

# THE CARTER CENTER NEWS

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SPRING 1990

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## Carter, Council Monitor Nicaraguan Elections *Peaceful Transition of Power First in Country's History*



AP/Wide World Photos

Daniel Ortega places the presidential sash on Violeta Chamorro at Inaugural Ceremonies in Nicaragua in April.

**O**n April 25, the Nicaraguan people inaugurated a new president in the first peaceful transfer of power to an elected opposition in the country's history.

"A successful democratic transition is a remarkable event, and there is no doubt that the people of Nicaragua chose their new president in a free and fair election," said President Carter, who led an international delegation to monitor the February 25 elections. The delegation was formed under the auspices of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, chaired by President Carter and based at The Carter

Center of Emory University (CCEU). The Council joined delegations from the United Nations and the Organization of American States (OAS) in monitoring the elections.

Following the transfer of power from the Sandinista (FSLN) government of Daniel Ortega to the coalition government (UNO) of Violeta Chamorro, President Carter said, "Both Daniel Ortega and Violeta Chamorro deserve the world's respect and admiration for the way they handled the transition. Former President Ortega has set his country on the road to democracy. President Chamorro has been entrusted by the people of Nicaragua with the diffi-

cult task of healing the division in that nation and nurturing the newly-born democratic spirit. It is my sincerest hope that peace and democracy will flourish in Nicaragua."

### The Invitation

In the summer of 1989, President Carter and the Council were invited to observe the elections by then-President Daniel Ortega, the Union of National Opposition (UNO), and the Supreme Electoral Council. The Nicaraguan election project was directed by Robert Pastor and Jennie Lincoln, director and associate director respectively of CCEU's Latin American and Caribbean Studies program. Dr. Pastor also serves as executive secretary of the Council.

President Carter and former President Raul Alfonsin of Argentina initiated the election-monitoring project with a visit to Nicaragua in September 1989. At that time,

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## In Perspective

### International Observers Foster Spirit of Democracy in Nicaragua

Last fall, the Center's Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, chaired by President Carter, was invited to observe the presidential elections in Nicaragua. Here, President Carter reflects on that experience.



One of our most challenging and gratifying experiences has now come to a close.

On April 25 in Nicaragua, the full transfer of power from the military government of Daniel Ortega to the democratically-elected government of Violeta Chamorro was completed. This has been a striking demonstration of how a long-standing war may be brought to an end by holding truly democratic elections with international observers helping to monitor the process.

Following an invitation last August by the Sandinistas, opposition political parties, and the Supreme Electoral Council, our Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government agreed to serve as observers. The Nicaraguan election project was directed by Carter Center Fellow Robert Pastor and his staff. Jennifer McCoy was in charge of our Managua office. Rosalynn and I made several visits to Nicaragua during the campaign and election period, and other members of the Council either joined us or headed delegations of their own to assist in this effort. This was a gratifying demonstration of teamwork.

As a matter of fact, we did much more than just observe what was happening. We received and assessed countless complaints and allegations and helped correct those that might have endangered the fairness of the campaign. For instance, in September we negotiated an agreement that permitted the Miskito Indian leaders to return to Nicaragua and participate fully in the political process. Later, after violence at weekend political rallies threatened the entire campaign, we helped to evolve a set of guidelines concerning prior notice of events, presence of international observers, the placement and activities of the police, control of alcohol and weapons, and proper routing of

political caravans to minimize confrontations. Subsequently, several hundred rallies were held by major candidates with no repetition of violence.

Other problems, such as the delivery of foreign funds to political parties and the effectiveness of indelible ink on election day, could have threatened or even aborted the election. However, in every case the Nicaraguan authorities and observer teams from the UN and OAS worked closely with us to correct the problem.

On election night and in the following crucial hours, we and other international observers were asked to help with procedures to minimize dis-

campesinos (peasants) and other citizens.

Finally, just before leaving Managua, we brought the two transition teams together at our small Carter Center office to get acquainted for the first time and to have their agreements witnessed by me and the leaders of the OAS and UN observer teams.

This election was a sterling example of what might be accomplished through free elections in other war-torn areas, including Kampuchea, Afghanistan, the Sudan, and Ethiopia. The crucial element is evolving confidence among incumbent and revolutionary leaders that this process is preferable



Executive Committee of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government, L to R: Rafael Caldera, former President of Venezuela; Daniel Oduber, former President of Costa Rica; Prime Minister George Price of Belize; and Jimmy Carter.

sension between the incoming and outgoing governments. Both sides brought to us their most troubling questions about the future, and I shuttled back and forth to help resolve them. The most pressing tasks included drafting statements by President Daniel Ortega and President-elect Violeta Chamorro calling for the immediate demobilization of the contras, making preliminary plans for the transfer of the military and police to the new administration on inauguration day, and forging an agreement by both sides to honor decrees made in 1979 and 1980 that confiscated the property of Somoza and his leaders and distributed it to

to a continuation of war. Also, of course, there must be some comprehension of what democracy and freedom are, and an adequate level of support from the international community. This includes support from the two superpowers, countries that provide funding for either side, the United Nations, and regional organizations like the Organization of African Unity. Exploratory efforts have already begun in all the cases named above—so far, with minimal results. But I am hopeful as long as opportunities exist.

*Jimmy Carter* ■

## Profile: Richard A. Joseph

### *African Studies Fellow*

“As we enter the final decade of the twentieth century, Africa must discover the routes to its own political and economic renaissance,” says African Studies Fellow Richard Joseph. “This is especially true at a time when worldwide attention is focused on the impending economic integration in Europe, efforts by North America to meet the economic challenges posed by Pacific rim countries, and movement by the Soviet bloc away from its overly centralized systems.”

According to Dr. Joseph, the 1980s are now regarded as a “lost decade” in Africa because many countries on the continent have slipped backwards while attempting to stabilize and reform their economies.

“Some of the strongest economies in Africa have been seriously weakened by mounting external debts and declining earnings from agricultural exports,” observes Dr. Joseph. Many countries have altered their state-dominated economies and are responding today to the demands of their people for government accountability. The Carter Center of Emory University’s (CCEU) Governance in Africa Program was created by Dr. Joseph in late 1988 to study these and other issues.

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“As we enter the final decade of the 20th century, Africa must discover the routes to its own political and economic renaissance.”

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“The World Bank now acknowledges that the extensive personalization of power in Africa, the denial of basic freedoms, widespread corruption, and unaccountable governments are intrinsically linked to the economic malaise on that continent,” says Dr. Joseph.

Dr. Joseph is an accomplished scholar in modern African history

and politics. In addition to his responsibilities at CCEU, he is the Asa G. Candler professor of political science and the director of the Institute of African Studies at Emory University. At the Institute, Dr. Joseph and other African specialists develop programs that complement those of The Carter Center.

