

Courier



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War Shakes Peace Advocates

Pace advocates, smarting from popular support for the Persian Gulf War, are reflecting on their positions and considering what to do next. Speakers at a March 24-25 conference in Iowa urged those who are committed to alternatives to violence to focus on timing, strategy, rearticulation of their message, and reassessment of their interactions with the larger public.

The meeting, organized by the Stanley Foundation, was the eleventh "Peace Agenda in Iowa" conference. Started in 1983 and organized by Dan Clark, a program officer at the foundation, the conferences bring together Iowa organization leaders and activists to discuss what Clark calls an "evolving peace agenda." "These conferences," according to Clark, "are not meant to produce consensus statements or common programs of action. They do help [participants] identify and connect with colleagues."

(Continued on page 8)

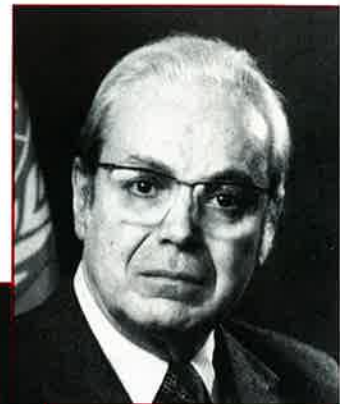
Position Strengthened: United Nations Considers Reform

After years of discussing United Nations reform in a stifling atmosphere of superpower mistrust and neglect, important and pragmatic changes at the UN may now be possible. Diplomats, academics, and international civil servants from around the world gathered in February at the Stanley Foundation's 22nd annual United Nations Issues Conference. They looked through a new window of opportunity opened by the end of the Cold War and by the increased US and Soviet attention on the United Nations.

The group enthusiastically identified four areas where reform could be achieved this year: strengthening the Secretary-General selection process, reorganizing the Secretariat, streamlining the General Assembly agenda and committee system, and defining a realistic role for the United Nations in the economic and social sectors.

The Secretary-General selection process is of added importance because this is the year a new Secretary-General will be chosen. Many conference participants seemed to favor forming a search committee that would nominate a list of potential candidates. The selection criteria included finding candidates with an ability to lead a large organization, a charismatic appearance on television and radio, a fluency in both working languages of the UN, and an understanding of economics. Diplomatic skills were

(Continued on page 2)



Election year. The United Nations will elect a new Secretary-General this fall. The incumbent, Javier Perez de Cuellar (above), has said he will not seek a third term. His four predecessors (counterclockwise from Perez de Cuellar) are Kurt Waldheim (1972-1981), U Thant (1961-71), Dag Hammarskjold (1953-61), and Trygve Lie (1946-53).

deemed important but secondary to management skills. (See adjoining story.)

The Secretariat, the administrative arm of the UN system, has been especially vulnerable to bureaucratic ills and member-country manipulation. The Stanley Foundation published a conference report which summarizes discussion and says that reducing the number of people who report to the Secretary-General is "central to making the institution more manageable," and suggests a system of assistant secretaries-general and under secretaries-general,

appointed by the Secretary-General, that would accomplish this. The General Assembly and the superpowers must, however, refrain from attempts to undermine the Secretary-General's authority in deploying staff.

Repairing the "World's Meeting Place"

Conference participants also examined the General Assembly and found the annual assembly agenda of over 150 items to be unwieldy and filled with routinely recurring holdovers from years past. The report suggests building an agenda

from a clean slate each year with member governments voting on items nominated for inclusion.

The committee structure of the General Assembly was also criticized by participants who found unnecessary duplication among the seven main committees. Conferees suggested reducing the number to five.

The group recognized that the UN is uniquely positioned to provide economic analyses on regional and global issues but that it has not been effective in this role. The UN Charter mandates that the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) be a forum for discussing economic and social policy and coordinator of the UN-specialized agencies activities. However, other international institutions have, to a large degree, eclipsed ECOSOC in these roles. Some participants thought the remedy for this decline is to make ECOSOC the final decision-making body at the UN on economic and social issues, just as the Security Council is for security concerns. Others argued that ECOSOC could

"HELP WANTED"



United Nations

United Nations Headquarters

As the United Nations looks to appoint its sixth Secretary-General in forty-five years, there is increasing pressure to reform the selection process. The UN Charter merely states, "The Secretary-General shall be appointed by the General Assembly upon the recommendation of the Security Council." This means the five permanent members can exercise their veto over any candidate and the General Assembly can only

confirm or reject candidates. No provision is made for how the process is to be carried out and how candidates are to be evaluated.

