

### **Center Forum Explores Future of Persian Gulf**

Responding to questions from former President Jimmy Carter about the U.S. military presence in the Persian Gulf, former National Security Advisor Zbigniew Brzezinski said that he feels U.S. forces will be in the Gulf Arab States five years from now whether or not there is war.

"I think we're in for the long haul, because you can envisage essentially two outcomes from this conflict. Either there are hostilities...[which is] possible,...or there are no hostilities, but some solution to the Kuwait problem, in which case Iraqi power remains. Hence the vulnerability of Saudi Arabia remains. Therefore we remain."

Dr. Brzezinski's remarks were made at a September briefing conducted by President Carter on Iraqi President Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait, which was televised by the Discovery Channel. "A Carter Center Briefing: Crisis in the Gulf" brought together former Cabinet officials, statesmen, policy-makers, and scholars who explored the economic, military, political, cultural, and social issues surrounding the invasion.

In a two-hour roundtable session, participants reviewed the military and diplomatic responses triggered by the Iraqi invasion; surveyed the historic, cultural, and political issues that led up to the crisis; assessed the invasion's potential aftermath on the local, regional, and international economic and political orders; and analyzed the social and moral issues associated with the dislocation of foreign workers and the taking of hostages.

"I consider it important that the present Persian Gulf crisis be viewed from a historical perspective, which I believe this special briefing provided," said President Carter.

The program was aired on The Discovery Channel September 16 and again September 22. The Carter Center of Emory University's (CCEU) Middle Eastern Studies Fellow Kenneth W. Stein praised the Discovery Channel, saying the program "provided insight into the long-term impact of the invasion on regional and world economies, our nation's changed relationship with some of the countries in the Middle East, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the role of the United Nations, and increased American obligations in the region."

### **In Perspective**

#### **The Haitian Elections: Dreams of Democracy**

Parts of this article appeared in *The New York Times*, October 1, 1990. © Copyright 1990, *The New York Times*.

Free elections earlier this year in Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, and last year in Panama provide clear evidence that democracy is following tortuous, but steadily progressive paths in the hemisphere. Haiti is now moving toward an election in December.

The Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, of which I am chairman, played a key role in making democratic balloting possible in these earlier elections. Based on that experience, I believe that the Haitian election, in which the Council is already deeply involved, may be the most difficult and dramatic of all.

Haiti is proud of its history as the second oldest independent nation in this hemisphere and the oldest black republic in the world. But for 186 years Haitians' lives have been filled with oppression and poverty. Even in recent years, after finally overthrowing the Duvalier dictatorship on Feb. 7, 1986, the citizens have been plagued with a succession of abortive efforts to find freedom.

As recently as Nov. 29, 1987, an election was called to fulfill promises made in their post-Duvalier constitution. Citizens who lined up to vote were mowed down by fusillades of terrorists' bullets. Military leaders, who had either orchestrated or condoned the murders, moved in to cancel the election and retain control of the Government. Two months later, these generals conducted an "election" that was boycotted by almost all the previous candidates and in which fewer than 4 percent of the people voted; the victor was peremptorily removed when he dared to exert some independence as president.

Earlier this year, after another general was forced out of office, an interim Government was formed, with Supreme Court Justice Ertha Pascal Trouillot as Acting President. Her primary goal has been to bring about a successful election. The obstacles are formidable but not insurmountable. There is a constitutionally established electoral council that had to postpone a November election date. However, voter registration began Oct. 5, and elections are to be held Dec. 16.

During my visit to Haiti in mid-September, I found that the Electoral Council for the first time was receiving support from the colonels and other mid-level officers in all regions. They now have assurances of about half the financing needed for the election, with a good chance to meet their other needs.

In August, when the Council of State declared all her decisions null and void, President Trouillot survived only after receiving support from the army commander-in-chief, Gen. Herard Abraham. He and the President have been widely and perhaps justifiably criticized for their failure to investigate several political crimes, including the assassination of a member of the Council of State and a labor leader in a Port-au-Prince hotel. Even more criticism has been leveled against them because of the return to Haiti of two powerful men whose apparent goals are to intimidate the people and to prevent the holding of an election.

One is Gen. Williams Regala, whom many hold responsible for the election day murders in 1987. The other is Roger Lafontant, a notorious leader in the last Duvalier regime whose name still strikes terror among Haitians who know of his former misdeeds. Their presence symbolizes the ineffectiveness of the Government and casts doubt on the ability of the army and police to protect citizens during the election period.

Economic crises also plague the country. The Government is already far behind in fuel payments, and there is doubt each month that it can raise cash for transportation and other needs. Unemployment may be as high as 80 percent, foreign investments are scarce and only a trickle of tourists are visiting Haiti's extraordinary historical sites. Paradoxically, these increasingly obvious troubles have awakened among many Haitians a strong determination to improve their political system.

The U.S. has strongly supported an unprecedented request from the Haitian President in July for U.N. election observers and security advisors. All the Haitian political leaders with whom I met said that such observers will be essential for a free election. The U.N. decision to respond has been helpful.

**Profile: Robert Pastor**  
**Latin American and Caribbean Fellow**

The United States and Latin America share a hemisphere but have often approached problems as if they inhabit two different worlds. The challenge of studying or solving problems in inter-American relations is to find a common language between these two perspectives," says

Robert Pastor, director of the Latin American and Caribbean program at The Carter Center of Emory University (CCEU) and professor of political science at Emory University.

According to Dr. Pastor, "The U.S. and Latin America have a very complicated relationship that is born from a long and troubled history and from the tremendous disparity in power and wealth between them."

Dr. Pastor is the only Carter Center fellow who served in the Carter Administration, acting as director of Latin American and Caribbean Affairs on the National Security Council (NSC) from 1977-81. At CCEU, he is dealing with some of the same foreign policy issues that he dealt with in the White House.

"But the similarity ends there," says Dr. Pastor about his work. "As a representative of the U.S. Government, you can, of course, accomplish much more in making U.S. foreign policy than you can as a scholar.

"But as a scholar, one has the advantage of approaching the same issues with more detachment and less urgency, and one can also learn much more about the perspectives of the region's leaders," he says.

Dr. Pastor recalls a confrontational meeting he had with Grenada's revolutionary leaders when he was on the NSC. When he met with them two years later, however, they—and he—were much more willing to exchange views in an informal and candid manner.

