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TRIP TO ATLANTA, GEORGIA  
(CARTER CENTER OF EMORY UNIVERSITY)

13 MAR - 5 JUNE 1987

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THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

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5 June 1987

Trip Atlanta follow up  
Carter Presidential  
Center

Dear President Carter,

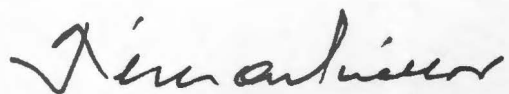
I would like to express my appreciation to you for the session held at the Carter Center last week on International Mediation. It was extremely valuable for me and I believe for all of those who had the privilege of participating. What emerged clearly was the need for understanding and strengthening the particular role that various elements - governmental, non-governmental, and multilateral - can play in the resolution of disputes. It is evident that impressive resources are available. The problem is to ensure their wise and timely application. I found the discussions especially rewarding on this point and I understand from Jim Sutterlin that the further session on Friday morning, when I unfortunately could not be present, provided additional insight drawn from particular conflicts.

The group which you had assembled was extraordinarily well qualified and I am glad to know that, perhaps with a somewhat flexible composition, it will remain in existence. I very much look forward to a meeting here at United Nations Headquarters and I hope that details can be worked out during the next week or so. I believe that Dayle Powell and Jim Sutterlin are already in touch for this purpose.

The Honourable  
Mr. Jimmy Carter  
The Carter Presidential Center  
Atlanta

It was a great pleasure for me to be with you and Mrs. Carter in the Carter Center which is a most impressive and beautiful establishment. I am especially grateful for your gracious hospitality and friendship. I hope you will convey to Mrs. Carter my sincere appreciation and my warm regards.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read 'Javier Pérez de Cuéllar', with a stylized, flowing script.

Javier Pérez de Cuéllar

*Carter Presidential Centre*  
*Trip Atlanta follow up*

NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Subject: New York meeting of the Carter Group  
on International Mediation

1. President Carter and the members of the Group on International Mediation with whom you met last week in Atlanta have enthusiastically accepted your suggestion that a further meeting be held at the United Nations. You will recall that you mentioned the possibility of a date in September prior to the opening of the General Assembly session. Ms. Powell, from Carter's staff, has been in touch to indicate that President Carter's schedule is free on 9, 10 and 11 September so that a meeting during those days would be possible for him. If a day and a half meeting at that time would be acceptable to you, then Carter's office will explore the availability of the others involved, including the OAS and Commonwealth Secretaries-General and possibly also the OAU Secretary-General. This will need to be done quickly given the short time frame.
2. Ms. Powell tentatively plans to be in New York on 8 June in order to explore various possible arrangements for the meeting. The Carter organization will cover all expenses and is considering the advisability of holding part of the meeting in a conference centre outside Manhattan. A determining factor would be whether you would feel more at ease if all of the sessions were held at Headquarters or whether you might enjoy greater freedom from interruption if part of the sessions were held elsewhere. One possible schedule might provide for dinner, hosted by you, limited to President Carter and the other Secretaries-General, with the first working session being held in a conference room at Headquarters. Lunch could be in the Delegates Dining Room following which participants would adjourn to a nearby conference center, reassembling in time for dinner and a possible post-dinner evening session. Participants would remain at the conference center over night and the final working sessions and lunch would take place at the conference centre.
3. The days immediately before the opening of the General Assembly are likely to be quite busy and I suggested already in Atlanta that a September timing might present problems. Should you consider the September date inadvisable, we could try for a date in late October or early November, following the completion of the General Debate and the departure of the various dignitaries involved.

4. At the close of the meeting in Atlanta, President Carter told me that he had noted your serious concern over the lack of press attention to United Nations activities. He asked that I tell you that on his next trip to New York, he would be very pleased to arrange for you and him to meet together with the publisher and editors of the New York Times for a discussion of United Nations efforts on behalf of peace and development. He was sure that this would produce useful coverage. I noted that you had had such meetings in the past, most recently with the publisher and editorial staff of the Washington Post and made no further comment. While Carter's intentions were no doubt of the best, his intercession with the New York Times on your behalf would not seem necessary or politically advisable.

