The Stanley Foundation

NO. 27 Spring 1998

courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD

GUATEMALA'S TENTATIVE PEACE

PHOTO BY PEDRO COTE/UNDP

inside

PHOTO BY KATY HANSEN

PHOTO BY PEDRO COTE/UNITED NATIONS DEVELOPMENT PROGRAMME

A Headstart. *Avilio Ysidro Porras is making the transition to civilian life after seventeen years in the Guatemalan military.*

Avilio Ysidro Porras is making a career change. The 32-year-old is studying to be a hairdresser in Guatemala's capital city. That's not unusual unless you consider that for the past seventeen years Porras served as an explosives expert first for the Guatemalan army and then for a police unit infamous for human rights atrocities.

Clad in a white hairdresser's smock, but still wearing his black army boots, Porras is emblematic of Guatemala's struggle to return to normalcy after thirty-six years of civil war. It was Central America's longest and bloodiest civil war and ended only in December 1996 with the signing of the final peace accords between the government and rebel troops. "Going from having fought in such a violent war between brothers to adapting to civilian life is a very difficult change," admits Porras. "My dream was always to be a soldier, and I'm proud I could fight in the war and make my country better." Now that the war is over, Porras is going into the business of hairstyling, because that's what his father did.

Guatemala—continued on page 2

Guatemala—continued from page 1

Roots of the Conflict

Guatemala's war began in 1960, six years after the CIA trained a group of dissidents who overthrew the democratically elected, but left-leaning, government of Jacobo Arbenz. For nearly four decades after that coup, Guatemala was ruled by a series of military dictatorships. In an attempt to destroy a guerrilla uprising, government forces wiped out four hundred villages; 150,000 people were killed by both sides; and an estimated one million Guatemalans out of a total population of ten million became refugees. Nearly 60 percent of Guatemalans are Mayan Indians, the most marginalized group in the country, and they were often the target of savage campaigns during the war.

Guatemala is a country where poverty is the norm and opportunities for meaningful work are scarce.

Consolidating the Peace

The peace accords signed just over one year ago include an ambitious agenda to reform nearly every sector of society. There were twenty commissions established to deal with everything from a grossly inadequate justice system, collecting income taxes from the well off, creating a new civilian police force and army, to giving the Mayans a greater voice in a society that has oppressed and discriminated against them for hundreds of years. "It [Guatemala] is a ruinous house," says Foreign Minister Eduardo Stein, "and the opportunity is given to us to remodel. For some of us, it's even more drastic than that. The house fell apart, so we have to rebuild."

Many of the new commissions are underfunded and behind schedule. But Raquel Zelaya, the government's Secretary of Peace, pointed out in an interview last September that, "We had thirty-six years of war and only nine months of peace. This is a long-term process."

The first priority of the international community after the signing of the peace accords was to account for all the combatants, recover their weapons, and assign them to temporary shelters. This task was completed in early 1997.

The former soldiers were then given an opportunity to take part in various vocational training programs like the one Avilio Porras is enrolled in. Unfortunately, not all the combatants know where they will live once their training is complete. Many lost touch with their families and communities during the decades of war. Antonio Pirir is a former guerrilla radio operator still living at the Los Brilliantes shelter in late 1997. "Those of us still here in the shelter have no homes to go to," said Pirir. "What we'd like to do is establish a settlement of former guerrillas who will work together in a collective manner. We want to farm and keep livestock. But we need a final destination and land to cultivate. The most difficult thing for us is our lack of formal education." Pirir is among the 56 percent of adults in Guatemala who cannot read or write.

The reinsertion program for the combatants is an important aspect of the peace process, explains Johanna Mendelsohn of the United States Agency for International Development (USAID). The agency has split the cost of the $3.5 million program with the United Nations Development Programme. "We all know in post-conflict situations that creating stability and security are the most important factors," says Mendelsohn. "Taking away guns and giving people an opportunity to get a new start is basic to rehabilitation in any war-torn society. Certainly Guatemala is a war-torn society. Thirty-six years of war have left a tremendous amount of disarray."

Guatemala is also a country where poverty is the norm and opportunities for meaningful work are scarce. According to the Washington Office on Latin America, "Guatemala has the largest economy of Central America. But 2 percent of landowners own two-thirds of the country's land. Three of every four Guatemalans, and 92 percent of its large indigenous population live in poverty." Foreign Minister Stein declares that, "Guatemala is a very rich country with a lot of poor people. It's a problem of distribution and participation."

PHOTO BY PEDRO COTE/UNDP

Going Home. *This former guerrilla fighter is learning to farm at one of the demobilization centers for Guatemala's combatants.*

Indigenous Rights

Since the Spanish conquest more than five hundred years ago, Guatemala's Mayan Indians have been pushed off their lands and given almost no say in their own or their country's affairs. A critical element of the peace accords is the Agreement on the Identity and Rights of Indigenous Peoples which recognizes that, "Until this problem [of discrimination, exploitation, and injustice] affecting Guatemalan society is resolved, its economic, political, social, and cultural potential will never be able to develop fully and neither will it be able to take its place in the community of nations...."

Resources

■ *To order the four-part radio series on Guatemala see pages 14-15. These are also available on our web site:http://www.stanleyfdn.org.*

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Foreign Minister Stein recounts that, "when you confront a Guatemalan and tell them that at some point half of our National Assembly will be comprised of indigenous people, it's still too much for them. When the first indigenous congress people assumed their posts, wearing their own indigenous dress, many people shuddered. They didn't like it at all. Because the image that we grew up with was that indigenous people were servants. But it's bound to change."

Some positive changes are occurring. In Quetzaltenango, the second largest city in Guatemala, a Mayan Indian named Rigoberto Queme was recently elected mayor, the first time ever an indigenous person has held the post. Although his election was greeted with racist graffiti telling the "dirty Indians" to get out, Queme is optimistic about making local government, at least, truly representative of all the people. "In Guatemala City there is a lot of theoretical debate about how you build a multicultural state. Here [in Quetzaltenango] you have a concrete example of how to do that. Everything we do tries to incorporate indigenous and non-indigenous alike, along with women, youth, and the private sector."

Like most people in Guatemala, Queme is still mostly waiting to see the true fruits of peace. "We believe the peace accords are good because they ended the conflict, and because they deal with important issues that are necessary for the construction of a democracy. We are, however, cautious and do not think the peace accords represent the solution to all the problems in the country."

