



courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

inside



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Pacific Northwest



The Latino Role

For the first time, Latino leaders from a broad cross-section of the United States have opened a dialogue on their role in—and potential contribution to—US relations with the world. World changes are fundamentally altering the US foreign policy process. And presented with this opportunity, Latinos in the United States are looking to get more involved in international affairs. Doing so serves not only their interests but the national interests as well.

American foreign policy, no longer consumed with the threat of communism, is shifting to a focus on the global economy and other nonsecurity issues. Likewise, the process of forming foreign

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¿Hablan ustedes español?

The 1994 Summit of the Americas attracted the leaders of nearly every nation in this hemisphere. The US delegation, shown here, did not have the benefit of input from a wide spectrum of US Latinos.

LATINO

-continued from page 1

policy is being reshaped as new actors become involved, media coverage of international events increases, and communication technologies proliferate.

These conditions may allow wider participation in what had been a rather closed "club" of foreign policymakers. Blocs of citizens organized around particular issues or, perhaps, united by regional, religious, or ethnic background (such as Hispanics) may be more effective than ever in affecting US foreign policy. This concept, coupled with an awareness of changes in domestic interests, is behind the Stanley Foundation's New American Global Dialogue (NAGD) project. More specifically, it provided the context for a Dialogue conference titled, "Latinos, Global Change, and American Foreign Policy."

The meeting, a collaboration with the Tomás Rivera Center, was held last October. It featured a number of Latino leaders including elected officials, academia, private sector representatives, current and past US foreign service officers, media representatives, and members of a variety of civic associations and community-based organizations. For perspective, non-Hispanics experienced in both ethnic politics and foreign relations were also included.

Current Roles

Ethnic groups have played roles in US foreign policy—albeit limited and often only when their demands coincide with predetermined US interests. Examples include Polish-American groups working to liberate Poland and American Jewish groups promoting US support of Israel. The question now is whether the new shape of American foreign policymaking will allow more groups with a broader perspective to play a role.

"One of the most significant accomplishments of the meeting," according to the conference report, "was the explicit recognition on the part of participants that many Latinos are already substantially involved in the foreign relations process." There was, however, acknowledgment that the personal relationships, shared culture and language, and economic ties often extend only to Latinos' countries of origin or heritage. They do not necessarily imply strong ties to Latin America as a region. But participants agreed that such commonalities do exist and could be the foundation for a strong relationship.

Challenges

The report describes four challenges Latinos must meet if they hope to play a role in US relations with Latin America and the rest of the world:

Latinos must develop a consensus on their common interests, which in turn will allow them to define and implement a coherent and unified foreign policy agenda. Conference par-

ticipants noted that differences among Latino groups are often emphasized rather than similarities and that communication among the groups is poor. This in spite of the fact that "...issues confronting Mexican-Americans in California today, for example, may one day be relevant to... Cubans in Miami or Puerto Ricans in New York," according to the report. Furthermore, the daily challenge of survival for many Latinos leaves them with a low level of awareness of international events. Linking domestic concerns to global issues like immigration and economic growth is one way to both increase awareness and unify Latino interests. The report recommends focusing Latino interest on the "economic opportunities provided by the North American (NAFTA), Caribbean (CBI), Central American (Caricom), and South American (Mercosur) trade agreements."

Latinos must work to change the negative image of Latinos held in the United States and Latin America.

In the 103rd Congress there were only 17 members of the Hispanic Caucus—and only one on the House Committee on Foreign Affairs. One participant said that of the approximately 1,200 career foreign service officers only 13 are Latino. Only eight Hispanics have ever served as US ambassadors. "That Latinos are not better repre-

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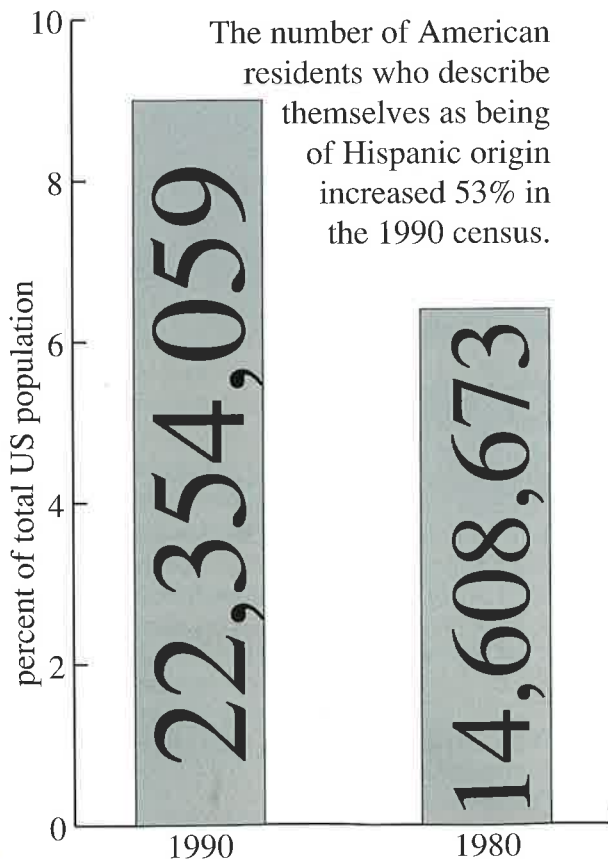
No. 18, Winter 1995 ISSN 1044-5900

The *Courier* is published three times a year by the Stanley Foundation and mailed without charge to interested readers. The views expressed here are not necessarily those of the foundation.