From this vacuum, unofficial qualifications have arisen. Candidates are expected to be fluent in English and French, the two working languages of the UN system. So far, no female has held the office or been seriously considered for nomination. A five-year, renewable term of office has become accepted, although it is not mandated by any UN legislation. The job has rotated among major world regions, with the conventional wisdom saying this year is "Africa's turn." It is further assumed that no national of the five permanent members of the Security Council shall be nominated.

To clarify the process, the Stanley Foundation conference participants and others have advocated a system not unlike that of a university search for a new president. A committee would clearly spell out the qualifications expected in a Secretary-General and finally offer a short list of candidates for the Security Council to consider.

The report says the fact that most of the Secretaries-General "have served the organization fairly well can be attributed more to good fortune than to design." With or without a reformed process, the UN will once again be choosing a leader for one of the world's most important institutions and hoping that the good fortune does not run out.

-Keith Porter

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

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President Richard Stanley
Editor Jeffrey Martin

Managing Editor Keith Porter
Correspondent Mary Gray
Issue Design Sheila Hentges
Editorial Assist. Margo Schneider

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The Stanley Foundation
216 Sycamore Street, Suite 500
Muscatine, Iowa 52761-3831 USA
(319) 264-1500

be abolished with the General Assembly taking up this work.

If ECOSOC survives, membership will continue to be an issue. While some say the current size of fifty-four members is too large for efficient action, it is one place where small or less-powerful states can have an influential voice. Regardless, the key for ECOSOC seems to be concentrating on social programs and economic analysis not already addressed by other institutions.

The work of fifteen specialized agencies, including the Food and Agriculture Organization, the World Health Organization, and the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), is supposed to be coordinated by the UN. But conference participants noted that the agencies are separate and autonomous, each with its own governing body. The result is a group of organizations "that compete against one another, do not exchange information, and duplicate efforts."

Efforts by the UN to coordinate this work have been futile, and participants were divided over whether such coordination is even desirable. Some argued that UN diplomats seek control over, rather than coordination of, the agencies. Because of this lack of agreement, the report concludes "prospects for meaningful change in this area seem distant."

The Security Council

The Security Council has received attention over the last several years because of its role in Afghanistan, Namibia, Cambodia, and the Persian Gulf War. The consistent cooperation of the five permanent members makes the Security Council highly visible and seemingly effective. Participants, however, found fault with the council's current makeup and operation. But they recognized that the recent success of the five permanent members may be exactly what prevents the needed reforms.

The Security Council's permanent membership represents the spoils of the World War II victors, with no representation for many of today's regional powers like India and Brazil. Even economic superpowers like Germany and Japan, defeated in World War II, are shut out of deliberations. The report says "there is considerable concern among small and middle-sized countries about the cooperation among the five permanent members.... Most participants find the relative harmony better than the discord of the past, but the power of the five working together and their potential to dominate the organization still worry many."

Some participants suggested that Germany and Japan be added as permanent members. Others said the European Community should replace the United Kingdom and France as a single permanent member. Some suggested that all regions should have one regional representative, but other participants said one state could not fairly represent an entire region.

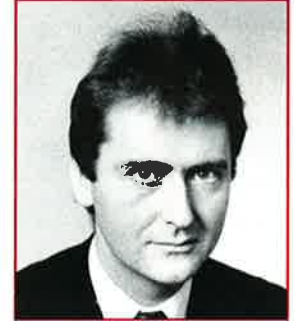
Beyond the question of membership, Security Council procedures were also discussed. Some suggested that closed talks among Security Council members and parties to a dispute would allow frank discussion and possible mediation. Others wanted to open up Security Council meetings to all those nations expected to contribute to the solution of a particular conflict. Any reform in the Security Council is dependent on the goodwill of the five permanent members, and participants saw little chance for significant change in the foreseeable future.

Priorities

Out of this discussion, participants identified priority areas where reform could begin immediately. First, the Secretary-General selection process should begin early and include a search committee. Second, the Secretariat should be reorganized. Third, the General Assembly should be made more efficient with a reduction in the number of

Human Rights Efforts Explained

Michael Stopford, a senior officer at the United Nations Office at Geneva, spoke about the accomplishments and objectives of the UN Centre for Human Rights on February 25 in Washington, DC. The Centre, Mr. Stopford noted, appointed special rapporteurs to investigate torture and summary or arbitrary executions, established a working group to examine forced or involuntary disappearances, and transmitted over 1,000 telegrams on particularly urgent human rights cases in 1990 alone.



United Nations

The UN is now redoubling its human rights efforts to meet the increasing demand for the protection of human dignity. The Centre for Human Rights is building and strengthening national and regional human rights programs, providing technical assistance in the form of seminars and workshops, and starting human rights institutes in several countries. These programs attempt to build awareness of the UN's resources for protecting human rights.

