DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE

50

ПЯТЬДЕСЯТ ЛЕТ

FIFTY YEARS

Дартмутская конференция

The Dartmouth Conference: The First 50 Years
1960—2010

Reminiscing on the Dartmouth Conference

by Yevgeny Primakov

AT THE PEAK OF THE COLD WAR, the Dartmouth Conference was one of the few diversions from the spirit of hostility available to Soviet and American intellectuals, who were keen, and able, to explore peace-making initiatives. In fact, the Dartmouth participants reported to Moscow and Washington on the progress of their discussion and, from time to time, were even instructed to "test the water" regarding ideas put forward by their governments. The Dartmouth meetings were also used to unfetter actions undertaken by the two countries from a propagandist connotation and present them in a more genuine perspective. But the crucial mission for these meetings was to establish areas of concurring interests and to attempt to outline mutually acceptable solutions to the most acute problems: nuclear weapons reduction, international conflict resolution, and facilitating conditions conducive to economic interaction.

The significance of the Dartmouth Conference relates to the fact that throughout the cold war, no formal Soviet-American contact had been consistently maintained, and that huge gap was bridged by these meetings.

The composition of participants was a primary factor in the success of those meetings, and it took some time before the negotiating teams were shaped the right way. At first, in the early 1970s, the teams had been led by professionally qualified citizens. From the Soviet Union, political experts and researchers working for the Institute of World Economy and International Relations and the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, organizations closely linked to Soviet policymaking circles, played key roles. For the United States, the team was made up

of political scientists; prominent bankers and businessmen; and former senior officers of the State Department, the Pentagon, the U.S. government, and the CIA. For a long time, the American team was headed by David Rockefeller, with whom I developed a warm relationship. The Soviet team was originally headed by Nikolay Inozemtsev and then by Georgy Arbatov. Vitaly Zhurkin, Mikhail Milstein, and Grigory Morozov were extensively involved. I and my counterpart, Harold Saunders, former U.S. Assistant Secretary of State, were cochairs of the specialized Regional Conflicts Task Force.

It should be noted that we achieved considerable progress in designing measures to normalize the situation in the Middle East. And all of our suggestions were communicated to the very "top." Much to my regret, due to external and internal reasons, our recommendations were never translated into action. The U.S.-U.S.S.R./Russian collaboration seeking to resolve the Middle East conflict did not yield any fruit even after the cold war was over. The ensuing monopolization of the mediation mission by the United States proved to be ineffective, as was explicitly demonstrated by the failure of the Middle East policies pursued by George W. Bush. I tend to believe that my Dartmouth colleague and friend Hal Saunders – a brilliant expert on international affairs – would share the view that integrating efforts by the United States and Russia could be of paramount importance in putting an end to the inveterate Arab-Israeli enmity. This is especially so, if we consider the rise of Iran in the region, a consequence of the U.S. occupation of Iraq.

The Dartmouth Conference was also valuable in that it contributed to the growing human affinity and the forging of friendships, so difficult to imagine at that time. Let me share a story that was an unusual occurrence during that period, when an ideological wall had been erected between our two countries.

In 1974, when planning the meeting that was to be held in Tbilisi, our team wanted to invite the Americans to visit a Georgian family. We asked for and gained permission from Eduard Shevardnadze, then First Secretary of the Communist Party of Georgia. I suggested dinner at the apartment of my wife's relative – Nadezhda Kharadze. A

professor of the Conservatory and a former prima donna of the Tbilisi Opera Theatre, she lived modestly, like most members of the Georgian intelligentsia. Nadezhda had to borrow a table and chairs from her neighbors, and as a result, all residents in the building knew that she was expecting Rockefeller himself to be one of her guests. On that evening, the party also included former Senator Hugh Scott, who had proposed the impeachment of President Nixon; Scott's wife; former U.S. representative to the U.N., Charles Yost; and editor-in-chief of Time *magazine, Hedley Donovan.*

Nadezhda's apartment was on the fourth floor. Municipal authorities had no time to paint the walls inside the stairwell by the time of our arrival, so they thought better of it and instead unscrewed all the light bulbs. Because there was no elevator in the building, we walked up the stairs in darkness, yet, on each floor there was a source of light – just like in Italian movies, every apartment door opened as we passed by and we were scrutinized in silence.

The party was a lot of fun. We enjoyed splendid Georgian dishes and sang Russian, Georgian, and American songs. David Rockefeller rescheduled his return flight on his private jet and left with everyone else at three o'clock in the morning. He even offered dishwashing assistance to the hostess. Later, on multiple occasions, he told me that he never forgot that evening, although initially he underestimated the sincerity of the hosts, thinking, perhaps, that everything had been just another instance of a Potemkin Village scenario. I remember that he approached Ernest Hemingway's portrait, which was hanging above my nephew Sandrik's desk, and looked behind the frame to make sure that the spot behind it was not sun-bleached – evidence that the portrait was not hung with the single purpose of impressing him.

In Tbilisi, David Rockefeller enjoyed tremendous popularity. Ted Kennedy, who stayed in the Georgian capital with our group, complained that whenever he appeared in the streets, the boys would always cry out: "Hello to Rockefeller!"

Meeting and working with my American colleagues at the Dartmouth Conference is one of the best memories of my life.

Dr. Yevgeny Primakov is president of the Russian Chamber of Commerce and was Russia's foreign minister from 1996 to 1998 and prime minister from 1998 to 1999.

Citizens Light the Way

by David Rockefeller

SOMETIME IN THE SPRING or early summer of 1961, Norman Cousins, the editor of the prestigious Saturday Review of Literature*, a man I had known and admired for many years, came to see me in my office at the Chase Manhattan Bank in Lower Manhattan. Norman invited me to attend, according to my notes at the time, a "US-USSR conference" in January of 1962 at Airlie House near Washington, D.C., as part of the American delegation. Norman said that this would be the third meeting of the group – the first of which had been held on the Dartmouth College campus in Hanover, New Hampshire, in the autumn of 1960 – and that the conference had the support of senior officials in the Kremlin, as well as in the U.S. government. When I asked the purpose of the conference, Norman said it might improve relations between the two countries because the Soviets seemed eager to put the Stalinist era behind them and find ways to engage the West in "useful dialogue."*

Norman loved the word dialogue *and placed great stock in face-to-face meetings as a means of changing attitudes and solving problems. I was much less optimistic than he that conversations would somehow diminish the ideological, political, and military threat that the Soviet Union posed to the United States. But Norman was a tremendously persuasive man. In the end, he convinced me that there was merit to his idea.*

After consulting with my advisors and checking my schedule, I agreed to join the delegation and attend the January meeting. As luck would have it, the meeting was postponed and the location changed to October of 1962 in Andover, Massachusetts, on the cam-

pus of Phillips Academy. Meanwhile, my own schedule (I was president and co-chief executive officer of the Chase at the time) prevented me from participating in all but the initial stages of the conference, which, in retrospect, was probably the most memorable of all Dartmouth conferences. The Soviet and American delegates met and continued their "dialogue" against the chilling backdrop of the Cuban missile crisis – certainly the darkest and potentially deadliest moment in the entire cold war.

I attended most of the Dartmouth meetings over the first 30 years and found them incredibly useful in exactly the way that Norman Cousins had claimed they would be. Both the Americans and the Russians who were privileged to attend these annual gatherings learned a great deal about each other. It was as if we were holding up gigantic mirrors in which we could see exactly how others saw us. And, while I cannot claim that our meetings hold the key to understanding the end of the cold war or explain why neither side resorted to the use of nuclear weapons – Norman Cousins' deepest concern – it is nevertheless my belief that Dartmouth made a profound difference in the relationship between the two superpowers.

That is why I believe that the Dartmouth Conference's 50th anniversary provides an opportunity to reflect on the past and imagine the future. Although Russia and the United States are no longer locked in a deadly contest, threatening world peace and the survival of the human race, we should renew our efforts to build a new bilateral relationship that could lead to a more stable and peaceful international order. This relationship – like any relationship – will develop only if we tend it carefully and channel its energies thoughtfully. Governments must, of course, play a central role in this process. At the same time, one lesson we should have learned from the last century's experience is that governments alone cannot fuel the engine of mutual understanding and productive change. It is my hope that the experience and commitment of private citizens, such as the members of the Dartmouth Conference, will help to light the way.

David Rockefeller was chair and chief executive officer of Chase Manhattan Bank from 1969 to 1980.

This essay is adapted from his preface in James Voorhees' *Dialogue Sustained: The Multilevel Peace Process and the Dartmouth Conference* (United States Institute of Peace Press, 2002).

The Dartmouth Conference:

The First 50 Years

Philip D. Stewart and
Harold H. Saunders

Origins of an Idea

IN MAY OF 1959, Norman Cousins went to Moscow with a simple but grand idea: to engage citizens from the two major nuclear powers in a conversation on how to prevent a nuclear war.

Cousins was a unique figure in the intellectual and public life of mid-20th century America. He was editor for 35 years of the *Saturday Review of Literature*, a founder of the anti-nuclear SANE movement, and a committed believer that world peace could only be achieved through world government. He was the strongest proponent of the idea for a conference that would bring together high-level citizens from the two primary antagonists of the cold war. And he had a personal relationship with the president of the United States, Dwight D. Eisenhower.

Norman Cousins

So when Cousins went to Moscow in 1959, he went not just with an idea, but with the blessing of the president. In Moscow, he met with the Soviet Peace Committee to explain his idea for a citizens' conference. While Cousins' humor evoked laughs, his harsh criticism of many aspects of Soviet policy, particularly regarding nuclear testing and human rights, was met with coolness. Although promised a response, Cousins could not have left the meeting with much reason for hope. Because this would be the first meeting organized by the Peace Committee (the members of which were not pro-Soviet), the committee leadership was deeply skeptical that this invitation would be accepted. Nevertheless, the request was routed through the Soviet

Central Committee's International Department, to whom the Peace Committee reported.

One can only imagine the surprise when, in October 1959, the Peace Committee received approval to move ahead with this meeting. Alla Bobrysheva, Russian interpreter and Dartmouth Conference coordinator, is convinced that this decision was only possible through the personal intervention of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev. Cousins' subsequent personal meetings with Khrushchev, as well as a second meeting with the Peace Committee, which took place at the Crimean resort reserved for high-level party officials (located next door to Khrushchev's own villa) indicate the high level of Soviet interest this conference generated in Moscow.

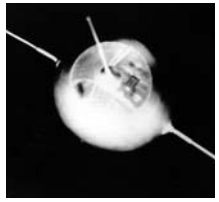
W. E. B. Du Bois (center) met with Soviet Prime Minister Nikita Khrushchev (second from right) during a 1959 visit to the Soviet Union. Also shown, from left, are: Mikhail Kotov, executive secretary of the Soviet Peace Committee, Alla Bobrysheva, and Shirley Graham, Du Bois' wife.

In the spring of 1960, as preparations advanced for the first conference meeting, which was to be held at Dartmouth College in Hanover, New Hampshire, the fundamental principles of this dialogue were negotiated. Many of these arose from Norman Cousins' deep insights into what it takes to enable effective human discourse, especially across deep divisions of hostility and suspicion. The first principle was that everyone would participate as a private citizen, not as a representative of a group or organization, whether private or official. The idea behind this was that private citizens would feel less constrained by official policy and more able to recognize and respond to fundamental human values. The challenge, however, was that there was little notion of a "private" citizen in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, in the end, both sides agreed that everyone would participate strictly in their personal, or private,

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

October 4, 1957
Soviets launch Sputnik—challenge America's technical lead



January 1958
U.S.-Soviet Cultural Exchange Agreement signed

1957

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capacity, irrespective of their high-level official positions.

The other principles were designed to develop an environment that would maximize the potential for developing relationships on a human level, while making it possible to raise and confront the most difficult and contentious issues frankly and openly. Meetings were kept off the record to create a safe environment, free from publicity. Stretching the meetings over five or more days, with additional meetings before and following the main sessions, provided ample free time for informal conversations and getting to know each other as human beings.

In his selection of U.S. participants Cousins showed some of his keenest insight. The question was how to create an image of the United States sufficiently powerful and persuasive to break through deeply embedded Soviet stereotypes of the "imperialist" West. Cousins' answer was to involve persons whose careers and deepest beliefs embodied both the diversity and the breadth of the American experience and character. Examples include William Benton, businessman and former U.S. senator; Grenville Clark, lawyer; Russell Crouse, playwright; and Agnes DeMille, ballerina and choreographer. Alla Bobrysheva wrote of the impressions two of these people made on her:

> During a harsh argument about disarmament, Grenville Clark, highly respected in the legal community and among leading public figures, stood up and declared that Americans deeply respected the Soviets for their courageous struggle against fascism during World War II. Americans, he said, would never forget how many lives the Soviet people lost in that struggle. Everyone stood up and for a moment, there was a deep silence, which gave way to unanimous and sustained applause. From then on, the tone of the dialogue changed markedly. . . .
>
> As a little girl, Agnes DeMille met the great Russian ballerina Anna Pavlova and was captivated by her skill as a dancer. It made her think about the people and the Russian culture that had produced an artist of such genius. It was then, she said, that she decided to become a ballerina.[1]

Bobrysheva cited these two cases to "illustrate the kind of human relations breakthrough that . . . was no less important than the political value of starting the Dartmouth process."

It was never expected that the Dartmouth Conference would directly influence official policy; rather, from the beginning, it was hoped the dialogue would help shape ideas in the policy environment in both countries. From the very first Dartmouth meeting, and continuing until today, fulfilling this intent has meant including participants with both breadth and depth in the core issues impacting the U.S.-Soviet

November 1958
Berlin Crisis—Khrushchev threatens to close Western access to Berlin

July 1959
American National Exhibition in Moscow; Nixon-Khrushchev "Kitchen Debate"

September 1959
Khrushchev's official visit to U.S. and "Spirit of Camp David" visit to Roswell Garst's corn farm

1958 1959

AS AT DARTMOUTH AND THE CRIMEA, some of the most memorable incidents took place away from the conference table. During one of the infrequent recess periods, the Soviet delegation went off to see some of the sites and memorials of the American Revolution. As they approached the monument at Bunker Hill, but before the inscription at the base of the monument was visible, the oldest member of the Soviet group took off his hat and began to move his lips. Those very close to him heard him recite the famous lines from Emerson:

"By the rude bridge that arched the flood,
Their flag to April's breeze unfurled,
Here once the embattled farmers stood
And fired the shot heard round the world."