James S. Sutterlin  
4 June 1987

Mr. Dayal - Atlanta Trip

JEB

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NOTE FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL

Subject: Mediation Session at the Carter Center

1. You are scheduled to participate in an International Mediation Working Session at the Carter Center of Emory University in Atlanta, Georgia, on 27 and 28 May. You will depart from La Guardia via Eastern Airlines at 3:59 p.m. on the 27th, arriving in Atlanta at 6:26 p.m. You will return the next afternoon, leaving Atlanta at 4:55 p.m. and arriving at La Guardia at 6:50 p.m. Mr. Goulding is also participating in the meeting and will be travelling on the same flights as will I. You will stay at the Hilton Hotel in Atlanta along with the other participants in the meeting.
2. On Wednesday evening, 27 May, President and Mrs. Carter have invited you, the OAS Secretary-General, and the Commonwealth Secretary-General to dinner at the Carter Presidential Center. There will be no other guests. Wives, other than Mrs. Carter, are not expected to attend. The Carter Center will have a limousine at the airport to take you directly to the dinner. The dinner was scheduled for 6:30 p.m. but the Carters are aware that your plane arrives only at 6:26 p.m. and dinner arrangements are taking that into account. The working sessions will begin at 9:30 a.m. on 28 May. The agenda is attached together with the list of participants. Since you will be leaving after the afternoon session on Thursday, the agenda is being modified to ensure that the discussion of the "next steps" in international mediation will take place while you are still present.
3. The working sessions are to be quite informal. Participants include a) international practitioners, b) resource invitees, and c) the process team which is headed by Professor William Ury, Associate Director of the Harvard Program on Negotiation. Professor Ury and the other Process Team Members will introduce the subject of each working session. President Carter will preside and invite the comments of the participants. Participants are not expected to make formal presentations. The discussion will be completely off-the-record although a rapporteur will take notes for an eventual report on the meeting.
4. A paper on strengthening international mediation (copy attached) is intended to provide the focus of the meeting. It was drafted by Professor Ury who gave you a copy when he and other team members visited you at Headquarters. The paper covers familiar ground, stressing the importance of "third parties" in mediating disputes and of moving early to head off conflicts. The possibility of establishing some form of international mediation service is broached but it is acknowledged that formal mechanisms established in the OAS, for example, have not been used. (The experience in the United Nations has been the same.) The paper recommends that emerging and existent conflict situations be monitored and that advantage be taken of the information, analysis, and suggestions available from a standing "network" of practitioners and theorists.

5. You will be able to emphasize the importance which you attribute to early preventive diplomacy and to obtaining the best information and analysis possible for this purpose. It would be useful, in this connection, to mention the Office for Research and the Collection of Information which you have just established. The Office is intended to perform many of the functions suggested in Professor Ury's paper. In addition to collecting and processing information on possible conflict situations from wide public sources for the purpose of early warning, it will establish and maintain contact with universities and research institutes in order to bring together for the use of the Secretary-General the theories, knowledge, analyses, and suggestions available from these sources.

6. You may wish to refer to the ever-present danger of regional disputes or nuclear incidents escalating to involve the major nuclear powers. You might suggest the desirability of devoting study to the establishment of multilateral instrumentalities within the United Nations framework to reduce this risk such as the nuclear alert centre which you proposed in your last Annual Report and the multilateral war-risk reduction centre that Gorbachev suggested in supporting your proposal. The prospectus of a possible conference that would bring practitioners and theorists together on this general subject is attached for your background information (funding has not yet been obtained).

7. President Carter can be expected to concentrate on the Middle East - from where he recently returned - and on the Camp David experience. He favours an international conference convened on the basis of Security Council resolutions 242 and 338. He sees the conference as a necessary umbrella for negotiations between Jordan and Israel (with Palestinian participation) and Syria and Israel. He believes that an agreement on the West Bank and Gaza could emerge which would be quite similar to the solution foreseen in the Camp David Accords. The participants in the session will place much value on hearing your assessment of Middle East negotiation possibilities as well as an account of the techniques you have pursued in efforts to resolve the Afghan situation, the Iran-Iraq conflict, and the Falklands/Malvinas war. On the last-named, you could mention that you sought to assist the mediation efforts of Secretary Haig as long as they continued while preparing to assume the responsibility should this be required. Professor Ury specifically recommends this approach in the paragraph beginning at the bottom of page 7 of his paper.

144.  
James S. Sutterlin  
26 May 1987



JH/acb  
26 May 1987

ITINERARY FOR THE SECRETARY-GENERAL  
(Atlanta, GA)

<u>Date</u>	<u>Itinerary</u>	<u>Time</u>	<u>Airline &amp; Flt. Number</u>	<u>Equipmt</u>	<u>Stops</u>
Wed. 27 May	LV: New York (LAG) ARR: Atlanta (Hilton Hotel)	1559 1826	EA 571	DC9	0
Thur. 28 May	LV: Atlanta ARR: New York (LAG)	1655 1850	DL 94	L10	0

**Final Agenda**  
**International Mediation Working Session**  
**May 28-29, 1987**

Wednesday,  
May 27

Participants Arrive at the  
Hilton Hotel, 225 Courtland  
Street, N.E., Atlanta,  
Georgia, 30043,  
404/659-2000, Telex 80-4370

Thursday,  
May 28

8:45

AM

Shuttle Departs for The  
Carter Presidential Center,  
One Copenhill, Atlanta,  
Georgia, 30307,  
404/331-3900, 404/522-8900

9:00

AM

Arrive Executive Offices in  
Pavilion C - The Carter  
Presidential Center

NOTE: Please pick up your  
identification badges as  
you enter Pavilion C.  
These must be worn at all  
times.