A native of Trinidad and Tobago, Dr. Joseph emigrated at the age of twelve to the United States where he settled with his family in Brooklyn, New York.

“The transition to life in New York was not that difficult,” he says.

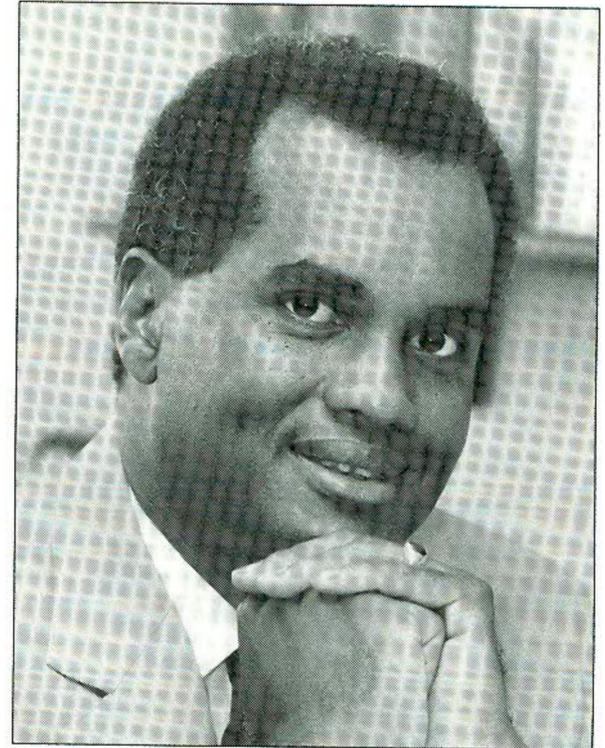
“There was a large and expanding Caribbean community living there that retained many of the cultural traditions of the West Indies.”

After high school, Dr. Joseph pursued his undergraduate studies at Dartmouth College. Upon graduation, he was awarded a Fulbright scholarship for study at the University of Grenoble, France, and the following year a Rhodes scholarship to Oxford University.

When he began his studies at Oxford, his main academic interest was political theory. But following a conversation with an older West Indian during a school holiday, Dr. Joseph was intrigued by the man’s recollections about the great African nationalist leaders: Nnamdi Azikiwe of Nigeria, Jomo Kenyatta of Kenya, and Kwame Nkrumah of Ghana.

“I realized that, in my third year of graduate studies, I was basically uninformed about the historical experiences of African peoples,” he says. When he returned to Oxford, he began studying African history and politics.

Dr. Joseph’s academic career has taken him from the University of Khartoum in Sudan to the University of Ibadan in Nigeria and back to Dartmouth as a member of the faculty. For two years, he served as a program officer in the West Africa office of the Ford Foundation. After that experience, he resolved to concentrate his efforts on African governance, which he realized was central to the continent’s deepening predicament. He won a Guggenheim Fellowship and undertook several



*Dr. Richard Joseph*

months of study at the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard before joining Emory University and The Carter Center.

At CCEU, Dr. Joseph works closely with the Center’s Conflict Resolution and Human Rights programs. A conference organized by his program in March 1990 brought together scholars and development officials to examine ways to help Africa during the current period of economic restructuring and political reforms. Papers from a similar conference in 1989 have been distributed throughout the academic and policy communities in the U.S., Europe, and Africa. Dr. Joseph hopes to make these conferences annual events.

Dr. Joseph is optimistic about the prospects for Africa’s economic recovery and renewed development during the current decade. “The continent is rich in cultural and human resources, and her material wealth has barely been tapped,” he says. “What Africa needs now is generous and broad-based external support to help her fulfill her potential.”

At the dawn of the 1990s, Dr. Joseph hopes that CCEU can help provide some of this support for the people of Africa. ■

# The Nicaraguan Elections:

*continued from page 1*

President Carter negotiated with the Sandinista government for the repatriation of key Miskito Indian leaders. Soon after, Brooklyn Rivera, who had led the Miskito Indian Resistance against the Sandinista government since the early 1980s, returned to Nicaragua.

“This was the last group that had not been included in the national reconciliation prior to the elections,” said President Carter. Like the contras, the Indians agreed to renounce armed struggle and illegal activities against the government. The Sandinistas, in return, agreed to allow the Indians to participate peacefully in the nation’s political process.

During this initial visit, Council staff developed an election-monitoring strategy to resolve campaign problems and detect fraud on election day. Carter Center Senior Fellow Jennifer McCoy, who teaches at Georgia State University, was appointed to establish a local office and represent the Council in Managua. Each member of the delegation was asked to visit Nicaragua at least once before the elections.

## The Registration Process

During four Sundays in October, an estimated 89 percent of the eligible voters in Nicaragua registered to

vote. Former Venezuelan President Rafael Caldera led a Council delegation to observe the last Sunday of registration. The group expressed its concern over several issues, including the need to extend voter registration in some areas where armed conflict impeded or interrupted registration entirely.

## Ending Campaign Violence

In the wake of campaign violence in the first part of December, the Sandinista government asked President Carter to help put together an agreement among the political parties to prevent any further violence.

According to former U.S. Senator Daniel Evans, co-leader of the Council’s U.S. group, “It was clear that party leaders from all sides wanted to end the campaign violence. President Carter consulted with regional and national party and election officials and with OAS and UN observers to develop specific national guidelines to minimize the chances of violence at political rallies.”

Drafts of the Council’s guidelines were submitted to President Ortega and Mrs. Chamorro and were ultimately adopted by the Supreme Electoral Council, which oversaw the Nicaraguan electoral process. No major incidents of violence were reported after the publication of the guidelines.

## In the News

“What happened in Nicaragua this week was not just a remarkable election. It was a victory for a new approach to intractable conflicts, turning them from bloodshed to the democratic political process. Three presidents outside Nicaragua made it possible: Oscar Arias, Jimmy Carter and George Bush.”

—Anthony Lewis,  
*New York Times*, 3/2/90

“Carter Played Pivotal Role in Hours After Polls Closed.”

—*Washington Post* headline, 2/27/90

“Like almost no one else, Jimmy Carter grasped what was going on in Nicaragua....In fact, Mr. Carter and his Carter Center and Latin American associates helped significantly to set the tone for the campaign’s closing days and Sunday’s balloting....The high standard Mr. Carter set for the Nicaraguans turned out to be a magnificent self-fulfilling prophecy.”

