—Keith Porter

“**S**anctions were introduced for the purposes of the total elimination of apartheid and the extension of the vote to all people, [and] we are still very far from that.”

—Nelson Mandela, 1990, on the role of worldwide sanctions in the effort to end apartheid in South Africa



Did the US government impose sanctions on South Africa because it was good foreign policy or because it needed to appease domestic critics? Shown above is Coretta Scott King and others in a 1984 protest against South Africa's racial discrimination.

AP/Wide World Photos

See page 15 to order a free 16-page report from this conference.

NATIONAL (in)SECURITY

Throughout the Cold War, what some observers have often called "the national security state" had virtually unlimited authority and access to resources. With the exception of a few people, no one questioned the need for the extensive security system that mushroomed after World War II. The "clear and present danger" posed by Soviet expansionism justified the growth of such institutions as the Central Intelligence Agency, the National Security Council, and the State and Defense Departments, along with their attendant think tanks, the defense industry, and other influential nongovernmental organizations.

There is little doubt that American defense and foreign policymaking institutions would have evolved differently if there had not been a Cold War. It fostered a national insecurity without which the costs of building and maintaining the national security state would never have been possible. The national security state was further legitimated by the United States' new role as world power. With the experiences of the Great Depression and World War II behind it, the US could no longer remain isolated from the rest of the world.

While the national security state was fashioned during World War II (and during war, oversight is not possible and the utmost emphasis is placed on secrecy and loyalty), that wartime mindset carried over into peacetime.

Those institutions charged with carrying out national security continued to operate with large budgets and little accountability. Even the executive branch suffered an erosion of democratic checks.

With this history in mind, the Stanley Foundation hosted a conference this fall to consider whether the foreign and defense policy-making institutions should be restructured. Now that the Soviet Union has collapsed and its current leaders are desperately trying

to enter the cadre of most-developed nations, is it time to rethink America's most-vaunted foreign policy institutions? This question is particularly germane to the entirely new slate of issues dominating the international agenda today.

The conference was the second in a series organized as part of the Stanley Foundation's new project on Global Changes and Domestic

Transformations, headed by Stanley Foundation Vice President David Doerge and Senior Advisor Michael Clough. Clough chaired the October meeting in Warrenton, Virginia.

While the national security state has until now been dominated by a relatively homogenous group of experts, this project is attempting to reach out to a new array of global actors and increasingly vocal, domestic groups who have not previously been involved in foreign policy issues. These groups are beginning to have an impact on the foreign policy debate.

Although there was little consensus on whether and how the entire national security apparatus could be overhauled, conference participants, bearing out its own diversity, did seem to agree that there is a need to make existing institutions more open and inclusive.

The Issues Gap

The national security state as we know it did not come into existence until the mid-1940s. Prior to World War II, the US military force was small, its foreign service even smaller, and the intelligence community almost nonexistent. These institutions were further limited by popular opposition to foreign entanglements and congressional resistance to presidential control over foreign policy.

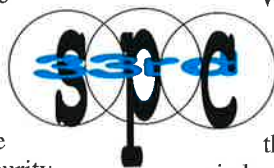


Photo above is from AP/Wide World Photos

New Boss. President Clinton now heads what many have come to call the "national security state." Among its components are the State and Defense Departments and the Central Intelligence Agency.

This all changed with Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor December 7, 1941. It took just a few years to establish a formidable defense-industrial complex, greatly expand the foreign service, and install a far-flung intelligence network. The Cold War with the Soviet Union that followed World War II firmly entrenched the national security state. The necessary institutional changes occurred quickly due to the bipartisan agreement among America's policymakers and opinion leaders about US goals in the world. Their work was facilitated by broad public support for these goals.

There is not the same degree of consensus today, however. The end of the Cold War means there are few broadly shared perceptions about what constitutes a clear and present external danger to the United States. This lack of direction causes US policy to shift between calculated neglect to hyper-interventionism. Furthermore, the American public are apparently no longer as worried about the state of the world as they are about their own communities. The Stanley Foundation's project on Global Changes and Transformations is an effort to begin a public dialogue among Americans and their leaders regarding America's role and relationship with the world.

