

Courier



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contents

The Boutros-Ghali Era	3
Middle East Question	4-5
The Horn of Africa	6-7
The Former USSR	8-9
China Deadlock	12-13
Publications/Tapes	14-15
African Democracy	16

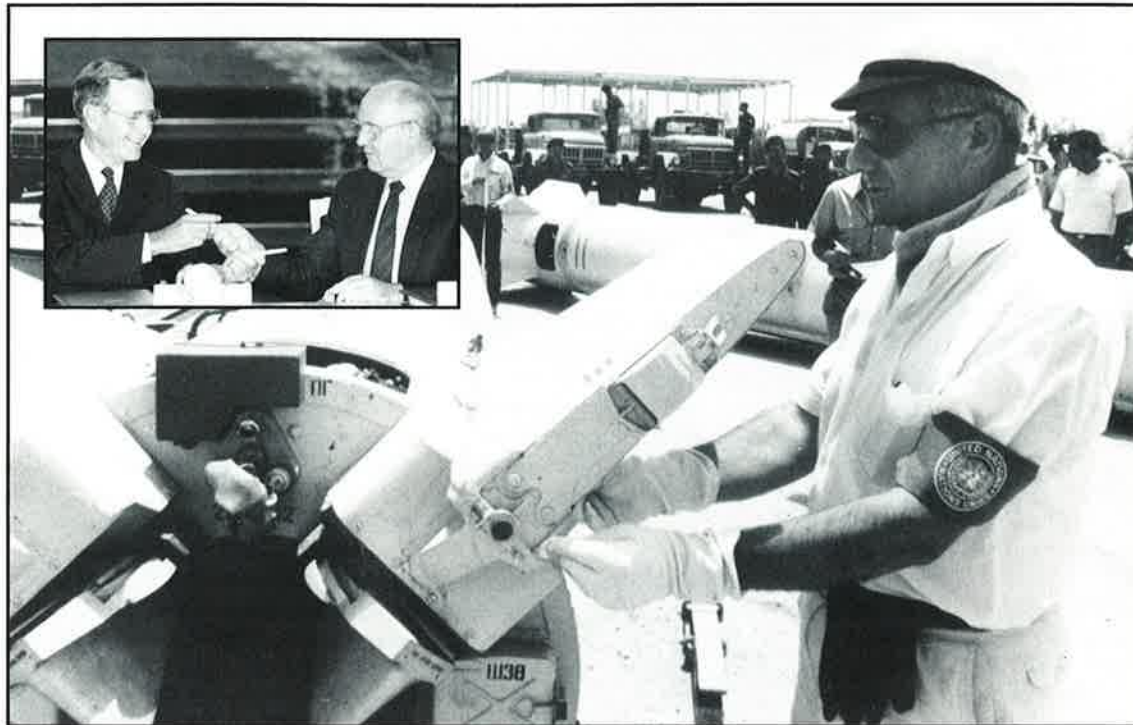
Response to Change

These are exciting, yet dangerous, times in international relations. The collapse of the Soviet Union (could it really be gone?) definitively marks the end of the Cold War. As my colleague David Doerge, the head of our policy department, says, "The goal of US foreign policy for the past forty-five years—containing the Soviet Union—has been removed. No new goal has replaced it, and the practitioners of foreign policy are working without direction." While editing this issue of the Courier, I noticed that discussion of nearly every issue concludes that the United States has the potential to influence developments virtually anywhere in the world. Yet the United States cannot control outcomes and quite often its influence may not even be decisive.

Fall is the busiest time of year at the Stanley Foundation largely because of our annual Strategy for Peace Conference, which actually involves four discreet discussion groups meeting simultaneously. We have added a few pages to this issue so we could give you more complete coverage of Strategy for Peace and other foundation programs.

-Editor

NOW MORE THAN EVER— ARMS CONTROL STILL URGENT



UN Photo; Inset is AP/Wide World Photos

32nd SOPIC

For most people, the term "arms control" has referred to only one thing for four decades—a high-stakes, high-level chess game between the United States and the former Soviet Union. In many ways, the unblinking confrontations at the arms negotiation table were the Cold War equivalent of battlefield engagement. And now, even though dangerous weapons still threaten the world, arms control faces the danger of fading into a historical lexicon of Cold War terms: Checkpoint Charlie, red menace, evil empire, World War III,

détente, and containment. But the opportunities and the necessity for arms control may be greater now than ever.

"Redefining Arms Control in US Foreign Policy" was the focus of a conference for seventeen arms control and political experts. Chaired by former Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense Lynn Davis of the RAND Corporation, the group said arms control must not become a Cold War relic. In planning the conference, Davis and Stanley Foundation Vice President David Doerge shared the belief that the Cold War restrained arms control just as it did other areas of foreign policy and produced long, drawn-out

Then and Now
In the past, progress in arms control was measured by events like the signing of the START agreement (inset). But recent evidence, including the findings of the UN inspectors in Iraq (above), suggests that the post-Cold War world will require new approaches to controlling nuclear proliferation and global arms sales.

