



# courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

## inside

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO



MASSOUMEH EBTEKAR

The Persian Gulf,  
page 6.

Also:  
Summer Learning

The Web

Human Rights



**D**espite some success in reform of its budget process and bureaucracy, the UN still must find its footing in the shifting sands of time. The UN, a nation-state membership organization, now must serve a world where the very definition of "nation-state" is in flux. The UN has yet to find a way to incorporate the financially powerful transnational businesses and the morally powerful nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) which have become so important on the world stage. Meanwhile, new international organizations have begun to encroach on issues previously in the exclusive domain of the UN.

Last year, the UN Efficiency Board announced it had found ways to maintain zero budget growth and cut staff by ten percent while still increasing UN activities. UN Under-Secretary Joseph Connor led the board and said the UN was poised to provide "better service, better value, and better manage-

ment." This year, new Secretary-General Kofi Annan announced even more sweeping reform, reorganization, and consolidation of UN efforts. Ted Turner recently pledged \$1 billion dollars over ten years to UN activities. Yet no amount of reshuffling or new dollars seems able to substitute for rethinking the UN's place in the world.

To promote that "rethinking" the Stanley Foundation brought together a number of experts with years of experience in the international arena for its 32nd Annual United Nations of the Next Decade conference this summer in Vitznau, Switzerland. In his opening remarks at the event, foundation President Richard Stanley said, "We have convened this conference on the premise that the global institutions of the future should be built for the global context of the future. We need to look beyond current UN reform efforts to discern the nature of the world and plan accordingly."

UN PHOTO



**Billion-Dollar Handshake.** Media magnate Ted Turner poses with UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan. In September, Turner announced that he would give \$1 billion to support selected UN programs. The gift lifted the spirits of many UN officials.

*Some claimed that the United Nations will never be an effective institution if it does not expand Security Council membership....*

**The Nation-State**

While all power on the world stage once flowed from the sovereignty of the nation-state, many factors are conspiring to alter and diminish that power. The globalization of the economy has increased—and sped up—the way goods, services, capital, people, information, and ideas travel across borders. National governments and existing international institutions are often powerless to control this flow.

Power in the nation-state is further eroded by security threats largely beyond the control of governments. These include terrorism, world population growth, environmental degradation, arms proliferation, and economic inequality within and among states. If no nation acting alone can significantly counter these threats, the challenge for the UN and other international institutions is to determine if nations acting together can do the job.

The most obvious forum for cooperation on these issues, the UN Security Council, was singled out in the conference's report as "...an anachronistic

World War II institution that is unrepresentative of the current geopolitical balance—the five nations which have veto power are no longer the only major powers. Some [conference] participants claimed that the UN will never be an effective institution if it does not expand Security Council membership to include such powers as Germany, Japan, India, and Brazil."

**New Players**

NGOs have become tremendously important in world affairs. Organizations like Amnesty International, the Red Cross, Greenpeace, and Human Rights Watch transcend borders and draw members and donations from around the world.

NGOs also draw strength from the fact that they can intervene in situations much earlier than many bureaucratically constrained nations—or the UN. According to the conference report, "NGOs do not wait for markets to react or nations to come calling. Several [conference] participants welcomed the increase in NGO activity, seeing it as a way to fill the gaps exposed by nations unwilling or unable to intervene. A few [conference] participants were less enthusiastic, pointing out that some NGOs are irresponsible and ineffective and some are too closely identified with certain states."

The power and high-profile role of these organizations cannot be denied. The UN, in examining its place in the new global context, must find ways to integrate, or at a minimum coordinate, its efforts with those of the NGOs.

Like NGOs, transnational businesses have emerged as new players largely outside the control of nation-states or existing intergovernmental institutions. According to the report, these businesses have "...overtaken the ability of the nation-state to regulate its own economy." Unlike NGOs, there will be little chance for the UN to integrate or coordinate their work with these businesses. Rather, the challenge is to find new forms of regulation. And newly emerging

international organizations are taking on that task.

**New International Organizations**

New, narrowly defined intergovernmental institutions are infringing on areas formerly reserved for the UN. For example, the World Trade Organization (WTO) and the Global Environmental Facility have focused mandates and specialized staff. According to the report, groups like these are seen as "...more effective and useful than the bloated, inefficient, and bureaucratic United Nations."

