

# Courier



THE STANLEY  
FOUNDATION  
COURIER

No. 3, Winter 1990

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## Strategy for Peace

This issue of the *Courier* features four stories reporting on discussions at the Stanley Foundation's Strategy for Peace Conference. The 1989 conference marked the thirtieth year in which the foundation has convened expert panels on a variety of foreign policy topics. The discussion groups all met October 19-21 at Airlie House, a large conference facility outside Washington, DC.

The groups met separately, but many participants expressed interest in common themes running through the topics. David Doerge, Stanley Foundation vice president and principal conference organizer, said, "Having chosen four traditional regional topics we were pleasantly surprised by the demand for discussion of the linkages." He credits that demand to participants' recognition of some fundamental world changes and their growing awareness of the relationship between their area of specialization and those changes.

## After Tiananmen

Two decades of improving US-China relations were deeply shaken on June 4, 1989, when the tanks of the People's Liberation Army rolled on Tiananmen Square. Two months of peaceful, prodemocracy demonstrations were brutally halted as troops fired on the crowds gathered there, killing hundreds and wounding thousands.



Given the current climate of repression and uncertainty in China, US policymakers are assessing options for future US-China relations. The crisis in China and prospects for US policy were the focus of a Stanley Foundation conference in October. China scholar, Harry Harding, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution, chaired the round-table discussion between administration officials and other members of the academic and foreign policy communities. The off-the-record dialogue focused on the long-term impact of last spring's crackdown on the relationship between China and the United States and on any possible consensus on US policy toward China.

**Major Uncertainties in China**  
The situation in China today is complex and fluid. Sorting out the problems created and exacerbated by the events in Tiananmen Square is extremely difficult. Still, the group's discussion settled on five major areas for consideration when discussing China's future:

- The extent to which the fabric of



AP/Wide World Photos

life in China has changed in the post-Tiananmen era. It is unclear how widespread the level of popular resistance to the government is or how daily life has been affected by the decline of the economy during the past year.

(See CHINA page 2)

*A couple on a bicycle take cover under a bridge on which China's People's Army tanks hold positions June 5, 1989, in Beijing.*

China's relationship to the outside world has often been a subject of debate among its leaders.

**CHINA**

- The military's relationship with China's political leadership. The military played a critical and not altogether clear role in suppressing the democracy movement. But no clear evidence has emerged of a breakdown in military command.

- The extent of local and regional autonomy. Decision-making has become much more decentralized over the past decade, and it is impossible to say what the balance of power between Beijing and the provinces will be in the future.

- The question of who is winning the battle for control of China. Some members of the group argued that Premier Li Peng and other conservative hard liners have consolidated power. Other participants chose to look at the long-term balance of power, which is less clear.

- Economic considerations which are at least as fluid and uncertain as political ones. China's economy has grown at a high rate since 1949, but in 1988 the government began tightening its policies to stem inflation. Now the government is cutting back the level of private enterprise and restricting foreign investment in joint ventures.

Because of these uncertainties, the group was unable to make many predictions about China's future. But three possible scenarios did emerge. In one, hard-line leaders clearly consolidate power and enact a tougher foreign policy and conservative economic policies. The second possibility is a return to the reformist approach of the past decade. The third scenario involves a combination of the first two with contradictory elements of political repression and economic reform.

**Chinese Foreign Policy**

China's relationship to the outside world has often been a subject of debate among its leaders. Two extremes appear to have emerged in the post-Tiananmen period: one advocates a continuation of the strengthening political, economic, and cultural ties with the world; the other extreme believes that the West is engaged in a conspiracy to move China away from socialism. The

latter believe political ties to the West should be maintained, but economic ties should be limited to essential trade relationships.

**US Policy Toward China**

Several key sectors of US society—the public, the press, Chinese interest groups, and the Congress—have changed their views of China in recent months. These are the sectors which help determine official and unofficial US policy toward China.

US public opinion has shifted from viewing China as a country that is basically friendly or neutral to a country that is basically neutral to unfriendly.

The national media devoted 30 percent of its China coverage in May and June, and it is likely that future stories will emphasize repression in China, not reform, which will prevent much improvement of US opinion toward China.

If the Chinese emigre community in the US can successfully organize, it could have a substantial impact on US policies toward China.

Although the Chinese leadership has denounced international scrutiny of its human rights record as interference in its domestic affairs, the US Congress has been using human rights yardsticks to evaluate China. Despite recent Bush administration overtures to the Chinese government, the executive branch has to bear in mind the concern of the public and Congress for human rights and democracy in China.

Future US policy toward China is uncertain and will be influenced by all these sectors of US society. The group's debate over what that policy should be centered on four specific issues: the extent to which the US can actually influence China's affairs; the proper mix of realism and idealism in US foreign policy; the degree of support for the Chinese democracy movement; and the range and depth of sanctions against China.

