

Courier



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CUBA

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Havana needs a paint job. The historic buildings that line the Malecón are in a sorry state of disrepair. Locals say the buildings were painted during preparations for the 1991 Pan-American Games, but the government skimped on paint and proper preparation of the surfaces. So the

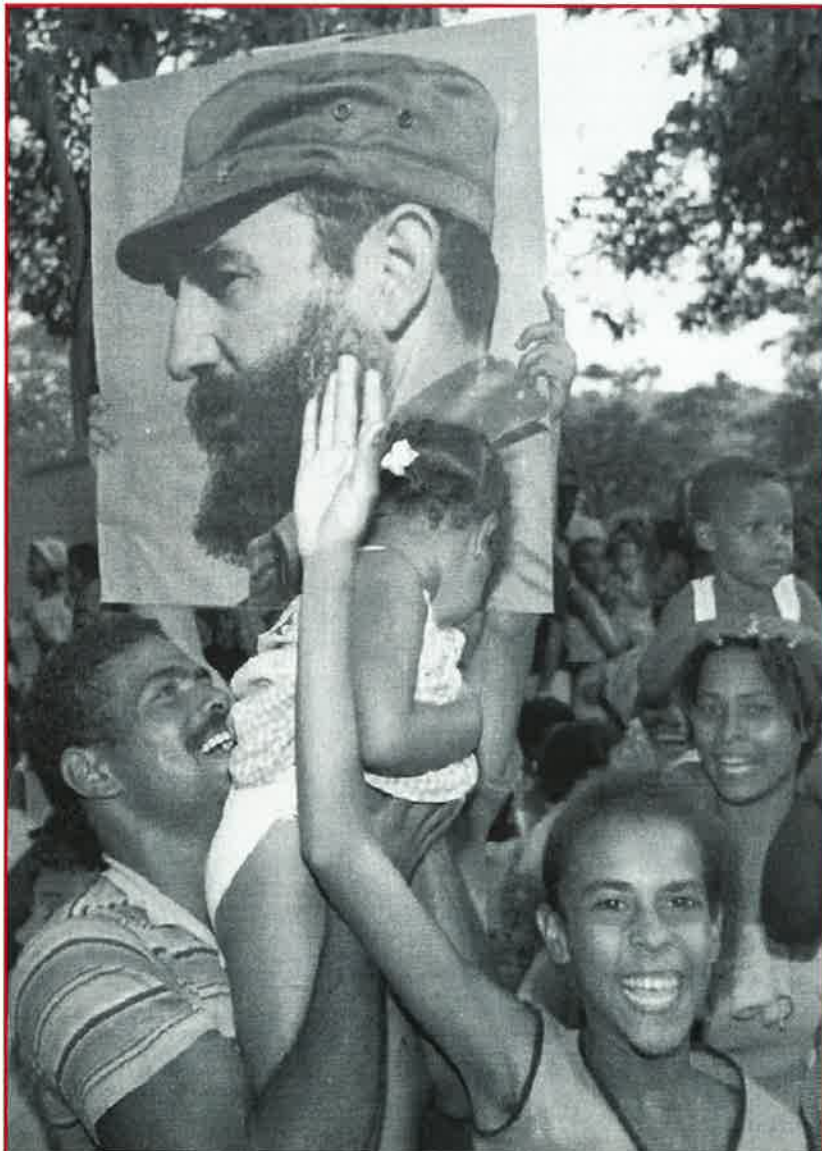
colors are flaking off and probably look worse now than before they started.

Now, however, Cuba can't even afford these superficial attempts to improve appearances. The Cuban economy is reeling from the fall of the Soviet bloc and the 30-year US embargo. (The Cubans call it a blockade.) A boy in a preschool told me, "The United States won't let any ship enter Cuba, in order to help Cuba. No commercial goods can enter our country. There is a shortage of everything." Fidel Castro has named the economic crisis "A Special Period in Times of Peace"—which is a euphemism for food rationing and scheduled power outages. When an outage occurs, Cubans will just point to the dark light bulb and say "special period." No other explanation is needed.

Cubans receive official food rations, which they supplement with goods from a flourishing black market. There is no apparent hunger in Cuba, but citizens all remember better times from just a few years ago—times when gasoline, soap, food, and clothing were abundant. Now private cars are rarely seen, buses run on irregular schedules, and bicycles fill many streets. The transportation problem causes a ripple effect as jobs go undone while workers spend hours getting to and from their offices, stores, and factories.

While few Cubans will openly criticize the government, almost all of them feel free to express their disgruntlement over the daily struggles—more so in the cities. In the

Election Day. Early this year, Cuba concluded a one-party, one-candidate "reformed" election process. Here, Cubans celebrate the "victory" of Fidel Castro.



