Consultation Produces Imaginative Ideas for Arms Control

More than 180 journalists, camera crews, and editors watched and reported from Emory as an unprecedented array of political stars, military and scientific experts, and scholars joined delegates from eleven nations in a week-long discussion of international security and arms control in mid-April. "Such a gathering might have turned out to be no more than a demonstration of the pulling-power of ex-presidents...but the conference produced more than hot air," wrote editor John Grimond in The Economist. Indeed, following two-and-a-half years of preparation, the Carter Center's Consultation on International Security and Arms Control produced, in an extraordinary bipartisan consensus, a set of policy recommendations related to U.S.-Soviet relations and arms control.

These recommendations can be meaningful to future arms negotiations. Said Carter, "What was said will have an impact on our allies and friends and, within this country, on public opinion, which I know from experience shapes policy in the White House and the State Department and even in the Soviet Union." continued page 2
Consultation—
continued from page 1

Presidents Jimmy Carter and Gerald Ford chaired the consultation which was directed by Dr. Ellen Mickiewicz of Emory and Dr. Roman Kolakowicz of the University of California at Los Angeles. A bipartisan group of officials from the current administration as well as four previous American administrations attended the five-day meeting along with representatives from eleven countries, including a Soviet delegation headed by Anatoly Dobrynin, Soviet ambassador to the United States.

For their part, the Soviets appeared to use the consultation to explain their negotiation positions and to suggest some possible modifications. Dobrynin indicated that the Soviets are willing to discuss limited offensive weapons reductions even if such discussions are not coupled with agreement on the role of space-based defense. However, he insisted that deep cuts in offensive arsenals could not be considered if the United States proceeds with the “Star Wars” proposal. This proposed Strategic Defense Initiative has been a major source of disagreement in the Geneva talks and prompted a great deal of discussion in the Atlanta forum. Most participants criticized the proposal as infeasible, extremely costly, a likely violation of the ABM treaty, and a new and major obstacle to progress on arms control.

In another perceived departure from the previous Soviet position, the long-time Soviet ambassador hinted at inviting skeptics to examine the controversial Siberian radar site at Krasnaya. On-site verification historically has been a stumbling block in arms reduction negotiations.

While participants from the current and past five U.S. administrations and from the Soviet Union, Great Britain, West Germany, Japan, and China stated that there are many fundamental political, social, and ideological differences which strain the negotiation process, they noted basic shared beliefs that provide a degree of optimism — namely that we inhabit the same planet and that nuclear war would be disastrous. In the words of veteran statesman McGeorge Bundy, “there exists the makings of a grand bargain” between the two superpowers.

The innovative recommendations presented during the consultation’s final hours were developed by a bipartisan group which included Presidents Carter and Ford; the three study panel chairs, Col. Brent Scowcroft, Ralph Earle, and Robert O’Neill; the Soviet delegation; Sen. Sam Nunn (D.-Ga.); and former Secretary of State Cyrus Vance.

These suggestions moved J. Randall Ashley of the Atlanta Journal and Constitution to write, “Move over Geneva. Some of the most imaginative new ideas for nuclear arms control have emerged in Atlanta.”

Recommendations Reached at the Consultation

- The United States and the Soviet Union should continue to adhere to the Anti-Ballistic Missile Treaty and the Outer Space Treaty and no steps should be taken contrary to the terms of those agreements until prior negotiations have been exhausted. Through negotiations, the parties should clarify the terms of the ABM Treaty to distinguish between research and development, and there should be a clear notice of any possible plans to abrogate or deliberately violate the treaty’s terms.

- The United States and the Soviet Union should continue their existing policies of not taking steps to undercut the provisions of important treaties and other agreements that are not formally in effect, including the Interim Agreement on Offensive Arms, the Threshold Test Ban Treaty, and SALT II.

- Based on the U.S.-Soviet joint statement establishing the present Geneva talks, the two nations should make every effort to reduce greatly and further limit nuclear arms, without letting the possibility of future developments in strategic defensive systems inhibit such reductions and limitations. (The Soviet side appears to be unwilling to consider deep reductions in offensive weapons as long as the possibility of new strategic defensive deployments is not definitely foreclosed; the American side wishes to negotiate precisely such deep reductions while holding open the strategic defense option pending completion of
Union should continue to take into account the interest of allies and other countries in the avoidance of war and enhancement of stability.

