Beyond the Cold War

Forty year habits are hard to break. For more than forty years the focus of international relations has been the Cold War between the United States and the Soviet Union. It imposed a structural framework by which security issues nearly anywhere on the planet were understood.

As the Cold War winds down, policymakers, foreign policy professionals, and even less-directly interested citizens are having to break the habit of Cold War thinking. Conflicts can rarely be seen anymore as simply some form of competition between the superpowers.

The changed international political situation prompted the Stanley Foundation to convene a panel of twenty-three experts to discuss the topic, “Beyond Cold War Thinking: Security Threats and Opportunities.” The meeting was the foundation’s twenty-fifth annual United Nations of the Next Decade Conference, and looked especially at the role of the United Nations on this changed political stage. Participants included the US and Chinese ambassadors to the United Nations, high-level Soviet experts, and senior UN officials.

At the five day conference held in June, 1990 in Vail, Colorado, these men and women examined various ways in which the world community might respond to the new security situation in Europe, the changing political scene in developing countries, and emerging threats such as drugs and terrorism.

Reactions to Change
Most experts are as surprised as anyone else at the rapid change in the world over the past year, much of it in Eastern Europe. This group also expressed a mix of feelings about the changes:

- relief that the prospects for a global nuclear war appear greatly diminished,
- happiness that the forces of democracy in Eastern Europe and the

(See AFRICAN page 8)
Another significant change in the world is that economic power now equals—if not supplants—military power as a defining element of national might. Thus Japan and a united Germany are considered by many to be superpowers. The added maturity of the European Community and the emergence of countries like Brazil and India as major regional economic and political powers provide convincing evidence that the world is now more multipolar than bipolar.

The increased prominence of global issues such as the environment, population, and drugs has also altered the nature of international security. These problems threaten much of the world and are beyond the management capabilities of individual nations.

Many participants said that simultaneous integration and disintegration is occurring in the world. The integration is wrought by advances in communications technology, the transnationalization of the world economy, improved transportation capabilities, and the movement toward democracy. Meanwhile, the old political order is disintegrating and the alliance-centered, bipolar security structure is in disarray. Furthermore, the ability of nations, the building blocks of the world political order, to manage their own destinies is increasingly called into question.

Security Needs for the Future

Based on this assessment of the world situation, the participants identified several principles which appear essential to a new international security regime.

First is the need to develop security arrangements which are based on mutual interest rather than the standoff of armed camps. These arrangements apply most readily to regional security situations, especially Europe. Most participants saw Europe evolving from the current security arrangement (which features NATO and Warsaw Pact confrontation) toward an increased...
reliance on the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). Some envision the evolution occurring more rapidly than other people see it, but all find the potential to be strong.

Second, progress on arms control is essential, especially on the strategic arms level. Progress to date has been modest and most panelists said that the negotiations need to be taken out of the hands of the military/industrial complexes of the US and USSR. They are said to have captured the talks, using them to protect their special interests.

Third is a need to place much more emphasis on attacking the causes of war. These are more likely to be political, economic, or social rather than territorial. The participants discussed possible efforts on three fronts:

- Encouraging the establishment of democratic regimes. This goes beyond merely pushing for elections to include the development of democratic institutions and traditions.

- Attacking rapid population growth. Success requires sensitivity to local cultural values and necessitates progress on economic development as well.

- Promoting economic growth tempered by economic justice. Market economies have clearly shown themselves to be more efficient than centrally planned economies. But international regulation for tempering the harsh impact of market forces on the disadvantaged is now needed.

Finally, this group of experts explored the need for new political entities which represent subnational or cross-national populations or which are comprised of affiliated sovereign nations.

which it can intervene in such disputes.

The coordination of peacekeeping and peacemaking activities should be improved. Additionally, it was suggested that the UN’s efforts at settling regional disputes should be accompanied by attempts to introduce arms control measures to the affected region.

In the economic, political, and social area, the United Nations could play a role in promoting democracy, checking population growth, and encouraging economic development. It could generate studies of democratic institutions and promote understanding of them. It has already established guidelines for world population growth. Economically, the participants called for a small representative political body able to address economic dysfunction and imbalances in the world.

The United Nations’ Role
The United Nations is a creature of the post-World War II order but its future may be more important than its past. The Cold War often kept the United Nations from playing an effective role in promoting a more peaceful and secure world. The participants discussed numerous steps which might be taken to strengthen the organization’s atrophied muscles.

Namibia, Afghanistan, Central America, and Iran/Iraq provide evidence that significant progress has already been made in the ability of the United Nations to intervene in regional disputes. The Secretary-General probably has a historically high level of support for taking peacemaking initiatives.