AP/Wide World Photos

(Continued on page 2)



Carol Serynek

Meet the Press. Keith Porter (upper left) traveled across Cuba this past February for a four-part Common Ground radio series on the crucial issues facing the island in the 90s. He spoke with government officials, dissidents, and other Cuban citizens like these boys in a Santa Clara daycare center. See page 10 for information on ordering cassettes.

countryside, times may be tough, but the people remember the much tougher days before the revolution brought land reform, housing, and electricity. But the urban poor face greater competition for scarce resources—and at the same time see the higher living standards reserved in Cuba for tourists and other foreigners.

Tourism

Before the revolution, Cuba was a haven for American mobsters and a frequent destination for American tourists searching for big casinos, white beaches, and the lavish dance productions of the Tropicana nightclub. The casinos are now long gone, but the beaches and the Tropicana are drawing more and more tourists as the government attempts to bring in hard currency. Visitors from Europe, Canada, and Latin America can be seen crawling around the Morro Fortress in Havana Harbor or looking at the Granma—the boat Fidel Castro used to launch the revolution—encased in glass behind the former Presidential Palace.

Tourism, though, has brought almost as many problems to Cuba as it has dollars. Prostitution, drugs, and an increased black market are the most visible disruptions. But there are more. Only US dollars are accepted in the hotels and the tourist shops connected with them. These shops sell soap, food, beer, clothing, even appliances—none of

which is for sale to Cubans. Officially, it is illegal for a Cuban to even possess US currency. Critics have termed the segregation “tourism apartheid.” Some Cubans will say that, despite the injustice, they understand why this has to be done—one official described it as “chemotherapy,” a painful, potentially deadly treatment that must be endured to fix Cuba’s economy. But many Cubans harbor a resentment toward the system and toward the lucky Cubans who get to work in the tourist establishments and benefit from their contact with foreigners.

Elections

During the two weeks I spent in Cuba, the country was in the middle of a complex, “reformed” election process. In short, there is a kind of grassroots democracy that operates on a precinct and municipal level. Neighbors get together to nominate and elect other neighbors to a Municipal Assembly.

Beyond that, though, membership in the so-called People’s Power governments at the provincial and national levels is tightly controlled. Candidates were screened and proposed by Candidate’s Commissions, and voters were given ballots with only one name for each open seat their region was allowed to fill. There were no candidates or issues voted for on a nationwide basis. Fidel Castro ran for the national assembly from a precinct in Santiago de Cuba, where the revolution began. He won easily and was later elected by the assembly as president of the Council of State.

The government reports that 6.5 percent of the votes cast in the election were ruled invalid—usually because the voter defaced the ballot with a large “X,” the word “NO,” a political slogan, or by simply casting it blank. According to Mexican newspapers, the actual number of voters who used this method to express their displeasure with the system may have been as high as 20 percent.

Some critics of the election process say that Cuba could have allowed multiparty elections, along with

nomination by signature-gathering, and still have maintained power. Such elections might create even stronger pressure on the United States to open better relations with Cuba. Instead, the lack of true democratic reforms and the often-reported human rights violations allow the US to maintain its embargo even though Cuba has withdrawn all troops from Africa and no longer has a sweetheart arrangement with the former Soviet Union. Last November, the US was censured in the UN General Assembly by a 59 to 3 vote (71 countries abstained) because of its continuing sanctions against Cuba.

Human Rights

Political prisoners are being held in Cuba—Amnesty International says between 300 and 500—and dissidents, usually speaking out on human rights issues, are harassed in a systematic manner. The US State Department’s annual human rights report says Cubans are denied “freedom of expression, association, assembly, and movement as well as the right to privacy, the right of citizens to change their government,

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President Richard Stanley
Editor Jeffrey Martin

Managing Editor Kathy Christensen
Correspondent Mary Gray Davidson

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

and worker rights.” The United Nations’ Human Rights Commission’s latest annual report cites “arbitrary arrests, beatings, imprisonment, harassment, and governmentally organized mob attacks on human rights defenders.”

For their part, Cuban authorities both deny the accuracy of these reports and argue that true human rights are better fulfilled in Cuba than anywhere else—like the right to food, education, healthcare, and a fair wage. But political dissidents in Cuba, like Elizardo Sanchez, are regularly harassed by mobs and then arrested for creating a disturbance. While the US does have full diplomatic relations with countries that have worse human rights records than this, such incidences give the US added reason to delay improving relations with Cuba.

The Future

The collapse of the current Cuban government has been predicted and anticipated for quite some time (see sidebar). But for the moment the communist government, trying hard to look optimistic, remains in control, tinkering with the food and energy rations at home and trying to raise hard currency overseas with its tourism, biotechnology, and sugar sales.