—Mary Gray Davidson

The Mayan Identity Crisis

Macaria Tomasa insists she doesn't speak Mayan.

"Sólo Español," she says. Only Spanish.

That's surprising here in this highland community called Chiabal where nearly everyone is of Mayan descent. Seated next to her in this sewing class is Eulalia Ramos, who adds that she doesn't consider herself Mayan. Macaria and Eulalia are learning to use a one-stitch sewing machine. They are taking part in an international development project designed to eliminate the extreme poverty that characterizes this part of northwestern Guatemala.

It's possible these two women didn't understand my question about their background since they are of Mam origin, one of Guatemala's ethnic Mayan groups. But Edgar Pineda, a Guatemalan staff member of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), believes their denial of their Mayan heritage may also be explained by centuries of racism and discrimination against Guatemala's indigenous majority.

"Historically these people were marginalized," explains Pineda.

One of the provisions of the peace accords signed in December 1996 was to promote indigenous rights and identity and to incorporate the indigenous majority into the process of reforming Guatemalan society. There appears to be a good faith effort so far on the part of the Guatemalan government to carry out the accords. However, changing the mentality on both sides of the rift is a long-term process.

PHOTO BY MARY GRAY DAVIDSON

Sewing Up Her Future. *Macaria Tomasa, a Mayan Indian, is enrolled in a community development project to learn some marketable skills. Ninety-two percent of Guatemala's indigenous people live in poverty.*

Education at a young age is essential. According to María Olga de Pérez of UNDP's Guatemala office, the education sector began examining inequities in the system over a decade ago, and education reforms grew along with the peace process.

One of the goals for the indigenous population is bilingual education in Spanish and their own languages. But, Peréz says, "it's difficult, and there have been setbacks because there are not enough teachers and because materials are not available in all twenty-one indigenous languages."

Further down the mountain from Chiabal, where neither Macaria Tomasa nor Eulalia Ramos had the benefit of this education program, is a three-year-old school in Chirijquiac. These children, aged five to fifteen, are learning to be proud of their heritage, says a member of the parents' committee which runs the school. Inside the classroom the teacher conducts a lesson about lines and shapes in Spanish and then in Quiche, the local language.

Next door a class of teenagers invites us in to hear them sing Guatemala's national anthem in Quiche. They manage to sing the first few verses which are written down but falter toward the end. Then they ask us to stay, so they can sing the entire anthem again, flawlessly and entirely from memory. But this time they sing in Spanish.

—Mary Gray Davidson

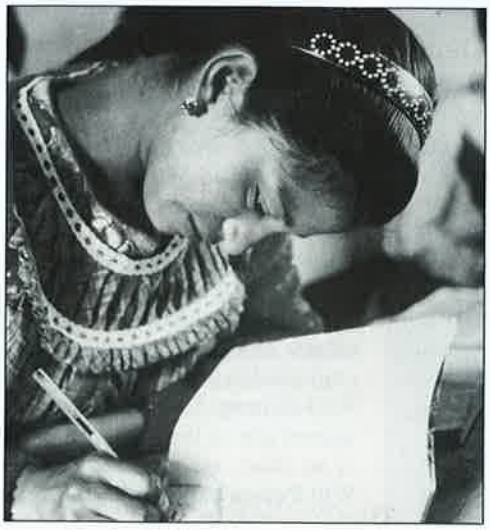


PHOTO BY PEDRO COTE/UNDP

Guatemala's Future. *Guatemala's government hopes to attain 70 percent literacy by the year 2000 by opening schools like the one in Chirijquiac where this Mayan girl is enrolled.*

NATO Grows?

"NATO seems, to some, an anachronistic organization that need not be revived."

Among the relics from the Cold War the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) has emerged as perhaps the most stable and enduring. It endures despite the fact that the mission of NATO—keep Germany in check, keep the United States involved in Europe, and keep Russia from expanding westward—has been fulfilled.

In fact, this success has led many to discuss admitting new countries to NATO even before the process of determining new goals for NATO is complete. In October, the Stanley Foundation convened a group of experts to look at the dangers and benefits of expansion and define US goals and options in the process.

"NATO seems, to some, an anachronistic organization that need not be revived. To others it seems a valuable mechanism to promote democracy, peace, and security in all of Europe," said the report issued following the conference. President Clinton, seeing value in NATO's continuing presence, has urged that NATO be expanded to the east. Since then, the organization has selected Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary to be invited to join in the first round of expansion.

Impact on NATO

Conference participants came up with a number of important issues to consider in evaluating both the goal of expansion and, if it happens, the process of expansion. First is anxiety over how new members might impact the operation of NATO itself. Members of NATO have always made decisions by consensus rather than majority rule. Such unanimity may not be possible as new and more diverse nations join. Some conference participants expressed concern that a change in the decision-making process would dilute the effectiveness of NATO.

Expansion may also impact NATO by increasing the burden on the United States, especially if new members are not fully prepared. "More troops may be needed and different kinds of troops and equipment may be required to protect Poland. This all costs money and needs the support of the US public and Congress, which may not go along with added costs for an organization that has already served its purpose," according to the report.

Article 5

The next area for consideration is the collective security guarantees each NATO member makes to the others. Members presume, as embodied in Article 5 of the NATO treaty, that an attack against one of them will be viewed as an attack against all of them. Will Poland expect the same level of troop strength given by NATO and the United States to Germany during the Cold War?

Several participants said that the important issues of collective security and Article 5 need more debate in the United States, but US policymakers may have much to lose by encouraging such a discussion. "One participant," said the report, "stated that he could envision a US senator asking Secretary of State Madeleine Albright whether the United States has agreed to fight for Budapest. Other politicians may want to know why the United States has agreed to fight for Lisbon or Athens in the first place."

Germany

"NATO ensures Germany does not dominate Europe militarily," according to the report. Several conference participants warned about a resurgent Germany and said that integrating more armies into NATO may weaken the US position but strengthen the German position.

Other participants, however, said the German threat was overblown and noted that Germany has chosen not to take part in "out of area" NATO operations. A few participants went so far as to say, "the Germans would prefer to keep US troops in Germany for fear of becoming viewed as number one in Europe. According to one participant, the Germans themselves perceive the need for 'someone to watch over them and keep them in line.'"