Will there be another conference? It is too early to say. But at a time when the air is filled with talk about official summit meetings, it may be useful to remember that citizens are at the base. Their discourse can be relevant, helpful, even significant. For nothing in the world – spaceships not excluded – can be more exciting or constructive than a worthwhile human encounter.

Excerpted from Norman Cousins' "Experiment at Andover," *Saturday Review of Literature*, November 10, 1962

relationship, who would also draw from and contribute to the stream of ideas, concerns, and concepts that form the context and often the content of official policy. In October 1960, at the first Dartmouth meeting, participants included Walt Rostow, economist and national security advisor to President Johnson; Arthur Larson, a longtime friend and close advisor to President Eisenhower; and George F. Kennen, former U.S. ambassador to Moscow and author of what became the U.S. policy of containment. Over the years, members of the U.S. policy community who participated in Dartmouth included future and former secretaries and assistant secretaries of state, national security advisors and staff, and former chairs of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, not to mention current and former members of Congress.

While never a negotiated criterion, the Soviets, within the context of their society, included people with similar qualities and policy roles. Thus, the Soviet cochair during the first decade, Alexander Kornichuk, was not only the recipient of state prizes and awards for his novels, but was also a close advisor to both Khrushchev and Leonid Brezhnev. His successor, Georgy Arbatov, director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, was a protégé of Politburo member Yuri Andropov and a leading, if controversial, voice on Soviet-U.S. relations through the 1970s and 1980s. Over the years, participants from the Soviet policy community included more than a

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

May 1960
U-2 shot down by Soviets, Paris Summit cancelled

November 1960
Kennedy elected president, claims "missile gap" with the Soviet Union

1960

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October 29-November 4, 1960
Plenary
Hanover, NH

May 21-28, 1961
Plenary
Crimea, U.S.S.R.

dozen department heads from the Central Committee Secretariat and approximately the same numbers each from the Ministries of Defense and Foreign Affairs.

Of course, both the Soviets and the Americans understood the importance of public opinion in the relationship and the potential of the Dartmouth Conference to shape it. However, the two sides approached the public's role in this relationship in nearly diametrically opposed ways.

The Americans tended to see a two-way relationship—on the one hand, nearly all U.S. participants accepted as part of their responsibility, directly, clearly, and without equivocation, to raise concerns prevalent among the U.S. public. These ranged from Soviet treatment of prominent authors, such as Alexander Solzhenitsyn, to pressing for the emigration of Soviet Jews, as well as other human rights issues. At the same time, by including in the delegation prominent U.S. writers and journalists, such as from the *New York Times*, the *Washington Post*, and the *International Herald Tribune*, it was hoped that Americans would receive a more nuanced, less stereotyped, and more complex picture of Soviet reality and policy.

The Soviet organizers, or at least the Communist Party International Committee to whom they reported, sought to make the Dartmouth Conference, if only in part, an influential forum both for promoting the official Soviet policy line and for denouncing U.S. policies and actions that the Soviets found threatening or unacceptable. The longest serving and most prominent Soviet propaganda voice was that of Yuri Zhukov, *Pravda* political commentator. While the tension between genuine policy concerns and propaganda remained nearly until the dissolution of the Soviet Union, by the early 1980s, it became accepted practice to limit such "dumping," as it came to be called, to the first hour of any plenary session.

The first 50 years of the Dartmouth Conference process have proved the vitality of its founding idea and principles. The idea that the United States and the Soviet Union, and later Russia, together have a particular role and responsibility not only to avert nuclear war, but also to play a critical part in building a more collaborative and prosperous world for all peoples has and continues to attract the attention, the energies, and the imaginations of leading citizens from each country. However, the development of the Dartmouth Conference process has been no more of a straight, linear process than the course of the U.S. relationship with the Soviet Union and its successor, Russia. As the possibilities and challenges in the larger relationship have emerged, so the Dartmouth Conference process has altered its substantive focus, its structure and process, and the profile of participants in order to maximize the conference's potential impact. Since the full story has been well told,[2] this brief overview will focus on Dartmouth's major developmental phases.

August 1961
Khrushchev orders resumption of atmospheric nuclear testing, explodes 100 megaton H-bomb

August 1961
Berlin Wall built

October 1962
Cuban Missile Crisis

1961

1962

October 21-27, 1962
Plenary
Andover, MA

The 1960s:

Learning to Talk Together, Creating a Safe Space

TO UNDERSTAND the challenge and the impact of the first Dartmouth conferences, we need to recall the atmosphere of the time and the nature of the Soviet-U.S. relationship. There were some U.S. economists who predicted that within 20 years the Soviet Union's planned economy

Dartmouth College President John Dickey (center) with Russian delegation, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1960

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

June 1963
President Kennedy calls for a treaty prohibiting the proliferation of nuclear weapons

November 1963
John F. Kennedy assassinated; Lyndon B. Johnson becomes president

1963

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would enable them to outstrip U.S. GDP. Then in 1957, Moscow launched the first successful satellite into space, an event that not only shocked Americans, but also convinced many that the Soviet Union had a substantial lead over the United States in science and technology. Also, given the raging contest between the two superpowers to achieve security through the deployment of nuclear weapons, the Soviet satellite launch profoundly shook U.S. confidence. Indeed, during the 1960 presidential election, John F. Kennedy argued that the Eisenhower administration had permitted a "missile gap," leaving Russia with considerably more nuclear-armed missiles than the United States.

As if this were not worrisome enough, the United States had extremely limited knowledge of the Soviet Union in general, let alone of its military planning and intentions. And no wonder; before 1958 and the signing of the first Soviet-U.S. Cultural Exchange Agreement, for more than 30 years, the only contact between these countries had been at the official level, with even diplomats having almost no interaction with ordinary Soviet citizens. Ideology on each side portrayed the other as committed to its destruction; a perception only reinforced for the United States by Khrushchev's 1956 boast, "We will bury you!" The hysteria created by Senator Joseph McCarthy's assertions that "communists" occupied even the highest reaches of the U.S. government had only just begun to wane. While the Soviet-U.S. agreement made it possible for Soviet scientists to join and contribute to the newly organized, multinational Pugwash movement that same year, the proposed Dartmouth meetings would be the first to attempt bilaterally to bring together a diverse array of citizens to address a broad range of topics, including Pugwash's main agenda of nuclear disarmament.

The first 50 years of the Dartmouth Conference process have proved the vitality of its founding idea and principles.

Little wonder, then, that simply bringing such a group together on the bucolic campus of Dartmouth College was itself seen as a significant achievement. The theory was simple: highly experienced, knowledgeable, and committed people talking together in a private setting would soon recognize each other as human beings, and this would form the basis for addressing fundamental human challenges together. Reality initially seemed to contradict this assumption. From the start, the sides seemed so far apart that they seemed to come from two different worlds. But the conference design combined with the determination of the participants achieved a breakthrough. Alla Bobrysheva captured the moment:

August 1964
Gulf of Tonkin incident leads to Vietnam conflict

October 1964
Khrushchev ousted from power

March 1965
U.S. bombing initiates Operation Rolling Thunder, an extensive bombing campaign against North Vietnam on Haiphong Harbor near Hanoi

1964 | 1965

July 25-31, 1964
Plenary
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

Sharing the same space during the entire week-long conference contributed greatly to the establishment of new human relationships. Sitting together at one table during meals, walking together to the conference room, enjoying a stroll together on the campus grounds, playing a game of tennis during lunch break—all this led to discovering in a recent adversary a friendly human being with many similar feelings and problems. Political issues were discussed not with enemies but with thoughtful scholars deeply concerned about the future of their countries and the world.[3]

One of the hopes behind the Dartmouth Conference was that such contact over time might help open the closed Soviet society, or at least some members of its elite, to broader ways of thinking. While no one would venture profound claims in this regard, even after 50 years, Bobrysheva offered at least one such personal testimony:

> The great gift I received from the first Dartmouth Conference, and which I proudly cherished for the following 30 years, was my association with Norman Cousins. . . . Meeting Norman Cousins was like opening a window onto a wider world, with more issues to think about and resolve than I had previously confronted. He introduced me to a wider range of solutions. Every meeting with him in the 30 years that followed that first meeting left me enriched by his ideas, his energy and his dedication to improving life on our planet.[4]

"Sharing the same space during the entire week-long conference contributed greatly to the establishment of new human relationships."

For many participants, Dartmouth III, held at the Phillips Academy in Andover, Massachusetts, from October 21 to 27, 1962, was the crucible in which the value and role of the Dartmouth Conference was demonstrated. It was during the initial introductory dinner that President Kennedy made his famous speech confirming that the Soviet Union was building missile sites capable of launching medium- and intermediate-range nuclear missiles at the United States and announcing an immediate blockade of all military shipments to Cuba. Should the meeting continue? Should the delegates immediately return home? What was the role of even well-connected private citizens in such a crisis between their two countries? Each side pondered these questions, consulting with their

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INTERNATIONAL

June 1967
6-day Arab-Israeli War

1966

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respective governments for advice. As became clear only many years later, the Soviet delegation itself was deeply divided, with only a minority ready to continue the meeting. However, upon consultation with Soviet ambassador to Washington, Anatoly Dobrynin, who urged the meeting to go on, they presented a united front and agreed to continue with the meeting if the Americans wished to do so. Norman Cousins perhaps summed up best the American perspective on this meeting:

> The debate at Andover that week was strenuous, sometimes strident, but two things became clear as it spilled over into the second day. One was that the Cuban crisis didn't interfere with the cordiality of the Russians or their desire to have a productive conference. The second was that both Russians and Americans, as private citizens, showed a clear desire to find a way out of the crisis.[5]

In a 1989 interview, long-time Soviet participant Yuri Zhukov observed that this "was undoubtedly the most dramatic and meaningful" of the Dartmouth conferences. "I think that in our meeting in Andover," he continued, "the way we dealt with the problems, were harbingers of the solution reached at the highest level later on."[6] Dartmouth III, in short, demonstrated "the unanimity of the American and Soviet participants in the face of a crisis, which threatened not only both their countries but also the whole world."[7]

Irina Lagunova (from left), John Dickey, and Sergei Yutkevich, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1960

June 1967
Kosygin-Johnson summit

July 1968
Nuclear nonproliferation treaty signed

August 1968
Soviets invade Czechoslovakia

November 1968
Nixon elected, détente begins

1967 | 1968

The 1970s:

Seeking Substantive Breakthroughs, Experimenting with New Formats

German Gvishiani (from left), Norman Cousins, Victoria Siradze, and Hedley Donovan, Tbilisi, U.S.S.R., 1974

THE MEETING held in Kiev during the summer of 1971 brought in its wake a series of efforts to "move from talk to action." Creating the basis for this new direction was a shift in primary funding and organizational responsibility on the U.S. side from the Ford Foundation to the Charles F. Kettering Foundation, which continues to provide the Dartmouth Conference's principal financial and organizational support. Robert G. Chollar, who had recently become president and board chair of the Kettering Foundation, was a former electrical engineer and research scientist at NCR in Dayton, Ohio.

Chollar not only exhibited the curiosity and experimental approach of a scientist, but also the practical, goal-oriented tendencies of a businessman. These traits led him to push the Dartmouth Conference to pursue innovative approaches to achieve concrete results. In his near decade as U.S. Dartmouth cochair (with Cousins), Chollar, with the active support of his conference colleagues, pursued at least four substantive and one procedural innovation: a joint organization to promote trade and economic cooperation, joint research on climate change, scientific collaboration in nitrogen fixation, a joint framework for a Palestinian-Israeli peace settlement, and small, highly focused subgroups, or task forces, for detailed exploration of key challenges in the U.S.-Soviet relationship.

From today's perspective, these innovations, though hardly remembered, in fact, established the practice, across a number of fields, of jointly working on critical problems.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

November 1969
SALT negotiations begin

1969

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January 13-18, 1969
Plenary
Rye, NY

More than this, at the time of the Tbilisi meeting in 1974, for example, there were no more than a handful of scientists in the world worried about climate change, and even they had only a vague idea that its source may have to do with increasing use of carbon-based energy sources. While there were joint scientific projects in the mid-1970s, such as Apollo-Soyuz, the Dartmouth Conference was unique in the breadth and depth of the joint search for ways to address both bilateral and global scientific, economic, and political challenges.

Dartmouth and Economics. In the autumn of 1972, facing poor harvests at home, the Soviet Union made its first large grain purchase from the United States, drawing upon U.S. government export credit guarantees. A number of American businesses looked to build on this event in order to open the Soviet market for trade and commerce. Not surprisingly, this was a core theme later that year at Dartmouth VII. Participating from the business world, in addition to Chollar, were Donald Kendall, CEO of Pepsico; Michel Fribourg, president of Continental Grain; and David Rockefeller, chair of Chase Manhattan Bank. Their Soviet interlocutors included Georgy Trusevich, head of the USSR Bank for Foreign Trade; Nikolai Orlov from the Ministry of Foreign Trade; and a young economist from the new Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, Mikhael Zakhmatov. Building upon his recent deal to sell Pepsi in Russia in exchange for Russian vodka, Kendall urged the creation of a permanent, joint body to address issues impacting trade between the two nations. Rockefeller, a firm believer in the benefits of growing world trade, supported this initiative. Fribourg also saw such a joint institution as useful for putting trade relations on a long-term foundation. With the active support of their Soviet colleagues, the creation of such an organization won general support. Building on this initiative and support from Soviet ministries and other U.S. business groups, the U.S.-Soviet Trade and Economic Council soon became a reality. This organization continues today as the U.S.-Russia Business Council.

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While a useful beginning, Rockefeller and others recognized that creating a long-term, mutual and sustained economic relationship required more than the establishment of a trade council. So, in 1974 at Dartmouth VIII in Tbilisi, Georgia, Chollar and Rockefeller were joined by Bill Hewitt, CEO of John Deere; Jim Ferguson, CEO of General Foods; and Sam Pisar, a highly knowledgeable Russian-American lawyer, to explore the possibility of U.S.-Soviet joint

July 1971
Kissinger secret mission to China

1970 | 1971

July 12-16, 1971
Plenary
Kiev, U.S.S.R.

ventures in the Soviet Union. This meeting was quite possibly one of the first serious bilateral conversations on the topic, and little wonder. The Soviet Union lacked a convertible currency, meaning there was no practical way to repatriate profits, nor even to set meaningful market values on potential Soviet contributions; and private property in the means of production not only did not exist, but also was prohibited by Soviet law. While these realities may have made this exploration seem like a fools' errand, creative ideas were put on the table and seriously examined and discussed. By the end of three days of dialogue, several conceptual approaches to making joint ventures possible were developed and accepted as a valuable basis for further work. Principal among these was the idea of leasing contracts, which would allow Western businesses to acquire de facto control over land, equipment, and resources through their investments. They had not found a solution for profit repatriation, other than through reexport of products to Western markets.

