



courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

Globalization in the American South

South Carolina has the highest per capita foreign investment rate in the US. Atlanta, with the Centennial Olympic Games, is now in a new orbit of international cities. Florida is on the front line of a frustrating US foreign policy problem. For these reasons and many others, a new globalization is emerging in the American South which may mean a new direction for the region and new leverage in US foreign policy.

In April the New American Global Dialogue (NAGD), a project of the Stanley Foundation, in association with the Domestic Politics and Foreign Policy project of the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR), brought together leaders from across the Southeast to discuss these trends. "The NAGD is an attempt to create a new network of people involved in foreign policy," said NAGD codirector Michael Clough of the CFR. "We have a traditional foreign policymaking community, and what we are trying to do is bring together people who in the past didn't think of themselves as foreign policymakers. This includes state and local officials, as well as community activists, who we want to bring into the discussion of foreign policy," said Clough. "We also made a real effort to include business, banking, and community economic development leaders who are all feeling the pressures brought on by a



inside



UNIVERSAL PRESS SYNDICATE

Cutting the deadliest weapons, page 6.

Also:
Smaller Weapons

Countering Xenophobia

Gloria Steinem



Let the games begin. Atlanta's hosting of the 1996 Summer Olympics is emblematic of the South's global stature. This photo shows the Olympic Stadium under construction.

“We are able to ...think about... how we can get things done, and shape foreign policy in the Southeast.”

South -continued from page 1

globalized economy,” added David Doerge, Stanley Foundation vice president and NAGD codirector. Clough and Doerge cochaired the discussion in the Southeast along with Michael Lomax, president of the National Faculty of Atlanta and a member of the NAGD advisory committee.

“What the Stanley Foundation and the Council on Foreign Relations have done is a wonderful thing,” said former Atlanta mayor Maynard Jackson. “We are able to learn more by sharing with each other. We are able to target and focus our own thinking on these issues, think about strategy and how we can get things done, and shape foreign policy in the Southeast. This is a step in the right direction,” said Jackson, a conference participant (see adjoining story).

The Southern Difference

If there is a unique Southern perspective on US foreign policy, how does it differ from that of other regions? Carol Conway, program director at the North Carolina office of the Corporation for Enterprise Development, says the South is set apart by these characteristics:

- Identifiable regional consciousness
- Rural, but concentrated population
- Lack of capital
- Large African-American population
- Heavy manufacturing concentration
- Rapid growth
- Underinvestment in K-12 education
- Heavy investment in higher education
- Relatively few international connections

Conway, also a participant in the NAGD conference, goes on to say that these characteristics influence

the South’s impact on US foreign policy in three ways. “First, the lack of capital has led to recruitment of foreign investment and an unhealthy competition among states for that investment. Second, the isolation of the region has produced leaders who are inwardly focused. And third, global connections to the South, such as those of African Americans to the situations in South Africa and Haiti, have been limited to social issues,” Conway said.

To overcome these difficulties, Jackson said, “We were not inter-

the Greenville-Spartanburg area of South Carolina. It is now the American home of German automobile manufacturer BMW. BMW employs 1500 people in the region and may expand that number greatly as they export more of the South Carolina-made cars back to Europe.

“BMW is the one investment we get all the press for, and it is very exciting,” said Spartanburg city council member Lib Fleming. “But BMW located here because of our previous international development. We have many Ger-



Made here, sold there. Workers at the German-owned BMW plant in Greenville-Spartanburg, South Carolina, work on cars meant for sale in Europe. The American South is deeply involved in the global economy.

nationally inclined in the Southeast 25 years ago, and we are now. We must develop, share, and pursue a common vision.”

“The internationalization in Florida came about without a plan,” said Charles Ranson, conference participant and vice chairman of the Florida International Affairs Commission. “It started in the ’60s with Fidel Castro’s rise in Cuba, and it has now grown into big business. Even village-sized communities in Florida are beginning to participate internationally,” Ranson said.

Bavaria Comes to Dixie

One part of the South deeply connected to the rest of the world is

courier

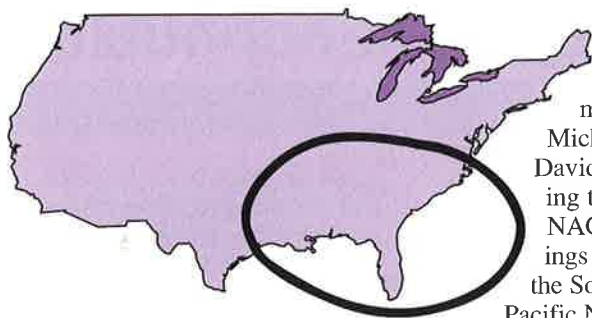
No. 22, Summer 1996 ISSN 1044-5900

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.

President Richard Stanley
Editor Jeffrey Martin
Managing Editor Amy Bakke
Correspondent Mary Gray Davidson
Correspondent Keith Porter
Editorial Assistant Bonnie Tharp

©1996 by The Stanley Foundation. Reprints of certain articles may be obtained upon permission from the foundation. To receive future issues, contact:

The Stanley Foundation
 216 Sycamore Street, Suite 500
 Muscatine, Iowa 52761-3831 USA
 (319) 264-1500, Fax: (319) 264-0864
 Internet: stanfound-sf@mcimail.com



mans in our community, and they have worked as ambassadors to German companies.”