Russia

Concern about the negative effects NATO growth may have on Russia was perhaps the most common argument voiced by opponents of expansion. Moving NATO eastward may exacerbate Russian fears already being exploited by xenophobic and extremist elements in the country. "Because NATO was designed to keep Rus-

The North Atlantic Treaty

Washington D.C., April 4, 1949

Article 5

The Parties agree that an armed attack against one or more of them in Europe or North America shall be considered an attack against them all and consequently they agree that, if such an armed attack occurs, each of them, in exercise of the right of individual or collective self-defence recognised by Article 51 of the Charter of the United Nations, will assist the Party or Parties so attacked by taking forthwith, individually and in concert with the other Parties, such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force, to restore and maintain the security of the North Atlantic area. Any such armed attack and all measures taken as a result thereof shall immediately be reported to the Security Council. Such measures shall be terminated when the Security Council has taken the measures necessary to restore and maintain international peace and security.

sia at bay, the organization is viewed [in Russia] with disdain, skepticism, and fear," said the report.

Raising fears inside Russia may run counter to the US larger foreign policy goals. While attending the conference, former NATO Assistant-Secretary General Phillip Merril appeared on the foundation's weekly radio program *Common Ground* where he said, "Our job is to integrate Russia and China into the community of civilized nations and to deal with loose nukes and weapons of mass destruction, not only inside the former Soviet Union but in the hands of other countries. And advancing NATO eastward impedes that effort and does not enhance it."

Others at the conference thought that a good faith effort had been made to calm Russian fears. They pointed out that Russia does have some degree of integration with NATO through the Partnership for Peace program and the NATO-Russia Joint Permanent Council which is designed to keep Russia advised on NATO activities. "There is a conscious effort to try to bring Russia in as much as we possibly can to the West. And that has been accelerated by NATO enlargement," said Hans Binnendijk of the National Defense University, also appearing on *Common Ground*.

Power Projection

Supporters of enlarging NATO often argue that it is a way for the United States to project power in Europe and beyond, as well as build ad hoc coalitions of military power like those used in the Persian Gulf War and the Balkans. "Applying this power projection model to NATO means the United States will maintain a foothold in Europe while securing its interests abroad without having to expend as many of its own resources," according to the report.

These supporters believe NATO has a role to play in advancing democracy in Central and Eastern

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Europe. But opponents, "...felt the costs were too high, the burdens too great, and the dangers too numerous to push for expansion as a means of projecting power. They insisted that NATO is not the right organization to use to build democracy in Europe.

Costs

The cost of NATO expansion has been estimated anywhere between $6 and $35 billion, but the accuracy of these estimates is in dispute. While many say the cost will be too high, opponents of expansion also point out, "If it were absolutely necessary for US security and the viability of the alliance to expand, then the issue of cost would not be debatable." Because the need for expansion has not been shown, cost seems to dominate the debate.

Expansion costs will force the new members to spend money on military personnel and equipment instead of investing in economic development and infrastructure. According to the report, "One participant called expansion a bonanza for arms merchants. Another referred to expansion as a welfare program for defense contractors."

Proponents of enlargement argue that costs will be lower than anticipated. They add that enlargement is vital to preventing future conflicts—conflicts which would be even more costly for the United States.

Future Expansion

Expansion now will also impact any future expansion of NATO. Opponents of enlargement fear that NATO growth will continue to the east, gathering in even the Baltic States and Ukraine, further antagonizing Russia. In addition to Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic, NATO has already agreed to act on the applications of Slovenia and Romania before the end of the century.

"One conference participant," according to the report, "pointed out there might be little interest to join NATO as the burden of new membership increases. The desire to 'up the ante' may be too great for the newest members, and this could discourage potential members from seeking admittance.

Those in favor of expansion, however, said it should be viewed as an open-ended process. They pointed out dangers in *not* expanding. "Placing an artificial limit on expansion, particularly to the east, would have dire consequences for European security. Where will the nations who have been denied admittance in NATO turn for aid? Will they also seek out alliances with nations such as China?," said the report.

Continuing Debate

All participants seemed to agree that the serious implications of NATO expansion are not getting the proper attention among policymakers or the general public in the United States. The conference report concludes with two questions starkly outlining the options facing America: "Can the United States afford to renege on its deal to expand, sacrificing its credibility, relations with its allies, and the opportunity to create a P*ax Americana* out of NATO? Or can the United States push for expansion knowing it may cause an arms race, compromise US-Russian relations, strengthen Germany, and place the United States firmly in the role of policeman to the world?"

—Keith Porter

◀ **Headed for Bosnia.** *US forces load equipment destined for the NATO operation in Bosnia.*

Because the need for expansion has not been shown, cost seems to dominate the debate.

Resources

■ *For resources on NATO expansion see pages 14-15 or visit our web site: http://www.stanleyfdn.org.*

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Hungry. *Desperate economic conditions—such as those faced by this 4-year-old at a Nicaraguan soup kitchen—make emigration to the United States, legally or illegally, a compelling concept.*

Working Together in the Americas

...“the realization is spreading in Washington that ‘divide and conquer’ is not a sound principle in an integrating world....”

President Clinton travels to Santiago, Chile, this April for a meeting with Latin American heads of state. Known as the “Summit of the Americas,” this meeting is part of a continuing series which began in Miami four years ago. These summits underscore the growing interest among leaders in this hemisphere to deal with issues such as trade and drug trafficking multilaterally, as a group, rather than using the more traditional and often troubled bilateral approach.

This past October, the Stanley Foundation held a meeting for policymakers, diplomats, and scholars to explore prospects for increasing multilateral cooperation between the United States and the countries of Latin America. As Colombia’s Ambassador to the Organization of American States (OAS), Fernando Cepeda, stressed in a radio interview during the foundation’s conference, “We are obsessively convinced that only the multilateral approach can be helpful in solving these difficulties and these problems.”

Because the most pressing problems in today’s world affect more than just one or two countries, the participants at the Stanley Foundation conference echoed Ambassador Cepeda’s emphasis on multilateral cooperation. However, their consensus on the need for a group approach to regional issues did not include a blueprint for how to achieve it.