Institutional Change

Just as there is no consensus about what role the US should take in world affairs, neither was there consensus at the Stanley Foundation conference on how the national security state should adapt to the changing world. Opinions ranged from "if it ain't broke, don't fix it" to radically

restructuring the entire national security apparatus. Those supporting the status quo argued that the US did, after all, win the Cold War and so any excesses of the national security state were likely justified. Furthermore, they maintain, the world is still a dangerous place, and the Cold War institutions will evolve to accommodate the post-Cold War world. It was also noted that many who hold this opinion have been the primary beneficiaries of the existing system.

Those advocating radical change are in a distinct minority. These nontraditionalists favor a much more inclusive debate on foreign policy. Since the 1940s foreign policy has largely been shielded from public oversight, in part because America's leaders feared too much democracy could put Washington at a disadvantage with its seemingly unified communist adversary.

In between these two extremes lies a view held by a younger and more diverse group.

They believe that reform—not radical change—of the national security system is necessary. They favor a broader definition of national security—one that includes such nontraditional elements as environmental, social, and economic issues. This group is less certain than the traditionalists that the national security system can evolve on its own. They urge the new administration to articulate a new organizing principle and

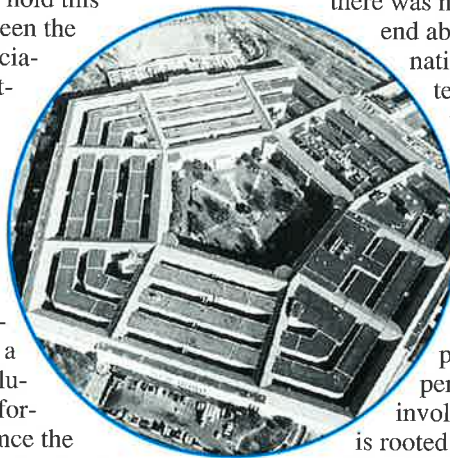
to include more people like themselves in positions of authority. What's needed to fashion a new security agenda, they believe, are more economists, environmentalists, and human rights activists in the government.

While the debate at the Stanley Foundation conference did appear to fall into three basic positions, there was no consensus in the end about how the national security system should respond to the new world order. The report from the conference, written by Clough, takes the position that what is needed is a "new and more positively grounded perspective on global involvement, one that is rooted deeply in the rich soil of American civil society.... It must be a product of a serious national debate—a debate in which America's increasingly global citizenry are participants."

While this position may not be supported by the current managers of the national security state, the report concludes that, "it is doubtful that an alternative exists. Unless and until such a debate takes place, no president is likely to have the reservoir of public support necessary to sustain policies that are costly and/or risky—and those are the only kind of policies that are likely to slow the present drift toward global disorder."

—Mary Gray

To order a free conference report, see page 14.



The Cold War fostered a national insecurity without which the costs of building and maintaining the national security state would never have been possible.

Forever Hopeful



-Robert Muller



UN Photo 158397/J. Isaac

Reduce the Suffering.
UN peacekeeping troops help displaced children in Kuwait.

With brutal wars in progress in Bosnia and Somalia, and with tensions running high in Cambodia, Mozambique, Angola, and Georgia—to name just a few—the post-Cold War world is anything but orderly. Yet Robert Muller, chancellor of the United Nations' University for Peace located in Costa Rica, remains optimistic.

Muller, a longtime senior official at the United Nations and a prolific author on the need for world order to counter the chaos of war, spoke to several Midwestern audiences on a tour this October. The Stanley Foundation was one of the sponsors. He sees the United Nations

playing a central role in whatever new world order emerges.

For the time being, he acknowledges, there is precious little order. Conflicts of an international dimension are diminishing, but they have been replaced by internal disputes and the breakdown of several nation-states.

Muller does not expect this period to last long. "After a period of chaos," he told a luncheon audience in Iowa City, "people fall so low that they pull themselves back up and reorganize." UN interventions in trouble spots can help reduce the suffering and facilitate a more

peaceful transition. To help with its task, the United Nations should have a "peace room"—the counterpart to the Pentagon's war room—in which to monitor world developments. Eventually, Muller foresees the world organizing itself into approximately fifteen regional communities which would be represented at a world body, most likely a revamped United Nations.

