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PROVOKING THOUGHT AND DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

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inside

Foreign Policy Returns

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During last year's election campaign foreign policy was hardly mentioned. But the world is still out there and, as President Clinton's trip to the South Pacific in December showed, requires attention.

Russia's Future Direction

Exactly 300 years ago, Peter the Great traveled incognito to Paris with a retinue of 250 Russian nobles. It was the first attempt by a Russian sovereign to bridge the gulf between his country and the West. Now, five years after the collapse of the Soviet Union, Russia appears closer than ever to completing Peter the Great's mission. In fact, a report from a recent Stanley Foundation conference concluded that over the next few decades, "Russia will likely be a democratic country integrated into the market and institutions of the West."

CORCORAN GALLERY OF ART PHOTO

Peter the Great

Given widespread disagreement among Russia observers about the country's ability to overcome its extremely daunting problems, this is a bold conclusion. Conference chair Blair Ruble, director of the Kennan Institute of Advanced Russian Studies, noted that, "This is a group of experts who have spent a lot of time in Russia, and they did not try to sweep Russia's problems under the rug." He was surprised, nonetheless, that "they could fill so much time focusing on the positive in Russia." Since the Soviet Union collapsed quietly, without revolution or war, we in the West may overlook how profound and difficult this transition has been. Ruble pointed out that, "When you recall where Russia was five years ago, there has been dramatic change."

Russia will likely be a democratic country integrated into the market and institutions of the West.

Russia's journey from a communist state to a democratic, market-oriented society is far from complete and could, as Ruble noted, "all still turn sour." Moscow, for example, could be called a free-market "boomtown," with lots of upstarts making it big. But, as in the boomtowns of the Wild West, plenty of others have been left behind. It's impossible to say just where Russia is headed, but this group is betting that once the dust has settled there will be more winners than losers.

The group making this assessment was composed of 25 individuals from government, business, and academia. They recognized that five years is not enough time to assess the success or failure of reform in the political, economic, and social spheres. But it is useful to take stock of how much Russia has changed, what direction it appears to be taking, and how the US could help ensure a positive outcome for both countries.

What's Gone Right

While some members of the group questioned Russians' commitment to true democracy, most felt that elections and democratic structures would continue in Russia for the foreseeable future. The next important stage will be the formation of institutions, such as political parties, which have yet to take root in Russia.

The rapid expansion of contacts outside Russia has been instrumental in developing political freedoms inside, and Russians will not easily give up their new role in the global marketplace of goods and ideas. Other fundamental principles like human rights and the rule of law are also more accepted in the former Soviet state. These ideas are being spread through a free press, just one part of Russians' newfound freedom of expression. Granted, Boris Yeltsin closed off press coverage in the final stages of the presidential campaign; and there is corruption within the media., but no one could have imagined the current level of press freedom ten years ago.

The market reforms, too, are on the right track. A Western style of commerce is emerging. This is aided by a new generation of Russians savvy about business and ready to learn. Foreign investors continue to be attracted by the huge economic potential in Russia's extensive natural resources, including large oil and gas reserves.

What's Wrong in Russia

One cannot look at this half decade in Russian history without realizing the profound sacrifice ordinary Russians have made in order to change their society. One in five Russians today lives in poverty (some say it's closer to a third of the population). Millions of employees have not been paid for months. The life expectancy of Russian men has dropped from 66 years in 1986 to 59 today. The average Russian woman can now expect to live to the age of 71, compared to 76 just nine years ago. Russians may have developed extraordinary coping mechanisms under centuries of czars and dictators, but one participant, Kathryn Stoner-Weiss of Princeton University, said in an inter-

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AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

view, "One of the things that surprises me is that there hasn't been more social unrest...."

The transition from state-owned industry and agricultural land to private hands has not gone smoothly either. In too many instances the old Soviet managers simply became the new owners. Business people are overwhelmed by the level of organized crime as evidenced by the need to hire a protection service whenever one opens a business in Russia.

The government is overwhelmed with the problem of tax reform. As of last fall, some 50 percent of the taxes owed had not been collected.

All of these problems—plus President Boris Yeltsin's health, the political intrigues at the Kremlin, and the prospect of a financial crisis truly exploding—make forecasting Russia's future very difficult.

US Interests

The US has everything to gain from Russia succeeding at democratization and market reforms. Besides the human dimensions, we are regularly reminded that Russia is still a nuclear state. Thomas Remington of Emory University expressed his concern in an interview: "We could very easily, I think, go back to a Cold War division of Europe.... I would hate for US policy to drive Russia into a defensive and hostile mode. We want Russia to be a contributive, constructive player to stability.... We want it to be a partner in world economic arrangements, trade arrangements, rather than a kind of autarkic and a self-enclosed state."

The US has not always followed the best policy toward Russia. Some conference participants felt the US had pinned all its hopes on one man in the Kremlin, Boris Yeltsin. Others were concerned about offensive American rhetoric that preaches the superiority of Western democracy and economic forms and the "American" way of doing things. This behavior has caused the US to fall out of favor with many Russians. One person observed that a poll of Russians five years ago found that two-thirds saw the US in a favorable light. Today, two-thirds of Russians see the West as deliberately pursuing policies to weaken their country.