Even under the UN umbrella, agencies are emerging as key players apart from the UN proper. The report said, "Some of the UN specialized agencies that have a narrow focus, such as the International Atomic Energy Agency and the International Postal Union are perceived as being much more effective and less cumbersome and bureaucratic than the central United Nations."

On security matters, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) and the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe are fulfilling much of the security role, at least for Europe, once envisioned for the UN. Other regional groups like the Organiza-

**courier**

No. 26, Fall 1997      ISSN 1044-5900

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

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

©1997 by The Stanley Foundation. Reprints of certain articles may be obtained upon permission from the foundation. To receive future issues, contact:

The Stanley Foundation  
216 Sycamore Street, Suite 500  
Muscatine, Iowa 52761 USA  
(319) 264-1500, Fax: (319) 264-0864  
E-mail: info@stanleyfdn.org  
Internet: www.stanleyfdn.org

tion of American States may be increasingly called upon to deal with security issues within their own area.

The WTO is not the only institution attempting to regulate the globalization of the economy. "Global professional and business associations are increasingly developing generally accepted practices and norms that are being followed worldwide to provide consistency in terminology, financial practices, and operations," said the report.

The Group of Seven (G-7)—United States, Germany, Japan, Italy, France, Canada, and Britain (and sometimes Russia and China)—is another example of an association outside the UN system which attempts to set global policy. Each of these new players are elements of the new global context within which the UN must find a role for itself.

### Recommendations

The conference examined this new context and came up with suggestions for the UN in six different policy areas: international institutions; peace and security; economic development; environment; international rule of law; and trade, finance, and investment. Conference participants were not asked to endorse this list or reach consensus on it. Rather, these recommendations are summaries of ideas that developed during the round-table discussions.

All international organizations, according to the report, need to be reassessed in light of massive economic globalization. There needs to be more NGOs in the underdeveloped parts of the world and more regional intergovernmental organizations. Overall, these institutions need to be smaller and more focused than many current organizations with broad mandates.

In the area of peace and security, a permanent mechanism of preventive diplomacy is needed. The G-7, as well as regional organiza-

tions, should be encouraged to explore their role in security issues. NATO expansion's effect on global security should be reviewed. More resources need to go to refugees and internally displaced people, and new highly specialized, depoliticized professional agencies are needed to deal with weapons of mass destruction.

UN involvement in economic development should undergo comprehensive reassessment and overhaul. UN development programs and activities should focus primarily on the least developed countries. Furthermore, the UN should address the growing serious inequalities between rich and poor and explore the creation of an economic security council.

The report suggests the UN should enhance its involvement in international environmental norm-setting and establish "...an international organization of professional scientists to provide environmental groups and policymakers with hard scientific data free of bias." There also needs to be greater coordination among environmental groups and greater involvement by them in the area of stemming population growth.

On trade, finance, and investment, some participants said a new regulatory regime was needed for international private financial transactions. The report also mentioned the need to restore G-7 summits to their original purpose of macroeconomic consultation and cooperation.

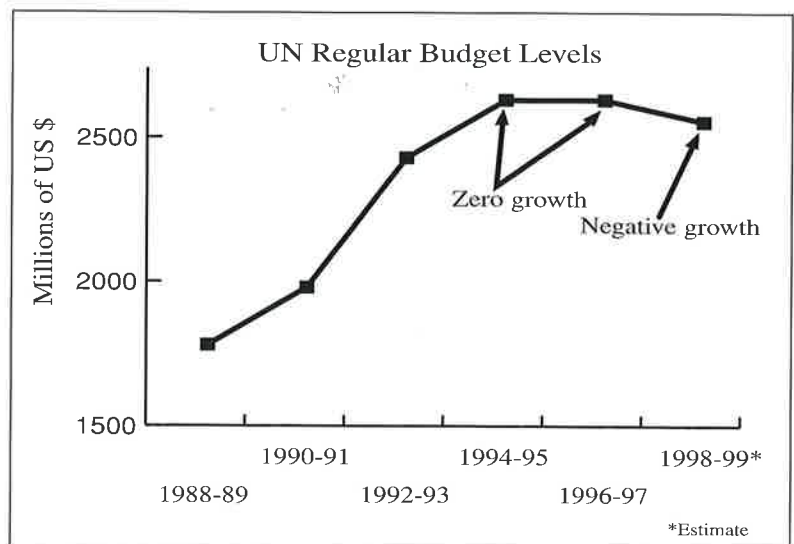
Finally, the report said in the new global context much work is needed in the area of international law. The UN should enhance international legal norms and work toward improving compliance with international law.