Some people worry, with good cause, that states give away too much (especially in the form of tax breaks), to lure foreign investment. Conference participant Fleming said, “South Carolina does not feel like it is selling its soul. BMW will have to invest in the community before getting their tax incentives. And some of our county’s gain from this investment will be reinvested in South Carolina communities less fortunate than ours. We see it as a win-win-win situation.”

The Future

Globalization in the American South raises new challenges. In the face of rapid change, Fleming said, “The important thing is maintaining the quality of life we have become accustomed to and maintaining that liveable community. The Europeans have high standards, and they like our quality of life in South Carolina. We have to work hard to maintain that.”

In Florida, where US statements on Haiti and Cuba have immediate ramifications for the people, as well as the state and local governments, globalization brings a different challenge. “A number of us in Florida have said that if we had a foreign policy for the state of Florida our number one test would be, how do we deal with the central government in Washington, DC, to get them to understand the impact of their actions on Florida?” said Ranson.

Achieving that kind of understanding is a major part of what Michael Clough and David Doerge are trying to do with the NAGD. Similar meetings have been held in the Southwest, the Pacific Northwest, and other major US regions. “We are planning meetings in Minneapolis and Northern California,” said Clough. “And we may move into

new areas like sports globalization. Professional sports illustrate many of the tensions that evolve between global commerce, global marketing, and local community interests. What happens when a team becomes more dependent on its ability to market abroad than on its ability to market at home?” As always, Clough said the dialogue would continue to pursue the “on-the-ground, roll-up-your-shirt-sleeves perspective rather than academic analysis.”

—Keith Porter

(See page 11 to order the report entitled *Shaping American Foreign Relations: The Critical Role of the Southeast.*)

Maynard Jackson’s Foreign Policy

Maynard Jackson, former mayor of Atlanta, did much to connect Atlanta and the rest of the Southeast to the world. In an interview for *Common Ground*, the Stanley Foundation’s weekly radio series on world affairs, Jackson had this to say about those connections:

“In the early ’70s we pursued international air routes and got them. It is a truism that where you have international flights coming in you will have international investment. That is true anywhere in America. We pursued consulates and international banks and got more and more of those. Without question, this enhanced our ability to understand the world and develop a world view.

“We won the Olympics, and that has dramatically increased our visibility around the world. We will have a brand new benchmark for Atlanta which will be much higher than before. We have been the third busiest convention city in America. After the Olympics we will have improved facilities and greater capacity to accommodate and entertain, which will increase our convention business—especially international convention activity.

“We are now internationally inclined in the Southeast, and we were not 25 years ago. We still have a kind of “good old boyism” afflicting us in many places, but the people who have the vision and understand how the world economy operates are the ones who are leading the way to the future.

“We must develop, share, and pursue a common vision in the Southeast. How you do that in this competitive, state-versus-state, city-versus-city, county-versus-county atmosphere is something we are grappling with. I don’t know the answers, but I am curious and eager to pursue them.

“Where you find the rest of America not pursuing a continent [Africa] which may be the richest in the world—that is an opening we should pursue,” said Jackson. “It makes good business sense. The African-descended people of America are found in the heaviest concentration in the South. That is a connection that should be exploited by white, brown, and black to bring in the jobs, bring in the money, and share in a humanitarian effort which will build bridges.”

—Keith Porter

High School Students Global Priorities

You are a high school student who has come halfway around the world to attend a year of school with your peers in Iowa. You find yourself in a small, rural community; and now winter has set in. It is frigid; and, nice as the people may be, things are pretty boring. Then an invitation arrives in the mail. It is from your sponsoring organization bidding you to attend a conference with many exchange students like yourself. You are asked to bring along a friend from your school. Hey, this might be fun! And it's in the big city of Des Moines—definitely better than Dullsville USA. So you send in your reply card.

This is how some 160 young people came to participate in a first-of-its-kind conference on global issues held this January. Teenagers from 33 countries worked on developing action plans on nine different global issues. The students met in small groups to prioritize and present issues to the larger group. Peace, the environment, and human rights were the top three global concerns for these students.

A vivid memory from one of the small groups is of two girls who argued for peace as the top priority issue, while the other group members settled on environment as their first choice. The two young women from Bosnia and Russia silenced the room with their truthful, simple, passionate statement, "People are dying right now."

The conference also included an address from Loretta Ross, director, Center for Human Rights Education, on "Developing a Human Rights Culture Wherever You Are." "It's the best speech from an adult that I've ever heard," one participant commented.

The young people who attend Iowa high schools as exchange students are a rich resource. The planners of the January conference provided an opportunity for them to meet more Iowans and to meet each other. The education that occurs during informal conversations at such an event is as important as the content of the formal sessions.