The Cuban people—cheerful, warm, and generous to visiting Americans—rarely attempted to convey any false optimism to me about the current situation. There was little talk about the government, Castro, or the elections. Instead, the people most often expressed their weariness with the daily struggles. The feeling is rarely attached to a political sentiment; but when it is, people most often say the current situation is the fault of the US policies. This weariness has not yet reached a point of overall exasperation in the society. If it does, Cuba may one day enter a new and totally unpredictable transformation.

-Keith Porter

Robert J. Sheppard



Defending the Revolution. On each city block and in every rural area, the Committee for the Defense of the Revolution (CDR) is an organizing—and some say watchful—force for Cuban society. These men are at a CDR office in Santiago de Cuba.

CUBAN COLLAPSE?

Arriving at Miami International Airport from Havana, the first American I spoke with was a US Customs official who wanted to know from what country I was traveling. His second inquiry was one I would hear scores of times as I shared my experiences in Cuba with others: “When will Castro fall? How long can the Communists hang on? Isn’t Cuba about to collapse?”—all variations on the conventional wisdom that big change is imminent in Cuba.

Big change may come, but it likely won’t be in the form presupposed by the American media—or on the same timetable. The cover story in a March issue of the *New York Times Magazine* was “The Last Days of Castro’s Cuba.” In January, *Newsweek’s* story on Cuba was titled, “Requiem for a Revolution.” Again and again, the words “collapse” and “fall” show up in the leads and headlines on stories about Cuba. Such obituaries are premature for two reasons.

First, Castro’s hold is secure. Barring outside invasion or assassination, only a direct challenge by an internal military force could remove him. The chances of this are nil, since the loyalty of the Cuban armed

forces has never been in doubt. Even a government-imposed death sentence carried out on a popular general (who may or may not have been trafficking drugs) didn’t provoke the ire of the military. The economic conditions may deteriorate to the point where food riots or even isolated revolts break out. (None of which is going on now.) But with the government in control of the media and all resources, such disturbances won’t spread.

Second, the Cuban people are worried about the alternatives, or lack of alternatives, to Castro’s government. No existing institutions, except for the Catholic Church, provide any framework for leadership outside the government and its many organizations. The human rights dissident groups are small, isolated, and marginalized. But more importantly, many Cubans expressed to me their fear that if Castro falls, the Cuban exiles in Miami will self-righteously fill the power vacuum.

Thirty years of history may have quelled Cuban fervor for the past revolution. And there is no apparent rush toward a future one.

-Keith Porter

“DO SOMETHING”

PART ONE

News accounts today bring graphic descriptions of massive starvation in Somalia, unspeakable atrocities in Bosnia, mass executions of minorities in Iraq, and the growing threat of nuclear-armed North Korea and Iraq. Faced with these horrors, large numbers of people cry out for someone to do something.

Most often this implies the use of military force. But whose armies under whose command? Who should decide when and how to intervene?

This is the first of two articles on intervention. It reports on a Stanley Foundation program that examined the difficulty of deciding when to use US military power. In the next issue we will report on the prospects of the United Nations satisfying the public demand to “do something.”

The decision to commit the US military to action ultimately rests with the president—the Commander in Chief. But Congress—whether through historical precedence, the constitutional right to “declare war,” the rigors of the War Powers Act, or control of government funding—has a powerful voice in questions of military intervention, both prior to deployment and during operations.

This leaves Congress pondering the same post-Cold War questions facing the president and the military leadership: What are the appropriate criteria for US intervention? Who should be involved in the decision-making process? What now are the US vital interests? And what mix of military force, diplomacy, and sanctions provides the right formula for achieving our goals?

The Stanley Foundation’s annual Foreign Policy Forum convened key congressional staff members from both parties, along with a number of highly experienced experts to discuss “Congress and the Future of US Intervention.” Conference organizer and foundation Vice President David Doerge says he hopes the event allowed staff members to “step back from the daily distractions of congressional life and focus on both the current and long-term implications of the debate over the goals of US military action and how the armed forces should be structured to meet those goals.”

Saying that there are no “hard rules” to guide intervention scenarios, former Bush administration official Richard Haass told the group, “It is hard to get away from the ‘It Depends’ doctrine, but I think it is about right.” Haass, in his keynote address, added, “The decision not to use force can be as

important as the decision to use force, but the burden of proof always rests with those who want to use force.”

In a discussion group titled “America’s Changing Global Interests: Where Should We Intervene?”, Joshua Muravchik of the American Enterprise Institute attacked many of the attempts over the years to come up with firm criteria for US intervention. He said, “These checklists evolve from the Catholic ‘just war’ doctrine, but asking whether it is *just* to go to war is different than asking if it is a *good idea*.” He suggested that the primary global interest of the US should be to keep ourselves safe and secure. He added that one secondary global interest of the US should be to do the good we can in the world, like promoting democracy, “within the limits of reason.”