The group urged the US to continue its engagement in Russia, particularly through its technical assistance, business investment, and democracy promotion. They also made several recommendations for future US policy toward Russia, including:

- Writing off some of Russia's debt.
- Encouraging legal reform in Russia.
- Assessing which US-funded programs are working and which are not and withdrawing support from those that are not viable.
- Focusing more attention on the local and provincial levels and promoting a grassroots, regional approach to trade and investment.
- Forcing Russia to follow international norms and standards of behavior and making that a requirement for inclusion in international economic institutions.

Despite the enormous difficulties and hardships Russians have suffered, this conference group felt that, on balance, the news from Russia is good. Their report concludes: "The inefficient, stifling command and control economy of the Soviet period is gone for good; freedom of expression is now widespread and exercised through a variety of outlets; elections are taken for granted; and power is devolving from Moscow to the various regions of the Russian Federation. Moreover, the Russian people are well-educated, talented, and possess an entrepreneurial drive. They will not rebuild Russia in another five years—but in the decades to come, Russia may well be the US principal competitor in the global marketplace of ideas, trade and investment, and political leadership. For this and many other reasons, the US must continue its engagement with Russia in a spirit of generosity and friendship."

—Mary Gray Davidson

Questions. *Boris Yeltsin's health (in the surgical recovery room, top) and the living conditions of many people concern observers of the Russian scene.*

See page 14 to order the report of this conference entitled Rebuilding Russia: The Next Phase *or see page 15 for a* Common Ground *radio program on this topic called* Russia's Prospects. *(#9645)*

Human Rights

The increasingly globalized world has impacted both the international human rights movement and disadvantaged groups in the US.

Do international human rights groups like Amnesty International and domestic civil rights organizations such as the Southern Christian Leadership Conference have much in common? The answer is yes, but the paths of these kinds of groups have not often crossed.

In general, US-based international human rights organizations have focused their work overseas, while US civil rights organizations have concentrated, for good reason, on improving the status of racial and ethnic minorities, women, and immigrants here at home. Each approach makes sense given the groups' goals for social change. But the increasingly globalized world has impacted both the international human rights movement and disadvantaged groups in the US, rendering obsolete the notion that there is a difference between protecting rights abroad and at home. Opportunities now exist for greater collaboration between the two sets of groups.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

1963. A fire hose is turned on civil rights demonstrators in Birmingham, Alabama. Do US civil rights workers and international human rights groups have common interests?

Exploring linkages among the groups was the goal of a conference group convened at the Stanley Foundation's 37th Strategy for Peace Conference held last fall outside Washington, DC. The group, titled "Human Rights: Bridging the Communities," was chaired by Lynn Walker Huntley, director of the Comparative Human Relations Project at the Southern Education Foundation and included 23 participants from a variety of organizations concerned with improving the status of immigrants, women, and members of racial and ethnic minority groups in the US and abroad.

The conference report states that these organizations can no longer "...do their work with maximum effectiveness without taking into account the international or global dimension of the problems with which they are grappling." In particular, the help of the international human rights movement is needed in the US due to "...the increased number of immigrants; the growth in wealth and income inequality; the lack of effective international mechanisms to regulate multinational corporations; changes in the structure of the economy; and the intransigence of race-, gender-, and ethnicity-based discrimination." On the other hand, international human rights organizations may benefit by creating stronger bases of support in the US since "...many people in the US increasingly identify with groups in other countries."

Collaboration

According to the report, examples of this kind of collaboration already exist:

- Elements of the women's movement in the US have become increasingly vocal in challenging the status and treatment of women abroad.
- Employing the language of international human rights has provided new means by which to promote the advancement of women in the US.
- International human rights concepts, including appeals to the UN, were used by African-Americans to challenge conditions in the US.
- African-American groups played a key role in altering US policy toward South Africa and ultimately ending apartheid.
- Many recent immigrants to the US have become increasingly vocal in pressing US-based companies, the public, and the government to be more attentive to conditions in their countries of origin.

Obstacles

Despite these positive examples, there are obstacles to increased cooperation. Conference participants identified these:

- The international human rights movement and the movement for minorities', immigrants', and women's rights in the US are still relatively young and, therefore, have not had much experience in collaboration.
- The misperception is widespread among Americans that international human rights ideas have limited value and salience in the US, and that domestically focused civil rights organizations would derive no benefit for their US-based constituents by

expanding their work to recognize and adopt international strategies.

- Both internationally and domestically focused human rights organizations are still few in number and have limited financial and staffing resources.

- In the US many human rights organizations rely heavily upon the American legal system to resolve problems. These organizations, seeing weaknesses in the international human rights law system, see little value in adopting the language, concepts, and instruments of international human rights law.

- Social, economic, and cultural rights in particular do not yet have broadly accepted definitions. This makes the effective use of these provisions, as well as the creation of enforcement mechanisms, difficult.

- The international human rights community has often sought to enlist the support of Americans for work abroad, but the community has not always shown a commitment to promoting and defending human rights within the US.

- The level of dissatisfaction in the American public with current immigration policy and practice may be a barrier to collaboration if some constituencies fail to pay attention to the needs and concerns of immigrants.

On this last point, conference participants had a lively discussion about how active immigrant communities and newcomers to the US are, or could be, in denouncing human rights abuses in their countries of origin. Some participants felt that these groups may have a legitimate fear of reprisals against family and friends back home for speaking out in the US.