—*Atlanta Constitution*, 2/27/90

## The Final Weeks

President Carter and former president Alfonso Lopez Michelsen of Colombia led another delegation visit in late January. The delegation included U.S. Senator John Danforth and Congressmen Douglas Bereuter and Bill Richardson. Along with members of the OAS and UN observer missions, the delegation witnessed a simulation of voting procedures to be followed on election day and concluded that excellent technical preparations had been successfully implemented. In addition, President Carter facilitated the receipt of U.S. funds by UNO. These funds had been earmarked for the Nicaraguan elections by the U.S. Congress, but had not yet been delivered.

The final pre-election visit was led by Prime Minister George Price of Belize and U.S. Senator Christopher Dodd. The delegation noted progress on some issues, including increased access by opposition parties to television advertising, the opening of several registration sites



Jennie Lincoln

Daniel Ortega, Jimmy Carter, and Violeta Chamorro meet at her home the day after the election.

# Sowing the Seeds of Democracy

that had been closed in October, and changes in the election procedures to reduce the number of voters at each voting site.

“During the remaining two weeks before election day, tension was high,” according to Dr. Pastor. “There were accusations from each side that the other did not plan to recognize the results. But with the help of the observers, these concerns were alleviated.”

## Election Day

The full Council delegation arrived several days before the election. In a brief arrival statement in Spanish, President Carter urged Nicaraguans to “be confident that your vote will be secret and will count.” On election day, approximately 1.7 million Nicaraguans cast their ballots for president and vice-president, for representatives to the National Assembly, and for members of Municipal Councils.

The Carter Center Council delegation divided into fourteen teams, which were present in all nine regions when the polls opened on February 25. Beginning at 6 a.m., the delegation teams visited a total of 205 polling sites. At the end of the day, delegates were stationed at voting sites to observe the count and to report the results to the OAS as part of their independent vote count efforts.

The international observers were able to cover almost all of the voting sites, and they found few irregularities. Delegates also observed the collection of ballots and the recount at the regional electoral headquarters. Other delegates monitored the computation of results at the national vote count center. By 10 p.m. on election night, independent vote counts revealed that the large majority of Nicaraguans had voted for change.

The conclusion of the Council was that, although there were some irregularities, the number of violations was not significant enough to disrupt the voting process. Similar conclusions were reached by both the OAS and the UN observer groups.

## COUNCIL OF FREELY-ELECTED HEADS OF GOVERNMENT

### Nicaraguan Election Observation Delegation

#### Members and Representatives of the Council

**Jimmy Carter**, former President of the United States and Chairman of the Council  
**George Price**, Prime Minister of Belize and Vice-Chairman of the Council  
**Rafael Caldera**, former President of Venezuela and Member of Council's Exec. Cmte.  
**Daniel Oduber**, former President of Costa Rica and Member of Council's Exec. Cmte.  
**Raul Alfonsin**, former President of Argentina  
**Alfonso Lopez Michelsen**, former President of Colombia  
**Rodrigo Carazo Odio**, former President of Costa Rica  
**Beatrice Rangel**, Secretary-General of the Ministry of the Presidency and Personal Representative of President Carlos Andres Perez of Venezuela  
**O.D. Ramtallie**, Minister of Construction of Jamaica and Representative of Prime Minister Michael Manley  
**Robert Pastor**, Executive Secretary of the Council and CCEU Fellow

#### Other Members of the Delegation

**Daniel Evans**, former U.S. Senator and Governor of Washington; co-leader of the U.S. group with President Carter  
**Genaro Arriagada**, Vice-President, National Christian Democratic Party of Chile  
**Bruce Babbitt**, former Governor of Arizona  
**Harriet Babbitt**, Attorney  
**Elizabeth Frawley Bagley**, Attorney  
**Leopold Berlanger**, President, Haitian International Institute for Research and Develop.  
**Douglas Bereuter**, U.S. House of Representatives (R-NE)  
**David Bonior**, U.S. House of Representatives (D-MI)  
**Rosalynn Carter**, former First Lady of the United States  
**John Danforth**, U.S. Senate (R-MO)  
**Christopher Dodd**, U.S. Senate (D-CT)  
**Elton Gallegly**, U.S. House of Representatives (R-CA)  
**Fernando Guardia**, Church Coordinator of the Panamanian Independent Vote Count  
**Ben Jones**, U.S. House of Representatives (D-GA)  
**Patrick Leahy**, U.S. Senate (D-VT)  
**Ambler Moss**, Dean, Graduate School of International Studies, University of Miami  
**Donal (Mike) O'Callaghan**, former Governor of Nevada  
**Claiborne Pell**, U.S. Senate (D-RI)  
**Larry Pressler**, U.S. Senate (R-SD)  
**Bill Richardson**, U.S. House of Representatives (D-NM)  
**Olympia Snowe**, U.S. House of Representatives (R-ME)  
**Maurice Sonnenberg**, Chairman, Exec. Cmte., Democratic House and Senate Council  
**John Whitehead**, former Deputy Secretary of State (1985-89); Chairman, AEA Investors

## The Transition

On election night, President Carter, Elliot Richardson, special representative to the UN, and Joao Baena Soares, secretary general of the OAS, were asked by President Ortega and Mrs. Chamorro to help facilitate the transition process. During the next two days, President Carter met with leaders of UNO and the FSLN to develop a plan to help ensure a smooth transfer of power that met the needs of both parties.

According to Dr. Pastor, who

returned to Nicaragua for the presidential inauguration in April, “Mrs. Chamorro has a difficult task before her as she tries to restore the economy, demobilize the contras, subordinate the military to civilian authority, and address the pent-up social demands in the country.” But he adds that Nicaragua’s prospects for peace remain high as a result of the first election in its history that was honored by both the winners and the losers. ■

# The Economics of Peace

*Carter Center Delegation Visits Middle East*



Randal Ashley

*President Carter meets with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak in Cairo.*

In preparation for a major consultation on economic aspects of the Middle East peace process to be held at the Center this fall, President Carter visited the region in March. Accompanied by Mrs. Carter and Middle East program director Kenneth W. Stein and his staff, President Carter travelled to Egypt, Jordan, Syria, Israel and the West Bank where he met with heads of state, political leaders, and prominent

**“A comprehensive peace is not only necessary, but inevitable.”**

members of the religious, business, and academic communities.

The visit was part of the Middle East program’s ongoing study of the sensitive issues associated with the Arab-Israeli peace process. According to Dr. Stein, “The trip provided us with a first-hand view of the economic and social issues that now dominate the political agendas of Middle Eastern states.” The Carters and Dr. Stein had previously visited the region in 1983 and 1987.