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sented in the ambassadorial or professional ranks and that their appointments are generally limited to what foreign service officers refer to as the “cucaracha circuit”; i.e., Latin America, indicates the low status Hispanics have within the foreign policy establishment,” said the report. In addition, US Latinos are often welcomed as ambassadors only grudgingly by Latin American government leaders based on their perception of the low status Latinos have in the United States. Participants hoped that increased visibility of US Latinos in international roles would raise the group’s importance both domestically and overseas.

Latinos should promote Latin America’s growing importance to US policy and prosperity.

Latin America has generally been given low priority in the East-West, Eurocentric world of US foreign policymaking. But NAFTA—and its potential for expansion—has raised the importance of the region, even if the change is not yet reflected at the State Department. “Latinos must situate themselves so they can influence this change and benefit from it. They are uniquely positioned to be the intermediaries between this nation and Latin America, and the opportunity now exists for them to play this role,” according to the report.

Latinos need to better anticipate the political implications of participating in the global arena.

The report said, “Although some participants thought it would be best to limit any future Latino foreign agenda to economic issues, others felt that silence on human rights abuses and other social justice issues would be tantamount to complicity.” While Latin American governments may court the support of US Latino political organizations, those governments will surely resent criticism of their internal affairs from those groups. Latino groups themselves will likely split on these issues. But, as the report said, “...while Latinos need not agree on all issues, there must be sufficient

leeway to allow distinct national-origin groups to express their particular concern without jeopardizing the cohesiveness of a newly forming, larger Latino consensus.”

Approaches

These challenges can be met, and Latino involvement in US foreign affairs improved, by both increasing Latino presence in the traditional foreign policy establishment and building on the relationships Latinos already have with Latin American governments and societies. Participants urged using both approaches to pursue these steps:

- Inform the nation of the economic benefits to the nation and to Latin America of US-Latin American tourism and trade.
- Examine the role of local and state governments in promoting US-Latin America trade.
- Determine the extent to which Latino businesses participate in these activities.
- Review and promote the role Hispanic chambers of commerce in major metropolitan areas are playing in promoting US-Latin America trade.

The group was well aware that “... increasing the role of Latinos in foreign relations and foreign policy will be a long and arduous process.” But participants ended the meeting with an optimistic outlook. The report concluded, “Many expressed that the meeting had empowered them by making explicit the recent changes in US foreign policy orientation and by allowing them to realize that the extent of their involvement is part of a larger process that will eventually affect US government and societal initiatives toward Latin America and the world.”





—Keith Porter



The President’s Nonproliferation Report Card

During the 1992 presidential campaign, candidate Bill Clinton declared that, if elected, he would make nonproliferation a top foreign policy priority. Under the auspices of the October 1994 Stanley Foundation Strategy for Peace Conference, a group with experience in the nonproliferation field...met to assess the extent to which the Clinton administration has made good its pledge.

The group reached several broad conclusions:

-  The Clinton administration has, indeed, elevated the importance of nonproliferation, and nuclear nonproliferation in particular, to a first-rank US foreign policy concern.
-  Although this is partly the result of the new international security environment, the intensified US commitment to the issue is in large measure the result of deliberate administration actions.
-  The clearest evidence of the administration’s commitment to nonproliferation is the increased resources and high-level attention it is devoting to the issue, as well as its launching of several major new initiatives—including the Comprehensive Test Ban (CTB), the Fissile Material Cut-Off, the Defense Counter-Proliferation Initiative, innovative country-specific diplomacy, and related improvements in the regimes to control the threats from missiles and biological and chemical weapons.
-  The group identified one important area of weakness in this generally favorable record: the administration’s failure to mount a high-level campaign, involving all relevant US departments and agencies, to ensure indefinite extension of the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) in 1995.

Excerpted from “Nuclear Nonproliferation: First-Tier Priority in US Foreign Policy?,” a report from the Stanley Foundation’s Strategy for Peace Conference, held at Airlie Center, October 27-29, 1994.

Doing Business in Russia

At a store in Moscow an interviewer for an American research firm, FYI Information Resources Inc., asked a clerk whether waffle irons were selling well.

“Nyet.”

The researcher wasn't surprised, because you would hardly expect waffle irons to be a big seller in a struggling economy. But that assumption was wrong. Further questioning revealed that in this rather upscale neighborhood the plain old waffle irons offered in the store were not selling because the customers wanted better models with more features and in different colors.

Russia is not a sophisticated consumer market by Western standards. But it is infinitely more refined than it was a few years ago, according to some Americans who are doing business there.

A group of 16 individuals from business, government, and the academic world met last October at a conference on “Shaping a New Relationship: Russia and the US Private Sector.” The session was chaired by Blair A. Ruble, director of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies. It was part of the Stanley Foundation's 35th Strategy for Peace Conference. The conference was convened to examine how the growing commercial ties between the United States and Russia affect the broader US-Russian relationship.