Dr. Pastor also notes that there are projects, such as election monitoring and some forms of mediation, which can only be accomplished from outside the government.

"Election monitoring is one very important area where a private role can be essential for a successful transition toward democracy," he says. He has been actively involved in organizing delegations to observe elections in Panama, Nicaragua, the Dominican Republic, Haiti, and Guyana over the past 18 months.

Each of these elections was monitored by CCEU's Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government, which is chaired by President Carter and includes 18 current and former heads of state from throughout the Western Hemisphere. The Council was formed in 1986 at a conference at CCEU called "Reinforcing Democracy in the Americas," where participants tried to determine what lessons could be learned from previous transitions to democracy, both successful and unsuccessful.

Dr. Pastor believes that the Council made its most crucial difference in the Nicaraguan electoral process that culminated with the election in February 1990 of Violeta Chamorro. This was the first election in Nicaraguan history in which all of the candidates and parties who announced that they would participate in the electoral process actually did so. It also marked that country's first peaceful transfer of power from an incumbent government to its opposition.

"That process occurred largely because of the involvement of President Carter and the Council during the nine months leading up to the elections and for several months afterwards," said Dr. Pastor. A former lecturer at Harvard University, where he earned his Ph.D., Dr. Pastor returned to academe after leaving the NSC. He was a guest scholar at the Brookings Institution, taught at the University of Maryland's School of Public Affairs, and was a Fulbright Professor at El Colegio de Mexico. He also stayed politically active by serving as senior advisor on Latin America to Walter Mondale during his presidential campaign. Dr. Pastor accepted a position on the Emory University faculty in 1985.

His ongoing travels in Latin America lend a first-hand perspective to his lectures in the classroom. According to Emory Magazine, he is able to present political events "not as a disinterested academic looking on from the sidelines, but as a frontline observer."

Dr. Pastor is the author of six books on U.S. foreign policy and the region. His most recent books include *Limits to*

*Friendship: The United States and Mexico (Vintage, 1989)* and *Condemned to Repetition: The United States and Nicaragua (Princeton University Press, 1988)*. Both were acclaimed by reviewers in *The New York Times*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, and other newspapers and journals. He is currently working on *Whirlpool*, a book that will examine the ebbs and flows of U.S. foreign policy toward the Caribbean Basin during the last 20 years and recommend a new approach for the 21st century.

"This is a region in which the United States has played a very large role for this entire century, and we don't fully understand the changes in that role over time or the recurring problems that we face," Dr. Pastor says. "Too often, the United States has repeated past mistakes instead of learning from them."

### **A Carter Center Briefing: Crisis in the Gulf**

Following are excerpts from "A Carter Center Briefing: Crisis in the Gulf" hosted by President Carter and aired on The Discovery Channel in September.

#### **The Line in the Sand**

Narrator: This is how it began. On the first day of August in the year 1990, 100,000 Iraqi troops massed on the border between Iraq and Kuwait. The next day, troops crossed the border into Kuwait. And one week later, President Bush said he would deploy troops in Saudi Arabia. As he spoke, the first contingents were landing.

Prince Bandar: We thought he (Saddam Hussein) was flexing muscles and blurring. But not in our worst dreams, we never thought an Arab country would go into another Arab country, occupy it and annex it... We as Saudis and our people are grateful that the Americans came to help us when such an aggression took place. (But) we wish the aggression didn't come, didn't take place, so then the forces would not come.

Dr. Schlesinger: ...if it were only carrots or wheat that were being produced in the Middle East, rather than the oil on which the world depends, I'm not sure that our reaction would have been as immediate.

#### **The Heritage of Hostilities**

Narrator: In late November 1922, a British High Commissioner drew what became the border between Kuwait and Iraq. The Iraqis thought the border unjust. They thought the British had given them such a tiny coastline to deny them access to the Gulf and the world.

Arab nationalism grew not just in Iraq, but all over the Middle East. In this century, all the Arab nations became independent. Some became wealthy, fueling the engines of the world. And Iraq's anger festered. A leader who likened himself to the warrior Saladin, a leader who said he would be a filter like King 'Nebuchadnezzar, changed history. And Saddam Hussein made his own contribution to a heritage of hostilities.

Amb. Bashir: ...in our first encounter with the Western world, the Western world doublecrossed us. In Cairo, a Britisher and a Frenchman, Mr. Sykes and Picot, divided the Arab world. And the Arabs since then have this mania that everything is a conspiracy, that the West is against us....most of the time, the Arabs feel that the American official policy is anti-Arab.

Dr. Quandt: So what we're seeing in the streets of Amman and among the Palestinians is very genuine. It's not pro-Saddam, it's just, "Why don't you deal with our issues with the same degree of energy that you're dealing with the problems of Kuwait?"

Dr. Stein: ...certain kinds of things could come out of this change in the status quo, which could push the peace process forward and could enhance the environment for a diplomatic settlement. But it's still going to take a forceful American involvement for that to happen.

### **The Currents of Change:**

Narrator: In August, the shots fired by Iraqi tanks in Kuwait were heard around the world. We learned just how small the world can be. In 24 hours, gasoline prices had risen 14 cents a gallon half a world away. In Bulgaria, electricity was rationed. In Taiwan, stocks plummeted 65 percent from earlier highs. Brazil relaunched a program to subsidize alcohol-powered cars. Foreign workers poured out of Kuwait back to Egypt, Pakistan and Bangladesh. Japan and Portugal faced panic in financial markets. Israel debated giving citizens gas masks. Egypt's \$7 billion military arms debt was cancelled....The ripple spread upward from what was once the Emirate of Kuwait. The whole world felt these currents of change.

Professor Vassiliev: The interests of two countries here—I mean, the United States and the Soviet Union—are different. They are not contradictory, but different. The first for the Soviet Union, the first thing is security. For the United States, oil and security. They have common goals, they have common idealistic approaches for (the) world based on international law and order. But how to implement it, of course, the approaches could be different.

### **The Consequences of the Conflict:**

Sen. McClure: I think it would be a tragedy if the United States is perceived to be pursuing a policy to eliminate Saddam Hussein by force as our ultimate strategy.

### **Crisis in the Gulf**

It may be the result, and it may evolve because there may not be another alternative to it, but that shouldn't be where we start.