9:00 - 9:30

AM

Continental Breakfast -  
Lobby Adjacent to Zaban  
Room - Pavilion A

9:00 - 9:10

AM

Briefing for Resource  
Invitees - Zaban Room -  
Pavilion A

9:30 - 9:40

AM

Welcome, President Carter

9:40

AM

Remarks, Dayle E. Powell

9:45

AM

Remarks, William Ury

9:50

AM

Remarks, William Spencer

9:55

AM

Introductions

10:20

AM

WORKING SESSION I  
International Mediation  
Present Opportunities:  
What has worked?  
What has not?  
What might?

12:00 - 1:30	PM	Lunch - Lobby Area Adjacent to Zaban Room
1:30	PM	Brief Review of Morning Session
		Brief Review of Afternoon Agenda
		WORKING SESSION II Developing the Field of International Mediation: What are the obstacles? What might be the ingredients of success?
4:00	PM	Adjourn
4:15	PM	Shuttle Departs for the Hilton Hotel
6:15	PM	Shuttle Departs for The Carter Presidential Center
6:30	PM	Tour of Museum
7:00	PM	Cocktails - Library Terrace
7:30	PM	Dinner Under the Stars (Weather Permitting)
9:00	PM	Adjourn
9:15	PM	Shuttle Departs for the Hilton Hotel
Friday, May 29	8:15	AM Shuttle Departs for The Carter Presidential Center*
	8:30	AM Continental Breakfast - Lobby Adjacent to Zaban Room - Pavilion A
	9:00	AM Convene - Zaban Room
		WORKING SESSION III Advancing the Field of International Mediation: What are the next steps we can take?

12:00	PM	Lunch - Executive Dining Room
1:30	PM	Adjourn
2:00	PM	Shuttle Departs for Airport

\*Participants should check out before leaving the Hilton and bring their baggage to The Carter Presidential Center.

4/29/87

International Mediation Working Session  
May 28 - 29, 1987  
Participant List

International Practitioners

- (1) Jimmy Carter  
39th President of the United States
- (2) Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Secretary General of the United Nations
- (3) Marrack Goulding  
Under Secretary General for Special Political  
Affairs  
United Nations Headquarters
- (4) Brian Urquhart  
The Ford Foundation
- (5) Joao Clemente Baena Soares  
Secretary General of the Organization  
of American States
- (6) Shridath Ramphal  
Secretary General of the British Commonwealth
- (7) Harold H. Saunders  
Ambassador
- (8) Sol M. Linowitz  
Ambassador

Resource Invitees

- (9) David Hamburg  
Carnegie Foundation
- (10) Ruth Salinger  
The Greely Foundation
- (11) Warren Salinger  
The Greely Foundation
- (12) Earl Foell  
Christian Science Monitor

- (13) Harry Belevan McBride  
Minister  
Aide to Joao Clemente Baena Soares
- (14) Robert Pastor  
Fellow and Director for the Latin American Programs  
The Carter Center of Emory University
- (15) Jack P. Etheridge  
Judge  
The Law School, Emory University
- (16) Larry Suskind  
Associate Director  
Harvard Program on Negotiation
- (17) Cynthia Sampson  
Harvard Program on Negotiation

Process Team

- (18) William Ury  
Associate Director  
Harvard Program on Negotiation
- (19) William J. Spencer  
Interaction Associates
- (20) Dayle E. Powell  
Associate Director, Fellow for Conflict Resolution  
The Carter Center of Emory University

4/29/87



For the Working Session  
on International Mediation  
Carter Center, Atlanta  
May 28-29, 1987

William L. Ury  
Harvard University  
April 30, 1987

### STRENGTHENING INTERNATIONAL MEDIATION

The world is torn by political conflicts that threaten to spill over into civil strife and war or have already done so. Some of these conflicts are potential breeding grounds for a nuclear confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union that could imperil the world. The task of international conflict resolution has never been so urgent.