A Growing Relationship

Business relations with Russia are growing, but they are still small. The amount that US com-

panies have invested in Russia is far less than other large countries. Furthermore, the impact of American investment on the Russian economy is not large. However, in 1993, trade with Russia grew to \$1.5 billion; and most experts say a great deal of business with Russia does not show up in trade statistics. American investment in Russia is estimated at \$2 billion, according to the US Department of Commerce. Most investment has been aimed at the underdeveloped trade and services sectors in Russia. Not much has gone to the uncompetitive Russian manufacturing enterprises.

What are prospects for continuing growth? The conference participants had mixed views. On the one hand, Russia is a huge market and has abundant resources. On the other hand, the risks of doing business there are still considerably higher than the Pacific Rim or the southern tip of Latin America—two other regions that compete with Russia for investment capital.

The group highlighted several major challenges for businesses looking at the Russian market:

- The combination of poor physical infrastructure and the nearly complete lack of distribution systems seriously hampers manufacturing prospects.
- There are political and institutional constraints, including a poorly developed legal framework for resolving business issues, high tariffs and taxes, and the danger of entering into business relationships with partners connected to organized crime.

- State ownership of natural resources often becomes a barrier. Somewhat nationalistic forces within Russia are concerned about giving away their wealth to foreigners and can throw up barriers to manufacturing projects.
- Not many Russians have real business experience, and some observers question whether they have the necessary instincts to succeed. A noncompetitive attitude lingers from the Soviet era. Also, some conference participants noted that many new Russian entrepreneurs are looking for quick profits with little concern for building long-term business relationships. Others,

Business relations with Russia are growing.



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

however, said that as Russians become more accustomed to a market system the appropriate instincts will emerge.

US Policy Goals

The Russian relationship remains among the most important for the United States. The group cited several reasons. First, security is still a concern because Russia remains a nuclear power and because some forces within Russia harbor ambitions for expansion into the “near abroad.” Second, American access to this potentially significant market has long-term economic importance. Third, we share an interest in the outcome of significant environmental problems (e.g., Chernobyl and the

arctic oil spill). Finally and perhaps most importantly, the United States wants democracy to succeed in Russia.

The most effective way for the United States to be involved in Russia is through government assistance and private investment, according to the participants. A partnership of the US government and the private sector is needed to develop Russian infrastructure and institutions. Members of the group identified several recommendations for government policy toward Russia:

- The government should provide a coordinating function, marshaling the work of its various aid agencies in support of goals that mesh with business objectives.
- It should use its technical assistance programs to help provide infrastructure that can be used by American businesses. It should target aid to social services, currency stabilization, and budget deficit reduction in order to establish a more hospitable business environment.
- The government could provide information to US companies, helping them know where there are developments in Russia that might open up business opportunities.
- Russian businesses could be helped by targeting small, local projects. Development of small-scale entrepreneurs and non-governmental organizations is likely to make the Russian economy more dynamic.

- Tuning in to grassroots views, both in the United States and in Russia, is essential if the government is to avoid the skewed perspective that results from relying on information that comes exclusively from the top.

- US assistance could be directed to helping already successful Russian businesses grow.

- Budding Russian entrepreneurs need basic training on how to identify worthy investments and how to create business investment profiles.

- On the legal front, the US government can provide help to Russia in developing a legal system that fosters business. New US-Soviet bilateral treaties could improve opportunities for American businesses.

American policy toward Russia should be guided by a long-term view of things. Just as American businesses going into Russia are taking a long view and not looking for immediate returns so should the US government’s policy toward developing an economic relationship with Russia have a distant horizon. As the conference report concludes, “Because of its size, wealth of natural and human resources, military potential, and the historical legacy of our two countries, Russia is too important a country for us to ignore. The US government can, through partnership with private initiatives, coordination of agency efforts, and dissemination of information, promote both American business development and stability in Russia during this fascinating time of transition.”

—Jeffrey Martin

American policy toward Russia should be guided by a long-term view.



No fries today.

Russian citizens walk by one of three Moscow McDonalds. The Russian capital also has several Pizza Huts and Taco Bells.

In the Forefront of Global Education

Traditional images die slowly. The first two-year college in the United States was established in the early 1900s, while the widespread growth of public community colleges developed in the 1960s. Community colleges have changed dramatically over the past decade, but it is not clear that public perceptions of community colleges have kept pace with this evolution. They are still often perceived as providing limited lower level college and technical courses that have nothing to do with international education and the issues facing an increasingly interconnected world. However, today community colleges are in the vanguard of global education in America, a fact underappreciated by many political, educational, and business decision makers and policy shapers. But this is changing.

In November 1994, the Stanley Foundation and the American Council on International Educational Education convened a conference entitled *Building the Global Community: The Next Step*. It drew together key community college officials—including presidents, trustees, educators, federal government officials, and nongovernmental leaders. Held at the Airlie Center in Warrenton, Virginia, the purpose of the conference was to discuss the role of community colleges in international and intercultural education.