Amb. Bashir: ...any solution to Saddam Hussein's aggression on Kuwait that leaves the Middle East more unstable is not a solution....It will be very wrong if you don't invest in friendship with the Arab peoples—not the regimes, not in governments.

Dr. Ouandt: ...Could there be an Arab solution? (And) I really don't think that's going to happen. The Arab world is deeply divided right now. And if we wait for an Arab consensus to emerge, it's not going to happen. What we do have is a group of Arab partners—Egypt, Saudi Arabia in the Gulf—Syria now—with whom we can begin to think about the post crisis structure that might help contain Iraq. Whether there's war or no war, there's going to have to be a strategy for ensuring this doesn't just happen all over again.

Prince Bandar: We're very lucky that the two superpowers are in the posture where they are now. Otherwise, I don't see how we could have handled this crisis the way it is if we were five, six, seven years ago.

Dr. Sick: I would argue that one of the results of this...is something that's going to look much more like 19th century politics: rapidly shifting coalitions, marriages of convenience.

Adm. Crowe: I think it is important also for the Arab world to understand that even though we have tanks and forces on the ground, they were sent there to keep peace. And that we are seeking a peaceful solution. And that our strategy is designed to do this without hostilities. And when things are sorted out, Americans will leave.

Dr. Schlesinger: The effect of the embargo is causing great economic trouble east of Suez—in India, Bangladesh, Pakistan, countries dependent upon Kuwait. Prices are going to go up in the Western world. We are going to see recession with all of the economic consequences, and it's not clear to me that unity will be there three or five months from now. If we can hold together, it may set a precedent, but we've got to hold together until then.

Dr. Brzezinski: No, I don't think war is inevitable. It's possible, if there's no accommodation. I think that Saddam Hussein has not yet been convinced of two very important things. One, that the international community will sustain its pressure on him, that he will remain isolated. He has to be convinced of that. Secondly, he's not yet convinced that if push comes to shove, the international community as a whole—and not just the United States—is prepared to take military action. Once he becomes convinced of these two things—both are necessary—then I think there is a chance that he will begin to explore the possibilities of mediation.

### **The Need to Negotiate**

Excerpted from an article by Jimmy Carter, *TIME* magazine, October 22, 1990. Reprinted with permission.

...So far, the Bush Administration has not acknowledged the need for negotiations or exploratory talks, which might imply weakness or a willingness to reverse adamant public statements. Initiating peace talks is always difficult, as we remember from Korea and Vietnam. Only unconditional surrender following a total military victory can remove the need for negotiated settlements.

No matter what happens in the next few months, including a total capitulation of Iraq, we should be preparing for a time when negotiations will be required. There are a few intermediaries who might expedite this process: U.N. officials, French, Soviet or other allies of ours; or leaders among the Arab nations. Any of these would be suitable, but my own preference is the Arab community. Soon after Iraq invaded Kuwait, an Arab plan was offered in Paris, Moscow and other places. It called for Iraqis to be replaced by other Arab troops in Kuwait, a U.N. or Arab force to relieve Western forces in Saudi Arabia, and then a referendum to be held under international supervision to let Kuwaitis decide their own future. These initial ideas are unacceptable by either side, but later modifications may lead to peace.

Among Arab leaders, King Hussein of Jordan can play a key role. He is an honorable and peace-loving man who does not deserve the harsh treatment he is receiving. He has supported the U.N. resolutions that demand foreign troop withdrawal from Kuwait, the return of the Emir and his family, and the imposition of economic sanctions. The King made these decisions even though Jordan shares a vulnerable border with Iraq and many of his countrymen support Saddam Hussein. Now the Jordanian monarch faces the loss of financial assistance from Saudi Arabia and others. The very survival of his nation is endangered. It would be a tragedy to permit the further destruction of Jordan. Even if other intermediaries serve, a stable Jordan will be needed in the future. A much better alternative would be for King Hussein to be recognized in the U.S., as he has been in other countries, as a key leader who, at an early stage, might help bring about a peaceful settlement of the Gulf crisis—when and if it is understood that this is the only alternative to war.

### **Sri Lankan, Guatemalan Groups Win Rights Prize**

Two groups—one in Latin America and one in Asia—which monitor human rights violations in their native lands have been chosen as co-winners of the fifth annual Carter-Menil Human Rights Prize.

President Jimmy Carter and Mrs. Dominique de Menil announced in October that the annual \$100,000 prize will be shared by Consejo de Comunidades Etnicas Runujel Junam (CERJ) of Guatemala and the Civil Rights Movement (CRM) of Sri Lanka. The prizes will be

awarded in a ceremony at New York University on December 10, the 42nd anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

"The citizens of both Guatemala and Sri Lanka have for decades borne the brunt of grave violations of their rights and dignity with insufficient attention or assistance from the rest of the world," said President Carter on announcing the award. "The growth of the CERJ and CRM illustrate once again the importance of individuals of conscience and commitment coming together when governments no longer feel obligated to respect the rule of law."

Carter-Menil Foundation President Dominique de Menil called the CERJ and CRM "role models of courage and leadership in two countries whose governments have chosen to ignore the voice of truth.

"Working under difficult, discouraging, and sometimes life-threatening conditions, members of these two groups have struggled dauntlessly to denounce human rights abuses and prevent their future occurrence," she continued.

CERJ—Council of Ethnic Communities Runujel Junam—was formed by a group of Mayan Indian peasants in 1988 to monitor and defend the fundamental freedoms and human rights of Guatemala's rural Indian population. The Council's name reflects its mission; "Runujel Junam" means "everybody is equal" in the Quiche language.

Over the past two years, CERJ has brought to the world's attention the many human rights violations against Guatemalan citizens. The group is working to disband the massive civilian patrol system that requires peasants to serve without pay, to document abuses and educate the public about human rights, and to seek legal redress for victims of abuse.

CRM of Sri Lanka is a nonpartisan, inter-ethnic organization committed to the promotion and protection of civil and political rights. The group was founded in 1971 in response to government emergency measures suspending these rights in an effort to suppress a militant insurgency. Under these measures and others which followed, civilians have been the victims of arbitrary arrest, torture, disappearance and summary execution.

CRM has worked diligently to document abuses by all sides to the conflict in Sri Lanka and has, since its inception, actively challenged successive governments' departures from internationally accepted norms. As one of the leading human rights monitors in Sri Lanka, CRM is committed to standards of documentation that are among the highest in Asia.