Conference chair Harry Harding observed that it is very significant that there was no group consensus on either the question of where

China is going or where US-China relations should go. As he pointed out after the conference: "The US appeared to be moving toward a consensus during the ten years following the normalization of US-China relations in 1978. That consensus was rooted in the perception that China was reforming both politically and economically. Once there was a serious retrogression [i.e., Tiananmen Square], this consensus was very seriously shaken. The conference indicated this was not a brief emotional reaction to events in Tiananmen but something more enduring. There was the assumption that this period of retrogression was transitional, but there was considerable disagreement on the policy framework during this transitional period."

-Mary Gray

(See the resource list on page 10 for a copy of the report from this conference.)

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No. 3, Winter 1990

ISSN 1044-5900

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

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# Global Change and Africa

In the last thirty years almost all African states have undergone extraordinary changes. Until the 1950s, the 1960s, or even later, they were subjected to colonial rule. Once achieved, independence—in most cases the result of a long, bloody war—was often only formal, as the political, economic, and cultural influence of the European powers continued. This was accompanied with active efforts by the United States and the Soviet Union to expand their military and political presence in Africa. US-Soviet competition had a considerable impact on Africa's political landscape. However, in the years 1985-88, the unexpected happened: the Cold War ended in Africa—and with this came a need to redefine policy toward Africa.



Michael Clough, senior fellow for African Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations and chair of the discussion group, stated that an additional objective of the meeting was "an understanding of how such macro changes are affecting the policies and involvements of other international actors in Africa [and] how the changing policies of other actors will [or should] alter the US role in Africa." Experts from academic institutions, the State Department, international and nongovernmental organizations, the Soviet Union, and the Federal Republic of Germany examined these issues and discussed guidelines for effective bi- and multilateral initiatives in Africa.

## Dimensions of the African Crisis

Conference participants pointed out that despite differences between African countries, almost all are faced with similar problems. Among the most critical are:

- Governance crises that led to the

collapse of effective institutions. Many African countries share the experience of an authoritarian, sometimes brutal regime without any legal structure.

- Collapsing economies, overburdened by bloated and inefficient state sectors and huge external debt.
- Disastrous agricultural policies, in addition to environmental destruction that reduces the continent's usable resources of land and wood.
- Security threats based on ethnic tensions and fueled by arm's transfers from the superpowers, which have spawned civil wars in several countries and created millions of refugees.
- Spread of AIDS, which threatens the survival of regional populations.

## The End of the Cold War

The conferees agreed that the Cold War had indeed ended in Africa and that the most remarkable sign of this was the successful negotiation of Namibian independence and Cuban withdrawal from Angola. This was the first time in the post-war period that US and Soviet officials cooperated in an open, nonantagonistic manner to resolve a political conflict.

Despite this positive example, the prospects for constructive collaboration appear meager. Without the stimulus of strategic and ideological competition, the superpowers will not be inclined to retain little more than a token presence in Africa.

Whereas the superpowers have never been a dominant economic force in Africa, Western Europe continues to be the primary trade link. This is also reflected in development assistance, an area where Europe as a whole, and most recently Japan, have contributed far more than the United States.

## Changes in External Involvement

Loss of the superpowers' influence in Africa runs parallel with two concurrent international developments: the uniting of Western Europe and the emergence of a more independent, internationally minded Japan. The unification of Europe is a mixed blessing for African countries. On one hand, it could increase the market for exports from Africa—provided the current agreements between the European Community and the African, Caribbean, and Pacific countries are not eliminated. On the other hand, a single Western European market may further marginalize Africa economically. Moreover, with the sudden opening of markets in Eastern Europe, economic and technical assistance, foreign investment, and humanitarian aid might be withdrawn from the South and rerouted east. Thus, Japan's emergence as an international economic power could eventually become more beneficial for Africa.

## A Basis for Hope

Conference participants concluded that Africa is becoming less and less the economic preserve of any country or group of countries and more and more the responsibility of multilateral institutions. However, the dismal experience of the past three decades has led to widespread criticism of external assistance in general, and the old slogan, "African solutions to African problems," is taken more seriously than ever before. Clearly, these words express the failure of the West and the East more than the success of anticolonial and antiimperialist Africans. But in order to achieve indigenous African solutions, it will be important to strengthen African managerial and entrepreneurial leadership and to establish ethnically and socially representative, responsible governmental structures. The major external powers, including the United States, should therefore focus on working to achieve these aims.

—Christiane Hartnack

(See the resource list on page 10 to obtain a report of this conference.)

The conferees agreed that the Cold War had indeed ended in Africa . . .

# Free Markets in a Socialist Economy?

In the four years since Mikhail Gorbachev began his efforts to reform the Soviet economy, many startling changes have been implemented, and more radical ones are expected. While it is as yet impossible to see how far these changes will take the Soviets, the direction in which they are heading is becoming visible, as are the many obstacles they face.



