

## courier

PROVOKING THOUGHT AND DIALOGUE ABOUT THE WORLD



#### inside



UN Enforcement Actions Critiqued, page 6

Also:

Rain Forests

Global Aging

Peace Corps

## The New Court



t 10:49 p.m., Friday, July 17, spontaneous applause swept the

Plenary Hall in the UN building in Rome as delegates to a global conference realized they had voted, by an overwhelming margin, to approve a treaty creating the world's first International Criminal Court (ICC). "I was quite moved by the extraordinary enthusiasm the delegations

showed when the decision was finally made," said Conference Chairman Philippe Kirsch. "I have never attended any international conference with that degree of emotion and commitment to an institution that really should be there for generations and protect the victims of the future."

Less enthused was the US delegation to the Rome conference. The US was one of seven countries to vote against the treaty. US delegates favored a court in principle, but said this particular treaty did not adequately address US concerns.

An international criminal court has been under discussion for

▲ Just published. UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan applauds as Italian Foreign Minister Lamberto Dini holds up the treaty to establish an international war crimes tribunal.

decades. Since the start of the UN there's been the International Court of Justice, better known as the World Court, to resolve disputes among nations. But there's never been a permanent court to try individuals charged with war crimes, crimes against humanity, and genocide. The closest attempts in the past have been the Nuremberg and Tokyo trials after World War II and the current temporary war crimes tribunals for Rwanda and Yugoslavia. To remedy the situation, delegates from 161 countries came to Rome for five weeks to hammer out a treaty which would allow these nations to create this new court.

There were several items of contention at this conference. They included the possibility for nations to opt out of certain parts of the treaty, limits on the court's jurisdiction, the role of the UN Security Council, and sentencing.

#### **Jurisdiction**

Jerry Fowler from the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights said, "[One compromise] gives states the right to opt out of jurisdiction for war crimes for seven years. It lets states sign up and say, 'we're joining the court, but we're not going to accept jurisdiction over war crimes."

"The second compromise is dropping a provision that would have allowed the court to exercise jurisdiction whenever a state that had custody of a suspect has ratified the treaty. That would have meant that even if a dictator or a war criminal were from a state that has not ratified the treaty, if he were to travel overseas he would be subject to arrest and being handed over to the tribunal," Fowler continued. "By eliminating that provision you've essentially ensured that dictators can take their vacations without fear of being arrested and turned over to international justice."

The US led the movement for sharply limiting the jurisdiction of the ICC and preserving the sovereign rights of nations. Ambassador David Scheffer, the representative of the US at the Rome conference, said, "One cannot, through this treaty, create and impose the jurisdiction of an international court on states which do not join. If states wish—through this treaty's provisions—to create an international criminal court to prosecute offenders, they can do that, but only for the parties. The Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties articulates the elementary rule that treaties cannot create obligations for states that are not parties," said Scheffer.

#### Sentencing

Another point of negotiation in this treaty was the type of sentences the court will be able to deliver. The death penalty, for example, was ruled out early on.

"The maximum that an individual could get [from this court] is a term of life imprisonment. The crimes we're talking about—genocide, crimes against humanity—in many cases are so grave and so atrocious that life imprisonment is the appropriate penalty," said Fowler. "For situations in which life imprisonment is not justified by the extreme gravity of the crime, there will be prison sentences of a specified number of years, up to a maximum of 30."

#### **Security Council**

Delegates also differed over the role the UN Security Council will play with this court. The US, China, Russia, Britain, and France are permanent members of the

council, and each has the power to veto any item considered by the Security Council. The Rome treaty gives the council some control over the court—not as much as the US wanted but more than advocates of a strong court preferred.

"The Security Council will be able to trigger the court's jurisdiction," said Jelena Pesic from the Lawyers Committee for Human Rights. "And the ICC will be able to proceed with an investigation or prosecution, unless requested not to do so by the Security Council, for a period of 12 months. That period will be renewable. My organization is unhappy that that provision is in."

# The US led the movement for sharply limiting jurisdiction....

Resources
See page 11 to
order the Common
Ground three-part
radio series on this
topic, #9832, #9835,
and #9840.
These are also
available on
our web site:
www.commongroundradio.org.