The first Iowa Student Global Leadership Conference was sponsored by the Iowa Council for International Understanding and the Stanley Foundation, with support from the Iowa Department of Education and The Gannett Foundation.

—Jill Goldesberry

Countering Xenophobia

When settlers from Europe arrived in America in the seventeenth century, most were fleeing religious persecution. Many saw themselves as God's chosen people arriving in a new promised land and using their favored status as rationale for displacing indigenous peoples.

That piece of history provides the underpinning for a longstanding, complex relationship between churches and immigration in the US. Throughout American history some church leaders have been among the most vociferous opponents of immigration, particularly active in vilifying immigrants from non-European countries—those who were not among the "chosen." But churches have also been leaders in welcoming immigrants from all lands, helping to ease their transition into American life. In fact, the numerous denominations in the US reflect the many faith traditions brought to the country by different groups over the years.

Today, with foreigners arriving in the US at near historically high rates, the dual response to immigration persists. Some on the religious right lead the calls for restricting legal immigration and tightening enforcement against illegal immigrants. At the same time, mainline Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish church organizations provide most of the leadership in bringing refugees to the US, in

sponsoring immigrant families, and in arguing for appreciating the positive influences that immigrants have on American life.

A current program organized by the National Council of Churches of Christ in the USA (NCC) fits within the latter tradition. The program, for which the Stanley Foundation is one of several cosponsors and facilitators, is called "Building Hospitable Community: Confronting Bias, Countering Xenophobia." Its focus is



They were strangers once too. When these two Dutch children arrived at Ellis Island in 1906 they probably faced the same ambivalence toward immigrants that Americans have always held.

not limited to anti-immigration bias but rather to the tension that arises in communities from fear of strangers—whether they are of different racial, ethnic, or religious background. The program also responds to bias in an extreme form—the rise of white supremacy groups in parts of the country.

As the first part of the program this spring, three regional consultations were held in California, Illinois, and Georgia. Church leaders, members of the immigrant community, and direct service providers discussed strategies for easing the tensions that have arisen in recent years over immigration. This September 24 a national teleconference will be held at which some conclusions reached at the regional meetings will be presented and suggestions for local initiatives will be made. Many church organizations will build this teleconference into wider study circles on the issues of hospitality and community tension.

According to Kathleen S. Hurty, director of Ecumenical Networks for the NCC and the principal organizer, the workshops give participants the chance to:

- share stories about what is and is not working in their communities;
- explore the theological underpinning of hospitable communities; and
- practice models of civic dialogue involving congregations and the wider community.

Congressional Action

The program is timely, because Congress this year is considering action to address both legal and illegal immigration. The legislation would tighten border patrols and crack down on the hiring of illegals. But its provisions to reduce the number of legal immigrants (who are the majority by far) are very contentious. One million people have legally entered the country in each of the last ten years. Some are skilled workers hired by businesses, but many more are relatives of prior legal immigrants. Current legislation would cut back both. Supporters argue that immigrants take jobs from American citizens and create a disproportionate drain on the welfare system. But opponents of cutbacks cite economic analyses

that show a positive influence from immigration. Immigrants start businesses, create jobs, and pay taxes. Beyond pure economics, they bring cultural diversity which enriches the society.

Congress is undoubtedly responding to the anti-immigration sentiment mounting in the country. California passed Proposition 187 in 1994. And conservative commentator Pat Buchanan made opposition to immigration a central tenet of his bid for the Republican presidential nomination. Buchanan called for walling off the border with Mexico and freezing legal immigration.

A Christian Response

Addressing the Illinois meeting, theologian Rosemary Radford Ruether of Garret Evangelical Theological Seminary noted the duality of religious response to immigration. She said the essentially racist position that God gave this country to white people of European descent must give way to a view of immigration inspired by the Gospel. Ruether said Jesus Christ preached a vision of universal community that suggests several things about the rights of immigrants:

- Immigration is a human right.
- There should be no racial, religious, or gender-based discrimination in assessing a person's right to immigrate.
- Special consideration should be given to immigrants from countries where US economic or political policies have made life in their home countries unbearable.
- There is no theological basis for saying God prefers and grants special privileges to one group of people over another.

The regional meetings of "Building Hospitable Communities" drew enthusiastic response from participants. As Collin Tong, past president of the Washington Refugee Resettlement, put it,

"The most enduring impression I have is: (a) knowing that many others care about the disturbing mood of our time, and (b) some creative solutions are being implemented." Organizers now are lining up sites for viewing and participating in the national teleconference.

—Jeffrey G. Martin

College Students Global Relationships

"Learning Together in a Global World" is the theme of a unique program for a mix of international and American college students. The Iowa International Fellows Program draws students from foreign countries who are studying in Iowa. It mixes them with some of their American colleagues for four weekends of learning about the state of Iowa and its connections to the world. This past fall and spring the program drew 46 students from 30 countries who were studying on 15 Iowa college campuses.