The luncheon, organized by the Stanley Foundation in cooperation with the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, was the first in a series of luncheons concerning human rights. The purpose of the series is to generate an on-going exchange of ideas between the UN and Congress that will eventuate in a coordinated, and therefore more focused, effort to extend human rights wherever they are curtailed.

committees and agenda items. Finally, defining a clear role for the United Nations in the economic and social areas is a more tenuous proposition, but there appears to be a better chance now than at any time in the past two decades. Participants agreed that full reformation and reinvigoration of the UN will take a great deal of effort and time. But they also agreed that the present window of opportunity could allow for real progress in these four important areas.

-Keith Porter

Teaching in a Pluralistic Society

How are schools dealing with the fact that the United States is becoming more ethnically, culturally, and linguistically diverse? How do students learn to respect and honor those of a different gender and with different experiences? One of the Stanley Foundation's goals is to help schools prepare students to be more sensitive to the diversity of this country and the world.



Mary Gray

Sharing stories. Larry Emerson, Paul Mayer, and Jan Drum exchange experiences and perspectives. They were among the presenters addressing the subject of diversity in schools.

To discuss the question of how to teach in a pluralistic society, the Stanley Foundation hosted a conference in January for eighty educators in the Midwest. The five innovative education leaders who led the conversation see real problems in US schools and want to make substantial changes in the way education is carried out. As one of the speakers, Martha Urioste, said during the opening session, "Traditional education is not working." Jan Drum, vice president of the Stanley Foundation and a global education consultant, organized the meeting in Omaha. She says "the intent of the conference was to introduce thoughtful Heartland educators to the ideas, wisdom, and experience of those who've thought deeply about issues of diversity based on their own personal and varied racial, gender, and ethnic experiences."

Defining Pluralism

For those not familiar with the terminology used by many educators, multicultural education deals with diversity within the United States. Global education, on the other hand, is concerned with the relationship between the United States and the rest of the world. A pluralistic society refers to a society in which people are of different ethnic, racial, and gender experiences, but who must live together as a community. In essence, pluralism takes in all the differences that exist between people. In her invitation letter, Jan Drum wrote that one of the key items for discussion was how to guide "children and youth to live as free people—neither oppressed nor an oppressor—in a magnificently pluralistic world."

In addition to Drum, the speakers who addressed the conference included Urioste, a bilingual educator and activist on behalf of children and the disenfranchised in Denver; Paul Mayer, creator of several organizations including Children of War, an international youth leadership program based in New York City; Charles Jones, youth program director of the Oakland Men's Project, which addresses the roots of male violence, sexism, and racism; and Larry Emerson, director of the Niha'alchiniba Educational Programs for Navajo children in New Mexico.

Hope in the Midst of Despair

Early in the day Mayer said, "We need to contradict the institutional form of despair that organizes our system." He finds the task less daunting by applying the philosophy of Hillel: "Even if I knew the world were to end tomorrow, I would still plant an apple tree." Mayer said, "I think we're here to plant apple trees. I've committed my life to empowering other people and have discovered that includes me."

The presenters agreed that many priorities in US society need to be reordered, not just those in the education system. An example of a misplaced priority, some felt, is the amount of money spent on military operations compared to the amount that is spent on social programs. Key to reordering priorities and transforming society are the children, the participants said. That is why it is essential to examine the schools. Children, many felt, need to be empowered to make effective changes. And children and teachers are natural allies, one participant suggested, because neither receives great respect in society.

The presenters also agreed that in order to educate effectively in a pluralistic society, the issue of oppression must be addressed. As Mayer, a child of the Holocaust, put it, "The experience of oppression can be a great inspiration. It can allow the young to identify with other oppressed people and become models/leaders for today." Jones followed with a description of two types of oppression: external and internal. Although internal oppression is often more difficult to identify than external oppression, he sees the need to recognize internalized oppression in order to become an ally with others.

He told the group, "Once you've been told for so long that you're less than, you begin to act it out." His project in Oakland tries to work through internal oppression and discover allies. "It's important," he said, "for women, people of color, the young, to come together."

The oppression discussion extended to a fairly recent linguistic term, "adulthoodism." One speaker defined adulthoodism as the practice of mindless abuse and oppression of a young person simply because he or she is young. An adulthoodist attitude presumes that adults are always smarter and wiser than children. Children's voices, their ideas, and even their feelings are discounted regularly. One speaker added that adulthoodism exists because of childhood hurts. Unfortunately, he said, the entire



AP/Wide World Photos

Schools in many parts of the country are experiencing more ethnically diverse populations. Here the bright faces of kindergartners at Public School No. 1 on the fringe of New York's Chinatown reflect the variety of ethnic origins of the school's pupils.

education system is based on adultism. Examples of adultist statements the group identified were: You're so smart for fifteen; you're so stupid; what are you going to be when you grow up; you're not old enough, or you're too old, for that; it's just a stage—you'll outgrow it.