The effort to reform the Soviet economy was a topic of the Strategy for Peace Conference last October, which was attended by experts from academia, the State Department and other US agencies, the media, and nongovernmental organizations. The conference was chaired by Professor Herbert S. Levine of the University of Pennsylvania.

## Restructuring in a Socialist Framework

Some of the greatest hopes for invigorating the disastrous state of the Soviet economy come from planned changes in property rights. State ownership is now recognized as one of the chief culprits in the system's decline. This, however, poses serious questions to political theorists in the Soviet Union, as state ownership has been an integral part of socialism. There are, at least at present, no indications that Soviet

leadership wants to drop the socialist framework. Thus, Gorbachev's goal of restructuring the economic system is made difficult by the fact that there is no model of how to move from a centrally planned economy to a system with many aspects of a free-market economy.

In deciding what types of property rights to implement, the Soviet leadership is faced with a trade-off between control and efficiency. For example, inefficient producers will have to be dropped instead of just being tolerated, and decisions that used to be made on a political basis will have to shift to an efficiency-oriented approach.

## Property Relations in a Reformed Soviet Economy

Many changes which have occurred in the Soviet economy in recent years can serve as indicators of the direction in which the Soviet leadership is heading. The conferees listed the following:

- an increase in economic independence of existing enterprises;
- initial legalization of private economic activity by groups allowed to form cooperatives for production and for provision of services;
- permission to farmers to lease land for long terms and pass it on through inheritance;
- first moves toward issuing shares in enterprises;
- provision for joint enterprises, which allows foreign ownership of assets.

Transforming these provisions or proposals into reality within existing Soviet institutions has created a number of difficulties: (1) the possibility of earning excess profits is looked at with suspicion; (2) a notable increase in corruption has accompanied development of the cooperative sector; and, (3) related to this, there are yet more problems in the supply sector.

The cultural and psychological dimensions of individual perceptions of rights will only be changed in the course of time. Historically, Soviets view rights as delegated rather than sovereign. This means that individuals and enterprises are given conditional privileges rather than vested rights which are not stable and less defensible in courts. Thus, both a legal, institutional framework and an ideological commitment are necessary for people and organizations to feel secure in their new rights.

## US Policy Implications

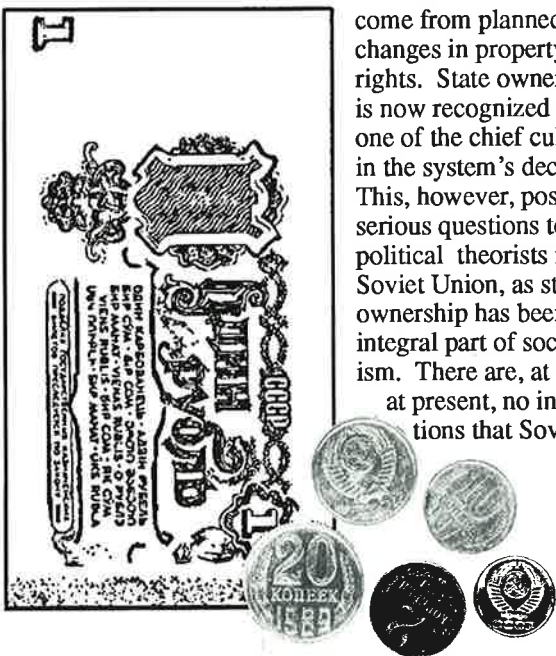
Among various suggestions presented were the following:

- accepting the Soviet Union into the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs;
- liberalizing trade by giving the Soviet Union the most-favored-nation status;
- renegotiating the present US tax laws since they presently discourage investment or working in the Soviet Union for US-based multinational corporations;
- using US influence in international organizations to encourage their assistance to and improve their position toward the Soviet Union.
- extending educational exchange programs to Soviet business-people and managers;
- providing technical assistance to both the Soviet private sector and government agencies.

Above all, it must be remembered that the Soviet Union is based on an entirely different political structure and has an eighty-year history of centralized decision making, which was preceded by feudal structures. There exists an inherent inertia in the Soviet system; therefore, only a slow move toward a free-market economy can be expected.

*-Christiane Hartnack  
(See page 10 to order a free copy of this conference report.)*

*Rubles and kopeks—the inability to convert Soviet currency is seen as a major obstacle to Soviet entry into the world marketplace.*



# Debt and Democracy in Latin America

The eruption of the debt crisis in Latin America nearly ten years ago generated widespread fears over the future for democracy in the region.



While conventional wisdom has been that the debt crisis is detrimental to democratization in Latin America, this

past October the Stanley Foundation brought together a group to explore whether there is indeed a link between debt and democracy. Participants in this discussion, chaired by Susan Kaufman Purcell of the Americas Society, represented a broad range of experience from the policy-making community to commercial banks.