People must do more than think about the new world they want, Muller argues. There is a hunger for a new spiritual world order. A revival of the spiritual aspect of life would foster "an explosion of visions and dreams for world peace."

Muller urges us to celebrate what has been accomplished, not just bemoan the tasks still to be done. When he joined the United Nations staff right after World War II, Muller said the expectation was that another world war would follow within a short time. The fact that it has not happened in nearly fifty years is evidence of progress. Also, in that time frame, massive volumes of new data about the world have been collected. "We know everything we need to manage the planet," Muller said. "Now we must imagine new ways to get the job done."

-Jeff Martin

NEW WAYS OF SEEING

"The year 1992 marks Native Americans' discovery of Columbus."
(The audience paused as if deciding that they had heard this correctly and then chuckled in consent.)

"What were the names of Columbus' boats?" *(Many answers.)*

"What tribe tied up Columbus' boat?" *(No answers.)*

"How do you know what you know?"

So began Dr. Terry Tafoya's message of encouraging people to look at the world in new ways. Tafoya is a Taos Pueblo/Warm Springs Indian who uses Native American storytelling to offer a different way of seeing and linking people, societies, and the world. The Stanley Foundation recently brought him to Iowa where he conducted a number of seminars with community leaders, educators, social workers, counselors, and students.

Tafoya said that trying to see from a new point of view is a most effective way to make connections between cultures, genders, ages, and ethnic groups and is especially beneficial for educators and those in helping professions. For anyone, it adds much enrichment to life.

A person's family of origin not only shapes his/her values and defines world view but it's almost impossible to disregard, either consciously or unconsciously. Tafoya used many illustrations to clarify his message, for example:

Defining success. All people have basically the same choices to make, but cultures prioritize differently, thus making some people "successful" and others not so successful.

Communication. "Pause time," the amount of time one person allows another person to finish speaking before he/she begins to

speak, varies among cultures. So what might be viewed as either reticence or rudeness depends on the pause time common to a person's upbringing. Tafoya reminded audiences that even with the best of intentions, people often hurt relationships through dialogue. He said, "The meaning of your communication is the response you receive. "Especially vulnerable to damage are multicultural relationships. If communication is marked by alienation the first time around, "then generations pay for it."

Stories. All people grow up with stories, and Tafoya encouraged his audiences to remember them and look for the messages they imparted. Whether the story is "The Little Engine That Could," "The Wizard of Oz," or one of a family hero or villain, it forms a person's ideas about empowerment, success, appropriateness, etc.

Seeing the world in more than one way is not just an interesting life-enrichment exercise, according to Tafoya. He believes it is essential. In fact, speaking as a counselor and psychotherapist, he says that the inability to see from more than one perspective is a pathological condition.

-Kathy Christensen



Taking Their Education HOME



African students studying in the United States and Canada will gather for the sixth consecutive All-African Student Conference, May 28-30, in Iowa City, Iowa. Their theme will be "Africa's Recurring Crises: Toward Practical Solutions." The Stanley Foundation is one of the conference sponsors.

Considered the most representative gathering of African students to be held anywhere in the world, the 1992 conference brought together 392 students from 43 African countries representing 107 different institutions of higher learning. Entitled "Africa and the 'New World Order': From Pawns to Players," participants used this theme to discuss nation-building, inter-African politics, aid and trade, the role of women, and communication—to name but a few topics. (A six-page conference summary is available from Wartburg College, P.O. Box 1003, Waverly, IA 50677-0903.)

The overarching goals of the conference remain unchanged since its beginning in 1988:

1. To identify the common problems faced by African people and to explore solutions to these problems.
2. To emphasize the crucial contributions that African students can

3. To give vitality to African students' studies by showing how they can be used to address the urgent problems of Africa.
4. To create an awareness among North Americans about what is happening in Africa.
5. To build a stronger sense of collaboration among African students as the basis for a pan-African network of leaders.