Experiment

As a way of trying to break out of the traditional ways of teaching and learning, the conference was run in an experimental manner. The conference leaders saw this as an opportunity to create a model of how education might be conducted. This was not a traditional educators' conference. The leaders, Drum says, "decided to forego the methodology of the dominant culture. There was no conventional conference agenda, and sessions were not all conducted in a rational, linear mode." This, she feels, contributed to the success of the conference. The group of presenters identified several common traits of the dominant culture which they sus-

ended for the weekend including: doing what you said you would do, even when it is no longer appropriate; honoring the clock as if time were money; communicating only through linear, concrete word arrangements; expecting outside experts to always have the answers; avoiding silence, because silence means nothing is happening; and demanding that everything make sense. Drum concluded that "what we found ourselves part of in Omaha turned out to be more of an experiment than any of us anticipated."

One of the eighty teachers commented during the day that, "I think we'll see teachers doing global education as a natural part of what they do. My theme is, anybody who dares to be a teacher better dare to be a learner. I see hope."

-Mary Gray



Mary Gray

Charles Jones and Martha Urioste relax during a break between presentations at a conference for teachers who face more ethnically and racially diverse classrooms.

USSR on the BRINK

It [the Soviet Union] hasn't collapsed, but it is in a crisis situation." So cautioned Sovietologist Murray Feshbach as he addressed a group of congressional staff members during the Stanley Foundation's annual Foreign Policy Forum this March in Annapolis, Maryland. Feshbach, a research professor of demography at Georgetown University, was responding to a question about why Sovietologists in the United States are reluctant to say the Soviet Union has collapsed. "Collapse is too strong," Feshbach replied.



As of 1989, there were approximately 286 million people in the Soviet Union representing more than 100 nationalities. The size of the national groups range from 145 million Russians to 1500 Krymchaks. Also listed are several hundred transplanted nationals from Western countries.

Source: US State Department

"The Soviet Union is still a big country with enormous resources and reserves...." Feshbach was one of ten speakers, including government officials from both the State Department and the CIA and Soviet specialists from leading academic institutions, invited to brief senior congressional staffers who deal with US foreign policy. This year's conference, "The Soviet Union on the Brink: Implications for US Policy," was hosted by the Stanley Foundation in association with the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies in Washington, DC. David Doerge, conference organizer from the Stanley Foundation, said he and Blair

Ruble, director of the Kennan Institute, chose to focus on the Soviet Union because they "felt it was the hottest issue in the coming year for Congress, next to the Persian Gulf, and it has even more long-term implications for the US than the Gulf." Ruble added that the conference was very timely because, "the potential disintegration of the Soviet Union poses very difficult policy issues. "After all," he continued, "they can still destroy us in thirty minutes." The tone for the conference was set the first night when keynote speaker Robert Blackwell, Jr., the CIA's national intelligence officer for the Soviet Union, gave his talk, "The Looming Confrontation in the Soviet Union."

The Coming Change

During the Cold War, the Soviet Union dominated considerations in the formulation of US foreign policy. Now, the Cold War is over and the Soviets' sphere of influence appears to be waning. While the United States has welcomed Mikhail Gorbachev's early efforts toward political reform and establishing a market economy, many destabilizing forces have been unleashed. Gorbachev's regime could be in trouble, various republics are attempting to secede from the Union, and the country is in danger of economic collapse. While few speakers were comfortable making predictions about the future for the Soviet Union, they were not optimistic about painless change. One speaker said that a fundamental flaw in Gorbachev's thinking was that Gorbachev underestimated the power of nationalism. "The prospects of this coming out well for them [the Soviets] are not

good," he finished. In an even grimmer prediction, Andrus Park, an Estonian scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center, noted that "sooner or later, the crackdown will arrive."

Leadership Concerns

The two-day forum focused in-depth on four specific issues: leadership, nationalities, the economy, and arms control. Ever since Gorbachev took over, there have been Soviet experts questioning how long he could last. Dr. Ruble was on a panel of speakers assessing Soviet leadership and who exactly is in control in the Soviet Union. Ruble told the participants that "this is not a happy society. I don't think they're at that revolutionary moment yet, but they're moving there." A State Department official defended Gorbachev when asked why everybody seemed to be abandoning the Soviet leader, including former Foreign Minister Eduard Shevarnadze. "Shevarnadze," he said, "saw a change coming in internal strategy...and didn't want to be associated with it. His decision [to leave] was not impulsive." When pressed as to why not get rid of Gorbachev and get someone who can deliver, the official stated that it is "because nobody else can promise how to do that [provide a more vital economy and union] either."