The Carter-Menil Human Rights Foundation was established in 1986 by President Carter and Mrs. De Menil, founder and president of the Rothko Chapel in Houston, to promote the protection of human rights throughout the world. The foundation also supports the activities of the Human Rights Program of The Carter Center of Emory University.

### **Carter Calls for Inquiry Into Kidnappings, Deaths**

After the October 6 abduction of CERJ member Sebastian Velasquez Mejfa, President Carter wrote to Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo calling for an immediate investigation into this kidnapping as well as the death of Jose Pedro Tiu Chivalan, son of CERJ member Pedro Tiu Cac. Tiu Cac was kidnapped on July 2, 1990 and his body was found four days later; Tiu Chivalan was kidnapped on October 2. Eyewitnesses recognized one of the kidnappers as an army colonel. Tiu Chivalan's body was found on October 5.

Velasquez Mejfa was kidnapped by men in plain clothes accompanied by the local civil patrol chief from his village. Prior to his abduction, he had received repeated death threats widely attributed to the army. At this writing, there is no information about his whereabouts.

"Killings and disappearances like these are representative of the steady deterioration of respect for human rights in Guatemala over the last 18 months," said Human Rights Program Associate Susan Casey.

### **Carter Honored for Pursuit of Liberty**

President Carter was awarded the 1990 Philadelphia Liberty Award on July 4th for his work promoting the values of freedom celebrated on that day. The medal was accompanied by a \$100,000 prize, which he donated to The Carter Center.

"This award is given not to me but for the work we are doing at The Carter Center," said President Carter. He urged the crowd of 10,000 gathered at Philadelphia's Independence Hall to "remember that liberty is a privilege that many in the world don't enjoy." He also encouraged Americans to redefine the term "liberty" to include freedom from deprivation and hopelessness and the right to jobs, health care, and decent housing.

The Philadelphia Liberty Award honors an individual or organization that has demonstrated leadership and vision in the pursuit of liberty and freedom from oppression, ignorance, or deprivation. The recipient of the first award, given in 1989, was Polish Solidarity leader Lech Walesa.

The award was established by "We the People 2000," a group of civic and business leaders who were involved in the Bicentennial of the Constitution celebration. The award recipients are chosen by a 12-member International Selection Commission made up of leaders from government, world affairs, education, culture, and business.

"It is fitting that a man honored for his personal involvement in so many world activities joins us in Philadelphia—the birthplace of democracy—on our nation's birthday and in front of a building where so many have spoken out for the ideals of liberty and freedom," said Martin Meyerson, president emeritus of the University of Pennsylvania and chairman of the International Selection Committee.

"President Carter has shown the world that he is a man of many and diverse roles," continued Mr. Meyerson. "One day he is a mediator attempting to strike peace between rival factions. The next he may be found discussing human rights issues with a head of state. On another, he may be dealing with the realities of famine, poverty, disease control and other issues that haunt the Third World countries."

After accepting the medal, President Carter joined City of Philadelphia Mayor W. Wilson Goode to cut the "World's Largest Birthday Cake"—baked in honor of America's 214<sup>th</sup> birthday.

Mayor Goode called President Carter "an absolute inspiration to all who love freedom and love people."

### **Council Forges Historic Election Reforms in Guyana**

Following a groundbreaking agreement negotiated by President Carter, the people of Guyana may be on their way to an election acceptable to all parties for the first time in more than 25 years.

President Carter traveled to Guyana as chairman of the Council of Freely Elected Heads of Government in mid-October at the invitation of Guyanese President Hugh Desmond Hoyte and leaders of the opposition parties.

During his visit, the government agreed to major reforms in the electoral process recommended by President Carter and Robert Pastor, director of CCEU's Latin American and Caribbean program.

According to Dr. Pastor, the two major obstacles to unequivocally honest elections were an outdated voter registration list, which included the names of deceased people and omitted many others due to computer errors, and the method of counting ballots. President Hoyte agreed to a house-by-house voter enumeration and to count the ballots at each of the polling sites instead of shipping them to a few central places.

"President Carter helped bridge the differences between the government and the opposition, and both have now cheered these important reforms and anticipate a free and fair election," said Dr. Pastor.

"The amazing electoral reform break-through former U.S. President Jimmy Carter scored in his historic 24-hour fence-mending trip here has significantly altered the makeup of the local political scene....It could be the start of a new era."—*Stabroek News* (Guyana), October 18, 1990

"It is amazing!...Jimmy Carter breezed into Guyana...and within 24 hours, breezed out again, having achieved in that ultra short time what the combined opposition political and civil forces failed to achieve in two bone-jarring decades. Thank you President Carter! Do come again soon!" —*The Mirror* (Guyana), October 21, 1990

"[Jimmy Carter] pioneered a new beginning for the election process in this nation, one which has been absent for 26 years." —*Catholic Standard*, October 28, 1990

### **Carter, Gorbachev Establish Commission on T.V.**

#### **Bilateral Group Will Explore Impact of Television in Changing World**

A bilateral United States-Soviet Union Commission on Television Policy has been established at The Carter Center of Emory University (CCEU) following an agreement reached between President Carter and Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

"President Gorbachev and I decided to set up this bilateral commission as an outgrowth of the work being conducted by CCEU's Soviet Media and International Communications program," said President Carter. "The impact of television in both the Soviet Union and the United States cannot be overestimated, and the Commission will focus on concrete policy issues of importance to both countries." President Carter will co-chair the Commission's first meeting at the Center February 16-18 along with Evgeny Primakov, a leading Soviet official and advisor to President Gorbachev.

The Commission, which is comprised of high-level television executives, government officials, legislators, educators, and public opinion experts from the U.S. and the U.S.S.R., will examine the impact of contemporary television. The group will begin by studying the policies and regulations relating to television coverage of elections and electoral campaigns, referenda, and the activities of legislatures. At its first meeting, the Commission will undertake a thorough review of the models, processes, and rules governing the way television covers elections in each country.

"Glasnost has profoundly changed the Soviet Union, and Soviet television has become a key indicator and instrument of Gorbachev's new policies," said Ellen Mickiewicz, director of CCEU's Soviet Media program. "I see television as playing a pivotal role in Soviet politics and economics; there, as here, the era of television politics has arrived." Some 97 percent of the Soviet population watches television across 11 time zones, and the average prime-time audience consists of 150 million people.

