

THE
CARTER CENTER
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY



TCC00010016



Consultation on
International Security
& Arms Control

April 12-13, 1985
Atlanta, Georgia

Program of the Plenary Sessions

Friday, April 12

9 A.M. - 12:00 "Alliances, Proliferation, and Regional Conflict"

Co-chairs: Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford

Anatoly Dobrynin, John Howe, Henry Kissinger, Ninya Kiiseki, Joseph Nye,
Robert O'Neill, Qian Jia-dong, Helmut Sonnenfeldt, Sergei Tarasenko

2:00 - 5:00 P.M. "Weapons, Strategy, Doctrine"

Co-chairs: Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford

Harold Brown, Anatoly Dobrynin, David Jones, John Lehman,
Edward Meyer, Konstantin Mikhailov, William Perry, Brent Scowcroft,
John Vessey

Saturday, April 13

9:00 A.M. - 12:00 "Negotiations and Diplomatic-Political Aspects"

Co-chairs: Senators Howard Baker and Sam Nunn

Les Aspin, Zbigniew Brzezinski, McGeorge Bundy, Ralph Earle,
William Hyland, Robert McFarlane, Friedrich Ruth, James Schlesinger,
Sergei Tarasenko, Cyrus Vance, Evgeny Velikhov

2:00 - 4:00 P.M. "Overview: Options and Recommendations"

Co-chairs: Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald R. Ford

Albert Gore, Robert McFarlane, Konstantin Mikhailov, Brent Scowcroft,
Theodore Stevens, Sergei Tarasenko, Evgeny Velikhov

The Carter Center (Kenneth W. Stein, Executive Director)

Founded by Emory University in 1982, the Carter Center addresses issues of domestic and international policy. Through programs of research, public forums and consultations, the Center encourages communication among scholars and business and political leaders and fosters cooperation in policy analysis and the development and promotion of recommendations. Its varied programs include issues that interested President Carter in the White House: the Middle East conflict, arms control, the environment, health care, United States-Latin American relations, human rights, and conflict resolution.

The Consultation on International Security and Arms Control (Co-directors: Ellen Mickiewicz and Roman Kolkowicz)

The agenda for this Consultation was prepared in two stages, extending over two years.

The first stage was devoted to research. Leading scholars were asked to study Soviet strategy, military doctrine and mission capabilities; Soviet approaches to Ballistic Missile Defense, cruise missiles, and other new technologies; the weapons acquisition process; the burden of military spending on the economy; and Soviet arms control policy. These studies were published in a special issue of the journal *Soviet Union* in late 1983. An expanded version will be published as a book, *The Soviet Calculus of Nuclear War*.

The second stage consisted of two symposia in 1984, at Emory in May and at the University of Michigan in November, to consider some of the issues that would be raised at the Consultation. President Jimmy Carter chaired the symposium at Emory that included U.S. SALT ambassadors Gerard Smith and Ralph Earle, to review Soviet and American negotiating practices, and Harold Brown and Helmut Sonnenfeldt, to assess the role of arms control in Soviet and American national security policies. The second symposium, at the University of Michigan, was co-sponsored by the Gerald R. Ford Presidential Library and co-chaired by Presidents Carter and Ford. Physicists Richard Garwin and Michael May and General Brent Scowcroft described the new and emerging offensive and defensive strategic weapons systems and their implications for the U.S.-Soviet strategic balance; Zbigniew Brzezinski, William Hyland, and Richard Burt, Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs, examined the causes of current tensions in Soviet-American relations and judged the prospects for their improvement.

President Ford's presence at the second symposium reflected the bipartisan nature of all of the Carter Center's efforts. In 1983 he co-chaired its Middle East Consultation with President Carter, as he is doing at this Consultation.

The Consultation proper began on Tuesday, when study panels on each of the major issue areas met at Lullwater Estate, the residence of the President of Emory University. The reports of those panels will be deliberated in the plenary sessions here on Friday and Saturday.

PARTICIPANTS

Les Aspin is U.S. Representative from Wisconsin.

Howard Baker, former U.S. Senator from Tennessee and Senate Majority leader, is now a partner of Vinson & Elkins.