Economic Chaos

The second crisis issue, which Murray Feshbach and Peter Maggs, an expert in Soviet law at the University of Illinois, addressed was the Soviet economy. The much-touted 500-day plan to reform the Soviet economy, which looked so promising last fall, has been all but abandoned. Maggs, the less pessimistic of the two, said the Soviets "are taking steps to bring things more into balance." But he noted that their efforts are countered by balance-of-payment problems, an increasingly poor reputation as a trading partner, and an expected decline in production this year. Murray Feshbach painted an even bleaker picture for the Soviets, particularly in the over-



Gorbachev defied. Tens of thousands of Soviet citizens rallied to support Boris Yeltsin in Moscow last March, flouting a ban on demonstrations ordered by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev. Challenges to central authority are becoming almost routine in the USSR.

all quality of life. From the deteriorating environment to the lack of health care, Feshbach was nearly apocalyptic. "Their [medical] needs are across the board," he continued. "They range from aspirin to very complex antibiotics. ...I expect a major explosion of diphtheria in the Soviet Union." When asked to make predictions about the future of the Soviet Union, Feshbach said, "I don't think there'll be a Soviet Union as such in the year 2004; there'll more likely be a confederation."

Nationality Problems

Almost since the beginning of glasnost, ethnic problems have beset Gorbachev, and a third panel, which included Andrus Park, addressed the nationalities question. Fifteen republics with over 100 nationalities make up the Soviet Union. The problems have primarily been between the republics and the central government, with an additional layer of problems between ethnic groups within the republics.

According to Daria Fane, a political analyst at the US State Department, "Glasnost has allowed the nationali-

ties question to explode, and it has reached a point where Gorbachev will have to choose between democracy and preserving the Union. ...I would be very surprised if the [Soviet] Union breaks up without a lot of bloodshed."

The situation has not reached that point yet, and the US is faced with more immediate questions such as aid to the Soviet republics and whether the US should recognize individual republics such as the Baltics. Park said it is a "complicated issue" and would not advocate the US or the West recognizing the Baltics as separate countries at this time. "However," he added, "they could open information bureaus and institutes in the Baltic states." He also believes the US should support an international conference on the Baltics.

Arms Control

The final panel examined arms control and US foreign policy. Since the end of the Cold War, arms control has not been much of an issue on the public agenda, particularly with the war in the Persian Gulf and the breakup of the Soviet bloc in Eastern Europe occupying attention.

Among the arms control experts were Bruce Parrott, director of Soviet Studies at The Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and Lynn Davis, director of the Project on Arms Control at The Johns Hopkins Foreign Policy Institute. Davis told the participants that arms control "is not central or as important as it was to our relations with the Soviet Union as it has been in the past. It is more difficult to conclude agreements today. It is, however, important." Another speaker, Alexander Vershbow, director of the State Department's Office of Soviet Union Affairs, said: "At the beginning of 1990, things were going well. [There were] boundless opportunities in arms control, economics, cultural affairs. Now there is disturbing backpedalling on arms control." Vershbow was among the speakers who expressed concern about the future of the Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE) Treaty and the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START). The CFE Treaty, signed in Paris in 1990, was to have been submitted to the US Senate for ratification this winter but has not been because of disputes over Soviet data. The START Treaty was to be signed by Presidents Bush and Gorbachev at the now-postponed February summit.

US Policy

The US needs to be able to respond to events in the Soviet Union as they unfold. The Stanley Foundation Foreign Policy Forum was one effort at ensuring that US policy is made with the best possible information. Despite the mounting uncertainties over the situation in the Soviet Union, speaker Michael Mandelbaum of the Council on Foreign Relations assured the gathering that, "The Cold War is still over. It was centered in Europe. Since the Soviets are not in Europe, it hasn't returned."

-Mary Gray

There are 15 republics that make up the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. Russia has the largest population and Estonia has the smallest.