## Roots of the Debt Crisis

The year 1982 marks the onset of the debt crisis. Many economic problems had begun to surface before then, but most Latin American economies were still coming out of the boom period of the 1960s and 1970s. In August 1982, Mexico notified its creditors that it would no longer be able to service its multi-billion-dollar debt. Commercial banks responded by restricting new lending to the region, triggering a crisis. From Mexico to the southern tip of Chile, economic development essentially came to a standstill, and social indicators such as health, education, and employment fell to alarmingly low levels. Today, Latin America's debt totals \$426 billion, and governments, whether they are ruled by democratic, authoritarian, or military leaders, are threatened by an unprecedented and chronic financial crisis.

## Political and Economic Impact

Initially, many people feared for Latin American democracies. The years immediately following 1982 did not, however, prove as detrimental to incumbent democracies as had

been anticipated. By 1982 there were already some well-established democracies in Latin America, such as Colombia's and Venezuela's. Other countries—Peru and Ecuador, for example—had weak and fairly young democracies. As civilian leaders struggled for solutions to the debt crisis, many people expected that the military in those countries would try to overthrow the democratic regimes. But that fear has not been borne out, in part because the military leaders realized they were no better equipped to deal with the disintegration of their economies than their civilian counterparts. It is also important to note that while the debt crisis did not lead to the overthrow of democratic rulers, neither did it force authoritarian regimes in Latin America to move toward democracy.

In addition to the impact of the debt crisis on the political transition process in Latin America, the conference discussion focused on economic policymaking in the region. Prior to this decade, the economic development strategy in Latin America was generally statist, protectionist, and costly. Now the trend is away from a strong state role in the economy and toward more open, liberal economic policies, with protectionist barriers falling along with government expenditures. However, there are still doubts about the ability of Latin governments to hold to these newer, liberal policies if the situation does not improve.

## Prospects for US Policy

While the US no longer affects events in Latin America to the extent that it once did, it does maintain influence in the region. The question is how to best use that influence and the resources at Washington's disposal. Two existing factors should improve the situation: (1) the presence of many new eco-

1987	Brazil, Colombia
1986	
1985	
1984	
1983	
1982	Panama
1981	
1980	Dominican Republic, Paraguay
1979	Barbados, Mexico, Uruguay
1978	
1977	
1976	Ecuador, Suriname, Trinidad & Tobago
1975	
1974	Costa Rica, Peru
1973	Honduras
1972	
1971	Chile, Guatemala
1970	
1969	Argentina
1968	Bahamas
1967	
1966	Bolivia
1965	Jamaica
1964	El Salvador, Venezuela
1963	
1962	
1961	
1960	Guyana, Haiti, Nicaragua

nomical and political leaders in Latin America who favor modernizing their governments and societies and (2) the winding down of the Cold War, which should allow the United States to support truly democratic reforms in Latin America, instead of supporting governments simply because they too oppose Soviet expansionism in the region.

There is broad agreement that Latin America needs more debt relief and loans if it is to grow and develop. That aid should be conditional to prevent capital flight and directed toward democratic leaders committed to reforming their economies.

The US and other industrialized democracies have a stake in promoting democratization in Latin America—not only because their values would coincide with those of the US, but also because the solution to the debt crisis and economic revival depend on responsible politics that hold the people accountable for their decisions.

*Real gross domestic production per capita has fallen to levels of years—even decades—ago. Using 1987 per capita GDP as a base, the year to which each country has regressed is shown above.*

*—Courtesy The IDB, published by The Inter-American Development Bank*

See page 10 to obtain a 16-page report of this conference.

—Mary Gray

# Citizens Making a Difference in World Affairs

**C**itizens who feel powerless to affect or to even understand complex foreign policy issues may want to look at what is happening in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. More than 800 persons there took part last October in a four-day program called "Global Cedar Rapids."

The conference—held under the title, "Citizens Making a Difference in World Affairs"—combined expert presentation, citizen discussion, the initiation of an annual award, and multicultural entertainment. More important, perhaps, was the conference-planning process which involved a cross section of Cedar Rapids citizens with little foreign policy expertise in an ambitious and ongoing endeavor.

The process began with a friendly nudge from three foreign policy institutes—the Foreign Policy Association (FPA), ACCESS Security Information Service, and the Stanley Foundation. But the program was locally designed and implemented. It is seen as launching rather than ending a process that lets Cedar Rapids citizens better understand and act on the connections between their city and the world.

## Ready to Erupt

Nancy Yanofsky says it began in 1988 with a small idea that she and Mary Lord had to promote local understanding and activism on world affairs. (At the time, Yanofsky worked at the FPA; Lord is executive director at ACCESS.) They formulated a concept whereby existing organizations in a community would be encouraged to hold discussions on foreign policy issues using discussion materials from the FPA's Great Decisions series and an expert speaker provided by ACCESS. Four test communities around the nation were selected based on a perception that they were, according to Yanofsky, "pre-disposed to foreign affairs but with no existing program."