New opportunities and problems present themselves also. Many current conflicts are essentially internal affairs, and the United Nations needs to define criteria by

The United Nations is a creature of the post-World War II order but its future may be more important than its past.

Much of the spirit of the discussion was captured by an African participant who said that the time is approaching when the world community in general and the United Nations in particular should focus on the security of peoples and not just nations.

Jeff Martin

See the resource guide on page 10 to order a report from this conference.
Building a Peace Economy

Across the country, millions of people in hundreds of communities view the end of the Cold War with an element of apprehension. For years, military spending provided jobs for those people and economic stimulation for their communities. Now the security situation is changing. The military budget is shrinking, and the Cold War economy may be threatened by a peace economy. Making a smooth economic transition was the main topic of the Tenth Conference on the Peace Agenda in Iowa held last May.

Dan Clark, Midwest Program Officer for the Stanley Foundation, began this series of Peace Agenda meetings. Since 1983, the foundation has held ten of these conferences. "We bring together leaders of a variety of nonprofit organizations, mostly nongovernmental, for conferences where we have some input from outside experts," Clark says. "We create a place where these leaders can get together, meet one another, and explore common concerns."

One of those outside experts is Michael Closson, executive director of the Center for Economic Conversion in Mountain View, California. He is concerned with the loss of jobs at factories that lose military contracts and with communities that lose military bases. He wants those bases and factories converted to become part of a sustainable peace economy. Closson said, "When a military base is closed, there is often a lag time of between two and six years before [the base] is up and running as a viable commercial entity, and that's the threat...because lag time means there can be severe economic dislocation."

He said conversion can be especially difficult for communities dependent on defense-related industries. Military contractors have no obligation to discuss their plans with local leaders or to convert their plants to other operations when a military contract ends. One piece of legislation before Congress would require labor-management "alternative use committees" at nearly all defense-related factories. (At press time, several bills had been combined into The Economic Adjustment, Diversification, Conversion, and Stabilization Act of 1990.)

Central Planning?
Critics say such involvement is equivalent to central planning by the federal government. Closson responds: "Right now the federal government is heavily involved. We basically have a federal industrial policy, and it is controlled by the Pentagon. The Pentagon is picking the winning industries and, to some extent, the winning geographical regions of our country, which tend to be on the East and West Coast with the heartland of America particularly ace-d-out."

The sixty participants at the Newton, Iowa, conference also heard from Bob Musil, executive director of the Washington-based Professionals Coalition Education Fund. He explained the intricacies of lobbying on Capitol Hill. Musil told the group that their interest in economic conversion will have an effect on Congress if they will only make their voices heard.

"On Capitol Hill, Congress-people will say to me 'Bob, we'd like to help you but we're not hearing anything from the people—can you stir them up a little bit?" Musil said, "When they can feel those letters and measure them and weigh them Congress pays attention."

Statewide Work
As Clark said, this meeting also attempts to put leaders in touch with one another, to make leaders aware of the other peace work going on in the state. Francine Banworth of Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament and SANE/FREEZE of Dubuque, spoke of her work in a campaign to educate the public on the amount of tax dollars spent on defense and how that money could be used to solve problems in education, infrastructure, and healthcare.

Participant Phil Riley, former Des Moines city attorney, promoted a Peace Dividend Resolution as a way to get local governments involved in economic transition. Riley wants city councils across Iowa and across the nation to adopt a resolution calling for a 10 percent cut in defense spending, with the dividend allocated to state and local governments.

Cutting the military budget, finding new spending priorities, and converting to a peace economy is a massive process affecting the lives of nearly all Americans. Michael Closson said the issues are far too critical to remain silent about: "I'm saying that a true peace economy has to be created from the bottom up. It requires concerned citizens to form a parade and educate other citizens about the importance of new national priorities. Then our elected officials will start to get the message. We're really talking about democratic participatory change which is going to build healthy communities, healthy states, and ultimately a healthy nation."

Keith Porter
The Stanley Foundation’s innovative summer global education program for Muscatine, Iowa, attracted 36 participants this year. Photos, clockwise from top left: the “ropes course” in rural North Liberty, Iowa, requires teamwork and ingenuity; Marta Cadena of Muscatine teaches the tasty art of creating flour tortillas; participants explore the environmentally compatible Glenister Homestead; Colin Ives of Iowa City teaches the art of paper making; Katie Poduska of Mt. Vernon, Iowa, leads singing as the group floats along the Mississippi River; Frankie Stoffer of the Raptor Center in rural North Liberty displays an injured owl.