Among the goals of the program are providing occasions for participants to meet with Iowa government, education, business, and political leaders; recognizing the importance of international student leaders in Iowa; and promoting long-term interaction between Iowa students and their counterparts from around the world. At this year's programs the students met with David Lyons, head of the Iowa Department of Economic Development; Jan Jobe, president of Principal International (part of the Principal Financial Group); state legislative leaders; and leaders of Iowa's unique Amana Colonies settlement, among others.

Certainly as important as the presentations, however, are the relationships developed between the students. As one of them wrote in evaluating the program, "The heart and soul of the program consists of the participants." The Iowa International Fellows Program is cosponsored by the Iowa Council for International Understanding and the Stanley Foundation.

—Jeffrey G. Martin

Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction

Is it possible that the world is heading toward the elimination of the most deadly weapons ever created? While it seems wildly optimistic to envision a world free of nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons—the so-called “weapons of mass destruction”—the first steps toward that goal may now be visible.

Among the recent successes, the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), which aims to keep new nations from gaining access to nuclear weapons and requires nuclear nations to reduce their stockpiles, has been indefinitely extended. A Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty on nuclear weapons is taking shape. Global conventions on chemical and biological weapons have been written. And on a more specific level, the UN has nearly completed its job of identifying, monitoring, and verifying the destruction of the nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons capability in Iraq (see adjoining story).

Earlier this year the Stanley Foundation focused its 27th annual UN Issues conference on determining how best to expand on these disarmament gains. Conference participants looked at the feasibility of eliminating weapons of mass destruction, the strengths and weaknesses of the UN in pursuing that goal, and the best way to improve the UN work in this area.

Feasibility

Most participants in the conference saw an open window of opportunity in today's global environment for serious movement on arms control. But there was even greater agreement that step-by-step progress toward complete disarmament would have to be accompanied by new security assurances and deep restrictions in conventional weapons.

While the lack of security may cause nations to arm themselves,

weapons of mass destruction also add to insecurity and thus are part of a vicious cycle. “It is important, therefore, to first gain general acceptance of the idea that security is enhanced by disarmament, then take steps to disarm,” according to the report from the UN Issues conference.

More concretely, the feasibility of eliminating these weapons faces specific obstacles. First some technology, especially those materials and processes called “dual-use,” can be used for both legitimate economic development and weapons production. Second, the increase in smuggling of nuclear material threatens all attempts to control weapons. Third, regional tensions like those troubling India and Pakistan hinder attempts to build security and may precipitate nuclear, chemical, or biological confrontations.

The UNs Effectiveness

Regardless of these obstacles, conference participants still saw hope in efforts to eliminate weapons of mass destruction and discussed the relative strengths and weaknesses of the UN in pursuing that goal. “Most participants agreed that the UN has had a distinct comparative advantage in establishing international norms of behavior and in negotiating international agreements to control the spread of weapons of mass destruction,” according to the report. However, “The UN and its subsidiary organs have not had similar success in confidence-building measures, verification, monitoring of compliance, or enforcement.”

Should the UN be more involved in arms control beyond treaty-making? Some participants said the UN was created as a forum to discuss and negotiate issues like arms control but that it is not a treaty-implementation organization. Others wanted to see a more active role for the UN, even if that

means altering the “pre-atomic” UN Charter. While none saw the UN in its present form as an ideal foundation, most agreed it is the international community's best available vehicle.

Improving the UN

Many suggestions for improving the UN were made at the conference; and most centered around reform of the Security Council, Secretariat, and UN Disarmament Commission. The Security Council already plays a key role in many disarmament treaties and conventions as an arbiter of disputes. However, the current structure of the council—giving permanent seats and veto power to the US, United Kingdom, Russia, France, and China—raises doubt about its ability to be impartial and objective.

The disarmament resources available to the UN Secretariat were seen as inadequate by most participants. Some suggested that a small office of arms control experts be created to advise the Secretariat and secretary-general in preparation for weapons review conferences and disarmament reports to the Security Council. There was disagreement among participants about the usefulness of the UN Disarmament Commission. Some thought it was underutilized but still made valuable contributions to the policy process. Others viewed the commission less favorably and thought the UN could find a better use for those funds. One participant characterized the commission as “useless.”

Beyond looking at the UN role, conference participants discussed other arms control arenas as well. These included, “consolidating the nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons treaty regimes (once all become operational) into one weapons control agency; expanding the number and inter-connectness of regional nuclear-weapons-free zones; and assessing



the most effective role for non-governmental organizations (NGOs) in the disarmament process," according to the report.

Strategies

The report lists a number of strategies for improving the UN role in eliminating weapons of mass destruction. In the short term, the international community should:

- Convene a Security Council meeting to discuss the role of nuclear weapons in the post-Cold War era.
- Complete the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty.
- Commit to a no-first-use policy for nuclear weapons.
- Convene a fourth Special Session on Disarmament to discuss the total elimination of weapons of mass destruction.
- Create a UN register for weapons of mass destruction.
- Create a staff of arms control experts and/or a rapporteur on

proliferation, as Article 29 "subsidiary organs" for the Security Council.

- Add more types of conventional weapons to the UN register.
- Discuss the role of NGOs in the UN disarmament structure and processes.