(Continued on page 2)

Arms control will remain a critical instrument in international relations.

negotiations resulting in only incremental gains. They also believed it would be premature to abandon arms control at a time when its potential might finally be realized. "We tested this hypothesis through the conference," said Doerge, "and in the process created an important arms control agenda for the next decade—one the foundation will continue to pursue." Indeed, the report summarizing the conference discussion says, "Arms control will remain a critical instrument in international relations, although its agenda needs to be adapted to changes in the world."

During the Cold War, arms control was used as a way to keep a dialogue going between two skeptical and secretive superpowers. But it had limited achievements in slowing, let alone reducing, the growing stockpile of deadly nuclear and conventional weapons. Only after dramatic changes in Soviet leadership was success met in major treaties like Intermediate Nuclear Forces (INF), Conventional Forces in Europe (CFE), and Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START).

Now, however, the fallout from those same dramatic changes in the Soviet Union is leading to unprecedented arms control challenges—namely, the end of the Soviet Union and with it the security of the nuclear weapons and technology it leaves behind. All of the Soviet strategic weapons and most of the tactical nuclear forces are located in four republics: Russia, Ukraine, Belarus, and Kazakhstan. These republics, except for Russia, have said they favor denuclearization; but they may change that position or demand some concessions in return for dismantling their nuclear arsenals.

Conference participants pointed out that domestic opinion in these republics is strongly antinuclear and that maintaining nuclear weapons is costly; but security fears may cause governments to see "nuclear weapons as their ultimate guaran-

tor." In any case, the group urged the United States to use whatever influence it has to encourage the republics to denuclearize—a process the United States has now deemed a critical priority. First, they said, the United States should ratify START immediately, putting in place a legal requirement for both sides to reduce weapons. Second, the United States should place denuclearization of the republics into a broader US strategy, using political recognition and economic assistance as leverage. Next, some group members suggested a UN inventory of all Soviet nuclear weapons in an attempt to internationalize the problem. And, finally, the report says the United States must decide whether to "provide the republics with security guarantees in return for their denuclearization."

Beyond the Soviet Arsenal

Adapting the arms control agenda to a changing world means, in part, looking beyond the traditional US-Soviet talks and examining old and new regional conflicts left in the wake of the Cold War. After years of experience, the superpowers should be well aware of what arms control can reasonably be expected to accomplish in these situations. The report says those lessons include the knowledge that arms control cannot work without a minimum level of political cooperation among rivals, that progress comes slowly and in incremental steps, that "breaking through the wall of secrecy is the single most important objective of initial agreements," and that confidence and security building measures (CSBMs)—like information exchanges and verification of military forces—can be very important.

In applying these lessons, group members acknowledged that care must be taken to tailor the objectives of arms control to individual regions. For example, preventing North Korea from acquiring nuclear weapons is an important objective. But if North Korea's nuclear weapons program has progressed to the point politically and technologically where it cannot be stopped,

then the United States should do what it can to end North Korea's isolation. CSBMs could be used to reduce tensions between North and South.

On the Indian subcontinent, in the Middle East, and in Eastern Europe as well, CSBMs and other elements of arms control could play crucial roles in maintaining peace and stability. The end of the Cold War may now mean that the United States, other major powers, and multilateral organizations like the United Nations will be freer to play the role of peacemaker in regional disputes once embroiled in East-West conflict. One conference participant, however, urged caution since regional actors may see the involvement of outside powers as "collusion not cooperation."

Beyond regional conflicts, the conference identified some areas where the opportunities for arms control "may have improved substantially." These include nuclear nonproliferation and arms transfers.

(See the resource list on page 15 for a copy of the report from this conference.)

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Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons

Nonproliferation of nuclear weapons is a top international priority. Consequently, it is of major concern that the UN inspection team in Iraq is revealing more than just Iraqi military secrets. It is also exposing serious shortcomings in the international nonproliferation regime, namely that US intelligence agencies and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) missed three different uranium enrichment programs. The conference report says this suggests that "in the future the IAEA will need to exercise its right to challenge inspections of suspected sites and that nations will need to expand their intelligence activities...."

The Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty will be up for renewal in 1995. Some group members said agreements like this between nuclear powers can demonstrate to nonnuclear powers that these weapons have no military or political utility. However, others said this relationship was weak or nonexistent.

Arms Transfers

Seventy-five percent of all weapons provided to the developing world come from the five permanent members of the UN Security Council. In the Middle East, which has little arms production capability of its own, conflicts are fueled by major arms suppliers. Conference participants agreed that a multilateral arms transfer regime would be an important step toward containing conflicts. But previous efforts along these lines have failed because of disagreements and an unwillingness to give up the profits and influence that come from military transfers.

Nevertheless, the five permanent members have agreed to some initial guidelines to an arms transfer regime that includes sharing information about sales and giving other parties "the right to object to any particular weapons transfer thought to be destabilizing." The group members saw this as progress but noted that the agreement contains loopholes such as no definition of "destabilizing."

The Long Term

In the future, arms control may move beyond the role of preventing crises and maintaining stability. The report says arms control "may help to construct a new world order based on the concept of collective security and the illegitimacy of the use of force to resolve conflicts." For example, the downsizing of military forces in Europe should be guided toward creating primarily defensive postures. Next, political cooperation is likely to increase in Europe; and this could lead nations to place their residual military forces under some collective control.

