

Courier



THE STANLEY
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contents

Decolonizing Minds	3
Racial Justice	4-5
The Art of Global Education	6-7
Sister Cities	8-9
Iowa-Soviet Projects	9
Resources	10-11
Sir Brian Urquhart	12

Working for Racial Justice

The end of the Cold War has had far-reaching implications. Its demise has allowed for many other deep-seated and unresolved issues to rise to the surface. One of these issues, racism, has seized the attention of people all over the world, including here at the Stanley Foundation.

In the fall of 1990, a year after the Berlin Wall came down, the Stanley Foundation held a conference on how a more ethnically diverse US population could impact foreign policy. Coincidentally, the foundation's educator-support personnel were planning a conference centered on racism in US schools. The Stanley Foundation's Midwest Program was also involved in supporting an Iowa church leaders' "racial justice caravan."

Looking at the fall of the Berlin Wall and these three events, which centered on racial issues, poses an interesting connection—one which may not be immediately apparent. For more on racism and international affairs, see page 4.

IS THE "NEW WORLD ORDER" OLD?



UN Photo/J. Isaac

The "new world order" is the old UN Charter.

- Conference participant

Is that right? Is there a script for the new world order, a term first used by President Bush in the days prior to the Persian Gulf War, laid out in the document that formed the United Nations forty-six years ago? That, in essence, is one of the questions put to a panel of twenty-one UN diplomats and scholars who met this summer to discuss "Collective Security and the United Nations: An Old Promise in a New Era." The meeting was the Stanley Foundation's 26th Conference on the United Nations of the Next Decade, held in Adare, Ireland.

The framers of the United Nations gave it muscle to counter threats to "international peace and security." Indeed, that was the primary reason for creating the United Nations. For more than forty years, however, the Cold War prevented the United Nations from using its enforcement authority.

The warming of US-Soviet relations changes many things, however. The Persian Gulf War made clear, to any who might have doubted it, that the big powers are now prepared to act together, at least in some instances.

The expert group at Adare was presented with this challenge: The end of the Cold War opens the way to realize the vision of the UN founders. But does that vision still apply in today's world? What has

(Continued on page 2)

A First
Members of the Security Council vote November 29, 1990, to use "all necessary means" to uphold its resolutions if Iraq does not withdraw from Kuwait. It was the first time that the United Nations authorized the use of force under provisions of Chapter 7 of the Charter.

**There
can
never
be
enough
"police
forces"
to
provide
security.**

changed? What remains the same? Given current circumstances, does the world want the United Nations as it is presently made up to work the way it was originally intended?

Most of the experts answered the last question "yes and no." They agreed that the United Nations should have enforcement capability, but the mechanisms laid out in the Charter are not a prescription for how it should be done. Many of the mechanisms have never been used and may have been better suited to the 1930s and 1940s than to today's world. Nevertheless, participants said the Charter is written in language that is ambiguous enough to allow for creative use of its provisions.

The Tools

For example, the Charter provides for a Military Staff Committee (MSC) composed of the chiefs of staff of the five permanent members of the Security Council. The MSC is supposed to be a kind of command center when the Security Council has authorized military operations. In practice, the MSC doesn't work, and participants said it is unlikely to ever play the role that the founders envisioned for it. However, a revitalized MSC could serve the United Nations well by acting as an intelligence-gathering and contingency-planning body. This would be more likely to happen if the MSC created regional subcommittees made up of other member countries, a step that is permissible under the Charter.

Likewise, participation in the work of the Security Council could be expanded to include today's major powers—Japan, Germany, India, Brazil, Argentina, etc.—by the creation of subcommittees of the council. Participants agreed that leaving the current five permanent members of the council with the veto is out of step with the times, but changing their status is very difficult. Creating committees with specific areas of responsibility would both enhance the work of the council and involve more countries on a regular basis.