Also on the panel was Alan Tonelson of the Economic Strategy Institute. He said the difficulty political leaders and academics are having in describing exactly what US vital interests are in the new world is instructive. “Pressing, urging vital threats have a way of focusing our thinking,” Tonelson said. “The fact that we are so confused over what our vital interests are means that the number and urgency of our interests are lower than we might think.” He went on to say, “The Cold War period has ingrained in us a statist view of who owns what in this country. We seem to think we, in the establishment, can dream up a military operation and start committing resources to it, and the only role of public opinion is that if they [the people] raise a big enough stink, we’ll stop.” Tonelson lectured the congressional staffers, “It is not your job to keep dreaming up military adventures we can get involved in.”



DOD/Helene Stikkel



Saying that he is against rigid checklists for intervention, Stephen Van Evera of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, offered some guidelines for the debate on the use of force. Among them, he said we should “avoid intervention which involves large-scale social engineering” because governments aren’t very good at this. As an example, Van Evera said that using force is unlikely to be effective in spreading democracy. He also warned against using force when it will likely clash with nationalism or degrade into counterinsurgency types of warfare.

In a separate panel on “The Decision to Intervene: Who Should Be Involved?”, Richard Haney from the National Defense Institute argued that the military itself should be closely tied into intervention decision making. He said the military first of all brings a “predisposition against the use of force” to the discussions, as well as a “framework for military success based on experience and education.”

Scott Harris of the RAND Corporation detailed Congress’ role in military intervention, pointing out the conflict between the constitutional right of Congress to declare war and the president’s power to deploy forces as Commander-in-Chief. The War Powers Act was one attempt to bridge the constitutional problem, but Harris recommended discarding the act because it has proven unworkable. Instead, he said

Congress should rely on the considerable constitutional power it already has to control the military through resolutions and appropriations.

Finally in this panel, the congressional staffers heard from Michael Clough, a senior writer for the Commission on World Governance and a senior adviser to the Stanley Foundation’s Global Change and Domestic Transformation Project. He said that changes both in the world and in our society are altering the intervention decision-making process. Among the changes Clough noted are the end of the Cold War, an information revolution that helps build moral outrage when television documents suffering, and a “foreign policy revolution.” This revolution, according to Clough, involves “human rights groups, humanitarian relief organizations, and newly influential ethnic and regional interest groups taking some of the foreign policy establishment’s thunder.” There are dangers and opportunities in this widening of the foreign policy debate, he said. “The Balkanization of American foreign policy is a danger, but the opportunity is that these new forces could lead to new possibilities.”

In a closing address, Edwin Smith of the University of Southern California challenged the group to keep in mind the “nonmilitary approaches to intervention, including the appropriate use of

sanctions.” He said that sanctions were possibly an underused tool that deserved attention when applied in ways that have been proven successful.

Capturing the spirit of many of the debates that took place at the conference, one congressional staff member said, “It was instructive to see old liberal ‘never-saw-an-intervention-I-liked’ noninterventionists suddenly turn into neo-colonialists and old Cold Warriors into neo-isolationists. Some of the most interesting discussions, in fact, were within ideological proclivities, rather than between them.” This remark illustrates not only how outdated our political labels have become but also how difficult the “use-of-force” debate is at all levels of our society.

—Keith Porter



Two Ways. Although aircraft carriers have been a symbol of US intervention, there is also much demand for the services of US Navy doctors like this one tending to a child in Somalia.

See page 10 to order a two-part Common Ground program (#9317/18) called Using Force, based on interviews from this conference.

I step tentatively inside Red Square, its vastness magnified by the absence of people. I want to hug the walls of the huge GUM shopping mall, but I know it's better to stride confidently in the center of the square. Visions of a KGB arrest, the mock trial, Solzhenitsyn's gulag play in my mind.

The Cold War as we've known it is over, but the Iron Curtain in my head is slower to fold. It is a cold, overcast afternoon in December 1992. The Congress of People's Deputies is meeting inside the Kremlin, and President Yeltsin has closed Red Square to head off demonstrations. There are barricades at every entrance. Groups of guards in heavy overcoats and fur hats (that turn out to be acrylic on closer inspection) are refusing entry to anyone not on official business. But it is our only chance to see the Kremlin. My husband explains to the guard at the entrance that we're journalists.

"Nyet."

My husband, stretching the truth, says we have to meet the rest of the crew already inside.

"Nyet, nyet."

As a last attempt, my husband holds out an ordinary business card.

The guard steps aside and lets us in.

"That's all it takes?" I wonder while passing by the line of bored guards. "Isn't one of them going to question us? We really have no business here. Can we just walk right in?"

I assume we'll be thrown out once the guards realize we're just tourists. I take several pictures as soon as I'm well into Red Square. But no one looks twice at us. We wander through the empty plaza for another twenty minutes and then leave through another gate.

HOPE DEFERRED

DESPOTISM OR ANARCHY?