Such success, as well as implementation of a comprehensive arms control regime and conflict resolution mechanisms in Europe, may inspire and inform similar efforts around the world. And that potential should be more than enough reason to see arms control as a crucial tool in shaping the future.

-Keith Porter

The UN inspection team in Iraq is exposing serious shortcomings in the international non-proliferation regime.



UN Photo/M. Grant

Boutros-Ghali Era Begins

Boutros Boutros-Ghali, the former Egyptian deputy prime minister for foreign affairs, has taken office as the sixth secretary-general of the United Nations. Boutros-Ghali was nominated by the Security Council in November and elected by the General Assembly in early December.

The new secretary-general is widely respected as a skilled diplomat, a scholar on international law, and an experienced mediator. In his first speech to the General Assembly, Boutros-Ghali affirmed his belief in the United Nations as an essential institution in the changing world. He also committed himself to reforming the organization.

Reform has been much on the minds of UN delegates and senior secretariat officials. A series of studies and conferences, including one organized last February by the Stanley Foundation, have called for sweeping reform. (See Courier #7, Spring 1991)

Ironically, one major area cited as in need of reform was the secretary-general selection process. Little of the reform called for could be seen in the process by which Boutros-Ghali was chosen. The end of the Cold War made the Security Council's consideration of candidates less acrimonious than in the past. The job was also completed earlier than usual. However, more far-reaching reforms—e.g., the articulation of clear criteria for selection, a proactive search for the best possible candidates, and the limiting of the choice to a single term—were not adopted.

How Do We Get There From Here?

MIDDLE EAST PEACE



UN Photo

Pressures

In a region where political tensions always run high, the legacy of the Persian Gulf War and the continuing establishment of Jewish settlements on the West Bank are helping to keep pressures up. While a decisive military victory for the allies, the war left wounded people, demolished buildings, strained economies, and deeper mistrust.

The United States faces a difficult balancing act in the Middle East. There is wide agreement among policy experts on the broader goals of US policy but much less consensus on the best ways to pursue those goals.

A Stanley Foundation conference last September focused on the topic, "Change and Stability in the Middle East: How Do We Get There From Here?" The meeting drew together sixteen Middle East experts, chaired by David D. Newsom, a University of Virginia professor of international relations and former under secretary of state for political affairs. It was organized by David Doerge of the foundation and Richard Hermann of the Mershon Center at the Ohio State University. The experts examined the changing politics of the region and the resulting implications for US policy. They found consensus elusive but identified several critical areas that need further and continuing attention. The report from the conference highlights the many forces at work in the region.



AP/Wide World Photos

Political Dynamics

Conference discussions looked at three areas of concern in the region:

- The Persian Gulf—where tensions continue to run high in the wake of last year's war. Iran is a major regional power which, while more moderate than in the days of Ayatollah Khomeini, remains committed to reducing US influence. Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the other oil-producing monarchies, on the other hand, see their security more closely tied to the

United States. In Iraq, Saddam Hussein is wounded and isolated from other Arab states. The participants were divided over his image, some arguing that he is seen in romantic terms as an Arab leader while others think his military defeat has left him humiliated.

- The Arab-Israeli conflict. The September meeting was held shortly before the Middle East Peace Conference opened in Madrid, and participants at the Stanley Foundation session were ambivalent about the prospects for the Peace Conference. Their discussion highlighted some of the conflicting and yet intertwined goals of the negotiating parties in the multitrack talks. For example, Israel sees the bilateral talks with Syria as most important. Yet, there are important connections between the issues separating them and the Israeli-Palestinian issues. Can those separate negotiating tracks be synchronized, or is that hopeless? Early discussions at the Middle East Peace Conference have demonstrated how intractable the issues are.

- The drive toward political empowerment among the Arab masses and the rise of Islamic populism. Throughout the region, Arab populations are showing dissatisfaction with their lack of political power in the monarchies and authoritarian regimes in which they live. They are also increasingly unhappy over their economic lot. Wealth is concentrated in the hands of a few located in the rich, oil-producing states; most people in the region live in poverty. Islam, the predominant religion, addresses questions of social justice and often gives form to this discontent.

The conference participants noted that these three issue areas are tightly woven together into the fabric of Middle East politics. Because the situation is so complex, policy initiatives in one area are likely to have repercussions in other areas, therefore complicating decision making.

US Interests

The United States, according to these experts, has several clear-cut interests in the Middle East—securing Western access to oil, ensuring Israeli security, and containing the regional arms race. Another long-standing goal—limiting Soviet influence—may be somewhat less of a concern in the wake of the demise of Soviet central authority, but even now experts are not completely sanguine. Identifying effective policies to pursue these goals, however, is a difficult task.



AP/Wide World Photos

What is the best way to preserve access to oil? Should the United States continue to nurture close relations with conservative governments in oil-producing states or take steps to open relations with popular forces which oppose the governments? Policy experts are divided on the question and suggest that some of both approaches should be taken, trying to keep options open. However, they noted, that is easier said than done.

There is consensus that pursuing the Arab-Israeli peace process is a key element in preserving Israel's security. But how hard should Israel be pushed to make concessions? What assurances of Israeli security can the Arab states make? Participants said that even if some Arab leaders would like to reach peace agreements with Israel they may not be able to because of popular opposition to such an agreement within their countries. One frequently used device of Arab leaders has been to

channel the energies of their disaffected populations against the common perceived enemy—Israel. That complicates reaching agreements now.