A Model That Works

As community-based institutions of higher learning, many community colleges have long been aware of global changes and their impact on American society. They have served as agents of local development working with local leaders and businesses to address the changing needs of their communities. Partnering with private industry, govern-

ment, and nonprofit and volunteer organizations, community colleges have created educational and training programs that respond to the demands and needs of a changing world. Their liberal arts curricula have taught traditional undergraduate courses with an international focus in such disciplines as history, literature, political science, economics, and foreign languages. But there is a much wider role the community colleges have played in global education.

For community colleges it is impossible to separate domestic and international issues. Their very nature has evolved with the influx of international students, the advancement of faculty expertise, and the development of new curricula. Community colleges have long been centers of English as a second language (ESL) training and are often the first contact new immigrants to the United States have with American education. When a community college in Tulsa, Oklahoma, has over 1,000 international students and permanently teaches at least 14 foreign languages in its curriculum, it is impossible to deny the changing dynamics of international and intercultural education in the United States. Since America is a mosaic of people from many lands, multicultural education beyond the curriculum has become necessary to transform the entire campus environment.

The community college model has also become attractive for many transitional nations throughout the world. A recent joint task force of US community colleges and the US Agency for International Development studied how they might extend their efforts in development strategies. From 1992-94 more than 1,000 federal awards were made to two-year colleges for exporting to

other nations expertise which resides in community colleges. The ideas of: 1) open admissions; 2) multiple entry and exit points or whole life learning for students; 3) partnering with government, industry, and the nonprofit sectors for training and economic and social development; and 4) being governed by local elected public boards to determine local educational and training needs—all these make US community colleges attractive models for nations as they evaluate their own educational and development needs. From Turkey and Guyana to India and Romania, US community college experts are involved in helping develop new models of national training and global education.

Unmet Needs

In 1993, 6.2 million students or 42 percent of all students in post-secondary education were enrolled for credit in community colleges and another 5 million students were enrolled in not-for-credit classes. There is at least one community college in every congressional district in the country. Thus, Airlie participants felt that community colleges and their governing boards must embrace the urgency of providing quality international and intercultural education for their constituencies.

One concern the leaders at the Airlie conference had is that some community colleges are not yet involved in global education efforts. They were challenged to develop strategies and actions that would increase the commitment of the wider community college community to educating and training a globally competent citizenry. These strategies and actions will be introduced in a report disseminated throughout the nation at different national and regional meetings to presidents, trustees, educators and the

...many community colleges have long been aware of global changes and their impact on American society.

national college community. A national teleconference is being planned for the fall of 1995 for further discussion of the Airlie report.

The Global Challenge

The need for American students to become globally literate and capable of competing internationally is imperative in this changing world. In his welcoming remarks Richard Stanley, president of the Stanley Foundation, stressed the globalization of information and local and national economies. He challenged community colleges to provide an educational experience which advances global knowledge and understanding in five areas that are:

- Global interdependence
- Both the diversity and unity of human resources, values, and culture
- Global environment and natural resources
- Global peace and conflict management
- Change and alternative futures

In his keynote address, Ernest Boyer, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching, categorized six target areas that Airlie participants adopted as critical if community colleges are to work toward developing a globally competent citizenry. The conference report focuses on these in its strategies and plans for action. The six areas are:

- Educational approaches
- Organizational partnerships
- The technological frontier
- Consultation with other nations
- The urgent need of coordination of community college efforts
- Global celebration of the potential of the human community

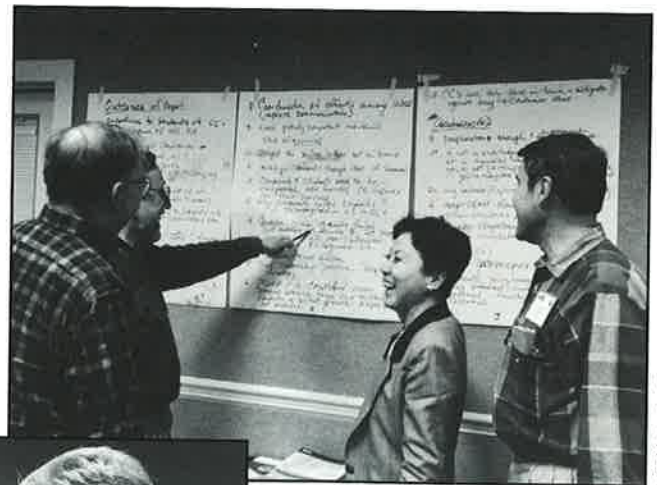
The mission and charge as adopted at the Airlie Center by these educational leaders are: *To ensure the survival and well-being of our communities, it is imperative that community colleges develop a globally and multiculturally competent citizenry.* Conference participants plan to take this challenge to their com-

munity college colleagues—helping them recognize what is already taking place in international education at some community colleges. They want to encourage and support those not now actively aware or involved to recognize the importance of international and intercultural education for their institutions and the communities they serve.

The influence of *Building the Global Community: The Next Step* is already being felt. Follow-up conferences by the Stanley Foundation, various national and regional community college organizations, the US Department of Education, and a national teleconference are already being planned for the coming year. There will be active discussion of the conference report throughout the United States in 1995.

—Joan Winship

The need for American students to become globally literate...is imperative.



PHOTOS by Ren Dargie



A first. The November conference was the first meeting of community college leaders from several organizations to focus on global activities.

