

Courier



THE STANLEY
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contents

Persian Gulf Policy Review.....	4
Global Village.....	6
Balance in Global Education..	8
Resources.....	10-11
Eleanor Smeal and Pat Schroeder.....	12

Controversy Over Controversy

The political stance which teachers should assume when teaching controversial issues is currently one of the most hotly debated issues in global education. The shorthand term for this large and complex issue is "balance." Is it possible to give students an understanding of all sides and positions in a controversy in an equitable way? How can this be achieved? If it were accomplished, would balance have been achieved? Should teachers strive to achieve balance? Several global education organizations and resource centers have recently come under attack for not presenting "balanced" materials, making the questions quite timely. The questions are complex and highly charged.

This spring a conference entitled "Quality Global/International

(See BALANCE page 8)

Global Environment: Concerns Mount

"For the first time in the history of humanity a crisis of worldwide scope has come into existence ...concerning the relation of man to his environment. ...There is no doubt that if this process will continue, future life on earth, will be threatened."

- U Thant, Former UN Secretary-General, May 1969

U Thant's words of twenty years ago inspired the UN General Assembly to convene the World Conference on the Protection of Man's Environment held at Stockholm in 1972. Subsequently, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) was created and nations around the world stepped up efforts to deal with pollution.

That flurry of activity produced some laudable results, but the participants at a Stanley Foundation conference this June agreed that the efforts to date have been far short of what is needed. The threat to the planet from environmental degradation and natural resource depletion is worsening.

(See ENVIRONMENT page 2)

The environmental group, Greenpeace, tests the discharge from a chemical plant on the Mississippi River at Camanche, Iowa.





Symbol of the United Nations Environment Programme. Established in 1972, UNEP has been the principal organization responsible for international environmental cooperation.

ENVIRONMENT

In the past twenty years, new threats to the environment have been identified. Depletion of the ozone layer and global warming are among them. These problems are genuinely global in character because they can disrupt life all over the planet.

Also in the past two decades, the world economy has experienced turbulence. Oil price shocks in the 1970s helped set up a global recession early in this decade from which many developing countries have not yet recovered. Continuing research has also helped solidify the link between economic development activity and environmental degradation. Too much development activity relies on a use-and-dispose ethic.

On the political front in recent years, the tensions between East and West have lessened. Mikhail Gorbachev has introduced perestroika to the Soviet economy. Accompanying it is a rethinking by Soviet leaders of the concept of comprehensive security with more emphasis placed on economic and environmental threats and a relative de-emphasis on military dangers.

A New Critical Mass

These environmental, economic, and political factors have come together in the past several years and have been embellished by catastrophes such as Chernobyl, Bhopal, and the Alaska oil spill. Together they have created a new

impetus among political leaders to take action on the environment.

In 1987 the World Commission on Environment and Development, chaired by Gro Harlem Brundtland, now the Prime Minister of Norway, published a report from its three-year study of the linkage between unsound economic activity and environmental degradation. The report called for policies directed toward "sustainable development," which it characterized as a "process of change in which exploitation of resources, the direction of investments, the orientation of technological development, and institutional change are made consistent with future as well as present needs."

A key element of the report identified poverty as one of the leading factors contributing to environmentally unsound practices. With that in mind, the Brundtland Commission called for a major new commitment to Third World development, using economic practices attuned to environmental needs.

The concept of sustainable development, articulated by the commission and embraced and expanded upon at UNEP and in other international bodies, has provided focus for response to the environmental threat. Also, a notion has arisen to expand the concept of security to include facing economic and environmental threats rather than limiting security needs to resisting military threats.

Testing Political Resolve

Against that backdrop, the Stanley Foundation's 24th Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade took up "Environmental Problems: A Global Security Threat." Twenty-three experts from governments, international organizations, academic institutions, and activist organizations met for five days to talk about the concepts of sustainable development and environmental security. The goals were to (1) assess the degree of political commitment to a renewed international effort on the environment and, (2) working from that assess-

ment, determine what steps could reasonably be taken to strengthen institutions which relate to environmental issues.

The participants agreed that the environment is rising on the agendas of political leaders worldwide. This is especially true in Western Europe, where the "Greens" parties have become more potent political forces, and in the United States, where environmental issues have seized public attention. But it is also true in the Soviet Union which is beset by massive pollution problems even as it needs to accelerate economic activity.

Many Third World leaders have acknowledged the importance of environmental problems also, but for most of them concerns about the environment rank behind the need to alleviate debt problems, increase foreign exchange earnings, and deal with hunger, illiteracy, and disease. This is especially true in Africa and Latin America.

As several participants noted, many Third World leaders are wary of the

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rich countries' rise in environmental consciousness. They fear that this new concern will place more restrictions on deliverance of much-needed economic assistance to them. While most national leaders embrace the concept of sustainable development, many in the developing world fear that the world's wealthy countries will use the concept to only generate new efforts at cleaning up their own pollution problems and will not extend it to creating and financing new, environmentally sustainable economic programs in the Third World.

