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In its more than three-quarters of a century, the World Peace Foundation has carried out its mandate to promote the cause of peace in a variety of ways. For many years, its studies, conferences, and publications dealt with global approaches to a more peaceful world, such as international law and international organization. At other times in its history, it has focused on bilateral interdependence, as in the U.S.-Canada relationship. In recent years, the work of the Foundation has tended to concentrate on regional conflicts and problems that are of particular importance to U.S. interests and that, by their nature, seem to demand multilateral solutions.

I. Current Themes

Two such regions are Central America and southern Africa. In Central America, the problem centers on the Sandinista regime in Nicaragua; in southern Africa, on the two former Portuguese colonies, Angola and Mozambique. The situations in these three countries have certain common features: insurgent forces receiving outside support, Soviet bloc military assistance to the governments, involvement of neighboring states in the conflicts, and U.S.-Soviet rivalry for influence.

A variety of U.S. interests is involved in these three countries, but the question of how to relate to their radical left regimes is fiercely debated. How should the United States deal with marxist governments that are politically aligned with the Soviet Union, are dependent on Soviet bloc military support, and have come to power in regions where previously Soviet power has been minimal? Should the U.S. be totally hostile, even to the extent of supporting insurgencies that seek to overthrow the regime? Should other considerations take precedence, such as regional political objectives or economic interests? Could the U.S. influence the internal politics of these states and their foreign policies by diplomatic and economic means, or would such efforts at cooperation merely help them and the Soviet Union avoid the consequences of their bad policies?

Two of the World Peace Foundation's current projects address the issues involved in these regional conflicts. One looks at the problem presented by the Nicaraguan case in the context of collective security in the Americas as a whole. A second examines the specific cases of Angola and Mozambique.

Two new projects that the Foundation plans to launch in 1987 will also deal with Latin American issues. The first of these will be a historical analysis of previous U.S. efforts to promote democracy in Latin America. The second will bring together key economic advisors from the major Latin American countries to discuss policies to put their economies back on a steady growth path in spite of the enormous burden of servicing the foreign debt. In the absence of democracy and economic growth, social turmoil and political instability are likely to continue to preoccupy Hemisphere leaders.

Another project scheduled for 1987 is a study of future U.S. policy toward Africa.

II. The Projects

The Future of Collective Security in the Americas

Launched in 1986, this is a multi-year project to examine the future of cooperation between Latin America and the United States on security problems. In the past six years, the United States has become ever more deeply involved in the Central American crisis, yet no resolution to the conflict is in sight. According to polls, the Reagan Administration's policy of supporting an insurgency in Nicaragua is opposed by a majority of the American people; it also has put the U.S. at odds with the rest of Latin America. Yet the Sandinista regime's ties to the Soviet bloc and its proclaimed solidarity with revolutionaries elsewhere in the region are troubling even to those who oppose the Administration's policy. Is there an alternative to unilateral intervention that would enjoy broad support among the American people and the other democracies of the Hemisphere?

The collective security system established in the aftermath of World War II by the Rio Treaty and the Charter of the Organization of American States would seem to offer an alternative, but the OAS has proven to be ineffective in the current crisis. The members of the OAS have chosen to work around the system instead of strengthening it. Why has the OAS become so weak? Can the system be revitalized, or is it obsolete? Might there be a new arrangement that would function better, say, one based on sub-regional institutions, or ad-hoc initiatives like the Contadora process?

These are the questions the World Peace Foundation's study seeks to answer. Participants in the study come from the United States, Latin America and the Caribbean and are drawn from a variety of professional backgrounds: politics, academia, diplomacy, journalism, and business. The project is organized around four conferences, two of which were held in 1986 and two scheduled for 1987. The first meeting examined the causes of the decline of the existing collective security system, while the second explored the reasons for the differences between the United States and Latin America in their reactions to radical revolution in the Americas. The third conference will study the Contadora process, which is seeking to deal with the effects of a radical revolution in Central America, and which some think might be the precursor of a new, exclusively Latin American approach to the problem. The final meeting will attempt to draw conclusions from the previous work regarding the central question of the future of collective security in the Americas. The results of the study will be published at the conclusion of the project.

Southern Africa: Regional Conflict in a Bipolar World

Angola and Mozambique present difficult challenges to makers of U.S. foreign policy. The situations in these two countries have much in common: both are former Portuguese colonies, both endure civil wars that are destroying their economies and debilitating their societies, both are governed by marxist regimes with ties to the Soviet bloc. The United States has economic, political, and strategic interests in both countries, interests that at times seem to work at cross purposes. In Angola, for example, U.S. firms have large investments in petroleum production that is almost entirely sold in the U.S., yet the U.S. refuses to have diplomatic relations with Angola as long as Cuban troops remain in the country. It is Cuban troops, however, that guard the U.S. petroleum enclave, which is threatened with attack by Angolan rebels, whom the U.S. recently has begun to assist.

