



courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



PHOTOS BY MARY GRAY DAVIDSON



Cities are what we make of them. That was the consensus at this summer's second United Nations Conference on Human Settlements, commonly known as Habitat II. Twenty years after the first Habitat meeting, the United Nations felt it was time to take stock of the world's housing situation, particularly in the growing urban centers.

The many problems cities have to deal with are clear. The question left unanswered at Habitat II was whether cities of the future will be the engines of human development or sinkholes of poverty, homelessness, and the accompanying despair and depravity. According to Wally N'Dow, the secretary-general of Habitat II, "A low-grade civil war is being fought every day in the world's urban centers.... Many cities are collapsing. We risk a complete breakdown in cities.... The challenge for the next few decades is going to be how to remedy the decaying human settlements the world over."

Nearly half of the world's people currently live in cities, and the number of city dwellers is expected to grow to 5 billion by 2025 as



Istanbul. A banner (above) greets delegates to this summer's Habitat II conference in Istanbul, Turkey. The couple in the doorway is among the 12 million inhabitants of the Turkish capital.

the global population mushrooms toward the predicted 8.5 billion. By 2015 the United Nations Population Fund expects we will see 27 "megacities"—those with more than 10 million inhabitants—with Tokyo, Bombay, Karachi, and Lagos leading the pack.

People migrate to cities for a variety of reasons—war, drought, new jobs. Just 50 years ago most people worked in agriculture. Today the service sector provides most jobs. No matter what compels people to move to the city, they all arrive with an eye toward a better life. Unfortunately, that is not always what awaits these new immigrants. The UN's Global Report on Human Settlements estimates 500 million people in cities are homeless or under life-threatening conditions. Contrary to stereotypes, not all are in the poorer countries of the South. Europe and North America have several million homeless people by the most conservative estimates. And in London, for example, life expectancy among the homeless is 25 years lower than the national average.

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Few people are advocating a top-down approach to development anymore....

Substandard housing, unsafe water, and poor sanitation in densely populated cities are responsible for 10 million deaths worldwide every year. India's plague in 1994 was due primarily to unsanitary housing conditions. A cholera epidemic hit Peru in 1991 killing 2,600 people and infecting 320,000. The epidemic could have been prevented with proper sanitation and clean water. "More than one billion people cannot get clean drinking water. Dirty water causes 80 percent of diseases in the developing world," N'Dow said. Ismail Serageldin, vice president for Environmentally Sustainable Development at The World Bank noted a huge drop in the amount of fresh water available for human use in just two generations. That's not because of population growth necessarily, but because we've been wasting a tremendous amount of water. Serageldin warned, "There is a real risk that in the next century the wars are going to be fought over water as opposed to the wars being fought over oil in this century."

Hope for the Cities

But the problems cities face need not create a hopeless situation. Prevention is the crucial and cheaper route in the long run. Peru's cholera epidemic caused one billion dollars in economic damage in just three months. That's considerably more than the sanitation improvements that would have prevented the outbreak.

The World Bank, the largest international financier of urban projects, estimates it would take a one-time expenditure of \$100 billion to provide basic services like water and sanitation to everyone currently without them or about \$100 per person. Many people at Habitat II were quick to point out how little that is compared to world military spending, which amounts to \$750 billion annually. Serageldin announced at Habitat II that, "The World Bank is will-

ing to match the commitments of the governments with our financial support. We are going to triple the size of our average lending for urban [projects]."

Self-help and the devolution of governments' authority were two of the most popular ideas promoted at Habitat II. Few people are advocating a top-down approach to development anymore, where institutions and governments simply dictate what needs to be done. That's proven to be disastrous in too many instances with housing projects abandoned or huge development schemes that have only served to displace local people and destroy the environment. The UN's Global Report on Human Settlements prepared for Habitat II emphasized that good governance requires stronger roles for citizen groups, community organizations, and non-governmental organizations. Governments, the report stresses, need to shift from the role of "implementer" to "enabler"—facilitating housing construction and improvements by the private sector. Skeptics fear this may actually be a way for governments to escape their responsibilities, and they cautioned extreme vigilance to continue to hold governments accountable. Finding the proper balance between government and citizen partnerships will not be an easy task.