The concept of environmental security—or as some would put it, an expanded concept of security to include environmental concerns—also drew mixed reviews. There was agreement that environmental problems pose a great threat to the well-being of humankind. Some believed this demands a redefining of security. But others argued that trying to press this forward as a security issue may be a mistake.

Critics suggested that while the security characterization gets the attention of national leaders, it does not suggest what course of action they can take to respond to the threat. Or if it does suggest action, as one participant put it, the suggested remedy will be that governments can attack the problem with "bureaucratic solutions that spend money and create new behavior imperatives." It also requires that an enemy be identified. Furthermore, since many of the effects of environmental degradation will not be felt for years rather than months, weeks, or days, sustaining the sense of immediacy implied in a security threat is questionable.

Opportunities for Cooperation

In spite of some differences among participants on the degree to which political leaders are willing to tackle environmental problems, they all acknowledged that clear opportunities exist for improvement in international cooperation. Bolstering UNEP would be a place to start. The program was criticized for succumbing to bureaucratic tendencies,

but most agreed that it is still useful in its primary tasks of gathering environmental data, assessing it, sharing information, raising public consciousness, and managing negotiations. Some additional resources are needed.

Ad hoc forums, such as the one which negotiated the Montreal Protocol on protecting the ozone layer from chloroflourocarbons, need to be used more frequently. A similar but more complex effort directed at global warming is underway.

Some participants argued for a new or reformed UN organ vested with responsibility for policy coordination among governments and international agencies. The body should have high-level representation so that political muscle can be used to cut through bureaucratic infighting.

Measures need to be taken to correct market distortions which often create incentives to carry out environmentally destructive economic activities. (See adjacent story)

In 1992, twenty years after the Stockholm conference on the environment, another world conference on this subject will be convened. Participants identified many steps which can be taken to increase the prospects that this meeting will generate greatly enhanced efforts to respond to the threats which have continued to mount in spite of U Thant's warning.

—Jeff Martin

(See the resource list on page 10 for a copy of the complete report from the Stanley Foundation conference.)

Calculating Real Costs

One of the major factors contributing toward environmentally unsound economic practices, according to participants at a Stanley Foundation conference on the international environment, is the failure of the marketplace to put a price on losses caused by pollution and natural resource depletion. This creates distortions in the planning of businesses and governments and needs to be remedied if real progress is to be made on the environment.

At the national level, Gross National Product (GNP), the standard tool for reporting the level of economic activity, does not account for resource loss or pollution. Consequently, a nation in the Amazon basin could be chopping down its forests and selling timber, thereby showing a healthy level of economic activity. But it is also selling off its wealth, a factor not reflected in the GNP.

To remedy this, governments need to remove perverse incentive structures. Again, using the example of tropical rainforests, governments need pricing mechanisms to understand the long-term economic value of the forest. Lacking that, they see more potential for short-term gain in cutting the forests and planting crops. As a result they grant ten-year franchises to logging entrepreneurs and pay for each tree that is cut no matter how small. Frequently the land is planted in crops which it cannot sustain over the long term. The loss of trees also contributes to global warming.

However, if calculations were made to show the sustainable yield of the forests, governments would have a better chance to understand their value. They would see that there is more long-term value in switching from "mining" the forests to an agricultural development of them. Then they could alter incentive structures by granting franchises which pay for cutting only mature trees and which last for 30-40 years, long enough for loggers to reap the benefits of replanting.

—Jeff Martin

COMING SOON — Due Out in November

Max: A Biography of C. Maxwell Stanley — Engineer, Businessman, World Citizen

The life and legacy of Max Stanley (1904-1984) — cofounder of the Stanley Foundation and one of the world's great humanitarians — constitutes this inspiring biography. His legacy lives on in lessons of determination, dedication, and humanitarian concern that undergird this well-told story of a most exceptional man.

Written by Ros Jensen; foreword by Iowa Congressman Jim Leach. 224 pp., \$19.95 (Pre-publication price; good until January 1, 1990). Clip this ad and mail to: Iowa State University Press, Department Max9, 2121 S. State Avenue, Ames, Iowa 50010

Events Foster Persian Gulf Policy Review

For over forty years, US policy in the Persian Gulf has remained basically the same: insure access to the oil resources and prevent those resources from falling under the control of hostile forces. Recent dramatic changes in the region have called many US policy assumptions into question. The succession question in Iran is now all the more urgent. The cease-fire between Iran and Iraq has left an unresolved situation. Other changes include the rise in Iraqi power, the introduction of new and more deadly weapons into the region, and a new diplomatic activism by the Soviets.

These conditions have led many foreign policy experts to conclude that US policy in the gulf needs reassessment. Several of these experts gathered in Queenstown, Maryland, this spring to take part in the second of a Stanley Foundation conference series on US policy in

the region. Foundation Vice-President David Doerge said, "Our primary objectives for this series were two-fold. First, to provide policy-makers the rare opportunity to reflect on recent events in this turbulent region with specific attention to US interests. Second, we wanted to extend the horizons of those who influence US policy to allow their thinking to get out in front of these issues."