In the long term:

- Strengthen regional approaches to disarmament.
- Establish a timetable for total elimination of weapons of mass destruction.
- Explore the composition of the Security Council and use of the veto.
- Define clearly the role of the UN Disarmament Commission.
- Form an interparliamentary union to encourage consensus on disarmament.



UN PHOTO

- Explore the feasibility of unifying the nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons regimes.

As the report concludes, "We must take advantage of today's window of opportunity. For the first time since the dawn of the nuclear age, the political environment is favorable to forge a global commitment to eliminate weapons of mass destruction. Unless nations act now, the world may find itself confronting future dangers far worse than those presently existing."

—Keith Porter

Break 'em up.
Destroying Iraq's ballistic missile capabilities was an early task of the UN Special Commission set up at the end of the gulf war.

(See page 11 for the report entitled The Role of the United Nations in Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction.)

"We Need Proof"

The UN program to disarm Iraq could be considered a case study in disarmament. The UN Special Commission has been monitoring the destruction of Iraq's nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons capability. Rolf Ekeus, executive chairman of the commission, participated in the Stanley Foundation's UN Issues conference (see adjoining story). In March he spoke to the foundation's seminar on international security held at the UN for US congressional staff (see story pages 8-9). Shortly before the UN decision allowing Iraq to sell a limited amount of oil, Ekeus made these comments on Common Ground, the foundation's weekly radio program on world affairs:

"The cease-fire arrangements of the gulf war contain a rule that the ongoing oil embargo against Iraq should be lifted when the weapons provisions have been implemented. The Security Council cannot lift the full oil embargo without a positive report from our commission.

"We have identified and destroyed very large amounts of chemical agents like mustard gas, seren, and so on. But to our dismay, there is still a small set of chemical weapons of the most advanced types we have not accounted for. Iraq's explanation is that they destroyed these items unilaterally, in secrecy, sometime in the summer after the gulf war. But we have no proof of that.

"We know that Iraq produced and acquired biological warfare agents like anthrax. Again, Iraq states that these acquisitions, which they recognize had taken place, have been nullified through unilateral destruction, again in the summer of 1991. We have no proof of that, and we need proof.

"Iraq has been working on various projects including making a homemade type of the Russian scud, of which they imported large amounts. They have imported 819 scuds worth one million dollars a piece. We feel that we have accounted for all of them. Our concern is that Iraq has made [additional scuds] indigenously using bits and pieces, spare parts, from the imported stocks.

"We have scientists and specialists permanently stationed in Iraq—chemists, biologists, missile specialists, and nuclear specialists. We have systematic coverage of all their known production facilities with real-time camera monitoring. All major production pieces were tagged by us and put into a data system. We can, the whole time, trace that these capabilities—advance machines, machine tools, fermenters, chemical reactors, and so on—are used only for peaceful purposes.

"We have done what is necessary to lift the embargo. We are ready to give the green light to the Security Council as soon as Iraq decides to clear this up. But the burden and onus on the delays lie squarely and completely in the hands of the Iraqi government. So every consequence of economic hardship they suffer is drawn from the action of the leadership."



Rolf Ekeus

UN PHOTO

—Keith Porter

Lingering Security Threats

...it is the low-technology weapons ...which have killed millions globally.

Every 20 minutes someone in the world is killed or maimed by a land mine. Usually it's a civilian, since land mines do not distinguish between soldiers and noncombatants. The presence of land mines years after a conflict ends can leave large stretches of land unusable, and the problem is worsening as 20 mines are laid for every one that is cleared. In Bosnia alone, three million land mines are scattered, imperiling US troops who are part of the NATO mission to implement the Dayton Peace Agreement, as well as the Bosnian citizens trying to rebuild their lives. What can be done about the proliferation of land mines?

With more than 100 million land mines randomly deployed in 60 countries, no one nation—even one as powerful as the US—can address the problem of land mines alone. As ambivalent as the US is about the UN, it finds itself turning to the institution to deal with the scope of the problem.

Karl Frederick Inderfurth calls the current international effort to curb and eventually ban the use of land mines in modern warfare “a case-study of US-UN cooperation.” Inderfurth is the US Representative for Special Political Affairs at the US Mission to the UN. Since 1992 the US has observed an export moratorium on anti-personnel land mines. In 1994 the UN General Assembly adopted a resolution calling for the eventual elimination of land mines.

Inderfurth wants land mines put in the class of inhumane weapons, which includes chemical weapons. Then their users would be stigmatized in the international community as Saddam Hussein was when he attacked Iraq's Kurdish population with poison gas. Inderfurth talked about the human tragedy caused by land mines in war-ravaged countries such as Cambodia where there is a land mine for

every man, woman, and child. He described scenes where mothers tether their children to trees “so they don't wander off and lose a limb or a life.”