Human Rights in Transition

The participants said that the natural foundation for a renewed movement lies in making the issues salient and accessible to people's daily lives.

Five years ago, the changing global environment seemed to present great opportunity for the advancement of human rights. Repressive states were unraveling in the face of a groundswell of popular movements demanding their rights. Many hoped that this optimism would be reflected in the foreign policy decisions of states no longer constrained by the Cold War. But seemingly intractable ethnic conflicts, large scale migration flows, and worsening conditions of poverty and violence have produced new challenges for protecting human rights. For their part, states have been unable and/or unwilling to develop effective or consistent policy responses.

Representatives of various human rights and humanitarian organizations, scholars, and government officials gathered at the Airlie Center in Virginia last October to analyze the relationship of human rights to US foreign policy in this post-Cold War environment. The meeting was part of the Stanley Foundation's Strategy for Peace Conference. They evaluated the

record of current US foreign policy on promoting human rights, examined the challenges facing the US-based human rights movement in responding to the dramatic changes occurring around the world, and offered some recommendations for both the human rights movement and for US policymakers.

Mixed Record

In 1992 candidate Bill Clinton campaigned on the premise that human rights would be a cornerstone of US foreign policy. His campaign took a strong stand on the failure of its predecessors to be resolute in the face of competing policy interests, particularly regarding economic interests with China and domestic lobbies fighting the influx of Haitian refugees. Human rights advocates generally believed that the Clinton administration would make human rights a high priority. But two years into the administration, the record is mixed. The administration has participated in several high-level humanitarian missions in Rwanda and Haiti, even without strong domestic support. And it has provided greater access to

policy framers in the State Department for human rights organizations. Yet, two policies—granting Most Favored Nation status to China and the continuation of arms sales to repressive regimes—were cited as examples of Clinton's failure to wholeheartedly endorse a human rights agenda.

When compatible with other foreign policy concerns, human rights remains a central concern of the Clinton administration. But those concerns were quickly placed on the back burner when conflicting with the interests of the business community or the bureaucratic and turf concerns of the foreign policy apparatus.

Participants correlated this inconsistency to the varying degrees of influence that rights organizations have wielded over policy. It is up to the human rights community to demand that any administration, be it Democratic or Republican, fully incorporate human rights into its foreign policy. The human rights community's leverage will vary by issue and how its degree of influence is

related to other competing forces. The power of the human rights organizations is the strength of the people for whom they speak.

Changed Environment

In light of dramatic world changes and the new challenges for human rights promotion, is there a solid human rights constituency that can strengthen the ability of human rights non-governmental organizations (NGOs) to shape US foreign policy? Or has the movement fragmented, leaving organizations that are increas-



Captured by the camera. A Chinese worker who told American TV audiences about the massacre of students in Tiananmen Square in 1989 is sentenced for his "misdeeds." Two women turned him in after seeing the footage on local TV.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Courier

ingly sophisticated, specialized, and more efficient but further separated from their human base? Furthermore, can devoted human rights advocates mobilize wider societal interest in an era where there is diminishing interest in foreign policy in general?

Many human rights organizations in the United States reportedly are witnessing serious shortfalls in contributions and membership. Several factors may have contributed to this. One is the changing nature of rights violations. The human rights movement has its roots in protecting individuals from abuse by their governments. But as state authority gradually erodes and as socioeconomic issues become more intertwined with new global forces, the state is no longer the only rights violator. Nowhere is this more obvious than in ethnic conflict.

Another factor eroding the potential support for human rights is a perception of success. In the wake of the Cold War and with a Democratic administration employing the language of human rights, many traditional supporters of human rights organizations believe that their attention can be diverted to other concerns. Many perceive that the global trend toward democratization is adequate to secure human rights.

New Strategy Needed

If its members are finding less of a reason to support human rights initiatives, it is up to human rights organizations to articulate a new imperative for action. A new strategy has to be advanced.

Historically in the United States, the human rights community has focused almost exclusively on civil and political rights. Much of the global movement for human rights emphasizes, as well, certain socioeconomic rights issues.

Cold War politics dictated that these sets of rights be viewed dichotomously. But now the movements in many countries are arguing that these rights cannot be separated. Just as the Universal Declaration of Human Rights defends civil, political, social, and economic rights as part of a larger package, increasingly around the world it is being argued that these rights are organic and not hierarchical. The proliferation and growing sophistication of human rights, development, labor, and women's movements throughout the Southern world are redefining the role of international and US-based human rights organizations.

How can US human rights organizations fit into the big picture? This might mean not being a leader but rather a facilitator, providing critical services, and amplifying the message from those on the ground to international organizations and foreign policy decision-making bodies in the United States.

In many ways the growing concern with globally addressing socioeconomic rights has created a paradox for the human rights community operating in the United States. How can those human rights organizations simultaneously fit into the global movement while maximizing their power and influence in the United States? And how can they do this in the face of declining interest for human rights in the United States?

The participants said that the natural foundation for a renewed movement lies in making the issues salient and accessible to people's daily lives and experiences. That means demonstrating commonalities in the social fabric of our society with others—problems of the inner city, violence against women, the decline in

education, the impact of racism, etc. In short, there is a need to build recognition of the link between socioeconomic rights and civil and political rights based on personal experiences.