Questionable Commitment

There are traditional tensions between the United States and Latin America that get in the way of increased cooperation. Some participants pointed out that the vast disparities in power, historical animosities, and even cultural differences have hampered the ability of the United States and Latin American countries to identify their common interests and cooperate effectively. Now the larger Latin American countries are less and less willing to defer to unilateral US mandates. Yet, the group believes that the United States will continue to remain a central factor in the region. Thus, as the report from the conference states, members urged the United States “to seek shared goals and visions with its neighbors before trying to implement new approaches to hemispheric cooperation.”

Skepticism remains over US commitment to multilateral problem solving, but President Clinton’s trip to Latin America this past fall was interpreted by many as a good first step. Although it was his first trip to the region since taking office in 1993, the president’s visit was hailed a success. “The issues President Clinton touched on in his visit (and the fact that he was in Venezuela, Argentina, and Brazil) are very positive,” according to Carlos Portales, Chile’s Ambassador to the OAS, and another guest on the Stanley Foundation’s radio program, *Common Ground*.

Part of President Clinton’s rationale for traveling to South America in 1997 was to celebrate the changes sweeping the continent. Until about a decade ago, US

attention to Latin America focused on leftist insurgencies and right-wing, military repression. Now, many countries are attempting to strengthen and deepen their still young democracies. At the same time, they are opening their markets and coming to terms with the global economy. These positive changes should foster regional cooperation, many at the Stanley Foundation conference believe, but they do not make "open regionalism" inevitable. Opportunities exist, but they "could prove passing," the report from the conference says. This group recognized that Washington has an ingrained preference for bilateral responses to regional problems, but their report maintains that "the realization is spreading in Washington that 'divide and conquer' is not a sound principle in an integrating world, and it is becoming more widely understood that [multilateral] arrangements create an opportunity to obtain support among several nations at once."

Current Multilateral Groups

Several multilateral institutions already exist. The OAS is the principle forum to which all the region's governments belong. Two recently codified tasks of the OAS are defending democracy—responding to coups or other political crises—and promoting democracy—building the necessary institutions and providing technical and advisory assistance. Unfortunately, some people at the Stanley Foundation conference pointed out, the OAS lacks the resources, credibility, and the staff to carry out its objectives well. Moreover, some governments are satisfied to have it that way. There is a difficult legacy that the OAS needs to overcome, according to the conference report: "The United States traditionally saw the OAS as a means to legitimize its use of power in the hemisphere. Latin Americans, in turn, sought to use the OAS to constrain unilateral US intervention." They also noted that you can measure a government's commitment to multilateralism by its willingness to meet its obligations. In the case of the OAS, some key countries—including the United States, Brazil, and Argentina—are behind in their assessed payments.

More and more, subregional organizations among immediate neighbors are being created. Smaller Latin American and Caribbean countries have long participated in associations such as the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), the Central American Common Market (CACM), and the Andean Pact. Larger trade groups have been formed in recent years such as the North American Free Trade Agreement between the United States, Canada, and Mexico as well as MERCOSUR in South America between Brazil, Argentina, and other countries in the "southern cone." While the conference report said many Americans remain suspicious that these proliferating associations might reduce US capacity to deal with broader relationships, people at the conference felt these organizations actually create new opportunities for US policy.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

The Demand Side. *This Massachusetts couple is contributing to the US demand for Latin American grown narcotics.*

Pressing Regional Issues

In addition to programs designed to promote and strengthen democracy and trade in this hemisphere, a number of other issues critical to the region were discussed at the Stanley Foundation meeting.

Bilateral agreements to stem the flow of drugs have not been very successful up to this point. When the United States puts pressure on another country to control its drug production, its one-sided mandates often create ill will. Some people at the conference were hopeful that multilateral agreements would prove more effective. And many argued that the United States must do more to curb the demand for drugs in this country if any improvements in counter-narcotics efforts are to be seen.

Other key issues identified in the conference report discuss the need for improved income distribution to complement the region's democratization, greater security cooperation now that Latin America is largely free of major interstate conflicts, and greater information sharing about deportations and immigration issues.

—Mary Gray Davidson

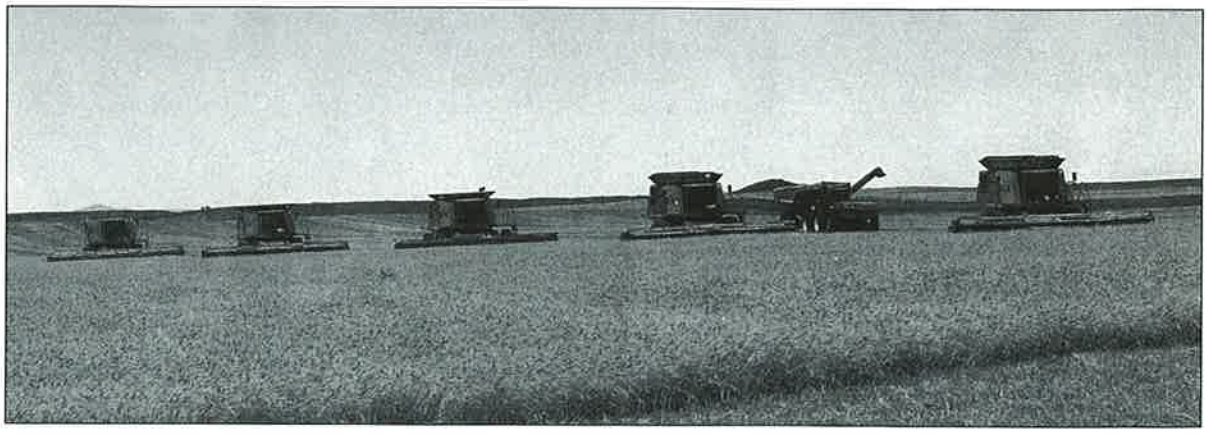
...the United States must do more to curb the demand for drugs....

Resources

■ *To order a copy of the conference report entitled* Building Multilateral Cooperation in the Americas: A New Direction for US Policy *or the* Common Ground *radio program #9751*—A View From the South *see pages 14-15.* *These resources are also available on our web site: http://www.stanleyfdn.org.*

A Women's Perspective

Reconnecting Food and Agriculture



AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

The free market is becoming exclusive to those who are big enough to play in it.

When Denise O'Brien and Kathy Lawrence were trying to get food issues on the agenda of the Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing, they encountered a problem. They had a hard time getting input from women farmers.