Desmond Ball is a Senior Fellow and Deputy Head of the Strategic and Defense Studies Center of the Australian National University, Canberra.

Stephen Band, designated representative of the government of Great Britain, is First Secretary for Politico-Military Affairs at the British Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Harold Berman, Woodruff Professor of Law at Emory University, is a Carter Center Fellow.

Richard Betts is a Senior Fellow of the Brookings Institution.

Harold Brown, former Secretary of Defense, is now Chairman of the Foreign Policy Institute at Johns Hopkins University.

Zbigniew Brzezinski, former National Security Advisor, is now Senior Advisor at Georgetown University's Center for Strategic and International Studies, and Herbert Lehman Professor of Government at Columbia University.

McGeorge Bundy, former Special Assistant to the President for National Security, and later President of the Ford Foundation, is now Professor of History at New York University.

Lynn Davis is Professor of National Security Affairs, the National War College.

Karl Deutsch is Director of the International Institute for Comparative Social Research, West Berlin, and Stanfield Professor of International Peace, Harvard University.

Norman Dicks is U.S. Representative from Washington.

Anatoly Dobrynin, designated representative of the government of the USSR, is the USSR Ambassador to the United States.

Thomas Downey is U.S. Representative from New York.

Ralph Earle, former Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency and Chief U.S. Negotiator in SALT II, is now a managing partner of Baker & Daniels.

Raymond Garthoff, former Ambassador to Bulgaria and SALT I negotiator, is now a Senior Fellow at the Brookings Institution.

Richard Garwin is an IBM Fellow at the Thomas J. Watson Research Center. He also holds faculty appointments at Columbia, Cornell, and Harvard universities.

Albert Gore, Jr. is U.S. Senator from Tennessee.

John Grimond is American editor of *The Economist*, London.

Amoretta Hoeber is Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary of the Army for Research, Development and Acquisition.

Arnold Horelick is a Senior Political Scientist and Director of Soviet and East European Studies at RAND, and Director of the RAND-UCLA Center for the Study of Soviet International Behavior.

John Howe, designated representative of the government of Great Britain, is Director of the Defense Arms Control Unit in the British Ministry of Defense.

Samuel Huntington is Eaton Professor of the Science of Government at Harvard University.

William Hyland, editor of *Foreign Affairs*, was a career State Department analyst of Soviet and East European affairs and a member of the National Security Council staff.

Bobby Inman (Adm., USN, ret.), former Director of the National Security Agency and later Deputy Director of the Central Intelligence Agency, is now President and Chief Executive Officer of the Micro-electronics and Computer Technology Corporation.

Josef Joffe, formerly editor of the Berlin *Die Zeit*, is now a Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

David Jones (Gen., USAF, ret.) was formerly Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Henry Kissinger, former National Security Advisor and Secretary of State, is now Chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc.

John Lehman is Secretary of the Navy.

Pierre Lellouche is Associate Director of the Institut Francais des Relations Internationales (IFRI), Paris.

Flora Lewis is foreign affairs columnist of the *New York Times*.

Christopher Makins, former First Secretary of the Political Section of the British Embassy in Washington, is now Director of the Institute of Security Programs at the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies.

Michael May is Associate Director-at-Large of the Lawrence Livermore Laboratory.

Robert McFarlane is Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs.

Edward Meyer (Gen., USA, ret.) was formerly Chief of Staff of the Army.

Konstantin Mikhailov (Lt. Gen.), designated representative of the government of the USSR, serves in the General Staff of the Army and Navy, USSR Ministry of Defense.

Makoto Momoi is Director of the Momoi Research Institute and Guest Research Fellow at the *Yomiuri* Research Institute, Tokyo.

Kinya Niiseki, the designated representative of the government of Japan, is Chairman of the Board of Directors of the Japan Institute of International Affairs.

Sam Nunn is U.S. Senator from Georgia.

Joseph Nye is Dillon Professor of International Affairs at Harvard University. Formerly he served as Deputy Undersecretary of State for Security Assistance, Science, and Technology.

Robert O'Neill is Director of the International Institute of Strategic Studies in London.

Piero Ostellino is editor of the Milan *Corriere della Sera*.