#### courier

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#### **▼ People's presence.** Citizen

activists were omnipresent at the founding conference of the war crimes tribunal. Nongovernmental organizaons played a key role in pushing for a shaping the agreement.



PHOTOS BY KEITH PORTER

any nations were also reluctant to give the Security Council this power. "We are very greatly concerned about the proposal to provide the UN Security Council with a referral role," said Dilip Lahiri, the Ambassador of India to this conference. "But for me, voluntarily, to sign an agreement where I'm saying that these five countries are going to have a consent regime and all others will be bound by what they say, seems to me to be a fundamentally offensive position."

#### **US Role**

Ambassador Scheffer said, "The US has been a strong proponent of an appropriate court that it can back with its diplomatic, financial, and other resources. But we stand on the eve of the conference's conclusion without having found a solution. The US and other countries have critical responsibilities around the world that are crucial

the protection of civilian poputions. A scheme that ignores these responsibilities is not going to serve the vital interests of the court." "The US pulled out all the stops it could in pressuring both allies and smaller countries in order to achieve the result that it desired,"

said Pesic. The US was particularly concerned that the ICC would allow frivolous legal action to be taken against US soldiers serving in peacekeeping operations overseas. Canadian Foreign Minister Lloyd Axworthy took a different view on the dangers facing peacekeepers. "This [new court] is a much better way of protecting troops abroad than you have right now," said Axworthy. "We have been in probably more peacekeeping missions than virtually any other country in the world. We know how much risk overseas missions can take. And we believe this court is

one way of providing a degree of security in that area."

"There is no threat to the US or to any of its soldiers by what we're trying to do here," said former Nuremberg prosecutor Benjamin Ferencz. "The Security Council has protected the US from being abused by anybody and the principle of complementarity [accepting the outcomes of national judicial proceedings] assures that no American soldier would be tried for crimes which are a violation of the rules of law."

#### Losers

In the end, the US and six other nations voted "no" on the treaty. One hundred and twenty voted "yes." "I think there is a strange coalition of bad losers [at this conference], which are the US, plus Iraq, Libya, Sudan, China," said Emma Bonino, a conference delegate and member of the European Commission.

"I don't think the US is a loser, "said Cherif Bassiouni, chair of the ICC treaty drafting committee. "I think the US made tremendous gains in getting its points of view across and its positions taken into

account. I think the [US] was negotiating with a view on the conservative members of the Senate. And, of course, that makes it very difficult," said Bassiouni.

"I think US participation [in the new court] is extremely important, and I don't really see any true difficulties for the US to join it," continued Bassiouni. "Obviously people can take extreme ideological positions and hard-line positions, but on its merits this court is in the best interests of the US; and I don't see how anybody in good faith and in good judgment can oppose it."

#### **Next Step**

The Rome conference was just one of many steps leading to the court's eventual creation. Next, 60 nations must sign and ratify the treaty. "It will be a number of years before the convention actually comes into force and the court is actually established" said Don MacKay, the Ambassador from New Zealand.

"If you look at recent conventions like the Chemical Weapons Convention, the Law of the Sea Convention, they also have operated on the basis of 60 ratifications. So in terms of recent practice, it is not excessively high," MacKay continued. "Frankly, I would have liked to have seen this rather lower, because it would be good to get the court underway sooner rather than later. But like all of these things, this was a compromise result; and I think it wasn't a bad sort of compromise in the end."

-Keith Porter

"There is no threat to the US or to any of its soldiers by what we're trying to do here."

—former Nuremberg prosecutor Benjamin Ferencz

#### **Rain Forests Race Against Time**

The conservation dilemma arises from the need to use the resources at hand for income while not destroying that resource.

aving the rain forests has been a popular cause for several decades. Despite increased awareness of the value of rain forests, however, they are disappearing faster than ever. An estimated 30 million acres of rain forests are destroyed each year with more than half the world's total lost since 1950.