The first meeting in this series was held in the spring of 1988, and a third is planned for 1990. The series continuation is intended to cover a wider range of issues in more depth and perhaps include a Soviet perspective on the evolving superpower relationship in the region.

An important topic for participants in this year's conference was the changes taking place in Iran. Although the meeting was held prior to the death of Ayatollah Khomeini, participants were concerned that his death would yield a protracted succession struggle. They also spoke of division among Iran's religious leaders and growing questions about whether the theocracy set up by Khomeini could long survive without him. Participants

said this uncertainty about internal Iranian events makes it unwise to base US policy on speculation about the outcome.

Certainly, the 1988 Iran-Iraq cease-fire ranks as an extremely important development in the Persian Gulf. Unfortunately, the situation has degenerated in to what is described as "no war, no peace." Major disagreements persist in negotiations most notably over occupied territories and the Shatt al-Arab River (see adjacent story). Most participants agreed that the UN resolution that called for the war's end is the best starting place for an eventual settlement, and that since the major powers have little they can do to promote that settlement, they prefer having the United Nations out front on these negotiations.

Iraqi Power

Despite the lack of a settlement, Iraq seems to have emerged as a preeminent power in the region. Ironically, despite its new power, Iraq still feels its limited access to the gulf is a strategic vulnerability. Regardless, Iraq has moved to a prominent role in diplomacy and has stepped up its demands to meet some of its security problems. First, it has joined with Egypt, Jordan, and North Yemen to form the Arab Cooperation Council as a counterpart to the Saudi-dominated Gulf Cooperation Council. Second, Iraq is said to be demanding a long-term lease on Kuwait's Bubiyan Island to protect the entrance to Iraq's only operable port. Participants agreed that limited knowledge of Iraq and its unpredictability makes basing US policy on future Iraqi behavior risky.

Soviet diplomatic activity in the gulf region has stirred some concern and much interest in the United States. However, several experts expressed the view that the Soviets recognize how involvement in regional conflicts could undermine stable superpower relations. The Soviets also seem to understand that Third World development depends upon social and economic factors they cannot provide. Most partici-

Iraq is acknowledged as a preeminent regional power in the Persian Gulf. However, many of its citizens, such as this man sitting in the rubble of his former home in Basra, live with the legacy of the nine-year war with Iran.



AP/WIDEWORLD PHOTOS, Inc.

pants believed there is little threat of Soviet intervention in the Middle East. With this in mind, most participants recommended that US policy not be based on traditional East-West competition. They did not agree there was a basis for US-Soviet cooperation in the area but did feel that discussing regional issues was of value, if only to avoid misunderstanding.

Expanding Arsenals

The region's preoccupation with military hardware greatly concerned participants who viewed Iran and Iraq's growing chemical weapons arsenals and the spread of ballistic missiles throughout the region as an ominous development. Participants saw few opportunities to curb the production or use of chemical weapons. They were equally pessimistic about stopping conventional weapons. The US share of that market, and therefore US influence over their placement and use, has diminished. The Soviet share has remained constant, but Britain and

France have increased their sales, as have new suppliers like Brazil and China.

Participants agreed that a fundamental reassessment of US policy is called for to respond to recent changes in the region. They agreed on the following items that need to be reviewed but not on what the outcome of such a review would be:

- The US and the UN should find a way to diffuse the Shatt al-Arab as a trigger for conflict.
- The US should reevaluate its military presence in the region. This may involve removing the carrier group from the Gulf of Oman and returning to a regular pattern of naval visits.
- If there is little call for active US diplomacy in the gulf, perhaps the US should turn its efforts to more pressing concerns in South Asia or the Arab-Israeli conflict.

● The US should work with the UN toward a rapprochement among gulf states.