UN PHOTO

UN Group. *The Commission on Human Rights meets in Geneva, Switzerland.*

Others may have a lack of continuing knowledge about events in their countries of origin. Yet, some conference participants pointed out that certain immigrant communities, like the Hmong from Vietnam and Cubans, have been quite active in challenging human rights abuses in [their native] countries.

Building Bridges

The report issued following the conference identified some bridge-building possibilities for further thought and consideration:

- A public education campaign, framed in human rights terms, might help people focus on their shared interest in protecting vulnerable groups. Using such a campaign to mark the 50th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1998 might be effective.

- Because the problem of violence against women is serious, pervasive, and crosses national boundaries, it may furnish a vehicle through which to build on the successes in promoting women's rights as human rights. In addition, promoting ratification of the Convention on Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) can be used to link women's groups worldwide.

- Promoting a world conference on racism would help to raise consciousness on this issue and bring various groups together. Such an effort might build on the successes of the antiapartheid movement.

- According to the report, "Many governments use reservations in effect to immunize themselves and conditions in their countries from full and effective coverage by all provisions of selected international treaties." The US and international human rights organizations could collaborate to challenge the widespread use of such reservations.

As the report concludes, this conference provided merely a point of departure for the difficult work of collaboration and bridge-building. The organizations represented at the conference "...have already made, individually and collectively, a tremendous contribution to human welfare through their work. Globalization makes it increasingly more difficult for any of these organizations to achieve their goals without being mindful of one another's work and capacities to contribute."

—Keith Porter

Certain immigrant communities...have been quite active in challenging human rights abuses in [their native] countries.

See page 14 to order the report of this conference entitled Human Rights: Bridging the Communities *or see page 15 for a* Common Ground *radio program on this topic called* Globalization and Human Rights. *(#9703)*

Shifting Threat

While governmental curbs on acquiring weapons of mass of destruction have largely been successful...

In 1995 the Japanese religious cult Aum Shinrikyo set off a nerve gas bomb in Tokyo's subway killing 12 people and injuring 3,800. Two years earlier, the World Trade Center bombers could have killed thousands if they had succeeded in their attempt to release hydrogen cyanide in the blast. These two incidents are chilling examples of the growing threat that chemical and biological weapons of mass destruction pose to ordinary citizens. The technology to produce these weapons is more readily available, and more people seem willing to use them. Add to the danger the poorly guarded nuclear weapons and fissile materials in the former Soviet Union, and you have a new and very different security threat from the Cold War era.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Deadly air. *Rescue team members prepare to enter a Toyko subway station after a nerve gas bomb was set off in 1995.*

Current arms control agreements between governments are of less consequence once these weapons of mass destruction are in the hands of terrorists, rogue states, and subnational groups. So, last fall the Stanley Foundation convened a meeting of weapons experts to analyze weapons of mass destruction—who wants them and the best way for governments to keep them from spreading. The conference was chaired by Leonard Spector from the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace and included researchers and arms control experts from government and public and private institutions.

Weapons of mass destruction fall into three general categories: nuclear, chemical, and biological. While most attention is focused on nuclear weapons, all three types are capable of massive death tolls. Also, chemical and biological weapons are much more likely choices for terrorist groups because they are easier to obtain or manufacture.

The Arms Control Record

The news on the nuclear weapons scene is mixed. International efforts have succeeded in arresting the spread of nuclear weapons, and fewer nations are considered potential nuclear proliferants than at any time over the past 20 years. The list of declared nuclear weapons states has remained the same for decades: US, Russia, France, China, and Britain. So have the de facto nuclear weapon states: India, Israel, and Pakistan. And international efforts have stymied the attempts by Iran, Iraq, Libya, and North Korea to develop nuclear weapons programs.

There are several reasons that explain why nuclear weapons are not more widespread. Probably heading the list is the fact that the public has been transfixed with the nuclear threat ever since the US exploded the atomic bomb "Little Boy" on Hiroshima in 1945. The nuclear arms race between the US and Soviet Union in following years created grave public concerns about nuclear weapons and led to wide support for measures to limit the size and spread of arsenals. The nuclear arms control treaties signed over the years have, on the whole, been successful, this group agreed. Unfortunately, there hasn't been as much public concern, and therefore, support to control other types of nonnuclear weapons.

The movement to prevent the use of chemical weapons received a big boost from the Chemical Weapons Convention, which has now been signed by 65 countries and will enter into force this April. The US has yet to ratify this international agreement that will ban the possession of chemical weapons and require countries to destroy all existing stockpiles.

The weakest arms control arrangements so far, the group agreed, concern biological weapons. Although there is a Biological Weapons Convention which bans possession of these weapons, the treaty has no verification measures; and it is widely believed that a number of countries that have signed the treaty have been violating it. However, the convention at least sets a norm against developing these weapons, and efforts to strengthen the treaty are underway.

A False Sense of Security

While governmental curbs on acquiring weapons of mass destruction have largely been successful, there are signs that the threats from these weapons are changing. The arms control agreements in place today are between nations, but it is subnational—including terrorist groups—that are pursuing weapons of mass destruction. Evidence indicates that states that sponsor terrorism, such as Syria and Iraq, may be assisting in the spread of such weapons.