The first stop was Cairo, where

President Carter met with Egyptian President Hosni Mubarak. They discussed Egypt’s prominent role in recent proposals for organizing elections in the West Bank and Gaza, as well as President Mubarak’s current leadership of the Organization of African Unity. President Carter also met with leading academics and senior editors of major Egyptian newspapers. An important topic in these discussions was the desperate state of the Egyptian economy and its large external debt.

In Damascus President Carter met with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, who said that his country was “very anxious” to help gain the release of Western hostages being held in Lebanon. President Assad also expressed his willingness to talk with Israeli officials at an international peace conference. “President Assad authorized me to say that he would be glad to hold bilateral talks with Israel to discuss the Golan Heights and try to resolve the differences between the two countries,” said President Carter. Israel captured the West Bank, Gaza, and the Golan Heights during the 1967 Six-Day War.

In Jordan, the Carter entourage was given a comprehensive briefing on regional development and economic opportunities at the Gulf of

Aqaba. In addition to discussions with Crown Prince Hassan and his advisors in Amman, the Carters also met with members of the Jordanian parliament, who were democratically elected in November 1989. “There is no way to proceed in any substantive way toward peace in the Middle East without Jordan being deeply and intimately involved,” said President Carter at a news conference in Amman.

Shortly before arriving in Israel, the government fell. In Jerusalem, President Carter met with Mayor Teddy Kollek and Israeli President Chaim Herzog. Mayor Kollek reiterated his desire to keep Jerusalem a city sacred and accessible to all religions, while President Herzog explained the intricate process of Israeli governmental formation.

While in Israel, President Carter also met with Likud and Labor leaders, who were most interested in President Assad’s willingness to begin bilateral talks. In a meeting with Yitzhak Shamir, the interim prime minister spoke passionately about the status of Russian Jewish immigration. Later, President Carter and Shimon Peres discussed the economic and commercial opportunities that would benefit all the people of the region in the wake of peace.

Throughout the trip, President

*continues on page 12*



Randal Ashley

*The Carter Center delegation visits Mevasseret Zion Jewish absorption center.*

# Poll Reveals Soviet Opinion on Key Issues

*Results Show Soviets Divided According to Nationality*

Soviet citizens of different nationalities vary sharply in their views on the Communist Party, the Red Army, organized religion, and a wide array of other issues, according to the first public opinion poll ever conducted jointly by Soviet and American researchers.

The results of this groundbreaking survey were announced at The Carter Center of Emory University (CCEU) in March at a luncheon hosted by President Carter and Emory University President James T. Laney. The public opinion poll, conducted in the Soviet Union last fall, marks the first time American and Soviet researchers have collaborated to document opinion on a number of key issues throughout that country.

According to Ellen Mickiewicz,

“This poll shows that the varying opinions held by Soviet citizens are determined...most significantly by the minority group to which individuals belong.”

director of CCEU’s Soviet Media and International Communications Studies program, “This poll shows that the varying opinions held by Soviet citizens are not only determined by age, education, or ties to the Communist Party, which might be expected, but most significantly by the minority group to which individuals belong.”

The survey was designed to tap the underlying attitudes relating to the most important political and social issues in the Soviet Union. Dr. Mickiewicz, who directed the survey, announced these findings in conjunction with survey co-sponsors

George Gerbner from the Annenberg School of Communications at the University of Pennsylvania, Ada W. Finifter of the University of Michigan, and Boris Grushin and Nikolai Popov from the National Center for Public Opinion Research in Moscow.

The poll was conducted throughout the Soviet Union in both urban and rural regions, including the Baltic, Eastern and Western Siberia, the Northwest, the Moscow area, and the Volga. More than 2,500 Soviet citizens participated in interviews, which averaged 90 minutes.

“The differences between regions are so strong and so deep on some of the most important issues—social

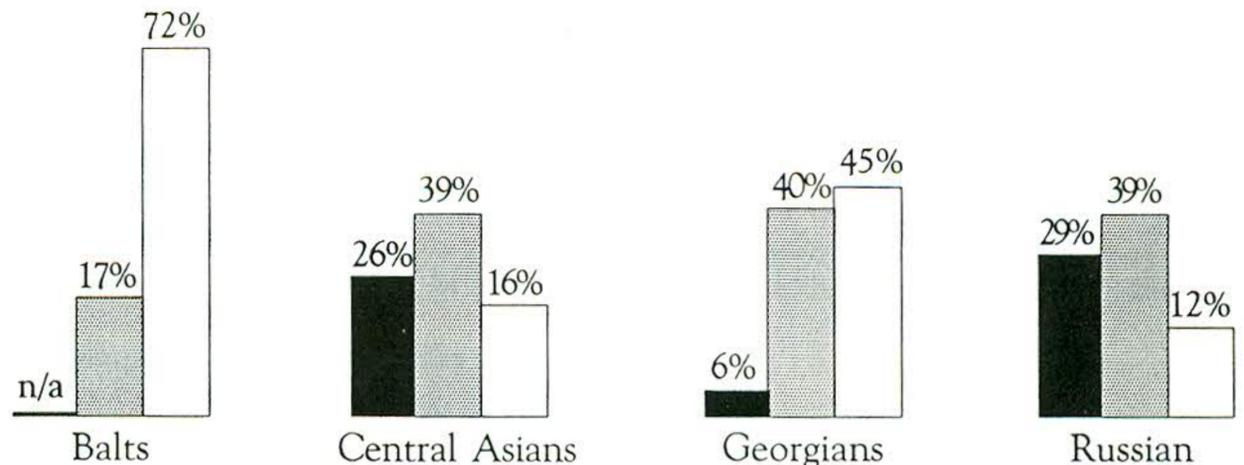
and ethical as well as political—that there is a real question whether the different nationalities inhabit the same country,” said Dr. Mickiewicz.

Surprisingly, the highest approval rating in almost all segments of the Soviet Union was garnered by religious institutions. Over all, 40 percent of those surveyed said religious institutions always acted in the interest of the people; only 7 percent said they never did, and 16 percent said the record was mixed.