Is Housing a Human Right?

Overshadowing all other discussion at Habitat II was the debate among the governments on the question of whether housing should be codified as a human right. The nearly two-week debate seemed to pit the United States, one of the world's largest aid donors and an opponent of that designation, against much of the developing world. Typical of the confusing language that often results from complex negotiations among dozens of governments, the final document committed governments to the "full and progressive realization" of the right



to adequate housing. The language could be interpreted by everyone as consistent with their interests. Speaking for the US government, Melinda Kimble of the US State Department said, "What has happened...is basically defining for the international community what is already recognized under US law." Wally N'Dow, secretary-general of Habitat II, said he was elated with the final agreement. "Shelter and housing have always existed in a basket of rights in the universal

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Ideas That Work



Twenty-thousand people came to Istanbul, mostly for the nongovernmental forum where grassroots organizations and individuals working to build better human settlements could share their ideas. The United Nations searched the globe before Habitat II so that the best practices in the world could be on display. Practices like the Brazilian “favelas” project, where fed-up residents demanded changes in the law so that squatters who hold no legal title to the land could not be so easily evicted from their homes. Or the Self-Employed Women’s Association in India which provides loans at reasonable interest rates to the poorest women in order to start their own small businesses, whether as a street vendor or sewing in their homes. This “community banking” model is widely touted for having much higher payback rates on loans than traditional lending practices.

The United States, too, had its own best practices to exhibit. Chattanooga, Tennessee, for example, which was the most polluted city in the United States in 1969, received the Presidential Award for Sustainable Development this year for its turnaround. At Habitat II, Chattanooga’s collaborative efforts to change its environment while creating a strong economic and civic base were named one of the world’s 12 best practices. Chattanooga has been sharing experiences with Curitiba, Brazil, which has had a similar turnaround and is now known as the ecological capital of Brazil.

—Mary Gray Davidson



PHOTOS BY MARY GRAY DAVIDSON

“This is where we live.” Residents (above left and above), including the mayor (in suit) of Gülsuyu, an informal settlement in Istanbul. Sixty percent of Istanbul’s residents live in such settlements where they hold a dubious claim to the land on which they have built.

declaration of human rights since 1948. But trying to progressively make it a standalone, a stand-free, human right, this is the very first big step that the international community has made.... This really has been a landmark. If nothing has succeeded but this thing, this conference has achieved a great victory.”

The ultimate success of Habitat II cannot be determined now. It will be up to the governments and individuals returning from Istan-

bul to make sure that the declarations and agreements are not left collecting dust on a shelf.

—Mary Gray Davidson

(Davidson, senior producer of the Stanley Foundation’s radio series Common Ground, attended Habitat II to produce a series of documentary programs from the conference. See page 11 for information on ordering tapes or transcripts of this four-part series.)



Here’s how it’s done. A Turkish laborer demonstrates an innovative construction concept developed in India. He was photographed outside the Habitat II convention hall.

PHOTO BY MARY GRAY DAVIDSON

The Imperative for Change



“Iwould like to see a United Nations which is democratic, where every nation in the

world participates equally and harmoniously,” said Conrad Mselle, chairman of the UN Advisory Committee on Administrative and Budgetary Questions. “I think the United Nations should be an organization in which the membership works together in a spirit of partnership that transcends individual, political, economic, or other national agendas,” said Prakash Shah, the ambassador of India to the United Nations. And Edward Luck, president emeritus of the United Nations Association of the United States of America said, “The United Nations in the 21st century has to do what it has done in the latter half of the 20th century, only better.”

Discovering exactly how to do it better was the goal of a recent Stanley Foundation event which drew together Mselle, Shah, Luck, and many other high-level international policymakers and experts. The 31st annual United Nations of the Next Decade conference discussed “The United Nations and the Twenty-First Century: The Imperative for Change.”