For more information about the Iowa City meeting contact the conference coordinator, Mr. Daudi Kaliisa, at African Studies Program—CICS, University of Iowa, 250 International Center, Iowa City, IA, 52242-1802. Telephone: (319) 335-0368.

Please pass this information on to a student or colleague who might wish to participate in this event. Thank you.

-Kathy Christensen

BUILDING

ON RIO

Organizers of the June 1992, United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro hoped that it would be a milestone not an end. Leaders saw the "Earth Summit" as an event that galvanized world efforts to deal with the companion problems of environmental

protection and economic development aimed at alleviating poverty. So far, so good.

In recent months the Stanley Foundation has been involved in two efforts to follow up the Rio conference. At the intergovernmental level, the foundation sponsored a September conference focusing on actions that the UN General Assembly should take to implement UNCED agreements. In November, the General Assembly created the Commission on Sustainable Development which is charged with, among other things, overseeing implementation of Agenda 21, the far-reaching plan of action adopted at Rio.

At the citizen level, the foundation has joined with the Iowa Division of the United Nations Association-USA and the Iowa Humanities Board in sponsoring a series of eight community programs entitled, "Beyond Rio: Earth Charter Iowa." The programs are intended, according to the organizers, to "examine the relationship between the individual, the community, and the natural environment; broaden understanding of Iowans on how their actions affect people around the world; and explore sustainable development for the long-term future at the state, regional, national, and global levels."

-Jeff Martin

THE COMMON GROUND NETWORK

Since 1980, the Stanley Foundation has produced the weekly radio program *Common Ground*. This series on world affairs features discussion of political, military, economic, and social aspects of international issues. *Common Ground* is heard on 130 stations in the US and Canada and on the Radio for Peace International

shortwave service. In addition, cassette copies of *Common Ground* broadcasts are distributed to the public radio listening kiosks at seven United States Information Agency libraries around the world. The following is our most recent listing of stations carrying *Common Ground*.

ALABAMA

Albertville WQSB 105FM Su 6:00a

ALASKA

Anchorage KRUA 88.1FM Su 7:00a
Barrow KBRW 680AM Th 2:30p
Haines KHNS 102.3FM W noon
Ketchikan KRBD 105.9FM Th 5:00p
McGrath KSKO 87AM Su 8:30a
Valdez KCHU 770AM W 8:30a
Wrangell KSTK 101.7FM T 7:00p

ARKANSAS

Fayetteville KUAF 88.9FM Th 6:00p
Little Rock KUCA 91.3FM Su 4:30p

CALIFORNIA

Arcata KHSU 90.5FM Su 5:00p
El Centro KUBO 88.7FM var.
Los Angeles KPFK 90.7FM var.
Northridge KCSN 88.5FM Su 6:00a
Salinas KHDC 90.9FM F 4:00p
San Luis Obispo KCBX 90.1FM Th 4:30p
San Francisco KALW 91.7FM T 1:00p
San Francisco KQED 88.5FM S 4:00a
Santa Barbara KCBX 89.9FM Th 4:30p
Santa Rosa KBBF 89.1FM T 9:00p

COLORADO

Boulder KGNU 88.5FM Su 4:30p
Co. Springs KRCC 91.5FM S 5:00a

CONNECTICUT

Storrs WHUS 91.7FM F 10:00a
W. Hartford WSAM 610AM M 7:00p

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Washington WGMS 570AM Su 6:00a
Washington WGMS 103.5FM Su 6:00a
Washington WRTV 600AM W 2:30p

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Ft. Myers WSFP 90.1FM Th 6:30p
Miami WLRN 91.3FM W 6:30p
Panama City WKTC 1480AM *TBA
Tampa WMNF 88.5FM T 10:00a

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Chicago WDCB 90.9FM W 9:30p
Chicago CRIS (SCA) Th 4:30p
DeKalb WNIJ 90.5FM Su 6:30a
Elgin WEPS 88.9FM T 10:30a
Macomb WILM 91.3FM M 6:30p
Mattoon WKL 89.9FM M 12:30p
Naperville WONC 89.1FM Su 2:00p
Normal WGLT 89.1FM S 6:00a
Rock Island WVIK 90.3FM T 7:30p
Urbana WILL 580AM var.