In general, the conference participants envisioned a world where the UN and other institutions are not merely associations of governments but part of a world community. These agencies need to be tailored for the needs and circumstances of the new century. As the report concludes, "It may well be that the [UN] would best serve its purpose if its activities were circumscribed, limited to a more specific set of issues that it can handle in a more focused, efficient, and effective manner. To remain in touch, international institutions need to bring into the fold other players who are traditionally disenfranchised from the process. The thinking should focus not only on the kind of national or global institutions we want but the type of society we want."

—Keith Porter

For a copy of the report entitled *Beyond Reform: The United Nations in a New Era*, see page 10. This report is also available on our web site: [www.stanleyfdn.org](http://www.stanleyfdn.org).

*...participants envisioned a world where the UN and other institutions are not merely associations of governments but part of a world community.*



*Fewer Dollars.* The UN budget is getting smaller. But there are still lively debates on the role of the organization in a dramatically changed world.

# Human Rights Are Universal

UNPHOTO



**A Living Legacy.** Eleanor Roosevelt looks approvingly at a poster containing the Universal Declaration of Human rights. Roosevelt was one of the leading forces in pushing for its adoption.

*“Where, after all, do universal rights begin? In small places, close to home.... Such are the places where every man, woman, and child seeks equal justice, equal opportunity, equal dignity without discrimination. Unless these rights have meaning there, they have little meaning anywhere. Without concerned citizen action to uphold them close to home, we shall look in vain for progress in the ‘large world.’”*

**—Eleanor Roosevelt, 1958**

**Americans  
tend to see  
human  
rights as...  
abuses  
in other  
countries.**



**W**hen Abner Louima, a Haitian immigrant, said he was tortured and brutalized by New York City police this August, most people saw it as an issue of bad policing. But it is also a human rights issue. Amnesty International says it receives and investigates “numerous complaints of ill-treatment of suspects by police in the USA.” Many cases, according to Amnesty, “appear to have violated international standards, including Article 7 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights which states that ‘No one shall be subjected to torture or to cruel, inhuman, or degrading treatment or punishment.’”

Americans tend to think of problems like racism, sexual harassment, or anti-Semitism as distinct and separate issues. In reality, they are all violations of human rights. As the fiftieth anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights begins this December, the Stanley Foundation is both celebrating this landmark

document and educating Americans to look at domestic issues from a human rights perspective, since many Americans tend to see human rights as something that concerns abuses in other countries. “Many groups in the United States are already doing human rights work,” notes Stanley Foundation Vice President Joan Winship, “but they don’t use that terminology. A human rights framework allows us to look at our communities in a different way in order to see that everyone’s needs are being met.”

## **Human Rights Communities**

Four pilot “human rights communities” are located in key American cities to show how communities can apply a human rights framework locally. Winship says the issues they look at range from housing to immigration to wages. The cities are San Antonio, St. Louis, Minneapolis/St. Paul, and Atlanta. This pilot program is an effort of several human rights organizations working under the title Human Rights USA. Members of this coalition include Amnesty International, the National Center for Human

Rights Education in Atlanta, Partners in Human Rights Education in Minneapolis, and Street Law, Inc., in Washington, DC. In these four cities community members, educators, students, and activists will examine the human rights climate and advocate for change.

This summer the Stanley Foundation and Human Rights USA (HRUSA) held a national meeting in Washington, DC, to prepare for the 1998 celebration of the Universal Declaration. This meeting brought together national leaders from various civil rights, human rights, church, community, education, and ethnic organizations to lay the groundwork for individual and collaborative efforts throughout the anniversary year.