While the United Nations has passed through a half-dozen reform efforts in its 50-year history, the current effort seems to have a greater sense of urgency. This urgency is largely due to the serious nature of the problems facing the organization, the pervasive lack of support by member nations, mismanagement, and a debilitating financial crisis.

A key component of the current reform efforts at the United Nations has been the open-ended “working groups” established by the UN General Assembly in

1995. These groups have been trying to develop detailed proposals for the reform of the Security Council, General Assembly, UN finances, and the UN system as a whole. But many conference participants seemed to think the groups have done all they can do in the present environment and should be brought to some kind of closure, even if consensus has not yet been met. And before embarking on new efforts, a more basic question needs to be addressed: Is reform of the United Nations an important issue for the nations of the world?

The report issued following the conference addressed that question:

“Enthusiasm for reform is mixed. On the one hand, revitalizing the United Nations appears not to be a priority for some member states because, quite simply, the organization may not be viewed as ‘bad enough’ to merit the investment. ‘Had member states felt a compelling need to reform the institution,’ one participant asserted, ‘they would have done so by now.’ Some member states may feel no urgency, because they fail to recognize the full extent of the current crisis; they believe the United Nations can ‘muddle through’ its cash flow problems and political setbacks as it has in the past. Finally, there are some member states so attached to the power, perks, and money they currently derive from UN membership that they wish to preserve the system as it is; for such states, reform will not be a priority until it promises alternative rewards. On the other hand, there is a core group of 40 to 60 member states who do, in fact, share a sense of urgency. The United Nations cannot solve all the world’s problems, but for these member states the United Nations is worth pre-

serving for what it has accomplished and what it could accomplish in the future.”

To reinforce the idea that UN reform is both necessary and urgent, conference participants looked at four interrelated building blocks: vision, leadership, process, and finance.

Vision

When the United Nations was founded in 1945 there was a common vision on the basic purpose and goals of the institution. But the world has changed enormously since then. The nations of the world need to once again identify specifically what they want the United Nations to be. The conference report suggests that this new vision should center on maintaining international peace and security, promoting economic development, and advancing international law.

Leadership

UN reform is dependent on strong leadership from member states and the secretary-general. But the most serious leadership deficit is from the United States. Many participants said the failure of the United States to pay its dues to the United Nations “may have serious consequences for the world leadership position of the United States. It was suggested that the United States needs to clear the air about its intentions and take some extraordinary action that would demonstrate its commitment to the United Nations and UN reform.”

Process

According to the report, there “was considerable agreement that the process of reform was as important as the substance.” Participants disagreed, however, over whether or not reform was possible without first agreeing on a common vision for the United Nations. Regardless, the reform process will have to incorporate

Is reform of the United Nations an important issue for the nations of the world?

and compensate for the inadequacies of the United Nations' three component parts: the General Assembly, Security Council, and Secretariat.

Finance

"Most participants agreed that what the United Nations needs is predictable, not necessarily more, financing." Solving this problem may involve a closer integration of the planning and budgetary processes in the United Nations and finding ways to prevent member states from withholding UN funds as a form of punishing the United Nations. Another serious financial problem for the institution is the increasing number of unfunded mandates issued by the General Assembly and Security Council. "This unfortunate practice puts financial pressure on other parts of the UN system and, ultimately, undermines the credibility of the organization," said the report.

Finally, there was agreement that serious reform of the United Nations depends on resolution of four key issues: the composition of the Security Council and its relations with the General Assembly, the way financing is assessed, the role of the Economic and Social Council and development issues in general, and the functioning of the Secretariat. As the report concludes, "Meaningful and lasting reform of the United Nations will require, at a minimum, a substantial investment of political will, compromise, patience, perseverance, and resources. Only with a serious, thoughtful dialogue among states regarding the appropriate role of the organization can the organization be truly revitalized."

—Keith Porter

See page 10 to order the report of this conference entitled *The United Nations and the Twenty-First Century: The Imperative for Change* or see page 11 for a *Common Ground* radio program on this topic called *UN 2000 (9634)*.