Recognizing that doing business in the Soviet Union would require Soviet partners who understood Western financial and business practices, David Rockefeller invited the bright, young Soviet economist, Mikhael Zakhmatov, to spend a year in New York City, learning the banking business, at Chase's expense. A small step, but one that did eventually come to fruition.

While there were joint scientific projects in the mid-1970s, such as Apollo-Soyuz, the Dartmouth Conference was unique in the breadth and depth of the joint search for ways to address both bilateral and global scientific, economic, and political challenges.

Serious U.S.-Soviet joint ventures did not develop until near the end of the Soviet period. Yet, a 1975 article appearing in the leading journal of the Communist Party, *Kommunist*, made an explicit call for opening up the Soviet economy to the competitive forces of the world market in order to prevent economic stagnation and decline. The author gave explicit support for joint ventures on Soviet soil with Western partners. The article could only have been published with support from some individual or group in the top leadership. Unfortunately, there was no visible follow-up to this article, and from 1976 until the Gorbachev era nearly 10 years later, the idea of joint ventures no longer resonated with our Soviet colleagues. The most probable explanation is that the reform initiative was supported by Alexei Kosygin, the prime minister, but dropped as his influence within the leadership declined rapidly after the mid-1970s. The Dartmouth Conference played a useful and creative role in planting some of the seeds of economic reform, which would germinate only as the political atmosphere became more receptive.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

February 1972
Nixon visit to China

May 1972
Nixon commences mining North Vietnamese harbors

May 1972
ABM treaty signed; Nixon-Brezhnev summit

May 1972
SALT I signed; Nixon visit to China

August 1972
Last U.S. combat troops depart Vietnam

1972

DARTMOUTH

December 3-7, 1972
Plenary
Hanover, NH

Dartmouth and Science. Among the number of efforts undertaken through the Dartmouth Conference to encourage scientific collaboration, three deserve mention: weather modification, climate change, and nitrogen fixation. The primary agenda item for the workgroup on scientific cooperation at the Tbilisi meeting in 1974 was prevention of weather modification for military purposes. This seemingly esoteric topic had captured interest among Soviet scientists as a result of suspicions that the United States had attempted, supposedly with some success, to use weather modification in support of their war efforts in Vietnam. While not finding this assertion credible, American participants, such as Thomas Malone, a distinguished professor of meteorology, were concerned that with advances in science, such activities could become feasible in the near future, and if utilized, might have disastrous consequences for our planet. Encouraged by Paul Doty, a Harvard biochemist; Sterling Wortman, a world-famous rice scientist; and George Woodwell, renowned ecologist and founder of Woods Hole Research Institute; this concern led the conference to support the proposal of the Soviet cochair, renowned arctic explorer and leading meteorologist, Yevgeny Fedorov to urge that the United Nations adopt a treaty outlawing such use of science for purposes of warfare. This idea took form in 1977 as the U.N. Environmental Modification Convention.

Ted Kennedy (from left), Yuri Zhukov, and Georgy Arbatov, Tbilisi, U.S.S.R., 1974

The discussion of weather modification led to a broader conversation on climate. While some scientists had warned that excessive use of carbon-based fuels was causing the Earth to warm, at the time, this view was not widespread. In fact, very little serious research into even such fundamental questions as how carbon moves from captured sources like fossil fuels into the atmosphere and then back into living organisms

January 1973
Vietnam Peace Treaty signed

June 1973
Washington Summit—Nixon/Brezhnev

September 1973
Socialist President Salvador Allende overthrown by Chilean military with U.S. support

October 1973
Organization of Arab Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) formed, imposes oil embargo on the U.S.; oil prices quadruple

1973
The October (Yom Kippur) Arab-Israeli War

December 1973
Soviets and U.S. cochair Geneva Peace Conference on Middle East

1973

had been conducted, let alone how it might impact climate. But the Soviet and U.S. scientists at this Dartmouth meeting agreed that carbon was likely central to climate change. As a result, the conference recommended that the study of the carbon cycle and its impact on climate change be included in the agenda of the global scientific effort known as The International Geophysical Year of 1976. While only one initiative among many, Dartmouth, through its farsighted agenda and knowledgeable and influential participants, was at the forefront in encouraging research into what many see as today's and tomorrow's most profound human challenge.

The third scientific collaboration of the Dartmouth Conference dealt with nitrogen fixation. There are some forms of plant life, such as blue algae and some legumes, that have a unique property: they make their own fertilizer by "fixing" nitrogen directly from the air. If scientists could discover how the process works and then transfer this capability to other plants, especially grains like wheat, rice, and corn, this could multiply the world's food supply by many times, wiping out hunger. In the 1930s, this led Charles F. Kettering to create a special laboratory, dedicated to just this task, at Antioch College in Yellow Springs, Ohio. By the time Robert Chollar came to Kettering, the lab appeared to be on the cusp of major breakthroughs. If more scientists around the world were to put their collective efforts into this work, he believed, the required breakthroughs would surely follow.

Yuri Zhukov, Zbigniew Brzezinski, Genrikh Trofimenko, Georgy Arbatov, and Landrum Bolling, Moscow, 1975

Armed with this conviction, Chollar, lab director Marvin Lamborg, and a small group of scientists travelled to Moscow at the conclusion of Dartmouth IX in Jurmala, Latvia, in July 1977. They met with several dozen of the Soviet Union's top specialists in photosynthesis and related fields. As Chollar and Lamborg explained the laboratory's work, the Soviet scientists' faces showed their excitement. After several days of discussion, a general plan for collaborative work was drawn

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

January 1974
First Kissinger shuttle agreement on Egyptian-Israeli disengagement

May 1974
Kissinger mediated Israeli-Syrian disengagement

June 1974
Nixon/Brezhnev Summit

August 1974
President Nixon resigns, succeeded by Gerald Ford

1974

DARTMOUTH

April 22-26, 1974
Plenary
Tbilisi, U.S.S.R.

up and agreed on in principle. The Soviet Ministry of Agriculture needed to approve the project, so the group arranged a meeting with Boris Runov, the deputy minister and a fellow Dartmouth participant. As the scientists explained the nature of the proposed research and its potential benefits for Soviet citizens, the minister's smile slowly turned into a scowl. "Let me get this straight," he said, "if this research is successful then we can grow all the wheat, corn, and other crops we need without fertilizer? Is that correct?" When both Americans and Soviets agreed that he had correctly understood the argument, the minister nearly exploded. "Don't you realize that the Soviet Union, after investing untold billions of rubles has just recently become the world's leading producer of artificial fertilizers? Do you want to destroy a whole industry and one of the Soviet Union's proudest agricultural achievements?" With that, all hope for collaboration among some of the world's most capable scientists came to a crashing halt. Again, a seed planted, perhaps too early and on unreceptive soil. Today, however, even though the Kettering laboratory is no longer functioning, the ideas it generated continue to influence the field with the 15th International Conference on Photosynthesis held in Beijing, China, in the summer of 2010.

While only one initiative among many, Dartmouth, through its farsighted agenda and knowledgeable and influential participants, was at the forefront in encouraging research into what many see as today's and tomorrow's most profound human challenge.

Dartmouth and the Middle East. In the 1970s, three long-term U.S. Dartmouth participants had deep personal and professional commitments to advancing the cause of peace in the Middle East. For Norman Cousins, the search took him with some regularity to many of the countries in the region, as well as into the White House. Wherever there was war, instability, injustice, and suffering, exploring the path to peace was a personal moral imperative for him. For career ambassador Charles Yost, having served as ambassador in Syria and in Morocco, as well as at the United Nations, finding a workable solution to this crisis was a core U.S. interest and obligation. For Landrum Bolling, a deeply committed Quaker, former president of Earlham College, and later a top foundation officer, this search became his life's work. The effort took Bolling to frequent talks with Palestinian leader Yasser Arafat, and with every Israeli leader who would meet him, not to mention the White House and the State Department. Each of these men was either a leader of or closely tied to ongoing academic and political efforts

April 1975
Fall of Saigon, last U.S. personnel leave Vietnam, communists take power

July 1975
Apollo-Soyuz space link-up

August 1975
Helsinki Final Act signed

September 1975
Kissinger mediates second Sinai agreement

1975

June 3-5, 1975
Plenary
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

December 16-19, 1975
Task Force
New York, NY

to devise a settlement scheme acceptable to all sides.

The 1973 Arab-Israeli war had set the stage for a significant international peace initiative. U.S. Secretary of State Henry Kissinger conducted an intense U.S. mediation—dubbed by the journalists flying with him as the "Kissinger shuttles." This process of daily flights between Israel and an Arab neighbor had already produced three interim agreements, in January and May 1974 and in September 1975.

It was natural for the Dartmouth Conference sessions to explore whether America, Israel's principal ally, and the Soviet Union, the major military and political supporter of Egypt and Syria, might develop a mutually acceptable framework for what came to be called the "peace process." If successfully developed in Dartmouth, this framework might even form the basis for a joint Soviet-U.S. proposal in the proposed 1976 Geneva Conference on the Middle East. Ideas were exchanged, and prospects seemed to improve significantly when Yevgeny Primakov joined the Dartmouth Conference at Tbilisi, Georgia, in 1974. Primakov was politically well connected both in Moscow and in Cairo, where he had just ended a nine-year tour as *Pravda* correspondent. Dartmouth leaders on both sides agreed that a small group, not more than three or four people per side, should meet as a special task force to work solely on this issue.

> This confluence of thought is a pertinent example of how ideas develop in the interrelated policy-influencing and policymaking communities and how difficult it is to identify the source of any policy initiative.

The very first task force to meet outside the framework of plenary sessions, where every decision and position could be authorized by the appropriate officials, took place in a New York hotel room in mid December 1975. The U.S. principals included Cousins, Yost, and Bolling. The Soviet delegates consisted of Vitaly Zhurkin, deputy director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies, Alexander Kislov, from the same institute, and Igor Belyaev, a Middle East specialist from the Institute of Africa. Primakov was not present. The atmosphere of the meeting differed markedly from previous Dartmouth meetings. There were no polemics, no long justifications of current policy. Rather, the participants worked as genuine collaborators, rather than as representatives of their countries, and each brought to the work a keen sense of his government's interests and policies.

At the end of three remarkable days, the group had reached unanimous agreement on a framework for Middle East peace, covering virtually the entire gamut of heretofore

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

August 1976
All Soviet military personnel advisors leave Egypt

November 1976
Jimmy Carter elected president

1976

DARTMOUTH

April 30-May 4, 1976
Plenary
Rio Rico, AZ

Vernon Jordan, Jurmala, Latvia, 1977

intractable issues. While the Soviet participants took the draft to party and government leaders for review, the U.S. participants brought it into the ongoing work of a Brookings Institute study group. Within a month, Brookings published its report, which, not surprisingly, was very close in substance to the framework produced by the Dartmouth task force. Zbigniew Brzezinski (who had participated in the Moscow Dartmouth session the previous summer) and Bill Quandt both served on that Brookings commission and brought its ideas with them to the National Security Council Staff as they joined the Carter administration in January 1977. For a while, indeed, it did appear that these ideas might form the basis for a joint Soviet-U.S. proposal in Geneva, as the Soviet government let it be known that they would support the basic draft produced by the task force. Government thinking was compatible with the ideas from the Dartmouth task force and the Brookings report. This confluence of thought is a pertinent example of how ideas develop in the interrelated policy-influencing and policymaking communities and how difficult it is to identify the source of any policy initiative.

In 1977, U.S. efforts to negotiate the terms for a Geneva Conference became embroiled in Arab-Arab and Arab-Israeli disagreements. When Secretary of State Cyrus Vance and Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko issued a joint statement on convening a conference that many felt reflected the Dartmouth agreement, Israeli interests created conditions that blocked further movement at that time. For his part, Egyptian president Anwar Sadat expressed his frustration by flying to Israel in November 1977. For U.S.-Soviet relations, in the short term at least, this led to deep frustration for the Soviets, hampering continued collaboration with the United States on such issues. Procedurally, for Dartmouth, this frustration was reflected in the fact that it took seven more years until Soviet colleagues again entrusted a small task force to meet outside direct official oversight.

November 1977
Egyptian president
Anwar El Sadat
visits Israel

September 1978
Camp David Accords

1977 | 1978

July 9-14, 1977
Plenary
Jurmala, Latvia

The 1980s:

Sustained Collaboration on Core Concerns, The Task Forces Prove Themselves

THE CONTRIBUTIONS of the Dartmouth Conference process in the 1980s cannot be understood outside the political context in which it operated. To put it most simply, if the first half of the 1980s was characterized by growing hostility—recall President Reagan's "Empire of Evil" speech—the second half of the decade was characterized by the Soviet Union's deliberate but soon uncontrolled transformation, which left most of the West in disbelief. In the United States, 1980 saw the election of Ronald Reagan and his determination

Revold Antonov (from left, front row), George Sherry, David Rockefeller, and Stanislav Borisov; Georgy Arbatov (two on the right, back row) and Yuri Bobrakov, Williamsburg, Virginia, 1979

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

March 1979
Egyptian-Israeli Peace Treaty

June 1979
SALT II signed

July 1979
Sandinistas come to power in Nicaragua; Soviets offer military support

November 1979
Iran Hostage crisis begins and continues for 444 days

December 1979
Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

1979

DARTMOUTH

May 4-7, 1979
Plenary
Williamsburg, VA

May 22-25, 1980
Emergency meeting
Bellagio, Italy

not only to stand firm against "Soviet aggression" anywhere, but also to turn the tide against Soviet influence everywhere. For its part, the Soviet Union was burdened with leadership that seemed resistant to change. Later in the decade, a new generation of Soviet leaders would refer to this period as the height of stagnation. In this atmosphere, even negotiations to limit strategic nuclear arms, for more than a decade the central axis of the U.S.-Soviet relationship, were suspended indefinitely.

The tone for the early 1980s was set in December 1979, when the Soviet Union, seeking to protect its failing puppet regime in Kabul, sent 100,000 Soviet troops into Afghanistan. Remembering the Soviet takeovers in Eastern Europe following World War II, the military repressions of independent political activity in Hungary and Czechoslovakia in 1956 and 1968, as well as the recent imposition of martial law in Poland, some leading U.S. figures feared this action augured further Soviet moves toward Iran and the Gulf.