*photos by Bob Campagna*
Tomorrow's Leaders

Since 1985, the Stanley Foundation has collaborated with the educational center at Las Palomas de Taos in New Mexico in bringing together high school students from across the country for a five-day workshop called "Global Realities and the Youth Leadership Challenge." In the course of the program, students learn about global issues and their personal role in shaping the world.

In April 1990, Las Palomas hosted the fourteenth Global Realities workshop for a diversified group of forty students. Some came from inner-city areas, others from upper-middle-class suburbs. Black, white, Asian, Native American, and Hispanic students attended. Taos itself has three dominant ethnic groups: Native American, Hispanic, and Anglo—an appropriate backdrop for exploring issues of cultural diversity.

Mary Gray, producer of the Stanley Foundation's radio program on international affairs, worked with the Youth Leadership program for the first time this spring. She records her impressions here.

As the twentieth century winds down, I sometimes wonder if we humans have made much progress in living together. Many age-old problems are still with us—problems such as bigotry, racism, and sexism—but one thing is new. With the proliferation of modern weaponry and mounting environmental problems, the desire to live in peace and cooperation has become imperative.

In its educational programs for young people, the Stanley Foundation works toward the goal of learning to live together. One such program is the Global Realities workshop at Las Palomas de Taos.

Jan Drum, director of the Youth Leadership program, says that a key objective of the Global Realities program is to promote an appreciation for individual differences.

"We want students to go away with the idea that there is a great deal more possible than they had imagined before," Jan says. "We hope they go away with an appreciation for the diversity of life and human experience...and an understanding that they are leaders right now, and not twenty years from now."

Developing a Global Vision

Co-director George Otero says that the program does not promote any particular vision of the world, and adds that they guard against people suggesting that "their view of the world is the only one, because that cannot be the reality in a world of many cultures and many perspectives."

The students learn to take responsibility for the direction of the program and for their own learning. In this way they develop their own global vision.

"Typically, students come in shy and wanting to do the 'right' thing," Jan says, "but when the program works, they learn to trust that it's more important to express their ideas, take risks, and to admit they care about things."

Trusting your own ideas and expressing your feelings can be difficult at any age, and it is especially so at sixteen, when "fitting in" is so important. At that age, students are finding out how the world works, including the injustices and inequities in the world. Some young people may despair, but most—even those seemingly hardened by their experiences—entertain at least the possibility of a better world. Global Realities and the Youth Leadership Challenge taps into that energy and hope. At Las Palomas, George says he works to show students that "They are the hope, because they come looking for hope."

Beyond Fear and Prejudice

At Las Palomas this spring, I saw firsthand how students' backgrounds can affect their outlook on the world. For example, some felt that the legacy of racism at home must be confronted before taking on the problems of the larger world. One black participant pointed out that he can't worry about saving the whales when he has to face the reality that a black man has a one-in-four chance of dying a violent death.

Racism struck a nerve in this group. The issue was confronted late in the program, after students had had several days to build relationships. The retreat atmosphere at Taos made it easier to bridge racial and economic differences. Bonds of friendship were formed but then severely tested when Ruben, a black student, wore a tee shirt which read, "It's a black thing, you wouldn't understand." A white student complained that she would be accused of racism if she wore a tee-shirt that read: "It's a white thing..." But Ruben noted that on his tee shirt
were illustrations of his heroes such as Martin Luther King, Jr., Malcolm X, and other historically significant black leaders. White American students rarely learn about black history and could not understand the powerful importance of these leaders to today's young blacks.

That t-shirt incident turned a general discussion about oppression in the world into an intensely personal exchange about the oppression experienced by these youths. Racial divides can run deep, and the students expressed their frustration and anger at being caught in a situation they didn't create.

These students had formed opinions of each other during the four days they had been together, but everyone learned that the faces we put on are often just that. No one was prepared for the story of Anna, a Korean-American student. Anna was, on the surface, very bright and chatty, but it became clear that she had many layers of defenses. On the last day, Anna told of her profound hurt and loss because she was not totally accepted either in Korea or in the United States because of her mixed parentage. She said through her tears, "America is supposed to be this melting pot, but I have yet to see that."

The Youth Leadership program provided a safe setting for these students to talk about their experiences, hopes, and fears. By the end of the week, Ruben says he had learned to "be proud of your culture and who you are and where you come from. If you don't, then your culture becomes extinct."

These students arrived in Las Palomas ready to save the world. After their week together, they understood a little better the reality of life right here in their own country, the starting point for any journey beyond one's own borders.