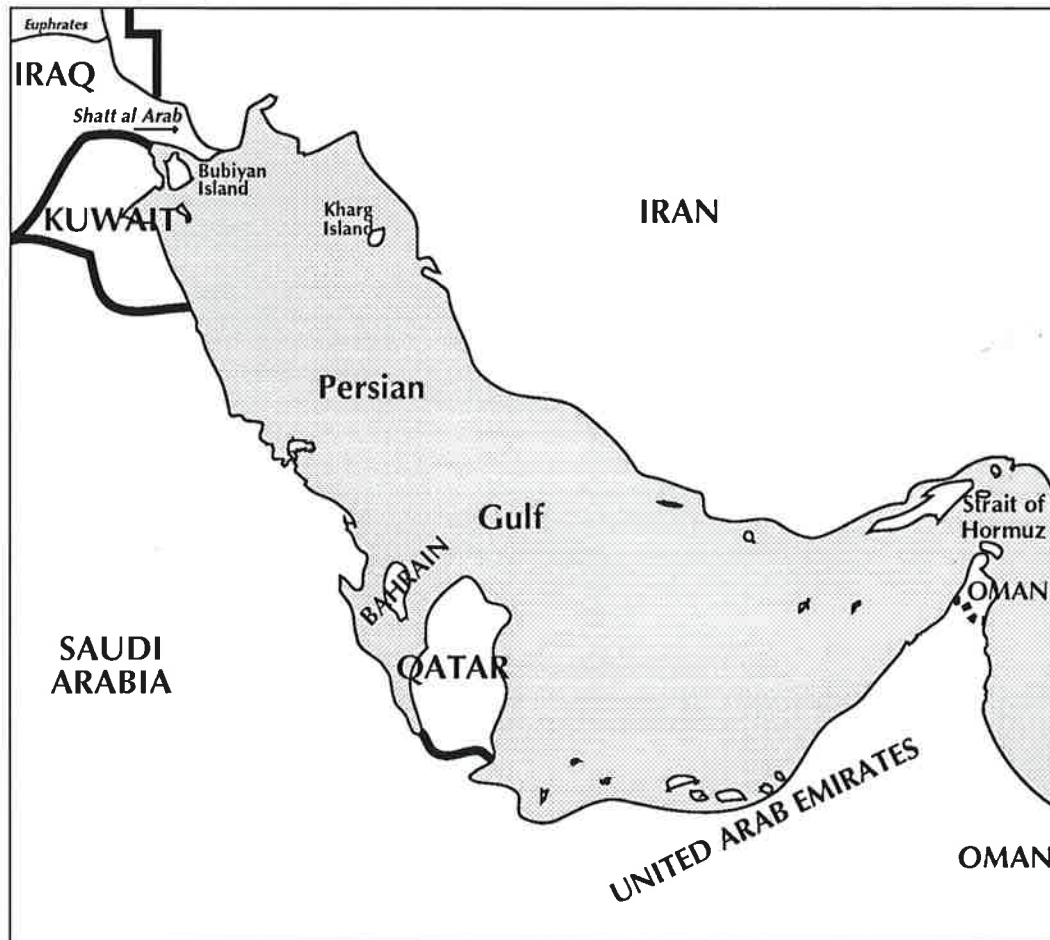
● Although there seems to be little chance for success, participants agreed that we must at least try to find ways to limit both chemical and conventional weapons.

In the end, the United States must be prepared to live with a degree of uncertainty over outcomes in the Persian Gulf region. It must also recognize that the US has little control over many of the events that threaten political stability. Nevertheless, important changes in the world, especially in the Soviet Union, call for this reassessment of basic assumptions that have guided US policy for many years.

-Keith Porter

(See the resource list on page 10 for free copies of the conference reports mentioned here.)

...the United States must be prepared to live with a degree of uncertainty...



The Shore of the Arabs

The Shatt al-Arab river divides Iran and Iraq physically and symbolically. The name means "Shore (or River) of the Arabs" and signifies the end of the Arab world and the start of the Persian world. Following the Iran-Iraq war, peace talks have stalled with both nations claiming sovereignty over the waterway. Several conference participants said Iraq was so obsessed with access to the Persian Gulf that it may be willing to see the Shatt closed rather than see the Shatt fall into Iranian hands. A 1975 agreement in Algiers divides the river on the basis of the thalweg principle, meaning the centerline of the navigable channel. But Iraq has formally rejected that accord and left the Shatt al-Arab as an enduring controversy in the uneasy Iran-Iraq cease-fire.

-Keith Porter



Allowing international students to experience a bit of Native American culture, the Mesquakies hosted the group's day-long field trip. Joni Brown, the settlement's public relations director, gave a brief history of her people.

The sign at the entrance of the Mesquakie Indian Settlement claims "Where East Meets West." On this particular day in Tama, Iowa, North and South joined East and West to become

Neighbors in a Global Village

Mesquakie children scrutinized the visitors maybe more so than the other way around.



Meals featured foods from around the world and lively discussion. One participant recorded that his most valuable learning experiences came during one-on-one discussions where he had learned more than from any book.



"It was a week that lasted two months, along the way a time of love, friendship, learning, understanding, and peace."

-unidentified participant

An annual May event, the fourth Iowa Global Village gathered fifty international and US college-age students at the Iowa 4-H Center near Luther, Iowa. The Stanley Foundation was one of several sponsors, including international-student and campus-ministry organizations. Participants slept in cabins and took part in presentations on land use, human rights, ethics and political systems, changing roles of men and women, and peacemaking. A day-long trip to the Mesquakie Indian Settlement in Tama, Iowa, is highlighted here.