AP/Wide World Photos



The people of Russia are well aware of the near total collapse of state authority, but it took this encounter with a Kremlin guard to demolish one of the great monoliths of my youth. For so long my mind had divided the world between us and them. Though I hoped, like everyone else I knew, for an end to the Cold War, I realize now that I had never really believed it could end. I was born into the Cold War: a child raised on duck and cover, good and evil, black and white. As a youngster I imagined the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe as dark countries, the light shut out by a huge metal curtain and the people's brains washed somehow with soap.

In 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed. Democracy and capitalism, we tell ourselves, are what everyone wants. But our system has not captured the hearts and minds of the Russian people, much less become a reality. Hyperinflation, crime, the ubiquitous "mafia" have left few people rejoicing over Russia's second revolution this century. Not everyone would even call it a revolution. On St. Petersburg's Nevsky Avenue I stopped to talk to a woman at a new "hard-currency" store, where goods unavailable elsewhere can be

bought—if one has dollars or Deutsch marks or yen or francs. Anything but rubles. She wouldn't call what happened in 1991 a revolution. Russia today, she said, has turned into a society "where no one cares about anyone else." Still, she does not want to go back to the Soviet system.

Most people I interviewed share her ambivalence about the breakup of the Soviet Union. A few long for the days when their income and life's necessities were guaranteed, but no one said that they would return to the "good old days" of dictatorship—days of constant surveillance, government informants even within families, and the denial of basic human rights. Russians today are caught between anarchy and despotism.

Our guide for two weeks in Russia was Eugenia, a former school teacher who can make more money as an independent contractor with tour agencies. Eugenia is happier about life today; she would not go back to the old days. Though she is only thirty and missed the worst of the communist years, many of her ideas were influenced by her mother, whose uncle was the first of the family to be executed in 1947. "She always was saying to me when I was little, 'They're cheating us. They're cheating us all the time.' When I grew older I realized it [communism] was the biggest fraud in the history of mankind. They took so much and gave so little. From the nursery to your grave you were cheated. It was never a paradise," she continued. "It was cleaner. It was safer. But it was a big, clean prison."

For Eugenia, what's worst is the loss of hope. When the Soviet Union initially broke up, people "were happy. Because we thought it was the end of mischief and deceiving one's own people." Eugenia wrapped her husband's old and cracked vinyl jacket more tightly around her small frame. It's much too big for her, but she hopes it will be less attractive to thieves in the city. "We thought it would mark a

new era," she went on. "But for many it was another deception and another disillusionment."

The disillusionment is heightened by the deteriorating condition of the cities. It is even evident in the lack of monuments to the revolution of 1991. We had read before our trip that there is a site in Moscow where people sometimes lay flowers in tribute to those who lost their lives during the attempted coup in August '91. No one we stopped to ask in Moscow's center could give us directions to the spot. They seemed surprised at the question. Obviously there is no money to spare in Moscow. Still, it's odd that no one seems to think some kind of memorial important. After wandering the streets near the Russian White House, we finally came across a small granite block on an overpass above one of Moscow's main thoroughfares. This is the road the people had barricaded to keep the army from reaching the White House during the August standoff. Three men were killed there. A single faded carnation rested beside the marker in the powdery snow. Spray-painted on the concrete wall of the bridge is the epitaph, "Post 1."

Perhaps monuments lose their value when you live in a society where today's heroes often turn out to be tomorrow's villains. The regular rewriting of history by whomever is in power—a history fraught with cataclysm—has produced a level of cynicism I was unprepared for. Cynicism is everywhere in Russia. So many people told me "we hated Gorbachev when he was in power, now we hate Yeltsin." Nearly every day we read of Russia's latest political crisis, but the prevailing sentiment seems to be "throw the bums out," no matter who's in power. This attitude, according to many Russians, is fueled by the perception that it's almost always the same people running the show. The director of a repertory theatre I visited in a rundown neighborhood on the outskirts of Moscow told me that "Russia is full of changelings and vampires; they will do whatever is

necessary to stay in power." Ideology means nothing. Russian rulers, I am often told, love only their chairs; they care only about their place.

How does a country make the leap from totalitarianism to democracy? Can it be done in a single leap? How do people embrace freedom when I'm told time and again that you cannot eat freedom of speech; you cannot warm your house with freedom of travel; you cannot wear freedom of religion instead of shoes and trousers? How does a country overcome centuries of czarist oppression followed by nearly a century of communist oppression? As the Moscow theatre director explained, "Any person born in Russia, from the very first day, is already politically oriented. Any newborn child is already protesting against the way he has been born into this world."

Choice of a New Generation.

Catching the entrepreneurial spirit, kids hawk Pepsis on a Moscow street. (below). Less enthused with changes is a woman protesting at Red Square for the return of communist rule (opposite page).



AP/Wide World Photos

There is no formula for this transitional period. Nor is the outcome predetermined. Civil war is a very real possibility. And hope for a better future, like everything else in Russia, is in short supply.