It may also be time, the group said, to consider equipping the United Nations with a small, readily available military force. The Charter provides for "Article 43 agreements" in which countries would, in essence, contract in advance to provide the United Nations with forces which the Security Council could deploy. The panel agreed that if such agreements were executed there would have to be clear understanding of how they might be used. Possible missions are peacekeeping, deterrence, and combat. However, the group was divided over the advisability of using such forces in those missions. Peacekeeping forces have been drawn on an ad hoc basis, and many were loathe to change that. Deterrence may be, and combat is certainly, unachievable with a force as small as the United Nations is likely to have.

A Wider Role

Hopes for real security, however, should not be placed on the development of the UN enforcement capabilities. There can never be enough "police forces" to provide security.

The more promising route to security, participants said, lies in building cooperative political and military arrangements at the regional and even subregional level. The Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) is by far the most advanced of such regional arrangements. Under the umbrella of CSCE, processes have been started to address questions of human rights, democracy, confidence-building measures among military establishments, and disarmament. CSCE, panelists noted, is not without its problems; there have been setbacks and long periods of stalemate. However, those setbacks are less important than the fact that more than thirty nations remain committed to the processes established under CSCE.

Such processes are needed in many other parts of the world. The Middle East, Southeast Asia, the Asian Subcontinent, and the Horn of Africa

come readily to mind. Simply copying CSCE's processes in these parts of the world will not work. Different regions have different needs; so the processes need to conform to the region's requirements, but the principles underlying the processes are essential. Nations see one another as potentially threatening and the idea behind cooperative security measures is to bring world politics more out into the open thereby reducing suspicions.

The United Nations has a significant role to play in promoting the development of regional security processes, according to the participants at the Adare conference. They agreed that the organization could provide expert support, serve as a clearinghouse for information on successful and unsuccessful experiences, and provide a political push to regions which are trying to work out their own arrangements.

A second avenue of support for regional security arrangements relates directly to arms control. Stabilizing the military situation in any

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

given region is central to security. The experts said that the United Nations disarmament bureaucracies and political bodies should be geared up to provide expert support for regional arms control negotiations. They could help in drafting treaty language and in sharing information on sticky issues such as verification.

A United Nations for the 21st Century

Participants at this conference agreed that the new world order is a very loosely defined concept. The end of the Cold War has security arrangements around the world in a state of flux. The group recognized that whatever the new world order is, it is more complex than just a format that follows the UN Charter.

But they said quite clearly that the United Nations has much to offer in the new political environment. It should play a much larger role in the maintenance of international peace and security than it has in its first nearly half-century of existence.

-Jeffrey Martin

Decolonizing Minds

Sanctity of borders is enshrined in the UN Charter. But, according to participants at the United Nations of the Next Decade Conference, the time may be right to negotiate a new treaty which sets limits to national sovereignty. The international community has recently taken action in the internal affairs of El Salvador, Ethiopia, and Iraq. These actions probably would have been unthinkable to the framers of the Charter, which prohibits intervening "in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state."

Nevertheless, participants agreed the trend is toward more international involvement in internal affairs. Massive human rights violations, humanitarian crises, and conflicts that take on an international dimension are all seen by most of the world as legitimate causes for international action. But when the international community gets involved in a country against the wishes of the government—such as happened in the operation to protect the Kurds within Iraq—controversy arises.

Noting that there are no formal rules governing this "right of interference," one participant proposed that there be an international negotiation to establish general guidelines on the limits of sovereignty. Such a treaty should provide for an independent judicial body to decide when a situation has reached the threshold where international interference is justified. Without such provisions, the big powers will continue to decide on their own when to get involved in the affairs of smaller countries.



UN Photo/Milton Grant

The idea of a treaty to regulate interference drew strong support from many conference participants, but some noted serious problems. One of the most vexing, participants said, is a psychological barrier. The collective psyche of the world remains in the colonial era, it was argued. Developed countries in the North, including former colonial powers, assume they have all the answers and are entitled to decide when to get involved in the affairs of developing countries—including former colonies. Countries in the South tend to be resentful of any Northern involvement, but still act in dependent ways.