Germana Nijim, one of the planners, summarized the event: "By the end of the week we had crossed barriers of language, culture, age, and social status, and we had formed a community of caring, fun-loving, globally aware individuals. We were ready to spread the news that peace is possible, that peacemaking skills can be taught and learned, that 'foreign' is a relative term depending upon where... one happens to be born or to live." -Photos and text by Kathy Christensen

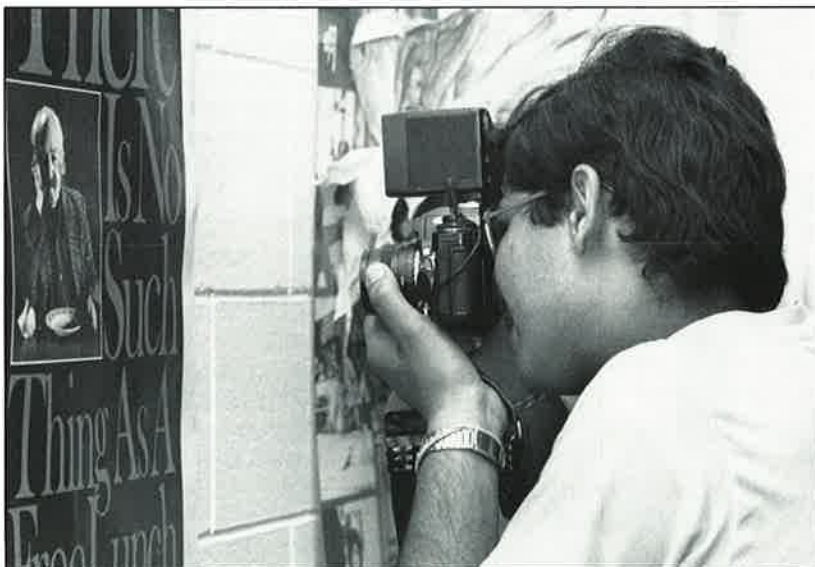


When asked to summarize the week in one sentence, a participant recorded that the experience "humanized the world's problems." Here a young man from Nigeria talks with a Mesquakie elder.



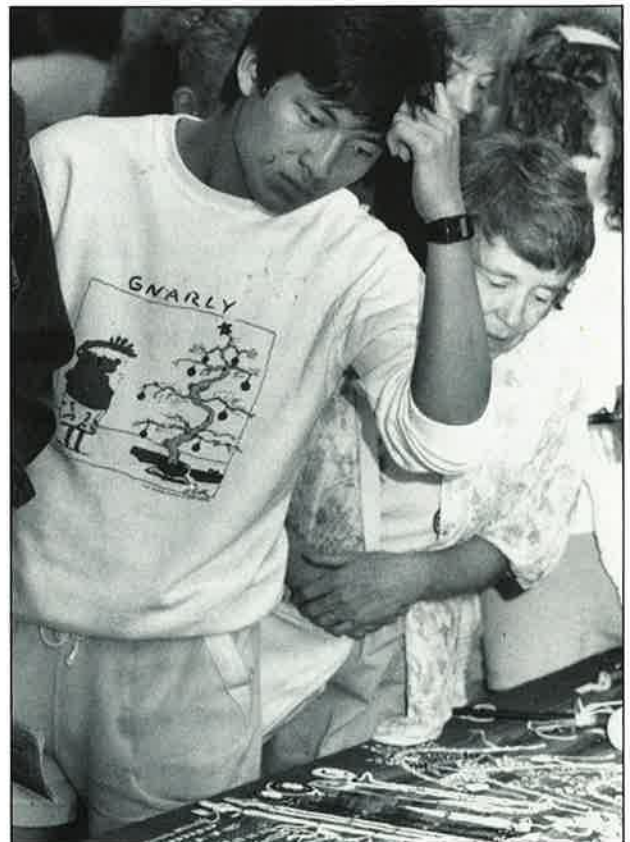
"Now I know that when I need a hand to continue living in this world, I can find it everywhere."

- unidentified participant



One of the goals for the week was to have fun. Participants reported that among valuable things learned were canoeing, dances, songs, and a variety of crafts and games.

The array of Indian jewelry available for purchase was mind-boggling, and the quantity purchased possibly led to this conclusion about the week, "there really wasn't a lot of differences between American youth and those of other countries."



"I'm not sure what political balance is, but I'm almost sure it doesn't exist."

BALANCE (From page 1) Education: What Political Stance" was held to examine the state of the global education movement. The conference organizers—Global Educators Inc., Alliance for Education in Global and International Studies (AEGIS), The Stanley Foundation, and Las Palomas de Taos—assembled global educators representing a wide spectrum of positions for a weekend discussion. The challenge was twofold: (1) to shed light on a topic of great interest to educators and (2) to allow some meeting of the minds or barring that, to identify disagreements ripe for future discussion. A variety of issues ranging from the assumptions underlying public education to classroom teaching strategies were covered in the course of the weekend. The balance issue received prominent play.

Difficulty in Achieving Balance

The teaching of controversial issues is itself a controversial issue. This provided conference planners with a case study. Could they model a process or teaching strategy for dealing with a controversial issue? The discussion shed new light on the subject and allowed people to hear each other in new ways.

One school of thought holds that balance does not exist; each teacher will define a balanced presentation differently depending on his or her own perspective. What appears balanced to one will appear biased to another. A specific example helps illustrate the difficulty in trying to achieve balance. What positions should a teacher present when teaching about US policy in Central America? It would be virtually impossible for all perspectives and positions to be presented because among other things (1) the teacher may not be able to identify all positions and then locate information about them and (2) even those groups favoring the same action or outcome, aid to the contras, for example, may arrive at those conclusions for very different reasons—and those very different reasons make it impossible to lump the groups together. Participants noted that on this or on any issue

the range of positions should not be viewed as a continuum where each point of view is only a slightly more or less extreme version of the position next to it. Each position is discrete. Points of view and positions do not slide together; the number of positions on any issue is equal to the number of people involved. Therefore, students need to understand not only what groups want or support but also why they have chosen those goals.