In addition, although a very small minority accepted the principle of income equalization, half of those questioned still thought the state should be responsible for individual success and well-being. ■

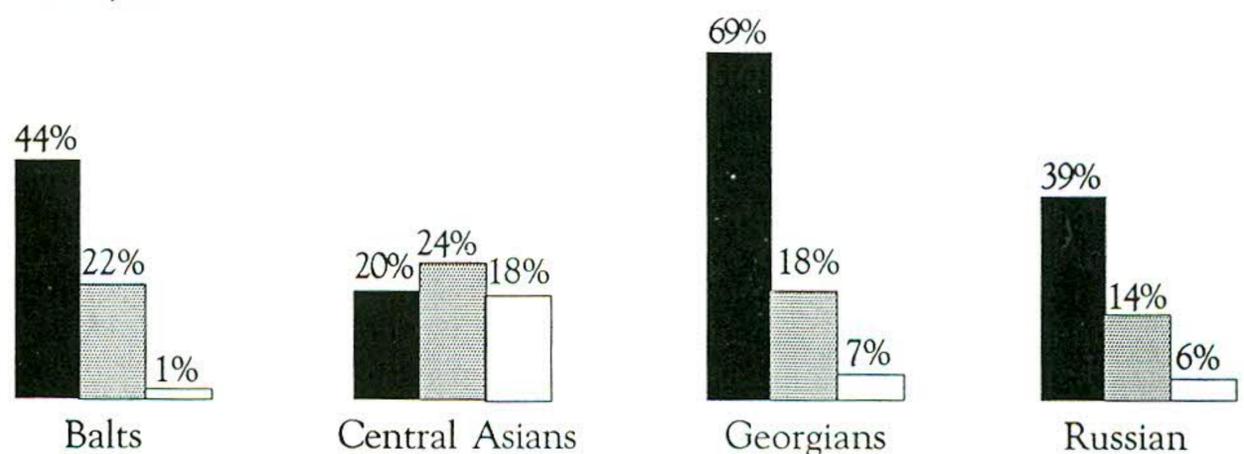
## Trust in the Red Army

The percentage of Soviet citizens who think the Red Army makes decisions in the best interest of the people fell sharply in regions where independence movements are strongest.



## Trust in Organized Religion

Soviet citizens expressed the greatest degree of confidence in this institution. The church received the most support of the 15 institutions surveyed.



KEY: ■ Always acts in best interest ■ Sometimes □ Never

# Center Programs and

## African Studies

### Program Hosts Visit by General Garba

The Governance in Africa Program (G.A.P.) hosted a seminar in March to identify the political innovations that are being introduced, or contemplated, in Africa and to determine ways in which these initiatives can be assisted. Participants included prominent experts on Africa and representatives from the World Bank, the Ford Foundation, the International Commission of Jurists, and several African organizations.

This spring, the program also hosted a visit by General Joseph Garba, former minister of external affairs for Nigeria. Gen. Garba is the current president of the U.N. General Assembly and a former chairperson of the U.N. Committee on Apartheid. He spoke at CCEU on "Changing East-West Relations and their Implications for Africa" and at Emory University on "Beyond Apartheid: Majority Rule in South Africa." With attention focused on the Eastern European move toward democratization, Gen. Garba fears the U.S. will give aid more readily to these new democracies and ignore Africa. The most immediate fear,

Gen. Garba said, is the collapse of Africa's fragile economy. "Africa depends on foreign aid, and where there are many competing for limited resources, the fittest survive."

**"Africa depends on foreign aid."**

### G.A.P. Joins International Efforts to Assist Africa

Richard Joseph, director of the Governance in Africa Program (G.A.P.), traveled to Tanzania this spring to attend an international conference called "Popular Participation in Africa's Recovery and Development Process." The conference, which was sponsored by the United Nations Economic Commission for Africa, was a collaborative effort between non-governmental organizations and representatives of various U.N. agencies. He has also participated in planning meetings for a major conference on Africa that will be held in Maasricht, Holland this summer, which is organized by the government of the Netherlands and the World Bank.

## Conflict Resolution

### INN Seeks to Expand Network, Encourage Regional Conflict Resolution

The Center's International Negotiation Network (INN) continues to monitor conflicts throughout the world and to explore ways to provide effective third-party mediation services to those in need.

At a day-long working session in March, members of the INN identified three goals for the next year: to expand its key group of international leaders; to sponsor an annual meeting of a core group of international organizations involved in conflict resolution activities; and to explore ways in which individual conflicts can be addressed to benefit an entire

region. The INN hopes to encourage multi-party approaches to conflict resolution that will focus on a region's common problems, such as access to water, delivery of health services, and other developmental issues.

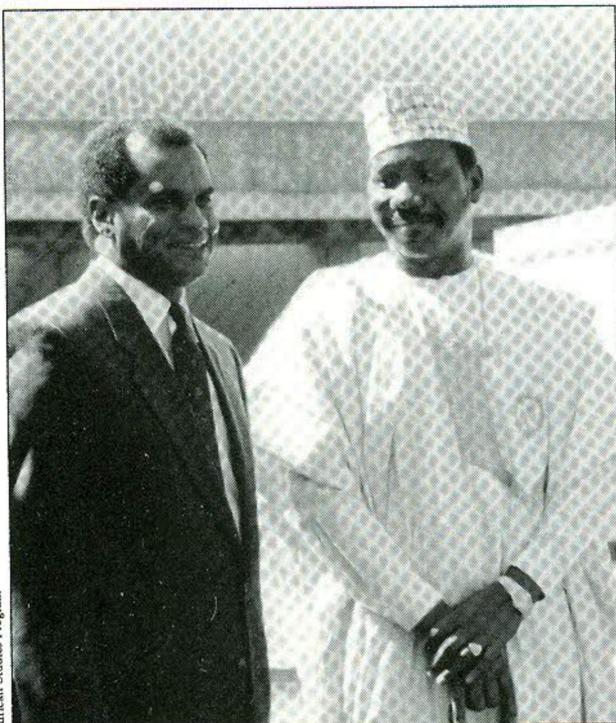
Participants in the working session included President and Mrs. Carter; Dayle E. Powell, director of the program; Bruce Allyn, Center for Science and International Affairs, Kennedy School of Government; James Jonah, assistant secretary general, United Nations; Richard Joseph, director of CCEU's African Governance program; Shridath Ramphal, secretary general of the Commonwealth of Nations; Kumar Rupesinghe, Peace Research Institute, Oslo, Norway; S.W.R. de A. Samarasinghe, International Center for Ethnic Studies, Sri Lanka; William Spencer, Interaction Associates; and William Ury, Harvard University's Program on Negotiation.

The Conflict Resolution program continues to encourage the renewed delivery of relief supplies and the resumption of peace talks between Ethiopia and the EPLF. President Carter and Ms. Powell plan to attend the July meeting of the Organization of African Unity (OAU) in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia to pursue these goals.

## Human Rights

### New Group to Defend Human Rights in War-Torn Horn of Africa

For the last year, the Human Rights program has worked closely with the Fund for Peace in New York to establish a new organization that will protect and promote human rights in the war-torn Horn of Africa. Organized under the auspices of the Fund for Peace, the Human Rights Program on the Horn of Africa is unique in that it will be managed largely by committed human rights activists from Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia, and



Dr. Joseph greets General Garba upon his arrival in Atlanta.