Additionally, while it is not an official HRUSA pilot community, Iowa City, Iowa, is working to build a human rights community. The Stanley Foundation is supporting these efforts, as well as The University of Iowa’s celebration of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. The entire campus from the law school to the medical and business schools to

the arts is coordinating programs with a year-long focus on human rights. Events during Human Rights '98 include ethics seminars, publications, conferences, and speakers of international renown including Nobel laureates Rigoberto Menchu and Elie Wiesel.

**Education Is the Key**

Education is the basis for building human rights communities and in creating solidarity nationally and internationally. The United Nations has designated 1995-2005 as the Decade for Human Rights Education. As Amnesty International puts it, "Education is the preventive medicine of human rights," and a necessary component of a democracy.

In an effort to teach American students about their rights and the rights of people worldwide, the Stanley Foundation is working with educators to include human rights in their everyday teaching materials. Program Officer Jill Goldesberry believes that "human rights education contributes to just and peaceful societies. It makes people better able to participate in their communities and, yet, most people in the United States receive no education about human rights. Educating about and for human rights helps people take responsibility for respecting and defending human rights." Goldesberry helped create the Human Rights Education Curriculum that is available through the Human Rights USA project.

—Mary Gray Davidson

*For more resources on human rights see pages 10-11 or visit our web site: [www.stanleyfdn.org](http://www.stanleyfdn.org).*

*Human Rights USA is providing starter kits for building a human rights community through their resource center in Minneapolis. Their toll free number is 1-888-HRE-DUC8. Or, visit their website at [www.hrusa.org](http://www.hrusa.org).*

*For human rights events at The University of Iowa visit their website at [www.uiowa.edu/~hr98](http://www.uiowa.edu/~hr98).*

**Education is the basis for building human rights communities.**

**USA HUMAN RIGHTS SCORECARD**

INTERNATIONAL AGREEMENTS AND DATES ENTERED INTO FORCE	NO. OF PARTIES TO THE CONVENTION	RATIFIED BY US?
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination January 1969	148	Yes, October 1994
Covenant on Civil and Political Rights March 1976	138	Yes, June 1992, with reservations
Covenant on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights January 1979	136	No
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women September 1981	160	Yes, October 1994, with reservations
Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman, or Degrading Treatment or Punishment June 1987	102	Yes, October 1994, with reservations
Convention on the Rights of the Child September 1990	140	No

COURTESY OF THE INTERNATIONAL HUMAN RIGHTS TREATY RATIFICATION WORKBOOK

# A Difference Among Friends

*US and European allies share a vision of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf, but there are... differences ...on how to achieve the goal.*



When the French energy company Total announced plans for a major new natural gas venture in Iran in late September it highlighted a political rift between the US and its European allies. That rift is over how to deal with troublesome states in the Persian Gulf, most notably Iran and Iraq. Experts on the region have been aware of and concerned about the differences for several years.

Just weeks before the Total announcement, thirty of those experts met in London for a conference that focused on the different policy approaches toward the Persian Gulf that are advocated on opposite sides of the Atlantic. The meeting, "US-European Policy in the Persian Gulf: Beyond the Friction," was cosponsored by the Stanley Foundation and the Royal Institute for International Affairs. It was held at the Royal Institute's headquarters at Chatham House in London.

Robert Pelletreau, who just last March stepped down from the US State Department's top post on the

Near East, co-chaired the meeting with Lord Wright of Richmond, Chairman of the Royal Institute. Current and former officials from Britain, France, Italy, Germany, and the US mixed with other Americans and Europeans from the private sector.

The meeting highlighted the fact that the US and European allies share a vision of peace and stability in the Persian Gulf, but that there are significant differences among the allies on how to achieve the goal. In general, the European governments emphasize political measures to counter undesirable behavior from Iran and Iraq. By contrast, the US government has for the past several years pursued a policy of "dual containment," featuring use of economic sanctions and maintaining a potent military presence.

## Iraq

The coalition which came together to carry out Operation Desert Storm in 1991 left in place UN sanctions intended to strip Saddam Hussein of his capability to produce weapons of mass destruction. A special UN commission, with unprecedented inspection powers, is not yet satisfied that the capability has been eradicated. However, the consensus among the allies is eroding.