According to Eduard Sagalaev, chairman of the Soviet Cable Association, "The creation of the Soviet-American Commission on Television is more than simply another step on the road

to cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and the U.S. Our Commission can in many ways support a permanent space bridge between different continents, countries, and peoples."

Dr. Mickiewicz co-chaired the first of four working groups that are part of the Commission's research. The first session, sponsored jointly by CCEU and The Aspen Institute's Program on Communications and Society, was held at the Institute's Wye Plantation in Maryland November 13-15. Participants from both the U.S. and Soviet Union included former public officials, media executives, journalists, and social researchers.

This working group prepared policy options and recommendations for television coverage of elections in the United States and the Soviet Union. Their position paper, dealing with such issues as equal time, candidate access, political debates, campaign advertising, and the regulation of these processes will be on the agenda at the Commission's February meeting.

#### Mental Illness and the Media: Helping Families Fight Stigma

The film and television industries have a responsibility to portray more positive images of mentally ill individuals and their families, a blue-ribbon panel concluded during the sixth annual Rosalynn Carter Symposium on Mental Health Policy at The Carter Center.

"Television and movies frequently represent those suffering from mental illness as being violent, when in reality they are more often shy and retiring," Mrs. Carter said.

The October symposium, "Families Coping with Mental Illness: Improving Public Understanding," drew more than 200 mental health professionals and advocates as well as people from families coping with mental illness.

As part of the symposium, Mrs. Carter outlined the goals of The Carter Center Mental Illness and Entertainment Media Initiative, an outgrowth of her work with the entertainment industry. In June 1990, Mrs. Carter met with television and film writers and producers to discuss ways in which people suffering from mental illness can be portrayed in a more accurate way in the media.

"Our dream is to stimulate humane, accurate depiction throughout the film and television industries of the realities of mental illness," said Mrs. Carter.

To accomplish this, the Mental Illness and Entertainment Media Initiative has set these goals: reducing negative stereotypes of mental health professionals and of mental health facilities and services, and correcting the fallacy that families are the cause of mental illness.

#### **Home Care on the Rise**

Over the past twenty years, the frequency of care of mentally ill individuals in the home has increased with deinstitutionalization. Today, two-thirds of those discharged from mental health institutions go home with their families. Mrs. Carter praised the work of family advocacy groups who have provided support to these families, saying, "By working together, we stand a better chance to eradicate stigma and to put mental illness right up there with muscular dystrophy, cancer and diabetes as a socially acceptable cause."

#### **Lifting the Veil of Silence**

Samuel Keith, M.D., deputy director for clinical research at the National Institute for Mental Health, delivered the keynote address, "Schizophrenia: Public Image, Private Reality," in which he discussed current research into how families cope with mental illness.

According to Dr. Keith, blaming the family and home environment for causing the disease is a great misconception, and he is working toward a time when schizophrenia will be seen as a no-fault illness. Lifting the veil of silence that surrounds mental illness "will require us

to provide education to patients, to families and to society that supports the position that schizophrenia is an illness with a biological component as strong as any other medical illness," he said.

Other panelists participating in the symposium included Everette Dennis, executive director of the Gannett Center for Media Studies at Columbia University; Donald E. Manning, M.D., professor and acting chairman, Department of Psychiatry at the Emory University School of Medicine; and Paul Fink, M.D., past president, American Psychiatric Association.

The Rosalynn Carter Symposia on Mental Health Policy were established in 1985 with a grant from the Gannett Foundation. This year's symposium was funded by grants from the MacArthur and Van Ameringen Foundations.

## **WHAT MENTAL ILLNESS IS AND IS NOT**

Mental illness is a term used for a group of disorders causing severe disturbances in thinking, feeling, and relating, according to the National Alliance for the Mentally III. Many people with mental illnesses have a difficult time coping with the ordinary demands of life. Facts about mental illnesses: • Approximately 10 million people in the USA suffer from a serious, long-term mental illness. • Patients with mental illness occupy more hospital beds than people with any other illness. • Mental illness is not the same as mental retardation, which involves below normal learning ability and intellectual process. • Schizophrenia, one of the most disabling mental illnesses, affects about one person in 100. It is a brain disease that most often strikes people age 16-to-25 and interferes with a person's ability to grasp reality, think and focus attention. • Depressive illness is not just a "case of the blues." It is a severe and persistent biological disease. • Severe anxiety disorders may be considered mental illnesses. • Personality disorders, behavioral disorders and abuse of alcohol and drugs if they become disabling may be labeled as mental illnesses. © Copyright 1990, *USA Today*. Excerpted with permission.

## **Center Programs and Public-Policy Initiatives**

### **African Studies**

#### **African Democracy Gets Boost from CCEU**

African countries in search of democracy are getting some help from CCEU's African Studies program. Under the direction of Richard Joseph, the program is researching ways to assist governments that are trying to restructure their political systems and has launched a bulletin dedicated to tracking the growth of democracy.

According to Dr. Joseph, "Democracy is a universal yearning. When Nelson Mandela emerged from the South African prison system after 27 years, he pushed open a door for all political detainees and dissidents in Africa.

"Most of the African continent was subjected to decades of authoritarian rule by European nations. The end of colonialism, however, did not initiate a golden age of self-rule. Instead single parties, single rulers and military groups soon appropriated the instruments of government," he continued.

The list of African governments exploring more democratic political systems grows almost weekly. The program has classified countries according to their strength of commitment to democratization and the specific stage they have reached in their transition process. Attention is also directed to those countries, such as Botswana, Gambia, Namibia, Senegal, and Mauritius, that have functioning democratic and multi-party systems, as well as others, such as the governments of the Horn of Africa, that have been persistently authoritarian.

The African Studies research team, which is headed by Dr. Joseph in association with Hewlett Visiting Fellow Courtney Brown and a group of graduate and undergraduate students, will monitor changes in political systems in all their variety and complexity and make this information available to scholars and policy-makers.

This project draws on the significant resources that are available at Emory University to broaden and deepen the work of The Carter Center. Emory students are given the opportunity to test the theories they learn in their classes against the real-life complexities of the democratization of an entire continent.

### **Newsletter Tracks Growth of Democracy**

The program's bulletin, Africa Demos, was launched in November. "Africa Demos is for the African people, their societies, institutions, and leaders to devise their new political systems and identify the desired steps to achieving them," said Dr. Joseph.