The tiny country of Guyana, located on the northern tip of South America, has launched an unusual experiment to see if it can prevent the destruction of its still relatively pristine rain forests. Guyana, like most of the countries on the equatorial belt where rain forests are located, is cash poor. It has one of the highest external debts per capita in the world; and since the rain forest is one of its most valuable natural resources, the forest is ripe for exploitation. The conservation dilemma arises from the need to use the resources at hand for income while not destroying that resource. Unfortunately, the most common form of exploitation to date has been timber and mining companies who come in, often from abroad, take what they can from the forests, and leave—providing little beyond short-term jobs. Eighty-three percent of Guyana's total land area is covered with forests and woodlands, and foreign investors are increasingly seeking concessions to log in those forests.

#### Iwokrama

In 1991 Guyana made an unprecedented offer to the world community to take a million acres of virgin rain forest in the country's interior and use it for both scientific research and incomegenerating projects for the people of Guyana. This remote tract of jungle surrounded almost entirely by rivers is called the Iwokrama



International Centre for Rain Forest Conservation and Development. "Iwokrama" is a local Amerindian word for "place of refuge." The UN Development Programme provided \$3 million in seed money to get the Iwokrama project up and running. Now, the test will be whether Iwokrama can turn enough profit to be self-sustaining.

Guyana's rain forest is typical in that it houses a huge variety of plant and animal species. "Five percent of the earth is covered in this type of forest," says Iwokrama's director general, David Cassells, an Australian forester on loan from the World Bank. "Ninety percent of all species occur in these forest types. A very large

proportion of terrestrial carbon is stored in forests like this. So, how we manage them will matter to the whole world." Rain forests take out from the atmosphere a substantial portion of the carbon dioxide that contributes to global warming. One idea for preserving the rain forests so they can perform this essential task is the "carbon bond" scheme in which companies that produce greenhouse gases pay poor countries to preserve their forests. The companies, then, would avoid paying penalties for pollution. Navan Chandrapal, the Science and Technology adviser to the president of Guyana believes, "If the thinking globall is that 'you have so much value here,' then respond to that value. Let us have initiatives that will

#### Resources

Check out our web site: www.commongroundradio.org for upcoming programs on the rain forest. compensate for that value. It's not simply to tell us that, 'look, these sings are valuable—don't touch em.' If they are so valuable then, we must have adequate compensation for not utilizing them in another manner. That's all we ask."

In two years, scientists have identified nearly 900 species of mammals, birds, fishes, snakes, lizards, and frogs in the Iwokrama forest. It is estimated that 1,500-2,000 plant species may grow there. While the rain forest hasn't "provided a cure for cancer yet," says

serve and the other half allocated to "sustainable utilization of the multiple resources of the forest." David Cassells believes that sustainable forest management which allows selective logging is probably the way to keep large ecosystems intact. Otherwise, he says, you end up with "islands of protection in a sea of degradation" because traditional conservation methods have made select areas off limits while the ecosystems surrounding it are destroyed.

Iwokrama is a noble experiment with a potentially large payoff for the entire world. It also buys time for the rapidly disappearing rain



Iwokrama Benefits Communities.

This mother is pleased that her youngest children will be able to attend school in the village's recently opened schoolhouse, the first ever in their community. This man (left) is building furniture for a new guest house.

David Cassells, this vast habitat contains undiscovered species—and it is a potential reservoir of biological and economic riches. Iwokrama is home to populations of pumas, jaguars, tapirs, and Giant River Turtles, to name just a few of the larger species. But outside of the reserve, there are few controls to regulate hunters and poachers who prey on endangered species, says Graham Watkins, wildlife biologist for Iwokrama.

A Sustainable Future

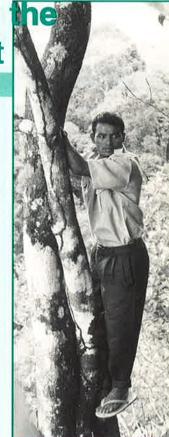
Ironically, perhaps, one of the ays to save rain forests like wokrama may be to allow some logging on them. Iwokrama's charter mandates that half the area be set aside as a wilderness pre-

forests, says Cassells. "I've seen attitudes change enormously in two years. Three years ago people didn't believe there was any alternative to standard timber harvesting. Iwokrama gives us a chance to look at the full range of uses." As Chief Emeka Anyaoku, the Secretary-General of the Commonwealth, explains, "It is very important for the world community that the lungs of the world—the tropical rain forest-should be saved. If they are to be saved, then the countries who own them and who depend on them for the economic survival must be helped to make a success of their sustainable exploitation."