- Current and future negotiations, while not conducted in a vacuum, should not be hostage to linkage with other related issues between the signers.

- Neither side should seek to achieve real or apparent superiority through negotiations.

- In the future, both sides should move more ambitiously in negotiating comprehensive arms agreements without excluding limited steps in the short term.

- The public in both countries should be informed that the issues are complex and that both countries enter with asymmetries, many changeable.

- The United States should ratify the Threshold Test Ban Treaty or make it clear that its terms will continue to be honored. Through mutual agreement, the explosion limits should be rapidly lowered commensurate with the technical feasibility for verification, hopefully leading to a comprehensive test ban agreement.

- Negotiations should be renewed to ban any deployment of offensive weapons in space.

- U.S.-Soviet consultations should include the question of non-proliferation. Regional agreements involving nuclear-free zones should be encouraged.

Additional recommendations regarding alliances and non-proliferation were read by President Ford at the conclusion of the consultation.

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—Laura Roselle

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Friedrich Ruediger
Brent Scowcroft
Leonard Spector
Sergei Taranenko
Cyrus Vance
Herbert York

In response to former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's comment on the seating arrangements, Ambassador Anatoly Dobrynin replied, "My good friend Henry, certainly I am to your left from the audience's point of view."
Camp David Provides Model for Conflict Resolution Project

During an extraordinary visit to Camp David in September 1978, President Carter served as facilitator to two of the most influential statesmen in the Middle East. By utilizing the techniques of conflict resolution, Carter persuaded Anwar Sadat and Menachem Begin to meet and address their differences. The Camp David accords and the ensuing Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty are recorded as outstanding contributions of the Carter presidency.

Conflict resolution still interests the former president. Indeed, the process and the environment, which yielded such dramatic results at Camp David, have become the model for a major project at the Carter Center during 1985-87.

Directed by task force leader Judge Jack Etheridge, associate dean of the Emory University School of Law, the center will sponsor a series of three symposia, each organized around a specific issue, to examine and define creative approaches to dispute resolution. Suggested topics for the symposia have ranged from acid rain and other environmental issues to tobacco consumption, fishing rights, and international border disputes. The symposia will involve forty to fifty parties in conflict over the chosen issue, as well as a dozen specialists in dispute resolution. Disputants will learn to examine and resolve their problems without hostility or litigation and establish models which may be useful in future controversies.

The project is a departure from traditional Carter Center programs; the symposia will not follow a pattern of presentations and dialogue, nor will they produce policy suggestions. Dayle E. Powell, assistant to President Carter and staff coordinator for this project says, "What we hope to do is apply what we know about peacemaking by bringing together the major interest groups — the parties who actually have the ability and the responsibility to create the solution."

The expectation is that the parties will discover an atmosphere where, by separating idea-gathering from position-taking, creative proposals can be nurtured. "It's a meeting in the tradition of informal diplomacy with direct face-to-face discussions," explains Powell.

The physical surroundings represent another difference in this project versus other center events. Attempting to recreate the Camp David atmosphere so conducive to that process, the Carter Center will sequester participants in a retreat-like setting. Discussions will remain private; even required staff will be kept to the minimum.

The Carter Center has attracted several leading experts in conflict resolution to serve as facilitators during the symposia.

Dr. James H. Laue, chair of the first Carter Center Conflict Resolution Symposium, is president of the Conflict Clinic, Inc., an affiliate of the Program on Negotiation at Harvard Law School, and director of the Center for Metropolitan Studies at the University of Missouri. Appointed by President Carter as vice-chair of the Peace Academy Commission in 1980, Laue has actively promoted legislation for the Academy. A leading expert in the field of conflict resolution, both domestic and international, Laue is often in demand as a mediator, consulting with organizations such as the Hewlett Foundation, Danforth Foundation, Kettering Foundation, and the municipality of Gary, Indiana.

Richard Salem is an instructor of alternatives to litigation at the University of Maine and the University of Chicago School of Law. Salem mediated the Skokie-Nazi conflict (1978), a dispute at Kent State University (1977), and the takeover of Wounded Knee (1973). In 1979 and in 1985, Salem traveled to South Africa to consult with black community leaders, national and local government officials, academics, and law students on the use of negotiation and mediation in responding to racial conflicts.