Immediately following the Soviet incursion into Afghanistan, the United States broke off virtually all contact. The Carter administration withdrew the SALT Treaty from the ratification process in the Senate and decided that the United States would boycott the upcoming summer Olympic Games in Moscow. Consultations with leading foundations and government officials resulted in warnings that this was not the time for U.S. citizens to talk with Soviet citizens. The Soviet Union needed to be isolated, punished. But U.S. members of Dartmouth asked, were our relations now worse than in 1960 or 1962? Was it not important to maintain a trusted venue where each side might listen to the other's concerns, where the reasons for the current crisis could be explained, where ideas for moving beyond the crisis might be explored? Was not such a dialogue especially important when governments had reached an impasse? Perhaps private Soviet and U.S. citizens might even be able to develop common or parallel analytical frameworks or approaches that, with time and joint effort, could help to untangle some of the seemingly intractable problems that dogged the relationship: from arms control to Afghanistan to confrontations in the Middle East, in Central America, and in southern Africa.

Andrei Shumikhin (from left), Alexander Barchenkov, and Phil Stewart, LBJ Ranch, Texas, 1988

July 1980
Moscow Summer Olympics boycotted

November 1980
Ronald Reagan elected president, significantly increases military spending

1980

1981

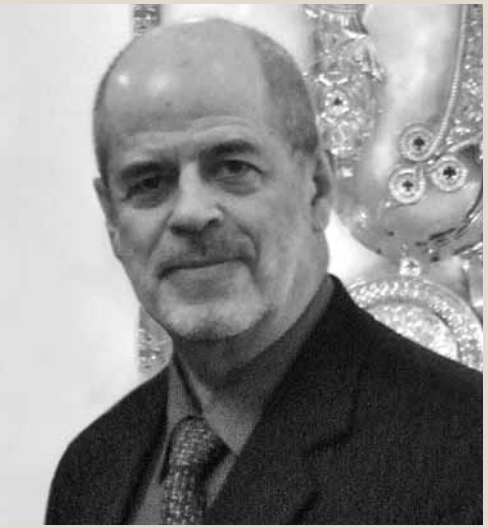
November 16-19, 1981
Plenary
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

An Interpersonal Bond Is Born

by Vitaly Naumkin

I PARTICIPATED IN THE DARTMOUTH meetings, beginning in 1984, almost from the initiation of the Regional Conflicts Task Force, a span of more than a quarter of a century. Those were the years of apprenticeship in shaping politics and gaining invaluable expertise in a civil society format. All the major players were citizens outside of government.

Earlier, I had a teaching career at Moscow University. Yevgeny Primakov suggested that I take a job as a head of department with the Institute of Oriental Studies at Russia's Academy of Sciences. It's only fair to say that I had some prior experience in networking with Americans. Back in 1966-1967, I had studied the Egyptian dialect of Arabic at American University in Cairo, attended lectures of eminent U.S. professors, and sometimes benefited from informal opportunities to communicate with American colleagues. Later, I met with those U.S. professors at international conventions many times. However, this was my first, and unforgettable, encounter with experts of such high caliber.



I still recall my emotions when I first attended Dartmouth. I was seized with tension, imagining an enemy and expecting an imminent sharp clash of opinions. Instead, I saw that there was extraordinary intellectual and purely human intimacy, an overwhelming willingness to better understand each other. It was utterly vexatious that we did not know America well enough and that Americans knew even less about Russia, since it had been concealed behind the iron curtain. But then the rules of the "zero-sum game" dictated the terms, and Russians and Americans viewed the world through very different prisms. Despite that, Dartmouth, without a shadow of doubt, created an interpersonal bond based on genuine respect, if not trust. All of us were extremely excited about exploring potential ways out of the regional bundles of problems, seemingly impossible to untangle. We were driven by enthusiasm, stemming from the awareness that we were contributing to a global political decision-making process. I can see that now, in a very

different epoch, the same emotions inspire young Russian Dartmouth participants.

I am especially happy to have been involved in the evolution of the Dartmouth peace-making venture in the period following the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. At first, some of our group members were very skeptical and apprehensive about the idea advanced by Hal Saunders to switch our attention to conflicts in the post-Soviet space and start up a dialogue between opposing parties in one of those conflicts. There was still the logic of the cold war constraining Russian colleagues: why do we need Americans in our own backyard? But Hal was endowed with a tremendous visionary instinct. Irina Zvyagelskaya and I suggested that we should attempt a dialogue among the major factions in the former Soviet republic of Tajikistan, which had slipped into a vicious civil war in 1992 shortly after its independence. We started identifying potential Dialogue participants, but the task appeared to be much more difficult than we would have ever thought. For example, one of the designated participants was not convinced to fly to Moscow until after *arriving at the airport; he joined us but flew without baggage, just wearing a suit. Another participant left the first meeting abruptly when a leading opposing member of the Dialogue refused to deal with him, as he had previously threatened to kill this member of the opposition. But as time went on and the talks continued, some of the former adversaries became the Inter-Tajik Dialogue participants and wound up as friends, much the same way we had grown to be real friends with the Americans.*

Our joint work in this new format – actually moderating a Dialogue among others – contributed significantly to Inter-Tajik reconciliation. Alas, as we discovered in our next effort, the successful Tajik experience could not be fully repeated when applied to a tripartite format. In 2001, we started a Dialogue among individuals from the conflict involving Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno Karabakh. Although those 12 meetings did not influence government peace-making, they did lead to agreement among participants on a document they called "Framework for a Peace Process." Moreover, no one had ever succeeded in bringing all three parties together at the negotiating table either before or after us.

I am sure that just as Dartmouth was instrumental in the early 1990s, it will be useful for us today, during difficult times, whenever we and our American partners are confronted with new menaces and challenges. Given that some recurrent manifestations of our old confrontation can still be perceived, we have a lot of work to do, and we need to transfer our expertise to future generations.

Dr. Vitaly Naumkin is the director of the Institute of Oriental Studies at the Russian Academy of Sciences and president of the International Center for Strategic and Political Studies.

Norman Cousins perhaps expressed the feelings of Dartmouth at this time when he wrote a statement to be read at the 1986 Dartmouth Conference in Baku:

> Our role is to raise questions and seek answers that do not ordinarily come up in the official exchanges. We can speak and think in a larger context. We are not obligated to defend every action or decision that occurs on the official level. We can afford to think in terms of historical principle. We need not shrink from the moral issues that often [underlie] the political problems or confrontation.[8]

These were the ideas, the deep convictions, that led to the convening of the most intense series of meetings yet. An emergency meeting in May 1980 in Bellagio, Italy, (the only Dartmouth meeting to be held in a country other than the Soviet Union or the United States) discussed the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, its consequences, and potential remedies. It was agreed at Dartmouth XIII, in November 1981, to continue small working task forces on a frequent and regular basis. No one, however, could have foreseen the momentum these task forces would create.

As Saunders said in opening the first meeting, the purpose of the task force was to probe those interactions to determine what insight might be gained into what was called "the central Soviet-U.S. relationship."

The first new task force, led by Harold Saunders and Yevgeny Primakov, focusing on Soviet-U.S. interactions in regional conflicts, held its initial meeting in August 1982 and, over the next decade, convened 18 times. As Saunders said in opening the first meeting, the purpose of the task force was to probe those interactions to determine what insight might be gained into what was called "the central Soviet-U.S. relationship." The task force became a joint effort to develop shared analytical, nonideological understandings of our common and conflicting interests in conflicts from Afghanistan to Nicaragua to the Middle East, Angola, and South Africa. For instance, in 1984, the task force developed a framework for the two governments to pursue consultations in the Middle East, and with each other, with the purpose of laying foundations for an international conference on the Arab-Israeli conflict. Not long after the onset of Gorbachev's *perestroika*, members of the task force worked together for three days roughly every six months, creating a capacity for a much more intimate engagement, even at the official level. They jointly developed and worked through ideas to facilitate the Soviet unwinding of its commitments in the developing world, from Afghanistan to southern Africa and Central America.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

March 1982
President Reagan calls the Soviet Union the "Evil Empire"

November 1982
Brezhnev dies, succeeded by Yuri Andropov, former head of KGB

1982

DARTMOUTH

August 24-30, 1982
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Suzdal, U.S.S.R.

February 1-4, 1983
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Amelia Island, FL

April 28-30, 1983
Arms Control Task Force
Denver, CO

Daniel Yankelovich (from left) and Georgy Arbatov, Hanover, New Hampshire, 1984

Formed in 1983, the task force on arms control, cochaired by Paul Doty and Georgy Arbatov, worked on an equally intense schedule, devoting a total of 42 days over 10 years in an effort to share perceptions, deepen understanding, and develop creative approaches to issues dogging official negotiators. The group also considered issues and ideas not yet on any official agenda. There was careful exploration of the military and political implications of the so-called "zero option" for intermediate nuclear force in Europe and a similarly detailed exploration of the political and strategic implications of the impending deployment of newly developed, highly accurate, cruise missiles. Constant attention was given to working through together how to address the substantial imbalances in strategic forces, particularly the Soviet advantage of so-called "heavy" missiles, such as the SS-18, capable of carrying up to 10 independently targeted nuclear warheads. A recurring political thread in the arms control dialogue was the Soviet frustration that its strategic military equality with the United States did not automatically grant the Soviet Union the political equality it so urgently desired. Doty explained that a nation that imprisons political dissidents in mental hospitals and refuses to grant its citizens personal and political freedoms would never be accepted by the United States as its political equal.

From the Dartmouth task force experience, particularly the Regional Conflicts Task Force, we were able to articulate four lessons learned:

- *Create a cumulative agenda.* Questions left hanging at the end of one meeting could be studied between meetings and become the agenda for the next. This capacity transformed a series of meetings into a political process.
- *Move from polemical to analytical talk.* That change was a step from debate and argument to dialogue—a mode of communication in which participants listen carefully enough to each other to be changed by what they hear. Dialogue is the essence of relationship.
- *Develop a common body of knowledge.* This consists of knowing not just what the other side's position was but what interests lay behind it.

1984
Andropov dies, succeeded by Konstantin Chernenko

1983 | 1984

November 29-December 1, 1983
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

March 10-12, 1984
Arms Control Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

May 14-17, 1984
Plenary
Hanover, NH

November 16-18, 1984
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

December 2-4, 1984
Arms Control Task Force
Washington, D.C.

- *Work together within the task force to design joint or complementary approaches to shared problems.* As a vehicle for plotting such a course of action, they developed what they called "political scenarios." These began as a way of describing a sequence of steps that would interact at specified points to move the parties forward onto new ground.

A persistent issue raised in these task forces, largely by Soviet colleagues but present to some extent on both sides, was why and how events in one area of the world, such as Afghanistan, impacted the overall political relationship. Why couldn't policy, the Soviets argued, be compartmentalized? What did Soviet ambitions in the third world have to do with bilateral interests? Secretary of State Kissinger explained countless times that Soviet actions that appeared to American citizens as evidence of Soviet expansionism caused those citizens—sometimes through Congress—to impose limits on the president's freedom in conducting policy toward the Soviet Union. It wasn't until later, at the first meeting of the Regional Conflicts Task Force that one Soviet participant voiced an understanding of this political reality.

Soviets and Americans, often with significant debates within each delegation, sought to understand and then explain the nature and significance of these changes.

Recognizing the importance of addressing the impact of actions by each side on the overall relationship, Dartmouth's Political Relations Task Force was formed in January 1985, cochaired by Columbia University scholar Seweryn Bialer and Deputy Director of the Institute of U.S. and Canadian Studies Vitaly Zhurkin. This task force met five times over the next four years. As political and economic change accelerated during the second half of the 1980s, this task force acquired critical importance as a place where both Soviets and Americans, often with significant debates within each delegation, sought to understand for themselves and then explain to others the nature and significance of these changes.

Task force participants learned to ask themselves not only whether an idea might successfully solve a problem but also how it could be designed so as to make it possible for governments to accept it.

As they increasingly placed whatever problem they addressed in the larger context of the overall relationship between the two countries, the task forces could be thought of as a "mind at work in the midst of a relationship," to use Saunders' phrase.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

March 1985
Chernenko dies, Mikhail Gorbachev succeeds

March 1985
Gorbachev begins laying the groundwork for a policy of *glasnost*, or openness, leading to political and economic reform

April 1986
Chernobyl nuclear incident occurs

1985

DARTMOUTH

January 29-31, 1985
Political Relations Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

April 7-14, 1985
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

September 30-October 4, 1985
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Pocantico, NY

November 28-30, 1985
Arms Control Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

May 12-17, 1986
Plenary
Baku, Azerbaijan

1988-1991:

A Turbulent Transition

THE FORMATION of the Political Relations Task Force and its focus on the overall Soviet-U.S. relationship was the beginning of increased attention to the role of citizens in social and political change that, in various forms, would become a significant new track in the Dartmouth experience, which continues today. This incipient shift in emphasis was evident in Dartmouth XV in Baku, Azerbaijan, May 1986.

Accelerating change in the Soviet body politic was increasingly apparent in the task forces over the next two years, but it was at Dartmouth XVI held at the Lyndon Baines Johnson

Newport Beach, California, 1988

October 1986
Reykjavik Summit between Reagan and Gorbachev; Zero Option (eliminating all intermediate-range nuclear forces) considered but rejected

January 1987
Gorbachev announces policy of *perestroika*, or reconstruction

June 1987
Reagan speaks at the Berlin Wall: "Mr. Gorbachev, tear down this wall!"

1986 | 1987

November 11-13, 1986
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

December 3-4, 1986
Arms Control Task Force
Washington, D.C.

December 5-6, 1986
Political Relations Task Force
Washington, D.C.

May 5-7, 1987
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Graylyn, NC & Washington, D.C.

July 5-8, 1987
Arms Control Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

August 31-September 5, 1987
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

Sergey Plekhanov (from left), Julie Zinet, Vitaly Zhurkin, and Robert Kingston, Newport Beach, California, 1988

Library and Museum in Austin, Texas, in April 1988 that Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's *glasnost* and *perestroika* burst dramatically onto the scene. Soviet cochair Georgy Arbatov brought to this meeting a panoply of stars in the increasingly visible Soviet civil society. Participants witnessed an unanticipated outpouring of the "new political thinking" in Moscow, which seemed to overwhelm Americans and Soviets alike. At the end of the formal meetings in Austin, the Kettering Foundation flew the Soviet delegation to Newport Beach, California, for 4 days of meetings with 25 American citizens who had participated in National Issues Forums on the superpowers' relationship.

Meanwhile, the task forces tried to cope with the increasing rapidity of change. In the midst of this turbulence, the 30th-anniversary meeting in Leningrad in July 1990—Dartmouth XVII—became the last of the Dartmouth plenaries. Both sides shared Kettering Foundation President David Mathews' judgment that plenaries on the old scale would not be appropriate in the emerging situation; task forces were far more nimble in working with the multiple and fast-developing facets of change. They then agreed to create the Civil Society Task Force.