Fall 1996

The US and the UN



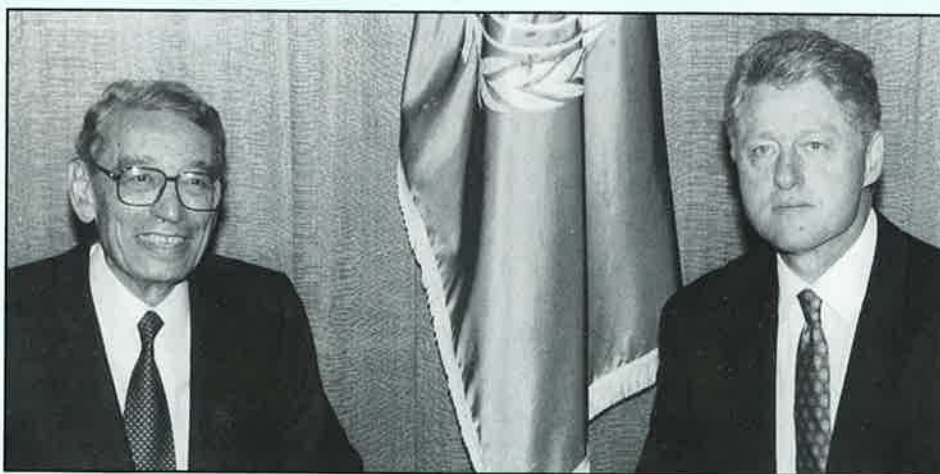
The United States and the United Nations have had a long and rocky relationship. At the Stanley Foundation's United Nations of the Next Decade conference, the following two participants appeared on the foundation's radio program, *Common Ground*, and had this to say about the relationship:

Edward C. Luck, president emeritus and senior policy adviser, UNA-USA: From the very beginning the United States has exercised leadership in the very creation of the United Nations. Americans, whether in the government or private citizens, have given much of the vision, many of the ideas, much of the inspiration to the organization. Much of that has stemmed from a sense of idealism. And I think that's something we must not lose.

We must recognize that we should aim high both in our standards as a nation and for the United Nations itself. And so I hope that Americans continue to approach the United Nations with a sense of idealism and a sense of a positive agenda and wanting to do something that will unite member states and not simply seek unilateral advantage. And I think if we do that and we don't approach the reform of the United Nations from a negative way simply [by] trying to slim down and cut back and stop abuses, but in fact have a positive agenda at the United Nations, I think that will have a very major effect on other member states, because they do look to the United States. They resent American power, but they know that they need it. And they need the power of our ideas as well as the power of purse and the power of our military.

John Weston, ambassador of the United Kingdom to the United Nations: Perhaps it's not for me as a non-American to say this to a predominately American audience, but I do hope that all those Americans out there who are proud of what the United Nations has accomplished over the last 50 years will continue to back, very loudly, the continuation of the United Nations into the 21st century. And I think it's terribly important that if they do feel the United Nations matters, as many of us who are your friends and allies elsewhere in the world feel, that people should talk to their parliamentarians, their media, [and] their colleagues and let that be known.

—Keith Porter



Awkward moment. President Clinton called on UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali during the president's visit to the United Nations this September. The United States has said it will not support a second term for Boutros-Ghali.

Global Arts Bridges and Webs

Bridges connect us to our neighbors by traversing barriers. Webs are complex structures with many intricate connections. Studying bridges and webs—not only as physical objects but also as artistic concepts—can help us appreciate the complexities and interconnectedness of the world.

“Bridges” and “Webs” were the themes of the first two global arts programs supported by the Stanley Foundation and held in the summers of 1995 and 1996 in the foundation’s small, neighboring community of Columbus Junction, Iowa. The global arts program is the newest of several foundation programs that experiment with and demonstrate experiential education for young people in the late elementary or early secondary school ages.

“The arts express the interrelatedness of all living things, and so, they are a perfect vehicle for enhancing a global perspective,” said Jill Goldesberry, a Stanley Foundation program officer responsible for this global arts initiative. The global arts programs

address the five themes of global education: interdependence, human values and culture, environment, peace, and change.