It is time for a "decolonization of minds," one participant said. Developing countries, especially, should embrace the idea of negotiated standards because, if realized, the world will be one step closer to achieving equality among nations.

-Jeffrey Martin

Relief

Representatives of the UN Secretary-General meet with Kurdish refugees fleeing attacking Iraqi forces last April. The world took extraordinary measures to protect the Kurds.

Racial Justice in World Affairs

*UN CHARTER,
Chapter 1, Article 1:
"The purposes of the
United Nations are...
promoting and encouraging
respect for human rights
and for fundamental freedoms
for all without distinction
as to race, sex, language,
or religion..."*

The fight for racial justice has long played an important part in the Stanley Foundation's programs. The foundation has always worked toward the goal of "a secure peace with freedom and justice." As foundation President Richard Stanley says, "Where you have injustice at any level, it's not conducive to peace." Stanley emphasizes that "we come at that [goal] primarily from an international perspective dealing with peace among the nations of the world."

Achieving peace among the nations of the world requires work at all levels of society from the children to the leaders. The Stanley Foundation's programming reaches many forums from grade schools to the people who make foreign policy.

For instance, the foundation hosts conferences for diplomats and policymakers year round on topics ranging from environmentally sound development programs to international security arrangements in the "new world order." At these conferences, organizers are careful to invite representatives from around the world and from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. The agendas also reflect this concern for diversity. Agenda items might include such issues as the North/South divide or whether Western countries carry too much weight in international decision making.

A Post-Cold War Era

David Doerge, foundation vice president and conference organizer, sees a clear link between the end of the Cold War and the re-emergence of questions of racism and ethnicity. Doerge says those issues were "frozen" by the Cold War. "Although," he points out, "that's not to say that there weren't racial problems all along. But now they're not dominated and restrained by Cold War politics. As a result of the end of the Cold War, ethnic and racial unrest, previously held in check by a government's alliance and patronage from a superpower, is now coming to the surface. Now it is hard to appeal to one superpower or the other to help [a government] maintain power."

While the issues of racism and ethnicity permeate many areas, few conferences can deal directly with issues that tend to be so very emotional and volatile, according to Doerge. However, in the fall of 1990, the Stanley Foundation did sponsor a conference organized by Doerge and Michael Clough of the Council on Foreign Relations. It focused on the growing impact of US ethnic and geographic diversity on foreign policy. Doerge noted that, "If you look at our history, we have long been a racially and culturally diverse people, but this diversity has rarely been reflected in our foreign policy establishment, which traditionally has been the preserve of white males. Now, with the Cold War at an end and a broader international agenda emerging, there will likely be a real need to bring people from different racial and ethnic backgrounds into the decision-making process. This may in turn make US policy more sensitive to a more diverse agenda that already exists in the world. Ultimately, these developments would be reflected in the foreign policy of the United States. The conference was also characterized by a feeling that this development was long overdue; that this is a real opportunity; and that positive means should be pursued to bring as broad a representation as possible to the formulation of an effective US foreign policy."

Justice at Home

Participants in the foundation's high-level conferences make, or at least directly influence, policy decisions reached in the world capitals. But the Stanley Foundation also works with grass-roots organizations and individuals in the Midwestern United States who are seeking a more just and peaceful world. For example, this year the foundation supported a "racial justice caravan" organized by religious leaders in Iowa. As they travelled across the state, the bishop-level executives distributed their document entitled, *We Cannot Remain Silent: Iowa Church Leaders' Covenant for Racial Justice, Local and Global*. The project began over two years ago focusing primarily on injustice in South Africa. Since then, the project has sought to highlight



AP/Wide World Photos

Martin Luther King on receiving the Nobel Peace Prize:

"...mankind's survival is dependent upon man's ability to solve the problems of racial injustice, poverty, and war..."