# Public-Policy Initiatives



Amilcar Mendez at CERJ headquarters takes testimony from widow and relatives of a man who died escaping a military round-up in Guatemala in January.

Djibouti.

The new organization was launched March 30 at the conclusion of a one-day strategy session in Washington, D.C. attended by academics, former policymakers, lawyers, and activists from the region, as well as several Western experts in human rights and the Horn. That working group—now the advisory board—identified three areas of priority for the new project: documentation, advocacy, and human rights education. It was unanimously decided that the group should devote special attention to humanitarian concerns such as the use of food as a weapon of war and the economic, social, and cultural rights so often neglected in the West. The projects of the Human Rights Program on the Horn of Africa will be designed to be carried out at the grassroots level whenever possible.

## Guatemalan Violence Prompts Increased Human Rights Efforts

Earlier this year, program Director Leah Leatherbee traveled to Guatemala to meet with human rights leaders, unionists, representatives of women's organizations, and other activists to discuss deteriorating human rights conditions in that

country. Activists made a unanimous plea to the international community to publicize the extreme levels of violence in Guatemala and to call attention to abuses directed at human rights workers, an alarming number of whom have been murdered in recent months.

In response, CCEU has committed to trying to raise the profile of human rights groups operating in Guatemala. For example, the program has been working to increase the visibility of the Runujel Junam Council for Ethnic Communities (CERJ).

CERJ was formed by a group of Mayan Indian peasants in July 1988 to document and challenge the multiple human rights violations directed at Guatemala's Indian population. Before CERJ began its work, these abuses were largely unreported and unrecorded. According to Ms. Leatherbee, "CERJ's success demonstrates how a grassroots organization can curtail abusive policies by educating people about their rights. We hope to promote its success as a model for other human rights organizations around the world." In April, CCEU's efforts resulted in a \$25,000 grant from a U.S. foundation to the CERJ, an amount that constitutes one-half of the organization's annual budget.

## Latin America and Caribbean

### Program Staff Focus on Caribbean, Follow-up to Nicaraguan Elections

Latin American and Caribbean Studies Director Robert Pastor attended a seminar on "The Caribbean in the 21st Century" this spring in Jamaica with experts from the region. While in Jamaica, Dr. Pastor also met with Prime Minister Michael Manley, Foreign Minister David Coore, former Prime Minister Edward Seaga, and others to discuss issues related to the region and to brief them on the activities of the Council of Freely-Elected Heads of Government and the Nicaraguan election observation mission. Prime Minister Manley is a member of the Council, and Prime Minister Seaga has recently joined the group.

Associate Program Director Jennie Lincoln participated in a panel discussion on the Nicaraguan elections at the Americas Society in New York in March. Panelists discussed the future of U.S.-Nicaraguan relations in light of Violeta Chamorro's victory. Other participants included Alejandro Bendana, secretary general of the Foreign Ministry of Nicaragua; Arturo Cruz, Jr., former associate of the Nicaraguan contras; and Jerome Hoganson, deputy director of the Office of Central American Affairs of the U.S. Department of State.

## Middle Eastern Studies

### Visiting Scholars Enrich Program

The Middle Eastern Studies program continues to attract visiting scholars who conduct research and teach courses on the region to students at Emory University.

Khairira Kasmieh from the University of Damascus in Syria visited CCEU this spring to research aspects of U.S. foreign policy toward the Middle East and the history of

## Programs and Policy Initiatives *continued from previous page*

Arab-American relations. In September, Bruce Maddy-Weitzman of Tel Aviv University will undertake a one-year appointment as a visiting fellow at CCEU and a visiting professor at Emory.

## Internships Advance Career Opportunities

The Middle Eastern Studies program and Emory's Department of Near Eastern and Judaic Languages and Literature continue to work together to provide a variety of courses, internships and public lectures for Emory students. Since 1983, the Middle East program has involved more than 100 interns from Emory University, other Atlanta area universities, and out-of-state colleges in its research activities, special programs, and conferences. Many of these interns have gone on to work for prestigious private and public organizations including the U.S. Office of Management and Budget (OMB), the Environmental Protection Agency (EPA), the Washington Institute for Near East Policy, the Brookings Institution, and Cable News Network (CNN).

## Research Provides Solid Foundation for Program

Middle Eastern Studies Program Director Kenneth W. Stein is embarking on a comprehensive study of international peace conferences. He is also working on a monograph of six essays focusing on the social history of Palestine under the British mandate.

Program Coordinator Richard Brow has initiated a study that will focus on the integration of the physical infrastructure of the West Bank, the Gaza Strip, and Israel, including water networks, electrical grids, and road systems. This research forms part of the program's larger study on economic aspects of the peace process.

## Soviet Studies

### Soviet Professors Visit Emory Through Unique Program

Harold Berman, CCEU's U.S.-Soviet Relations fellow, has initiated a visiting Soviet professorship at Emory Law School as the result of an unprecedented agreement between U.S. and Soviet education institutions. Igor Ivanovich Lukashuk, a professor at the Institute of State and Law in Moscow, was the first visiting Soviet scholar. He taught a course in "Public International Law" in the spring semester. This fall, B. E. Chirkin will teach a course in "Constitutional Law in Developing Countries," which will focus primarily on Africa. Professor Chirkin, who teaches at the Institute of State and Law of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, will also participate in Professor Berman's course in Soviet law. Other Soviet scholars will teach at Emory in subsequent years.

"This program could not have been brought to fruition without the help of President Carter, who wrote a letter to Soviet President Gorbachev urging him personally to endorse the proposal," said Professor Berman.

### Western Scholars Help Soviets Draft Human Rights Laws

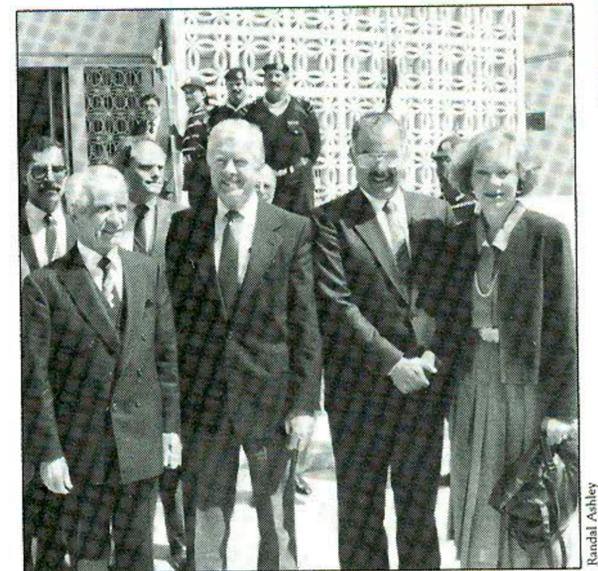
Professor Berman spent a week in Moscow this winter at the invitation of the Soviet Committee on European Security and Cooperation to discuss with Soviet jurists, including the USSR Minister of Justice, ways in which Western legal scholars can contribute to the drafting of new Soviet laws on human rights. On December 10, the anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Professor Berman spoke at a rally in celebration of International Human Rights Day.

