Defense Challenges in a Changing World

"The defense budget is going down... The Cold War is over... [And] there will be a tremendous battle between the president, Congress, the Department of Defense, and the military services over who will get what cuts," said former Reagan administration member Lawrence Korb. He was speaking to congressional staff members at the Stanley Foundation's 1990 Foreign Policy Forum where he and others addressed the topics of strategic weapons modernization, NATO, regional security, and the declining defense budget under the title, "Beyond Containment: US Defense Planning in a Changed World."

The topics were especially important to the forty staff professionals in attendance because, "The entire security framework they have been operating out of for forty-five years is disintegrating, and competing constituencies are making claims on an as yet nonexistent peace dividend," according to conference organizer and foundation Vice President David Doerge. He added, "These issues are too important to be left to the short-term pressures of survival politics."

This year's keynote address came from Albert Carnesale, professor and academic dean at Harvard University's John F. Kennedy School of Government. He noted that Soviet influence is declining in Eastern Europe but said that is not necessarily good for the United States: "Just because Soviet influence goes down, US influence does not go up."

Our influence probably declines as theirs does."

He said that as the Soviet threat declines, there are many potential threats with which the US should be concerned. These include drugs, poor health care, pressures toward isolationism, and the environment. (See DEFENSE page 2)

(See MIDDLE EAST page 5)
DEFENSE (from page 1)
He also stated there are still military threats to be concerned with, such as a revitalized Russia, regional powers, chemical and biological weapons, as well as nuclear weapons potential in many countries. Carnesale added, "This is a diffusion of threats, none of which captures the romance of the 'red menace,' but which, added up, are still quite important."

He also told the staff members to keep the future of the United States and its place in the world in perspective. Carnesale said that the US is the only nation strong in almost all resource categories. "We do have problems," he said, "but they are generally within our power to solve. They are not resource problems."

Conference participants also took part in discussion sessions where speakers focused on topics like "Strategic Modernization and Arms Control." Lynn Davis, a fellow at the Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute and former member of the Carter administration talked about determining what the United States wants from its nuclear forces. She said this should include deterring anyone from using or threatening to use nuclear weapons against this country. "We also want to extend deterrence beyond the US to our friends and allies to protect them from nuclear attack," said Davis.

Then leaders must ask, How much survivability or redundancy does the US need in its nuclear forces? According to Davis the final question is, "Do we see... [getting to the needed level of nuclear forces] as a unilateral process or a mutual process?"

Also addressing strategic modernization was Frank Gaffney, director of the Center for Security Policy and a former member of the Reagan administration. He said that the Soviets still "wish to be the preeminent power on the Eurasian land mass," and they "wish to fracture any alliance hostile to it." Gaffney said, "This... argues for a strategic modernization that is robust and that requires a significant expense."

Regional Security
"Regional Security after the Cold War" was addressed by Robert Litwak, director of the International Studies Division of the Woodrow Wilson Center. He said, "The Cold War is over in the Third World because the ideological impetus behind it is gone." Litwak said, "In the 1970s, Soviet foreign policy went into an activist phase." But he added that Gorbachev implemented a radical critique of this activism and took into account the policy's economic and political costs, as well as its effect on the superpower relationship.

Regarding regional security, Litwak cautioned that the end of the Cold War "does not mean the end of conflict in the Third World, because many of the conflicts are not dependent on the Cold War. We need to restart conventional weapons talks that look at the proliferation and distribution of weapons in the Third World."

Giandomenico Picco from the United Nations' Secretary-General's office said, "As regional powers find less support for their positions, we must encourage them to re-examine their definition of enemy." Pursuing regional security, according to him, will involve "a decoupling of secrecy and security." He said we may reach a point where "we see information as an element of security, and perhaps part of a deterrent." This, added Picco, would mean that security would be enhanced by sharing information with enemies. He stated that we must discourage regional powers from acting with regional unilateralism. He concluded, "The groupings of countries of a region as a way to protect security only works if the enemies are also encompassed in formation of the group. No one in the world can remain isolated."