Participants agreed that new strategies could aid in revitalizing public concern for global human rights issues. But to be successful there needs to be a clear message, an accessible strategy that individuals can relate to in their daily lives and the projection that their work will ultimately be successful. One participant suggested that simple messages like, "Did you know that when you can't get health care, it is a human rights violation?" might bridge the divide between domestic concerns and the issues important to human rights organizations abroad.

The changes occurring and the challenges presented are opportunities to revitalize commitments to human rights and to build new bridges between and among those struggling to strengthen the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

—Ellen Dorsey

"Did you know that when you can't get health care, it is a human rights violation?"

Getting Ready For Beijing

...recommendations for inclusion in the US plan for action for Beijing were submitted to the US State Department.

UN conferences have not solved the problems women face, but they have helped focus international attention on the situation and status of women worldwide. In advance of the UN-sponsored Fourth World Conference on Women to be held in Beijing, China, in September 1995, more than 200 Iowans, others from adjoining states, and 13 foreign countries gathered in Iowa City in October at a conference entitled "Priorities '95: Anticipating the UN World Conference in Beijing." Initiated by the US office of the UN International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW) and cosponsored by the Stanley Foundation, the

UNA-USA Iowa Chapter, and other Iowa-based organizations, the conference allowed participants to discuss the leading issues scheduled for Beijing and to explore common problems facing women in Iowa and throughout the world.

From the Priorities '95 conference, specific recommendations for inclusion in the US plan for action for Beijing were submitted to the US State Department. "Through Priorities '95 we hope to have at least some small part in shaping the world conference agenda," said Dorothy Paul, executive director of the Iowa UNA and conference coordinator.

—Joan Winship



Building Global Communities



One of the most dynamic social and political phenomena of the late twentieth century is the development of global connections between nongovernmental organizations. The women's movement has been especially energized by shared experiences and expressions of solidarity from women in all parts of the world.

Late last November, nine women leaders of US nongovernmental organizations, including Stanley Foundation program officer Ellen Dorsey (top row, second from left) traveled to Japan to meet with their counterparts. Traveling

throughout the country, they found that while the political, cultural, and social situations in Japan and the United States are very different, they still could share ideas, build a sense of efficacy, and learn a lot from each other. This April a delegation of Japanese women will make a return trip to the United States.

The trips were sponsored by the US-Japan Women Leaders Network, the Institute for International Education, and the Japan Center for International Education.

—Jeffrey Martin



Teacher's Helpers

Moines Register, Heartland Area Education Agency, and the Iowa Global Education Association.

Another new resource will provide secondary educators with lesson

plans for teaching about the United Nations. During this year of the UN's 50th anniversary, many teachers are looking for lessons that easily fit into existing curriculum. This resource will address that need by giving sug-

gested subject areas for each lesson, plus options for how to use the material according to the amount of instruction time available. The document, available this spring, is a collaboration of the United Nations Association of the United States of America (UNA-USA), the Association of Teacher Educators (ATE), and the Stanley Foundation. Members of ATE will lead a training-of-trainers session covering the material April 6-8 in New York City. A similar training is being planned in the fall for Iowa educators, again utilizing the ICN.

—Jill Goldesberry

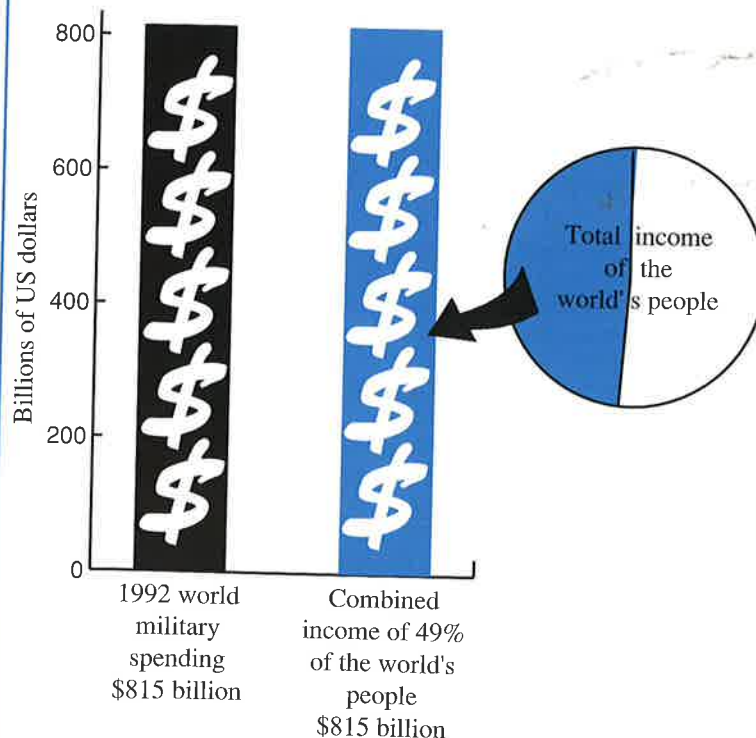
Two new resources from the Stanley Foundation, coupled with the use of new technology, will enhance possibilities for Iowa educators to teach about the world. The foundation has joined with the Newspaper in Education program of *The Des Moines Register* to produce a collection of lesson plans for teachers of grades 6-8. The lessons address the themes of global education using the newspaper as the primary resource. Connections are made whether teachers and students are reading about other nations, trade, sports, the environment—or even food and spices. The publication entitled *Making Global Connections: Learning About the World with The Des Moines Register* was written by Dr. Noa Zanolli Davenport. It is one of the resources to be featured in a telecommunications seminar being held for Iowa educators this spring over the Iowa Communications Network (ICN). The ICN is a fiber optics linkage which currently connects each of Iowa's 15 community colleges, as well as many school districts, county buildings, and area education agencies. The system has all visual and auditory capabilities for distance learning. The spring global education seminar is a collaboration between the Stanley Foundation, *The Des*