J. Michael Keating, Jr. is chair and co-founder of Conflict Management Resources, Inc., executive vice-president of the Institute for Conflict Management, and visiting professor at the Boston University School of Law. Keating mediated budgeting priorities for human services in Connecticut in an intergovernmental negotiation process (1982-83) and currently hears cases as a member of the American Arbitration Association's labor panel of arbitrators. While with the University Research Corporation, Keating established model Neighborhood Justice Centers in Atlanta, Kansas City, and Los Angeles.

William J. Spencer is senior associate with Interaction Associates, Inc. Spencer has trained or consulted with more than 200 public- and private-sector organizations in Canada, Europe, Australia, and the United States including the Ford Motor Co., Atari, Chevron, Exxon, and the Environmental Protection Agency.
After leaving the White House, President Carter said, “I feel a continuing obligation to address issues that significantly affect our nation and the world. The exchange of informed ideas is the best way to resolve — and avoid — social, economic, and political problems.”

The former President was referring to his dream of establishing an international public policy center to examine and, he hoped, recommend answers for many of the complex issues that plague modern society: strife between nations, human rights violations, nuclear proliferation, inadequate health care, and a threatened environment.

In 1982, Carter merged this dream with that of Emory University President James T. Laney, who was “convinced that Carter’s association with Emory would make possible the development of a remarkable institute.” The result was the establishment of the Carter Center of Emory University.

“We tackle weighty issues such as arms control, Middle East turmoil, and health care by bringing together some of the best minds in the world,” explains center director Dr. Kenneth Stein. “Our strength lies in our ability to attract people to the center to communicate with one another in order to generate new ideas.”

In the past three years, the Carter Center has proven this ability in a series of major “consultations,” or multi-day meetings, on peace prospects in the Middle East (November 1983), the reduction of unnecessary death and disease in America (November 1984), and international security and arms control (April 1985). Other areas of topical focus for the center will include U.S.-Latin American relations, conflict resolution, the environment, and human rights.

“The consultations obtain most of the media attention, but the public education they provide is only one aspect of our efforts,” says Stein. Typically, a major study area — U.S. health-care policy for example — is developed by an outside specialist or a member of the Emory community. A task force is formed which enlarges upon the original idea. This group gathers, or in some cases, contracts for the initial research and then schedules the public forums.

“Our strength lies in our ability to attract people who can generate new ideas.”

These forums take the shape of one-day symposia or multi-day consultations. Often, a project requires both in order to evaluate the issue adequately. Leaders in the field are asked to attend these public sessions to scrutinize available alternatives and, at the conclusion, offer recommendations for possible solutions.

“Our success and the potential effectiveness of the policy recommendations can be measured in one sense by the caliber of those present,” emphasizes Stein, who readily points to the lists of delegates to the Middle East consultation and the most recent consultation on arms control. Jordan’s Crown Prince Hassan bin Talal, Saudi Arabia’s U.S. Ambassador Prince Bandar bin Sultan, and Syria’s Minister of State for Foreign Affairs Farouk al-Sharar joined more than three dozen statesmen and scholars in discussions on peace prospects in the Middle East. In turn, the arms control consultation attracted sixty foreign affairs experts including Soviet and American officials and delegates from Great Britain, China, Japan, France, and Canada.

Policy suggestions are not the only tangible product of the consultations, Stein notes. A variety of useful materials have emerged from the meetings including publications, curriculum units, films, and research conducted by center fellows.

“These fellows,” Stein emphasizes, “have a pivotal role in the continuation of a project after a consultation.” A cluster of researchers, with academic affiliations at Emory or other major universities, will be developed for each area of inquiry to coordinate the public education, research, and teaching programs associated with that issue. At any one time, Stein notes, former Washington decision makers, journalists, senior scholars, pre- and post-doctoral students, and members of the business community may be collectively engaged in the investigation of a particular issue.

A fellow’s participation in a given project will vary according to his or her availability, teaching opportunities at Emory or other local universities, the project needs, and the fellow’s interest in independent research. The Carter Center will not make separate academic appointments, but will have its research committee screen and appoint applicants in conjunction with Emory and other universities.