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., receiving the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo, December 1964.

inequities in this country as well. As the church leaders' covenant states, the project's purpose is "to heighten Iowans' awareness of the connections between ongoing struggles for political and economic justice by people of color, here in Iowa as well as in South Africa." In addition, "Participants in the writing of this covenant and other signers agree that the need for such a statement is clear, given the resurgence of overt and covert acts of racism in Iowa." Stanley Foundation program officer Dan Clark, who worked with the church leaders, says, "Messages, such as the covenant and modeling of leadership are terribly important. What the church leaders did clearly gave local clergy permission to talk about these things."

An Early Start

The first line of defense against racism has to be the children. Education, coupled with understanding and compassion, is essential. The Stanley Foundation conducts a variety of programs to help teachers develop curricula which celebrate the diversity of the world, and it organizes programs for students around the country. Jan Drum, vice

president of the Stanley Foundation and director of the Education Project, says racism is a central issue in her work. "It's impossible to imagine a peaceful world, and a justly peaceful world, that hasn't addressed the problem of racism." Drum goes on to say, "There's little question that in the world as it's currently construed, there's a disproportionate number of people in certain racial groups who are poor and oppressed. So I don't know how you can work with young people to help them understand what justice might look like, and how they can participate in it, until they become aware of the prevalence of racism throughout the globe."

While racism has recently re-emerged as an issue on the public agenda, Drum says, "The issue of race is so basic to the way human beings get along with one another that it relates to whatever other issues people are paying attention to at a given time. Right now in terms of the ecological crisis, I find a number of thinkers coming to realize that various cultural and ethnic groups, groups that haven't been dominant in the world—indigenous

people for example, are carrying very useful information as part of their cultural heritage. So the interest in that information is forcing everybody to look at the racism that withheld that information from the public domain and the kind of work that needs to be done in order to make it available to us."

-Mary Gray

TEACH- ABLE MOMENTS

is a global education tool distributed by the Stanley Foundation to over 1200 educators. The classroom activities are brief, easy, engaging, and responsive to a changing world. For five years, this monthly publication has been created by foundation Vice President Jan Drum and Dr. George Otero, founder and chairman of the board of Las Palomas de Taos, a nonprofit educational center in Taos, New Mexico. Drum and Otero draw on their nationwide work with students and teachers to create activities designed to build skills for living well in the twenty-first century. See the resource guide on page 10 for information on how to receive Teachable Moments.

Kathy Steichen



The Art of GLOBAL EDUCATION

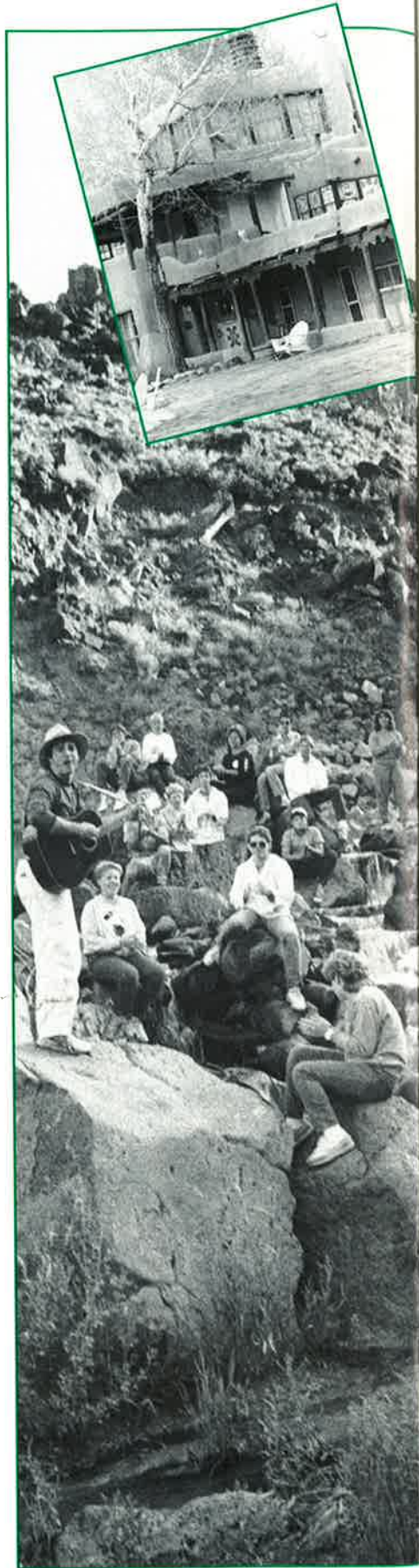
*The Global Adventure in Taos invites young people to
celebrate life's diversity and complexity.*