The Stanley Foundation conference report identified the Aum Shinrikyo chemical weapon attack as the most significant to date, but the participants also noted several lesser-known incidents involving chemical and biological agents. Those include a cult in Oregon contaminating a restaurant's salad bar with salmonella and Aum Shinrikyo's unsuccesful attempt to release anthrax from atop its Tokyo headquarters. Former Director of Central Intelligence John Deutch, testifying

before Congress last year, pointed to the German police's confiscation of a coded diskette from a Neo-Nazi group that contained information on how to produce mustard gas and press reports that a Kurdish opposition group attempted to poison Turkish water supplies with cyanide.

What makes biological and chemical weapons programs so worrisome is that they are easy to hide and inexpensive compared to nuclear weapons. There has been explosive growth in the biotechnology industry worldwide, and both the biological and chemical industries pose the risk of dual-use technology in which a seemingly innocent civilian manufacturing plant could double as a weapons plant. For example, chemicals used to make nerve agents are the same used to make plastics and to process foodstuffs, according to Deutch. The Aum Shinrikyo, he noted, legitimately obtained all of the components that it needed to build its chemical and biological infrastructures. "Extremists worldwide," he said, "are increasingly learning how to manufacture chemical and biological agents, and the potential for additional chemical and biological attacks by such groups continues to grow."

The participants at the Stanley Foundation meeting also discussed the attempts to steal Russian tactical nuclear weapons. The breakup of the Soviet Union has left its nuclear materials poorly protected. Given the dire economic conditions in the former Soviet Union, smuggling for profit is a possibility. The Stanley Foundation conference noted that "reports of nuclear smuggling from the former Soviet Union decreased in 1995, compared to 1994, which could indicate that the smugglers have not succeeded in finding buyers, but could also signify that smugglers are learning to evade detection more effectively. Moreover...only a fraction of Russia's weapons-usable nuclear material is protected by security arrangements that meet international standards."

Effective Control

Given the dramatic changes on the weapons front, this conference group discussed how to sharpen the existing tools to curb the spread of weapons of mass destruction. In its report, the group identified several key components for a successful arms control effort:

- A universal treaty, such as the nuclear nonproliferation treaty, that prohibits the possession or manufacture of the specific weapon of mass destruction.
- A widely supported, multilateral oversight organization to carry out the treaty's provisions which include verifying and monitoring compliance.
- Provisions that require nations to disclose what critical materials they possess that could be used to produce weapons of mass destruction, to confirm that those materials are not being used for weapons purposes, and to document the trade in such materials between nations.
- Export controls to limit technology transfers to countries where proliferation is a concern.
- A forum for hearing and adjudicating charges of noncompliance with the treaty and to invoke sanctions against treaty violators.
- Domestic laws against the production or possession of weapons of mass destruction.
- Controls within countries to ensure that the materials they hold that are potentially useful for such weapons are accounted for and held securely.
- The need for nations to strengthen their intelligence capabilities and to share intelligence information.

There is one area where we don't have enough information, this report noted, and that is why nations and other groups want to own or use weapons of mass destruction. Since it is getting easier to make or obtain these weapons, controlling their spread must focus on the motives behind the people who want them. Kathleen Bailey, a conference participant from the Lawrence Livermore National Laboratories, said in an interview for the *Common Ground* radio program, "We've come about as far as we can go in terms of limiting nations' access to the technologies for weapons of mass destruction. Now it's time to focus much more on their demand for those technologies and try to reduce their reasons for even wanting to have nuclear, chemical, or biological weapons."

So far, the world has been relatively safe from the use of weapons of mass destruction. But there is a new reality, this group concluded. Those who want the weapons are increasing, and it's become easier to acquire such weapons. Now, the world community must work together to develop new tools to address this changing situation.

—Mary Gray Davidson

See page 14 to order the report of this conference entitled Weapons of Mass Destruction: Are the Nonproliferation Regimes Falling Behind?

UN PHOTO

Agreement. *President Clinton signed the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty at UN headquarters last September. Government possession of weapons of mass destruction is only one danger.*

...there are signs that the threats from these weapons are changing.

See page 15 for a Common Ground *radio program on this topic called* Does Arms Control Still Matter? *(#9649)*

The Persian Gulf

"A US policy committed to the preservation of the status quo [in the Persian Gulf] is a policy certain to fail." This is the conclusion of a report issued from the Stanley Foundation's 37th Strategy for Peace Conference held late last year in Airlie, Virginia. The discussion group, "The Persian Gulf: Challenges for a New Administration," included more than two dozen American academics and policymakers whose work focuses on the region. The talks were chaired by former National Security Council member Gary Sick.

A number of recent issues have called attention to the weaknesses in US policy. Among them are the bombings which killed American personnel in Saudi Arabia, the incursion of Iraqi forces into the northern Kurdish area (and the US military response), the derailment of the Israeli-Palestinian peace process, and the movement of Turkey toward a more "Islamist" foreign policy.

A number of recent issues have called attention to the weaknesses in US policy.

These signs of turmoil must be considered in relation to the long-standing goals of the US in the region—the protection of Israel's security and guaranteed access to affordable oil. "There were strong concerns in the group as to the means the US uses to pursue these goals," according to the report.