Fewer armaments would make the region somewhat more secure, but there are powerful pressures working against stemming the arms flow. Israel sees a compelling need to remain militarily powerful. Iran seeks to rebuild its military in order to back its claim as a major regional power. Many Arab states want more, not fewer, weapons to counter Israel, Iran, potentially hostile Arab neighbors, and popular antigovernment forces within their countries.

Policy Issues

Conference participants noted several areas requiring further clarity, if the United States is to adopt effective policies. First, US interests need to be more fully defined. The end of the Cold War has made opposition to Soviet influence, the previously supreme interest, nearly obsolete. No single overriding interest has replaced it.

According to the report, there is also need for a debate on "the relationship between stability in an era of change and the wisdom of basing US policy...on regimes that are suspected of lacking broad-based legitimacy and support." The United States supports both democracy and stability, but are those two concepts inherently incompatible in the Middle East where, for example, democracy could destabilize major oil-producing states?

Finally, the Arab-Israeli conflict remains a central feature in the region. Can the United States propose terms for settling it? If so, what should those terms be?

Explanation of these issues is an ambitious agenda for US-Middle East policy.

-Jeff Martin



AP/Wide World Photos

ISLAM

Westerners are woefully ignorant of Islam, and their ignorance could hurt them. That view was put forth by participants in the Stanley Foundation's conference on the Middle East. They noted that Islam is perceived, in the words of the conference report, "as hostile, monolithic, irrational, and antithetical to democracy."

In fact, "It is far from monolithic," conference participants said. There are as many Islamic sects as there are Christian denominations. The religion generally promotes a nationally oriented social reform agenda, and most followers believe in working within the system.

Many experts see Islamic fundamentalism as the "politics of the mainstream." Some of the fundamentalists are radical and vehemently opposed to Western influence. But as a whole, the religion remains diverse and evolutionary, adjusting its objectives to the world's realities.

Ironically, participants noted, if US policymakers remain ignorant of Islam, their perception of it as anti-Western is likely to become a self-fulfilling prophecy. If the United States holds policies hostile to Islam, it will almost inevitably incur the wrath of its millions of followers.

Prayer Time

American soldiers in Saudi Arabia discovered a country in which Islam is a visible factor in daily life.

(See the resource list on page 14 for a copy of the report from this conference.)

The Changing Horn of Africa



AP/Wide World Photos

perceived as a strategically important part of Africa. For example, as late as 1982 the United States put half its entire military budget for Africa into Sudan. Now, however, the superpower rivalry for influence in the region has ended, allowing more room for international efforts to resolve local and regional conflicts. On the other hand, the absence of the rivalry between the United States and Soviet Union and the consequent loss of the region's Cold War strategic importance has also dried up interest in the Horn. One conference participant noted, "The end of the Cold War has forced the Horn into a larger basket of African countries who are facing progressive strategic marginalization."

One benefit of decreased foreign assistance to Africa, some conference participants noted, is that the US government is unlikely to support undemocratic regimes in the region simply because they are anti-Soviet. Another plus is the increased importance the United States may place on humanitarian relief and human rights. Also, democracy may have more opportunity to develop. One drawback to superpower withdrawal, though, is a potential political vacuum in the Horn that one participant said could be filled by "a whole new set of actors," such as Arab states wanting to promote a strong Islamic agenda or by regional powers such as Israel and Libya. So, the most definite conclusion that could be drawn from the end of the Cold War pertaining to this region is that it has created tremendous instability and uncertainty in the region.

Issues Underpinning Strife

It could be said that the problems in the Horn of Africa are the same as those affecting much of the continent. The main concerns in Africa

Fighting in Somalia
Somali rebels in Mogadishu take a rest from months of civil war.

32nd SIPC

The political changes that have altered the Horn of Africa in the past year are quite likely the most significant since the end of the colonial era. A thirty-year civil war in Ethiopia ended in June, clearing the way for Eritrean independence. A new breakaway republic has declared independence in the north of Somalia. Rebels in the south of Sudan appear to be closer to choosing independence. While some of these decades-old disputes may be winding down, the United Nations points out that, "The effects of civil war, recurring drought, and severe social and economic deterioration have been catastrophic for tens of millions of people in the Horn of Africa."

It is because of these changing realities in this region that the Stanley Foundation brought together last fall a group of experts on Africa to discuss the implications for Africa and US policy. Foundation Vice President David Doerge worked with Michael Clough, conference chair and a senior fellow for African Studies at the Council on Foreign Relations, to assemble a distinguished and diverse group of participants ranging from representatives of international relief organizations and the US Departments of State and Defense to the foreign minister of the newly formed Republic of Somaliland.

The End of the Cold War

Not surprisingly, the end of the Cold War has had profound and contradictory effects on the Horn of Africa. Throughout the 1960s, 1970s, and early 1980s, the United States and Soviet Union vied for military superiority in what they

today include security, democracy, poverty, and development. But the Horn of Africa is also faced with conflicts arising out of racial, regional, and ethnic tensions. Ethiopia is dealing with a complex web of ethnic and regional issues. At the heart of Somalia's conflicts are clan and regional differences as well as a fight for resources. Sudan is dealing with a bitter colonial legacy that has divided the north from the south and exacerbated racial, ethnic, and regional tensions.