*We look at the connections between our lives
and the health of the planet.*

*We express what we learn through the arts, through
music and writing and printmaking and dance.*

*We discover that each of us is an artist, that our
most important work of art is our life
and the way we live it.*

*The works on these pages were produced at this annual
event cosponsored by the Stanley Foundation and
Las Palomas de Taos.*





Bob Campagna

Stones

by Thomas Hampson

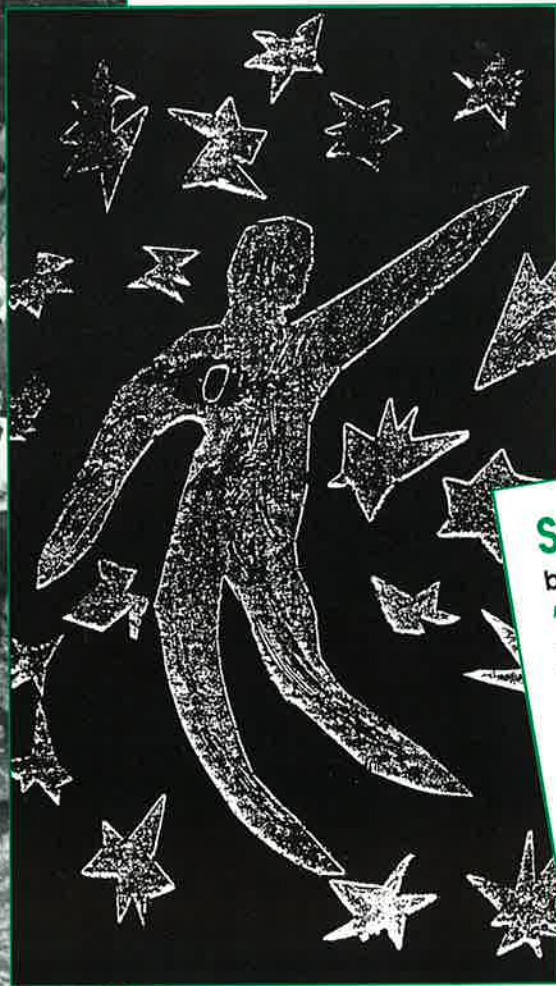
The faces of the rock stay rigid yet warm, and the cliff dwellings give promise of shelter and comfort.

As I write, the wind blows like an impatient friend, first soft, then howling. Clouds gather in the west, promising change and new life. The sound of silence is wind. It begins to rain. Drops of life fall upon the desert, lightning flashes, illuminating the world for all to see.