William Perry, former Undersecretary of Defense for Research and Engineering, is now managing partner of H&Q Technology Partners.

Qian Jia-dong, the designated representative of the government of the People's Republic of China, is Ambassador for Disarmament.

Dennis Ross is Executive Director of the Berkeley-Stanford Project on Soviet International Behavior.

Friedrich Ruth, the designated representative of the government of the Federal Republic of Germany, is The Federal Government Representative for Questions of Disarmament and Arms Control.

James Schlesinger, former Secretary of Defense and Secretary of the Department of Energy, is now Senior Advisor to the firm of Lehman Brothers Kuhn Loeb, Inc.

Brent Scowcroft (Lt. Gen., USAF, ret.), former Assistant to the President for National Security Affairs and Chairman of the President's Commission on Strategic Forces, is now Vice Chairman of Kissinger Associates, Inc.

Helmut Sonnenfeldt, former Deputy National Security Advisor, is a Visiting Scholar at the Brookings Institution.

Leonard Spector, former Chief Counsel to the Senate Non-Proliferation Subcommittee, is now a Senior Associate of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Theodore Stevens is U.S. Senator from Alaska.

Sergei Tarasenko, designated representative of the government of the USSR, is Deputy Chief of the USA Department of the USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

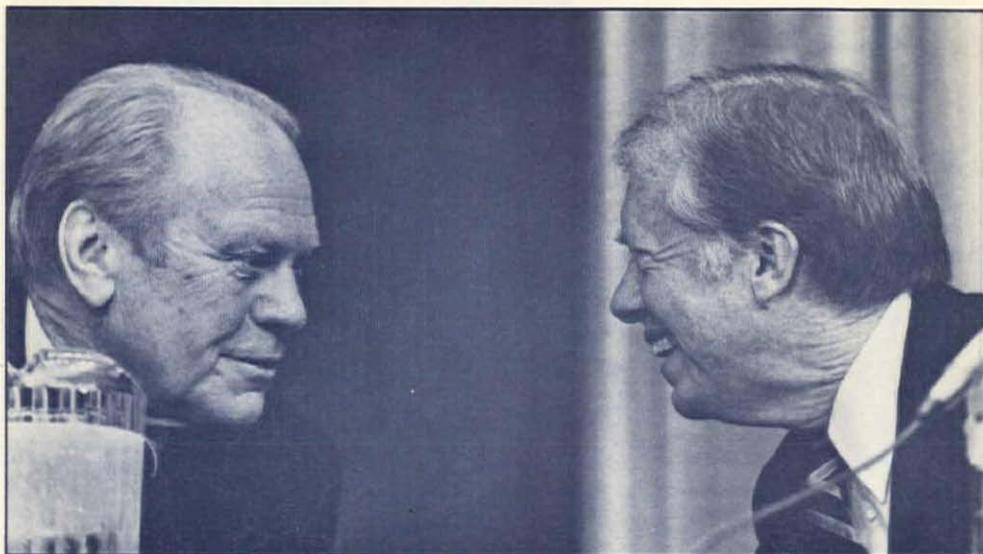
Kosta Tsipis is a Senior Research Scientist and Director of the Program on Science and Technology for International Security at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

Cyrus Vance, former Secretary of State, is now a partner of Simpson, Thacher, and Bartlett.

John Vessey (Gen., USA) is Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff.

Evgeny Velikhov, designated representative of the government of the USSR, is Deputy Director of the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Physics, Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences' General Assembly, and Professor of Physics at Moscow State University.

Herbert York is Professor of Physics and Director of the Program in Science, Technology and Public Affairs at the University of California, San Diego. He was Ambassador to the Comprehensive Test-Ban Negotiations and Special Representative at the Space Arms Control Talks.



The consultation was generously supported by:

Carnegie Corporation Foundation
Coca-Cola Company
Alida and Mark Dayton Charitable Trust
Delta Air Lines, Inc.
Ford Motor Company
Hansell & Post
King & Spalding
National Photocopy, Inc.
The Ritz-Carlton, Buckhead
Sunbelt Limousine Service
Turner Broadcasting System, Inc.
The Waverly Hotel