The challenge for the Horn's leaders today is to create political structures that can accommodate a variety of groups while also developing a strong sense of national unity. One conference participant noted that "borders in the Horn have essentially collapsed." Others were concerned that the success of movements in the Horn in becoming independent states could encourage other African liberation movements and may challenge the founding principles of the Organization of African Unity—which have long maintained that colonial boundaries are sacred. Several participants thought the most positive way to counter these forces would be the creation of regional blocs that would reinforce the interdependence between countries. Unfortunately, there are currently few regional organizations in the Horn.

The Next Step

While new political realities exist in the Horn of Africa, many old realities persist, particularly the urgent humanitarian needs. And even if the superpowers have withdrawn for the most part from the Horn, most of the conference participants believed humanitarian organizations will remain active. The serious food shortage, the stream of refugees, and the need to rebuild from the



ravages of war all demand immediate attention. But, as always, the biggest obstacle facing relief agencies is access to the people—particularly in remote areas of Ethiopia, Somalia, and Sudan.

Participants emphasized that relief is only a short-term solution. Many expressed the need to begin shifting the emphasis of foreign aid from relief to rehabilitation and development. Several agreed with one participant who said, "Food aid has created a very debilitating sense of entitlement both at the individual level and at the institutional level. Ethiopians, Somalis, and the Sudanese are humiliated by their image abroad as beggars who are incapable of feeding themselves." Food aid can also damage local economies by forcing a drop in local prices, and it can cut into incentives for local producers to boost production. The aid, therefore, must be distributed in a way that "doesn't undermine the ability of the local economy to get back on its feet," several people concurred. To overcome this problem of relief fostering dependency, local communities must be empowered, mainly by strengthening local institutions and local capacities.

US Obligations

The Cold War may be over, but many participants did not see this course of events as a reason for the United States to pull out of the Horn of Africa entirely. They felt the United States has an obligation to help restore stability and peace in the region; it has to find new, creative ways to provide humanitarian assistance. This means going beyond food aid—which the United States is generally quick to provide—to long-term development assistance, which, unfortunately, is less forthcoming from the United States.

There are other challenges for US policy as well. The United States must decide how it will respond to secession movements and when it will recognize newly established governments. (Not only in the Horn, but elsewhere in the world as well.) How can the United States foster peaceful change in the region? These are important questions to the Horn of Africa, and their answers will largely depend on the level of interest the US administration shows in the region. However, there has been little interest displayed up to this point. Until there is, the United States will continue to respond to Africa's problems crisis by crisis without developing a coherent strategy.

-Mary Gray

The Horn

Underscoring the instability in the region, one conference participant said, "borders in the Horn have essentially collapsed."

(See the resource list on page 14 for a copy of the report from this conference.)

THE FORMER

SOVIET UNION

NOW WHAT?

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SOPIC

Can it be only a few years ago that the Soviet Union was one of the two super-powers on the planet? Now, increasing anxiety, violence, political uncertainty, and economic collapse seem to characterize the former Soviet Union. And the extent of Western interests and ability to influence events in the collapsing empire appears cloudy at best.

Thirteen experts gathered to discuss "US Policy Toward a Post-Socialist USSR," at the Stanley Foundation conference chaired by Blair Ruble, director of the Kennan Institute for Advanced Russian Studies; they faced a daunting task. The end of the Cold War, a failed Kremlin coup, and a seemingly endless stream of dramatic changes in the region leave little time for analysis and little confidence in long-term policy planning.

Nevertheless, participants took this opportunity to examine the current state of affairs in the former Soviet Union and talk in broad terms about US interest in the formation of, and relationship among, Soviet successor states. The conference report says that in a discussion of possible scenarios over the next five years participants characterized economic and political trends in the former Soviet Union as "catastrophic" or "apocalyptic." Specifically, the report identifies the most difficult issues facing former Soviets: accelerating economic decline, political fragmentation, a vacuum of political and administrative power, rising ethnic and regional violence, a disruption of the social fabric and value system, and an ecological and demographic crisis.

Food and Drink

This free soup kitchen in Russia is just one indication of the massive problems facing the former Soviet Union.

(See the resource list on page 14 for a copy of the report from this conference.)



The conference report flatly states, "The Soviet Union, as a political entity, exists no longer or will cease to exist in the near future." In fact, six weeks after the conference the largest republics declared the USSR dead in the context of forming a new "Commonwealth of Independent States."

Participants did say, though, that some form of economic union may remain for some or all of the successor states. In fact, the "highly irrational" way that factories and suppliers are spread across the Soviet Union may cause the break-away republics to see that economic relations with each other are quite important.

There was no agreement over whether economic hardships and power vacuums would lead to authoritarian regimes in some successor states. Some cautioned that this was a distinct possibility while others contended that, "Unlike Russia during World War I or Germany during the 1920s, no rival ideologies compete against democratic values for mass support."