Land mines are only one of the problems plaguing the post-Cold War world. This spring the Stanley Foundation held a conference at the UN for staff members from key congressional offices to look at the myriad challenges to international security. This two-day forum titled “International Security: Multilateral Efforts/US Interests” provided high-level briefings, including the presentation by Ambassador Inderfurth, on various UN efforts to address post-Cold War sources of international insecurity. It was designed to provide firsthand information and insights to assist Congressional staff in responding to emerging conflicts and to see where US interests may coincide with multilateral efforts to deal with new challenges to international security. This coincidence presents an increasingly difficult task for US policymakers, according to conference organizer David Doerge who noted that “divergent concepts of national interests, threats, and international security have emerged, and it has become increasingly difficult to plan and implement an effective national policy, much less an international strategy.”

Micro-Disarmament

While weapons of mass destruction remain a serious threat to international security, it is the low-technology weapons like land mines and AK-47s which have killed millions globally. [For more about one UN arms control program, see page 7. Rolf Ekeus, who heads UN efforts to rid Iraq of its weapons of mass destruction, was a featured speaker at this forum.] Marrack Goulding, UN under-secretary-general for political affairs, told the audience that, unfortunately, most of the international arms control measures are

for the weapons of mass destruction and don't apply to small arms. Of the 49 armed conflicts in the world during 1995, the main cause of death—aside from starvation—was small arms. “Each of those conflicts accounted for at least a thousand deaths,” he said, “and most of the victims were noncombatants.”

“Small arms manufacturing is almost a cottage industry,” Goulding noted. There are also plenty of weapons left over from the proxy wars staged by the US and Soviet Union during the Cold War.



Fits in your hands. Part of what makes modern land mines so treacherous is that they are very small and yet highly explosive.

“Those arms don't self-destruct when the proxy war is over,” he said.

Tackling the supply is not the only problem. There's obviously a huge demand for small weapons. Goulding said drug dealers find as big a market in small arms as in drugs. Governments, too, need to make their citizens feel secure in order to curb the demand. Goulding described the situation in Mali where individuals feel they need to have “a Kalashnikov (rifle) under the bed.” An advisory mission for the secretary-general found an uncontrolled flow of weapons into Mali. “The primary cause of illegal arms into Mali,” Goulding said, “was the inability of the state to provide security.”

Peace Operations

The UN has employed a variety of tools from peacekeeping to peace-making to try to increase the level of international security. The number and complexity of peace operations have increased substantially since 1989. Several speakers made the case that these UN operations are in the interest of the US.

Robert Oakley, special envoy for Somalia from 1992-1994 during the UN mission there, said that “peacekeeping is a means of collective security. We [the US] have always relied on collective security. We like to work with as many others as possible—NATO, the Second World War, Korea, Desert Storm. It [peacekeeping] is no different.” Oakley is a visiting fellow at the Institute for National Strategic Studies whose

1996 Strategic Assessment concludes that, “Peace operations provide a useful array of instruments for the pursuit of important

US interests and values—notably the preservation or restoration of stability, the enhancement of democracy and human rights, and the alleviation of humanitarian crises. Even if US security is not immediately threatened, instability, violence, and large-scale human suffering often pose a long-term menace to important US political and economic interests.”

James Schear, Abe fellow at the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, agreed that peacekeeping is in the interest of the US, but “It should be a selective instrument we use along with others to deal with security problems.” Schear said that peacekeeping has taken “some heavy hits in Congress and the White House” because of recent mistakes, but the UN has learned many lessons. One important lesson is “never to deploy peacekeepers where there’s no peace to keep” as the UN did in Bosnia. Although Schear pointed out that they probably did save thousands of lives.

Expectations may also be too high for some operations. Manfred Eisele, assistant secretary-general in the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, used the Somalia operation as an example of a “mission impossible.” The troops deployed there did manage to end mass starvation, but they should never have been given the task of nation-building, Eisele believes. Eisele blamed the Security Council (which creates UN military missions) for sometimes asking too much of the operations or not providing the mission with what it needs to succeed, such as additional troops or the ability to intimidate an aggressor.

No Peace Without Justice

Security, whether its American or international, cannot be divorced from the issue of justice, one speaker maintained. Cherif Bassiouni is a law professor at DePaul University and was chairman of the UN Commission of Experts to Investigate Violations in the former Yugoslavia. Bassiouni told participants about the trouble he had uncovering details of war crimes in the former Yugoslavia. He said that during the two and a half years he was investigating war crimes there was “...not a single operation that did not run into significant difficulties. It became clear that nobody wanted it [the investigation] to become part of the peace process at that time.” Bassiouni is now vice chairman of an ad hoc committee to establish an international criminal court. But he believes, “It’s doubtful we’ll have a permanent tribunal. It must have political will. [And the] Great Powers still believe in realpolitik.... I’m convinced you can’t have peace without justice. You can’t have justice without the truth being told. Politicians have not understood the importance of truth in establishing real peace.” World public opinion, he said, “is way ahead of governments on this issue. They want to believe there is a system called justice. They don’t want to compromise justice.”

—Mary Gray Davidson

Security... cannot be divorced from the issue of justice....

(See page 11 to order cassettes or transcripts of interviews with some of these speakers.)



DEPARTMENT OF DEFENSE PHOTOS



Careful now. US soldiers—part of the NATO Implementation Force (IFOR) in Bosnia—search for land mines in the countryside. Land mines are one of the small weapons that kill civilians and soldiers alike. The abundance of these weapons is a major threat to world peace.