O'Brien, of Atlantic, Iowa, and Lawrence, of New York City, had succeeded in creating a working group on food issues in the two years leading up to the September 1995 Beijing conference. Women from business and the academic world participated in good numbers. But the voices of women who actually grew food were in short supply.

"The biggest lack was on-the-ground, grassroots women," said O'Brien in a recent interview. "After Beijing, Kathy and I decided that we really needed to do something to tap into women."

O'Brien, herself an organic farmer, is accustomed to organizing locally and speaking out at the national and international level. She has attended world conferences and addressed the United Nations General Assembly in 1997. She sees a clear need to organize women growers, who tend to view agriculture in a different light than men. Partly in response to the Beijing experience, she has spearheaded—with the support and participation of the Stanley Foundation—the creation in Iowa of the Women, Food, and Agriculture Network (WFAN). The group is still small, but it provides a classic example of a connection between global phenomena and local actions.

New Vision

WFAN has a community orientation, reaching out to growers, consumers, workers, and others who are interested in issues of sustainability. On a practical level, it supports people who are farming organically and/or trying to shorten the distance between growers and consumers by cutting out middle operators. Some of those people are engaged in community-supported agriculture or other direct marketing efforts. (See adjoining story.)

"What is happening with our food systems," O'Brien asserted, "is that we have a growing concentration of food processors and handlers. The free market is becoming exclusive to those who are big enough to play in it. Farmers, who have traditionally gotten the short end anyway, have been told that they too have to 'get bigger or get out.'"

Men, O'Brien said, seem to accept that as inevitable. "They say 'this is the program; this is how it is going to be.' But women tend to factor in the social, economic, and political parts of how this plays in their rural communities." And they see farmers getting economically squeezed and increasingly having to take off-the-farm work as damaging to a way of life.

The system, O'Brien contended, is hard on people and their communities. It is ultimately unsustainable. "In some ways I think it is easier for women to advocate change," said O'Brien, "because they haven't had many opportunities in the current system. They have just been saddled with lots of work."

On the local level WFAN is "trying to help women who are interested in food and agriculture issues come together and support one another in the face of an old guard that is not accepting of a new vision." That new vision would offer consumers food that is grown in ways that minimize chemical inputs and genetic manipulation and would provide opportunities for farmers to make a living by growing such food.

Global Reach

But WFAN has a global interest too and plans to make its voice heard on the international level. Ironically, O'Brien said, explaining the local-global connection to people is made easier by multinational corporations. "The same corporations that are in our communities also operate globally and show up at global forums."

Within the United States, WFAN is not alone. O'Brien said she has

PHOTO BY KATY HANSEN

Big and Small. *For decades farming operations have gotten bigger in order to survive. (Left: combines harvest a North Dakota wheat field) But in recent years, direct marketing of fresh food has been gaining popularity, changing the way some people farm.*

learned of similar groups of women trying to change agriculture in California, Wisconsin, Illinois, and New York. She is sure there are more. "We haven't formed a network, but I have made contact with women in those states. We're trying to develop a database and, at some point, would like to have a web page."

The prospects for making a difference internationally are enhanced by the fact that throughout the 1990s global networks of women have been created through a series of international conferences held under the United Nations' auspices. At UN conferences on the environment and development in Rio de Janeiro, on social issues at Copenhagen, on women's issues at Beijing, and on habitat at Istanbul, nongovernmental forums have been organized to run parallel to intergovernmental meetings. At those meetings, like-minded individuals and groups have found ways to make an impact on policy, not just at that meeting but by working for change when they return home, and then often meeting again to share experiences—successes and disappointments.

O'Brien is determined to continue this work and expand it to include the voices of other women. WFAN plans to be present this summer at the Second International Conference on Women and Agriculture in Washington, DC. The conference is sponsored by the President's Interagency Council on Women, another—this time official—outgrowth of the Beijing conference.

"Sometimes I feel like the liaison between people I know here and ones I know there," O'Brien said, speaking of her work locally and at the international level. "The UN has made many people aware of these issues." And O'Brien said she hopes that WFAN and similar efforts will increase opportunities for women to be heard everywhere on the subject of food and agriculture.

—Jeffrey Martin

The prospects for making a difference internationally are enhanced by the fact that...global networks of women have been created....

Magic Beanstalk

The Magic Beanstalk in Ames, Iowa, is one of a growing number of community supported agriculture (CSA) enterprises. CSAs are a phenomenon which got their start in the Eastern United States, but now have spread throughout much of the country. Like farmer's markets—but requiring a bigger commitment on the part of the buyer—CSAs are a way of selling directly to consumers. "They were developed by people concerned about where their food is coming from," according to Denise O'Brien, an Atlantic, Iowa, organic farmer.

Here's how the Magic Beanstalk works:

- The ninety to one hundred member families commit to buying fresh, whole foods from local producers throughout the May to October growing season. The producers include vegetable growers; pork, turkey, and poultry producers; and fresh-cut flower growers. By making the commitment, buyers share some risk with farmers.
- Support from churches helps lower-income families participate.
- Farmers have an increased chance of surviving, and they also develop new relationships with buyers.
- Food dollars stay in the local community.
- Buyers learn about how food is produced, often take a new interest in the weather, and learn what role food plays in the community.
- Excess produce is distributed to area food banks.

PHOTO BY KATY HANSEN

Market Day. *A girl picks up some potatoes on a food distribution day at the Magic Beanstalk in Ames, Iowa.*

Last year the Magic Beanstalk was one of several programs honored by the Stanley Foundation as a "best practice"—an endeavor that promotes sustainability.

—Jeffrey Martin

Waging Economic War

The United States angered some of its closest allies, including Canada, when it tightened the economic embargo against Cuba in 1996. Even Cuban-Americans and people in the US policy-making community are divided over the usefulness of this unilateral sanctions policy. In cases where the United States wants to change a country's behavior, when is economic isolation, as in the case of Cuba, preferable to rewards and incentives?

...unilateral measures are much less effective ...than multilateral sanctions.

Because the United States has dramatically increased the use of economic sanctions, the Stanley Foundation held a meeting this past fall about the role of sanctions in US foreign policy. A group of scholars, government officials, and representatives from corporate America generally agreed that sanctions can be effective if they're used thoughtfully as part of a larger foreign policy strategy.