-Mary Gray Davidson

## A Village in Rain Forest

n important component of the Iwokrama program are the residents of the Amerindian villages in and around the preserve. Their goal is to demonstrate that it is possible to use local forest resources to sustain communities. Eighty percent of Guyana's indigenous people live below the poverty line. Young people often leave their villages for the capital, Georgetown, or Brazil hoping to find more opportunity. Men, too, have been forced to leave their wives and children behind in the villages to find work in the timber companies or gold mines. But Iwokrama has given them hope for a better future, says Sidney Alicock, who lives in Surama, a village of 180 people located on the Savannah at the edge of the Iwokrama preserve. If Iwokrama didn't exist, he continues, "the forest would



Ovid is an Amerindian guide in the Iwokrama preserve.

have been handled by some big timber company. We would have been employed, yes, for maybe the next twenty or thirty years. But what would have happened to us after that and after all the wood is gone?"

This summer, the men in the community were preparing a guest house to lodge "ecotourists" beginning this fall. The main structure was finished, and the men were making the furniture by hand from products in the forest. A number of the younger men have worked in the Iwokrama Preserve training to become rangers and guides for the tourists. The women want to expand their farming from subsistence-type agriculture to raising produce that could be sold in the market and in cities. They need more than their traditional hand tools, however, and are trying to raise funds for a small tractor.

Sidney Alicock recognizes that there are positive and negative aspects to economic development. They don't want to live like the people in Georgetown, the capital, he says; but "I'd like to see us more economically strong, more independent, given more power to decide our future.... I know we've been left years behind (in development). But then the tables are being turned. The old people used to say, 'leave the forest. That's where you have life. If you destroy it, you destroy yourself.' That's what we all have to understand."

-Mary Gray Davidson

## Cases Prove It Security Council Reform Needed





## The Analysis

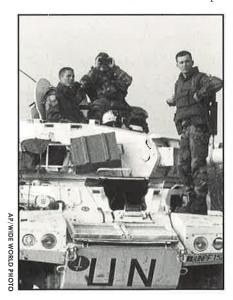
The goal is
to make
[the Security
Council]
more
representative and
democratic.

he UN Security Council's mishandling of a number of high-profile situations in the past decade has left the institution with a huge credibility problem. Some experts believe the council's performance and credibility will not improve until it has been reformed and sets new standards for intervening in the kind of conflicts which are most common in the late twentieth century.

Eighteen experts from governments, the UN, and private institutions met this past June at a Stanley Foundation conference, "Getting Down to Cases: Enforcing Security Council Resolutions." The conference was held in Stowe, Vermont. The participants discussed three prominent cases (see

adjacent story) from the past decade, focusing on what role the UN played in trying to manage and end the conflicts.

In each case, the Security Council's intervention was deeply flawed; and participants said, as a result, the institution's standing throughout the world has suffered.



Replaced. Most UN peacekeepers in Bosnia have been replaced by NATO forces.

#### A New Standard

There are many internal or civil conflicts today, and in some of those cases order has so completely broken down that it is clear state authority has failed. Rwanda and, to a lesser extent, the former Yugoslavia are examples of that.

Many participants said the UN needs new standards for intervening in such situations.

The obstacle is that the UN, holding sovereignty up as a primary state right, defers to the prerogatives of its member states. However, as the conference report states, "Many participants argued for a new norm that tempers the existing UN presumption that the right of states to nonintervention into domestic affairs preempts internal human rights concerns." They argued that where states have failed in their fundamental responsibility to protect citizen rights; e.g., where genocide is being carried out, the international community should respond.