NATO
Yet another discussion group looked at "NATO and the Future of European Security." Stephen Flanagan from the Policy Planning Staff at the State Department said "We in the Bush administration say we need a new arrangement [for European security]." He said this new system must focus on three existing institutions: NATO; the European Community, "a center of dynamic force in Europe"; and the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. The latter, he stated, "is a road map of how European cooperation could evolve." According to Flanagan, "no one institution can do the job. We must work with these three to come up with a system more inclusive."

Jonathan Dean of the Union of Concerned Scientists and a former US arms control negotiator also spoke on NATO and Europe, saying that the Warsaw Pact and NATO will both survive. He predicted NATO will include a united Germany. "Without Germany in NATO, it is doubtful the US could maintain a large troop presence in Europe, and then we would not be able to back up our promises of security," said Dean. "If all goes well, a united..."
Germany will become the engine of the European community. Then the US, Japanese, and German triumvirate will guarantee that our security and interests are furthered,” according to Dean.

Declining Defense Budget
The forum ended with a plenary session on “The Politics of a Declining Defense Budget.” W.Y. Smith, president of the Institute for Defense Analyses and a retired Air Force general, listed players in the defense budget battle and attempted to explain each of their goals. Among the players are: the secretary of defense who Smith says wants to “show that he is in charge of the Pentagon”; the military services that “want to preserve what they [each] have at the expense of others”; and congressional members who according to Smith, “want to demonstrate who is in charge of the government...[and] want to represent the interests of their constituents even at the expense of others.” He warned, “Unless we can raise [the budget process] above these pitfalls, we will be in big trouble.”

Lawrence Korb continued, “Until we admit the end of the Cold War, we cannot move to the postContainment era. If we don’t develop a plan, we will become a second-rate power.” He added that the changes in Eastern Europe have given us more military response time. This means, “Combat service support and headquarters should remain in Europe, as opposed to large troop numbers. We can always add troops,” said Korb. “We need to communicate the real role of the military force. We need to do it now or there won’t be a budget left to fight over,” according to Korb.

Finally, participants heard from Gordon Adams, director of the Defense Budget Project. He said many people are scared because of the changes going on in the world, but “the reality is that if what is happening in the Soviet Union continues and even if we make big mistakes, we are still going to be the single most-powerful military force in the world.” As for the defense budget, he predicted a “people build-down” since Congress cannot “bite the bullet on hardware.” “There will be a rapid fall in troop numbers,” according to Adams. He cautioned, though, that with a declining defense budget, our economy should be prepared for the transition. Adams concluded with a statement that may summarize the pragmatic approach to defense planning in such uncertain times, “We don’t need a crash plan, just good anticipation.”

-To order a cassette (#5023) featuring Albert Carnesale, see page 10.

-Mason City Explores Global Interdependence

A month before Earth Day, over five hundred people took part in a “global interdependence” conference at the community college in Mason City, the northern Iowa city of thirty thousand perhaps best known as home of “Music Man” Meredith Willson.

Apollo 9 astronaut Russell “Rusty” Schweickart delivered a keynote address and stayed for conversations. He described walking in space and seeing the earth with “no frame, no boundaries” as the moment when he “first really got it.” “I wasn’t up there for NASA or the US taxpayer,” he said, “I was a sensing element for all humankind.” He urged listeners to “see what you’re looking at” and “find courage to act on what you know.”

Participants responded enthusiastically, calling his presentation “perfect,” “fantastic,” “wonderful,” “outstanding.” “He took us on a trip, and we were with him all the way,” said Susan Fisher, who chaired the volunteer committee that planned the event. It was a case of mutual admiration. “I am so impressed with the organization of this event...perhaps Iowans should be put in charge of the world!” Schweickart exclaimed.

Planning started more than a year earlier, the dream of a small group of volunteers who styled themselves the Global Concerns Steering Committee. By March 24, 1990, the list of cosponsors and financial contributors stood at about sixty, including the Stanley Foundation.