One test community was Cedar Rapids where Dan Clark of the Stanley Foundation pulled together fifty people for a breakfast meeting at which Yanofsky and Lord outlined their proposal. Yanofsky says they found, "a city ready to move, erupt. We gave them something to react to. They took it and flew with it."

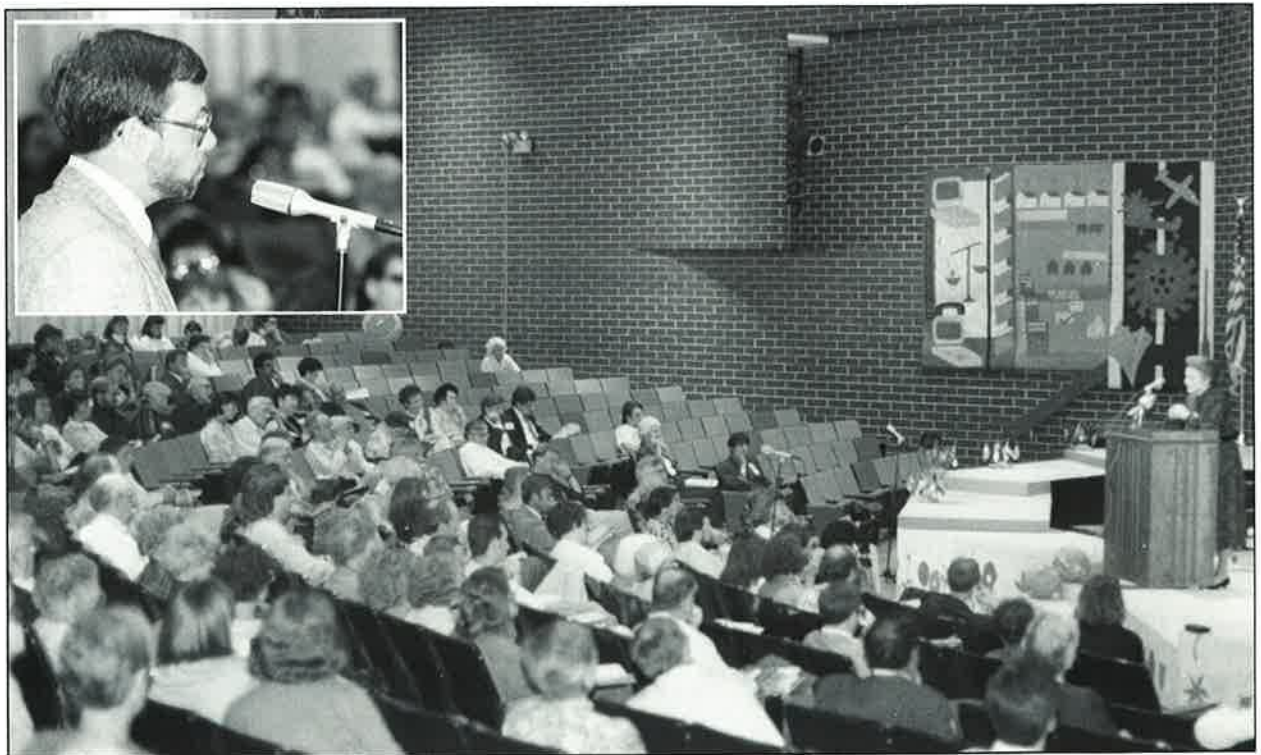
Gary Goldstein, a high school social studies teacher who would emerge as president of Global Cedar Rapids, Inc., says, "I just had a vision that we would get it done...not that we'd merely try."

## The Program

The steering committee which was formed took the idea much further. It nailed down the promised support from FPA and ACCESS and got support and planning assistance from the Stanley Foundation. But substantial sums of money and services were also secured within the community, and the four-day conference required the help of dozens of volunteers.

The committee comprised a cross section of the community and met regularly for over a year, repeatedly

*Participants engaged in dialogue with expert presenters during the first Global Cedar Rapids conference.*



finding ways to clear hurdles.

A decision was made to begin presentation of annual awards at the international, national, state, and local levels. The Global Cedar Rapids awards are presented to individuals and organizations which have made significant contributions to global understanding and peace.

The presentation of awards highlighted the Friday evening opening session. The keynote speaker was retired diplomat John McDonald, now president of the Iowa Peace Institute. McDonald spoke of the importance of "Track Two" diplomacy in which individual citizens develop relationships with counterparts in other countries.

Saturday's main speaker was Martha Mautner, a senior State Department analyst, who discussed appropriate responses to Soviet reforms instituted by Mikhail Gorbachev. Participants spent much of the day in eight discussion groups focusing on topics ranging from the global environment to the Middle East.

Sunday featured a panel discussion

on the media and world affairs and the event concluded with a Monday Rotary Club address by Mary Lord.