Columbus Junction was chosen for the first two programs because of the enthusiasm and ideas of art teachers Kathleen Almelién and Jeff Tadsen and because of the support of the school administration. Fourteen students took part in the 1995 program and 16 in 1996. Students in each program spent nine hours over three days in theme-related activities.

“Bridges” was chosen as the theme of the first program, because a swinging bridge is vital to the community’s economic well-being and because metaphorically it helps illustrate the global education themes. (See adjoining story.) “Webs” enabled the participants to study the intricacies of spider webs and expansiveness of

the World Wide Web, the latter offering them the chance to “visit” art galleries around the world while sitting at computers.

The Stanley Foundation’s global arts program has been expanded to include support for innovative but less comprehensive initiatives in secondary schools and community settings as well as colleges and universities.

—Jeffrey Martin

Did you learn any new information today? What?

- Yes, I learned about the different sights in Paris.
- Spiders suck their toes.
- I learned about the spiders.
- You can go anywhere in the world.

What did you like best about this activity?

- Seeing all the things on the Net.
- Seeing my neighbor’s mother-in-law in the John Deere section.
- The whole thing.

From participants reactions to the “web” programs.

World Wide Web
communication, computers
giving, helping, buying
Get information from it
World Wide Web

Spiders
species,
feeling, poisonous
It likes killing, eating
Arachnid drinking bugs.

Global Arts Live Painting

One activity under the “Bridges” theme involved learning something about the history of the local community, US history, fresco painting techniques, and point-of-interest characteristics through “live” replication of a local mural. Community was explored as a bridge to accomplishing a task by visiting the local post office and discussing the story depicted in a huge fresco mural displayed in the lobby. The artist portrayed a picnic that was held as a fundraiser during the 1880s. The money went to construction of the swinging bridge.

The post office mural also invited discussion of government programs, such as the Works Progress Administration (WPA), that were put in place during the Depression to help rebuild the US economy. A Fine Arts Section of WPA commissioned artists to beautify federal government buildings with appropriate artwork. The artist of the Columbus Junction piece, Sante Graziani of Italy, spent a summer in

the community while working on the mural.

Questions students were asked about the mural included: What is it about? Why is it here? Who is the artist? When was it created? What artistic styles are used? How is the point of reference emphasized?

Each participant chose or was assigned a role of one of the people portrayed in the painting. One person even took the role of a building! Then, in the parking lot, using appropriate props, such as clothing and other articles found in the painting, the mural was recreated using our dramatic poses to match the artist’s passion for his characters. In the end, a terrific “live painting” was photographed.

By exploring this public work of art the students now walk into the post office and see the mural in a new way. They pass along some of their knowledge about it to parents and friends. Hopefully, they also developed a better appreciation for their community through this study.

—Jill Goldesberry



PHOTO BY AMY BAKKE

Posing. Students stage a live reenactment of Sante Graziani’s painting.



PHOTO BY JESSICA LANE

Urban Planning

The ability of regions and municipalities to respond to globalization is uneven.



PHOTOGRAPH COURTESY OF THE GREATER MINNEAPOLIS CONVENTION & VISITORS ASSOCIATION

 The Twin Cities is much more than an insular “fly-over land” with cold weather. The common media portrayal of Minnesota’s metropolis belies its extensive international connections and deep immigrant roots. And despite its Upper Midwest location, the Twin Cities is deeply affected by the globalization that is reshaping the world.

In early September the Stanley Foundation convened a meeting of community leaders from the Minneapolis-St. Paul region to discuss, “The Impact of Globalization: Shaping the Twin Cities’ Response.” The diverse mix of participants was drawn from the political, economic, educational, social service, and business sectors.