Workshops led by Iowa experts discussed pollution, climate change, ocean conservancy, and citizen diplomacy—all under the theme “Iowans make a difference to their neighbors on planet Earth.” About one hundred, fifty students took part in a youth program. Participants visited organizational exhibits and toured the Earth Balloon, a twenty-foot-high, forced-air replica of the planet.

-Russell Schweickart founded the Association of Space Explorers (ASE) in 1985 and heads its US branch. ASE is the international professional organization of astronauts and cosmonauts with a current membership of seventy-two fliers from seventeen of the twenty spacefaring nations.

-Dan Clark
Founder’s Life Story Told

What qualities permit a man from a small midwestern town to build a personal fortune and then direct his attention to working for world peace? That subject is explored in Max: A Biography of C. Maxwell Stanley - Engineer, Businessman, World Citizen published recently by Iowa State University Press. Max Stanley was a co-founder of the Stanley Foundation.

The biography, authored by journalist Ros Jensen, chronicles Stanley’s life from his boyhood in Corning, Iowa, through the development of two major corporations to his later years when Stanley tried to apply his vision and management skills to problems in international relations. In early adulthood Stanley built the Stanley Engineering Company (later Stanley Consultants, Inc.) into Iowa’s largest engineering firm. He ultimately steered it into ventures around the globe.

After World War II, he and a handful of friends launched what would become HON Industries, a Fortune 500 company and one of the nation’s largest manufacturers of office equipment.

However, if Stanley Consultants and HON made Stanley famous in Iowa, his work with the Stanley Foundation made him well-known in international circles, particularly at the United Nations, an organization which Stanley strongly supported. Jensen writes about Stanley at the UN and on international relations:

Max Stanley was an outsider on the inside of the United Nations organization. From the mid-sixties on, he was a respected figure at the UN headquarters...because of the conferences he arranged to generate an interplay of ideas on various international causes. His friends there were truly a global blend, not only from the Western countries, but from the Eastern bloc, the Arab world, the Orient, Africa, and Latin America.

[Quoting former UN Undersecretary-General William Buffum]: “He had a down-to-earth quality that lent weight to what he had to say about international cooperation...It was an attempt to use management skills to help find solutions to global problems.”

Many persons who are familiar with Stanley’s views on international relations called him a realistic idealist, or an idealistic realist. Others spoke of his pragmatic nature.

In the process of telling Stanley’s life story, Jensen identifies several characteristics which allowed Stanley to succeed on so many fronts:

...Dogged willfulness...was a dominant trait in Stanley. His associates differed on whether it was a virtue or a flaw. In most endeavors, however, it was more of an asset than a liability.

Stanley had the instincts of a gambler...Many of his accomplishments began as risky undertakings that more timid persons would have shunned.

Stanley’s religious faith was never far removed from the day-to-day activities of his life, especially those connected with “the quest for secure peace with freedom and justice,” as he liked to phrase it.

[Change] may have been his most serviceable trait. Change challenged him, not to take a defensive stance, but to take hold of an opportunity to turn new conditions into favorable ones for human well-being....His own willingness to change was, in many ways, one of his most valuable strengths.

Contact the publisher for ordering information.

Jeff Martin
MIDDLE EAST (from page 1)

relations reduced rivalry in the Middle East to the point that the United States and Soviet Union can cooperate on bringing peace to the region at this time? In April the Stanley Foundation convened delegations of leading experts from the Soviet Union and the United States to address critical Middle East issues. The urgency of the Middle East situation and the need for superpower understanding made this conference an important and necessary opportunity for progress on the region’s problems.

Role of the Superpowers

Washington and Moscow have set aside many of their differences in many areas of the world to work toward mutually beneficial solutions in a cooperative manner. This simple reality has had a profound impact on all parties in the Middle East. As one participant observed, “The superpowers will make their single most-important contribution to peace in the Middle East by continuing their own improvement in bilateral relations as a demonstration to others.” But, of course, more must be done.