While there was considerable agreement in the group that US policy in the region should be altered, some participants went so far as to call US policy "bankrupt." The discussion centered on two main areas: the US role as a "protector" of monarchies in the gulf and US efforts to contain Iran and Iraq.

Protector

Conference participants were careful to point out that, contrary to public opinion, there is not "bottomless wealth" in the oil states which make up the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC)—Bahrain, Kuwait, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, United Arab Emirates, and Yemen. Much of the wealth is held by a small number of individuals. Public wealth continues to decrease, and economic reforms to solve this problem are unlikely to be implemented by those in power.

While participants acknowledged that there is no way to adequately assess the level of discontent among the populations in these countries, there have been "small minorities willing to organize around radical aims." The report said, "The potential exists for this sentiment to grow and is an important component of instability in the region."

Such instability would put the US in a difficult and dangerous situation. The US has been reluctant to press the GCC regimes for internal reforms. And the US rhetoric and military presence in the Persian Gulf mean the US is seen as the "protector" of these governments. In fact, conference participants had widespread agreement on the proposition that "...the visible US military presence in the Persian Gulf has, on balance, a negative impact on domestic politics within the GCC states and that its costs must be carefully weighed against its benefits."

Iran

The perception of Iran as an "unalterably hostile and intrinsic strategic threat in the gulf" is widespread in the US. Yet, the conference report said Iran could also be seen as a "pragmatic regime moving out of revolution; devoting most of its attention to its severe economic problems;

and practicing a restrained, cautious, and largely nationalistic (as opposed to 'Islamic') foreign policy." One participant said that the US inability to reconcile these conflicting perspectives on Iran, "bedevils our analysis and stifles creative policy formulations."

While the group discussed at length the possibility of a new US-Iranian dialogue, they reached little agreement. Some thought such talks should not be considered, others thought only marginal issues could be addressed if talks did take place, and still others thought talks on US core concerns with Iran—support for international terrorism and the development of weapons of mass destruction—could yield progress. The view was also expressed that opportunities for an American opening may not materialize until after this summer's elections in Iran.

Iraq

The UN weapons monitoring and sanctions on Iraq, as well as Iraq's attempts to thwart these

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTOS

Gulf Threats. *The June 1996 truck bomb at a US military complex in Saudi Arabia heightened concerns about that country's stability. In Iraq, Saddam Hussein is still in command.*

measures, were discussed at length. The group examined three possible near-term scenarios for Iraq. The first would be to have the US commit many more resources to the overthrow of Saddam Hussein, yet the group agreed the US has neither the will nor the capability to carry this out. Second, policymakers could acknowledge that Saddam will likely stay in power for the near term; however, some participants felt Iraq is unable to withstand many more years of Saddam's tyranny. And the third possibility is a breakup of Iraq into three entities—a Kurdish north, a predominantly Sunni central, and a predominantly Shi'a south—but the group consensus was that this would be extremely dangerous.

Despite finding little policy guidance in those scenarios, the group was able to recommend "that the US should strongly and explicitly state that it refuses to deal with Saddam Hussein in any way while simultaneously emphasizing the benefits that will accrue to Iraq once Saddam Hussein is out of power." The group also showed support for UN Resolution 986 permitting the limited sale of Iraqi oil for food and medicine.

Regional Security

The possibility of a multilateral regional security dialogue was recommended by several participants. Although disagreements arose over whether or not certain countries should participate—namely, Iraq, Iran, and Israel—many thought that a broad approach involving European and other major external powers "was worthy of consideration."

The group's final recommendations for the Clinton administration's second term centered on three areas:

1. The US should quietly promote responsible political and economic reform in the GCC states and be sensitive to the political risks of a highly visible military presence. The US can pursue its oil interests without insisting on an outdated status quo.

2. Continued support should be given to the Arab-Israeli peace process. This has great importance in gulf issues and the legitimacy of the American role there.

3. While not all participants agreed, many recommended dealing with Iran rather than ignoring it. The potential payoffs of such talks were seen as substantial, while ignoring Iran could be dangerous and may do nothing to change Iran's behavior.

Members agreed, above all, that US policy in the Persian Gulf must be changed. The countries in the region are, without exception, "in the process of fundamental political, social, and economic change." According to the report, "The US must be flexible enough to anticipate and adapt to changing circumstances when necessary, and to help channel that change in constructive ways when possible."

—Keith Porter

For the full report from the conference, entitled The Persan Gulf: Challenges for a New Administration *see page 14.*

A multilateral regional security dialogue was recommended by several participants.

For information on ordering Common Ground *radio programs on this topic called* Slow Crisis *(#9650) and* Dual Containment: Slogan or Policy? *(#9649)* *see page 15.*

Educating for the Global Community

Having just heard another report on the radio about massive protests in Serbia, a woman goes to her home office, starts her computer, logs onto the internet, and selects a World Wide Web site that has been established by the Belgrade protesters. There she is able to read their first-hand accounts of recent events.

Change will not stop; in fact, it is likely to continue accelerating.

A few blocks away a stockbroker taps a few keys on his computer and places an order for a client who wants shares in a mutual fund that trades in stocks on Tokyo's Nikkei exchange. He takes a sip of Colombian coffee from his mug made in China.

These have become such everyday occurrences in American life that we hardly ever stop to think of how indicative they are of an increasingly globalized economy and culture. The fictional characters in these scenes have adjusted nicely to at least this level of globalization. But other effects of global change may hit them more adversely. And millions of other people are in danger of being completely left behind by rapid global changes.