#### Reactions and the Future

Most participants and planners who responded to a survey were enthusiastic about the event. Yanofsky, who calls the inaugural event "wonderful," thinks two major challenges await the Global Cedar Rapids planners. One is to reach past the already converted public and draw even more people from the community into the process. The second is to move people beyond education and into action.

She thinks the event "did extraordinary things for the people on the steering committee. They learned volumes about how to organize a community and about world affairs. The fact that you have broad-based leadership means it can happen anywhere."

It certainly will happen again in Cedar Rapids. Steps to enhance the program and expedite the planning have been identified by steering committee members. They appear to be convinced that citizens can make a difference in world affairs.

-Jeff Martin



Kathy Christensen

*The specially designed Global Cedar Rapids award was presented to international, national, state, and local recipients. First-year winners were: International—UNICEF; National—Barry Commoner, environmentalist; State—State Senator Jean Lloyd-Jones, instrumental in founding the Iowa Peace Institute; Local—Richard Pitner, high school social studies teacher active in global education.*

## Congressional Study Group on South Africa

Are the many changes presently underway in South Africa real progress toward ending apartheid and establishing majority rule, or are they merely the illusion of change? Congress, which plays a major role in US policy toward South Africa, will have to address that question.

To help ensure an informed policy, the Stanley Foundation and the Southern Africa Policy Forum headed by former Senator Dick Clark launched a "Congressional Study Group on South Africa" December 1st and 2nd.

David Doerge, principal organizer, identified a two-fold objective for the study group. "We want to provide key congressional staff first-hand information from prominent South Africans. We also want to establish a bipartisan, bicameral core group as an institutional base in Congress for dealing with these issues."

Two award-winning journalists from South Africa, Richard Mkhondo of Reuters and Brian Pottinger of the Johannesburg *Sunday Times*, highlighted the inaugural event with an in-depth discussion and first-hand

account of what is currently happening in South Africa and what it means to the South African people and government.

Also, a panel of US experts on South Africa provided background on the history of US policy and the key groups and actors in South Africa, ending the meeting with a rigorous give and take on legislative alternatives for US policy.

Six luncheons for congressional staff with leading South Africans will be scheduled in 1990.

-Jeff Martin



## US and Soviet Citizens Building Relationships

**E**xpanding relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are occurring on all levels including among citizen diplomats. One of the activities providing average US and Soviet citizens the opportunity to connect is Sister Cities International. The first ever sister-state relationship between the US and the Soviet Union was created last year joining Iowa with Mikhail Gorbachev's home region of Stavropol in the Russian republic. A sister-city relationship has also been established between the Stanley Foundation's home, Muscatine, Iowa, and Kislovodsk, Stavropol, and recently prompted eight private citizens from Muscatine to visit Kislovodsk. Among the visitors was Stanley Foundation Vice President Jack Smith.

Smith says there were several motives for the trip. The first was

the opportunity to discuss potential trade involving the two cities.

"They have a world-famous mineral water which is used by sanatoriums that attract 300,000 visitors annually. They would like to expand the market for this water. Also, several Muscatine County businesses have expressed an interest in follow-up dialogue on what Muscatine products the Soviets would be interested in." A reciprocal trip is being planned to continue the process with a Kislovodsk group expected in Muscatine in April 1990.

Another part of the trip from the Soviet standpoint was to discuss the possibility of joint enterprises. The group toured a ceramics factory employing 1400 people. Smith says that the factory officials wanted to know about the possibility of getting US managerial and/or technical expertise. "We met with the factory management team, and it was the nature of their questions about cost-accounting and setting different

wage scales for different employees that showed us in dramatic fashion how totally different our societies are," Smith said.

A third objective of the trip was trust-building. A small Soviet delegation came to Muscatine in 1988, and Smith says it was time to repay the visit. He added, "We wanted to engage them on a variety of levels, personal and business, to increase trust levels and keep exchanges alive."

Smith says he wanted to personally witness the changes going on in the Soviet Union so that he could address US audiences more effectively. In his capacity at the foundation, he makes approximately 150 speaking and seminar engagements annually on topics of international affairs. He said, "A few years ago the most requested presentation was one on arms control and reduction. Today, 90 percent of the requests are 'Tell me about Gorbachev and these reforms. What's

*Ceramics is one of Kislovodsk's major industries. The sister-city delegation visited this factory employing 1400 people and met with the factory management team.*



Craig Paul



Craig Paul



he trying to do? Where's the resistance coming from? What are his prospects for success? And what should the US be doing, if anything?"

Smith says that to enhance his own credibility and remain contemporary with the rapid changes, he must be there with some frequency. "Had I not gone, I could not have reported on the signs of decentralization I personally saw." He found a wide range of opinions about the Gorbachev changes. "The managers wanted to make money for their factories and for themselves. But there was a second group who were supportive yet frustrated by the upheavals in their world," said Smith (see adjacent story).