—Mary Gray Davidson

Mary Gray Davidson's interviews with Russian citizens, from officials to people on the street, can be heard on a four-part Common Ground series, "Russia's Rebirth." See page 10 for information on ordering cassettes.

GLOBAL ECONOMICS

Defining Iowa's International Role

Casual observers might assume that by now the "new world order" is in place and that those working in the international arena would be so advanced in their "new" approaches that they are not new anymore. However, forty-plus years of workable formulas are difficult to put aside. Many organizations—governmental, nongovernmental, and business—are struggling to plot new strategies that make sense in the post-Cold War world.

In Iowa, six state-funded agencies have formed the Iowa International Council (IIC) for cooperation and to work at defining Iowa's international role. This spring the Stanley Foundation joined with IIC to cosponsor an "International Agenda Forum" for about 65 other Iowans who are involved in a variety of international activities. Besides meeting each other to explore common concerns and create possible working connections, participants were challenged to:

- Examine some of their presumptions about the rest of the world.
- See themselves as vital players in shaping national foreign policy.

Keynote speaker Walter Russell Mead of the World Policy Institute chided those who might think that

history ended with the Cold War's end. "History is back and it's hungry," he said. Do Americans isolate themselves to concentrate on curing domestic ills or do we take an active role in addressing the needs of the world? Mead maintained that the latter course is necessary because of global economics. He said national interests become international in scope when considering:

Peace. Peace and economic growth are inextricably intertwined. A "concert of powers" among nations implies a political and economic program on which almost everyone can agree. Making the "pie grow for everyone" will help ensure peace.

A Strong Dollar. Mead warned that global business is shifting away from using the dollar as the international currency, a dangerous trend for economic recovery in the US.

Ties to Europe. The political and economic power of Europe is vital to global health. The US should assist this power structure by striking a "new grand bargain with

Germany" (rather than relying on NATO) and by aiding Russia in its quest for democratization. Americans should at least recognize that Russia still owns a vast arsenal of nuclear weapons but is a Third World country economically—creating frightening potential for a "Hitlerski" to emerge.

Potential Markets. Mead posed this question regarding US relations with China: "How can we say to one billion people that there is no room for them in a global economy?"

Mead ended with an analogy familiar to the participants at this heartland forum. He said the Cold War kept everything "on ice," gripped in the dead of winter. But now spring is coming, and the ice is melting. The challenges are new and the risks are new—even though some of the old problems remain, like the mud, the weeds, and the possibility of flooding. Yet who doesn't welcome spring?

-Kathy Christensen

The members of the IIC are: the International Division of the Iowa Department of Economic Development, Iowa International Development Foundation, Internet, the International Trade Bureau of the Iowa Department of Agriculture and Land Stewardship, Iowa Peace Institute, and Iowa Sister States. For more information, write to P.O. Box 93535, Des Moines, IA 50393.



Neil Harl

Despite All Odds. This Russian farmer and her family have built a successful farming and livestock operation from virtually nothing in spite of the tangled bureaucracy and lack of support systems such as financing and legal assistance. Her story was told to the IIC Agenda Forum by Neil Harl, director of the Center for International Agricultural Finance at Iowa State University, to illustrate the potential for and the problems facing a Russian market economy. The center conducts educational programs for individuals throughout Central and Eastern Europe, the Commonwealth of Independent States, and the Baltics, which have graduated about 700 people since 1990. Harl explained that despite prevailing attitudes such as a lack of confidence in the market, resentment of profitmakers, and a high level of risk aversion, many entrepreneurs show an incredible level of perseverance.