Sanctions can be considered a sort of economic warfare, falling somewhere between diplomacy and violence. During an interview for the Stanley Foundation's radio program, *Common Ground*, Bruce Jentleson, who worked on sanctions as a member of the State Department's Policy Planning Staff, said sanctions are a necessary tool. But, "given that they're necessary, how do you make them effective? Because ineffective sanctions can actually be worse than no sanctions at all. We have tended to turn to sanctions as kind of the default option, and that's not useful for any kind of government policy. Sometimes we think that even if we do them and they don't work, well at least we did something. In fact, I think often they can be negative not only for US economic interests but also in terms of US political interests."

Uniilateral vs. Multilateral Sanctions

Nearly all participants at the conference agreed that unilateral measures are much less effective at altering the behavior of foreign states than multilateral sanctions. While the group felt that the United States should avoid unilateral sanctions whenever possible, it noted that advice has been largely ignored. The report from the conference says, "the historical record confirms that the United States has been most willing to resort to unilateral measures and has had limited success with that approach." Bill Lane from the Caterpillar corporation is chairman of a recently formed coalition of businesses called USA Engage which he says is concerned about the "proliferation of unilateral sanctions at the federal, state, and local levels." Lane, who was also taking part in the radio interview, said that, "Over the last four years, there have been 61 different unilateral actions imposed by the US against countries.... We're trying to promote alternatives so that sanctions become a tool used only late in the process rather than as the weapon of choice."

Many in the group supported the use of sanctions for moral reasons, as in the case of massive human rights violations—even if that demonstration of disapproval involves ineffective unilateral sanctions. Moreover, the group recognized that lawmakers sometimes apply sanctions as a response to domestic political demand.

From a US business perspective, the most obvious effect of unilateral sanctions is the loss of jobs and billions of dollars worth of exports annually to foreign competitors willing to do business with the offending nation. And Bill Lane is also concerned that "Americans are becoming tainted as unreliable suppliers," are giving foreign competitors protected home markets, and are violating treaty and trade obligations.

An additional concern for federal policymakers, according to the conference report, is that "local and state governments are relying on economic sanctions more and more to force multinational corporations to cease business relations with unacceptable foreign partners," in effect, creating their own local foreign policies. The report continues, "These state and local governments create a policy cacophony that eludes understanding."

While it is much more difficult and often takes time to build support among countries for multilateral sanctions, this group concluded that well-designed multilateral sanctions programs can be effective. "Sanctions have sometimes worked more than we give them credit for," says Bruce Jentleson. "For example, in both the Iraqi and the Iranian cases, there is little question in my assessment that sanctions have achieved a great deal in limiting the efforts of both countries to enhance their military capabilities, particularly with nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.... There are even cases where sanctions have helped stop military coup d'etats right in their tracks. There are two Latin American examples in the first Clinton administration: in Guatemala in 1993 and Paraguay in April 1996. In both cases we threatened, with our Latin American allies, to impose sanctions. And the threat was sufficiently credible, in part because it was multilateral."

Alternatives

Because most people are concerned when sanctions hurt the weakest and most vulnerable, this group discussed the promise of so-called "smart" sanctions. With the globalized economy and new tech-

nology, this type of sanction could halt financial transactions with target nations, freeze foreign assets, or limit travel, for example, and would mainly hurt responsible elites in the target country, according to the report.

The group also discussed the need to manage relationships better to avoid the necessity of resorting to sanctions. That alternative, according to the report, "involves the use of incentives rather than punishment to alter the behavior of target states." However, the group noted obstacles to this approach, one being the lack of funds to provide incentives, another is that past experience reveals this approach may work in the long run, but not always in the short term. For example, the report says that "The policy of 'constructive engagement' did not lead to an alteration of South Africa's apartheid policy. Similarly, some observers have questioned whether engagement of the People's Republic of China will lead to significant alteration in that nation's human rights policy."

Recommendations

In the conclusion to the report, participants made several recommendations to improve the use of sanctions in US foreign policy:

- Make sanctions part of a consistent larger package of foreign policy tools.
- Calculate the risk of humanitarian emergencies flowing from effective sanctions.
- Ensure that humanitarian relief will be available to unintended victims of the policy.
- Monitor constantly the effects of the sanctions on the target state.
- Explore new technologies that would promote the use of "smart" sanctions.
- Determine beforehand whether sanctions are more appropriate than other measures.
- Give every sanctions regime a "sunset clause," or a date when sanctions will be lifted, to maintain credibility.

—Mary Gray Davidson

Resources

■ *For a copy of the report entitled* US Sanctions Policy: Balancing Principles and Interests *or to order radio program #9806,* Sanctions Overload? *see pages 14-15 or visit our web site: http://www.stanleyfdn.org.*

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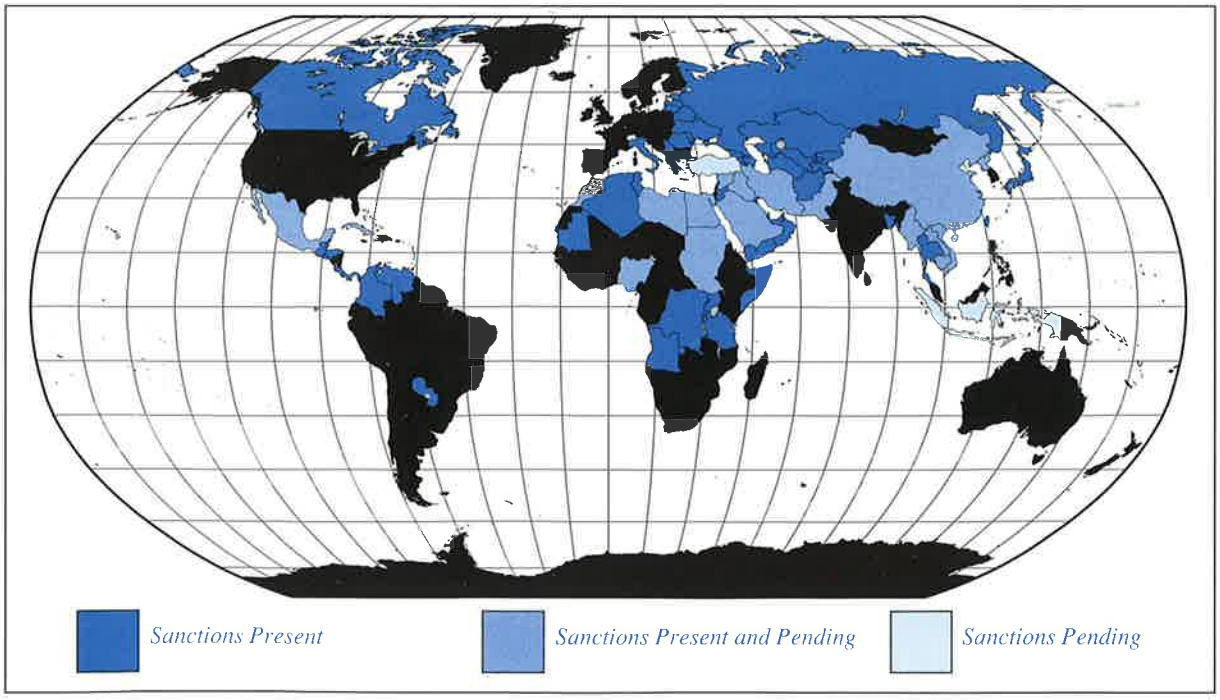