Arab-Israeli Settlement—At the heart of any broader Arab-Israeli peace settlement is resolving the Israeli-Palestinian conflict. Several factors have combined to bring some modest level of hope that conditions for peace may be improving. But several conferences noted that while conditions may favor a coordinated effort at peacemaking, the intifada (mass protests against Israeli occupation by Palestinians in the West Bank and Gaza Strip) makes the need for resolution extremely urgent. Regional actors who want a peace agreement hope the superpowers can work together to achieve that goal. Those who oppose any agreement now know that the superpowers will not likely continue to support uncompro mising positions. There was a general view that the superpowers could help facilitate a settlement but that more exchange and agreement between them was necessary on the respective roles each would play.

Lebanon—The conflict in Lebanon may be the most complicated and intractable of all. Conference participants disagreed over this conflict’s level of priority and linkage regarding the regional peace process and over the leverage that superpowers could use to resolve it.

Iran-Iraq War—There was agreement that the prospects for any immediate settlement were poor and that the “no war, no peace” limbo could continue for some time. Consensus existed that the superpowers did not have the required leverage with either country to facilitate a settlement but that it was in both Soviet and US interests to see that future conflict be averted or, at the very least, contained.

Afghanistan—No progress has been made toward a settlement following the Soviet troop withdrawal in February 1989. The Kabul government and the mujahedeen are still at war with each other and often with themselves. Participants disagreed over whether the superpowers could do anything at this point, although it was noted that the conflict is being fueled by the continuing arms flow from the superpowers and others.

Arms Transfers—Several participants suggested that the US and USSR jointly undertake efforts to qualitatively and quantitatively limit the arms flow into the region and use diplomatic pressure to influence others to comply. Many agreed on the need for controls but noted that the economics of arms sales coupled with the growing number of suppliers and indigenous producers would make this difficult. Weapons of mass destruction were of particular concern, and while acknowledging the difficulty of consensus on taking action, many felt joint contingencies were needed to deal with outlaw states holding such weapons.

Future US-Soviet Cooperation

Improvement in US-Soviet relations has been an essential element in demonstrating what is possible to Middle East belligerants, but improved superpower relations alone will not overcome the many obstacles to peace there. Participants discussed many proposals ranging from restoring Soviet-Israeli diplomatic ties to plans for protecting the oil flow from the Persian Gulf to arms control. While there was a divergence of views on the merit of many of these proposals, the intractability of the region’s problems only underscored the need for continued superpower cooperation at all levels.

-To order a full conference report, see resources on page 10.

-David Doerge
Poverty and the Environment

It is clear that the condition of the world’s physical environment is inextricably linked to world economic activity. Human existence depends on using the world’s resources, yet when the physical environment is disregarded, the results are disastrous. Whether it is the ancient practice of grazing animals or the modern combustion of fossil fuels for transportation, the potential for destroying the environment exists. And while the threats to the environment and long-term survival are becoming increasingly evident, how to avert disaster is not so clear. Changing environmentally harmful practices can impose economic hardships. This is perhaps most evident in the Third World where many activities which harm the environment are necessary for survival today.

Last year the United Nations General Assembly recognized the need for rich and poor countries alike to preserve the fragile ecosystem, while at the same time promoting the economic well-being and development of all countries. At its session in 1989, the General Assembly agreed to hold a major world conference on the environment and development in 1992. This event, to be held in Brazil, will try to reach a consensus on how to achieve environmentally sound development worldwide, limiting further destruction of the Earth’s resources.

The General Assembly established a Preparatory Committee to organize the conference and to lay the groundwork for agreements to be signed in 1992. Earlier this year, the Stanley Foundation held its own conference to facilitate the work of the Preparatory Committee. The Stanley Foundation brought together delegates from the United Nations, the US government, nongovernmental organizations, and the scientific community. A summary of key ideas presented at the conference was widely distributed at the United Nations and to members of the Preparatory Committee.