INDIANA

Indianapolis WIBC 1070AM Su 5:00a

IOWA

Cedar Falls KHKE 89.5FM Th 1:30p
Decorah KWLC 1240AM S 11:00a
Des Moines WOI 640AM S 10:00p
Ft. Dodge KTPR 91.1FM S 5:00p
Iowa City KXIC 800AM Su 6:05a
Iowa City WSUI 910AM W 8:00p
Muscatine KWPC 860AM Su 8:00a
Waterloo KBBG 88.1FM T 10:00a

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Pierceville KANZ 91.1FM T 4:30p

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Portland WMEA 90.1FM var. 1:00p
Presque Isle WMEN 106.1FM var. 1:00p
Waterville WMEW 91.3FM var. 1:00p

MARYLAND

Princess Ann WESM 91.3FM Su noon
Rockville WGMS 103.5FM Su 6:00a

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Detroit WDR 90.9FM Su 8:30a/W 2:30p
Detroit WDET 101.9FM var.
Grand Rapids WGUV 1480AM Th 1:30p
Twin Lake WBLV 90.3FM Su 6:30a

MINNESOTA

Minneapolis KFAI 90.3FM M noon

MISSISSIPPI

Holly Springs WURC 88.1FM T/Th 12:30p
Lorman WPRL 91.7FM W 4:00p

MISSOURI

Columbia KOPN 89.5FM W noon
Jefferson City KJLU 88.9FM Th 9:30a
Point Lookout KCOZ 90.5FM Th 12:30p
Rolla KUMR 88.5FM Su 12:30p
St. Louis KDHX 88.1FM M 12:30p

NEBRASKA

Lincoln KZUM 89.3FM T 6:30p
Omaha KIOS 91.5FM F 10:30a

NEVADA

Las Vegas KUNV 91.5FM M 7:30p

NEW MEXICO

Pine Hill KTDB 89.7FM var. 3:30p
Santa Fe KSFR 90.7FM Su 8:30p

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Plattsburg WCFE 91.9FM T 9:30a
Rochester WXXI 1370AM S 5:30a
Stony Brook WUSB 90.1FM T 2:30p
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Oxford WMUB 88.5FM Th 6:30p
Yellow Spgs. WYSO 91.3FM T 6:30p
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Pittsburgh WYEP 91.3FM T 6:30p

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Spokane KPBX 91.1FM var.

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Hayward WOJB 88.9FM var.
Kenosha WGTD 91.1FM Th 8:00p
Rhineland WXPB 91.7FM W 6:00p

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Common Ground Selected Cassettes

To order cassettes of the foundation's radio program *Common Ground*, call toll free: (800) 767-1929. Cassettes are \$7.95 each plus \$1.75 for shipping and handling (\$.50 handling is charged for each additional cassette per order). A two-part series is \$11.95.

- 9303—Working in a New World.** Cesar Chavez discusses free trade and international support for farm workers. (January 1993)
- 9302—Russia's Painful Rebirth.** Russian citizens talk about their new beginning. (January 1993)
- 9301—The Once and Future Somalia.** The head of Human Rights Watch gives a history of human rights in Somalia. (January 1993)
- 9249—Development Alternatives for Women.** Peggy Antrobus discusses women's roles in development programs. (December 1992)
- 9247—Changing South Africa.** Nobel laureate Nadine Gordimer talks about her lifetime fight against apartheid. (November 1992)
- 9246—A Free Trade Agenda.** Two experts debate the pros and cons of so-called "free" trade. (November 1992)
- 9242/43—Building on Rio (Two-Part Series).** A look at how momentum from the Earth Summit can be kept alive. (October 1992)
- 9240/41—From Hiroshima to the L.A. Riots: A Conversation with Robert Jay Lifton (Two-Part Series).** (October 1992)
- 9239—The Business of Nature.** Claudine Schneider examines how business people and environmentalists can get along. (September 1992)
- 9238—Working More, Earning Less.** Juliet Schor says that "lazy" American factory workers put in more hours than their west European counterparts. (September 1992)
- 9237—Alternative Economics.** Hazel Henderson calls for new thinking on how score is kept in the global arena. (September 1992)
- 9234—Global Breakup: Crisis or Opportunity?** Two foreign policy analysts say the US basks in post-Cold War euphoria while the rest of the world hears alarm bells. (September 1992)
- 9232—Oscar Arias on the Forgotten War.** Arias fears democracy in Central America may be short lived. (August 1992)
- 9224—What's American?** Arthur Schlesinger, Jr., discusses his latest book, *The Disuniting of America*. (June 1992)

Publications

Single copies free, see order form for multiple-copy charge.