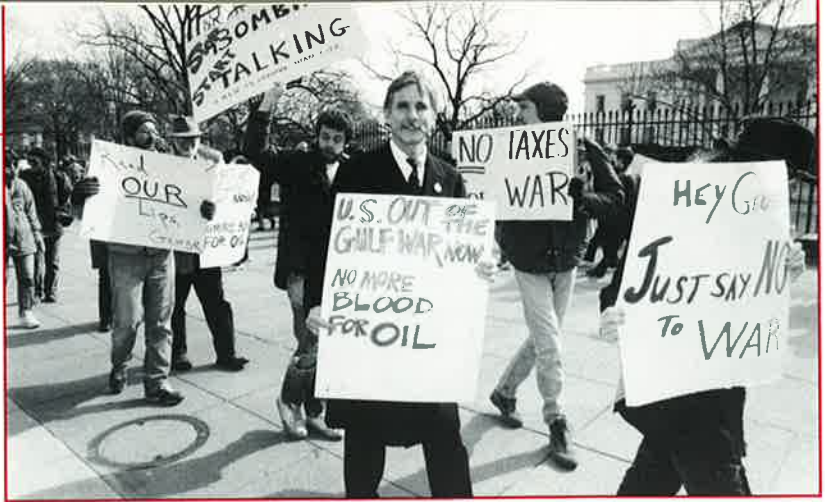
Peace "Movement" Stalled

(Continued from page 1)

The theme of this conference was "Through the Gulf War and Beyond." Most participants had hoped for a peaceful solution to the Persian Gulf crisis. Many were demoralized by the fact that more than eighty percent of the US public supported the use of force in pursuit of the nation's Gulf interests.

The popularity of the war effort was also evident in Iowa and struck at the activists' vision of Iowa as a "peace state." That vision had been given form in recent years with the creation of the Iowa Peace Institute, a publicly and privately funded organization promoting international understanding, and with the adoption of a statewide standard for teaching global perspectives in schools. Those two official acts, the low number of military installations and industries in Iowa, and the state's traditional affinity for international trade have given Iowa a national reputation for having a strong "peace movement."

The conference series on the peace agenda is another institution contributing to the strength of the movement in Iowa. It involves people who by anyone's definition are from society's mainstream—e.g., businesspeople, clergy, academics, and political officeholders. Often these people hold views on international relations that are not shared by many of their professional colleagues. At the conferences they meet with students and other activists. Clark says, "Many of the people we bring together feel isolated a lot of the time. Many would be dissidents and always on the fringe if they weren't accorded a certain respect. We respect them as leaders.



AP/Wide World Photos



AP/Wide World Photos

Eighty to Twenty. A handful of war protesters (top) marched outside of the White House last February. More typical of Americans' response to the Persian Gulf conflict was this flag-waving rally in Georgia. Polls showed at least eighty percent of the American public supported the US-led war in the Gulf.

Casualties and Lessons

Much of the conference was devoted to assessing damage to the peace movement in Iowa and to exploring lessons for the movement. State funding for the Iowa Peace Institute may be cut in half, speakers said. That action may be more a result of a state government budget crisis than the war, although a state legislative leader noted that funding for national guard armories in the state has risen in spite of the state's revenue shortage. The global education standard for the state has also been attacked as un-American. Additionally, several speakers noted that their expressions of disagreement with US policy in the Persian Gulf had been met with derision or hostility.

The Reverend Jesse Jackson, who made an impromptu appearance (see adjoining story), told the audience they should join other Ameri-

cans in welcoming home the troops. There is no question that coalition forces won the war, Jackson said, but there still is doubt about whether US policy in the region is working.

He told the audience they should hold back for now in their criticism of the policy because the US public is not ready to hear the message. "You can't be too far out in front," he warned, "It's not just a question of principle, but also one of strategy and timing."

At a panel discussion six persons reflected on lessons for the peace movement from the Gulf War. Among them was David Loebbeck, an associate professor of political science at Cornell College in Mount Vernon, Iowa. He said, "It is critical to recognize that we're a minority...and it's not because most of the public are warmongers...but

because they believe that our world is still a dangerous one."

Loebsack criticized the peace movement for its inability during the war to articulate goals. He said the goal should have been to "convince the public and our leaders... that peaceful resolution to this conflict is what ought to have been pursued." Instead, he charged, many in the movement focused on tactics rather than goals. "Many peace activists were engaging in activities that were more personally therapeutic than politically effective."

Another panelist was Mark Chaffee, a former clergyman and counselor who is now a graduate student in sociology at the University of Iowa. He is researching groups and how they interact. Chaffee said people are social animals, "individuals who are encased in groups of webs.... The people we interact with are encased in groups also." It is through the contacts that people

make in their intertwined webs that they gain new ideas and bring others to their points of view.

Against that background, Chaffee said peace activists need to learn how to listen, especially to those with whom they disagree. "So much activism is a 'talking at' process...telling people, '[this is] the world they should live in.' ...We need to understand what listening is about...how to hear what another person is saying about who they are." Failure to listen, said Chaffee, fosters us/them relationships. "We always talk about how the government dehumanizes the enemy. The movement is also very good at dehumanizing its [perceived] enemies."

He suggested peace activists need to listen to supporters of the war explain why they think and feel as they do. Learning how to listen could be a great lesson from the war.