PHOTO BY JESSICA LANE

Break time discussions. *Educators attending last November's conference on global education in community colleges continue their discussions during a break.*

Change will not stop; in fact, it is likely to continue accelerating. So then, how do we prepare people to not only cope with the changes but also become genuinely comfortable with them? Global education, integrated at every level of our schools, has to be a part of the answer.

It is within that light that three years ago the Stanley Foundation launched new partnerships with several national community college organizations. The initiative promotes global education at the community college level all across the country.

The first major event was a November 1994 conference cosponsored by the foundation and the American Council on International Intercultural Education (ACIIE). At that meeting, 24 community college educators and representatives of government, industry, and nongovernmental organizations adopted a mission statement: "To ensure the survival and well-being of our communities, it is imperative that community colleges develop a globally and multiculturally competent citizenry."

Getting More Specific

This past November a follow-up meeting was held at which 23 community college leaders and representatives of government agencies examined two key questions:

- What does it mean to be a globally competent learner?
- What is required institutionally for community colleges to produce such learners?

Complete agreement on definitions is often elusive, but participants generally said that global competency exists when a learner is able to understand the interconnectedness of peoples and systems, to accept and cope with the existence of different cultural values and attitudes, and, indeed, to celebrate the richness of this diversity. The group also agreed on nine characteristics of a globally competent learner. (See box.)

Institutional Requirements

If community colleges are to help produce such learners, participants said they must gear up institutionally. Each school should take several steps:

- Develop and implement a comprehensive global education program on campus.
- Obtain the commitment of the college's chief executive officers and trustees.
- Allocate resources, including released time, to faculty for research and development of curriculum, exchanges, and activities.
- Include global education as an integral component of the institution's mission statement to establish it as a priority for the college and its community.
- Provide support and incentives for international initiatives, both on and off campus.
- Conduct a needs assessment for local businesses and others interested in global education and commerce.
- Revise accreditation criteria to acknowledge the importance of global competency.
- Provide student services—academic advising, career counseling, instructional support services—to promote access to global education for all learners.

Regional and State Initiatives

National conferences are only one part of the foundation's community college initiative, however. During the past two years, a series of regional and statewide seminars has been held for community college presidents, trustees, administrators, and faculty.

The global learner:

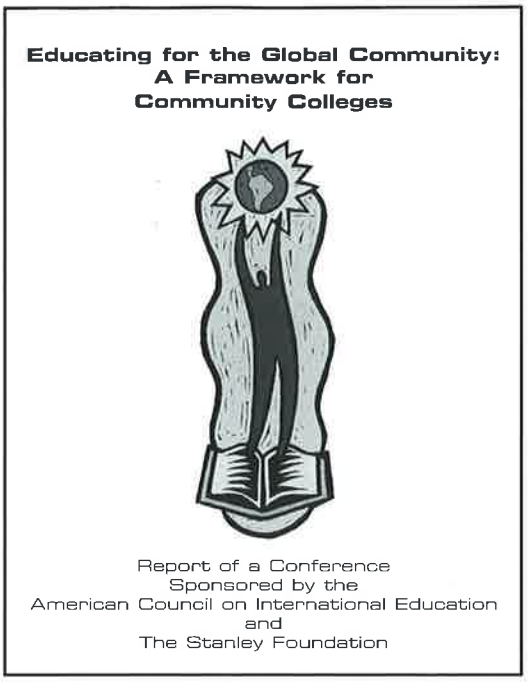
- is empowered by the experience of global education to help make a difference in society.
- is committed to the idea that learning is a lifelong endeavor.
- is aware of diversity, commonalities, and interdependence.
- recognizes the geopolitical and economic interdependence of our world.
- appreciates the impact of other cultures on national life.
- accepts the importance of all peoples.
- is capable of working in diverse teams.
- understands the nonuniversality of culture, religion and values.
- accepts responsibility for global citizenship.

According to Jack Smith, the Stanley Foundation program officer who has led the community college effort, "The goal of these seminars is to help the participants fully realize the need for campus international, intercultural education and to help them identify available resources for such education." At the close of the seminars, the participants are encouraged to develop a one-year plan of action for heightening global education programs in their state and on their campuses.

During the past two years, seminars have been held in New York, Seattle, the District of Columbia, Iowa, and Missouri. In 1997 similar meetings are planned in Southern California, Wisconsin, and Oklahoma.

The Stanley Foundation's role is mainly one of encouraging and facilitating. The actual implementation of plans, of course, is carried out by community college educators and leaders. "The essence of this project is new partnerships and a new recognition that community colleges are serving as prime movers in global education," said Smith. The foundation's main partners in the community college initiative are ACIIE, the Association of Community College Trustees, the American Association of Community Colleges, and Community Colleges for International Development.

—Jeffrey Martin



A report of the November 1996 conference, Educating for the Global Community: A Framework for Community Colleges, *is available.* *See page 14.*

The UN Secretary-General

(Below) Former Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar and former Under-Secretary-General Brian Urquhart were among the members of a distinguished panel hearing testimony on the role of the Secretary-General. (Right) Stanley Foundation President Richard Stanley talks with Ambassador Elliot Richardson. The forum on the role of the UN's chief executive was held last November as UN diplomats were in the process of selecting Kofi Annan to hold the post. The forum was organized by the UNA-USA and cosponsored by the Stanley Foundation.