In recent years, the US has strongly suggested that sanctions be maintained to force a change in government; i.e., that they remain in place until Saddam is replaced. Most Europeans contend that the sanctions should be lifted if and when the Iraqi government fulfills its obligations under the respective UN resolutions.

The US maintains that Saddam is a bad actor and that as long as he remains in power Iraq will continue to behave as a rogue state and will continue efforts to acquire chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons. The European view is

no more sympathetic to Saddam. But they maintain that the sanctions are imposing a terrible penalty on the Iraqi people while Saddam and his cohorts have found ways to enrich themselves, in some cases by profiting from oil sales meant to raise money for humanitarian purposes. In a less charitable vein, it is also true that European nations, especially France, have had long-standing trade and commercial interests in Iraq interrupted by the sanctions. They are anxious to resume trade and investment activity.

## Iran

Iran has been accused of supporting terrorism, attempting to acquire nuclear weapons, denouncing the West (particularly the US), and actively trying to disrupt the Arab-Israeli peace process. In the US it has taken on pariah status because of those actions and because most Americans vividly recall the humiliation suffered by the holding of hostages in the wake of the 1979 Iranian Revolution.

US policy on Iran has centered on containment and features a near total trade embargo. And it goes further. Under the Iran-Libya Sanctions Act, the US is to impose penalties on foreign companies who do business with Iran. That's why the Total announcement prompted a political spat between the US and France. The Europeans strenuously object to the US law, viewing it as an attempt by Congress to legislate outside its borders.

Furthermore, the Europeans disagree with the general US approach to Iran, which some feel is heavily influenced by US-Israeli relations. They are somewhat less convinced about Iran's military threat and terrorist activities and support a policy of limited and conditional engagements with Iran as the best way to try to influence its behavior.



*Strategic Location. The Persian Gulf lies among important and sometimes unstable neighbors.*



© ICHARTER/STYLING.COM

◀ **Madame Vice President.** *Massoumeh Ebtekar, one of seven vice presidents named by Iranian President Mohammed Khatami, holds the highest post held by a woman since the 1979 revolution. Her selection is seen as a sign of Khatami's moderation.*

tinuing viability of “dual containment”—especially urging a more subtle approach to managing relations with Iran.

- It has been long understood that the Persian Gulf is important to the West because of the massive oil reserves in the region. But participants noted that its importance is growing even more because of the way the countries there interplay with neighboring regions. In particular, participants noted strong linkage to the Arab-Israeli peace process. That process can be affected by the Persian Gulf countries and likewise can affect them. Similarly, to the north of Iran lies the Caspian Sea region where there are large fossil fuel reserves and some newly independent and unstable countries.

“This meeting was an excellent start to what we hope will be a continuing dialogue,” said David Doerge, Stanley Foundation Vice President for Policy. Doerge, along with Rosemary Hollis, Head of the Middle East Program at the Royal Institute for International Affairs, and Gary Sick, Executive Director of Gulf/2000 and an Adjunct Professor of Political Science at Columbia University, organized the London conference. “This meeting clearly demonstrated both the need and desire on both sides of the Atlantic for better coordination, thinking, and communication on policy toward the Persian Gulf. We are excited about the prospects of including a broader and more diverse set of actors from the policy community on a topic so vital to American and European interests.”

—Jeffrey Martin

*See page 10 to order a report of this conference entitled US-European Policies in the Persian Gulf: Beyond the Friction or see page 11 for a Common Ground radio program called Persian Gulf Policy: Time to Change? (9743) or visit our web site: [www.stanleyfdn.org](http://www.stanleyfdn.org) for both of these resources.*

Another factor influencing policy toward Iran is that the country appears to be moderating its policies. Last spring, a relative moderate, Mohammed Khatami, scored a surprising presidential election victory. Expert observers say he has cautiously liberalized some domestic laws and suggested his country might back off from what has been seen as activities that support terrorists. Many Europeans, and some expert Americans as well, have suggested that the West should be sending coordinated signals to Iran that moderate policies could lead to increased international investment and a possible end to American sanctions.

that there should be a regular forum, or forums, for discussions.