This spring, Professor Berman was one of four speakers at a two-day seminar in Moscow at which presentations on American culture, politics, economy, and law were made to a group of 220 Soviet economic officials, legislators, and scholars. He discussed the legal system in the United States—including the concepts of checks and balances, judicial supremacy, due process, equal protection, and jury trial—and how the system affects Soviet-American relations, including trade and joint ventures. ■

### Economics of Peace *continued from page 8*

Carter received an enthusiastic response from the region's political leaders and noted scholars to The Carter Center's desire to explore the economic benefits of a comprehensive settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. Upon his return, President Carter met with President Bush and Secretary of State Baker in Washington, informing them that, with the formation of an Israeli government and the implementation of the Baker plan, the prospects for peace in the Middle East are better than they have been in ten years.

"A comprehensive peace is not only necessary, but inevitable," he said.



President and Mrs. Carter meet with Jordanian parliamentarians in Amman.

# Guinea Worm Eradication Efforts Receive Boost

*Donation Signals New Corporate Citizenship*

**T**his spring, The Carter Center received an enormous boost in its effort to eradicate Guinea worm. At a press conference held at the Center in March, The American Cyanamid Company announced that it would provide more than \$2 million worth of the chemical Abate to the Center's eradication program. Abate kills the Guinea worm larvae in water supplies while leaving it safe for drinking.

The donation marks a significant step in the fight to eradicate Guinea worm worldwide. "American Cyanamid has a product that is necessary to eliminate a debilitating disease, and when presented with an opportu-

**"This generous gift will be instrumental in ending the suffering of millions of people."**

nity, they chose to give all that was needed for our worldwide eradication campaign. This generous gift will be instrumental in ending the unnecessary suffering of millions of people," said President Carter upon accepting the donation.

Speaking on behalf of American Cyanamid, Albert Costello, executive vice president, said, "As a life sciences corporation dedicated to the development of agricultural and medical products, it is very satisfying to know that Cyanamid's donation of Abate larvicide will enable men, women, and children to live without fear of the water they drink to survive."

Dracunculiasis, more commonly known as Guinea worm, is a debilitating disease that has serious adverse effects on health, agricultural production, and school attendance. Over 10 million people a year are affected by this disease in India, Pakistan, and 17 African countries. More than 100 million people stand at risk of infection.

There is no effective treatment for

Guinea worm once a person has ingested the larvae. There are, however, preventive measures that can be taken to eliminate the disease: teaching villagers to boil or filter their drinking water through a cloth; providing safe water from borehole wells or other clean sources; or treating contaminated sources of water with Abate.

UNICEF has agreed to assist in shipping and distributing the chemical in Africa. According to Donald Hopkins, who directs the Center's Guinea worm eradication program, "This donation is a magnificent gesture and an important step forward in the struggle to eradicate Guinea worm. I hope it will encourage other corporations and aid agencies to join the campaign."

## Conference Participants Affirm 1995 Eradication Goal

Over 120 participants attended the Third Regional Conference on Guinea worm at Yamoussoukro, Cote d'Ivoire in March, including representatives from India and 17 African countries. Kenya was the

only endemic African country not represented. The conference was sponsored by Global 2000, UNICEF, and WHO, and participants included the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP), the Organization of African Unity (OAU), OCCGE, OGEAC, the West African Health Community, U.S. Centers for Disease Control (CDC), the U.S. Peace Corps, Danish Bilharziasis Laboratory, Health and Development International, USAID, American Cyanamid, and the Adventist Development and Relief Agency.

At the conference, UNICEF announced its support of a 10,000 village Guinea worm eradication program in Africa. Several countries presented successful models showing ways to eradicate the disease in infected villages. And all endemic countries except Sudan reported that they planned to conduct national searches this year to determine the number of cases of Guinea worm. Most countries had already prepared national plans of action to eradicate the disease by 1995. ■

**STATUS OF GUINEA WORM ERADICATION PROGRAMS**

Country	Target Date for Eradication	National Search Conducted/Planned	Plan of Action Developed
Benin	1995	2/90	Yes
Burkina Faso	1995	1990	Yes
Cameroon	1993	1984-90	Yes
C.A.R.*	None	9/90	No
Chad	1995	1990	1990
Cote d'Ivoire	1995	1990	No
Ethiopia	1995	1990	No
Gambia	+	9/90	No
Ghana	1993	1989-90	Yes
Guinea	+	6/90	1990
India	1991	1980-90	Yes
Kenya	?	1989	1990
Mali	1995	9/90-11/90	Yes
Mauritania	?	9/90	No
Niger	1995	5/90	Yes
Nigeria	1995	1988-90	Yes
Pakistan	1990	1987-90	Yes
Senegal	1995	12/90-1/91	1990
Sudan	1995	None	No
Togo	1995	11/90-3/91	Yes
Uganda	1995	1990	No

\*Central African Republic

+Indigenous disease may have already disappeared

## Child Survival Leaders Set Priorities for Decade

One hundred leaders in the child survival movement—including the Ministers of Health from 20 developing countries—convened in Bangkok, Thailand in March to agree on the actions most needed to assure the survival, protection, and development of the world's children.

The Bellagio IV conference had three purposes: to review remaining barriers to achieving universal childhood immunization by the end of 1990; to seek consensus on what additional health goals can and should be achieved during the coming decade; and to formulate key messages for global leaders convening at the World Summit for Children in New York City this September.

Since The Task Force for Child Survival (TFCS) was established at The Carter Center six years ago, increases in childhood immunization efforts have assured the survival of many of the world's children. Each year, immunization prevents over 2 million children under age 5 from dying from measles, neonatal tetanus,

and pertussis. Close to 70 percent of the world's children are now immunized; six years ago, fewer than 20 percent had received immunizations. Thirty-eight countries have met their immunization goals already. However, participants agreed that bold, immediate efforts are needed to reach the rest of the world's children to "turn this near-miracle into a miracle."

One such extraordinary effort is the Children's Summit. The worldwide media attention and potential for social mobilization generated when Heads of State convene this fall is so great that, according to TFCS Executive Director William H. Foege, "A successful Summit could double the number of children's lives we save and reduce the population growth as well, as parents become confident that their first children will survive." A preliminary planning meeting was held at The Carter Center this spring to discuss the upcoming Summit.