Those who advocate that there be a new baseline standard for the behavior of states toward their citizens gave three reasons why it would be appropriate for the international community to intervene when the standard is violated. First, international law already requires intervention when there is genocide. Second, massive violation of human rights stands a good chance of creating conflict in a wider region. Third, the Security Council could decide that widespread human suffering is, of itself, a threat to international peace and security.

#### Security Council Reform

Most participants said that reforming the Security Council is another key to restoring the institution's credibility. The goal is to make it more representative and democratic. It was suggested by some participants that the council add more permanent members to include more regions (especially Africa and Latin America) and more great powers (i.e., Germany and Japan). As the report says, "There was a feeling that the Security Council should balance capacity (i.e., members with the most capacity) and representativeness."

Reforming council procedures would also help restore credibility. Many participants complained that the council now uses working committees and informal consultations to reach agreement on resolutions behind the scenes. The council's subsequent open session then is pro forma. Again, in the words of the report, "The lack of transparency in this system allows for under-the-table agreements and the inclusion of ulterior motives in council actions. Many participants said that opening up the informal consultations would increase the perceived honesty of the process and enhance credibility."

Other suggested council reforms include limiting the availability of the veto power and improving intelligence-gathering and analytical capabilities.

#### Other Reforms

Enforcement of council resolutions would also be enhanced by several other measures:

- Have clear and specific objectives for any intervention.
- Plan more thoroughly for possible military actions. While it is anticipated that the council will always have to call on member states to put together a military force, enforcement actions would go more smoothly with improved command and control systems and more advanced planning.
- Employ economic, military, diplomatic, and financial sanctions as an alternative to military force. But in order to make them more effective, they should be made situation-specific rather than using standard sanctions resolutions for every situation.

—Jeffrey Martin



## Cases

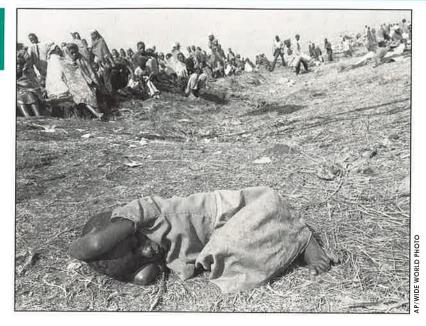
he three cases reviewed by participants at last June's conference on enforcing Security Council resolutions illustrated recurring problems with UN efforts to consistently and effectively manage conflicts.

#### Iraq

There are two parts to the Iraq story in this decade. In the first part, the UN Security Council demanded that Iraq reverse its invasion of Kuwait, and council action was instrumental in putting together the military coalition that enforced the demand. Since the and of Operation Desert Storm, e council played a leadership role in trying to control Iraqi aggression and particularly in efforts to dismantle its nuclear, chemical, and biological weapons capabilities. The latter effort has been troubled.

In reviewing the record, participants said that the case, in the words of the report, "Highlights one of the Security Council's recurring problems—inconsistency and the subordination of principle to the shifting interests of the permanent members." (The five permanent members of the council are Britain, France, China, Russia, and the US.)

One form of inconsistency, participants said, was that the UN countenanced Iraqi use of chemical weapons during the Iran-Iraq War but made stopping those actions a priority when the target of the weapons was less of a pariah state han was Iran in the 1980s. Anothis the fact that the major powers tacitly accept Israel's nuclear weapons program but won't allow one for Iraq. However, many par-



■ 1994 Horror.

A sick Rwandan refugee girl lies on the ground as others line up for emergency medical treatment. The refugees fled Zaire to escape bloodshed in their homeland.

ticipants said the important difference between Iraq and Israel is that Saddam Hussein has shown a willingness to use his weapons of mass destruction while Israel has not.

Some also noted that it is a fact of life that great powers will pursue their interests, and the UN needs to work better in spite of that fact.

#### The African Great Lakes

The most notorious incident in this region this decade was the 1994 genocide in Rwanda. As the conference report says, "This case demonstrates the council's inability to act...where the failure of a state has resulted in an institutional and power vacuum, creating conditions for massive human rights atrocities."