Urgency for Action
The 1992 World Conference on Environment and Development must be a forum for immediate action, participants stressed. Nations need to conclude agreements in Brazil, not pass resolutions about actions they should take in the future. The group supported the call for an international climate convention and agreements on biodiversity and regional seas as well as action to prevent further depletion of rain forests.

There is an ongoing debate within the scientific community about the causes and degree of some environmental threats such as global warming, participants acknowledged, but they added that this should not deter the Preparatory Committee from taking action today. Enough scientific evidence exists to support the need for collective action to prevent further destruction of the world’s precious resources.

Many sensitive issues have yet to be resolved if the 1992 conference is to be a success. Most difficult is the...
gulf separating the wealthier countries in the North from the lesser-developed countries of the South. In many developing countries, environmental protection necessarily takes a back seat to the fight against poverty. The result is oftentimes the depletion or destruction of soils, water, and forests. Until recently, environmental protection was considered a necessity for the rich countries alone because of their heavy industrial activity. Protecting the environment was also seen as a luxury that only rich countries could afford. Participants at the Stanley Foundation conference found that some of that old thinking is breaking down and that there is a convergence of views on the need for more environmentally sound development.

That convergence of thinking was reflected in the General Assembly resolution calling for an international conference which stressed that poverty and environmental degradation are closely interrelated and that promoting economic growth in developing countries is essential to addressing the problems of environmental degradation. One of the most important agreements hoped for in 1992 would give developing countries access to technology which permits environmentally sound development. Another essential step would be to provide new and additional funding for developing countries to ensure that they are able to fully participate in global efforts to protect the environment.

Changed Values
The General Assembly’s resolution laid responsibility for many of the world’s environmental problems at the doorstep of the industrialized North. For example, the resolution notes that “the largest part of the current emission of pollutants into the environment, including toxic and hazardous wastes, originates in developed countries, and therefore recognizes that those countries have the main responsibility for combating such pollution.” The statement also points out that “the major cause of the continuing deterioration of the global environment is the unsustainable pattern of production and consumption, particularly in industrialized countries.”

Participants at the Stanley Foundation meeting reached a similar conclusion and called for a change of values in the developed world. The overly consumptive lifestyle found in much of the West sets a seductive and dangerous example which the rest of the world seems very willing to follow.

Because the world is composed of nation-states, countries are free to exploit their resources in any way they wish. However, the problems associated with the misuse of resources can cross national boundaries. Sovereignty has never been absolute, and rethinking the world in a manner more in step with the times may require that the parameters of sovereignty for all nations be re-examined.

Mary Gray

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**Soviet Editor Honored**

CBS newsman Dan Rather shakes hands with Vitaly Korotich, editor of the controversial Soviet publication Ogonyok, at a New York luncheon honoring Korotich as World Press Review’s Editor of the Year. (L to R) Korotich; Richard C. Hottelet, former CBS news correspondent; Stanley Foundation President Richard Stanley; World Press Review Editor Ed Jackson; and Rather. World Press Review is published by the Stanley Foundation.
Developing Leaders for Tomorrow

Media headlines paint a fairly grim picture of teenagers. Alarming statistics of rising teen pregnancies, teen suicides, gang violence, school-dropout rates, and drug- and alcohol-related youth problems cause one to wonder who will be left to steer the world into the twenty-first century. Where are the leaders of tomorrow who will have to solve enormous problems of environmental degradation, poverty and hunger, and cultural differences—to name but a few?

The fact is, youth leadership programming is big business! Over 500,000 high school students participate in these programs annually. Many organizations exist which are solely dedicated to development of youth leadership, but they remain virtually invisible to the public and even, at times, unaware of each other.

These wide-ranging programs for youth leadership development have complex goals and provide diverse learning experiences. Some are very familiar: Camp Fire, Boys and Girls Clubs, Boy Scouts and Girl Scouts, 4-H, Close Up, Youth for Christ, etc. Many other programs are not as well known; for example, American Youth Foundation, Governor’s Schools, B’nai B’rith, Encampment for Citizenship, and Junior Statesmen. Still other programs only serve their local communities, such as Look Up to Cleveland and Savannah Youth Leadership Forum.