MAP COURTESY OF USA ENGAGE

Lots of Them. *Most attention to sanctions is placed on high profile cases like Iraq, Iran, and Libya. But this map shows the widespread use of sanctions in one form or another.*

Peace and Justice

Can peace exist without justice? Can justice occur in the absence of peace? The world community is beginning to understand the vital link between these two questions.

Promoting justice and the rule of law within nations emerging from violent conflict are seen as keys to ensuring lasting peace.

Promoting justice and the rule of law within nations emerging from violent conflict are increasingly seen as keys to ensuring lasting peace. The mechanisms used by the world community to promote post-conflict justice are still in their infancy. International organizations, donor governments, and nongovernmental organizations (NGOs) have launched various attempts to ensure accountability for war crimes and human rights violations, as well as efforts to rehabilitate—or create—judicial systems in war-torn countries.

At times, however, these activities have suffered from a lack of planning, coordination, and cooperation. Helping these efforts to be more productive was one reason the Stanley Foundation recently brought together a group of experts for a conference titled "Accountability and Judicial Response: Building Mechanisms for Post-Conflict Justice."(See adjacent story.)

Participants in the conference evaluated a proposal to create a rapid-reaction legal assistance program to respond to urgent needs in post-conflict regions. They also discussed the extent to which post-conflict justice efforts should be an element of US foreign policy and considered universal guidelines for limiting the tendency of peace negotiators to accept impunity as a price for peace.

Rapid-Reaction Unit

After an armed conflict, "national justice systems often lie in ruin," according to the report issued following the conference. The people who make the system work—judges, prosecutors, defense attorneys, administrators, investigators, police—are often dead or gone. The physical assets of the system—court rooms, prisons, law books—are nonexistent or in short supply.

Yet according to the report, in order for peace-building efforts to succeed and national reconciliation to take hold, there must be a way to provide "a palpable sense of justice for citizens who have been the victims of war crimes and human rights violations."

The proposed rapid-reaction unit, provisionally named the International Legal Assistance Consortium (ILAC), would help meet these needs. ILAC would "enter the post-conflict environment simultaneously with, or as a close follow-on to, international peacekeeping and civilian policing operations to serve as the locus of international legal assistance activities, guiding as well as coordinating the various actors," said the report.

ILAC would be able to provide two different teams of legal experts depending on the needs of a nation. One, a judicial accountability response unit, would help governments find, arrest, and prosecute war criminals and human rights offenders. The other, a judicial development response unit, would assess the health of a nation's judicial system after a conflict and help rebuild those portions in greatest need. According to the report, these two units "need not always work in any one country simultaneously. Instead they would be deployed as necessary."

Guidelines

Conference participants hoped that the operation of ILAC would be guided by these principles:

- It would be firmly committed to national sovereignty.
- It would not seek to promote a particular legal system, instead embracing strengths of different legal systems.
- It would be premised on the belief that developing judicial systems can only be undertaken with the consent of and in cooperation with national governments.
- It would be politically neutral.
- Its work would be conducted in a manner that is transparent to the international community.

AP/WIDE WORLD PHOTO

Gathering Evidence. *War crimes tribunal experts excavate a mass grave in western Bosnia.*

The need for ILAC was questioned by a few conference participants who worried that it may duplicate efforts already underway by some UN departments and the UN High Commissioner for Refugees. Others warned that ILAC's relationship with the United Nations should be more carefully considered. Close association with the United Nations may provide international legitimacy, but "ILAC should not be put in a position where it is responding to UN-defined needs or beholden to UN decision making with respect to priorities and resource allocation."

Justice and US Foreign Policy

The conference took a hard look at the role justice should play in driving US foreign policy decisions. Participants agreed that the need for justice has too often been overlooked when the United States and other countries deal with war-torn nations. Promoting justice "should be understood as a strategic and moral imperative as well as a determinant of long-term peace and stability," said the report.

Four areas of consideration for integrating justice and foreign policy were mentioned in the report:

- While US vital interests inevitably determine the degree of US involvement, defining those interests can be difficult. One participant asked rhetorically, "Is it always in the US interest to prevent genocide wherever it takes place? If not, how many people need to be killed before the United States will act?"
- Great attention should be given to the domestic priorities in those countries where post-conflict assistance is being given. Local residents there may put greater value on needs other than bringing war criminal and human rights violators to justice.
- The effect of advocating for justice on international coalition-building efforts should be considered.
- Justice should only be a high priority if fair and politically neutral processes have been established for identifying and apprehending alleged violators.

Impunity

Discussion also focused on finding ways to guard against impunity for international crimes. Too often issues of accountability are overlooked by peace negotiators as they look for ways to end a conflict. As such, participants in this conference saw the need to "clarify existing legal standards and governmental obligations with respect to arresting, extraditing, and prosecuting perpetrators of war crimes, genocide, crimes against humanity, and serious human rights abuses; providing compensation and reparations to victims; conducting war crimes investigations; and removing from the military police and all public offices individuals judged to be responsible for international crimes and serious violations of fundamental human rights."

Participants were careful to note that any guidelines against impunity, if they are to be genuinely useful to peace negotiators, must strike a balance between upholding principles and accommodating practicalities. If absolute requirements are included, the document may be "merely hortatory as opposed to one that will actually have effect in practice," according to the report.