Participants knowledgeable with the situation said the UN seemed paralyzed by indecision as a 1993 peace agreement between rival Tutsis and Hutus unraveled after the plane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi was shot down. As ethnic violence and an ensuing refugee crisis unfolded, the council, still smarting from a failed mission in Somalia, deferred to the principle of state sovereignty ahead of the need to respond to a human rights disaster.

#### The Former Yugoslavia

Unlike Rwanda, when Yugoslavia began to fall apart the UN took a very active role, but to little avail. "That's because," participants said, "the organization was always confused about its purposes. What started out as an attempt to monitor a cease-fire became something else when the cease-fire failed." There were conflicting signals about trying to enforce peace while still trying to mediate.

Consequently, as the report states, "The UN tried to maintain a smooth political process...while trying to forcefully make peace on the ground—a paradox that leads to inconsistencies and tensions between and within the political and military operations." Ultimately, the UN's role in the region was largely supplanted by a NATO force put together as part of the Dayton Accords which ended the fighting in Bosnia.

-Jeffrey Martin

#### **Resources**

■ See pages 10-11 order a copy of the conference report entitled Getting Down to Cases: **Enforcing Security** Council Resolutions or the Common Ground radio program #9825-Promoting the Peace in Africa. These resources are also available on our web site: www.stanleyfdn.org.

#### **Getting Older**



uch has been written and said about the graying of America as baby boomers

move into the latter stages of their lives. But the overall aging of the population is a global phenomenon with far greater impact in the developing world than in the US or Europe.

Consider this. In 1975 threefourths of the world's population lived in developing countries, but only half of those over 65 lived there. By 2025 it is projected that the proportion of those over 65 who live in the Third World will have grown to three-fourths. That trend has enormous repercussions for developing countries, because they are not economically prepared to cope with so many older persons. As Ambassador Julia T. Alvarez, the Dominican Republic's chief representative to the UN, says, "We [in the Third World] don't have the luxury of even fantasizing about social security."

Because the aging of the population is a global phenomenon, the UN has made 1999 the International Year of Older Persons. The NGO preparatory event for that

commemorative year was held this August in Nashville and was cosponsored by the Stanley Foundation and Global Action on Aging, a nongovernmental organization that advocates on aging issues at the UN.

#### **Focus on Women**

The Nashville event focused specifically on the status of older women, because women generally live longer and are more likely to be poor. It is expected that by 2025 the world population of women over 60 will have tripled (from 1985) to more than 600 million. The Third World will be home to 70 percent of them with 70 percent of that population living in rural poverty.

In a message to the preparatory meeting, UN Secretary-General Kofi Annan noted, "Women nearly everywhere are living longer than men. Women are also more likely than men to be poorer in old age and face a higher risk of chronic illness and disability, discrimination, and economic and social marginalization. At the same time, the essential contributions they make to the well-being of their families, communities and the economy are often overlooked."

But Ambassador Alvarez urged that older women be looked on as not just another problem, but as part of the solution. Addressing the Nashville meeting, she said, "Women, who represent more than half the world's poor and more than half of the world's elderly, also make up more than half of those already involved in senior enterprise projects." But, she added, too many are held back by the difficulty of getting credit—one of the problems that needs to be corrected.

#### **Declaration**

The more than 100 women meeting in Nashville adopted a Declaration on Older Women's Rights. The document says older women should have:

- Free education and lifelong learning.
- Transportation, housing, and community facilities which are barrier-free.
- Access to clean air, water, and soil.
- Freedom from hostile social environments and prejudice.
- Comprehensive long-term health care.
- Help with achieving economic security and opportunities for self-sufficiency.

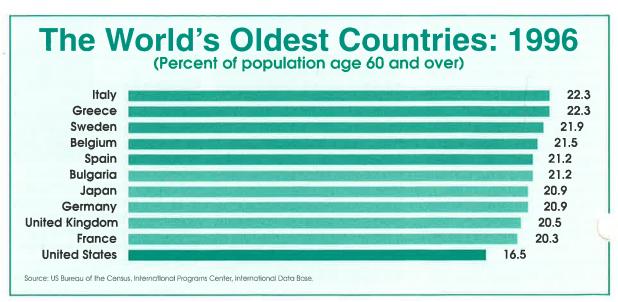
## population is a global phenomenon....