If a teacher decided that one way to achieve a balanced approach would be to bring in speakers or materials representing two or three positions, even then it would be difficult to insure that those three positions were presented equitably. There could be great variance in the quality of speakers or the materials. In summary one participant noted, "I'm not sure what political balance is, but I'm almost sure it doesn't exist."



Others, however, took a different view. Since schools belong to all, teachers must always make a good faith effort to balance the polarities in discussion of any controversial issue. Most often two or three positions are most apparent, and these should be the ones presented. One way to do this would be to present the two major political parties' positions and also the extreme Right

and Left positions. Again noting the personal nature of the question of balance, one participant said, "I'm not sure how to define balance, but I know it when I see it."

Process to Address Controversial Issues

Much remains unresolved about teaching controversial issues. Perhaps most instructive for classroom instructors would be the process that this conference used to address this controversial issue. Many elements practiced at the conference have direct classroom application. First and foremost, the conference atmosphere was one of openness and trust. Individual and group thinking was pushed, and participants engaged in new learning.

The second critical element was adherence to the conference norm of respect—not only for individuals but also for their ideas. As in the best classrooms, time was provided for each to present his or her perspectives and opinions as well as time to learn new information.

A third element concerned the purpose of discussing this controversial issue: to understand and appreciate the complexity of the issue, not to choose a specific position to defend. All agreed that openness and openness were crucial. Answers and positions were not judged to be right or wrong.

In many ways participants thought that these elements of process were as, or perhaps even more, significant than the content of the discussion. They wanted this point shared with other educators because the conference process illustrated their belief that global education is as much a way of teaching as content for teaching.

This conference could not address all the issues raised by moving global education more fully into the mainstream of education, but it did model a process for dealing with controversy in a way that advances thought.

In many ways this conference mir-

rored the best in education. An issue of real concern to the learners was explored in an atmosphere of openness and trust. Individuals were treated respectfully and differences of perspective and point of view were honored. It was both frustrating and exhilarating. New information was conveyed; old information was examined in new ways; some questions were answered; but many new questions were raised and left unanswered. The learners were left wanting to know more and wishing that the class wasn't over. Perhaps more importantly, they left empowered to continue the pursuit of understanding these issues on their own.

(A full report of the conference proceedings is available from the foundation. See the resource list for more information.)

-Anita DeKock



Bill Witt/UNI

A 25-Year Tradition

Iowa High School Model United Nations is exactly what the name says—a model of the real thing. Just as ambassadors come from all parts of the globe to New York City, some 900 Iowa students come to the University of Northern Iowa campus to represent “their” countries during the annual three-day meeting.

Long before the April meeting date, participants spend time trying to adopt the citizen’s perspective of their designated countries. The hours of research and study are most evident when discussion subsides and the nitty-gritty negotiations ensue.

The Stanley Foundation sponsors a keynote speaker for the event.

-Jill Goldesberry

From the Fringe to the Mainstream: Global Education in Transition

Moving ideas from revolutionary thought to the mainstream, whatever the field or discipline, is hard work. Global education is no exception. It is difficult to pinpoint a beginning for the educational approach known as global education. At least since the early 1960s there have been educators calling for teaching approaches and materials that recognize the world’s interdependence and each individual’s responsibility to care for our fragile “blue marble.”

Global educators want students to understand and appreciate the world’s diversity, to be able to handle change positively, to be aware of and to struggle with the tension between national interest and global interest, and to learn to act as responsible citizens of the globe. These goals require more than basic understanding of geography and history; they require a change in world-view and in many cases a change in future-view. Students need to learn how to interact with people whose perspectives and cultures are differ-

ent in ways that allow for peaceful resolution of the inevitable conflicts in human relations.

Many people call themselves “global educators.” To each the term may mean something different. The field is far from monolithic; global educators hold many different points of view and speak with many—sometimes contradictory or at least conflicting—voices. In the early days that was not a problem. Few people took global education or global educators seriously. If there was divergence within the field, the umbrella of global education was big enough to cover all.

Times, however, have changed. Global education is moving from the fringe of education into the mainstream. States are adopting global education standards, boards of education are implementing those mandates, and school districts are incorporating global concepts into their curricula. There is a price for this growing exposure. The resulting public scrutiny has magnified the very real differences within

global education. Global educators now find themselves having to deal with the difficult and divisive problems of institutionalizing their twenty-year-old revolution.

Reactions among global educators to the move from relative obscurity toward center stage have been many and varied. Some desire structure and increased organization. These global educators feel the need to find one voice for global education—positions, concepts, statements of agreement—that can be used when speaking to state boards of education, school boards, curriculum directors, or even colleagues in the field. Others, however, feel no need to reach or force consensus on statements of purpose or position. They are comfortable with the vast diversity within the ranks and feel that attempts at consensus deny the reality of the situation and run counter to a basic tenet of global education, appreciating diversity. Many global educators fall somewhere between these two positions.