Participants, however, did agree that real potential exists for conflict among the new states. Russia and Ukraine, in particular, have serious differences over borders, minority rights, fiscal and monetary policies, and nuclear weapons. Migration of peoples back to their newly formed or would-be home states is causing social and economic disruption as well as ethnic tensions that could fuel future interstate conflict.

In economic matters, the group found "few grounds for optimism about the prospects for stabilizing and revitalizing the former Soviet economy." The ruble has collapsed, and barter has become the dominant form of exchange. More important, the entire system for coordinating production and distributing products has collapsed. No existing system or institution seems prepared to fill this void.

Encouraging new forms of private, grassroots economic activity—such as firms that would offer consumer goods and services—were seen as essential to economic recovery. On the other hand, participants warned that full-scale privatization of existing state enterprises would lead to massive unemployment—a dangerous prospect considering the underdeveloped "social safety net" and already intense economic crisis. Given this situation, the report suggests that these state-owned facilities "might be kept open chiefly to produce employment rather than goods."

Because there are no sure and obvious solutions to the political and economic crises, discussions over what kinds of assistance could be given the Soviet successor states "were clouded by uncertainty over what actions could make a difference in the tumultuous and uncertain Soviet environment." In addition, there was debate over what US interests might be in the post-Soviet transition. All agreed that "stable, democratic, market-oriented successor states represent the ultimate goal of US policy." But several participants said the concepts "stable," "democratic," and "market-oriented" may be incompatible in application. For example, "Creating a market is inherently destabilizing," and "Democracy empowers precisely those groups which privatization hurts. They won't necessarily support market reforms."

Still, the group agreed that the United States has an obligation to lead in "forging a multilateral approach to encourage the emergence" of just such stable, democratic, market-based successor states. US coordination of the multilateral response through the World Bank, International Monetary Fund, and G-7 was seen as vital, as was the creation of a new security architecture to guarantee regional stability. Even if Western nations are severely limited in the extent to which they can influence internal affairs in the new states, the report says, "Western policy may be able to affect certain key policy choices made by political leaders."

Encouraging private economic activity over the short term and the emergence of capital and credit markets that can sustain a larger economy over time should be the focus of Western policy in the economic sector. The United States can further this goal by promoting the growth of systems that reward economic efficiency and productivity "rather than exploitation of preferential market or political positions," according to the report.

US interests regarding the political disintegration of the former Soviet Union remain unclear. The group suggested that in defining US interest policymakers should consider how fragmentation will affect regional security, the Soviet nuclear arsenal, economic reform, and the creation of stable democratic institutions. Specifically, participants pointed to the Central Asian republics, the potential disintegration of Russia, and an independent Ukraine—with special emphasis, as noted recently by Secretary of State James Baker, on long-range nuclear weapons in that state—as priority areas where US interests should be focused.

Additionally, requests for US recognition of independence will continue to come from Soviet successor states. The report says, "US officials should be candid and forthcoming with leaders of Soviet republican and regional entities about the preconditions for, and likelihood of, US diplomatic recognition."

The peoples of the former Soviet Union face huge problems, and conference participants were clearly aware that the United States cannot begin to solve them. The United States, however, could help the "new states begin to confront these problems themselves." The global stakes in a successful, peaceful transition of the former Soviet empire are too high for the United States or any other nation to ignore.

-Keith Porter

Participants divided over how far below the Union-republic level political fragmentation would end. Some felt that the republics would be able to defuse military nationalist movements; but many felt that such movements, particularly in Tatarstan and Buriatia in Russia, would be difficult to stop.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN



Margaret Shields

The third in a series of luncheons concerning human rights, organized by the Stanley Foundation in cooperation with the Congressional Human Rights Caucus, was held on November 18 in Washington, DC. Over seventy congressional staffers heard Margaret

Shields, director of the United Nations International Research and Training Institute for the Advancement of Women (INSTRAW), and Dorothy Thomas, director of the Women's Rights Project at Human Rights Watch speak about women and human rights.

INSTRAW is working to improve the collection and analysis of statistics and data so they will adequately reflect women's often invisible productive work. Margaret Shields described the steps INSTRAW has taken to ensure the collection of accurate and reliable statistics which are so important to effective development planning.

Dorothy Thomas recently investigated violence against women in Brazil. She told the luncheon attendees that her inquiry revealed it is still possible for a Brazilian man to kill his allegedly unfaithful wife and be acquitted on the grounds of honor, despite a recent ruling by Brazil's highest court that the honor defense has no basis in law. The Women's Rights Project of Human Rights Watch reports on the abuses of the basic rights of women.

-Bruno Pigott

POWER AND PEOPLE



Don Clark

Participants (right) discussed "Focusing Faith on Power and People" at the December 11-12, 1991, Retreat for Illinois Judiciary Executives in Mundelein. The event was cosponsored by the Illinois Conference of Churches and the Stanley Foundation.

Dr. James Winship (above), keynote speaker and resource person for the event, examined global and domestic changes impacting the church.

Two working groups emanating from the Retreat will draft statements regarding "Human Life and the Environment" and "Global Perspectives." Illinois Judiciary Executives will meet this year to consider the text and decide if a joint covenant is feasible and desirable.