Poignantly, it was during a meeting of the Regional Conflicts Task Force in December 1991 outside Washington that the end of the Soviet Union was formally announced. The meeting had begun three days earlier with a Soviet participant stating that, in effect, the Soviet Union, as it had been known to the world, had completely and irrevocably ceased to exist. After the final session on Sunday, December 8, Soviet participants came to the closing dinner having just seen on television an announcement from Minsk that the new Commonwealth of Independent States would succeed the Soviet Union.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

February 1988
Armenia-Azerbaijan conflict begins over Nagorno Karabakh (erupts into full-scale fighting in 1992)

November 1988
George H.W. Bush elected president

December 1988
Gorbachev speech before UN and first summit with George Bush

1988

DARTMOUTH

January 13-15, 1988
Arms Control Task Force
Washington, D.C.

February 15-17, 1988
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

February 18-20, 1988
Political Relations Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

April 25-May 8, 1988
Plenary
Austin, TX; Newport Beach, CA; Washington, D.C.

December 4-7, 1988
Regional Conflicts Task Force
New York, NY

1991-2010:

Two Decades of Experimentation

John Esp (left) and Igor Nagdasev, Washington, D.C., 2006

FAR FROM WRITING Dartmouth's epitaph, participants plunged into intense exploration of the dimensions of the new era. Harold Saunders and James Voorhees captured the challenge in *Dialogue Sustained*:

> The resilience of the Dartmouth tradition would be tested. . . . The people of Dartmouth would spend the rest of the decade—and beyond—struggling through reflection and experience to develop their role in the interaction between these two "whole bodies politic." Governments had been their primary audience for three decades, but as a Russian participant said in a fortieth-anniversary Dartmouth Conference reunion in Moscow in September 2000: "We have lost our market."[9]

As their experiments continued, their sense of the need for a mind at work in the midst of a relationship continued to absorb them.

Those experiments were pursued on two tracks: a new civil society track and the continuing but significantly expanded track pursued by the Regional Conflicts Task Force. The Arms Control Task Force, later called the Task Force on Cooperation and Security, ended with its 16th meeting in Washington, D.C., in December 1992.

December 1989
Berlin Wall comes down

December 1989
George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev summit at Malta

1989

January 16-18, 1989
Arms Control Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

January 19-21, 1989
Political Relations Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

May 8-12, 1989
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

November 26-December 1, 1989
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Washington D.C.

A New Paradigm, a New Process, a New Concept

Edwin Dorn (from left), Russian interpreter, and Evgeny Bunimovich, Moscow, 2008

THE NEW THINKING in Moscow and on the broader global stage was reflected occasionally in exchanges throughout the first years of the Regional Conflicts Task Force. As this task force matured, three conceptual developments emerged in the dialogue, beyond the substance of the exchanges on the conflicts themselves.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

October 1990
German reunification

INTERNATIONAL

1990

DARTMOUTH

April 19-22, 1990
Arms Control
Task Force
Washington, D.C.

June 10-16, 1990
Regional Conflicts
Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

July 22-28,1990
Plenary
Leningrad, U.S.S.R.

December 2-8, 1990
Regional Conflicts
Task Force
Washington, D.C.

First, to participants grappling with seemingly intractable, deep-rooted human conflicts in far-flung corners of the world and with their effect on the relationship between the two countries, it gradually became evident that the state-centered "realist" paradigm that had dominated the academic field of international relations for two generations was not large enough to embrace the full range of interactions in those situations. Elements of this thinking appear in the transcripts of the task force's earlier meetings. In 1987, two threads began to come together: Harold Saunders was distilling his thoughts and suggesting a new paradigm in a monograph for the United States Institute of Peace and the Kettering Foundation, and Russians brought the new political thinking in Moscow to a task force meeting in May. This new thinking encompassed the full range of interactions in and between "whole bodies politic"—not just the actions and reactions of governments. This thinking became clear in April 1988 during Dartmouth XVI and was captured eloquently in Gorbachev's December 1988 address to the United Nations General Assembly, which members of the task force watched together on television. A decade later, Saunders would call this worldview the "relational paradigm."[10]

Sustained Dialogue differed from most other change processes in that it focused on relationships, which are often the underlying cause of problems, rather than only on the problems themselves.

Second, it was repeatedly articulated in exchanges within the task force that a "Dartmouth process" had emerged. As early as 1990, they began talking about applying this process to other areas of conflict. In 1991, in a published letter to a colleague, Saunders conceptualized this as a five-stage process. In March 1993, the cochairs of the task force, Saunders and Gennady Chufrin, published an article in *Negotiation Journal* that laid out this five-stage process, calling it "a public peace process."[11] Later in the decade, Saunders named the process "Sustained Dialogue."[12]

Sustained Dialogue differed from most other change processes in that it focused on relationships, which are often the underlying cause of problems, rather than only on the problems themselves.[13] This led Saunders to develop and carefully define a "concept of relationship," which served as an analytical tool for understanding the interactions in a dialogue and as an operational tool for beginning to change them.

Against the background of those conceptual developments and the dissolution of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991, explorations and experiments in the two arenas mentioned above—civil society and regional conflicts—were developed and pursued.

July 1991
Boris Yeltsin elected first president of Russian Federation

August 1991
Attempted coup against Gorbachev

October 1991
Yeltsin announces radical economic reforms, including rapid privatization, known as "shock therapy."

December 26, 1991
Official dissolution of the Soviet Union

1991

July 7-13, 1991
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

October 21-25, 1991
Arms Control Task Force
Moscow, U.S.S.R.

December 4-8, 1991
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Washington, D.C.

Civil Society Task Force

Svetlana Gorokhova (right), Washington, D.C., 2006

THE CIVIL SOCIETY track was launched, as noted above, at Dartmouth XVII. Voorhees describes this move:

> This had been an issue central to the work of the Kettering Foundation in the United States. Now, as the Soviet Union sought democracy, strengthening civil society was becoming an important issue among those inside and outside the Soviet Union who were concerned with how communist states could make a transition to democracy. During much of 1991 and 1992 a plethora of conversations probed this subject in depth to determine whether a civil society task force would be added to the Dartmouth Conference complex over the long term—as David Mathews suggested—or whether there would be other ways of enhancing interactions between the two civil societies.[14]

The most enduring step in this arena was the Kettering Foundation's establishment of a program of international civil society fellowships. Coincident with the transformative changes in the former Soviet bloc, a number of Latin American countries emerged from military dictatorships. The foundation began inviting citizens from both regions (eventually expanding to other countries) to Kettering to see what they might learn about civil society,

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

January 1992
Russian Federation becomes an independent country

November 1992
William J. Clinton elected president

1992

DARTMOUTH

March 19-24, 1992
Civil Society meetings
Moscow, Russia

March 25-30, 1992
Cooperation & Security Task Force
Moscow, Russia

May 25-30, 1992
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Washington D.C.

June 1-6, 1992
Civil Society meetings
Moscow, Russia

October 19-24, 1992
Civil Society meetings
Moscow, Russia

December 6-10, 1992
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, Russia

December 12-14, 1992
Cooperation & Security Task Force
Moscow, Russia

democracy, and citizens as political actors. At first, fellows came for two-month periods to read Kettering research; later, these research visits were made into longer fellowships. Russian scholars created one of the largest groups of alumni of the program. One of the first fellows, Igor Nagdasev, a philosophy student at Moscow State University, returned to Russia (after temporarily being at the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies) and formally established the Russian Center for Citizenship Education in 1993. Shortly after, Denis Makarov, a professor of political science at Moscow State Pedagogical University, returned to found the Foundation for Development of Civic Culture in 1996. Several fellows subsequently came from the Library of Foreign Literature, which became a partner supporting parallel activities after 2000.

In June 1991, a small Kettering group, including prominent journalists, had exploratory discussions with Russian colleagues at the Institute for U.S. and Canadian Studies with a particular focus on the role of media in civil society. In October 1991, a Kettering group returned to the institute to continue the conversation and agreed to meet again in March 1992.

One of the problems participants faced in the Civil Society Task Force meetings was the broad range of elements and interests in this area. One idea proposed was to think of a task force "without walls." The thought was to generate a conceptual framework within which numerous groups might operate without being confined by a task force's terms of reference. With the exception of a small group that facilitated connections, groups would not come together to talk about interactions but, to quote Voorhees, "would simply make them happen."[15]

Mikhail Khomin (from left), Irina Mirnaya, and Igor Nagdasev, Moscow, 2008

The March 1992 meeting enabled a broader range of Russians to recognize the potential that might be realized from working together. A revealing moment in this meeting—

October 1993
Russian constitutional crisis, bombing of and assault on Russian Parliament

1993

March 26-28, 1993
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Moscow, Russia

May 30-June 4, 1993
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, Russia

August 1-3, 1993
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Rostov, Russia

September 3, 1993
Future of Dartmouth Conference
Moscow, Russia

September 27-29, 1993
Civil Society meetings
Moscow, Russia

October 13-15, 1993
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Vladimir, Russia

closely akin to what had been learned about establishing genuine dialogue in the Regional Conflicts Task Force—came when a Russian asked American participants to talk about their personal motivations for participating in the exchange. In the words of an American participant, "at this point, the discussions moved to a deeper level as we each explained both our personal concepts of politics and democracy and then reflected on why we, individually, thought interaction with like-minded Russians was important."

At the end of this meeting, the Russians were invited to send a delegation to the Kettering Foundation's annual Summer Public Policy Institute in Ohio where a large number of Americans were assembling to learn about holding deliberative, public forums (National Issues Forums) on difficult issues. A large Russian group participated.

At the same time, two more meetings were held in Moscow that centered around senior U.S. journalists involved in exploring "public journalism" in the United States. The idea was to encourage journalists to move beyond a view of themselves as experts informing the public to a view of themselves as learning how the public thinks about a problem and then framing issues as the public would frame them. The hope was to enrich the public's ability to deliberate on an issue. Georgy Arbatov talked with the New York University School of Journalism about starting a center built around this approach for journalists at his institute in Russia.

> "At this point, the discussions moved to a deeper level as we each explained both our personal concepts of politics and democracy and then reflected on why we, individually, thought interaction with like-minded Russians was important."

"After one more meeting in Moscow, in October 1992," Voorhees writes, "following the Russian group's visit to the United States in July, the number of such meetings faded, but Russian participation in the fellows program at Kettering continued steadily."[16] Perhaps enough windows on the U.S. experience of civil society had been opened to enable interested Americans and Russians to pursue in their own way whatever interests they might find in common.

At the 40th Dartmouth reunion in Moscow in September 2000, David Mathews proposed a new avenue of research into the Russia-U.S. relationship. He suggested to Nagdasev and Makarov that they conduct a series of deliberative forums across Russia on Russian citizens' views of the United States and of the Russia-U.S. relationship. In the United States, citizens would participate in similar forums through the National Issues Forums.

More than 100 of these forums were conducted, and Denis Makarov began a longitudinal study of Russians' thinking about the United States.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

December 1994
Yeltsin orders 40,000 troops to Chechnya, starting the first Chechen war against Chechen separatists

1994

DARTMOUTH

January 4-6, 1994
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Moscow, Russia

January 22-27, 1994
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Dayton, OH

March 1-3, 1994
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Moscow, Russia

March 23-24, 1994
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Moscow, Russia

May 10-12, 1994
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Moscow, Russia

June 10-14, 1994
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Washington, D.C. & Princeton, NJ

September 21-24, 1994
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Moscow, Russia

September 23-30, 1994
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, Russia

October 4-6, 1994
Future of Dartmouth Conference
Washington, D.C.

November 30-December 2, 1994
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

Phil Stewart, using the five elements of the concept of relationship, produced a written portrait of the relationship on the basis of the forums in each country.[17] The first meeting to exchange insights took place in Washington, D.C., in 2003. This line of research came to be called "New Dartmouth."

At the start of the next round of deliberations, Russian participants watched video clips of Americans talking about Russia. And in the United States, U.S. citizens viewed clips of Russian conversations about America. Russian and U.S. counterparts then began work on a book, *When Citizens Deliberate: Russian and American Citizens Consider Their Relationship*, which was published both in the United States and Moscow in 2006.

Georgy Arbatov (second from left) and Yuri Zhukov (second from right) with local officials, Bukhara, Uzbekistan, 1986

At a meeting at the National Press Club in Washington, D.C., in May 2006, participants suggested holding and then comparing forums on one or two problems that citizens of each country faced. The problems chosen were racial and ethnic tensions and immigration. The thought was that this approach could provide insight into the culture of each country, comparing how citizens thought and acted in response to comparable problems. Insights from these forums were exchanged in a meeting outside Moscow at the end of September 2008.

In a subsequent initiative in 2009-2010, forums were conducted among citizens in each country on their views of their respective country's present and future role in the world. The insights from these and the two previous rounds of forums is the subject for a panel of Dartmouth veterans to reflect on at the 50th-anniversary celebration in Washington, D.C., on October 26, 2010.

February 1995
Russian forces gain control of the Chechen capital, Grozny

1995

March 28-30, 1995
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

June 19-22, 1995
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

September 11-14, 1995
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

September 24-28, 1995
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Dayton, Ohio

November 28-30, 1995
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

Regional Conflicts Task Force

IN 1992, members of the Regional Conflicts Task Force made three decisions about their future work: (1) they would conceptualize the process of dialogue they had learned; (2) they would apply that process to one of the conflicts that had broken out in the territory of the former Soviet Union; and (3) they would focus on the new Russia-U.S. relationship.

With the above in mind, task force participants explored the possibility of dialogue among the several factions in the vicious civil war that had broken out in the former Soviet republic of Tajikistan. This country, bordering China and Afghanistan, affected Russian security interests and was just gaining a U.S. presence. Only a few humanitarian agencies were paying attention to the conflict. And unlike the Armenian-Azerbaijan conflict, which involved international oil interests, an Armenian diaspora of the 1915 mass killings in Turkey, and the "white heat" of Muslim-Christian conflict, the problems in Tajikistan seemed self-contained.

Deana Arsenian (from left), Samuel Charap, and Hal Saunders, Moscow, 2010

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

July 1996
Increasingly unpopular Yeltsin is reelected in a closely contested election

August 1996
Cease-fire in the Chechen war

1996

DARTMOUTH

February 26-28, 1996
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

March 26-31, 1996
Russia/U.S. Dialogue
Washington, D.C.