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The Educational Dimension: Helping Teachers Teach

A Perspective by Jimmy Carter

When Emory President James Laney and I began developing the Carter Center, we envisioned an institute as dedicated and suitable to the instruction, inspiration, and edification of our nation's teachers and students as it would be a unique and welcome gathering place for some of the sharpest minds and decision makers on the globe.

As our plans for the center evolved, we remained committed to this concept of education as our principle objective: education not just for the student of public policy or international relations, but a stimulating instructional experience that could reach students of all ages and backgrounds.

Achieving this goal, we believe, requires not only an active fellowship program (as we have begun to develop), but also quality educational materials that will help teachers — especially middle and high school instructors — teach current domestic and international issues.

Two such projects are underway now at the Carter Center. As a result of our on-going health care project, we are developing a film for early teens on health care risks that we hope will be incorporated into the health curriculums of our nation's middle schools. This film, which features Bill Cosby, is produced in correlation with the Centers for Disease Control and Georgia Public Television. We plan to introduce it nationally on PBS and then distribute it to public schools, libraries, and other educational institutions around the nation. To increase its impact, we plan to create teaching materials to accompany the film when used in middle schools.

The Consultation on International Security and Arms Control provided the second opportunity for a unique educational project. Fellowships were offered to six social studies teachers to travel to Atlanta to observe the plenary sessions of the consultation and then develop curriculum units on the topic for use in high schools.

With additional funds, the Carter Center could develop a number of other ways to help teachers teach. The staff has proposed a one-day workshop on "Teaching About Arms Control" that would attract teachers and curriculum supervisors from the Southeast. Also, we have discussed the possibility of yearly seminars that would provide instruction to teachers on vital world issues and develop methods for disseminating the information to students.

My personal commitment to improving education goes back to my service on the Sumter County (Ga.) School Board. This commitment remains one of my strongest interests. Because this commitment is shared by our center director, Dr. Kenneth Stein, and Emory University, I am confident that the Carter Center will make genuine contributions to the public understanding of these complicated issues.

"We must educate students of all ages and backgrounds, not just those concerned with public policy or international relations."

We feel instruction about arms control and international security is especially important because of the anxiety many students feel about the nuclear threat — an anxiety that, too often, is not addressed by the schools. These materials, which will reflect multiple perspectives, will help teachers become more familiar with the topic and hence more confident in the instruction of nuclear arms education.

Several of these lessons have already been "field tested," and we hope to have the complete unit ready by this fall. The Georgia Council for the Social Studies will preview the materials this October, and we will seek the assistance of organizations such as the National Council for the Social Studies, Global Perspectives in Education, and the Arms Control Association in promoting the materials.

Jimmy Carter
From Soviet Law to the Reorganization of the U.S. Court System

The Carter Center hopes to sustain a fully developed fellowship program by the fall of 1986. Such a program would seek a number of scientists and scholars from the United States and abroad to examine arms control, human rights, health care, the environment, Latin America, and international law. Below is a brief introduction to four of the individuals named as fellows of the center.

Dr. Deborah Barrow received a visiting fellowship from the center to complete her manuscript, "A Court Divided: The Politics of the Reorganization of the 5th Circuit Court of Appeals."

Barrow researched the twenty-year debate over the 5th U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals, an administrative and political crisis that ended in 1980 with legislation signed by Jimmy Carter which effectively split the court into the new 5th and 11th circuit courts.

According to Barrow, the crisis with the 5th circuit originated during the late 1950s. The court, based in New Orleans, La., led the country in racial desegregation decisions but, with only fifteen judges for forty million people, it suffered from an overwhelming case load. Several attempts were made to split the court, but cries of racial discrimination kept the changes from taking place. "If the court were split in 1963, it would have altered civil rights decisions and set us back years in terms of what had been accomplished," she explains.

Dr. Harold J. Berman, a world-renowned scholar of Soviet and international law, began his fellowship in January 1985. Berman holds a joint appointment as Woodruff Professor of Law at Emory's School of Law and is James Barr Ames Professor of Law Emeritus at Harvard University, where he taught from 1948 to 1985.