-Jeffrey Martin



The seventh annual Quad City Conference on Peace and Security explored non-violent alternatives to war, even as the world watched the ground battle come to an end in the Persian Gulf. About 130 participants in the day-long event heard from three nationally-known non-violence experts: Gene Sharp, president of the Albert Einstein Institution; Burns H. Weston, professor of international law at the University of Iowa; and Sister Mary Evelyn Jegen, vice-president of Pax Christi International.

Through this conference series, residents of the Iowa and Illinois Quad City area have examined topics such as arms control, regional conflicts, and economic conversion of military plants and bases. Dan Clark of the Stanley Foundation, one of the event's co-sponsors, said, "In this community where the Rock Island Arsenal is the number two employer, our conference is becoming an important tradition. When the Cold War ended there were lots of layoffs and people wondered what would happen. During the war they worked overtime. Now they're facing big job losses again, and our conference group is a credible part of discussions about 'what next?'"

Jackson on the War

The Reverend Jesse Jackson, former and perhaps future presidential candidate, made an unscheduled visit to the Peace Agenda Conference while in Iowa for another speaking engagement. Jackson's staff contacted Dan Clark several days before the conference to see if an appearance by the Washington DC senator would be welcome. Clark says that "political leaders" have always been welcome at the conferences which are intended to fit discussions of peace into mainstream American life.

Jackson told the group that the war was popular for most US citizens for several reasons. First, Saddam Hussein posed a genuine threat to the region. Second, Hussein was the perfect enemy—vicious and foolish. Additionally, the US administration did an excellent job of selling the war to the American people. "The war on the minds of the public was as great as the preparation for the war on Iraq."

Coalition forces did their jobs superbly, Jackson said, "The troops won the war but we don't yet know if we will have won the peace. ...Thousands of lives were lost to get one man and we still don't have him." Jackson was certain that the United States will have to make a long-term military commitment to the region.

Looking past the war, Jackson urged that the nation go beyond homecoming parades to honor the Persian Gulf War veterans. "They're coming back looking for jobs and finding a recession," he said. Jackson said the veterans should be rewarded with a program that includes a health care plan, a guaranteed college education, and a promise of improved security in their homes. Women who served their country can best be honored with passage of the Equal Rights Amendment and adoption of legislation addressing issues of comparable worth and childcare. Jackson punctuated his agenda with the remark, "Put a yellow ribbon around that."



Marcie Molloy

Reverend Jesse Jackson poses with two activists as he drops in on the eleventh Conference on the Peace Agenda in Iowa.

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

☆ 9126—**The Soviet Union In Crisis** (June 1991). Sovietologist Murray Feshbach provides details of the crisis in the Soviet economy and the deteriorating quality of life in the USSR. (\$7 cassette)

☆ 9114—**The Gulf War: US Entry** (April 1991). A former State Department staffer gives an insider's view of what was happening at State prior to the Gulf War. (\$7 cassette)

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☆ 9101—**The Tragedy of Northern Ireland** (January 1991). Nobel Peace Prize recipient Mairead Corrigan Maguire discusses her work to end the violence in Northern Ireland. (\$7 cassette)

◆ **The Superpowers and the Challenge of Peace in the Middle East.** Leading Middle East specialists from the US and the Soviet Union address implications of reduced Soviet-US competition in this conflict-plagued region. April 1990, 20pp.

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US-Soviet Relations

◆ **Perestroika and Political Decentralization: Options for US Policy.** Experts consider US Policy options as a new political situation in the Soviet Union unfolds. October 1990, 24pp

United Nations

◆ **The United Nations: Structure and Leadership for a New Era.** An opportunity exists for a long-overdue reform of the United Nations. This report looks at potential changes in the Secretariat, General Assembly, economic and social sectors, as well as selection of the Secretary-General. February 1991, 24pp.

☆ 9123/24—**Leadership[at the United Nations: A Two Part Series** (June 1991). This panel discusses how the process used to select top UN officials, including the Secretary-General, could be improved. (\$7 cassette)

☆ 9049/50—**Saving the Children: A Two-Part Series** (December 1990). Highlights from UNICEF's World Summit for Children including George Bush, Vaclav Havel, Jonas Salk, Marian Wright Edelman, and children from around the world. (\$7 cassette)

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☆ 9006—**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)

Environment

☆ 9029—**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)

☆ 8952—**Redefining Progress** (December 1989). Self-described philosopher Jeremy Rifkin talks about the environment and his "101 Ways to Prevent Global Warming." (\$7 cassette)

☆ 8940/8941—**A World at Risk** (October 1989). A two-part series with members of the Brundtland Commission focusing on the landmark report, *Our Common Future*, and the US role in protecting this fragile planet. (\$7 cassette)

◆ **Environment and Development: Breaking the Ideological Deadlock** lists steps which could be taken to enhance prospects for a successful 1992 World Conference on Environment and Development. February, 1990, 20pp.