—Keith Porter

## Coping with Change

One of my experiences on this trip illustrates just how difficult and disruptive the Gorbachev changes are to everyday life in the Soviet Union. A manager at the ceramics plant in Kislovodsk said, "Now, my wife and I argue all the time. She wants to be a part of every decision. Also, co-managers and I argue all the time. My boss used to make all the decisions. Now we make them, and decision by committee is tough."

Then he said, "Mr. Smith, don't take my remarks lightly. Last April I almost had a complete nervous breakdown. This is so new that I can't yet deal with the reforms."

—Jack Smith

"This is so new that I can't yet deal with the reforms."



Craig Paul

A Kislovodsk official welcomes the Muscatine delegation.

In Cyrillic letters, "Muscatine" appears above the US flag and "Kislovodsk" above the Soviet flag, symbolizing their sister-city relationship.

Craig Paul

### Muscatine, Iowa USA

**Population:**  
25,000

**Location:**  
200 miles southwest  
of Chicago, on the  
Mississippi River

**Major Industry:**  
Agriculture  
Grain processing  
Furniture manufacturing  
Tire retreading

### Kislovodsk, Stavropol USSR

**Population:**  
103,000

**Location:**  
800 miles south  
of Moscow

**Major Industry:**  
Sanitoriums  
Mineral water  
Ceramics



**KEY**

☆ Audio cassettes from "Common Ground," the foundation's half-hour, weekly radio program. \$7.00 each.

◆ Soft-cover reports of policy conferences, also policy papers and addresses. Individual copies free; see order form for multiple-copy charge.

Blue entries indicate new resources.

**Regional Issues**

◆ **Crisis in China: Prospects for US Policy.** A group of nineteen China experts discuss the difficulty of US-China political, economic, and cultural ties returning to the level and warmth that existed before Tiananmen Square. October 1989, 20pp.

◆ **Global Change and Africa: Implications for US Policy.** This report examines the impact of the Cold War's end on Africa and the challenge of developing new ways of understanding and addressing the continent's problems. October 1989, 16pp.

☆9004—**Africa's Cold War Legacy** (January 1990). Will the end of the Cold War cause the superpowers to lose interest in Africa? (\$7)

◆ **Debt and Democracy in Latin America.** This report examines the relationship between the region's debt crisis and political and economic developments. October 1989, 20pp.

☆9002—**A Century of Democracy** (January 1990). Costa Rica's former president, Rodrigo Carazo Odio, discusses his country's achievements and prospects for peace in Central America. (\$7)

◆ **Central America: Where Do We Go From Here?** While acknowledging major disagreements, fifteen US foreign policy experts focus on broad areas of consensus to fashion a more realistic and pragmatic approach to this region. October 1988, 16pp.

☆8910/8918—**Two Views of the Israeli-Palestinian Conflict** (March and May 1989). A two-part series with Israel's ambassador to the United States and the PLO's observer to the United Nations. (\$7)

☆8841—**A United States of Europe?** (October 1988). A discus-

sion on the European Community's plans to become one economic superpower by 1992. (\$7)

◆ **US Policy in the Persian Gulf: New Beginnings.** Top policymakers and regional experts focus on new developments in the region in an effort to formulate goals and strategies for US policy. April 1989, 16pp.

◆ **US Policy in the Persian Gulf: The Next Four Years.** Ten policymakers and experts discuss implications of recent gulf events and offer policy options for the new US administration's consideration. September 1988, 16pp.

◆ **Indochina Policy Recommendations for the Next Administration.** The product of a year of discussion and debate by the Indochina Policy Forum, a bipartisan group of experts on Cambodia, Vietnam, and Laos. October 1988, 20pp.

**US-Soviet Relations**

◆ **Soviet Economic Reform: Socialism and Property.** Consideration of these issues by conference participants clarifies the range of options open to Gorbachev and the constraints under which he operates. October 1989, 16pp.

☆8945—**Foreign Policy Perestroika** (November 1989). The Soviet Union's ambassador to the UN gives an insider's view of how perestroika has affected Soviet foreign policy. (\$7)

◆ **Soviet Integration Into the World Economy.** A uniquely diverse group considers obstacles and opportunities associated with Gorbachev's internal and international economic reforms. October 1988, 16pp.

☆8818—**A New Détente?** (May 1988). Sovietologist Stephen Cohen argues that US-Soviet relations are at a historic moment and the US must decide the kind of relationship it wants with the USSR. (\$7)

**United Nations**

◆ **Environmental Problems: A Global Security Threat.** Conference participants analyzed possible international responses to environmental degradation and natural resource depletion in light of political will. June 1989, 36pp.

◆ **UN Peacekeeping and Peacemaking.** Conference participants consider what is behind the new interest in using UN peacekeeping and peacemaking expertise and how the UN can capitalize on this. February 1989, 24pp.

☆8931/32—**Peacemaking at the UN** (August 1989). This two-part series examines the United Nations' recent peacemaking successes and the work of the peacekeeping forces. (\$7)

◆ **International Agenda for the 1990s** summarizes conference deliberations regarding global trends and recommends how the UN must evolve to meet the new challenges. July 1988, 36pp.