May 21-23, 1996
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Dushanbe, Tajikistan

June 24-26, 1996
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, Russia

October 8-10, 1996
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

December 1-4, 1996
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Moscow, Russia

The Inter-Tajik Dialogue

Within the Framework of the Dartmouth Conference

Participants in a Sustained Dialogue training, Tajikistan, 2003

THE REGIONAL Conflicts Task Force deputized three Russian and three American members to explore the possibility of inviting individuals from the opposing parties in the Tajik civil war to talk about their conflict. Two Russian members of the task force's convening team, Vitaly Naumkin and Irina Zvyagelskaya, went to Tajikistan and talked with 110 potential participants in a dialogue; eventually 8 Tajik citizens attended the first meeting with the task force. Many would not attend a meeting convened by either Russians or Americans, but they would accept an invitation from "an international movement," such as the Dartmouth Conference.

May 1997
Chechen peace accord

July 1997
Russia opposes NATO expansion to encompass the Czech Republic, Poland, and Hungary

July 1997
Asian financial crisis

1997

February 25-27, 1997
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

May 9-11, 1997
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

October 5-9, 1997
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Washington, D.C.

October 27-29, 1997
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

Ahead of Its Time

by Irina Zvyagelskaya

THE DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE was set up to create a forum where leading American and Soviet intellectuals (nongovernmental representatives) could meet and discuss peace initiatives and means of easing tensions between the two superpowers. It was used as an unofficial channel of communication between the respective governments. The participants were in fact often briefed and debriefed by their respective state officials before and after the conference. And many observers believe the Dartmouth process contributed to détente.

The end of the 1970s marked the end of the American-Soviet tacit understanding. Politicians asked, what was happening to détente? Instead it became obvious that, since the Iranian revolution and the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, the rivalry between the two countries had dramatically shifted to other regions (mainly to the Middle East and west Asia and, to a lesser extent, to Africa and Latin America).

For the Dartmouth participants, this realization created a new challenge: a new track and format was needed. Thus the Regional Conflicts Task Force (RCTF) was established in 1981 to examine regional conflicts in which U.S.-U.S.S.R. involvement was more pronounced and tensions between these respective "proxies" could have initiated a global war.

RCTF participants concentrated on issues with specific cultural, ethnic, and political dimensions, along with the Soviet-American interaction. One had to analyze not only the motivations of the superpowers but also the behavioral modes of local actors, their reasoning and goals, and the coincidence and divergence of interests between the locals and their patrons. It was of great help, especially for younger participants (like me) who at the time were very much influenced by stereotypes born by the zero-sum game. Later, when writing and

lecturing on the Middle East conflict, I would recollect those debates and deliberations, which had provided me with a stereoscopic vision of the conflict and accentuated its complexity and its multifaceted nature.

Besides a general analysis of regional situations, the RCTF meetings had a practical purpose: to prevent misinterpretation of each other's intentions. The messages for respective governments had been passed, revealing (despite mistrust and suspicions) true motivations of the superpowers. The citizens' exchanges and the recommendations they formulated planted the seeds of mutual respect.

The collapse of the Soviet Union, perceived by some political scientists as the end of an era, gave way to a plethora of ethnopolitical conflicts. The Tajik conflict, which erupted in 1992, could be seen as a conflict with a quasi-ethnic dimension. The Tajik nation had only come into existence under Soviet rule when certain ethnoterritorial entities were granted quasi-sovereignty and "republic" status. Despite its appearance on the map, the Tajik Soviet Republic has remained a fragmented society. The most vivid differences exist between the Northerners and the Southerners, including the Pamiris. Some observers believe that they belong to different ethnic groupings regarding their appearances, cultural habits, and traditions. There are small ethnic groups which speak their own language. And, these regional differences are strengthened by religious ones: the Pamiris belong to the Ismailite branch in Islam while the majority of the locals are Sunnites.

Becoming a republic did not eliminate the fragmentation. Southerners remained alienated from Tajikistan's main cultural centers (Bukhara and Samarkand became part of Uzbekistan) and from the north (Leninabad Oblast). Being the main industrial and agricultural area of the republic, comprising approximately 40 percent of its total population, and bordering Uzbekistan, the oblast developed a lifestyle of its own. It became home to the educated elite and a nest of the Communist nomenclature and cadres of the state officials. Under the Soviet regime, there were efforts to keep a political balance among the regions, but the Leninabadis had the upper hand. Southerners had been dissatisfied with the division of labor, but under the Communists, they did not dare challenge it.

When the central authorities no longer had any impact on the republics, old hatreds surfaced. And, in the absence of a mechanism to rein them in, the tensions became destructive for the state itself. Encouragement from the outside also played a role in fanning the conflict.

In the interregional strife, Tajik traditionalism used Islamic slogans, which appealed to and

sought to mobilize the rural population, first and foremost. Tajik society, however, was not Islamized enough to produce hard-boiled fundamentalists. It was well-educated intellectuals from regions other than Leninabad – the Pamirs, Garm, and others – who provided the ideologists needed for the democratic and nationalist factions of Tajikistan.

The start of the civil war in Tajikistan in 1992 drew the attention of the RCTF. The task force had a unique opportunity to apply the methods and approaches from the Dartmouth meetings to the civil strife within a traditional society, inciting citizens to think about solutions. At first there was plenty of skepticism and doubt. Would Sustained Dialogue work in Tajikistan? Would both sides agree to participate with so much blood having been spilled?

The Inter-Tajik Dialogue showed that the Dartmouth process could be regarded as a universal tool. It could work in different cultural milieu and under different circumstances (the cold war, civil strife, rising tensions between states and within societies).

RCTF members managed to form a group "within the civil conflict to design a peace process for their own country." These activities were directed by the conviction that peace documents were signed by governments but that only citizens could transform conflictual relations and create a new atmosphere. Patterns of interaction are changed through working together in Sustained Dialogue; participants can gain respect for other participants' experiences and find common interests. In Tajikistan, the pro-government forces and the opposition, despite rivalry and a deep mistrust of each other, had a common ground: they wanted a single, flourishing, democratic, and independent Tajikistan. This vision helped them overcome animosity. The RCTF organizers helped the Tajik participants realize that they were victims of the civil war and, more important, that they, acting and feeling as true citizens, could share responsibility for the fate of their country.

Sustained Dialogue was a factor in the context that shaped the parties' willingness to engage in official talks. It also provided new ideas, which were in great demand at the time. Sustained Dialogue enabled its participants to talk freely, providing space for exchange and new approaches. Participants learned how to put an idea into the right political context. They were much less bound by rigid approaches than officials and opposition leaders, allowing them to come up with new ideas. Later, several participants became delegates to the official negotiations.

One should also mention the dialogue on the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan around Nagorno Karabakh. It was the only form of negotiations for the Nagorno Karabakh settlement that involved Nagorno Karabakh representatives. During the 11th round of negotiations (June 18-20, 2006), the sides created a "Framework Agreement on a Peace Process in the Region." The core idea of this document could have provided a drastic change in the conflict: "Participation of plenipotentiaries from Nagorno Karabakh in the negotiations, as a party signing the agreements, assuming the obligations to implement the agreements, to form normal relations with its neighbors and mutual obligations on non-interference into the internal affairs of each other will create conditions that will be considered as the intermediate status of Nagorno Karabakh. Agreements reached and implemented by Nagorno Karabakh will actually constitute the recognition of this status."

On December 10, 2006, the Dartmouth task force addressed a letter to the OSCE Minsk Group's U.S., Russian, and French cochairs, stating a number of priority measures to initiate a peace process with the involvement of the public and the support of the OSCE Minsk Group.

Unfortunately, the revolutionary ideas worked out within the framework of the Dartmouth Conference were not accepted at that time. Official negotiators had their own format and were against any changes. The bilateral negotiations conducted by the leaders of Armenia and Azerbaijan have remained a process closed from the public.

To sum up, the Dartmouth process in its different manifestations – the bilateral relations, the RCTF, the Inter-Tajik Dialogue, the conflict around Nagorno Karabakh – has been an unforgettable experience. At the height of the cold war, Dartmouth helped its participants moderate their positions and overcome certain stereotypes. It played a role in preventing a clash of the two superpowers over their regional interests; it brought together participants of civil strife; it offered a new format and new ideas on the conflict around Nagorno Karabakh.

Sustained Dialogue has always been ahead of its time. Born as a forum of intellectuals, keeping its intellectual value, it has provided a new vision of civil society. It does not teach how to organize NGOs. It teaches a much more important thing: the responsibility of being a citizen. Only citizens can change conflictual relations and make peace; Sustained Dialogue, the Dartmouth Conference process, provides citizens with an opportunity to creatively participate in a peace process.

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It was perhaps reflective of the emerging role of citizens outside government that Dartmouth participants on several significant occasions over the years had proposed joint action of one sort or another by their governments. Now it could be said that a serious joint action was undertaken—but by citizens. One might say that this was the first joint U.S.-Russian citizens' peace-making mission.

In the first meeting in March 1993, one Tajik participant explained concisely the genesis of the war: "Independence was thrust upon us, and we were not prepared for it." The war was essentially about who would govern the new country and how. That meeting turned out to be the first of 37 three-day meetings over 12 years in what participants came to call "The Inter-Tajik Dialogue within the Framework of the Dartmouth Conference." In retrospect, one can describe the Dialogue as developing through four phases.

The first phase, March 1993 through March 1994, was almost a textbook rendition of the five stages of Sustained Dialogue. After Naumkin and Zviagelskaya had, in preparatory explorations, formed the group, it met three times (March, June, and August) near Moscow. The participating Tajik parties blamed each other for the civil war and for the continuing atrocities, clearing their minds by "dumping" their feelings about each other. In the third meeting, someone said in effect, "Enough of this talk. What we need to do is to start a negotiation between the government and the opposition about creating conditions so refugees can go home." They had named an objective together and were ready to move to a new stage of working together. They then focused on how to start a negotiation, concluding that the greatest obstacle was the fact that the opposition was a conglomerate of factions; there was no one party to negotiate. A month later, leaders of the opposing factions met, wrote a common platform, and formed the United Tajik Opposition

Now it could be said that a serious joint action was undertaken—but by citizens. One might say that this was the first joint U.S.-Russian citizens' peace-making mission.

Nancy Stewart (from left) and Patricia Coggins, Leningrad, U.S.S.R., 1990

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

1998

INTERNATIONAL

August 1998
Russian financial collapse

DARTMOUTH

February 9-11, 1998
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

June 5-7, 1998
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Voronovo, Belarus

October 27-29, 1998
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Voronovo, Belarus

November 13-15, 1998
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

(UTO). Two members of the dialogue group participated in that meeting and four became members of a steering group for the UTO. They brought their platform to the fifth meeting. Pro-government members quizzed them intensively. A rapporteur recorded their answers and typed them into a brief document. The pro-government members left saying that they believed the basis for negotiation existed. A month later, the government and opposition accepted the invitation of a United Nations emissary to join UN-mediated peace talks. At the sixth meeting of the Inter-Tajik Dialogue, participants wrote their first of more than two dozen joint memoranda, "Memorandum on a Negotiating Process for Tajikistan," which recommended that the negotiating teams form four subcommissions to engage citizens and government officials in implementing provisions of a peace agreement on refugee return, economic rebuilding, disarmament, and drafting a constitution.

In a second phase, from April 1994 through June 1997, the dialogue continued to meet every two or three months alongside the UN-mediated peace negotiations. Three members participated in both groups. Often, dialogue participants produced a joint memo addressing an impasse reached in the negotiations. One of their options found its way into the peace agreement as an important provision creating a National Reconciliation Commission to oversee imple-

Participants in a Sustained Dialogue training, Tajikistan, 2003

March 9-11, 1999
Regional Conflicts Task Force Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

March 12-14, 1999
Inter-Tajik Dialogue Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

May 1999
Yeltsin fires Prime Minister Yevgeny Primakov

July 4-5, 1999
Inter-Tajik Dialogue Moscow, Russia

August 1999
Yeltsin names Vladimir Putin his candidate to head the new government

August 1999
Second Chechen war begins days after Putin's appointment

December 31, 1999
Yeltsin resigns, making Putin acting president

1999

December 10-12, 1999
Inter-Tajik Dialogue Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

mentation of the agreement and to provide a space for resolving questions not dealt with fully enough in the peace agreement.

The third phase was a transition period established by the peace agreement under the guidance of the National Reconciliation Commission. It lasted from July 1997 to early 2000. Five members of the commission were members of the dialogue. Each dialogue session during this period involved members reviewing developments in the country since the last meeting, selecting one or two difficult problems to concentrate on, and writing a joint memorandum on those subjects.

From early 2000 to the present, one could say that the peace-making phase had ended and the peace-building phase had begun. While the dialogue continued for another five years, participants' energies were increasingly channeled into their own nongovernmental organization, the Public Committee for Democratic Processes, which was registered in 2000. They decided to work in four areas: (1) conduct dialogues in seven regions of the country on state, society, and religion to discuss the role of Islam in a secular democratic state; (2) conduct deliberative forums among citizens on key public issues, such as the economy, education, and drugs; (3) use a dialogue format to establish economic development committees in 15 towns; these committees had the dual purpose of solving economic problems that the government was not addressing and, in the process, providing space to bring citizens back together after the trauma of civil war; and (4) work with three professors from each of eight universities to develop a textbook and programs in conflict resolution—this textbook is now required reading for all students entering Tajikistani universities to study the social sciences.

From early 2000 to the present, one could say that the peace-making phase had ended and the peace-building phase had begun.

The story in Tajikistan continues, but the outcome remains very much in the balance. An authoritarian government rules, but as one dialogue participant who had been a civil society fellow at the Kettering Foundation said, "The government can't solve all of these problems. If they're going to be solved, we the citizens will have to solve them." The number of citizens that the spirit of the dialogue has touched is unknown. The question in this, the poorest of the former Soviet republics, is whether the needs of the citizens can be met—by government or by citizens themselves—or whether there will be a gradual deterioration of conditions to the point of popular revolt without commensurate improvement in the quality of life.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

1999-2000
Russian economic recovery, largely due to a sharp rise in the price of oil

February 2000
Russian military forces under Putin level the Chechen capital of Grozny and regain control

March 2000
Putin elected president

August 2000
Russian submarine *Kursk* suffers an explosion, sinks

November 2000
George W. Bush elected president

2000

DARTMOUTH

March 31 - April 2, 2000
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

July 21-23, 2000
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

September 25-27, 2000
40th Reunion
Moscow, Russia

December 1-3, 2000
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

The Russia-U.S. Relationship

THE NEED TO FOCUS on the overall relationship between the two countries has been an underlying impulse since the beginning of Dartmouth. At Dartmouth XIII in 1981, the implicit question pervading the agenda was, what happened to détente?—the effort initiated in the Nixon administration to move the relationship "from confrontation to negotiation." The Regional Conflicts Task Force was formed to probe interactions between the two powers beyond their borders. The task force sought a greater understanding of the real interests of each country and of the dynamics of their relationship by studying the places where the United States and Russia competed through local proxies. Then in 1985, Dartmouth leaders formed the Political Relations Task Force to talk about the Russia-U.S. relationship itself.