A few instances of success -- or partial success -- in the peace process have occurred in recent years. One thinks of the Israeli-Egyptian conflict, of the transfer of power in Zimbabwe, and of the settlement of the Beagle Channel dispute between Chile and Argentina. In all of these instances, third parties -- mediators -- were actively involved. This is no coincidence. Mediators can be enormously useful in aiding nations and groups in conflict to communicate accurately, to explore potential common ground, and to save face before their constituencies -- just to cite a few valuable roles.

Yet mediation and other forms of third party assistance take place mostly on an ad hoc basis. While certain justly celebrated examples have captured the imaginations of the public and of scholars, the question arises as to whether the world community is making full use of this important method for dealing with conflicts. Many opportunities to advance the peace process



may as yet lie unrealized.

Following are six recurrent opportunities:

1. Starting without being asked.

Often, third parties will wait to engage themselves until they receive a formal invitation from the parties in conflict. Yet this invitation typically comes very late if at all. There are many good reasons why the parties do not seek the involvement of a third party: It may not look good to some domestic constituency, it may be taken as a sign of weakness, it may seem unlikely to help.

On the other hand, there is a great deal a third party can do on its own initiative without ever wearing the formal hat of "mediator". It can talk with the parties in an effort to understand their perceptions -- and to share these perceptions with the other sides. It can map out the interests of each party and areas of possible agreement and disagreement. It can float trial balloons in the form of "What would be wrong with this idea?" And this is just the beginning.

2. Catching conflicts before they heat up.

Oftentimes, the international community focuses on a conflict only when it is in its most advanced stages and on the verge of hostilities. While the threat of war may make the parties more willing to consider negotiating, by this time the conflict may be more bitter and intractable.

A valuable opportunity lies in identifying and working on an emerging conflict long before it escalates. In the words of William Shakespeare, "a little fire is quickly trodden out, which, being suffered, rivers cannot quench". Even in those cases where it takes a crisis or war to render the parties willing to negotiate in earnest, it can be invaluable for a third party to have done the necessary groundwork in advance.

3. Getting parties to the table.

Negotiation among parties in conflict is not likely to succeed -- and indeed may not even begin -- without an effective "pre-negotiation" process. The parties need to develop a sufficiently common perception of the problem that talks can proceed. In addition, they need to develop the modicum of trust necessary to assume the risks of negotiating. They need to come to appreciate the benefits of negotiating and the costs of the alternative courses of action.

A significant opportunity for third parties lies in encouraging and engaging in this often slow, lengthy, and painstaking pre-negotiation work. Governmental third parties often lack the time, interest, or political staying power to persist in this work. Nongovernmental third parties can perhaps make their most useful contributions at this stage.

4. Trying out innovative mediation techniques:

New techniques, processes, and resources may lie untapped.

Currently, there is a whirl of activity in the field of conflict resolution. Many innovative procedures and techniques are being developed and tried out. -- often with success. Instances which come readily to mind are the summit mediation at Camp David; the use of the "single negotiating text" procedure at the Law of the Sea negotiations (as well as at Camp David); and the use of computer modelling to help resolve a critical dispute again in the Law of the Sea talks. Other techniques much discussed in the academic literature include GRIT (engaging in a step-by-step process of independent reciprocated initiatives intended to reduce tensions and to build confidence) and unofficial problem--solving workshops.

A genuine opportunity exists in learning from these successes -- as well as from the failures -- in order to adapt them for possible use in other international conflicts.

##### 5. Coordinating third party efforts.

Although in any particular instance, the third party may have many of the critical ingredients necessary for success, it may lack one or more of them. Those ingredients may include:

- a) legitimacy in the eyes of the parties
- b) skill in the process of mediation
- c) leverage
- d) knowledge in the history and specifics of the conflict
- e) financial resources to carry on
- f) time and staff

g) flexibility to change roles and structure

A third party may, for instance, have the legitimacy and leverage, but not the process skills or the time to follow up.

A significant opportunity lies in coordinating, for any given conflict, the various existing third party efforts -- governmental, intergovernmental and nongovernmental -- so that they build on each other's strengths and compensate for each other's weaknesses. Nongovernmental parties may make their most useful contribution in the pre-mediation phase whereas governmental or intergovernmental parties may be necessary to carry out the actual mediation.

A parallel opportunity exists in connecting existing efforts with needed resources such as funds, staff, experts in the substance of the dispute and in the process of mediation so as to provide all the ingredients necessary for success. One might even think of building a "mediation team", whose different members would bring to it the perceived legitimacy, the mediation process skills, the substantive knowledge about the conflict in its various dimensions -- political, economic, and cultural -- as well as the other resources that would enable a long-term effective third party effort to be carried on.