-Anita DeKock

...public scrutiny has magnified the very real differences within global education.

KEY

☆ Audio cassettes from "Common Ground," the foundation's half-hour, weekly radio program. \$6.00 each.

◆ Soft-cover reports of policy conferences, also policy papers and addresses. Individual copies free; see order form for multiple-copy charge.

Green entries indicate new resources.

Regional Issues

◆ **US Policy in the Persian Gulf: New Beginnings.** Top policymakers and regional experts focus on new developments in the region in an effort to formulate goals and strategies for US policy. April 1989, 16pp.

◆ **US Policy in the Persian Gulf: The Next Four Years.** Ten policymakers and experts discuss implications of recent gulf events and offer policy options for the new US administration's consideration. September 1988, 16pp.

◆ **Khomeini, the Future, and US Options** by Richard W. Cottam. Professor Cottam analyzes events in the early days of Iran's revolution, proposes various scenarios about succession after Khomeini's passing, and considers US policy options. December 1987, 44pp.

◆ **Indochina Policy Recommendations for the Next Administration.** The product of a year of discussion and debate by the Indochina Policy Forum, a bipartisan group of experts on Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. October 1988, 20pp.

☆8907—**An Indochina Policy for the New Administration** (February 1989). Key participants in the Washington-based Indochina Policy Forum present their recommendations for a bipartisan policy toward Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos. (\$6)

◆ **Central America: Where Do We Go From Here?** While acknowledging major disagreements, fifteen US foreign policy experts focus on broad areas of consensus to fashion a more realistic and pragmatic approach to this region. October 1988, 16pp.

☆8901—**A Central American Policy Debate** (January 1989). A former ambassador to El Salvador and an advisor to President Bush square off on the future US role in Central America. (\$6)

☆8933—**The Cold War With Cuba** (August 1989). This radio program focusses on the relationship between the United States and Cuba thirty years after Cuba's revolution. (\$6)

☆8923—**US Policy Looking South** (June 1989). Former Arizona Governor Bruce Babbitt on opportunities for a positive US role in the region. (\$6)

☆8910/8918—**Two Views of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict** (March and May 1989). A two-part series with Israel's ambassador to the United States and the PLO's observer to the United Nations. (\$6)

☆8841—**A United States of Europe?** (October 1988). A discussion on the European Community's plans to become one economic superpower by 1992. (\$6)

US-Soviet Relations

◆ **Soviet Integration Into the World Economy.** A uniquely diverse group considers obstacles and opportunities associated with Gorbachev's internal and international economic reforms. October 1988, 16pp.

☆8936—**The Soviets in the Gulf** (September 1989). The death of the Ayatollah Khomeini and the Iran-Iraq cease-fire have analysts wondering how the superpower relationship in the region will evolve. (\$6)

☆8818—**A New Détente?** (May 1988). Sovietologist Stephen Cohen argues that US-Soviet relations are at a historic moment and the US must decide the kind of relationship it wants with the USSR. (\$6)

United Nations

◆ **Environmental Problems: A Global Security Threat.** Conference participants analyzed possible

international responses to environmental degradation and natural resource depletion in light of political will. June, 1989, 36pp.

◆ **UN Peacekeeping and Peacemaking.** Conference participants consider what is behind the new interest in using UN peacekeeping and peacemaking expertise and how the UN can capitalize on this. February 1989, 24pp.

☆8931/32—**Peacemaking at the UN** (August 1989). This two-part series examines the United Nations' recent peacemaking successes and the work of the peacekeeping forces. (\$6)

◆ **International Agenda for the 1990s** summarizes conference deliberations regarding global trends and recommends how the UN must evolve to meet the new challenges. July 1988, 36pp.

◆ **Science and Technology for Development** reports how conference participants were challenged to determine the role of science and technology for development and those areas where UN involvement has a comparative advantage. February 1988, 32pp.

◆ **The United Nations and the Future of Internationalism.** Conference participants pose three inter-related, yet unique responses to this question: How will the UN face a growing list of world problems in light of existing political differences? June 1987, 32pp.

Security and Disarmament

☆8844/45—**The Nature of Power** (November 1988). A two-part series on the evolution of the postwar power structure and the significance of economic strength over simple military might. (\$6)

☆8911—**Tough Choices at the Pentagon** (March 1989). With federal belt-tightening, defense budget analyst Gordon Adams looks at how we can buy the same amount of security with less money. (\$6)

☆8812/8717—**Alternative Diplomacy and International Conflict Resolution** (March 1987 and April 1988). A two-part series with Roger

Fisher (*Getting To Yes*) and Jeffrey Ruben of the Harvard Negotiation Project. (\$6)

☆8917—**An Ounce of Prevention** (April 1989). A look at the work of the Nobel Prize-winning Physicians for Social Responsibility and their recent warnings about the condition of US nuclear plants. (\$6)

◆ **Addiction to Arms** is a 16-page address by Jack M. Smith, vice president of the Stanley Foundation. It records Smith's view that definite similarities exist between an addiction to alcohol or drugs and a nation's addiction to nuclear weapons.