Blue entries indicate new publications.

Regional Issues

Change and Stability in the Middle East: How Do We Get There From Here? US policymakers and regional experts discuss major social, political, and economic trends in the Middle East as they relate to US goals and how US policy might best affect them. September 1991, 22pp.

Deadlock Over China Policy: Is a New Consensus Possible? Experts discuss the current low in US-China relations, particularly the divide over human rights and other issues. This report lists major concerns that must be addressed before relations can improve. October 1991, 20pp.

US Policy Toward a Post-Socialist USSR. Daunting problems with high stakes face the peoples of the former Soviet Union. Here experts define a set of principles to guide US policymakers through a turbulent period. October 1991, 20pp.

United Nations

The United Nations and Multilateral Sanctions: New Options for US Policy? Renewed global interest in multilateral sanctions challenges conventional wisdom that "sanctions don't work" and raises important analytical and practical questions regarding their utility as a policy instrument. October 1992, 16pp.

Changing Concepts of Sovereignty: Can the United Nations Keep Pace? How should the UN respond to this question, considering the organization is both an advocate of national sovereignty and yet an instrument for limiting it? July 1992, 36pp.

Collective Security and the United Nations: An Old Promise in a New Era. The end of the Cold War has reduced ideological posturing and energized the United Nations. This report examines how security can be achieved through collective action. June 1991, 36pp.

Changes & Transformations

Global Changes and Institutional Transformation: Restructuring the Foreign Policymaking Process. Despite the changing realities in the post-Cold War world, it is far from certain that the national security state will be reorganized. Should it? Can it be? In what ways? October 1992, 20pp.

Global Changes and Domestic Transformations: New Possibilities for American Foreign Policy. This 16-page booklet is the first in a series of anticipated publications entitled, "Changes & Transformations," documenting a process of inquiry into and dialogue on America's relationship with the world. April 1992.

Global Education

Issues in Education: Local is Global is Local. In this conference summary, the author endeavors to share a number of valuable insights that emerged from exploring ways community educators and global educators can work together. January 1992, 20pp.

Issues in Education: Learning to Live in a Pluralistic Society. This report is part of an ongoing conversation about the direction of education for an increasingly complex and integrated world. January 1991, 12pp.

Human Rights

International Human Rights and US Foreign Policy. Human rights advocates met to reflect on the work of the human rights community; on its impact, shortcomings, and accomplishments; and on the issues, responses, and approaches to consider in charting a future course in the post-Cold War era. October 1992, 20pp.

Security and Disarmament

Preventing Weapons Proliferation: Should the Regimes Be Combined? Weapons proliferation has been identified by many as the primary security concern of the post-Cold War era. This conference is the first attempt to bring

together experts from all areas to examine the synthesis and integration of nonproliferation efforts. October 1992, 40pp.

Redefining Arms Control in US Foreign Policy. The Cold War restrained arms control just as it did other areas of foreign policy. But now the opportunities and the necessity for arms control may be greater than ever. This report presents an important arms control agenda for the next decade. October 1991, 20pp.

Environment

Environment and Development: Institutional Issues. As preparation for the United Nations Conference on Environment and Development (the Earth Summit),

conference participants examined institutional issues surrounding the Earth Summit process. February 1992, 32pp.

Other Topics of Interest

Middle America. This bimonthly publication features an exchange of views from Midwesterners working for a "secure peace with freedom and justice." A sample of this "conversation in print" is available upon request.

The Growing Impact of Ethnic and Geographic Diversity on US Foreign Policy. An ethnically diverse group considers the possibility of new ethnic and geographic influences on US foreign policy. October 1990, 22pp.