Some suggested that there should be contact between legislators in different countries, especially since the US Congress has taken an active interest in the Persian Gulf. One participant said resumption of consultations between the ambassadors of the five permanent members of the UN Security Council might be appropriate. Those consultations were held regularly before, during, and immediately after Operation Desert Storm.

Among other points highlighted at the meeting:

- It should be understood that while there are identifiable US and European policies, there is not a single US view or European view. For example, Britain's approach to Iraq is more in line with the US than with many of its European Community partners. Likewise, within the US a number of policy experts are questioning the con-

*[The Persian Gulf's] importance is growing... because of the way the countries there interplay with neighboring regions.*

### Key Points

Participants at the Chatham House meeting agreed that there has not been effective consultation between Europe and the US on the Persian Gulf. The policy differences on the two sides of the Atlantic might not evaporate with better consultation, but the negative effects of disagreeing could be lessened. The group suggested

# Global Youth



**D**eveloping high-quality teaching and learning programs for youth has been an important activity at the Stanley Foundation for more than twenty years. The fundamentals

of the programs are collaboration and tolerance, values that transfer from individual empowerment to global understanding.

Most programs happen in the summer, because that is when young people have the time to

participate. This past summer the foundation cosponsored four programs and organized another one, Summer Special, on its own.

The accompanying chart compares and contrasts the individual



	Global Camp	Nebraska International Camp	Summer Arts Experience	Summer Special	Summer Explorations for Young Women
Site	Inner city, St. Louis, MO	Camp Carol Joy Holling, Ashland, NE (remote camping facility)	Columbus Junction, IA (small rural town of approximately 2000)	Muscatine, IA	Farley, IA
Program	2-week day camp (9-2:30)	1-week full camping experience	3-day camp (8:30-11:30)	2-week day camp (9-noon)	3-day full camping experience (2 nights)
Participants	7th graders enrolled in St. Louis public schools with diverse racial and ethnic backgrounds and income and ability levels	10 to 15-year-old Nebraskans. Most enrolled in a foreign language course	6th-8th graders of Columbus Community School District	5th-6th graders from Muscatine area	6th, 7th, and 8th grade young women in Western Dubuque School District
Emphasis	Global citizenship, expanded view of the world	Foreign languages of German, French, and Spanish as well as cultural elements of countries where these languages are spoken	Perspective consciousness, applying creative processes of the fine arts to participants' community and world views	Global education, leadership, exploring diversity, community building, and awareness of our affect on the planet	Leadership development, global and environmental awareness, local and global community
Years in Existence	1 year	20 years	3 years	15 years	1 year





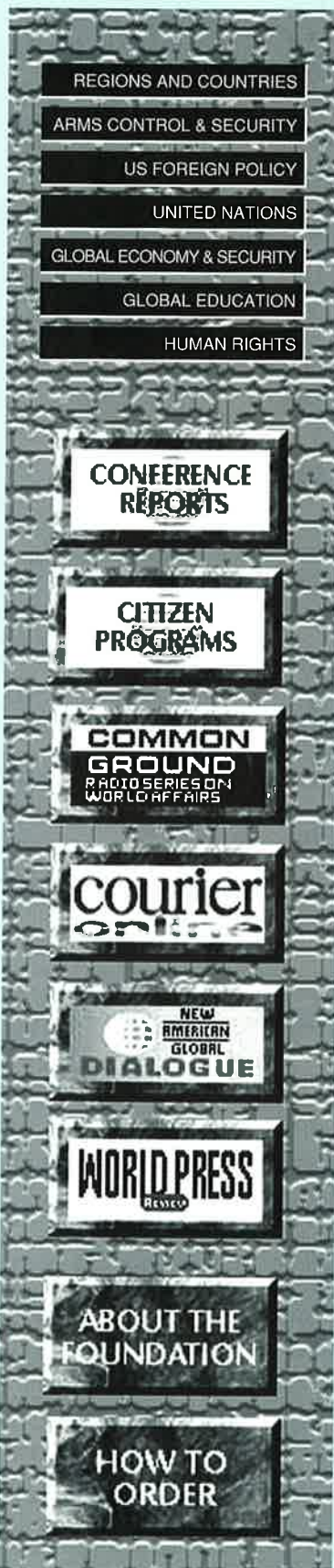
programs, but they all share these common characteristics:

- Most important, participants are exposed to new, unfamiliar experiences, activities, and ideas.
- The staff acknowledge themselves as learners. While experts in particular content areas, they view their teaching as “facilitating” or “guiding” the learning process.
- Participants are acknowledged as teachers. Their experiences, talents, and knowledge are explicitly part of the agenda.
- A ratio of one staff member for every five or six participants allows for individual interaction and assessment.
- Activities are experiential (hands on) and interdisciplinary.
- Interdependence between the individual, community, state, nation, and world is stressed.

Multicultural resources are used, as well as settings that take participants out of their usual environments.

—Jill Goldesberry

# www.stanleyfdn.org



Our readers who have access to the Internet are invited and encouraged to visit the Stanley Foundation’s site on the World Wide Web. “We have a

web site that is driven by content,” said Jeffrey Martin, Vice President for Communications. “The foundation works on projects in so many areas related to international relations, foreign policy, and global affairs that it is often difficult to convey the depth and breadth of that work. We try to give people a sampling of that through publishing the *Courier*, but we’re limited by space. I think people who visit our web site stand the best chance of getting an idea of the quality and volume of the foundation’s work.”

### What’s There

The foundation’s web site has several major sections, not all of which have been fully developed yet. One central section is an on-line version of the *Courier*, which will include not only stories from the print version of the publication, but also a news and notes section featuring short articles about events that might not fit into the printed publication.

Conference reports published by the foundation are also on the site. A section on *Common Ground*, the foundation’s radio program, includes transcripts of the program, an up-to-date list of stations broadcasting the program, and eventually audio from the program itself. Another section on citizen programs will include information on the many and diverse projects carried out and supported by the Outreach Department.

Finally, from the foundation’s site visitors can directly link to the site for *World Press Review*, the foundation’s magazine with news and views from around the world. Visitors there will find some of the favorite features from the print version of the magazine.

### More Coming

The foundation’s web site will be updated at least weekly. In addition, links—already used extensively within the site—will be expanded to connect visitors to other sites where similar work is done. And new sections and features will be added to the site as our work continues and evolves.

“This will be a very actively managed site,” said Martin. “We’ve hired a young and talented webmaster, Jim Yoon. And we have set a major challenge before him. The web is a good communication vehicle for us, and we plan to make the most of it.”

# Publications

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

## Conference Reports

### United Nations

#### US-European Policies in the Persian Gulf: Beyond the Friction.

Experts from both sides of the Atlantic discuss the differences between US and European approaches to dealing with challenges in the Persian Gulf. September 1997.

#### Beyond Reform: The United Nations in a New Era.

Working from the premise that reforming the United Nations should lead to international organizations suited to dealing with the problems of the 21st century, twenty-two participants examine the current global context, identify the policy challenges which await the international community, and discuss institutional requirements. June 1997, 32pp.

#### Making UN Reform Work: Improving Member State-Secretariat Relations.

If UN reform has a chance of succeeding, the relationship between member nations and the UN Secretariat will require attention. Experts analyzed the state of those relations and developed recommendations. February 1997, 36pp.

#### 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 UN's 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.

#### New American Global Dialogue

##### The Impact of Globalization: Shaping the Greater Twin Cities Response.

How well prepared is this metropolitan area to deal with the positive and negative effects of globalization? September 1996

##### 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.

### General Interest

#### Building on Beijing: United States NGOs Shape a Women's National Action Agenda.

This is a compilation of recommendations for national policy that grew out of discussions among American women's organizations in the wake of the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. July 1997, 77 pp.

#### Post-Conflict Justice: The Role of the International Community.

In countries torn apart by war, there is a need for order, justice, and hope for reconciliation. To what extent can and should the international community try to fill those needs? What tools does it have at its disposal? A panel of experts discussed those issues. April 1997, 28pp.

#### Human Rights: Bridging the Communities.

Leaders of international human rights groups and US civil rights organizations met to explore common interests. October 1996, 16pp.

#### The Persian Gulf: Challenges for a New Administration.

Experts met for a fresh assessment of a volatile region in which the US has major interests. October 1996, 16pp.