In both Angola and Mozambique, local, regional, and global conflicts are intermingled. The civil wars in both countries have their roots in the turmoil that accompanied Portugal's withdrawal. These conflicts have been fueled by South Africa, which sees destabilization of its neighbors as defending its domestic racial policy. These internal and regional wars are overlaid by the U.S.-Soviet rivalry for influence in the region.

Until recently, the United States Government maintained a hands-off policy toward the conflicts in these countries, not taking sides in the civil wars and offering itself as a

mediator between the two regimes and South Africa. This was seen as a way of reducing the Soviet bloc presence, which in turn would help achieve independence for Namibia and eventually contribute to peaceful change in South Africa itself. However, beginning in 1985 with the repeal of the Clark Amendment, proponents of a hostile policy toward the regimes in Luanda and Maputo began to make headway on their goal of changing U.S. policy.



REUTERS/BETTMANN NEWSPHOTOS

Jonas Savimbi, Angolan rebel leader, and UNITA troops at Munhango.

With policy toward the region in a state of flux, the World Peace Foundation believed it timely to sponsor a project that would help those interested better understand the background to the policy debate. The Foundation has commissioned a study to be published in book form that will cover the conditions surrounding the decolonization of both countries; their current situations; the role of the former metropole, Portugal; and the objectives of the principal external actors: South Africa, the Soviet Union, and the United States. As a part of the project, the Foundation sponsored a conference in November 1986, using the draft essays for the book as background. Participants included officials from the Administration, Congressional staffers, businessmen, and scholars, as well as officials and others from Angola, Mozambique, and Portugal.

Life After Debt:

Policies to Resume Economic Growth in Latin America

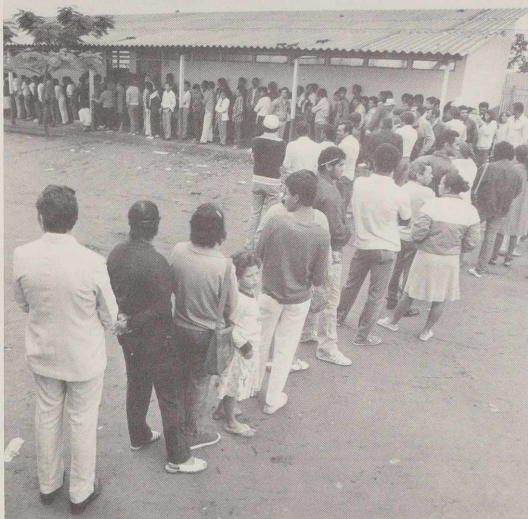
A new generation has taken over economic policy-making in the Latin American democracies. They are questioning the orthodoxies of the International Monetary Fund and are seeking to break out of the debt service/no-growth cycle of the 1980s. At the same time, they are confronting domestic sacred cows—large public sectors and stifling regulation. Their aim is to resume steady growth, which they see as essential to the survival of the new democratic institutions in their countries.

While debt and inflation are common problems, each country faces a different mix of structural distortions and

political constraints on removing them. The Foundation's project will bring together a number of economists who are in key policy-making positions in Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Mexico, Peru and Venezuela to discuss the situations in their countries and to compare policies and experiences. The cross-fertilization of ideas should make a direct contribution to the development of more coherent and cohesive mid-term economic policies in the region. The papers presented at the meeting will be collected in a volume to be published at the end of the project.

The United States and Democracy in Latin America

During several periods over the last century, the United States has made the promotion of democracy in Latin America a high priority. At other times, the interest in advancing democracy waned. Today, there again appears to be a bipartisan consensus that it is in the national interest to promote democracy abroad.



Brazilians line up to vote in elections in November, 1986, at a schoolhouse near Brasilia.

The Foundation believes that the history of past efforts of this kind may hold some lessons. Accordingly, it is co-sponsoring a study that will explore the relevance to current policy of earlier U.S. attempts to encourage democratic institutions in Latin America. How were they similar or different? Why did they succeed or fail?

This is a two-step project. The first part, which will be a series of historical studies, is being organized by Professor Abraham Lowenthal, a leading scholar of U.S.-Latin American relations. The second phase will be a meeting in Washington, organized by the Foundation, to afford policy-makers an opportunity to discuss the results of the study.