New Resources

- *Making Global Connections: Learning About the World with The Des Moines Register.*
- *UN at 50 lesson plans.*

Consider This...

World military spending equals the income of nearly half the world's people



New Players

"Two assumptions underpin conventional thinking about 'foreign policy.' First, that foreign policy is concerned with protecting and promoting the interests of the nation and, second, that it is made by national policymakers. More and more, both of these assumptions are being called into question."—from a conference report on "The Changing Face of American Foreign Policy: The New Role of State and Local Actors."

We live in an age characterized by seemingly unlimited potential in communications and information technology, an increasingly globalized economy, and accelerating opportunities for global involvement by new actors in world affairs. These trends are transforming American foreign relations.

Recognizing this, a diverse group of leaders from across the country was brought together to compare notes on regional involvement in world affairs and to analyze the implications for the future of American foreign policy. Chaired by Michael Clough, Senior Fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations, this meeting was part of the ongoing collaborative work of the Council on Foreign Relations and the Stanley Foundation's project, the New American Global Dialogue.

Two compelling factors help drive the new power of state and local governments and actors in foreign policy. One is the relative global economic power of states. As the report notes, "If American states are included in a ranking of nations by gross domestic product, 10 would be in the top 25 and all 50 would be within the top 75. Moreover, combined state spending to promote international trade and attract investment now surpasses federal spending...." The unprecedented involvement

of state and local governments regarding NAFTA and GATT further confirms their status as global economic players.

The second factor is the growing political activism of various regions based on ethnic and issue-oriented concerns. State and local actors have become players in American foreign relations. Witness the rapid rise in number and status of sister city relationships which now total more than 1,000 around the world and which are seen as key instruments in developing society-to-society relations. Witness also the more assertive political activities. They ranged from creating US sanctuaries for Central American war refugees to the antiapartheid efforts of African-Americans, as well as state and local authorities, which eventually forced a change in national policy. In the South Africa case, conference participants noted New York City, a leader in the antiapartheid movement, lifted "its sanctions against American companies doing business there only when Nelson Mandela—not the US government—gave the go ahead."

What are the implications for national policy of this proliferation and diffusion of foreign policies at the state and local level? Where is it all headed, and should there be concern? These questions are not easily answered.

The report documents three general conclusions. First, regional actors, especially cities and states, are now more engaged internationally; and this activity is likely to accelerate. For more than two days participants painted a rich and varied montage of regional, state, and local activities from each sector of the United States. Second, despite media reports about America turning inward, this expanded global involvement shows that the

American public is increasingly engaged with the rest of the world. Third, there is the threat of economic and political discord as the diffusion of foreign relations fragments national policy and creates regional competition and division between state and local actors.

The challenge is to find effective ways to cooperate and coordinate. This requires a more coherent vision of global interests at state and local levels, better regional interaction regarding interrelated global activities, and federal recognition of the importance of the growing role of state and local actors in foreign relations.

—David Doerge



NEW
AMERICAN
GLOBAL

State and local actors have become players in American foreign relations.

The Global Northwest

“Cascadia,” as some in the region have dubbed the Pacific Northwest, is unique among all the regions of the United States. Despite a certain parochialism on some regional matters, no other region understands and embraces its global connections more clearly than the Pacific Northwest. Even the term Cascadia is derived from a sense that the region is part of a larger transnational community.

That point was evident as a diverse mix of educators, business leaders, foreign policy specialists, community activists, state and local government representatives, and journalists (pri-

While trade is critical to understanding the perspectives and orientations of the Pacific Northwest, attempting to categorize the region only in terms of its trade interests would be inaccurate. Growing and increasingly influential ethnic populations—especially Asian, very active environmental and human rights groups, a profound understanding of the linkages between education and the region’s future, an abiding appreciation of the uniqueness and value of its extraordinary natural beauty, and a real commitment to an inclusive decision-making process are all parts of the mix that makes the Pacific Northwest a region on the cutting edge of global activity.

However, there are still differences and concerns. While trade is the primary determinant of regional prosperity, it has also pro-

duced some friction. Some believe that trade ambitions must be tempered by environmental, human rights, and ethnic concerns. Others feel that trade is so important to the region’s future that it should not be used as a

hammer for other areas of policy concern. Additionally, while some ethnic groups have successfully integrated into the leadership and society others feel left out or ignored in terms of economic well-being, educational opportunities, and a better future. Efforts are being made to address many of these problems. While far from perfect, these attempts do highlight the real commitment to reconciling economic growth with the environment, the needs of particular communities and citizens, and other issues.