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

Security and Disarmament

☆ 9125—**Arms Control Prospects** (June 1991). The director of the Arms Control Project at John Hopkin's Foreign Policy Institute looks at arms control, particularly the CFE and STARRT treaties. (\$7 cassette)

◆ **Beyond Cold War Thinking: Security Threats and Opportunities.** United Nations experts discuss the search for new global security frameworks in a post-bipolar world. June 1990, 44pp.

◆ **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.

☆ 9027/9028—**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 world changes. He is followed by a Palestinian leader and a Chinese student on the use of nonviolence in their struggles. (\$7 cassette)

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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.

Other Topics of Interest

Middle America. This bimonthly publication features an exchange of views from Midwesterners working for a "secure peace with freedom and justice." A sample of this "conversation in print" is available upon request..

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◆ **Foreign Aid Beyond the Cold War.** This report summarizes a discussion on the need for a new foreign aid rationale. October 1990, 20pp.

◆ **The Growing Impact of Ethnic and Geographic Diversity on US Foreign Policy.** An ethnically diverse group considers the possibility of new ethnic and geographic influences on US foreign policy. October 1990, 22pp.

☆ **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 left.

Peace in Northern Ireland?

The winner of the 1977 Nobel Peace Prize, Mairead Corrigan Maguire, has done much to bring hope to embattled Northern Ireland. Her "Community of Peace People" is designed to help the process of reconciliation. In an interview for the Stanley Foundation's radio series, "Common Ground," Maguire spoke to Mary Gray about the situation in Northern Ireland and the chances for peace. The following are excerpts from the program, #9101, available on audio cassette for \$7.

"I think it is very dangerous to use these labels of Catholic and Protestant. You can't take the religious problem out of the north of Ireland, but, essentially, it is a very complex situation. [There are] social, economic, and cultural problems between two communities in the north of Ireland and they go back hundreds of years to when Ireland was divided and the north part became only 1.5 million people with two-thirds majority unionist wanting to maintain linkages with Great Britain and one-third minority nationalists and not all of them, but some of them, looking for a united Ireland. So you have within a very small area two very deeply divided people that really have never learned to live together and create structures that are just and fair.

"Where you have people separated and divided, not mixing, having ideas of each other that are often ungrounded, you have the ingredients for violence which we've experienced

for twenty-one years. People in Northern Ireland do not hear each other.... The dominant force in Northern Ireland is fear. These two communities are both deeply afraid of each other. One community is afraid the other is going to take over and vice versa, and so this fear has often driven some of them to use violence. I think we need to recognize the fear is there and find ways of taking it away.

"I would like to see a Northern Ireland where the two traditions come together and respect each other as human beings and create political structures that are fair and just. This is what we are working for and essentially the most important thing is to create the proper relationships among the people who are now fighting.... Once we have the political consensus, then it is up to them to create the kind of political institutions they want.

"We organized our program around things that will help the process of reconciliation, bringing the two communities together. So, to that end, we have [camping trips] to different countries in Europe where teenagers go to...study peace and nonviolence, and then come back and, hopefully, get involved in trying to make Northern Ireland a better place. Some of the young people who have gone on the very early peace camps are now very deeply involved in political movements in Northern Ireland. We run football teams involving young people from the different communities. We organize dances and socials

where people are mixing together. We have a small farm where young people live out nonviolence in their lifestyle. So essentially we have a work program based around reconciliation, nonviolence, and working for justice.

"We have got to build genuine community among people—one to one—husband to wife—husband to children, and out into the wider community and out into the world. And it will take all of us to do this, and it will take governments to recognize that the rebuilding of community takes talent and energy and time and resources, and this is where we should be looking to put our best brains and resources.

"I have seen a great deal of progress. We don't have the terrible violence that we had in 1976—every day bombs going off and the whole heart bombed out of cities. We now have a lower level of violence. We have changes, there has been terrible discrimination in jobs and housing, and there has been legislation brought in to try and tackle these issues. Literally thousands of small groups have grown up working for peace and development.... We have a very alive community, and this is where I believe the hope can come from."

-excerpted by Keith Porter



Mairead Corrigan Maguire

RECYCLE.

This issue of the Courier is printed on recycled paper. The move to this recycled material emphasizes our commitment to both the environment and a high quality publication. We waited to use recycled paper until we found materials that met our standards for appearance. Paper companies are producing more and better recycled papers only as consumers demand it.

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