UNA PHOTOS

Building on Beijing

World conferences take years of planning. Delegates meet in preparatory sessions to draft a document for adoption at the conference. Nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) prepare for their parallel meetings and try to influence the official document. Sometimes, by the time the conference is over the preparations have left the participants exhausted, leaving little energy for follow-up.

Programs emphasize linking the international with the domestic and local.

Knowing that, many of the NGOs who prepared for the 1995 UN Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing were determined not to let that happen. Led by Australian NGOs, they called for Beijing to be a "conference of commitments," and they have been monitoring the commitments and follow-up actions taken by governments.

The Stanley Foundation has continued to pursue ways it too may continue to implement the goals of Beijing. The first major effort was a national conference, *Bringing Beijing Back: Local Actions and Global Strategies*, which brought together national government and nongovernmental leaders with local grassroots activists and students. Groups and individuals were encouraged to implement the Beijing Platform for Action at home in the US.

Pressing for ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW) has been another objective. The US played a major role in drafting this human rights treaty. But in spite of ratification by more than 160 nations, the US has yet to ratify it. Last fall the foundation and the American Bar Association co-hosted meetings to build grassroots outreach, education, and support for the treaty. Such diverse groups as the American Nurses Association, National Education Association, Church Women United, and more traditional women's human rights organizations attended.

Linkages

Linking the different UN conferences has been another foundation goal. The Second UN Conference on Human Settlements (Habitat II) followed Beijing. Because it was so close, many traditional women's organizations involved in UN matters did not participate in Habitat II. Furthermore, official governmental delegates had no concept that gender was a factor in housing, cities, and physical infrastructure. In order to address these disconnects, the foundation joined with the National Congress of Neighborhood Women and the Women, Homes, and Community Super-Coalition to sponsor a

training session for grassroots women. That session was held before the February 1996 Habitat II preparatory committee (PrepComm) meeting. Women drew on that training at the PrepComm and Habitat II in Istanbul. The foundation will cosponsor a national grassroots conference on Habitat II implementation in the fall of 1997.

Another linkage effort was support for a September 28, 1996, national teleconference organized by the President's Interagency Council on Women at which women reviewed what the US had accomplished since the Beijing conference. More than 400 sites were involved. Joan Winship, the foundation's vice president for Outreach, advised the national effort and coordinated six Iowa sites.

The foundation has supported other linking efforts near its home. Those include:

- A Consortium for Enhancing the International Dimension in Women's Studies Programs for eastern Iowa and western Illinois. This program involves six colleges, universities, and community colleges in the area.
- A five-day visit (cosponsored by Freedom House) by nine South Asian human rights activists. The Asian women learned about women's rights in the US, and local women and men learned about the struggles in South Asia.
- Summer Explorations, a program in which seventh and eighth grade girls from the Muscatine, Iowa, area explored their connections with girls and women around the world.

The Stanley Foundation's programs emphasize linking the international with the domestic and local.

—Jeffrey Martin

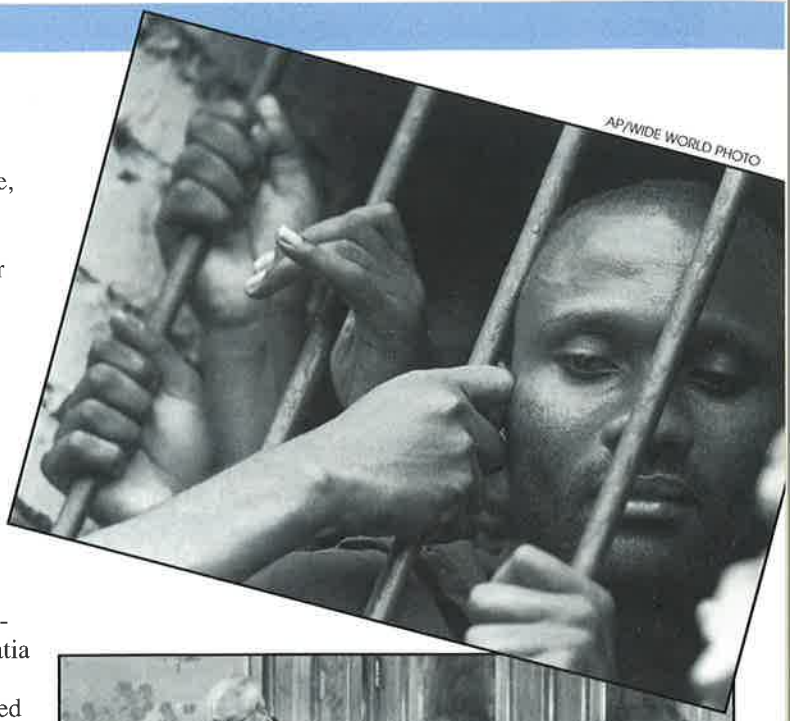
Justice After War

For the first time since the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials half a century ago, two international tribunals are prosecuting individuals for genocide, torture, and other crimes against humanity. The war crimes tribunals for the former Yugoslavia and Rwanda, created by the UN Security Council, have the inauspicious task of investigating and prosecuting those who have committed countless acts of abuse and unspeakable crimes in these war-torn countries. The tribunals are working to ensure that the truth is told; justice is done; and, most important, that the civilians, soldiers, and officers—regardless of their place in the chain of command—are held individually responsible for their deeds.