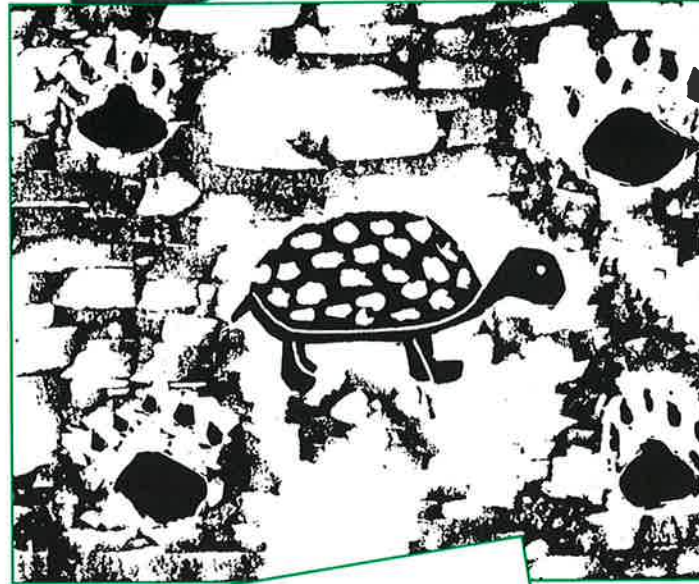
-an excerpt



Kathy Steichen



Aaron Greenwald



Amanda Kroeter

Story

by Ian Chisum

There once lived a very powerful and magical witch who everybody was afraid of. She lived in a place what people called witch cave. About three miles away a man named Jonathan Kellerman and his wife and six-week-old son moved to town. About two weeks later Jonathn decided to go for a walk up toward witch cave, but little did he know that the witch lived up that way. As he approached the cave he thought he would explore the cave. When he tripped over his shoestring. The witch woke with a fright. "Who's there!" "Ah, ah, I did not know that anybody lived here. I'm really sorry to disturb you. I will leave at once." "No you don't," said the witch. "You have seen me and I cannot let you leave."

-an excerpt

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The Floating World

A Festival of Japanese Culture

The Iowa/Japan Cultural Alliance and the Stanley Foundation brought "The Floating World: A Festival of Japanese Culture" to Muscatine this summer. The forum was part of a statewide series involving ten Japanese teachers spending the year in Iowa schools. A Koto performance, Aikido demonstration, tea ceremony, and several hands-on Japanese arts activities gave participants a chance to immerse themselves in Japanese culture.

Sister Cities

The Goal is Friendship

"Do they have houses in Argentina?" one person wondered out loud. The question was asked as a delegation from Muscatine, Iowa, made tentative plans to visit its sister city in Argentina. The question about houses obviously shows an ignorance of lifestyles in Latin America—exactly the kind of ignorance Sister Cities International was founded to fight thirty-five years ago.



Members of a delegation from Muscatine meet with factory managers in Kislovodsk.

Ken Darge

Nine hundred US cities have sister city relationships with over 1400 foreign cities. With sister cities in Argentina, Japan, the Soviet Union, and Uruguay, Muscatine has both good and bad experiences to share with other cities interested in the program. A mature relationship with a city often involves an annual exchange of official delegations, but Muscatine has reached this level only with its counterparts in Japan and the Soviet Union. The local involvement with Argentina and Uruguay has been considerably lower.

“There is a prejudice; Latin America is seen as poor and uneducated, whereas the Soviet Union and Japan are seen as business opportunities,” observed Graciela Page, immediate past vice president of the Muscatine Sister Cities Association. She said, “I wish people would open up their minds and get more information on Latin America and dispel the stereotypes.”

This process of dispelling stereotypes has been more successful for Muscatine in its pairings with Kislovodsk in the Soviet Union and Ichikawadaimon in Japan. But even these two relationships provide an intercultural contrast. The Japanese seem to make their visits to Muscatine part of larger tours. “They have money and want their people to get experience speaking English, so lots of them come and often,” said Dan Clark, Midwest program officer with the Stanley Foundation, who handles the foundation’s work with the sister city organization.

The Soviets have less experience in international travel and sometimes have in mind a more narrow focus than the official goals of the exchange. Clark said, “We had a recent experience of Soviet students coming to our community and saying in effect, ‘The peace and friendship activities are nice, but where do I buy my VCR? Thank you for the lovely crafted item, but I’d like to buy my VCR now.’ The Soviet teachers, though, are genuinely appreciative and genuinely interested in our museums and culture.”