National Survey
Between May and December 1989, Drs. Robert B. Woyach and Margaret G. Hermann of the Mershon Center of Ohio State University in conjunction with the Danforth Foundation conducted a national survey of over sixty youth leadership programs. The survey results indicated the great and growing interest in youth leadership development. However, this interest takes many forms and is guided by varying concepts of leadership and leadership development. The survey also demonstrated a need for greater dialogue about these varying concepts. Respondents to the survey expressed a desire to network and communicate more.

Consequently, in March the Mershon Center, as a follow-up to this national survey, and the Stanley Foundation cosponsored a three-day conference entitled "Developing Leaders for a Global Age." Participants primarily included individuals interviewed as part of the survey plus a few theorists who significantly helped to shape leadership development efforts in the United States. The Stanley Foundation’s participation represented a continued effort at promoting discussion and networking related to youth leadership begun with a 1988 conference in Taos, New Mexico.

Defining Leadership
There exists a wide range of practices and strategies found in the numerous programs available to youth. They became quite apparent when trying to define leadership and leadership development. The exchange revealed some deep differences in world-view that influence theories behind leadership development programming.

A significant number of conference participants believe the world is experiencing a global paradigm shift that will result in a breakdown of elitism and a move away from hierarchical forms of organization. Such changes will drastically alter the role of leaders. Others acknowledged that these world changes will indeed require a redefinition of leadership but that there will always be a need for a leader to exercise some dominance; they believe "somebody’s got to decide." Still others really don’t buy this idea of paradigm shift. They think that human nature is such that people will always try to achieve dominance over others; a wise leader will be prepared and trained to deal ethically with this human condition.

Conferes agreed that leaders need to learn some special skills such as creating agendas, running a meeting, organizing, and other such familiar tasks. But conversation moved on to more subtle skills such as collaboration, risk-taking, and knowing when to step forward and when to forego claiming control to move a process forward.

Targets of Programming
Despite the fact that youth leadership programming has flourished over the last few years, the majority of youth remain outside formal programs. Conference participants were concerned with how to reach the so-called "gap kids," the ones who fall through gaps in available programs because the students are the wrong age, the wrong ethnic or socio-economic group, or because they lack prior leadership experience. Even those participants who acknowledged that their programs were aimed at a more narrowly
defined group felt the need to reach as many young people as possible. There are more gaps than overlaps. Including more youth in programs encounters some obstacles. Many youth shun leadership programs because of negative connotations of youth leaders as being "weird" and "buddies" to adults. The influence of the media has helped to create these stereotypes of leaders. Also, sometimes school officials accept stereotypes of certain kinds of students as "leaders," thereby bypassing many students for whom leadership development programming is intended. Even if some students are willing to ignore these obstacles, they might be afraid of not fitting in—especially in terms of cross-cultural programming—or they might find the cost of attending a program prohibitive. Funding new, innovative programs that are more inclusive meets reluctance from funders who would rather spend money on more traditional methods.

Participants mentioned some possible solutions. Programs should target peer leaders who can be found by talking to various people—other students and adults inside and outside of the school setting. Programs should use their alumni more effectively to reach other youth and to break down notions of who participates.

Program builders should seek to use the power of media to build more positive images of youth leaders. The example was cited of a "Happy Days" episode where the Fonz acquired a library card, causing 700-percent increase in card acquisition nationwide during the next week. One participant reminded the others that they know stories that could and should be told in dramatic form and in new terms that will speak to the present youth culture.

Currently, corporations spend billions of dollars to teach critical thinking skills, responsibility, conflict management, teamwork, and other leadership qualities to their employees—qualities youth leadership programs already teach. That seems to suggest that this "big business" will only get bigger in an effort to positively direct the course of the future.