#### 6. Following up after a mediator has left.

Often, even when a mediation effort does take place, it is short-lived. Those with the stature that gives them entree usually do not have the time or inclination to invest years

in patiently pursuing the peace process. If and when an agreement is reached, the international spotlight quickly moves on to another conflict and there is often little follow-up. The result is slippage or at least the loss of an opportunity to move forward.

An opportunity exists to take advantage of the momentum generated by a mediation effort or a mediated agreement. A third party may follow up with an attempt to monitor compliance with the agreement or by trying to take the agreement -- or lack of agreement -- to the next stage in the peace process.

The theme that runs through all of these opportunities is to take the international mediation that now goes on ad hoc and to begin to render it systematic. It would appear that it is now no one's job to systematically improve and extend the practice of international mediation. In an ideal world, these six recurrent opportunities or tasks would be performed by constituted governments and intergovernmental organizations. In reality, this does not always prove possible. The question then becomes: if and when this happens, how is the gap to be filled?

#### An international mediation service?

Struck by the need to extend and improve the practice of international mediation, statesmen and scholars have put forward proposals to create an international mediation service, either global or regional in scope. This idea was implicit in parts of

the charter of the United Nations as well as in many other international conventions and treaties.

All of these proposals remain largely on paper, yet to be realized. Numerous obstacles have blocked their progress. Most of these obstacles stem from two common features of the proposals: the notion that such a service ought to be a formal, usually intergovernmental, institution and the notion that the service itself ought to mediate.

Numerous attempts have been made to formalize a mediation function within, for example, the Organization of American States, the Organization of African Unity, or as a mechanism for dispute resolution in treaties and international accords. Experience has shown that formal mechanisms have not often been used. In the case of the OAS, for instance, a successful ad hoc approach, once formalized, promptly fell into disuse.

The proposal that a neutral service could mediate has encountered much skepticism from experienced political leaders and diplomats. They have asked: What standing would such a service have to be accepted by the nations and groups in conflict? Without clout or significant financial resources, could such an institution be effective in inducing the parties to come to the table and ultimately to come to agreement?

#### An informal approach

Without deciding on the merits and feasibility of a formal service to mediate international disputes, one is left wondering

whether a different tack might be tried to strengthen and extend the practice of international mediation. That tack is to take an informal approach and to seek not to mediate actual conflicts but to support and supplement those existing actors who currently are engaged in mediation and those emerging actors who might be so engaged in the future. Rather than create a new organization in potential competition with existing ones, one might start with what already exists and build from there.

One might begin with an informal support network among those interested and engaged in international mediation. Possible functions range from the more easily doable to the more ambitious. A menu of possible models, none of them exclusive of the others, follows:

*These are all functions  
foreseen for the new  
Office for Research and  
the Collection of Information*

#### #1. Sounding-board

Practitioners and theorists might gather together occasionally at the behest of one of the members to examine in confidence some conflict in which that member is engaged as a third party or considering such an effort. The purpose would be to learn from other experiences so as to offer advice to an actively involved third party.

#### #2. Interchange of practical knowledge

Small conferences might be held in which practitioners and theorists could share useful lessons and techniques. The network could thus promote the accumulation of knowledge about what has

worked and what hasn't in hopes that successes could be replicated and failures avoided. The practice of international mediation could thus be improved.

### #3. Spotlight

With the aid of its staff, the members of the network could monitor existing and emerging conflicts worldwide, scanning for opportunities to catch a conflict before it heats up, encourage pre-negotiation work, or do critical follow-up work after a mediation mission has ended. More ambitiously, the staff could keep track of efforts being made to assist in a given conflict and could identify gaps in coverage, such as needs for information, funds, leverage, or new process techniques.

Through small invited conferences, among other means, the attention of potential third party actors and of those who could provide the necessary resources could be drawn to critical opportunities. Some members might feel impelled to act together to highlight a particular opportunity by, for instance, writing an op-ed article together or making a joint appeal, private or public, to particular governments in a position to move the peace process forward.

### #4. Clearinghouse

A small network staff could identify sources of information -- papers, books, people and organizations -- that could be of use to those engaged in international mediation.



#### #5. Referral service

Aided by its staff, the members of the network could compile lists of potential third parties and their characteristics, of experts knowledgeable about various conflicts, of experts knowledgeable about the processes of negotiation and mediation, of potential funding sources, and of potential available staff for a mediation venture. The network could serve a referral and brokering function, putting potential third parties in touch with nations and groups in conflict as well as with those who could supply needed information, skills, advice, and funds.

#### #6. Support staff

Often parties who are called upon to play a third-party role find themselves hampered by a lack of information about the specific conflict, advice about tactics and strategy, and staff. The network might have on call experts in the substance of any given conflict, experts in process, and staff who can help with everything from organizing meetings and writing reports to taking notes and making plane reservations.