Individual accountability for war criminals, in and of itself, is a laudable goal, but the hope is that prosecutions by these international tribunals will help foster genuine national reconciliation and a lasting peace. It remains to be seen, however, to what extent these criminal prosecutions will be in service of these larger objectives. To that end, the Stanley Foundation has launched a series of programs which assess the various roles of the international community in fostering peace through justice and national reconciliation in post-conflict situations. Creating war crimes tribunals is but one approach. As ethnic conflicts multiply globally, this issue will become increasingly more important. The foundation's examination of post-conflict justice began with a day-long meeting of experts last November. A follow-up conference this April will explore the issues more fully.

The challenges of post-conflict justice are immense, and the work of the international tribunals is equally daunting. Since its creation in May 1993, the War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia, based in The Hague, has painstakingly collected vast amounts of evidence of crimes committed during the three-year conflict which ended with the signing of the Dayton Peace Agreement in November 1995. Tribunal investigators have explored the criminality, much of it "ethnic cleansing," of all sides in the bloody conflict—Bosnian Serbs, Muslims, and Croats alike. They have inspected mass grave sites and interviewed prisoners of war as well as soldiers, rape victims, and others. Although Croatia and Bosnia (both now part of a loose federation) have cooperated with the tribunal by readily handing over their indicted to The Hague, government officials of the Serb-dominated "Republic of Sprska" have largely dragged their feet. Thus far, only one trial has been completed, and well-known indicted leaders are still at large.

The War Crimes Tribunal for Rwanda faces similar challenges. During a three-month killing spree, from April to June of 1994, at least a half-million people, primarily minority Tutsi, were systematically shot or slaughtered with machetes, rocks, and even farm tools by uncontrolled Hutu extremists. After the bloody, genocidal outburst, much of the country's governmental institutions, including its judiciary, lay in ruins. Since Rwanda had no immediate means of bringing the thousands of perpetrators to justice, the international community stepped in. It created a second international war crimes tribunal and placed it in neighboring Tanzania. Not unlike its sister organization in The Hague, this tribunal has had difficulties carrying out its mandate, ranging from lack of adequate funding to allegations of corruption.



Searching for Justice. *(Above) A Hutu man—one of 16,000 being held in Rwanda's prisons—awaits trial for genocide. (Below) Members of the War Crimes Tribunal for the former Yugoslavia meet at The Hague.*

Despite the slow pace of criminal prosecutions, both tribunals have already been successful in strengthening international humanitarian law. Simply by establishing viable tribunals, the international community, acting through the UN Security Council, has declared that it will not stand by while people commit heinous war crimes, even within their own borders. To do otherwise would have sent the message that unspeakable crimes can go unpunished. Perhaps most important, the international community has affirmed once again, as in Nuremberg and Tokyo, the notion that individuals, whether acting alone or with others, can be held responsible for violations of international humanitarian law.

—Mary Theisen

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Children in War

Last November the UN released the results of a study on the impact of war on children. In the last ten years, an estimated two million children have been killed in conflict and three times as many have been seriously injured or permanently disabled, many of them maimed by land mines. Tens of thousands of children have been forced to serve as soldiers. Graça Machel of Mozambique was appointed by the UN secretary-general to head the committee of eminent persons conducting the study. She says the report exposes a moral vacuum in which all taboos have been eroded and discarded and a world in which children are no longer considered precious. The following are excerpts from an interview with Graça Machel conducted for the Stanley Foundation's radio program, *Common Ground*. Tapes and transcripts of this program, *Peace is Every Child's Right* (#9647) are available. See page 15 for details.


UN PHOTO

Graça Machel

Graça Machel: *Some people argue that you can't say that the world is more violent today than it was before or that wars are more nasty now than before. My point is that you are in a situation where children used to be incidental casualties of a war. They were not targets as such. They were not involved as active participants, as perpetrators of wars. And this is, for me, the indication of that moral vacuum—where you have adults who deliberately conceive a strategy of kidnapping, training, and sometimes even dragging children to send them to the front, to expose them to killings, and, of course, for themselves to kill.... It's that dehumanization of children which I believe is the indication of the [moral] vacuum.*

On Land Mines

Those who manufacture this type of explosive know exactly who is going to be the victim. But they just don't care. And my question is, what type of a people are we becoming when we know exactly what is going to happen to children...? It's a kind of collective suicide.

On Rape in War

Rape is being used more and more as a weapon of war. The report gives very clear prominence to this issue to say this has to stop. And one of the ways is to declare rape as a war crime.... People have to know that they will be held accountable for what they do.

On Rehabilitation Efforts

What we help these children to do is not that they will forget what happened to them. No, we are saying they have to learn to deal with those experiences. Nevertheless, we should allow them to have the strength and the energy and the capacity to lead a dignified [life]. A child who witnesses atrocities, a child who is taken into the extreme of killing a human being, this is something you'll never forget in your life.... But we cannot afford just to leave it. We have to reinvent ways in which we bring back the normalcy of life for these children.

— Mary Gray Davidson

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