The bulletin, which will be published monthly, attempts to fill the gap between articles in the academic journals and reports in newspapers and magazines.

"In this publication, we present our framework for classifying democratic transitions and the different degrees of commitment to them," said Dr. Joseph. Each bulletin will include research conducted by the African Governance program as well as feature articles authored by prominent African scholars.

"We hope to identify the goals, accomplishments, constraints, and setbacks to democratization in Africa. The publication also will encourage the positive developments in African democratization and indicate ways in which they can be supported," said Dr. Joseph.

Requests to receive copies of the bulletin should be sent to: Dr. Richard Joseph, Editor, Africa Demos, The Carter Center of Emory University, One Copenhill, Atlanta, GA 30307.

### **Leland Community Development Fellowship Program Established**

USA for Africa, a funding agency that was established with income from sales of the record "We Are the World," has made a major grant to CCEU to support the first two years of a Mickey Leland Community Development Fellowship Program. This program is being established as a memorial to the late congressman who died in a plane crash in Ethiopia last year during one of his many missions to promote peace, agricultural production, and famine relief.

Under this program, several African interns will be brought to Atlanta each year. According to Dr. Joseph, "Interns will be selected from private voluntary organizations that have emerged in many African communities to undertake developmental tasks."

Much attention is currently being devoted by international agencies to the task of human resource development in Africa. This pioneering program will use the extensive facilities of The Carter Center, Emory University, and other Atlanta-based institutions to address the unique needs of community development leaders in Africa. It is hoped that they in turn will share their perspectives to help improve the Center's overall knowledge of the continent.

### **Conflict Resolution**

#### **Carter Calls for Famine Relief in Sudan**

President Carter has called on Sudanese government leader Lieut. Gen. Omar el-Bashir to cooperate in opening relief routes to his people, who are faced with the worst famine in that country since 1984.

In a statement issued on October 6, President Carter said that the support given to Iraqi President Saddam Hussein by Gen. Bashir has resulted in food aid being shut off to the Sudan by the U.S. and most western countries.

"The tragedy is further compounded by the fact that several Arab nations formerly providing funds to the Sudan are now confronting Iraq and are also withholding assistance," said President Carter. "With the lack of rain, failed crops, export of existing reserves and diversion of food stocks to military forces, the potential for disaster in Sudan has become almost a certainty."

Experts in the Famine Early Warning System project famine of the magnitude of the 1984 disaster in which 150,000 Sudanese starved to death.

Thousands of Sudanese have already moved away from their homes to look for food.

The previously successful Operation Lifeline that had been a model for relief cooperation has fallen into disarray. Relief experts cite the disinterest and obstacles placed by the Sudanese government as reasons for the difficulty.

"Donor governments and private relief agencies should not abandon the civilian population of Sudan in its hours of great need," said President Carter. President Yoweri Museveni of Uganda, president of the Organization of African Unity, has pledged that this multinational organization will give its full support to this relief effort.

CCEU's International Negotiation Network (INN) is continuing to monitor the food shortage and internal conflict in the Sudan.

The INN is also monitoring conflicts in Afghanistan, Angola, Burma, Cambodia, El Salvador, Ethiopia, Guatemala, Israel, Korea, Lebanon, Liberia, Mozambique, Peru, Somalia, South Africa, Sri Lanka, Sudan, and Uganda.

The Conflict Resolution program works with research institutions, academics, human rights activists, conflict resolution practitioners and others to keep a data base of current information and make it available to INN members monitoring these conflicts.

## **Health**

### **CCEU, WHO Join to Fight Tobacco Use Worldwide**

CCEU has joined with the World Health Organization (WHO) and other international health groups to launch a major initiative to discourage tobacco use around the world.

According to WHO statistics, there are 3 million tobacco-related deaths in the world each year. By 2050, WHO predicts that the death toll will total 10-15 million. The joint CCEU/WHO project was designed to promote the establishment of comprehensive school health education programs with a strong emphasis on the dangers of tobacco use.

According to John Hardman, who directs CCEU's Anti-Tobacco Initiative, "Ministers of both health and education in less-developed member nations of WHO are being asked to implement anti-tobacco programs utilizing approaches appropriate for their regions.

"At the same time, heads of state are being encouraged to begin legislative processes to create smoke-free public places, to ban the sale of cigarettes to minors, to ban advertising of cigarettes and other tobacco products, to dedicate a portion of excise taxes on tobacco to health education, to prohibit cigarette vending machines, and to ban the importation and manufacture and sale of smokeless tobacco," continued Dr. Hardman, who is based at WHO headquarters in Geneva.

The Anti-Tobacco program, which was started in the summer of 1990, plans to work closely with other UN agencies, non-governmental organizations, and youth groups to reach the highly vulnerable populations of children, adolescents, young women, and mothers.

"School leaders, performers, and sports heroes can play an important role in overcoming peer pressure to smoke and the image of a successful and affluent lifestyle promoted by slick tobacco advertising," said Dr. Hardman.

According to Carter Center Executive Director William Foege, "The educational and legislative measures we are working on now will lessen the severe social and economic problems we anticipate in the decades ahead, if tobacco use continues its present upward trend in developing countries."

The initiative was planned through a grant from the Carnegie Foundation and is being funded by the Sasakawa Foundation.

### **Visiting Fellows Expand CCEU Resources**

The Carter Center of Emory University (CCEU) has added an important new dimension to its research and outreach activities through the establishment of a Visiting Fellows program. CCEU currently hosts six visiting fellows for the 1990-91 academic year.

"The pool of talent we have available to us through Emory University and the international academic community will considerably strengthen our ability not only to conduct first-rate research, but also to continue to apply what we have learned in the field," said Carter Center Executive Director William H. Foege.

Three of the visiting scholars are Emory University professors, appointed to CCEU under the auspices of a William and Flora Hewlett Foundation grant: • Courtney Brown of Emory's political science department is working with African Studies Fellow Richard Joseph. • Morgan Cloud is professor of constitutional law at the Emory University School of Law. He is working with Conflict Resolution Fellow Dayle E. Powell and Soviet Law Fellow Harold Berman. • Jan Gross of Emory's sociology department works with Soviet Media and International Communications Fellow Ellen Mickiewicz.