See the resource guide on page 10 to order a cassette copy of the radio special, "Young Leaders for a Changing World," based on this program.
AFRICAN (from page 1)

In June 1990 forty-two African countries were represented by 352 students who came to Warburg College from 107 different campuses for the third annual conference. The three-day meeting drew African students from as far as Halifax, Nova Scotia, and San Diego. According to Warburg Professor Herman Diers, who handles logistic details and continues to raise money for the event in Kalli’s absence, “This event is believed to have the broadest representation of African students of any in North America.” The Stanley Foundation is one of a growing number of supporting organizations—and one of the first approached by Kalli. “People ask us for money everyday,” says Dan Clark of the foundation’s Midwest staff. “I was immediately struck by the clarity of Daudi’s, and I’ve never been sorry we got into this. It’s been a privilege to work with them.”

Planners hoped the discussions would identify the common problems faced by Africans and explore solutions to them. One student expressed the overarching problem in this way, “We need more of everything—money, medicine, roads, education, technology.” “But,” he went on, “the solutions need to come from within.”

Africans’ determination to take charge of their own destiny became a central theme. The students developed a statement elaborating on the conference theme of “Stabilization in Africa,” and all five sections focused on what Africans can do for themselves. The statement advocated increased opportunities for women, local development programs, appropriate technology, and improved democratic processes.

“Brain Drain”

The recurring self-determination theme also highlighted another objective of the conference—that students realize the critical contributions they can make, both individually and as a pan-African network of leaders. A trend they say must be stopped is the “brain drain” of young people who come to the United States to be trained but then do not return to Africa.

One participant lamented, “America is indeed the land of immigrants, and its population of Africans will grow some more.”

The conference should be used as a platform from which students would be enticed to return home to share their knowledge with the less fortunate there.”

African solutions for Africa’s problems would also help in restoring Africans’ sense of who they are. Too many outside influences throughout the colonial era and beyond have resulted in a loss of African culture and pride and in a widespread inferiority complex. One student pointed out that Western perspective obscures the fact that Africa is a continent. Trying to address its problems as a whole—rather than remembering the vast diversity represented in countries, regions, and even tribes—does more to heighten the loss of identity than to help in reaching solutions. This confusion of identity was also evident in discussions of development, a concept which is often defined as becoming more Westernized.

Fordham University student Martin Kieti from Kenya serves as chairperson of the conference organization. This year’s meeting impressed him in several ways. He was amazed at the large number of returnees which showed that the topic is very important to them. He was encouraged by the willing participation of well-known African leaders, substantially more than just two years ago. Most of all, he was impressed by the high caliber of discussions and sophisticated analyses of problems by the students. He heard great hope expressed that Africa’s problems are solvable, and these students wanted to be the ones to solve them.

Redefining the Organization

The students spent some of their time together trying to define and redefine the organization they have so successfully started. Kieti noted that the word “conference” did little to define the objectives of the group since it implies an event rather than an organization. The leaders must now focus on an appropriate name and an infrastructure for the group.
which will ensure continuing annual events such as this one. However, Kiiti hopes for much more than that. He said the goals of the conference should serve as "guiding stars" for broadening African students' career goals. The overwhelmingly positive response to the conference objectives persuaded him that a strong philosophy exists, and that people want to act. He believes the message of the conference will extend to other forums.

Like Daudi Kaliisa and so many other Africans, Kiiti has a vision: "The more people involved, the more ideas will come. More ideas will broaden the scope of discussion; the broader scope of discussion will lead to mature, well-thought-out solutions."

-Kathy Christensen

African Students' Proposals

A four-page report is available free upon request from All-African Student Conference, Wartburg College, Waverly, IA 50677; 319-352-8283. Participants at the 1990 Conference adopted these proposals:

Leadership
Revised constitutions to allow multiparty checks and balances; limit militaries; introduce rewards and incentives for efficiency; introduce social work programs for youth; preserve existing elements of democracy; limit tenure.

The Role of Women
Women should be more involved in political decision-making; acquire economic power; have final say in reproductive rights. Education should stress women's abilities to hold high positions in politics.

Grassroots Development
Integrate African educational systems with Western systems, but emphasize the former; educate for community development; create legal institutions that guarantee safe expression, political pluralism, and grassroots participation.

The Role of the Military
Militaries should return to a professional role; military coups should be resisted; the Organization of African Unity should set up a permanent peacekeeping force to defend African sovereignty.

Ethnic Antagonisms
A unified strategy toward federation of countries should address the problem of ethnic antagonisms; education should stress positive effects of ethnic diversity; the continent should adopt a common language.