After the Soviet Union dissolved, Kettering made several efforts to identify a vehicle to fill this need. In October 1994 and again in March 1996, the

Charles Yost (from left), Hugh Scott, Valeri Pekshev, and Yuri Zhukov, Tbilisi, U.S.S.R., 1974

June 2001
First Bush-Putin Summit; Bush announces: "I looked into [Putin's] eyes and knew I could trust him. I looked the man in the eye. . . . I was able to get a sense of his soul."

September 2001
9/11 attacks, start of "Global War on Terror." Arms control placed on the back burner

2001

February 17-18, 2001
Regional Conflicts Task Force
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

March 9-11, 2001
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

July 20-22, 2001
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Pushkin, St. Petersburg, Russia

October 15-17, 2001
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

October 19-21, 2001
Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Task Force
Moscow, Russia

foundation called together interested individuals to reflect on this need. The 1996 effort involved a visit to Moscow and both a general meeting and visits between pairs of Americans and Russians in an experiment to create "a dialogue without a table." The reasons these explorations did not bear fruit are complex. Voorhees' analysis is cogent: "There was no readiness on either side to devote the nearly full-time attention of one individual committed to making this kind of Russian-U.S. dialogue an ongoing reality." In Russia, even influential citizens were coping with fundamental changes in their social, economic, and political practices; the institutions that had supported the Soviet side of Dartmouth no longer had the resources. Voorhees goes on to argue:

> Although the Kettering Foundation on the American side was an early and continuing supporter of Dartmouth, its interest as an organization lay perhaps more in the political processes involved in the dialogue than in analytical or scholarly attention to the substance of the relationship itself.[18]

The Regional Conflicts Task Force decided to focus on the new Russia-U.S. relationship as one of its three objectives, but it did so by shifting its attention from distant conflicts to those in what Russian citizens were then calling the "near abroad." Members felt, as Chufrin and Saunders wrote in an article published in 1997 in the *Washington Quarterly*:

> Nowhere is the politics of the unfolding Russian-U.S. relationship more clearly and broadly revealed than in the "Near Abroad," those states of the former Soviet Union beyond Russia's borders, excluding the Baltics. Nowhere else can one see more sharply what each side really wants and fears in Russian-U.S. interaction on the world stage. . . . The Near Abroad is the one region where the two powers are beginning to define the key elements of a sound working relationship.[19]

The task force continued the pattern of regular meetings through 2001, focusing on one area of conflict in each meeting and reflecting on how each affected the overall relationship. At that point, the members decided to embark on another intensive peacemaking effort as the Inter-Tajik Dialogue was entering a peace-building phase. They invited participants from Armenia, Azerbaijan, and Nagorno Karabakh to a dialogue to discuss their conflict, which had been stalemated since a 1994 ceasefire ended military hostilities.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

October 2002
Chechen separatists take over a Moscow theater and hold over 700 hostage; commandos use sleeping gas and kill 100 hostages in the process

2002

DARTMOUTH

May 21-23, 2002
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

May 24-26, 2002
Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Task Force
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

October 15-20, 2002
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Dushanbe, Tajikistan

November 22-24, 2002
Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Task Force
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

The Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Dialogue

SAUNDERS, Stewart, Naumkin, and Zviagelskaya recognized the intractability of this conflict but decided to proceed to test the limits of the Sustained Dialogue process, and ultimately, the Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Dialogue followed the five stages of the process. Suffice it to offer two conclusions in the context of this history.

Maxim Mirzoyan (from left) and Aram Sarkisyan, Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Task Force, Moscow, 2003

March 2003
U.S.-led invasion of Iraq

2003

March 17-19, 2003
Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Task Force
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

March 21-23, 2003
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

April 29-30, 2003
New Dartmouth
Washington, D.C.

September 26-28, 2003
Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Task Force
Voskresenskaya, Moscow, Russia

December 6-8, 2003
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Dushanbe, Tajikistan

Participants in the Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Task Force, Moscow, 2003

First, as in Tajikistan, the 12 meetings of the dialogue from October 2001 to December 2007 demonstrated the ability of an American and a Russian group to collaborate seamlessly in such a peace-making effort. Each member of the team brought particular strengths to the work, and those strengths effectively complemented each other.

Second, participants in such a dialogue could, after considerable agonizing, overcome their resistance to dialogue and reach agreement on an approach to restoring a peaceful relationship, but those from Armenia and Azerbaijan were unable to engage their presidents in considering their proposal. The participants worked their way through the Sustained Dialogue process with considerable pain and strong resistance to overcoming the obstacles to empathy and genuine dialogue. The moderators found the concept of relationship an essential key to analyzing their interactions. The moderators also experimented with introducing the idea of a *peace process*, such as that developed during Saunders' experience in the Arab-Israeli conflict in the 1970s, as a vehicle for participants' examination of steps short of a final settlement that might begin movement toward peace at a time when defining the terms of a final relationship was politically impossible.

This joint experiment was a product of the Dartmouth Regional Conflicts Task Force. While again demonstrating the possibility of a joint citizens' peace-making effort and further refining the process, it contributed only marginally to a deeper understanding of the Russia-U.S. relationship. The task force would return to that focus in 2008.

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

March 2004
Russia opposes a second NATO expansion, encompassing the Baltic states

August 2004
Beslan school hostage crisis (1,300 hostages)

November 2004
Disputed Ukrainian presidential election causes tension in Russia's relationship with the West, owing to allegations of Russian interference

2004

DARTMOUTH

February 25-27, 2004
Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Task Force
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

September 21-23, 2004
New Dartmouth
Moscow, Russia

September 24-26, 2004
Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Task Force
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

September 30-October 1, 2004
Inter-Tajik Dialogue
Dushanbe, Tajikistan

On Dartmouth's Jubilee

by Gennady Chufrin

AT THE END OF THE 1980s, I became Soviet cochair of the Regional Conflicts Task Force after its first Soviet cochair, Yevgeny Primakov, moved to the top echelon of the Soviet government. The cold war had already passed its peak, but differences between the Soviet Union and the United States remained very sharp on many issues in global politics, such as regional conflicts in third world countries.

The next 15 years of working in the task force gave me the unique experience of establishing a constructive relationship with my American colleagues and even working out a common approach to the resolution of complex issues. Building on our Dartmouth experience, my counterpart and the U.S. cochair, Harold Saunders, and I published a booklet, "The Public Peace Process in Practice," which describes our vision and process of establishing a peace dialogue between conflicting parties. (Published in the United States in 1993; Russia in 1995.)

Gennady Chufrin (right)

It certainly was not an academic exercise, and I feel proud and happy that when this process was later applied by our Dartmouth U.S.-Russian team in Tajikistan in order to help end the civil war there, it proved to be successful.

This is not the end of Dartmouth's history. Unfortunately, the world today remains infested with ethnic, religious, social, and other conflicts, dividing people and causing enormous suffering and pain.

I sincerely hope that the U.S.-Russian experience of establishing a peace dialogue developed in the framework of the Dartmouth process may not be forgotten but used again and again to serve the noble purpose of helping resolve conflicts.

Dr. Gennady Chufrin is deputy director emeritus of the Institute of World Economy and International Relations and a corresponding member of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

Dartmouth Task Force on the Russia-U.S. Relationship

Howard Solomon (from left), Ed Verona, and Eugene Rumer, Moscow, 2008

ALTHOUGH the relationship between the two countries had been deteriorating for a decade, it took a sharp nosedive following the military clash between Russian and Georgian military forces in August 2008. Saunders determined that the present stewards of the Dartmouth process would not be faithful to the courageous founders of Dartmouth if they did not use the process as an instrument to

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

2005

DARTMOUTH

June 24-26, 2005
Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh
Moscow, Russia

December 9-11, 2005
Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh
Snegiri, Moscow region, Russia

seeing whether the relationship could be placed on a footing that would contribute to global peace and development.

Dartmouth partners came together once again to launch the effort. Naumkin and Zviagelskaya played their customary leadership role at the International Center for Strategic and Political Studies in Moscow. In 2002, the International Institute for Sustained Dialogue was incorporated, with Harold Saunders at its helm, and represented the U.S. role in Dartmouth's Armenia-Azerbaijan-Nagorno Karabakh Dialogue and the establishment of the new task force.

In December 2008, the Dartmouth Task Force on the Russia-U.S. Relationship held its first meeting outside Moscow. Participants accepted the stark assessment of one U.S. participant: "The relationship is dysfunctional." By the second meeting outside Washington, D.C., in June 2009, Barack Obama had been elected U.S. president and had, even before his inauguration, pledged an effort to "reset" this relationship. By the time the task force met, preparations for a summit meeting in Moscow with Presidents Medvedev and Obama were nearing completion. The task force strongly supported the formation of a mechanism to systematize the conduct of all aspects of the relationship. It was established at the summit as the Bilateral Presidential Commission with 16 workgroups. After each of its meetings, the task force met with the cochairs of the workgroup on foreign policy—in Moscow, Deputy Foreign Minister Sergei Ryabkov, and in Washington, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs William Burns, also a former U.S. ambassador to Russia.

"The most neuralgic points in the Russia-U.S. relationship lie in this area—Ukraine, Georgia, NATO expansion. But no one is talking about it."

The task force turned its attention in the October 2009 and April 2010 meetings to what was now being called "former Soviet space." As one American put it, "The most neuralgic points in the Russia-U.S. relationship lie in this area—Ukraine, Georgia, NATO expansion. But no one is talking about it."

At the fourth meeting in April 2010, participants had the opportunity to reflect in the context of the new "Euro-Atlantic Security Initiative." Launched by the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, this international commission had just released a report of its first meeting, a central portion of which was devoted to defining the elements of security in the 21st century. The task force produced its own list of principal threats to security as its contribution.

2006

May 1-3, 2006
New Dartmouth
Washington, D.C.

June 18-20, 2006
Armenia-Azerbaijan-
Nagorno Karabakh
Moscow, Russia

December 8-10, 2006
Armenia-Azerbaijan-
Nagorno Karabakh
Moscow, Russia

A Mind at Work in the Midst of a Relationship

IF WE SIMPLY READ the records of some 130 meetings, it is easy to argue that they had little direct, measurable impact on policy. Yes, the discussions were interesting. Yes, useful insights and ideas were exchanged. Personal relationships were developed, but what about policy impact? In thinking about this, it is easy to miss the forest for the trees. As noted earlier, policy seldom forms in a vacuum, but rather from a constant stream of ideas forming, shaping, flowing, and continuously reshaping within a larger policy community. By the time these ideas are expressed in specific policy statements, actions, or agreements, it is usually impossible, even for those making the decisions, to identify clearly their sources. It is rather like asking which water drops in

David Mathews (from left), William Winter, Phil Stewart, Irina Khakamada, Sergey Markov, Ekaterina Genieva, and Evgeny Bunimovich, Washington, D.C., 2006

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

2007

DARTMOUTH

December 7-9, 2007
Armenia-Azerbaijan
Nagarno Karabakh
Snegeri, Moscow region,
Russia

a large river come from which tributary.

A more useful approach may be to think of the Dartmouth *process*, in its continuous, multifaceted, intense form of connecting the highest policy levels in each country, as "a mind at work in the midst of a relationship." By a "mind at work," we mean a group of highly knowledgeable people having a sufficient degree of freedom from official constraints, with high personal motivation and adequate resources of energy, time, and money, to engage the most difficult issues. More than this, however, "a mind at work" implies not just an exchange of accusations or information; it requires both a willingness and a capacity to hear deeply, to seek to understand the reasons behind the thinking. In Saunders' definition, "Dialogue is a process of genuine *inter*action through which human beings listen to each other deeply enough to be changed by what they learn."[20] Development of a more or less common set of analytic and conceptual tools is required to assemble meaningful and useful new ideas and approaches. This is not achieved simply by bringing people together. Rather, it also requires development of a significant degree of personal empathy. This is what Norman Cousins had in mind when he expressed his conviction that by meeting "human to human," we could break through the barriers of mistrust and find peaceful ways to manage conflicting interests. The informality, the intensity, the frequency, and the high degree of consistency of participants in task force meetings contributed strongly to creating the deep personal relationships that could learn to work together as a single "mind."

David Mathews (from left), Denis Makarov, and Ludmila Kadyaeva, Moscow, 2008

"In the midst of a relationship" suggests a dense network of connections between Dartmouth participants and both governments and societies, such that ideas and concerns flow relatively easily into this "mind" from officials and from citizens. In his history of Dartmouth, Voorhees describes in detail the sinews of these

February 2008
Kosovo declares independence (Russian tension with the West)

August 2008
Georgia attempts to assert control over South Ossetia. Russian troops intervene. Senator John McCain, then Republican presidential candidate, declares that "We are all Georgians."

November 2008
Barack Obama elected president

2008

September 29-30, 2008
New Dartmouth
Moscow, Russia

December 5-7, 2008
Dartmouth Task Force on Russia-U.S. Relationship
Moscow, Russia

James Collins (from left), Vitaly Naumkin, Yevgeny Primakov, Hal Saunders, Andrey Sidorov, Victor Yesin, and Veniamin Popov, Moscow, 2008

connections. In the 1980s, these connections, while always informal, became quite regularized. American participants, both before and after each meeting, engaged in detailed discussions with top officials from the White House, National Security Council, and the State and Defense departments. Some participants regularly were briefed and debriefed by the CIA. On the Soviet side, participants were briefed and debriefed by the highest bodies of party and state, including the Secretariat's International Department, various offices of the KGB, and the Ministries of Foreign Affairs and Defense.

While people with broad public constituencies, particularly members of Congress, had long been participants in Dartmouth, during the 1980s a number of them became repeat participants sharing a diversity of perspectives on the nature of citizen thinking and its impact on the relationship. Opinion specialists, such as Daniel Yankelovich, complemented these views with more systematic evidence.