In addition to these Hewlett visiting professors, three additional scholars are working with CCEU fellows and are teaching at Emory this year: • Bruce Maddy-Weitzman of the Dayan Center for Middle Eastern and African Studies of Tel Aviv University is a visiting fellow with the Middle Eastern Studies program. • John Taylor, former Chief of Mission of the U.S. Interests Section in Havana, Cuba, serves as Diplomat-in-Residence at CCEU. • Johan van der Vyer, distinguished professor of law at the South African University of Witwatersrand, is working with the Center's Human Rights program.

## **THE CARTER CENTER**

### **Center Launches Major New Capital Campaign**

President Carter has announced that six distinguished corporate executives will share leadership responsibilities with him in a \$60 million international Capital Campaign to secure the future of The Carter Center.

According to Jim Brasher, special assistant to President Carter, pledges of more than \$30 million have already been received.

"These early commitments and the enthusiastic involvement of this distinguished leadership team means we are well on our way to ensuring that the Center's vital initiatives promoting peace, health, human rights and democracy will continue for years to come," he said.

Plans for the Georgia portion of the Campaign were presented at an organizing meeting in September hosted by Delta Air Lines CEO Ron Allen. Early commitments from Georgia donors total more than \$11.25 million.

"In 1983, Delta made the largest financial commitment in its history to help establish The Carter Center. We have been very pleased with the results of this investment, and I am honored

to match our previous gift with a \$ 1 million pledge to this new Capital Campaign," said Mr. Allen.

The Center's Annual Campaign provides ongoing program and operating support for the Center. Of the overall \$60 million working goal for this new Capital Campaign, one-half will go toward a permanent endowment for the Center. The remaining \$30 million will be used to construct additional facilities and to create an extraordinary needs fund.

"This fund will be available to us when we see an immediate opportunity to go beyond the regular programs of the Center, such as when we are called in to observe an election or to mediate a conflict in a war-torn region of the world," said Mr. Brasher.

The Carter Center's Capital Campaign is running concurrently with Emory's newly announced \$400 million "Campaign for Emory."

"The work of our fundraising campaigns is being carefully coordinated," said President Carter.

## **GLOBAL 2000**

### **Unusual Donation Aids War on Guinea Worm**

When a plane carrying an unusual fabric landed in Ghana last September, thousands of Africans took a major step toward freeing themselves from a debilitating disease.

The fabric, which was woven into 1.4 million reusable nylon filters, will be used by African villagers to strain drinking water that harbors the Guinea worm larvae, the cause of a horrible disease that maims and cripples 10 million people each year. The filters are a gift to The Carter Center from the Du Pont Company in partnership with Precision Fabrics Group, Inc.

"This generous donation represents a major step toward our goal of eradicating this disease by 1995," said Carter Center senior consultant Donald Hopkins.

The first shipments of filters are expected to reach five additional countries by the end of 1990—Cameroon, Nigeria, Benin, Burkina Faso and Mali. Du Pont and Precision Fabrics plan to donate a total of 9 million filters over the next five years.

We hope to reach all 17 endemic African countries by 1992," said Dr. Hopkins.

The donation is but one example of The Carter Center's partnership with business. In March, the American Cyanamid Company donated more than \$2 million worth of Abate larvicide to The Carter Center, all that is needed to eradicate Guinea worm in Africa. Abate destroys the Guinea worm larvae in rural water supplies, yet leaves the water safe for drinking. The spread of Guinea worm also can be prevented by providing a clean water supply through the digging of borehole wells, which is often cost prohibitive, or by teaching villagers to boil their drinking water.

### **Partners in Innovation**

Late last year, President Carter and Donald Hopkins contacted Du Pont to see if the company would be interested in developing a strong cloth filter that could be used to fight Guinea worm. Du Pont accepted the challenge and approached Precision Fabrics in Greensboro, North Carolina, for technical assistance. Du Pont donated the fiber, and researchers at Precision Fabrics set out to determine how it could be woven into a brand new product—a reusable filter with a sole purpose: to prevent people on another continent from contracting Guinea worm disease.

After months of research, this innovative partnership between The Carter Center, Du Pont and Precision Fabrics resulted in the creation of an ultra-fine nylon monofilament filter that fit

the bill. When President Carter and Dr. Hopkins visited Du Pont headquarters in Wilmington, Delaware, and one of Precision Fabrics' plants in Vinton, Virginia in October, the manufacturing process was completed and the first shipment of filters had already arrived in Ghana.

"At Du Pont, we were greeted by enthusiastic employees from all divisions of the company who were anxious to reinforce their commitment to this project. And when President Carter toured the Precision Fabrics plant, a worker stopped him to explain how careful everyone was being because they realized a mistake in the fabric could cause a child in Africa to get Guinea worm," recalls Dr. Hopkins.

## **TASK FORCE FOR CHILD SURVIVAL**

### **World Summit for Children: An Investment in Global Survival**

#### **More than 70 Heads of State Gather to Improve the Health of Children**

Anew face appeared on the screen every few seconds. They came from every country of the world, children of different ages, some smiling, some crying, some without expression, but all replaced by a number as one more young life was snuffed out.

It was Sunday, September 30th, and more than 70 heads of state, the largest such gathering in history, were watching a video depicting the speed at which children die around the world. Collectively, they pledged that before the day was through, they would do something about the millions of children who, in the words of New York City Mayor David Dinkins, meet "the sunset of opportunity at the dawn of their existence."

The health of children has improved worldwide. Death rates for infants and children were twice as high in 1960 as they are today, and more improvement has been seen in the past six years than during any comparable time in history. It is because of this progress that the World Summit for Children was so well attended. Political leaders were not about to commit themselves to a program of failure. They required proof that their involvement would be founded on a strong science base and could make a realistic difference.

What they learned is that vaccines provide one of the most effective and least expensive medical interventions available. Ten to 15 dollars provides the average child in a developing country with protection against six diseases. One dollar of this money purchases vaccine. The rest provides for transporting the vaccinators to the child on five different occasions and for refrigerators, health education, disease surveillance and other ingredients of a successful vaccination program.