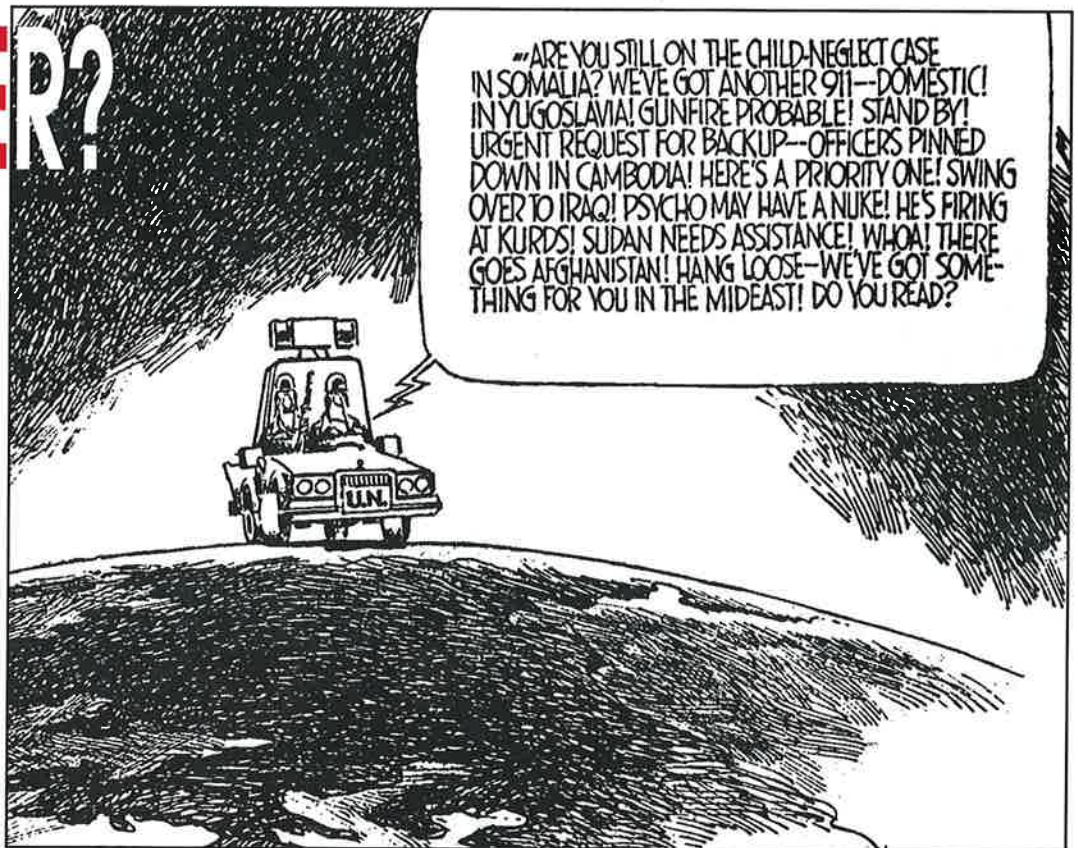
IOWA INTERNATIONAL COUNCIL

STRONGER?

In late January, the *Dimitrakis*, a Greek-owned ship sailing under the Maltese flag, steamed into the Adriatic Sea. There it encountered NATO ships patrolling the waters to enforce an embargo on Yugoslavia ordered by the UN Security Council. According to news accounts, the captain of the *Dimitrakis* said he was headed for Koper, Slovenia, but then signaled that the ship was in distress and needed to make an emergency stop in Bar, Montenegro, a part of Yugoslavia. The Clinton administration has charged that, once in port at Bar, the ship unloaded a supply of petroleum coke, which is used to refine oil, and took on a supply of lumber.

The incident was still another setback for Western nations who have been trying to increase pressure on Yugoslavia to end its support for the Serbian faction in Bosnia-Herzegovina. The ship's evasion also points to what many see as the weakness of economic sanctions—lax enforcement. Enforcement of sanctions imposed by the United Nations is left to individual countries, some of which may lack the incentive to pursue the job vigorously and all of which suffer from lack of a coordinated effort.

Most of the participants at a February Stanley Foundation conference on UN sanctions would remedy that problem by giving the United



Nations a stronger hand in coordinating enforcement. The conferees—drawn from national delegations to the United Nations, senior UN officials, and expert observers—urged smarter application of sanctions at earlier stages of a conflict. They supported the development of UN capability to produce “sanctions impact reports.” These would identify the vulnerabilities of target countries, cite ways to hurt the leadership most and innocent civilians least, and to anticipate economic damage to neighboring countries and major trading partners of the target nation. The idea would be to give the Security Council a range of

options short of war for enforcing its resolutions.

DON WRIGHT/
PALM BEACH POST

The conference on sanctions was the second within six months organized by the Stanley Foundation. An October 1992 conference looked at multilateral sanctions as an option for US policymakers (See “Stopping Short of War,” *Courier* No. 12). The February conference turned toward sanctions as a tool for the international community. The focus on sanctions reflects a growing desire for policy options that promote order without violence.

—Jeff Martin

BIGGER TOO?

The UN Security Council, nearly dormant for forty years of the Cold War, is now a beehive of activity. Meeting almost daily, the council has been at the center of world crises from Iraq's invasion of Kuwait to Somalia's disintegration to the multifront war in the Balkan Peninsula.

But is the council with its five permanent members—the World War II victors: Britain, France, China,

Russia, and the United States—a relevant forum in the late twentieth century? Can its fifteen members fairly represent the elusive but oft-cited “will of the international community”? Are there any rules to say when the council should or should not get involved in a conflict? Or does it do whatever the big powers want it to do?

These are among the questions being examined in a series of

meetings on the “Role and Composition of the Security Council” organized jointly by the International Peace Academy and the Stanley Foundation. The open-ended series of meetings involve UN ambassadors and experts on the United Nations. The organizing institutions plan to keep a dialogue going on what is a highly charged political issue.

—Jeff Martin

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, while a four-part series is \$23.90.