Publications

Single copies free, see order form for multiple-copy charge.
Purple entries indicate new publications.

Conference Reports

United Nations

The Role of the United Nations in Eliminating Weapons of Mass Destruction.

Is the elimination of all weapons of mass destruction a feasible goal? Conference participants examined this question and set out concrete, short- and long-term strategies for improving the UN's performance in this area. February 1996.

US-UN Relations.

After hitting a high point a few years ago, US-UN relations may be at an all time low. Participants consider prospects for improvement. September 1995, 32pp.

Making Peace With the Future: The United Nations and World Security.

A diverse group of international experts met to assess the ability of international institutions to address the sources of insecurity in today's world. June 1995, 40pp.

United Nations-Bretton Woods Collaboration: How Much is Enough?

There is growing consensus that better collaboration and cooperation are needed between the United Nations, the World Bank, and the International Monetary Fund, but how can a history of suspicion between them be overcome? February 1995, 32pp.

The UN System and NGOs: New Relationships for a New Era?

Participants discussed developing ways for NGOs to con-

tribute directly to the work of the United Nations. February 1994, 32pp.

New American Global Dialogue

Shaping American Foreign Relations: The Critical Role of the Southeast.

Leaders from across the southeastern US met to discuss the region's increasingly global orientation and the impact that has on American foreign policy. April 1996.

American Relations With China and India: The Growing Impact of Politics and Society on Foreign Policy.

India and China are the world's most populous nations, and over the past several years societal ties between them and the US have grown. Participants reflect on the impact of US relations with both countries. October 1995.

Shaping American Foreign Relations: The Critical Role of the Southwest.

Leaders from the Southwest met to discuss challenges facing their region and to explore the way different regions in the country are becoming more engaged in foreign policy. May 1995, 24pp.

The Changing Face of American Foreign Policy: The New Role of State and Local Actors.

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.

General Interest

The United States and Cuba: Where Do We Go From Here?

Experts look at changes in Cuba and discuss US policy toward the island nation. October 1995, 24 pp.

Reshaping America: Blurring Boundaries Between Mexico and the United States.

In the post-Cold War era Mexico has become a first-tier concern for the US. Participants examine the relationship with a neighbor in turmoil. October 1995, 28 pp.

The Future of US Persian Gulf Strategy.

Iran, Iraq, and the gulf states are wary neighbors. The US has important interests in the area. Participants discuss balancing those interests. October 1995, 24 pp.

Building the Global Community: The Next Step.

Twenty-four persons interested in international education met to clarify goals, develop a mission statement, determine strategies, and plan actions to advance international education in community colleges. November 1994, 32pp.

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

In 1992 candidate Bill Clinton said nuclear proliferation would be a top foreign policy priority. Participants gathered to assess the administration's progress of the issue and to suggest areas that need attention. October 1994, 36pp.

Human Rights and US Foreign Policy: Who Controls the Agenda?

Five years ago the prospects for progress on human rights seemed promising. But human rights advocates say the promise has only been partially realized. October 1994, 32pp.

Shaping a New Relationship: Russia and the US Private Sector.

US private sector involvement in the Russian economy is growing. How can US government policy strengthen and support private initiatives? October 1994, 20pp.

Making Global Connections.

Activities for use with the newspaper, to infuse global perspective into 6-8 grade classes. September 1994, 52pp.

COMMON GROUND

RADIO SERIES ON
WORLD AFFAIRS

The following programs are available on cassettes (\$5.00) or transcripts (free).

9624—The American South and the World. Finding global connections. (June 1996)

9623—Land mines: The Man-Made Plague. The global campaign to ban land mines. (June 1996)

9622—The Cuba Puzzle. Three Cuban Americans on the US and Cuba. (June 1996)

9620—Democracy, Elections, and Peace. Robert Pastor on work in Latin America and the Caribbean. (May 1996)

9619—Arab Women; Russian Women. Two reports on the status of women. (May 1996)

9618—UN Peacekeeping. Learning from past mistakes. (May 1996)

9617—Handling Cultural Baggage. A new educational tool deals with racism, prejudice, and stereotypes. (April 1996)

9615—Rebuilding Bosnia. What the Dayton Peace Agreement accomplished, and how the refugees feel about returning home. (April 1996)

9614—Engaging the World. The value of the UN to US foreign policy. (April 1996)

9613—Global Corruption. How one group works to stamp out government and corporate corruption. (March 1996)

9612—Iraq Update; Medical Ethics. An update on the UN effort to eliminate Iraq's weapons of mass destruction. Also, a look at international medical ethics. (March 1996)

9611—Bosnia's Lessons. The UN's failure to keep peace? (March 1996)

9610—Sri Lanka's Economy; International Terrorism. A report on the uneven growth of Sri Lanka's economy. Also, an expert argues that the threat of terrorism has been exaggerated. (March 1996)

9609—The Anarchy of Nations. John Mearsheimer on our uneasy world order. (February 1996)

9608—Beijing Briefings: US Grassroots. How a number of grassroots organizers are following up on the Fourth World Conference on Women. (February 1996)

9607—Beijing Briefings: US Commitments. The US government's commitment to women. (February 1996)

Common Ground is the Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program. A catalog of available programs and a list of broadcasting stations is available free of charge. Cassettes or transcripts of these programs may be ordered. See ordering information to the right.