Ron Darge

AUGUST 20

The Iowa Consultation on Soviet Projects coincided with this summer’s failed Soviet coup and was, therefore, faced with last-minute program changes. Instead of meeting face-to-face with US government officials scheduled to attend, a quickly arranged teleconference (shown above) allowed an exchange of views on the prospects and problems of US-USSR cooperation in education, culture, and trade. One hundred participants in the day-long conference met to share their experiences in organizing joint Iowa-Soviet projects. The participants spoke hopefully about the prospects for an array of initiatives, all the while acknowledging fears for the uncertain fate of perestroika.



Visible results of these relationships are sometimes hard to detect, but Clark pointed to one example—an invitation last year for Muscatine High School to participate in a nationwide band competition in Japan hosted by sister city Ichikawadaimon. Other results are symbolic. “When the Soviets were here last fall, our mayor flew a Soviet flag in front of city hall for a month; that was pretty amazing,” said Clark.

Nurturing a relationship with a city in the Soviet Union has helped to demystify a long-time enemy. Likewise, other US cities have had groundbreaking sister city relationships—such as Madison, Wisconsin, pairing with Managua, Nicaragua; and Los Angeles, California, with Tehran, Iran. Clark said, “There is a

whole movement in this country that says high-level bilateral and multilateral relations are less and less important—in this global economy, the important thing is what happens between cities and regions.”

But Clark cautioned that creating economic ties is merely a by-product of these relationships, not the main goal. “At one meeting I heard someone say, ‘I don’t want business people’s time wasted with presentations on history and culture.’ We have to remember the overall goal is world peace and friendship. It is a shrinking planet, and we need to get acquainted with our neighbors,” said Clark.

Graciela Page recommended that all cities in the program keep a sense of balance. “Don’t give preferential treatment to one country over another. Keep in mind the goal of world peace and international relations,” Page said. “To me, sister cities is about friendship and open homes, not international trade.”

-Keith Porter

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.

Green entries indicate new resources.

Regional Issues

☆ 9127—*Two Canadas?* (July 1991). Former Canadian Ambassador Stephen Lewis on the likelihood Quebec will secede eventually. (\$7 cassette)

☆ 9106—*Beyond the Killing Fields* (February 1991). A conversation with Cambodian holocaust survivor Dith Pran about the future for peace in his homeland. (\$7 cassette)

☆ 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.

◆ *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.

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

◆ *Collective Security and the United Nations: An Old Promise in a New Era.* The end of the Cold War has reduced ideological posturing and energized the United Nations. This report examines how security can be achieved through collective action. June 1991, 36pp.

◆ *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)

☆ 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

◆ *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)

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. One-year subscription \$6.97
Two-year subscription \$12.97

◆ *Issues in Education: Learning to Live in a Pluralistic Society.* This report is part of an ongoing conversation about the direction of education for an increasingly complex and integrated world. January 1991, 12pp.

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

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

◆ *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.

☆ 9136/37—*Violence Against Women, A Two-Part Series* (September 1991). This series explores the pervasiveness of violence against women and the people fighting to end these crimes of gender. (\$7 cassette)

☆ 9047—*Understanding Fundamentalism* (November 1990). Religious scholar Martin Marty reveals the findings of an international study on the impact of fundamentalism on the modern world. (\$7 cassette)

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☆ **9107—Building a New World** (February 1991). Sociologist Todd Gitlin on the societies and economies that will replace communism. (\$7 cassette)

☆ **9045—Democracy is Something We Do** (November 1990). Frances Moore Lappe (*Diet for a Small Planet*) discusses her latest project called Building Citizen Democracy. (\$7 cassette)

◆ **Regulating International Communications Without Censorship.** A panel of international experts assesses the need for public policy responses to emerging communications technologies. October 1990, 20pp.