◆ **Science and Technology for Development** reports how conference participants were challenged to determine the role of science and technology for development and those areas where UN involvement has a comparative advantage. February 1988, 32pp.

**Security and Disarmament**

☆8946—**Security for the 1990s: The Environment** (November 1989). Jessica Tuchman Mathews of the World Resources Institute argues that the environmental crisis should be classified as a security threat.

☆8844/45—**The Nature of Power** (November 1988). A two-part series on the evolution of the postwar power structure and the significance of economic strength over simple military might. (\$7)

☆8817/8712—**Alternative Diplomacy and International Conflict Resolution** (March 1987 and April 1988). A two-part series with Roger Fisher (*Getting To Yes*) and Jeffrey Rubin of the Harvard Negotiation Project. (\$7)

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◆ **Issues in Education: Multicultural and Global Education: Seeking Common Ground.** Professionals from both fields met to clarify their relationship, assess areas of tension and compatibility, and explore potential for mutually beneficial work. January 1989, 16pp.

◆ **Issues in Education: Quality Global/International Education: What Political Stance?** Conference participants discussed the differences among global educators concerning how and when controversial issues should be explored in schools. April 1989, 24pp.

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tures for military and social purposes. Published by World Priorities, \$6.50 each or \$4.50 each for orders of 25 or more.

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# Ten Years!

The Stanley Foundation's weekly radio program "Common Ground" is celebrating ten years on the air. The half-hour syndicated program is heard on over 110 public stations across the country. This radio series on world affairs was started by Stanley Foundation Vice President Jeff Martin and is now overseen by Producer Mary Gray and Associate Producer Keith Porter.

In honor of the tenth anniversary, Gray put together a retrospective program featuring some of the provocative thinkers who have appeared on "Common Ground" over the decade. Here are some excerpts from this program which aired the first week of January 1990. Cassette copies of this and other programs are available. Please refer to the resource guide on pages ten and eleven.

"I'm completely convinced that the world, and that includes the Soviet Union and the United States, will not have the kind of security we want until we have come to the point [where] we have a world without war—a world in which nations do not have to depend upon the threat and use of national force in order to achieve security or to achieve their legitimate ends."

—C. Maxwell Stanley, founder of the Stanley Foundation, in 1981.

"The size and the nature of the Soviet armed-force establishment, large as it is, reflects the decisions of a congenitally insecure political leadership in Moscow. [This is] a

leadership that takes no chances when it comes to military readiness, which prefers to overdo quantitatively to compensate for qualitative deficiencies—deficiencies, incidentally, it is more aware of than we are."

—George Kennan, former US ambassador to the USSR, in 1984.

"Unless we elect a president and a Senate who are serious about rapid bilateral disarmament in November in 1984, nuclear war will become a mathematical certainty."

—Dr. Helen Caldicott, former president of Physicians for Social Responsibility, in 1984.

"You have now in the Soviet Union a better-educated group with a certain aspiration not only for power, but to get the gadgets of power, to get the Porsche car, to get the Gucci handbag for the wife, and so on. [Gorbachev] appeals to them."

—Ernst Kux, Swiss journalist, in 1985.

"We are going ahead with [the Strategic Defense Initiative], and we're saying to the Soviets, 'Don't worry, don't accelerate your offense; in fact, let's agree on a reduction of offense.' That's a no go."

—Robert McNamara, former secretary of defense, in 1986.

"I find the details of the [INF] treaty to be absolutely fascinating and very encouraging. I would just caution your listeners that this isn't the end of the road. In fact, it is just the first step on the road."

—Ralph Earle, former director of the US Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, in 1988.

"Those pictures of police descending on children with whips and

shooting at children tear gas—those have been taken off the American screens and the television screens of the world.

And those conservative groups now can continue to tell American people that

South Africa is a democratic, civilized, Western, Christian country."

—T. Simon Farisani, a dean of the Evangelical Church in South Africa, in 1987.

"There have always been droughts throughout history, but people don't always die from them. They only die because of a social breakdown when the government is not responsible to majority interests."

—Frances Moore Lappe, author and food expert, in 1986.

"As environments degrade, economic potential and economic production declines. That causes political instability and from there it's a very short step to armed conflict."

—Jessica Tuchman Mathews, from the World Resources Institute, in 1989.

"Every indication is that as far as Europe is concerned, the situation is improving tremendously....At the same time, I wouldn't like [that] because of this, which could be the greatest success of the century, that the other problems are forgotten, mainly the problems of the least-developed countries."

—Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the UN, in 1989.

—Keith Porter



Kathy Christensen

From left to right: "Common Ground" creator, Jeff Martin, and current producers, Mary Gray and Keith Porter.



Remarkable changes are occurring in the Soviet Union. See stories on page 4 and pages 6 and 7.

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