#### #7. Pre-mediation service

In certain conflict situations, the staff might be directed to carry out specific pre-mediation tasks such as mapping out the perceptions and interests of the various parties and helping them to develop a sufficiently common perception of the problem that

fruitful talks can proceed. In essence, the staff would be doing some of the work preparatory to a third party effort by one or more of the members of the network. Analogous work might also be performed after a full-fledged mediation effort such as monitoring agreements reached and assisting the parties in dealing with disputes over compliance.

Any of these models can be pursued in tandem with any other. There are undoubtedly other options as well so these must be considered illustrative of what might be done. Such an informal approach to improving and extending the practice of international mediation would not preclude the eventual creation of a more formal organizational structure at some point should that be deemed useful. Indeed, it might prepare the way. If it is too soon to know whether or how a more formal service should be designed, perhaps the soundest way to begin is with a loose network offering an array of support services that can grow organically as it proves useful.



# INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WAR PREVENTION DIPLOMACY IN A MULTI-NUCLEAR WORLD

MAY 1987

## PLANNING COMMITTEE

**William J. Foltz**  
Yale Center for Intl.  
and Area Studies

**Bruce M. Russett**  
Dept. of Political Science  
Yale University

**Paul Bracken**  
Yale School of Organization  
and Management

**Lincoln P. Bloomfield**  
Dept. of Political Science  
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**Raimo Väyrynen**  
Dept. of Political Science  
University of Helsinki

**James S. Sutterlin**  
Executive Office of the  
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United Nations Association  
of the U.S.A.

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University of Richmond

**David J. Biggs**  
United Nations Secretariat

## CO-CHAIRMEN

**Thomas E. Boudreau**  
World Issues Program  
School for Intl. Training

**James F. Tierney**  
The Fund for Peace

*Institutional Affiliation  
listed for Identification  
Purposes Only.*

## INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE ON WAR PREVENTION

### DIPLOMACY IN A MULTI-NUCLEAR WORLD

## CONFERENCE GOAL

The goal of the conference is to explore and initiate a on-going study on how the risk of nuclear confrontation can be reduced by improving the means of preventing or limiting regional conflict and of controlling random nuclear incidents. The two major nuclear powers have developed complex mechanisms to prevent unintentional firing of nuclear warheads and a system of rapid bilateral communication for use in nuclear-threatening situations. They also, however, have alert systems that, once triggered, may proceed with a high degree of automaticity. Emphasis will be placed on (a) defining potential catalysts, external to the control of the two major nuclear powers, that could activate these alerts or otherwise bring these powers to the point of nuclear exchange; and b) mechanisms and techniques to reduce their danger, including a multilateral nuclear alert center as proposed by the United Nations Secretary-General in his 1986 Annual Report to the General Assembly and a multilateral war risk reduction center as suggested by General-Secretary Gorbachev in supporting the Secretary-General's proposal (speech to the Indian Parliament, 27 November 1986).

## THE CONFERENCE TITLE

The title of the conference suggests the search for a more extensively integrated multilateral diplomacy when many factors that might lead to nuclear war are outside the control of the major nuclear powers, an important issue not yet adequately addressed in any forum.

Address correspondence to  
**THE FUND FOR PEACE**  
345 East 46 Street, New York, NY 10017

#### KEY OBJECTIVES OF THE CONFERENCE

1. To define incidents or a complex of events external to the bilateral relationship between the Soviet Union and the United States that could lead immediately or ultimately to nuclear exchange.
2. To consider how such developments could be prevented, or quickly ended and kept from leading to a major power confrontation, focussing primarily on multilateral techniques and instrumentalities.
3. To examine, in this context, the requirements for strengthening the preventive diplomacy and conflict resolution capacity of the United Nations Secretary-General, with special attention to his role in the Iran-Iraq and Afghan hostilities.
4. To initiate among influential scholars and practitioners an on-going process of discussion, research, and analysis relative to multilateral crisis management and preventive diplomacy.
5. To stimulate sustained public interest and scholarly research with regard to the role and potential of multilateral instrumentalities in limiting the risk of war, especially nuclear war.

#### SITE OF THE CONFERENCE

The Conference Planning Committee has received an initial indication that the Finnish Institute of International Affairs would host the Conference in Helsinki. Other possibilities include Ireland, Sweden, Switzerland, and New York.

#### TENTATIVE CONFERENCE SCHEDULE

A three-day conference is planned for the spring or summer of 1988. The panels outlined in the tentative agenda will not be open to the public, but papers resulting from the sessions will be made available to anyone interested at the close of the conference.