The group drew several important conclusions, according to Douglas Petty, international management consultant for Hennepin International Trade Services, who prepared a report on the conference which includes key economic and demographic facts about the community. Among the conclusions:

- Globalization is a reality, not a choice. While acknowledging its potential for adverse impacts, a proactive response to the consequences of globalization is necessary.
- The Twin Cities can bring a unique community-based, holistic perspective to the consideration of US foreign policy. Participants noted that unbridled capitalism will not necessarily bring a better world and that the Twin Cities could contribute a moral code for global business that seeks a more equitable distribution of the benefits of globalization. That would be consistent with the deeply rooted set of values brought to the region by early immigrants and still widely embraced today. According to the report, “Those values include: a belief in the rewards of hard work, efficiency, knowledge, social justice, and civic engagement.”
- There is a growing crisis of leadership in the Twin Cities region. Some of the most powerful corporations seem more connected to the global rather than the local community. Political, civic, and corporate leaders need to become engaged in a discussion on how globalization can be made to

work to the advantage of the entire community.

- Because it is an extraordinarily thoughtful community, the Twin Cities should become more engaged in defining success in the global community. And it should look for targeted opportunities to demonstrate to a national audience what it takes to realize that success.

Understanding Globalization

In an extended note presented at the Minnesota meeting, Michael Clough, senior fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and co-chair of the conference, noted that globalization is often widely misunderstood to be a single, unifying process. In reality, globalization is a variety of forces and trends that create a “patchwork of connected and overlapping but nevertheless distinct worlds. The one thing they have in common is that, thanks to modern communication and transportation technologies, they pay little heed to geography and conventional political boundaries.”

Since the world is still organized politically along national lines, globalization creates a great deal of stress. The ability of regions and municipalities to respond to globalization is uneven. Those who succeed in identifying and capitalizing on their community’s comparative advantage in the emerging global reality will do best. Thus, discussions at the level of the Twin Cities’ meeting are imperative.

Commenting on the conference, Stanley Foundation Vice President David Doerge, co-director of the New American Global Dialogue with Clough, said that after focusing since the project’s inception in 1992 on how broadly-defined regions of the country are affected by globalization, the project is moving into a new phase. “This is a more concrete phase where we are looking specifically at the impact of globalization on urban areas. And we are looking at what economic, political, demographic, and value-based resources these areas can draw on to respond.”

—Jeffrey Martin

Summer Explorations



We were poised on the bank of the Maquoketa River—20 young women, canoes, and paddles. Marty, our

guide, had given us a brief but thorough orientation to this nine-mile “float.” She had told us who steers the canoe, how to steer, and what safety precautions everyone must follow. Everyone was ready to take the canoes down to the water and get underway. Quickly, we carried our canoe to the river, our shoes filling first with sand, then water. Questions floated through my head like, which way is downstream, will I be left behind, and will I be able to lift my feet into the canoe now that each of my shoes is filled with five pounds of wet sand?

My partner and I soon took off heading downstream with strong, reasonably smooth strokes. At the first bend in the river, I looked back. It was chaos! Canoes were everywhere. Some had not yet left the beach having been mired in sand at the outset; some had already made several trips back and forth across the stream (these women wanted to do 12 miles instead of nine). Still others were literally going around in circles.

The canoe trip came at the end of a week of activities, discussions, and learning about community called Summer Explorations for Young Women. The program was organized by the Stanley Foundation for young women ages 12 to 14 from the foundation’s home region of Eastern Iowa. The centerpiece of the week was women—who are we, how do we see ourselves in the world, what do we see ourselves becoming, and how do we find our voices for the future?

Guests visited us at the Four Mounds Retreat Center near Dubuque, Iowa, throughout the

week. The grandson of the woman who owned Four Mounds when it was a private estate shared stories about his grandmother and her impact on his life and the life of Four Mounds. Denise O’Brien and her daughter, Briana Harris, shared their experiences and insights from the United Nations Fourth World Conference on Women held in Beijing last year. Teresa Konechne brought her gifts as an installation and video artist. She, too, had participated in the Beijing conference as an exhibitor with her collected stories from South Dakota farm women. A local Muscatine woman, Jacque McCoy, shared her personal story of being an African-American woman in the Midwest, becoming a single parent, and later getting several undergraduate and graduate degrees at The University of Iowa. Her message—you do not have to follow the statistical trends. The ropes course, orienteering, and a photography experience created opportunities for self-learning and discovering the possibilities for creativity and problem solving inside each of us.