-Jack Smith



Don Clark

DRUM CHANGES BEAT

After seventeen years of what she described as “good and happy work,” Jan Drum left her job at the Stanley Foundation last November. She was a vice president and head of the Outreach Department.



Jan Drum

Jan’s work at the foundation began with her shepherding of Project Enrichment, an effort to integrate global themes and methods into Muscatine schools. But her insights led her to become a nationally recognized leader in the field of global education. Jan first helped to build a statewide network that spearheaded an effort which resulted in an Iowa mandate for global education.

Her pioneering work with junior high and high school students helped Jan develop a national reputation. She used her base at the foundation to help create new learning experiences for young people and opportunities for adults interested in global education to discuss ways to advance the field.

Jan left to pursue her work with youth, especially the high school leadership program which draws students from diverse economic and social backgrounds to an experience designed to help them find their abilities and power. The foundation continues to support the program.

The foundation remains committed to global education activities. Jill Goldesberry and Mary Steinmaus have added many of Jan’s activities to their responsibilities. Jack Smith has taken over leadership of the Outreach Department.

However, none of us can replace Jan as a storyteller. Those who know her recognize that Jan’s favorite way of making a point is to tell a story which illustrates it. We will miss those stories here at the foundation. But we are happy Jan has found new ways to tell them and to help young people tell their own.

-Jeff Martin

AMERICAN MODEL UNITED NATIONS



John Washburn

Dave Fulgham

John Washburn (above) brought greetings and insights from “the real United Nations” to delegates at the American Model United Nations (AMUN) held in Chicago last November. He applauded the new interest in UN possibilities at the end of the Cold War. As head of the representation unit in the office of the secretary-general, Washburn is the highest ranking US official in the Secretariat and a longtime friend of the Stanley Foundation. The three-day event drew 400 students from colleges and universities in 16 states. Now in its third year, the AMUN was organized by a nationwide group of collegiate model UN veterans. Elated by the students’ participation, the planners are creating similar simulations for adults. The first is scheduled for April.

-Dan Clark

CHINA Deadlock



AP/Wide World Photos

Baker in China
Experts are divided over US policy toward China, including the usefulness of high-level diplomatic visits.



In November 1991, US Secretary of State James Baker travelled to China. It was the first official high-level visit to China by the Bush administration since the 1989 massacre in Tiananmen Square. Since then, President Bush has met with Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng. Such high-level visits were among the many issues that divided participants at a conference held by the Stanley Foundation in October, appropriately titled "Deadlock Over China Policy: Is a New Consensus Possible?" The chair of the group, Harry Harding, is a China scholar and senior fellow at the Brookings Institution in Washington, DC.

Although the United States and China formally restored ties in 1979, relations hit a decade low after the Tiananmen incident in 1989. Here in the United States, the Bush administration and Congress have been deadlocked over the path to better bilateral relations. The debate has been exacerbated by differences over how to respond to the 1989 crisis in Beijing. Should the United States be sending high-level delegations to China before there is any real evidence of progress in China's human rights record? Does China need to maintain a certain standard of human rights in order to retain its most-favored-nation (MFN) status? Those are just two of the questions that have stymied Washington recently and which were put before the group of experts from government and private organizations at the Stanley Foundation conference last fall.

The mood of the discussion reflected a concern that the delicate US-China relationship could tip toward confrontation. But the participants agreed, for the most part, that China wants a peaceful Asia and harbors no hostile policy toward the United States. What is important, most experts emphasized, is that the United States settle on a reasonable, pragmatic policy toward China instead of allowing an uncontrolled slide toward confrontation.

China's aging, hard-line leaders have a daunting task before them. In this post-Cold War era, China has to adjust to its position as one of the few remaining communist countries in the world. Internally, China's leaders face a basic contradiction in their efforts to further integrate the Chinese economy into the global market, while at the same time stifling the peaceful, political evolution of its people. Contrary to outward appearances, the Chinese leadership is not monolithic. Internal divisions among the communist leaders on how best to handle these forces add an additional degree of instability. The strife between the party's conservative and pro-reform

factions has become more public since the fall of communism in the Soviet Union in 1991.

Respecting International Norms

To help China adjust to these new realities, both domestically and internationally, the group at the Stanley Foundation conference believed the United States should concentrate on policies that would persuade China to adhere to international norms particularly in the areas of human rights, trade, arms control, and Taiwan.

The largest area of disagreement among conference participants centered on human rights. Essentially, they all share the same goals—a significant relaxation in China's rigid political climate and a much greater respect for individual human rights. But how to bring about these goals is still in dispute.

The group did agree that the United States should make clear it is not trying to overthrow the Chinese government or replace individual leaders, moves which could only serve to weaken any discussion about human rights. Less clear was any consensus on such issues as China's MFN status and whether the Bush administration should impose limited human rights requirements before renewing MFN status for China. China's leaders have threatened to take their business elsewhere if the United States imposes restrictions on China's MFN status. In addition, Beijing's leaders have been trying to get Washington to lift sanctions that were imposed after the killings in Beijing in June 1989. The conference participants generally agreed that the existing sanctions should remain in place, and many felt that more substantive contacts between working-level military and civilian people in the United States and China would provide more US influence in China as well as opportunities to express concern with Chinese human rights practices.