The conference illustrated that the Pacific Northwest has achieved a level of integration among its businesses, nongovernmental organizations, and community leaders which is unique in the United States. How much activity and attitude of the Pacific Northwest translate into the formation of national policy is an open question and part of an ongoing dialogue. However, as the conference report concludes, “At a time when national priorities seem unclear, the Pacific Northwest seems to know where it wants to go and what it must do to stay on course.”

—David Doerge

...no other region understands and embraces its global connections more clearly than the Pacific Northwest.

DIALOGUE

marily from the Pacific Northwest) were brought together to discuss the region and its role within the context of America’s changing relationships with the world. The meeting was convened as part of the New American Global Dialogue, an ongoing project of the Stanley Foundation.

The public and private sector leaders convened for this meeting clearly understand that the region’s prosperity is tied to its global interests. And in the Pacific Northwest that means trade, trade, and more trade, especially with the Pacific Rim. For example, Washington, with \$80 billion in exports in 1993, is the nation’s most trade-dependent state.



PORT OF SEATTLE

Loading up and looking West.
The Port of Seattle is at the center of the region’s trade outlook. Eighty-five percent of its business is with Asia.

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A diverse group of leaders from across the country was brought together to compare notes on regional involvement in world affairs and to analyze the implications for the future of American foreign policy. October 1994, 21pp.

Shaping American Global Policy: The Growing Role of the Pacific Northwest.

More than any other region, the Pacific Northwest seems to realize that its interests are closely tied to international relations and expanding trade. What challenges do its leaders face? September 1994, 16pp.

Latinos, Global Change, and American Foreign Policy.

For the first time Latino leaders from around the country met to exchange ideas and address questions about the future role of Latinos in US foreign relations. October 1994, 20pp.

Shaping American Global Policy: The Growing Impact of Societal Relations.

New actors are emerging to shape America's global relations. This report examines how these society-to-society interactions have impacted the policymaking process. Specifically, four bilateral relationships were discussed:

- America and China
 - America and Mexico
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Global Changes and Domestic Transformations: The Midwest and the World.

An examination of the Midwest perspective on America's changing relations with the world. September 1993, 16pp.

Global Changes and Domestic Transformations: Southern California's Emerging Role.

A diverse group of the region's thinkers and doers examined possibilities and tensions created when developing global policies, especially economic policies, that are mainly local and regional rather than national. May 1993, 28pp.

United Nations

State of the United Nations: Decline or Regeneration in the Next Fifty Years.

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Nuclear Nonproliferation: First-Tier Priority in US Foreign Policy?

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The Formerly Poor

Muhammad Yunus is founder of the Grameen Bank in Bangladesh and winner of the 1994 World Food Prize. The bank has succeeded remarkably, its growth stemming from the unlikely practice of giving loans to the poorest of the poor. Rather than being a bank for the poor, Yunus hopes Grameen will one day be known as the bank of the formerly poor. Late last year, Yunus appeared on Common Ground, the Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program on international affairs. The following are excerpts from his conversation with Keith Porter. For a complete transcript or audio cassette of this program, see the ordering information on page 14.

Muhammad Yunus: Grameen Bank is owned by the poor people and lends money to the poor people. The need arose because banks don't lend money to the poor people throughout the world. Because banks are based on the principle that the more money you have the more money you can get. I saw the need that people who do not have the money should have the money to get started, so that they can generate income for themselves so they can take care of themselves. I saw how this can be resolved with some little amount of money. When I say little, it's really little, as small as a \$1 loan or a \$2 loan; and that banks will not touch. So, in 1983, we became a bank.

Today, in Bangladesh, we work in 34,000 villages and lend out to over 2 million borrowers right now. Ninety-four percent of our borrowers are women; and gradually, people set up their own businesses and start earning income. They build up their self-confidence. They ask for more money to expand their business. This year the total amount of money that the bank will lend out would be over a half a billion dollars worth of money.

Describe how the lending groups work, the groups of women that borrow money.

If you are a very poor person looking for a loan from Grameen Bank, we would encourage you to find four other friends of similar economic situations and form yourself into a group of five.

A group will be asked to select two persons within the group who will take the first two loans. The group will act as a loan committee, and they will decide who should get how much and what quantity of money and so on. So this gives them the responsibility.

Once you receive the loan you start paying back from the next week on it in tiny installments, in such a way that within one year you pay back the entire money. Once the first two persons have received the loan and started paying back for the first installment and second installment, then we will wait until the sixth installment, for example. If everything goes well, then we'll ask the group to select two more persons. The group will bring in two more persons and go through the same process. They will get the loans, and then we'll wait for another six weeks. And the last person will get the loan, and the cycle goes on. That way we see the people take their responsibility seriously.



Muhammad Yunus

WORLD FOOD PRIZE

And what percentage of people pay back?

It's over 98 percent recovery. But there are many branches where the repayment has remained 100 percent, no default at all.

Can you tell us with what success the model has been replicated around the world?

Yes. It's been replicated throughout the world in more than 40 different countries, both in the third world [and] industrialized countries. The idea is so powerful; it's not a question of the United States or Bangladesh or France or something, it's the poor people who are being rejected by financial institutions.

— excerpted by Keith Porter

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