9317/18—Using Force (Two-Part Series). When, where, how, and why US military force can be used in the world. (April 1993)

9314—Love in War. Italian writer Oriana Fallaci discusses her views on history, war, and power. (April 1993)

9312—Moyers on Healing. What does the quality of healthcare say about a society? That's just one of many questions posed to *Healing and the Mind* author Bill Moyers. (March 1993)

9310—Hide-and-Seek With Iraq. The head of the UN special team inspecting Iraqi weapons programs discusses the search. (March 1993)

9309—Cuba: The Daily Struggle

9311—Cuba: Inviting the World

9313—Cuba: Democratic Reform?

9315—Cuba: Human Rights and the World

This four-part series examines the crucial issues facing Cuba in the 90s. (March/April 1993)

9302—Russia's Painful Rebirth

9304—Russia's Rebirth: Expression

9306—Russia's Rebirth: Foreign Relations

9307—Russia's Rebirth: Religion

This four-part series looks at the difficult transition going on in all aspects of Russian life. (January/February 1993)

9305—Improving Development. A journalist from Nepal discusses how better communication skills and more input from women could improve development worldwide. (February 1993)

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HEALING THE WORLD

Television journalist Bill Moyers recently launched a new PBS series called *Healing and the Mind* and has a best-selling book by the same title. Both probe how the mind and emotions affect our health. Moyers was recently featured on the Stanley Foundation's radio series *Common Ground*. Below are excerpts from that half-hour interview, which is available on audio cassette by calling 1-800-767-1929.

Q: Why do you think there's more willingness among people to explore other methods of healing?

Moyers: People are dissatisfied with what modern American medicine is doing for them. They're appreciative, on the one hand, for the broken bones that are repaired, for the drugs that are prescribed, for the cures that are given. But a lot of what's wrong with us can't be solved by drugs and surgery, and so people are turning to other alternatives. Not abandoning the best of Western medicine...but trying to incorporate into their healthcare other techniques that heretofore had been considered esoteric or marginal. ...People are discovering that things like acupuncture, meditation, massage, biofeedback, even herbs, can, in collaboration with good biomedicine that we get in this country, be useful to them.

...Second, people want to play a larger role in their own health. There are some things that a doctor can't do. A doctor can bring us a cure, and curing is what physicians do when they're at their best. Healing is what we bring to the process. Healing draws upon our inner resources to help us in the cure, to come to grips with the illness. We all know that we have to be more responsible for our own healthcare or we'll never bring the costs down.

Q: What does the quality of healthcare say about a society?

Moyers: It says what we care about. And I don't mean that as a

pun. Caring is to me the very reason for civilization. If you didn't need caring, you could live in isolation.... What we care about and how we serve those in need of care and whether it's available to people irrespective of income says a lot about the values of a society.

Q: Are there any societies you would give high marks to for their healthcare?

Moyers: I think on the whole, we Americans do have the best healthcare that money and modern medicine can make available. But healthcare is generally available in the Scandinavian countries to everyone irrespective of income. Europe has better healthcare on the whole, than we do, across the board. If you have a lot of money in [the US], you can get the best healthcare.

The Chinese have a fascinating healthcare system. They have two systems. Most of their best surgeons and physicians are trained in Western medicine. ...But they have also tapped into this ancient system of healthcare which has grown up over 3000 years that is called officially "Traditional Chinese Medicine." ...They have a different way of looking at the body.

To the West, the body is essentially a machine. If something's wrong with it, find the part that's broken and replace it. ...Call Dr. Ross Perot. He'll come in; he'll lift the engine of the car; he'll find the carburetor; he'll see that it's broken; he'll put in a new carburetor and send you on the way.

The Chinese don't see the body as a machine as such. To them, the body is a garden, and every part of the ecology is connected to the other part. And the physician is the gardener. In traditional Chinese medicine, the physician is only paid if the patient stays healthy, because a gardener is judged according to whether the garden is healthy. ...So,



Bill Moyers

when you change the metaphor, you actually change your attitude toward the human being.

Q: You once asked E.L. Doctorow what's the big story. After all the talking you've done with people worldwide, what do you think the big story is?

Moyers: I think the big story is the sum of a lot of small and terrifying stories: the reversion to tribalism, ethnic conflicts, religious quarrels in the old Communist empire, the inability of Americans in places like Crown Heights and the Bronx to see what their common interests are. I think the big story is whether or not we can create healthy political communities that can encourage tolerance of one another and find mechanisms to cope with the rapidly accelerating problems that we face, which will overwhelm us if we don't address them. ...To me the big story is whether we can find ways to replace competition with cooperation. Whether we can encourage in every community and in every individual the philosophy of "live and help live" not just the philosophy of "live and let live."

-Mary Gray Davidson

"How we serve those in need of care... says a lot about the values of a society."