Other Topics of Interest

☆8919—**Global Feminism** (May 1989). A discussion with Charlotte Bunch on the impact of a feminist approach to development issues. (\$6)

☆8914—**To Bear Witness** (April 1989). A wide-ranging interview with Nobel Peace Prize-winner Elie Wiesel including his views on events in Israel today. (\$6)

☆8916—**Five Percent** (April 1989). Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder and former NOW President Eleanor Smeal on the poor representation of women in Congress and in other positions of power. (\$6)

☆8913—**A Conversation With Ariel Dorfman** (March 1989). Chilean exile Ariel Dorfman discusses the art of political writing and Chile's future. (\$6)

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◆ **Issues in Education: Quality Global/International Education: What Political Stance?** Conference participants discussed the differences among global educators concerning how and when controversial issues should be explored in schools. April 1989, 24pp.

World Military and Social Expenditures 1989 by Ruth Leger Sivard. A 56-page explanation of comparative statistics on worldwide expenditures for military and social purposes. Published by World Priorities, \$6.50 each or \$4.50 each for orders of 25 or more.

◆ **From Mustard Seed to Harvest: Social Studies Education and Teaching About Women in the Global Community.** Reports on a Wingspread Conference convened as a first step to assist educators in developing gender-balanced K-12 curricula and training programs. January 1989, 28pp. \$1.00 each or 10 for \$5.00.

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The foundation's monthly magazine features excerpts from the press outside the United States and interviews with prominent international specialists on a wide range of issues. Subscriptions are placed through a New York City office, but you may order a sample copy from the foundation, using the order form to the right.

"Five Percent Is Not Enough"

"The entire society really loses when you cut off the viewpoints and life experiences of half the population, and that's what we're doing by having so few women in foreign relations, so few women in diplomatic positions, and so few women in governmental decision-making positions of all kinds."

Eleanor Smeal, President of The Fund for the Feminist Majority

"We don't have any more women [in the US Congress] than we had in 1964. So to think that 24 years after supposedly this great women's revolution you have exactly the same number, that isn't even evolutionary, much less revolutionary. ...Every other country seems to be making faster strides than we do of late."

Congresswoman Patricia Schroeder (D-CO)

Representative Patricia Schroeder and Eleanor Smeal, former president of the National Organization for Women, participated in the foundation's weekly radio series, "Common Ground," earlier this spring. The following are selected comments from that program entitled "Five Percent," which focussed on the impact of women in power and strategies to increase the number of women in decision-making positions. A cassette of this program, number 8916, is available from the foundation for \$6.00. Use the order form on page 11.

Eleanor Smeal:

"Frequently we're not at the table when key decisions are being made.

...For example, women are 1.6% of the executive corporate officers of the major corporations of our country. ...We're only 5% of the United States Congress, 2% of the Senate. So we're looking at encouraging more women to go into fields that will lead to decision making. ...and to changing the rules of the game so that more women can get in the door. ...It's crucial because with us not at the table, frequently our concerns are neglected."

"In the national parliaments of Europe, their average percentage of women is 15%. ...and Norway has 34% women in their parliament. Sweden has 38%. ...The remarkable thing is that all of them now have a higher percentage of women in their parliaments than the United States except for Greece.

"It's even more critical today with our society so changed that we don't lock in an old-fashioned crowd. ...and I think we have to be mindful that the 'rules' we have now have a quota system in them, and that quota system is 95% white male. ...If we're going to have programs that reflect the needs of all the people, then those who make the decisions should be more representative of all the people."

Patricia Schroeder:

"I got into politics mainly because I was so frustrated with the way I saw things going. ...I think Americans

are realists and they're perfectly willing to rendezvous with reality. They don't need this junk they've been sold about how you increase defense and lower taxes and balance the budget. I mean, that's all baloney.

"I hate to stereotype...but I do think that women tend to have a little more balanced view [toward foreign policy issues] than we've had in the eighties. ...And I wouldn't want to say that our view of late has been only a male view, but it's been that Rambo type of view where the only thing people understand is pounding. It's fascinating because in the eighties as we've been saying that, Japan has moved into becoming a major power all over the world, and they have not done it with the military or with the navy or with an air force. They have done it with economic power. And I think women have that more balanced view: that yes, of course, there is a military aspect, but that isn't the entire thing. There's a thing called economic development."

"[In the Congressional Caucus for Women's Issues] our whole focus is the economic status of women. ...And equality is really an economic issue, not a lifestyle issue. ...And the fastest growing poverty class in America is women. ...It's positively amazing how many women don't really listen to what equality means until they suddenly become a widow or they suddenly become a divorcee or something happens in their life and they suddenly realize they're in deep trouble."

-From interviews with Mary Gray



Smeal



Schroeder

We've Moved!



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