Old Titles Still Available

Changing Realities in the Horn of Africa: Implications for Africa and US Policy. October 1991.

The United Nations: Structure and Leadership for a New Era. February 1991.

Foreign Aid Beyond the Cold War. October 1990.

Regulating International Communications Without Censorship. October 1990.

Beyond Cold War Thinking: Security Threats and Opportunities. June 1990.

The Superpowers and the Challenge of Peace in the Middle East. April 1990.

Crisis in China: Prospects for US Policy. October 1989.

Environment and Development: Breaking the Ideological Deadlock. February 1990.

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World Press Review

The foundation's monthly magazine features excerpts from the press outside the United States and interviews with prominent international specialists on a wide range of issues. You may order a sample copy using the order form to the left.

Development Without Economics

Hazel Henderson's books, Creating Alternative Futures: The End of Economics and Politics of the Solar Age: Alternatives to Economics, have caused readers to rethink the way we keep score in the international arena—and how much longer the game can go on. Her latest book, Paradigms in Progress: Life Beyond Economics, challenges traditional assumptions about economic development. Earlier this year, Henderson appeared on the Stanley Foundation's radio series Common Ground; her comments are excerpted below. Cassette copies of the broadcast (#9237) are available for \$7.95 plus shipping and handling by calling 1-800-767-1929.

Q: What was the purpose behind writing *Paradigms in Progress*?

Henderson: The purpose really was to try to engage in what I believe will be the great debate of the next decade...between the North and the South about what we mean by development. What I have been trying to say in my books...is that the old model of economic growth as measured by per capita income and aggregated up into the Gross National Product (GNP) has failed. It's amazing—even in the US...people know that the GNP is a pretty gross way of measuring progress. Of course it was never intended to be that in the first place, and so the way the development debate is going these days is that the new rubric is either "human development" and/or "sustainable development." You'll notice that the word "economic" has been dropped out,

and the word "growth" has been dropped out, and to me that is very healthy because the only thing that keeps on growing forever is cancer.

Q: Exactly what is it about GNP that blinds us when we are trying to talk about development?

Henderson: Well...its inventors invented it to be a measure of raw production and cash transactions. As it does that, there is nothing wrong with it. What's wrong is that it became an overall measure of welfare and progress. After all, GNP was widely introduced during World War II, and it was really to help the war effort—we were going to beat Hitler, right?—and so it overvalues bombs and bullets and tanks which was all right at the time. The idea was to maximize the war effort vis-a-vis the civilian economy, and it is just one of those classic cases of no one going back to take a look at it after the war was over...

Q: Are there any agencies promoting the use of new indicators?

Henderson: Yes. I am happy to say that since 1990 the UN Development Programme has started a new set of indicators called the HDI—Human Development Index. The first one added life expectancy, infant mortality, and literacy rate and gave a sort of ratio between how much a country spent on teachers versus soldiers for some idea of that military versus civilian budget ratio. The new HDI got a little better in 1991...it expanded to freedom...and began to look at the environment in

many different aspects...and began to show us the industrial distress that we are now experiencing because of overindustrialization...

Q: You're tough on economists.

Henderson: Yes, I am. First of all, economics isn't a science. It seemed to me that there was a tremendous effort to make it look like a science. For example, the Nobel Prize in economics is not a prize that was put up by the Nobel family. It was lobbied onto the Nobel committee by the Central Bank of Sweden, and they put up the money for it as the Nobel Memorial Prize. The problem is that we have too many economists. They all rode into town in the US after 1946 when we passed the Employment Act of 1946 and government got into the business...of trying to guarantee economic growth and full employment. Naturally, the economists said, "We're your boys; we know how to do this; we're going to show you how a rising tide lifts all boats." Of course, they overpromised. They don't know how to do this, as is now patently clear. The real problem I have is that they are the only profession which has such enormous power and no accountability, no quality control, and no standardization.... If you're a lawyer and your prescriptions don't work, you get disbarred. But economists go around prescribing for whole nations and cause untold human misery and environmental destruction with complete impunity.

-Keith Porter



Hazel Henderson



UN Photo

Robert Muller on world progress, see page 10.

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