#### **Task Force Coordinates Immunization Efforts**

At The Carter Center, a Task Force for Child Survival (TFCS) is working with the United Nations and sponsoring international health organizations to facilitate and coordinate immunization efforts. In 1984, when the TFCS was formed, less than 20 percent of children in the developing world had received a complete vaccine series. At the request of Jonas Salk, the producer of the first polio vaccine, and Robert McNamara, former U.S. Secretary of Defense, the Rockefeller Foundation organized a meeting that brought together the four key U.N. agencies involved with immunization—the World Health Organization (WHO), UNICEF, the World Bank, and the United Nations Development Programme. Together with the Rockefeller Foundation, these groups formed the TFCS to make their work more efficient.

#### **Vaccinations Vital to World Survival**

Few at that first meeting could have predicted the speed with which improvements would mount. UNICEF, Rotary International, and others have raised funds for vaccines. The U.N. agencies, private voluntary organizations, and the countries of the world have demonstrated

improvements in public health management by reaching over 75 percent of children with a complete series of a vaccine.

Around the world, societies have mobilized to protect their children, politicians have stressed child survival in political campaigns, expectations have increased, and resources have been made available at a level unanticipated six years ago. As a result, this year 2.5 million children will not die because of measles, whooping cough, diphtheria or tetanus. Five hundred thousand will not develop polio, and one million will not die because of diarrhea. Three and a half million parents will hold their children on their laps tonight because something in the world worked right.

Vaccinating our children is vital to their survival. But it is also vital to the survival of our world. We now know that childhood death rates are the best predictor in modern times of future birth rates. We can predict with precision what the birth rates of a country will be in the year 2000 based on the country's current infant mortality rate and the trends of the past 10 years. An investment in global child survival is an investment in population and environmental control.

### **Scientific Advances Could Make Summit Goals a Reality**

What are the likely results of the Summit?

The Children's Summit led to an unprecedented review of child survival programs in every country as leaders presented their plans and visions after being led to their seats by children from around the world. But it was more than rhetoric. World leaders signed a declaration and a plan of action committing their countries to significant programs in this decade. They agreed to reduce infant mortality by one-third or more before the year 2000. They agreed to reduce the deaths of mothers—over 500,000 a year during pregnancy or childbirth—by 50 percent in a decade. They agreed to provide primary schooling, literacy training and better nutrition for children.

These things, which we take for granted, were not previously even in the realm of possibility for millions of children around the world. In short, we saw the positive use of peer pressure as country leaders reinforced, for each other, the improvement of child health and welfare as a political issue.

While these objectives may seem impossible, scientific improvements currently on the horizon will help make meeting them a reality. For example, with a modest increase in research efforts, it appears possible through the use of sustained or delayed release preparations to produce vaccines with the booster doses built into the primary shot. In addition, it appears possible to combine many vaccines into a single injection, thereby reducing the number of shots a child must have as well as the number of needles and syringes required. These advancements would reduce the number of times a vaccinator must make contact with a child, resulting in major cost reductions. It also appears possible to make vaccines heat stable, reducing the dependence on refrigeration and complicated logistics. And it even appears possible to increase greatly the number of diseases that can be prevented through immunization.

The world is demonstrating a new ability to coordinate and cooperate to combat aggression, to reduce the threat of nuclear weapons, and to improve economic development. Now it is showing that such coordination can, and must, make a difference for children.

## **THE JIMMY CARTER LIBRARY**

### **Wiregrass Exhibit Highlights Georgia Folklife**

Georgia history buffs, folk art enthusiasts, and just plain folk will all find something of interest at the new traveling exhibit at the Museum of the Jimmy Carter Library.

"Folklife of the Georgia Wiregrass," which focuses on traditional life in the southern part of the state, will debut on December 1 and continue through March 31, 1991.

"We've tried to recreate the feeling of the Georgia wiregrass region," said Library Director Donald B. Schewe. "Agricultural implements, for example, will be displayed in a dirt pen surrounded by a white picket fence."

In creating "Folklife of the Georgia Wiregrass," professional folklorists and photographers traveled throughout six south Georgia counties documenting architecture, agriculture, family and religious life, celebrations, traditional arts, recreational activities, and the environment. The photographs illustrate how people and their traditions shaped the culture of this region of the state. In addition to photos, traditional crafted items such as quilts, baskets, and walking sticks are also included in the exhibit.

"Folklife of the Georgia Wiregrass" originated in 1978 through the efforts of the American Folklife Center at the Library of Congress in conjunction with the Arts Experiment Station at Abraham Baldwin Agricultural College in Tifton, Georgia. The exhibit was shown at the Library of Congress during President Carter's term, and Mrs. Carter and daughter Amy participated in the opening.

#### **LBJ Exhibit: Photos Chronicle the White House Years**

Seventy-five photographs, many previously unpublished, presented a kaleidoscopic view of some of the historic, victorious, comic, and anguished moments of President Lyndon Baines Johnson's public and private life to visitors to the Museum of the Jimmy Carter Library this fall.

"LBJ: The White House Years," was mounted at the Museum August 22 - October 31 to commemorate the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of President Johnson's inauguration as the 36th president of the United States.

Highlighting the exhibition were reminiscences by former First Lady Lady Bird Johnson, journalist Bill Moyers, and dark Clifford, as well as remarks excerpted from Johnson's landmark speeches.

#### **Center Building Dedicated to Charles H. Kirbo**

President and Mrs. Carter honored longtime friend and supporter Charles H. Kirbo at the dedication of a new Carter Center building in September.

The Kirbo Building houses the Health Risk Appraisal Program of The Carter Center of Emory University (CCEU) and the offices of Global 2000 and the Task Force for Child Survival (TFCS), organizations affiliated with The Carter Center.

"Charlie Kirbo has been an integral part of everything we have done over the years, and by this gesture, we hope to give him some of the recognition he so richly deserves. He has been instrumental in the establishment and success of The Carter Center, a valued friend to me and Rosalynn, and an inspiration to all who know him and work with him," said President Carter at the dedication.

Mr. Kirbo campaigned diligently for President Carter when he ran for governor and served as counsel to the president in the White House. He has remained a close advisor to the Carters, serving as executive director of The Carter Center's Board of Trustees and as a member of the Board of Councilors.

"I am grateful for the honor and feel equally rewarded by seeing the continuing success of The Carter Center," said Mr. Kirbo.

The Kirbo Building is located at 1149 Ponce de Leon, just a few blocks from The Carter Center. The mailing address for the organizations housed there remains One Copenhill, Atlanta, GA 30307.