#### BUDGET

The estimated cost of the conference is \$115,000. A seed grant of \$5,000 has been received from the International Year of Peace Secretariat of the United Nations and a grant of \$25,000 (Canadian) for the conference has been received from the Canadian Institute for International Peace and

Two discussants will be appointed for each of the plenary sessions. After these sessions, the participants will be divided into two working groups which will, in one full day, discuss in greater depth the themes of plenary sessions. Each working group will receive detailed instructions and the results of their work, to be summarized by two rapporteurs, will be reported and assessed in the final plenary. The chairperson of the working groups will be two of the following:

Dieter Senghaas	(FRG)
Bruce M. Russett	(USA)
Lazlo Valki	(Hungary)
Adam Rotfeld	(Sweden)

#### Participants

There will be about 40 participants altogether in the conference. This figure includes some 12 North Americans, about 10 West Europeans, 6-8 Soviet and Eastern Europeans, and 4-5 host country participants in addition to 4-6 participants from outside Europe and North America.

Additional North American and West European participants to be invited - most of whom have confirmed already their willingness to take part - include the following experts:

Dr. Barry Blechman	Georgetown University
Professor Paul Bracken	Yale University
Christopher Bertram	Die Zeit, Hamburg FRG
Professor Lawrence Freedman	Kings's College, University of London, UK
Professor Alexander George	Stanford University
Professor Robert Jervis	Columbia University
Sverre Lodgaard	SIPRI, Stockholm, Sweden
Dr. John Simpson	University of Southampton, UK
Strobe Talbott	Time Magazine
Professor Peter Wallensteen	Uppsala University, Sweden
Dr. Jean Klein	The French Institute of International Affairs, Paris
Mr. Robert Bell	Staff Member, US Senate Armed Forces Committee

Outside North America and Europe invitations will be sent to comparable authorities in:

Australia (Professor Desmond Ball, Australian National University)

Brazil or (Professor K.P. Mishra, Jawaharlal Nehru  
Argentina University, Delhi)  
China  
India

Japan (Professor Seizaburo Sato, University of Tokyo)

and The Middle East

Strong interest in participation both in the conference and in the follow-up activities has been evinced from the USSR.

Plans are underway to select an appropriate person to deliver the keynote address. Among those being considered are the Prime Minister or Foreign Minister of Finland, and Dr. David Owen of Great Britain.

#### FOLLOW-UP ACTIVITIES

Conference planners have identified the following specific follow-up activities to be discussed in detail during the last session of the Conference:.

##### I. Publications:

- A. An edited volume of conference papers and other materials will be prepared for publication.
- B. An executive summary of the conference discussions and recommendations will be distributed immediately following the conference to the media, interested organizations, and individuals.

##### II. Projects:

Selected feasibility studies are projected, including:

- A. The establishment of multi-national centers, to deal with methods and procedures to reduce the possibility of nuclear conflicts and to put into place effective communications systems among the centers and between them and crisis contact points in nuclear-power capitals.
- B. Enhancement of the role of third parties in preventive diplomacy, with emphasis on the need to clarify and expand upon the definition of "third parties".

- C. The development of a model curriculum for the study of preventive diplomacy.

III. Meetings:

The planning committee anticipates that follow-up seminars and workshops will be organized to explore further ideas and recommendations emerging from conference discussions.



CONFERENCE BUDGET ESTIMATES

(Based on Helsinki locus)

Travel Costs      (37 people)

North America	(16 x \$2,000)	\$32,000
Western Europe	( 8 x     800)	6,400
Eastern Europe	( 7 x     700)	4,900
Other Areas	( 7 x   3,000)	<u>21,000</u>

\$ 64,300

Conference Support costs - U.S.

Programme Administration	(\$4,000)
Secretariat Services	( 2,500)
Communication and Supplies	( 5,000)

\$ 11,500

Conference Committee Meetings

\$ 2,000

Conference Support Costs (Helsinki)

Lodging and Meals for participants; meeting rooms and other facilities	(\$20,000)*
Additional local costs	\$ 5,000

Honoraria

Paper Writers	(9 x \$750)	\$6,750
Session Chairs	(6 x \$500)	3,000

\$ 9,750

Conference Report

Preparation, publication and dissemination	\$ 4,500
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<u>Contingency and Follow-up Planning</u>	<u>\$ 7,500</u>
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Administrative Overhead

\$104,550

10,455

TOTAL

\$115,005

\* To be contributed in kind by the  
Finnish Institute for International Affairs.

Alwan

Trip Atlanta  
9/11/87 "C" SJ

THE CARTER CENTER  
OF EMORY UNIVERSITY

RECEIVED

The Sp accepted over the  
Phone But it may be  
worthwhile to staff on the details.