AP/Wide World Photos

Made in China
Criticism of human rights abuses in China often centers on conditions in prison factories like this.

There was less agreement on the message China would receive if the United States sent a high-level delegation, as it eventually did in November when Secretary of State Baker visited. The group argued whether such a visit would harm or help relations between the two countries. Baker's visit was an attempt by the Bush administration to break the impasse in Sino-US relations. It was criticized beforehand by many in the United States, mainly because of China's human rights abuses (including the continued jailing of hundreds of pro-democracy activists and political prisoners). Upon his return, Secretary of State Baker defended the three-day mission by saying the United States made "clear gains in the field of proliferation and trade...some gains with respect to the area of human rights, but not as much as we had hoped."

Still In The Game

The conference participants all recognized China as a major world player, even though its aging leaders may have become more marginalized in recent years. China is a nuclear power with missile technology. Its recent policy decisions threaten proliferation of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems to other parts of the world. The group felt the United States should continue to signal to China's leaders that the delivery of missiles to Pakistan or Syria would have major consequences for the bilateral relationship. China is also in a position to exert considerable influence on neighboring North Korea and aid international efforts to stop North Korea from producing nuclear weapons. While the United States has been receiving ambiguous signals from China on these issues, the conferees did point to China's cooperation in fashioning a Cambodian peace agreement, its willingness to abide by the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty, and its participation in regional arms control negotiations and bilateral trade talks.

These various issues are interpreted very differently by US observers. At the October conference, several group members saw these events as positive signs that much of China's leadership is still committed to trade and exchanges with the rest of the world and wants to maintain a fundamentally cooperative relationship with the United States. Others in the group were skeptical. They see China's leaders harboring a tremendous distrust of the United States as a superpower and what it represents.

While the jury is still out on US-China relations, some members of the group were optimistic that the relationship could possibly be improved after the 1992 presidential elections when US foreign policy and policy on China may be more defined and less politicized than it is today.

-Mary Gray

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Publications

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

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Environment

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

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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.

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

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The Lessons of Independence

The year 1991 saw sweeping changes for much of Africa. The war in Angola ended. The presidents of Ethiopia and Somalia fled from rebel forces, clearing the way for the new republics of Eritrea and Somaliland. Samuel Doe of Liberia was overthrown and killed. This fall on the Stanley Foundation's radio program Common Ground, three African leaders in the United States talked about the future for democracy in Africa. They are Francis Deng, former foreign minister of Sudan, now at the Brookings Institution; Olara Otunnu of Uganda, president of the International Peace Academy; and James Jonah of Sierra Leone, now an under-secretary-general of the United Nations. Following are excerpts from program #9146, "The Future for African Democracy," which is available on cassette. (See resource page for details.)

Q. You've said many African countries are reevaluating their policies. Why?

Deng: One [aspect] has to do with the way independence proved to have brought nothing more than simply having the colonial powers withdraw. Initially, inheriting power from the colonial masters was a gross sort of inheritance.... [Now people] are watching what's going on in the world and witnessing a universal yearning for democracy.... The marginalization of Africa because of the withdrawal of the superpowers... has also brought to Africa a sense of self scrutiny....

Otunnu: There are three areas in which I think thirty years of independence have brought forth some

lessons. One is how to manage ethnically diverse countries.... Secondly, the area of participation and accountability at the political level—democracy if you like.... Finally, in the area of economic and social policies, the first thirty years tended to see an overly ideological approach. Both ends of the spectrum have learned some bitter lessons and are trying to move toward a pragmatic approach.

Jonah: I think that in western Africa you may have a different situation. I do believe that in the wake of independence in West Africa there was a system of good government. However, after a decade we had this unfortunate development of military rule.... They are now realizing it doesn't work, because bad government does not produce development.... I want to warn [though] that there are a large number of governments resisting this change....

Q. Many people in the West believe Africa is a "basket case" and so don't pay any attention to it. What's your response to that attitude?

Otunnu: Certainly the situation in Africa today is very grave given the economic situation, conflict situation, and the humanitarian emergencies—one should not underplay these factors. But it is also true that responsibility for this sorry state of Africa, while it rests primarily on the shoulders of Africa, does not rest on their shoulders only. There are other factors which are not of African

making.... Africans have to do their bit, but they cannot do it alone....

Deng: There is another dimension. That is the extent to which Africa was linked to the colonial context, which in a sense undermined its independence and self-reliance so that the thinking of Africans about their own situation became externalized. Externalized in a world that also marginalized Africa. This marginalization became much more acute after independence...when [colonial powers] withdrew and had no sense of moral obligation to those countries that became independent even though they had been made to be dependent by the colonial estate.... Africans, after these thirty years of experience, are beginning to rediscover themselves and what they can do for themselves.

Jonah: Africans have been unhappy for a long time with their leadership and the way we [Africans] are governed, but there was never an outlet.... [Now] there is a hope among some Africans that they could change their government. If they fail to do that, you may have a reaction that may lead to fascism.... I do agree we need democracy; but I'm not prepared to believe, at this stage, that this is going to solve our problem.



Deng, Otunnu and Jonah

Mary Gray

-Mary Gray



AP/Wide World Photos

China Deadlock

Human Rights and other issues divide US policymakers. See story, pages 12 and 13.

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