- Kathy Christensen

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

Global Realities and the Youth Leadership Challenge

The Stanley Foundation and Las Palomas de Taos, Taos, New Mexico, cosponsor retreats for high school students and adult sponsors in New Mexico. For five days, they discuss global issues and appropriate personal responses to them. A key goal of the program is to help students understand that as leaders they must develop a personal global vision.

The students must accept responsibility for the quality of their experience. They look out for their own interests, raise questions, negotiate retreat policies and living conditions, adjust the agenda, and generally influence what is going on.

The program is designed to make students aware of the condition of the world through a variety of interactive activities, addressing three broad categories of issues: security, ecology, and equity.

Students have had this to say about their experience:
- "Everyone says that they've learned about different people and different cultures. I'd like to say 'I've learned a lot about myself.'"
- "It's not like the teacher sits behind a desk and all the students are in a row looking up—everyone's equal here."
- "I came because I had questions to ask... if you have questions to ask, you can come here."

Contact Jan Drum at the foundation for more information.

Student Involvement in Third World Development

The list reads: "Muscatine High School Model UN Club, Iowa; Intermediate School 145Q, Jackson Heights, New York; New York Times Co. Foundation, Inc.; All Saints Episcopal Church, Hershey, Pennsylvania; Perry Browne School, Norwich, New York." The seeming incongruity of the listing is easily explained: These groups contributed nearly $4,000 to a primary school building project in Picada Boca, Paraguay, during 1987.

Each year since 1986 the Model United Nations Club from Muscatine has participated in the Peace Corps Partnership Program. In this way the club also has helped to construct a school in Senegal, drill a well in Benin, and fund an English-writing lab in Morocco. The students raise most of the funds by sponsoring a school dance each fall. Monies raised by all the contributing organizations are used for materials only; the community where the development occurs supplies labor.

Contact between the club and project builders does not end with the receiving of funds. An on-site Peace Corps worker periodically reports the project's progress, usually including pictures and sometimes acting as liaison for student pen pal letters and drawings.

According to Leary Smith, faculty advisor of the Muscatine group, the students not only learn first-hand the steps involved in completing such a project, but they also accomplish something very worthwhile. Mr. Smith said, "We heard that the well [in Benin] has saved five to twenty-five babies per year in the village because of fresh water."

-Kathy Christensen
resources

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.

Red entries indicate new resources.

Regional Issues


◆ 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.


US-Soviet Relations

☆ 8904—Africa’s Cold War Legacy (January 1990). Will the end of the Cold War cause the superpowers to lose interest in Africa? ($7 cassette)

◆ 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.

◆ 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 cassette)


United Nations


☆ 8906—Reflections on the United Nations (February 1990). An exclusive interview with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on the role of the UN in a changing world. ($7 cassette)

◆ UN Peacekeeping and Peace-making. 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.

◆ 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.

☆ 9042—Gorbachev’s Gamble (June 1990). Foreign policy analyst Madeleine Albright looks at the rapid breakup of the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe. ($7 cassette)

◆ 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 what perestroika has affected Soviet foreign policy. ($7 cassette)

◆ 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 cassette)

☆ 8906—Reflections on the United Nations (February 1990). An exclusive interview with UN Secretary-General Javier Perez de Cuellar on the role of the UN in a changing world. ($7 cassette)

Security and Disarmament

☆ 9023—Security for the 1990s: Changing Threats (June 1990). Albert Carnesale, Dean of the JFK School of Government, on emerging challenges to global security. ($7 cassette)

◆ Addiction to Arms is a 16-page address by Jack M. Smith, vice president of the Stanley Foundation. It records Smith’s view that definite similarities exist between an addiction to alcohol or drugs and a nation’s addiction to nuclear weapons.

Global Education

Teachable Moments by Jan Drum and George Otero. Brief, thought-provoking classroom activities that address global themes. Two issues sent once a month during the school year for a total of eighteen issues. $6.97 for one-year subscription; $12.97 for two-year subscription; $10.00 for back issues (18) $5.00 Teachable Moments notebook.