The aging

of the

#### Soon to Change.

This chart shows the top ten oldest countries and then the US, which ranks 25th. Demographers expect that in the next two decades many on the list will be replaced by developing countries.



Full participation and representation in the political process.

The declaration will be presented to the UN next year.

Many women who attended the Nashville conference are carrying

out follow-up activities in their local communities; and some organizations who were represented at the conference are taking the declaration to local, state, and national governments. In addition, Global Action on Aging is planning an October 1999 teleconference link-

ing 400 communities where women's aging issues will be discussed.

—Jeffrey Martin

#### Resources

■ Global Action on Aging has a web site at www.globalaging.org.

#### **Global Ed News Update**



### New Partnership

he Global Education Network of the Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD) has joined forces with Global Teach-Net, the educators' network of the ational Peace Corps Association MPCA). ASCD, one of the nation's largest education organizations, demonstrates its commitment to global education in several ways. Their support of this new partnership will offer greater breadth and depth in the productive sharing of resources for global education.

With a combined newsletter, members/subscribers from both networks will begin to enjoy even greater coverage of information and ideas. Networking will also take place through Global Teach-Net's free listsery, as well as regional and national conferences of both ASCD and NPCA. The Stanley Foundation has supported both of these networks and will continue to assist in the publication and promotion of the joint newsletter.

-Jill Goldesberry



#### Community College Initiative

rowing recognition of the importance of global education, partnerships, international networks, and creative ways of using new technologies to encourage these were themes that emerged at an international conference of community colleges in England, July 13-15, 1998. Community Colleges: The Global Economy's Investment Banks was hosted by Bilston Community College of the United Kingdom and cosponsored by the International Association for Education, Training, and Work in the United Kingdom; the Community Colleges Association of South Africa; the American Council on International and Intercultural Education; and the Stanley Foundation from the US.

Representatives from the United Kingdom, the US, South Africa, Poland, Romania, Russia, Denmark, India, the Netherlands, and the European Commission attended. Topics discussed included global competence, institutional networks and frameworks, and welfare to work: inclusive learning and employability.

-Joan Winship



### Summer Youth Programs

ix youth programs vary in emphasis but all incorporate the basic themes of global education: interdependence; human resources, values, and cultures; change and alternative futures; environment; and peace and conflict management. Games, music, art, cross-cultural experiences, and outdoor activities create an atmosphere of learning, fun, and exploration.

**Summer Arts Experience** (June 15-17). This year's theme of VISIONS included pinhole camera photography, making milagros (charms of hope), and maneuvering an obstacle course while blindfolded.

St. Louis Global Camp (June 22-July 2). Places visited this year included Missouri Botanical Gardens and Climatron, Amighetti's on The Hill, the Black World History Wax Museum, Robert Ketchen's Art Studio, Babler State Park, and St. Louis Museum of Art.

**Summer Special** (June 22-July 3). International Day provided participants with hands-on exhibits for learning about the cultures of Korea, Colombia, Kuwait, and Puerto Rico.

Nebraska International Camp (July 12-18). Camp Rivercrest on the Platte River provided a global atmosphere for this year's program. Campers met twice daily in conversation groups (Spanish, French, and German) to sing and speak their chosen foreign language.

Summer Special New York (July 25-31). Summer Special, New York-style, was a way for a group of four Iowa young people and 16 Bronx youth to learn about each other and about the places where they live—the differences and the similarities.

**Summer Explorations** (August 3-7). Building trust and exploring ways young women can take charge of their lives were part of Summer Explorations for Young Women.

#### **Publications**

Single copies free; see order form for multiple-copy charge. Most reports, and a wealth of other information, are instantly available on our web site: www.stanleyfdn.org. Green entries indicate new publications.

#### **Conference Reports**

#### **United Nations**

#### Getting Down to Cases: Enforcing Security Council Resolutions.

An international panel of high-level experts discussed the UN Security Council's role in three major conflicts this decade. Lessons from those cases guided exploration of options for strengthening enforcement of council resolutions. June 1998, 32pp.