Berman was attracted to the Carter Center because his interests in Soviet law, world peace, East-West relations, and human rights closely correspond with the interests of the center. "The center should be concerned not only with research and scholarship," says Berman, "but with training people in various areas so that they can help solve international problems." The center, he continues, should "nurture a professional quality in outstanding younger people whom we should seek to attract."

Berman follows this philosophy himself. Concerned with the shrinking number of experts in Soviet legal studies, Berman tries to interest law students and recent graduates to enter that field. Most American specialists in Soviet law are in their late forties or older. Says Berman, "We have not reproduced."

Because a knowledge of the Soviet legal system is critical to East-West negotiations, Berman would like to see prominent legal scholars from the Soviet Union teach courses in the United States. This, he feels, would create some excitement and perhaps a career commitment among younger lawyers.

Berman writes and lectures frequently on Soviet affairs, trade arrangements between Communist and non-Communist countries, comparative law, and legal history and philosophy and has authored more than 20 books and 200 articles. He was a guest scholar for a year at Moscow's Institute of State and Law of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences and presented a course in American law at Moscow University in 1962 and again in 1982.

Dr. Linda Brady will continue the center's programs in arms control, international security, and East-West relations, and will lecture in Emory's political science department beginning January 1986.

Brady comes to the Carter Center from the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, where she served as an international program analyst focusing on manpower, installations, and logistics. She monitored U.S. security assistance programs for Southwest Asia and the Middle East, assessed needs for our European allies in times of crises, and most recently directed the national security forum for women.

Brady also served on the U.S. delegation to the Mutual and Balanced Force Reduction talks in 1979-1980 and was a staff member in the Office of Disarmament and Arms Control.

Brady has taught at George Washington University, Goucher College, and Vanderbilt University and has authored numerous articles on arms control, international security, and foreign policy.

Dr. Robert A. Pastor was recently appointed director of the Carter Center's Latin American and Caribbean Program and the William and Flora Hewlett Fellow in Latin American and Caribbean Studies. During the 1985-86 academic year, Pastor will serve as a Fulbright...
Carter Breaks Ground for Japanese Garden

Construction of the Carter Presidential Library and the Carter Center continues. To demonstrate the project's progress and honor its many contributors, President Carter broke ground in late July for a unique Japanese Garden designed by Kinsaku Nakane, a master Japanese landscape architect. Nakane, Georgia Governor Joe Frank Harris, Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young, and Japanese Consul General for the Southeast Tadayuki Nonoyama joined Carter in the groundbreaking ceremony.

The garden, the only one of its kind in the Southeast, was made possible by a contribution from Tadao Yoshida, president of Yoshida Kogyo KK of Japan.

Under the current plan, the library, museum, and policy center are slated for completion by early next summer.

Bill Cosby to Star in Carter Center Film

Bill Cosby, one of America's best-known entertainers, will star in a film promoting the advantages of a healthy lifestyle. Produced by Georgia Public Television in cooperation with the Carter Center, the film utilizes information derived from the center's recent "Closing the Gap" project and illustrates to youths the dangers of cigarette smoking, alcohol misuse, and failure to use seatbelts.

Shot on location at Atlanta's Six Flags amusement park, the film follows six middle-school students as they discover the meaning of thrills versus dangerous risks. The students meet three park employees, patterned after the heroes in Ghostbusters, who campaign against the risks using "smoke busters," "booze blasters," and "belt bucklers" songs and slogans.

The one-hour feature will be broadcast on the Georgia Public Television Network Monday, October 28, 1985, at 8 P.M. and then will be offered to the 300-station Public Broadcasting Service.

Japanese-American children representing the Georgia-Japanese Chamber of Commerce present an 1819 Zen temple bell to President and Mrs. Carter during the groundbreaking ceremony of the Japanese Garden.

Center Plans Conference on Latin America

Democracy has swept across Latin America. Since 1978, ninety percent of the people in these countries have voted in a free election. Can these democracies survive?

The Carter Center will address this concern during a two-day symposium next year to propose ways that democratic leaders and governments can expand and preserve democracy in the Americas. A small group of current and former presidents and prime ministers of Latin American and Caribbean governments will be invited to join Carter in the discussions. Research papers, commissioned in advance of the symposium, will serve as catalyst for the talks.