Foreign Investment
Foreign investments should be mutually beneficial to investor and recipient; should provide transfer of technology that can be employed locally without foreign inputs; should be based on needs and available resources (e.g., for food production); should create employment and develop human resources; should encourage decentralization; should not make negative impacts on environment or culture. Africa should develop political stability to attract foreign capital.

Internal Adjustment
Producers incentives such as remunerative pricing and assured market outlets should be provided.

External Trade
African producers should be encouraged to diversify the commodities they produce. African governments should provide incentives for local processing of raw materials.

Debt Management
African countries should restructure internal systems and exercise more selectivity in accepting loans; should give preference to loans for regional development and trade and inter-African cooperation. Africa should strengthen links with African-Americans to increase their investment in Africa.

Regional Cooperation
Encourage African networking; teach children regionalism instead of nationalism; make manufacturing and marketing regionally competitive; reexamine foreign aid; ensure that African countries do not import goods obtainable from the continent; guarantee freedom for researchers and stop the brain drain which is at the heart of the failure of regional cooperation.

—summarized by Dan Clark
## Regional Issues

**9037—The New Europe (September 1990).** Soviet Yuri Davydov and West German Angelika Voelle discuss Europe's changing economic and security arrangements. ($7 cassette)**

**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)

**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.

**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.


**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.

**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.

## Security and Disarmament


**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.**

**Nonviolent Action (July 1990).** This two-part series features Gene Sharp, president of the Albert Einstein Institution, on the role of nonviolent sanctions in recent worldwide events. He is followed by a Palestinian leader and a Chinese student on the use of nonviolence in their struggles. ($7 cassette)

**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)

## Environment

**Poverty Versus The Environment (July 1990).** Representatives of the North-South debate focus on the difficulties poor countries face in balancing development with environmental protection. ($7 cassette)

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## Global Education

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**Other Topics of Interest**

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*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)*

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People Power

Gene Sharp is president of the Albert Einstein Institution, a center for the study of nonviolent struggle. Li Lu was deputy commander of the student pro-democracy movement in Tiananmen Square last year. Both were interviewed for the Stanley Foundation’s radio series “Common Ground” at a conference sponsored by the Albert Einstein Institution. The following are excerpts of a two-part series (#9027/28) available on cassette for $7.

Gene Sharp:
“All the utter nonsense that explains Eastern Europe like ‘oh, we maintained our military strength,’ and ‘we have won the Cold War,’ or ‘capitalism has triumphed’ is utter idiocy by people who have no idea what’s going on in the world. ...This is a phenomenon of people power; of people becoming masters of their own destinies and achieving changes for democratization... How is it that all of the military capacity of the so-called free world has been incapable of advancing freedom, while people with no economic resources and living in great poverty have been able to take control of their own societies again?

“(Nonviolence) is the most powerful form of struggle that is at the disposal of human beings in this world. And that is why many governments are frightened of it. That is why they slaughter people by the thousands. If you want to be a good dictator and stay in power long, don’t let the people know the power potential they have. Don’t let them start winning, because they won’t stop.

“There was a time, 1981, when all of our brilliant television journalists were announcing the death of Solidarity. ...There was a time when ‘everybody’ knew that only violence was capable of achieving changes in South Africa. And we know that the attempt at violence failed and that people have gone back to nonviolent struggle, and that is producing changes. ...I project that this trend of more and more uses of nonviolent struggle will continue.

Li Lu:
“Our goals (during the 1989 demonstrations in China) were to ask for an official dialogue between the students’ organization and the government...to end the official corruption and to promote political reform....

“Nonviolence, I think, at that time in China was the only way to achieve our goals. ...We hate violence, and we believe that violence could only produce more violence, and then we couldn’t achieve our goal, which is democracy...

“We used sit-ins, petitions, hunger strikes, masked demonstrations (lampooning China’s leaders)...we set up the statue of democracy, we held a rock and roll concert...

“Compared with the power of the people and the government, the people have the ideas and the government has the weapons. If people choose the violent way, that will cause the most sacrifice, and another very dangerous effect would be that this dictatorship is replaced by a new dictatorship.

“No doubt the democracy movement and the students’ movement is still alive in China. People like us—still alive...choose to work our whole life for democracy in China. ...My grandfather...worked for democratic change in China...and was persecuted to death. And my father...also was persecuted because of his political beliefs. And now it’s my turn. ...Change has already been sowed in Eastern Europe, and I hope and have confidence that something will change in the not far future in China. -Mary Gray