◆ Issues in Education: Developing Leaders for a Global Age. A week-end conversation of youth development practitioners from around the nation is summarized in a 16-page report. April 1990.


◆ Issues in Education: Multicultural and Global Education: See-
ing 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.

World Military and Social Expenditures 1989 by Ruth Leger Sivard. A 56-page explanation of comparative statistics on worldwide expenditures for military and social purposes. Published by World Priorities, $6.50 each or $4.50 each for orders of 25 or more.

Other Topics of Interest


☆9012—Learning from Experience (March 1990). Former US hostage Moorhead Kennedy discusses the education program he has designed to teach students about the complexity of world politics. ($7 cassette)

☆8942—A Socialist Vision (October 1989). One of the final interviews with the late Michael Harrington on socialism in the US and abroad. ($7 cassette)

☆8914—To Bear Witness (April 1989). A wide-ranging interview with Nobel Peace Prize-winner Elie Wiesel including his views on events in Israel today. ($7 cassette)

World Press Review
The foundation’s monthly magazine features excerpts from the press outside the United States and interviews with prominent international specialists on a wide range of issues. Subscriptions are placed through a New York City office, but you may order a sample copy from the foundation, using the order form to the right.

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UN Leader's Views Aired

This past December, the foundation's radio series, "Common Ground," conducted an exclusive interview with Mr. Javier Perez de Cuellar, Secretary-General of the United Nations. The discussion ranged from the Central American peace process to the Israeli-Palestinian conflict to the events in Eastern Europe. Following are excerpts from the program #9006, which is available on cassette for $7.

Q. I'd like to hear your assessment of the UN's most significant accomplishments.
A. We have been able through negotiations—very, very difficult negotiations—to obtain the withdrawal of the Soviet forces from Afghanistan. In Iran-Iraq we have been able to obtain a cease-fire. But at the same time I would be dishonest if I don't tell you that for me, for instance, in the cases of both Afghanistan and Iran-Iraq, it is not enough to have the withdrawal of the Soviet forces or to have a cease-fire. Because in both cases we have a situation of "no peace, no war," which is not satisfactory. That's why we have to continue working. I hope to have the greatest achievement...if I obtain that Namibia is independent. That would be a case in which we can say we have completed our task.

Q. Is there some way that the UN can capitalize on its renewed prominence in order to continue with these successes?
A. I must say that our successes are as well due to the much better atmosphere which now exists in the world. The improvement of relations between East and West has helped me very much. I think it would be dishonest not to say that they have created a totally different atmosphere which has been reflected very much in the work of the Security Council.

Q. There are some rapid and unforeseen changes taking place in the world, particularly in Eastern Europe. How can the UN work in ensuring a peaceful transition in those parts of the world?
A. As we are an organization, one of whose ideas is democracy—we welcome what is happening in that part of the world. But, so far I don't see...any room for the United Nations to get involved. But of course we are ready to consider any suggestions.

Q. Now that the East-West tension has lessened...does that do anything for the North-South conflict?
A. Well, of course, it could have an effect. But we have at the same time to realize that some of the countries which are changing their policy—for instance, East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, and Poland—are countries which are not totally underdeveloped, far from that...Don't forget that I come from a developing country [Peru]...[and] I don't think that we can have peace, real peace, in the wide sense of the expression, if we have together with highly developed countries, countries in which there is famine and social injustice...My conception of the North-South dialogue is the way in which the differences between the standards of living of the populations of all countries are more or less equal.

Q. The UN was created out of the experiences of the Second World War. How has the world changed since then?
A. I must say that every indication is that as far as Europe is concerned the situation is improving tremendously...But unfortunately I would not 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, mainly in Africa. I think that we don't see that there is in this world a kind of dramatic difference between those who have almost everything and those who have almost nothing. I think of social justice at a global level, not only social justice in a part of the world which is Europe or in the part of the world which is North America, but that there is social justice all over the world.

-Mary Gray

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Industry has contributed heavily to environmental degradation, but other causes also exist that must be addressed. See pages 6 and 7.

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