#### Rebuilding Russia: The Next Phase.

A straightforward assessment of post-communist Russia's strengths and weaknesses. Participants discussed prospects for Russia's integration with the West. October 1996, 16pp.

#### Weapons of Mass Destruction: Are the Nonproliferation Regimes Falling Behind?

On the one hand, intergovernmental agreements to limit the use and possession of these weapons have worked well and are getting stronger. On the other hand, the new threat from these weapons lies with terrorists and rogue regimes. October 1996, 16pp.

#### 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.

Most reports and a wealth of other information are instantly available on our web site: [www.stanleyfdn.org](http://www.stanleyfdn.org).





*Norman Borlaug was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize in 1970 for his contributions to the "Green Revolution," which vastly increased agriculture production in India and Pakistan*

*and averted mass starvation. Today, at the age of 84, Borlaug continues to work on expanding food production worldwide. The following are excerpts from a conversation about his life and work with Common Ground Senior Producer Mary Gray Davidson. To order the entire transcript or audio tape, see page 11 or visit our web site: [www.commongroundradio.org](http://www.commongroundradio.org).*

### Early Years In Iowa

And I saw chaos in this country. I saw all the rural banks go broke. There was no bank insurance. And many of the farmers—the good, big farmers—their way of saving at that time was in stock of that bank. ...And when the bank went broke—okay, they're going to collect on that stock. So they'd foreclose on your land.... At the auction, neighbors came with pitchforks and shotguns and that property wasn't bought at its true value. That's how close we were to real trouble in this country.

And then, in 1933, when I went to Minneapolis to register to go to the University...I happened to wander down in North Minneapolis, down in the market section. Didn't even know where I was. Big mass of churning people. A strike. Milk and vegetable producers. I'm standing there like a little country boy in the big city... and the first thing you know I was in the middle of a terrible riot. And I saw all of

# A Life of Growing

these things coming from the country where I'd never seen hunger. So, because of all of this I had a very strong concept of what it was like in other countries.

### The Green Revolution

I disagree quite heatedly sometimes with the economists who say "India's wasting a lot of capital resources by carrying this huge stock of grain. Better they had carried much more modest stocks of grain and invested that capital part of it in other things that would be generating income." But they still remember '65, '66, '67. We haven't had anything like that to keep us...aware of what it really means when you run out. And that makes a difference. How much does security of food mean? Now they've got another problem—how to distribute that food equitably. But that's because of poverty of so much of their population. Lack of employment or under-employment.... But under emergencies, at least, the government has within its power, if it wants to exert it, to distribute that [grain reserve]; it's right there. It's not like it was in the middle '60s when you didn't know if the ship was going to arrive in time.

### Earth's Carrying Capacity

Well, if you talk about the total carrying capacity of the planet Earth, at the present time we have not reached it. But we have it poorly located. We've got too many people in some places where the carrying capacity has been surpassed. But not from the standpoint of global [carrying capacity]. But how you move those people from overtaxed or overpopulated to less popu-

lated areas, then you get into social-political problems. But, biologically speaking, we haven't reached this. But that's no way to handle these problems.

### African Agriculture

*In 1985 Borlaug received a call from the publicist for Japanese philanthropist Ryoichi Sasakawa asking why something like the Green Revolution hadn't been tried in sub-Saharan Africa when there were famines in Ethiopia and Sudan.*

I said, "I don't know anything about African agriculture south of the Sahara. I've never been there. I've been retired. I'm too old to start learning now." And I hung up the telephone. The next morning he called back and he said, "Mr. Sasakawa wants you to know that he's 15 years older than you are, and we should have started yesterday. So let's start tomorrow."

...I'm very hopeful now that there's going to be a major change in Ethiopia. It could become self-sufficient in all basic grains in two years. If this happens in Ethiopia, I'm going to chide Ghana. "[President] Rawlings," I'm going to say, "Look, you were running first and then you relaxed. Aren't you ashamed? Look at what's happened. You're running in third place." Benin, the same way. They are ready. Tanzania can make a rapid change with these changes in policy. The one bottleneck they have is transport.

—Mary Gray Davidson

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

Address Service Requested

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