Misc orge  
VIP "C"

to make it in MAR 13  
for J. A. White

The Sp had wanted to mention  
the invitation, & to decide to go, to

for Walter - at some appropriate  
time. There is also need to  
give thought to the subjects & substance of the  
duration of the Sp's stay.

March 13, 1987

To Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar

1/2  
Your note above  
is a bit faded.  
has this  
been  
accepted?

I would like to invite you to join me May 28 - 29, 1987, at  
The Carter Center for a small working session on international  
mediation. The workshop is a collaborative effort by the Carter  
Center of Emory University and the Program on Negotiation at  
Harvard Law School.

Our purpose is to reflect on our experiences in mediating  
international conflicts and to draw lessons as to the obstacles  
facing development of the field and the options to advance the  
field.

On my part, the impetus comes from my experience in the  
Middle East peace process and our commitment to international  
conflict resolution at The Carter Center.

At the Program on Negotiation a group of faculty have been  
meeting regularly to study cases of success and failure in  
international mediation and to discuss proposals for the  
establishment of an international mediation service.

Attached is a tentative agenda and a list of the invited  
participants.

I sincerely hope you will be able to join me in this working  
session.

Sincerely,

Jimmy Carter

Secretary General Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Office of the Secretary General  
United Nations  
New York, New York 10017

We're delighted  
that you'll be  
with us!

International Mediation Working Session  
May 28 - 29, 1987  
Tentative Agenda

Wednesday, May 27 - Participants Arrive at the Hotel

Thursday, May 28

8:45 am	Shuttle Departs for The Carter Center
9:00 - 9:30 am	Continental Breakfast (Lobby Adjacent to Seminar Room - Pavilion A)
9:30 am	Convene at The Carter Presidential Center (Seminar Room - Pavilion A)
9:30 - 12:00 pm	International Mediation: What has Worked? What has Not? ...What Might?
12:00 - 1:30 pm	Lunch - (Lobby Adjacent to Pavilion A or Executive Dining Room)
1:30 pm	Developing the Field of International Mediation: What are the Obstacles? What Might be the Ingredients of Success?
4:00 pm	Adjourn
4:15 pm	Shuttle to Hotel
6:45 pm	Shuttle to Center
7:00 - 9:00 pm	Working Dinner Carter Presidential Center Executive Conference Room - Presidential Pavilion

Friday, May 29

8:15 am	Shuttle Departs Hotel*
8:30 am	Continental Breakfast (Lobby Adjacent to Seminar Room - Pavilion A)
9:00 am	Convene - Seminar Room - Pavilion A
9:00 - 12:00 pm	Advancing the Field of International Mediation: What are the Next Steps We Can Take?
12:00 - 1:30 pm	Lunch - Executive Dining Room
1:30 pm	Adjourn
2:00 pm	Shuttle Departs for Airport

\*Participants should check out before leaving Hotel and bring  
baggage to The Center.

International Mediation Working Session  
May 28 - 29, 1987  
Participant List

- (1) Jimmy Carter  
39th President of the United States
- (2) Pierre Trudeau  
Prime Minister of Canada
- (3) Willy Brandt  
Chancellor of West Germany
- (4) Javier Perez de Cuellar  
Secretary General of the United Nations
- (5) Tommy T. B. Koh  
Singapore United Nations Ambassador
- (6) David Hamburg  
Carnegie Foundation
- (7) Roger Heyns  
Hewlett Foundation
- (8) Ruth Salinger  
The Greely Foundation
- (9) Warren Salinger  
The Greely Foundation
- (10) Earl Foell  
Christian Science Monitor
- (11) Brian Urquhart  
Ford Foundation
- (12) Leopold Senghor  
President of Senegal

- (13) Joao Clemente Baena Soares  
Secretary General of the Organization  
of American States
- (14) Julius K. Nyerere  
President of Tanzania
- (15) Shridath Ramphal  
Secretary General of the British Commonwealth
- (16) Harold H. Saunders  
Ambassador
- (17) Lord Carrington  
Secretary General of NATO
- (18) Sol M. Linowitz  
Ambassador
- (19) Louis B. Sohn  
Woodruff Professor of International Law  
University of Georgia
- (20) Jack P. Etheridge  
Judge  
The Law School, Emory University
- (21) Larry Suskind  
Associate Director  
Harvard Program on Negotiation
- (22) Cynthia Sampson  
Harvard Program on Negotiation
- (23) William Ury  
Associate Director  
Harvard Program on Negotiation
- (24) William J. Spencer  
Interaction Associates
- (25) Dayle E. Powell  
Associate Director, Fellow for Conflict Resolution  
The Carter Center of Emory University