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

Experts from both sides of the Atlantic discussed the differences between US and European approaches to dealing with challenges in the Persian Gulf. September 1997, 27pp.

#### 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 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, 36pp.

#### **General Interest**

#### Accountability and Judicial Response: Building Mechanisms for Post-Conflict Justice.

Experts considered 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 assessed 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 addressed the role that an expanded understanding of human rights plays in US foreign policy today. October 1997, 14pp.

## The Pros and Cons of NATO Expansion: Defining US Goals and Options.

The advisability and prospects for expanding NATO were explored by a group including proponents and opponents of expansion. October 1997, 32pp.

#### **US Sanctions Policy: Balancing Principles and Interests.**

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Mark Gearan

#### **Peace Corps**

he US Peace Corps has 6,500 American volunteers working in 84 countries. Keith Porter, producer of the Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program, Common Ground, recently spoke with two current

volunteers and the Peace Corps director. The following excerpts are from Common Ground program 9826. Tapes and transcripts of the complete broadcast are available on page 11.

Jose Navarro (serving in Paraguay): I fought fire to pay my way through college. I was in a fire in Colorado, and a lot of my friends died.... It was really like the breaking point in my life. I really just said, "Okay, I've always wanted to help people. There may not be a tomorrow. I have to do it now." So right when I finished my degree I went to join the Peace Corps.

I help Paraguayans with soil conservation, resource management. They have 10 percent of their forest left. Until you give small farmers an alternative, the environmental degradation is going to continue. And that's what the Peace Corps is doing. It is really actually the only grassroots extension effort in Paraguay.

Sherry Sposeep (serving in Turk-menistan): I began thinking about the

Peace Corps when I was in college, and I was working at a refugee shelter, And I met many people from different countries. I enjoyed helping. I wanted to help them living in the US, but I also felt that I wanted to travel and to be a part of a community and help them in a different way.

Now I teach English to doctors in hospitals. I teach medical English. The second thing I do is work within the community. Currently, I'm working on creating a crisis intervention center with my doctors. So we're working right now to find a place to have this center and find resources in order to have it function.

#### Peace Corps Director Mark Gearan:

While every American I think is proud that we have a Peace Corps, that there are so many of our fellow citizens who are all working in some of the poorest places on the face of the earth to promote peace and friendship and understanding, I think many Americans' understanding of the Peace Corps might just end there. What I think is underrealized, and undervalued perhaps, is the important development work that our volunteers do—the very real, tangible difference that the volunteers make in the lives of people in communities and villages.

When I receive ambassadors and ministers here it's striking to me how many will say, "The first American I ever met was a Peace Corps volun-

teer," or "My first teacher of English [was a Peace Corps volunteer]." Now they're a minister or ambassador, or in some cases, a head of state. That's a very powerful testament to the difference the Peace Corps has made over 37 years.

There is a very large domestic dividend to the Peace Corps. Volunteers come back; they go into all walks of life in the US. They tend to volunteer more in our communities. There are six members of the Congress, a member of the President's Cabinet, educators, teachers—indeed all of us become better and learn more about the world as a result of Peace Corps volunteers coming back to the US. And in our global economy, in our increasingly multicultural society, that's good for the US.

Keith Porter: Who decides what a Peace Corps volunteer does?

Gearan: The genius of the Peace Cor, is that the work of our volunteers and the assignments of our volunteers are decided in the field. We don't decide here in Washington, DC, what's best for Paraguay or what's best for Turkmenistan.

Porter: Development for a long time has been controlled by big organizations like the World Bank. But there's been a backlash now against that bigstyle development. We see the rise of micro-development, micro-enterprise, micro-credit, but that's where the Peace Corps has been all along.

Gearan: It really shows the genius and the brilliance of the early architects of the Peace Corps—Sargeant Shriver, President Kennedy, Bill Moyers, and others. They really had it right from the start. That it's people-to-people, field-driven, grassroots development. What's clear as you read and learn more about development and what other efforts are doing is that they're coming around to this kind of development. That's what the Peace Corps hadone.

-Excerpted by Keith Porter

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