The report from this conference clearly states that the costs of compromising justice for peace are high. While allowing war criminals and human rights violators to escape accountability may have benefits in the immediate short term after a conflict, it undermines the chances for long-term, lasting peace. As the report concludes, "Recent experience has shown that a society's failure or inability to assign accountability for past wrongs breeds cynicism and prevents healing."

—*Keith Porter*

...the costs of compromising justice for peace are high.

Resources

■ *To order a copy of the conference report entitled* Accountability and Judicial Response: Building Mechanisms for Post-Conflict Justice *or the* Common Ground *radio program #9748*—The Changing Face of International Law, *see pages 14-15. These resources are also available on our web site: http://www.stanleyfdn.org.*

Post-Conflict Evolution

This conference, "Accountability and Judicial Response: Building Mechanisms for Post-Conflict Justice," is one of many contributions by the Stanley Foundation to the evolution of post-conflict justice and efforts to create a permanent International Criminal Court (ICC).

"The Stanley Foundation conference series on post-conflict justice is an attempt to measure the success of efforts by the United Nations and international NGOs to promote justice in war-torn nations and to explore ways to improve their effectiveness. In short, we ask, how can the international community best foster peace and justice in these troubled places?," according to foundation Program Officer Mary Theisen.

Theisen represented the foundation last year at an international post-conflict justice conference titled "Reining in Impunity for International Crimes and Serious Violations of Fundamental Human Rights" in Syracuse, Italy. She organized a February foundation event to explore the vital issue of relations between the planned ICC and the UN Security Council.

This summer, representatives of nearly every nation will gather in Rome to finalize the ICC's creation. The foundation's public radio program, *Common Ground*, will carry on-site reports.

—*Keith Porter*

Publications

Single copies free, see order form for multiple-copy charge.
Blue 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, 27pp.

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.

General Interest

Accountability and Judicial Response: Building Mechanisms for Post-Conflict Justice.
Experts consider options for helping to build or rebuild justice systems in countries that have been torn apart by civil war. October 1997, 24pp.

Building Multilateral Cooperation in the Americas: A New Direction for US Policy.
Policy experts assess the prospects and obstacles to increased multilateral cooperation in the Western Hemisphere. October 1997, 20pp.

Human Rights in a New Era.
Foundation President Richard Stanley addresses the role that an expanded understanding of human rights plays in US foreign policy today. October 1997, 16pp.

The Pros and Cons of NATO Expansion: Defining US Goals and Options.
The advisability and prospects for expanding NATO are explored by a group including proponents and opponents of expansion. October 1997, 30pp.

US Sanctions Policy: Balancing Principles and Interests.
The efficacy of unilateral and multilateral sanctions are examined from the political and business perspectives. October 1997, 16pp.

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 oganizations in the wake of the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. July 1997, 77pp.

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: http://www.stanleyfdn.org.

Correction
In the last issue of Courier, we said the United States has ratified the United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women. The United States has not, in fact, ratified CEDAW. We apologize for the error.

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The following half-hour programs are available as cassettes ($5.00) or transcripts (free) and also on our web site: **http://www.commongroundradio.org**.

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9749—Exhuming the Truth about Guatemala. Finding out what happened and the extent of US involvement during Guatemala's nearly four decades of war. (December 1997)

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Evidence of Genocide

The Cambodia Genocide Program began at Yale University in 1994. Originally begun by order of the US government's Cambodian Genocide Justice Act, the program has now attracted support from around the world. Craig Etcheson, acting director of the organization, appeared on the Stanley Foundation's public radio program Common Ground *late last year to describe his work. The following are excerpts of his conversation with Producer Keith Porter. To order the entire transcript or audio tape, see page 15 or visit our web site: http://www.commongroundradio.org.*

The lion's share of our work involves empirical documentation of matters relating to war crimes, genocide, and other crimes against humanity during the Khmer Rouge regime between 1975 and 1979.

We have a bibliographic database that contains records on 4,000 documents pertaining to gross violations of human rights during the Khmer Rouge regime. We've assembled a biographical database with dossiers on 18,000 members of Khmer Rouge political and military organizations. We have assembled a photographic database of scanned images of some 12,000 photographs and documents pertaining to this subject matter. And, finally, a geographical database where we have precisely surveyed the location of 9,132 mass graves in Cambodia.

Gathering Data

This data has come from a wide variety of sources. First, we incorporated into our databases all of the previously known existing information. Early on, in fact in January 1995, I traveled to Phnom Penh and set up a nongovernmental organization there called the Documentation Center of Cambodia. Through the Documentation Center, for the last three years, we have been scouring Cambodia; the various government ministries, private warehouses, and the countryside. Everywhere we can think to look to see what evidence might still be remaining in nearly twenty years now after the Khmer Rouge regime was overthrown early in 1979.

To our very great surprise, we discovered that there were several large, previously unknown archives of documents from within the Khmer Rouge internal security apparatus. Essentially, these are the records of the Khmer Rouge secret police. They explain in excruciating detail the operation of the Khmer Rouge's nationwide network of extermination centers.

Answering Questions

This huge amount of new information that we've uncovered will in some respects revolutionize the study of modern Cambodian history. And there is such a huge volume of new material, more than 500,000 pages of documents, that it will require all of the Cambodia scholars in the world many years to thoroughly and properly digest all of this stuff. A secondary and also a very key audience is the international legal community and the governments of the world that are interested in achieving accountability for the gross human rights violations of the Khmer Rouge during the 1970s.

Of the thousands of Cambodians I've talked to over the years, the most common question I've been asked is, "Why?" "Why did they do this to us?" This is our attempt to help them gain some understanding of why this horrible event happened to their country.

Perhaps one of the most telling examples of that is our photographic database. On the Internet [http://www.yale.edu/cgp] we have photographs of more than five thousand victims of the Khmer Rouge who were executed at secret police headquarters in Phnom Penh. Most of these victims are unidentified. We have posted their pictures on the Internet and in various places. Cambodians are going through this database of photographs attempting to identify people they may recognize from the past.

One of the aspects of genocidal regimes that we've noticed all over the world is that invariably they deny that these crimes have ever taken place. And this is tantamount to denying the very existence of their victims. This is the same thing as insulting the dignity of these people the second time. First you kill them, next you deny that they ever even existed.

—excerpted by Keith Porter

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