Africa in the 1990s and Beyond:

U.S. Policies, Opportunities, and Choices

This study, directed by Professor Robert I. Rotberg of M.I.T., will offer recommendations concerning U.S. policy toward Africa. The results of an authors meeting and con-

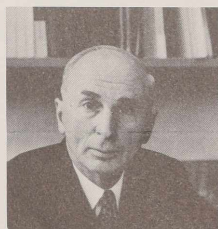
ference will be published in a book that will include chapters on tribalism, population and food issues, the debt crisis, military balances, and trade flows, as well as chapters on the Soviet presence, South Africa, Lybia, the Horn of Africa, Zaire and Nigeria. Expected publication is 1988.

The Inter-American Luncheon Series

Although the Foundation addresses a national audience in its policy studies, it seeks to maintain contact with the greater Boston community as well. Last year, the Foundation initiated a luncheon series on inter-American relations. The series gives an opportunity to specialists on Latin America, both in the local universities and in the Boston business community, to hear speakers, many of whom are from outside the Boston area, and to exchange views. Thus far, the series has concentrated on the Central American crisis. Among the speakers have been the Staff Director of the Western Hemisphere Subcommittee of the House of Representatives, the President's Special Envoy to Central America, and the former Costa Rican Foreign Minister.

The American People and Foreign Policy

In 1985, the World Peace Foundation celebrated the 75th year of its existence. The anniversary was marked by a reception on December 3, 1985 at the Boston Athenaeum. On that occasion Milton Katz, a member of the Board of Trustees of the Foundation since 1958, spoke of the history of the Foundation and the relationship of its work of public education to the formation of American foreign policy. His remarks are especially appropriate in view of the recent crisis in the formulation and conduct of U.S. foreign policy; excerpts are reproduced here:



Milton Katz

The individual American is acutely sensitive to his or her personal involvement in the issues and consequences of world affairs. The sensitivity is frequently inarticulate and not infrequently subconscious, but it is nonetheless real and acute. It is a consequence of two world wars and their aftermath, the persistent cold war, the power and portent of nuclear weapons, . . . and the recurring impact of the varied crises that mark our times. It is to be expected that the individual's concern should be expressed in a manner reflecting the American tradition and the characteristics of American society. In American society, the citizen wants a hand in any aspect of government that interests him or her. . . .

In the complicated society of the 1980s, no one would suggest that it is easy for public opinion to become informed about . . . questions of domestic policy. . . . Nevertheless, difficult as it is, points of entry into informed understanding of these matters can often be found in the familiar training and

experience of the populace. . . .

A comparable stratum of personal information and personal experience can seldom be found among our people with respect to the events and relationships from which the issues of foreign policy typically emerge. In regard to such issues, there are very few in our population who can find in their own training or experience—or in the experience or training of their friends and associates—a basis for a sound judgment or even a good hunch. In consequence, . . . the citizen's sense that he or she lacks a basis for an appraisal of the situation interacts sharply with the citizen's deep awareness that he or she is vitally concerned. This interaction can lead to a sense of frustration or anxiety. . . .

Some thoughtful commentators, aware of the situation and apprehensive concerning the burdens which it tends to impose upon the conduct of foreign policy, have sought to resolve it by a remarkable proposal. They have suggested that the American public must refrain from thrusting itself into the course of foreign affairs and must leave foreign policy to officials and technical experts who understand it better. Assuming that a measure of validity might be found in such a proposal as a matter of abstract speculation, it will not and cannot be given practical effect. It is too profoundly at variance with the tradition, structure, and dynamics of American society. . . .

For the American people and the American government, there can be no escape from the need to accept the responsibility of power and to exercise leadership in an effort to establish a workable international order. This in turn entails a corresponding need to strive to establish an effective working relationship between the American people and their government in the conduct of foreign affairs. Somehow, in some way, a framework of public understanding must be created and maintained to serve as a base upon which the President, the Congress, other responsible officials and the general citizenry can effectively pivot as they seek to cope with the endless flow of concrete problems that constitute the daily stuff of foreign affairs.

It is to this inescapable need that the World Peace Foundation has sought and continues to seek to make a contribution within the limits of its modest resources. To this end, it tries to take intelligent advantage of its location in a region rich in historical background and in intellectual and practical resources: New England and its center in the Greater Boston area. It tries also to direct its efforts to problems in regard to which it may have a comparative advantage because of the local and regional resources and experience upon which it can draw. The projects on our current docket illustrate this pattern of choice. . . .

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