Key themes participants want carried to the World Summit are:

"Child survival should be seen as part of the fabric of national development and well-being.... Our Heads of Government tend to view child concerns as charity, something we do out of the goodness of our heart—but not as something which is at the core of progress for the nation. It is at the core."

—Stephen Umemoto,  
Deputy Regional Director,  
UNICEF's East Asia and  
Pakistan Office

- Health is an investment. Healthy people, not munitions, are the ultimate security for a nation.
- Child survival alone is no longer enough; we also need to think in terms of child protection and development.
- Preventing child and maternal deaths is affordable and possible.

Participants agreed that the extraordinary advances in universal immunization in the past six years, coupled with the cooperative network created by the formation of the TFCS, make this an opportune time for a worldwide commitment to children. "Gandhi said, 'People often become what they believe themselves to be,'" Dr. Foege said. "And if the leaders of the world go to the Summit this fall and see themselves as protectors of children, that's what they're likely to become." ■



Among the health leaders who convened in Bangkok at Bellagio IV were, L to R: Michael H. Merson, director of WHO's Diarrheal Disease Control Program; Ciro de Quadros, regional director, EPI Programme of the Pan American Health Organization; and William C. Watson, associate executive director of TFCS.

## State of the World's Children - 1990

**M**ore than 100 million children in the world are at risk of dying from malnutrition or preventable disease, according to the 1990 "State of the World's Children" report released by UNICEF in December. The report was issued at a press conference at The Carter Center as well as at sites around the country.

Calling the 1990s the "Decade for Doing the Obvious," the report focused on the nearly two million deaths that could be prevented each year if children received the proper vaccinations. The Task Force for Child Survival (TFCS), based at The Carter Center, works hand-in-hand with UNICEF, The World Health Organization (WHO), the United



*By aiming to reduce by 90 percent the occurrence of measles in children in the next five years, world health officials also hope to reduce vitamin A deficiency.*

### We Can Afford It

In the 1990 edition of *The State of the World's Children*, UNICEF estimates that making available today's low-cost solutions to child health problems would prevent almost 100 million needless child deaths in the next decade. The cost? \$2.5 billion a year.

According to UNICEF, \$2.5 billion is:

- as much as the Soviet Union spends on vodka each month
- as much as U.S. companies spend each year to advertise cigarettes
- two percent of the poor world's own arms spending
- the approximate cost of five stealth bombers
- ten percent of the European Economic Community's annual subsidy to its farmers
- as much as the developing world is paying every week to service its debt
- as much as the world as a whole spends on the military every day

Source: *Conference Report: Protecting the World's Children: A Call for Action*

Nations Development Programme (UNDP), and The Rockefeller Foundation to promote programs that immunize children against vaccine-preventable disease. Efforts to prevent death due to diarrheal disease, neonatal tetanus, and acute respiratory infection are also being encouraged.

According to Ralph Henderson, assistant director general of WHO, "Not one case of neonatal tetanus should be allowed to occur. Before 1995, the disease should be eliminated in every country. We have a good, stable vaccine and it could and should have been done yesterday."

But the case for measles is tougher. Even in developed nations, eradication is not complete. In a community where the immunization level is as high as 80 percent, the measles virus still infects those who have not been immunized. Measles infection is one of the major causes of malnutrition among children and can cause vitamin A deficiency as well as other severe illnesses. However, if the measles vaccine is accurately timed, close to nine months after the birth of the child, only one dose of medicine is necessary to protect the

child against the disease.

Other treatments discussed in the report included oral rehydration, a significant medical breakthrough that protects children against dehydration from diarrhea, as well as the use of antibiotics that can be made available to health care workers to treat acute respiratory infections. ■

"The spirit of the nineties has come, whereby immunization programs should be seen as one of the strands to be woven into the fabric of health care."

—O. Ransome-Kuti,  
Minister of Health,  
Nigeria

# THE JIMMY CARTER LIBRARY

## Library Offers Unique View of History

Visitors to The Jimmy Carter Library are sometimes surprised to find that it does not have a large book collection. This is because the Library is actually an archive. When Franklin D. Roosevelt became the first president to donate his papers to the federal government, he designated his building a "library." Following FDR's precedent, today there are eight libraries maintained by the National Archives that house presidential materials.

The Jimmy Carter Library contains the papers and memorabilia of President Carter and his White House advisors. It houses approximately 27,000,000 pages of manuscript material; about 7,000,000 pages are now open for research. These materials, generally termed "papers," include letters, memos, handwritten notes, daily schedules, briefing books, and newspaper clippings. The Library also has photographs, motion picture film, videotape, audiotape and "three dimensional objects," which includes everything not listed above.

Much of the material currently open for research deals with domestic issues of the Carter era, such as energy policy, the economy, government reorganization and civil service reform, the environment, and agriculture. Material dealing with foreign policy issues is, for the most part, security-classified and will not be available to researchers for a number of years.

One unique aspect of the Carter Library's holdings is the existence of documents written in President Carter's own hand or with his annotations, including letters, notes, memos, and drafts of speeches. For example, the Library has original notes handwritten by President Carter on his plans for peace in the Middle East, as well as the first draft of his 1977 inaugural address. Within the next three years, the staff will finish processing the President's "Handwriting File," which contains much of the material he read each day. Virtually every document in this file was annotated by President Carter.



Volunteer Barbara Rives discusses the video "If I Were President" with a second grade class in the museum of the Jimmy Carter Library.

Also included in the Library's collections are a large number of "pre-Presidential" papers and memorabilia that currently are unprocessed and will not be opened for a number of years. These files include Jimmy Carter's personal correspondence, records and memorabilia from all of his political campaigns, U.S. Navy records, state senate records, and family papers. (His papers as governor of Georgia are in the State Archives, as mandated by law).

For information about research opportunities, write: The Jimmy Carter Library and Museum, One Copenhill, Atlanta, GA 30307, or call 404/331-3942. Researchers are admitted by appointment only.

### Volunteers Play Key Role At Museum

Volunteers have always played a vital role at The Jimmy Carter Library and Museum. Even before the Library opened its doors in October 1986, volunteers worked with staff members to develop special programs to teach children and adults about the U.S. presidency.

Specially-trained docents offer

visitors to the museum unique insight into the history of the presidency in general and the Carter White House years in particular. The first group of docents was trained shortly after the museum was opened, and today more than 30 men and women volunteer their services.

In addition to conducting tours of the museum, volunteers help implement the Library's educational programs for children. The dedication of the volunteers has proven invaluable to both staff and visitors.

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