◆ **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)

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Facing a New World

Sir Brian Urquhart spent forty-one years at the United Nations and retired in 1986 as Under-Secretary-General for Special Political Affairs. Now a Ford Foundation scholar, his years shaping the peacekeeping role of the United Nations and his service under every secretary-general have made him a respected commentator on UN reform. Some of his thoughts were recently featured in an interview with Keith Porter for the Stanley Foundation's radio series "Common Ground." The following are excerpts from program #9123/24, which is available on audio cassette for \$7.

The United Nations was put together forty-five years ago for a world system totally different from what now persists. There were no global problems in 1945, or at least nobody recognized them. It was believed in 1945 that you could separate human activity into specialized boxes that would function more or less independently. Completely untrue now—you can't deal with environmental problems or population problems or poverty or AIDS or terrorism or drugs just through one specialized agency. These are multifaceted, highly complex problems; so we have to come to terms with that. The other thing that was believed in 1945 was that governments, if they cooperated, could control what happens and the forces that were going to shape the future. I don't know if that was true

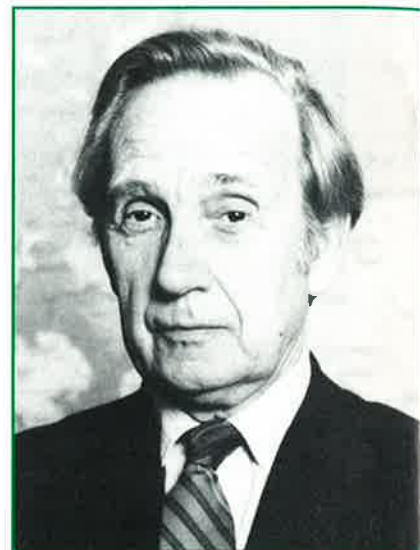
in 1945, but it sure isn't true in 1991. Governments hardly control anything now. They don't control migration. They don't control communication. They don't control ideological or religious movements. They don't control trade or the flow of money or technology and its effects. We now have to look at a very different world and try to get this organization, that was designed for one set of events in 1945, into the contemporary time and give it a chance to face the future.

"Everybody is now convinced that we are in a period of change....[But] governments want to go on with business as usual—short-term policies which have landed us, not for the first time, in an unbelievable mess in the Persian Gulf. I mean Saddam Hussein was totally predictable twelve years ago. What have we all been doing building him up? It's just outrageous. I get very annoyed when I hear all this indignation about Saddam's arms buildup. Where the hell do they suppose he got it from? Everybody has been sucking up to him, wrongly I believe, for twelve years; and now we are paying. So, if we are going on with that sort of thing, I don't think there is very much hope of improving the United Nations. If governments are prepared to learn lessons from the environment, lessons from the economic situation and the tremendous instability which is produced by a world sharply divided into rich and poor—which we are now, then there is a great deal

that can be done. But if what we are really talking about is a lot of Sunday morning pieties and lip service... [and] if governments are going to go back to the 'give the businessman a chance' attitude that prevailed with Saddam Hussein, then God help everybody. We're not going to get a world of peace and reasonable stability.

"I think this is where the public comes in. They are going to have to be much better informed and more interested in international affairs and in organizations like the United Nations. Let's face it, the United Nations for most people is a bore. It is only when they realize that the future of their children and grandchildren, even their own survival in some cases, may be dependent on doing something sensible in the international system...will they begin to feel that they too are participants. It can be done. It is a huge job. We're not really talking about do-goodism, nice liberal thoughts, or altruism. We're talking about, in my view at any rate, a reasonable existence for the human race in fifty years time and possibly in terms of human survival."

-excerpted by Keith Porter



Sir Brian Urquhart

UN Photo/J. Isaac



The Art of Global Education
A sample collection begins on page 6.

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