TO ORDER CALL (319) 264-1500

(Have Visa or MasterCard number ready for cassette orders.)

Order Form (call, mail, or fax this form)

Bill To:

Name _____

Address _____

City _____

State _____ Zip _____

Method of Payment:

MasterCard _____ Visa _____ Check _____

Card Number _____ Exp. Date _____

Name on Card _____

Phone () _____

Publications (free in single copies)

Quantity	Title	Cost
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____

Cassettes (\$5.00 each) and Transcripts (free)

Quantity	Number/Title	Cost
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
_____	_____	_____
		Total _____

Also available

World Press Review sample _____ Free _____

Common Ground catalog _____ Free _____

Courier sample _____ Free _____

Quantity Orders

These items are available in quantity for postage and handling charges as follows:

Individual copies	FREE
2-10	\$2.00
11-25	\$4.00
26-50	\$6.00
Over 50	Contact the foundation for special pricing.

World Press Review

courier

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

Provoking thought and dialogue about the world, this three-times-a-year "mini-magazine" is an overview of the events, ideas, and people that make up the work of the Stanley Foundation. Conferences about foreign policy and UN issues, as well as school and community-based programs, are summarized in a highly readable and informative manner. You may order a sample copy using the order form to the right.

Please mail or fax completed form to:

The Stanley Foundation
216 Sycamore Street, Suite 500

Muscatine, Iowa 52761-3831

Phone: (319) 264-1500

Fax: (319) 264-0864

Internet: stanfound-sf@mcimail.com



Sarah Davidson

Gloria Steinem

Gloria Steinem is founder of *Ms.* magazine and the Ms. Foundation for Women. She spoke with Mary Gray Davidson for the Stanley Foundation's radio series on international affairs, *Common Ground*. The following are excerpts from their conversation. To order a cassette or complete transcript of this program see page 10.

What has changed since the UN held its first conference on women in Mexico City in 1975?

I think that we are much more likely to work in concert or in coalition with each other regardless of what the position of our respective governments may be.... There's also more consciousness—not enough—but more consciousness on the part of women in “overdeveloped” countries of the impact of their economies on the women in so called “underdeveloped” countries—the debt structure, for instance, of North to South. Countries are being gutted and starved in order to pay the interest rate to rich countries. ...[And] we are taking much too much of the world's resources and misusing the resources we have here.

SEWA, the Self Employed Women's Association in India—which is an enormous organization of the poorest women who straighten out nails and make cigarettes and sell vegetables in the street and

Learning From Each Other

so on—has been very successful in organizing as a force. So, women in other countries look at that and say, “Well, if these women, most of whom are illiterate and have very few resources, can do this, why can't we?”

Hopefully, women in this country now understand that we have as much to learn from women in other countries as we do to teach. There used to be a kind of almost colonial model of feminism, because the press was so busy telling us that we were the luckiest women in the world that we believed it.... But we've realized that we're way down the list in terms of infant mortality, maternal mortality, violence toward women, [and] pay differential.

One of the issues that's becoming very important that you didn't hear about 20 years ago is women's unpaid labor.

It's simply impractical and certainly destructive to have an economic system that renders 60 percent of the economic activity in agricultural countries and at least 40 percent in industrial countries—that is, the work that mostly women do in and around the home—invisible (not to mention the environment). If we go on valuing a tree only when it is cut down and not when it is standing there giving us oxygen, then we reward, by counting as profit, the destruction of the environment. We badly need to restructure—profoundly, radically restructure—the way we look at economics.

Where do you see the women's movement going?

I think we are now in a period of institutional change. We've raised consciousness. We've got majority support. We've got certain tools like new laws and new organizations and so on. But the institutions of our lives haven't changed. For instance, a major problem for women now is that women have two jobs. They are both outside the home and still taking care of the kids and getting dinner and so on. This was what in East European countries was referred to as “emancipation”—the right to do two jobs. And in this country too, it's sometimes seen as the goal of feminism, and it isn't at all.... We now know that women can do what men can do, but we still don't know that men can do what women can do. Women are not going to be equal outside the home until men are equal inside the home.

If you had one wish for women internationally, what would you wish for?

To be physically safe. To feel physically safe. To stop feeling endangered, not only in the street but in one's own home. That would be an enormous blessing. Having said that, I will take a more internal or communal look, and that is to wish that we treated ourselves as well as we treat other people. That we reverse the Golden Rule—because it doesn't work unless it's reversible—and we treat ourselves as well as we treat others.

—Mary Gray Davidson

**The Stanley Foundation
216 Sycamore Street, Suite 500
Muscatine, Iowa 52761-3831**

Address Correction Requested

Nonprofit Org.
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
Cedar Rapids, IA
Permit 214