Finally, everyone completed the canoe trip. All of us were soaking wet (Why am I sitting in five inches of water?) and dog tired (No one told me we would be climbing a mountain carrying this canoe at the end of the trip!). The journey was not always easy. There was a lot of chaos and uncertainty at first, and some people simply did not work well with their initial partners. But all of us made it. We supported one another even during the toughest parts, and no one was left behind.

—Mary Steinmaus

(Mary Steinmaus organized and led the Summer Explorations program this August.)



Publications

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

Conference Reports

United Nations

The United Nations and the Twenty-First Century: The Imperative for Change.

As the UN approaches a new century it is engaged in a major effort at organizational reform. Twenty experts met to assess progress and suggest further action. June 1996, 44pp.

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 UNs performance in this area. February 1996, 35pp.

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.

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, 24pp.

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, 19pp.

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

Bringing Beijing Back: Local Actions and Global Strategies.

A handbook which sets out strategies for addressing the women's issues identified at the 1995 Beijing world conference on women. The strategies are drawn from the discussions of women who attended a post-Beijing conference. November 1995, 44pp.

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.

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.

“The Struggle Must Continue”

This summer, the Stanley Foundation's public radio program, *Common Ground*, aired a report about a group of African human rights activists traveling through the American South to learn about the US civil rights movement. The group met with representatives of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the Southern Education Foundation, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Center for Non-violent Social Change, and other organizations. The following are some of their reactions. Tapes and transcripts of this program (#9630) are available. See page 11 for details.

Nathan Twinomugisha, director, Legal Aid Project, Uganda:

Back in Uganda we look at America as an example of where human rights are respected, and it's the country that we look to. When they told me that I would be involved in this program, I was very happy. I hoped that I would see a situation where things are working, where human rights are respected, and where society has moved forward, so I can take something I learned here back to my country and make it better.

Stella Sabiiti, executive director, Center for Conflict Resolution, Uganda:

I was impressed by the people we met, the leaders, and especially the older generation. They don't have any hate. They tell you all the bad things that were done against them and their people. They don't have any hate at all in their hearts. That

was very, very impressive. I think the world, especially the countries that are in conflict, should get to be informed about this.

Abdallah Saffari, member, Tanganyika Law Society, Tanzania:

Since the time when I was young, I read books such as *The Native Son* and *The Black Boy* on the plight of blacks in the southern part of America in particular. And I heard of all those prominent guys who were involved in the civil rights movement, particularly Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.

When I came over here it was my pleasure, really, to be at these sites of Montgomery and Birmingham and now here in Atlanta. What I have seen is a living testimony of this great man and the successes which Dr. Martin Luther King stood for and the significant achievements which the blacks, under his leadership, have obtained.

Christine Achicng, director, Prisons Project, Uganda:

When I look at those pictures, I see Africans being attacked. I see discrimination really against them as Africans, not as Americans. Part of them has not become American. Much as they were free people or slaves that have been freed, they had not really become part of the whole society as Americans. So I think they were fighting to become Americans. That is what the whole movement was all about.



Abdallah Saffari

PHOTO BY CHARLES GRAYBOW

Charles Semgalawe, member, Tanganyika Law Society, Tanzania:

The thing in which I have learned is that always, always the struggle must continue. So, therefore, it's not a question of solving one problem and being satisfied and sit down and relax. It's a question of looking at the society. What is the problem? Let's be serious and try to solve it. This is what is happening, actually, what I see.

What Dr. Martin Luther King has started is still going on today. He was talking about human rights, and they're still talking about human rights. So the question of human rights will not come to an end from what I have seen so far. This will encourage me to put more effort into whatever I am doing, because it is not a question whereby I can come to an end. It's an ongoing process. That will give me the vigor to continue what I am currently doing at home.

—excerpted by Keith Porter

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