Perhaps the most compelling evidence for the value attached to the mind at work in the middle of the U.S.-Soviet/Russia relationship is the experience, level, and diversity of participants attracted to this process. On the U.S. side, it became a frequent practice that government officials, such as General Brent Scowcroft, General David Jones, Ambassadors Charles Yost and Richard Burt, and Assistant Secretary Harold Saunders to mention only a few, who had been briefed by

DARTMOUTH CONFERENCE TIMELINE

INTERNATIONAL

July 2009
Obama-Medvedev Summit

2009

DARTMOUTH

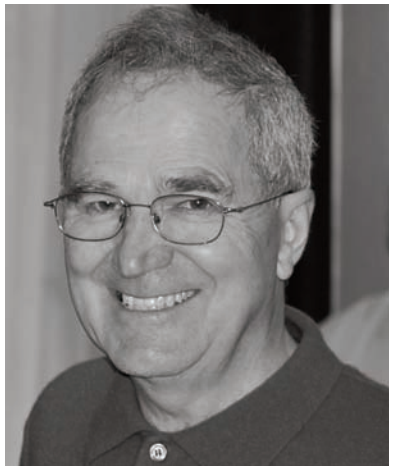
June 12-14, 2009
Dartmouth Task Force on Russia-U.S. Relationship
Washington, D.C.

October 30-November 1, 2009
Dartmouth Task Force on Russia-U.S. Relationship
Moscow, Russia

Hal Saunders

and had debriefed Dartmouth participants, later became active Dartmouth participants after leaving government service. A more frequent practice on the Soviet side was for active-duty generals, party officials, and Foreign Ministry staff to assume a direct role in the dialogue.

When looking for substantive impact, it may be worth recalling Alla Bobrysheva's description of how her worldview began to change as she came to know and hear the views of distinguished Americans. In this regard, Dartmouth surely must be seen as part of a stream of new ideas, or new ways of seeing the world and of being in the world, a stream that after 1986-1987 turned into a torrent. Yes, ideas come from reading, from media, which often reveal profound inconsistencies between established values and lived experience. But, once the door is opened, new ways of thinking become internalized best through a dialogue that enables and encourages a rethinking of previous worldviews. This was and is the essence of the Dartmouth process. One quotation will suffice to illustrate the depth of the change in thinking to which Dartmouth contributed. In a 1989 meeting, a participant from the Soviet Foreign Ministry affirmed that Soviet foreign policy was renouncing "the peaceful coexistence approach . . . as a form of class struggle in the international arena [which] was the formula that was orthodox here for decades." He went on to say, "The fundamental question at this point in history is whether humanity can survive." As Voorhees notes, Norman Cousins could have made this statement in 1960 at Dartmouth I.[21] A mind at work had been created in the middle of the U.S.-Soviet relationship.



Phil Stewart

Dr. Harold H. Saunders has been a cochair of the Dartmouth Conference Task Force since 1982. He is the director of international affairs at the Kettering Foundation and president of the International Institute for Sustained Dialogue. He was U.S. assistant secretary of state from 1978 to 1981.

Dr. Philip D. Stewart was executive director of the Dartmouth Conference from 1972 to 1990. He is a senior associate of the Kettering Foundation secretary of the International Institute for Sustained Dialogue.

April 2010
Obama and Medvedev sign New START, signaling a renewed focus on arms control

2010

April 23-25, 2010
Dartmouth Task Force on Russia-U.S. Relationship
Moscow, Russia

October 22-24, 2010
Dartmouth Task Force on Russia-U.S. Relationship
Washington, D.C.

Endnotes

[1]Alla Bobrysheva, *Thanks for the Memories: My Years with the Dartmouth Conference* (Dayton, OH: Kettering Foundation, 2003), 25-26.

[2] For a full history of the first 40 years, see James Voorhees, *Dialogue Sustained: The Multilevel Peace Process and the Dartmouth Conference* (Washington, DC: United States Institute of Peace and Charles F. Kettering Foundation, 2002). Bobrysheva provides an inside view from a Russian perspective of the origins and first four Dartmouth Conferences. Also see Denis V. Makarov, Igor Nagdasev, Brian Cobb, and Philip D. Stewart, eds., *When Citizens Deliberate: Russian and American Citizens Consider Their Relationship* (Dayton, OH: Kettering Foundation Press, 2006). A Russian edition of this book was published simultaneously in Moscow. This book reports and analyzes the initial work of what was called New Dartmouth, reflecting its emphasis on understanding the character of and challenges to a citizen constituency for the relationship and bringing these findings to the attention of the policy community. See also Harold H. Saunders, *A Public Peace Process: Sustained Dialogue to Transform Racial and Ethnic Conflicts* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1999; Palgrave Macmillan paperback, 2001) and *Politics Is about Relationship: A Blueprint for the Citizens' Century* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2005).

[3] Bobrysheva, *Thanks for the Memories*, 23.

[4] Ibid., 28.

[5] Norman Cousins, *The Improbable Triumvirate: John F. Kennedy, Pope John, and Nikita Khrushchev* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1972), 13-16, quoted in Bobrysheva, *Thanks for the Memories*, 50.

[6] Interview with Yuri Zhukov by Robert Nelson, 1989, quoted in Bobrysheva, *Thanks for the Memories*, 51.

[7] Bobrysheva, *Thanks for the Memories*, 51.

[8] Philip D. Stewart, note, November 1999, quoted in Voorhees, *Dialogue Sustained*, 185.

[9] Harold H. Saunders and James Voorhees, "New Approaches from a Rich Tradition: The 1990s," Chap. 6 in *Dialogue Sustained*, 275, 277.

[10] Saunders, *Politics Is about Relationship*, 7-8. For a full description of the evolution of this new thinking, see Harold H. Saunders, Chap. 8 in *Sustained Dialogue: Transforming Relationships . . . Designing Change* (forthcoming).

[11] Gennady I. Chufrin and Harold H. Saunders, "A Public Peace Process," *Negotiation Journal* 9, no. 2 (April 1993): 155-177.

[12] Saunders, *A Public Peace Process*.

[13] Saunders, "The Concept of Relationship," Chap. 4 in *Politics Is about Relationship*.

[14] Voorhees, *Dialogue Sustained*, 285-286. The following paragraphs draw on his account on pages 287-288 of these exchanges on civil society.

[15] Voorhees, *Dialogue Sustained*, 286.

[16] Ibid., 288.

[17] Saunders, "Citizens Talk about the Russia-U.S. Relationship," Chap. 9 in *Politics Is about Relationship*.

[18] Voorhees, *Dialogue Sustained*, 290.

[19] Gennady I. Chufrin and Harold H. Saunders, "The Politics of Conflict Prevention in Russia and the Near Abroad," *The Washington Quarterly* 40, no. 4 (Autumn 1997): 35.

[20] Saunders, *A Public Peace Process*, 82.

[21] Allison Stanger, *The Dartmouth Conference, Task Force on Political Relations, Moscow, January 19-21, 1989* (Dayton, OH: Kettering Foundation, n.d.), quoted in Voorhees, *Dialogue Sustained*, 235.

A Tribute to the Dartmouth Conference Participants

by David Mathews

FOR SOME TIME, the Kettering Foundation's research has been focused on understanding the role that citizens can play in our political systems. Norman Cousins, who was the leading U.S. participant in the Dartmouth Conference and a member of Kettering's board, had a vision of what could be accomplished:

> *Governments are not built to perceive large truths. Only people can perceive great truths. Governments specialize in small and intermediate truths. They have to be instructed by their people in great truths.*

The Dartmouth Conference has given the foundation a great opportunity to learn what people, acting as citizens rather than as politicians, experts, or foreign affairs professionals, can contribute to international peace.

As Jim Voorhees reports in his history of the Dartmouth Conference, Dialogue Sustained, *the participants on both sides were often criticized. Officials sometimes opposed the meetings as interference in their domain. Editors decried the "naiveté" of those who spoke honestly with the other side and expected to hear something other than a party line. It was also difficult to show evidence of success because there were few immediate and tangible outcomes. Nonetheless, the Dartmouth pioneers persevered, demonstrating considerable courage and commitment. On the U.S. side,*

the stalwarts included David Rockefeller as well as Norman Cousins, and on the Soviet/Russian side, Yuri Zhukov, Georgy Arbatov, Alexander Kornichuk, Vitaly Zhurkin, and Yevgeny Primakov.

The Dartmouth Conference continues to bring together citizens to grapple with the most serious and difficult matters in the relationship between the United States and Russia. The people who are involved in this work do not attempt to do the work of government. Their job, to the contrary, is to imagine what can be done without the constraints of government to concentrate on immediate problems. Dartmouth participants have turned their imagination to identifying those interests that the two nations share and pointing out ways the two might work together to the benefit of each nation.

As a research institution, Kettering has used the Dartmouth experience to design a new nongovernmental practice – Sustained Dialogue – one that can be used by nations whose differences can't be mediated by a third party or whose conflicts are not ready for formal negotiation. Hal Saunders, Kettering's director of international affairs, created these Dialogues from the experience of the Dartmouth Regional Conflicts Task Force in the 1980s and, with Russian colleagues from that task force, tested it in the 1990s in the decade-long Inter-Tajik Dialogue. A successful experiment in Tajikistan, the Inter-Tajik Dialogue demonstrated that citizens can join forces to design a peace process for their own country.

Everyone at Kettering is pleased to see that the American and Russian participants in the Dartmouth Conference have assembled for this 50th anniversary to reflect on and draw lessons from their efforts. Dartmouth has an important message to share with a world where conflicts continue to erupt around the globe and where violence is an ever-present danger.

Dr. David Mathews is the president of the Kettering Foundation. He was U.S. secretary of health, education, and welfare from 1975 to 1977.

Participants United States

Name	Period of Participation
Morton Abramowitz Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	1989
Harold Agnew White House Science Counselor (1982-1989)	1988
Madeleine Albright U.S. Secretary of State (1997-2001)	1989
Lyndon Allin Attorney	2009-2010
Royal Allson Military Delegate to SALT I negotiations	1979
Marian Anderson Opera Singer	1961-1962
Phillip Angell U. S. Environmental Protection Agency, Observer	1972
Deana Arsenian Carnegie Corporation of New York	2009-2010
Les Aspin U.S. Secretary of Defense (1993-1994)	1988-1989
Robert Barton U.S. Senate, Staff	1974
Irving Becker Council on International Educational Exchange	1972-1976
Robert Bell U.S. Senate, Staff	1990
William Benton U.S. Senator from Connecticut (1949-1953)	1960-1961
Barry Bergh U.S. Environmental Protection Agency, Observer	1972
Seweryn Bialer Columbia University	1981-1989
Charles Bierbauer University of South Carolina	2004
James Billington Librarian, Library of Congress (1987-present)	1972
Robert Blackwill U. S. Deputy Assistant National Security Advisor (2003-2004)	1987-1992

Name	Period of Participation
Barry Blechman Defense Policy Board, U. S. Department of Defense (2002-2006)	1976
Landrum Bolling Director, Mercy Corps (2008-present)	1974-1994
Robert R. Bowie Deputy Director, Central Intelligence Agency (1977-1979)	1961
Harry Boyte University of Minnesota	1991-1992
John Brademas House Majority Whip (1977-1981)	1972
Lawrence Brainard Chase Manhattan Bank	1975
Ashley Brandenburg International Institute of Sustained Dialogue and Kettering Foundation	2009-2010
Melvin Brorby Johnson Foundation	1969
Harrison Brown Manhattan Project; Editor, *Bulletin of Atomic Scientists*	1971-1976
Zbigniew Brzezinski Columbia University, National Security Advisor (1977-1981)	1972-1976
John Buchanan Congressman from Alabama (1965-1981)	1986-1992
Richard Burt Chief U.S. START I negotiator (1989-1991)	1989
Hugh Callahan Rapporteur	1988
Kurt Campbell U. S. Assistant Secretary of State for East Asia (2009-present)	1984-1991
Robert Campbell Indiana University	1977
Ashton Carter U. S. Undersecretary of Defense (2009-present)	1987

Participants United States

Name	Period of Participation
John Cavanaugh Kettering Foundation	2006
Carl Chapman Dartmouth College	1972
Samuel Charap Center for American Progress	2009-2010
Stuart Chase Writer (economics)	1960-1961
Antonia Cheyes Attorney; Endispute, Inc.	1980-1992
Carolyn Chin Citicorp, White House Fellow	1988
Robert Chollar President, Kettering Foundation	1971
Frank Church U.S. Senator from Idaho (1957-1981)	1971
Grenville Clark Attorney, Author of *World Peace through World Law*	1960
Alanna Cleary Kettering Foundation	2008
Scott Clemons Mayor of Panama City, Florida (2008-present)	2003-2006
Brian Cobb Kettering Foundation	2002-2006
Patricia Coggins Kettering Foundation	1976-2000
William Coleman Jr. U. S. Secretary of Transportation (1975-1977)	1981-1984
James Collins U. S. Ambassador to Russia (1997-2001)	2003-2010
Mona Conolly National Issues Forums	2003
Thomas Coughran Executive Director, World Bank and International Monetary Fund (1957-1961)	1962
Harris Coulter Interpreter	1960-1979

Name	Period of Participation
Norman Cousins Editor, *Saturday Review of Literature*	1960
Arthur Cox Consultant	1969
Russel Crouse Playwright	1960
Harry Culbreth Vice President, Nationwide Insurance Company	1962
Robert Daley Kettering Foundation	1988
Jonathan Dean Union of Concerned Scientists	1987
Agnes DeMille Choreographer	1960
John Dickey President, Dartmouth College	1960
Hedley Donovan Editor, Time Inc.	1972-1979
Edwin Dorn U.S. Undersecretary of Defense (1994-1997)	2008
Paul Doty Manhattan Project, President's Science Advisory Committee (1953-1960), Harvard University	1961-1992
Milton Eisenhower President, Johns Hopkins University (1956-1967), Advisor to four Presidents	1971
Joshua Epstein Brookings	1987
John Esp Montana State Senator (2003-present)	2006
Merle Fainsod Harvard University	1969
George Feifer Writer	1964
James Ferguson President, General Foods Corporation	1974

Participants United States

Name	Period of Participation
Bruce Feustel Consultant, National Council of State Legislatures	2006
George Fischer Cornell University	1960-1961
Roger Fisher Harvard Law School	1979
Thomas Foley Congressman from Washington State (1964-1994)	1987
Charles Frankel Columbia University	1964
Peter Frelinghuysen Congressman from New Jersey (1953-1975)	1972
Michel Fribourg President, Continental Grain	1972
Buckminster Fuller Inventor, South Illinois University	1964-1969
Richard Furland Chair, Squibb Corporation	1975
John K. Galbraith Harvard University	1964
Richard Gardner U. S. Ambassador to Spain (1993-1997)	1976
James Gavin Major General; President, Arthur D. Little, Inc. (1960-1977)	1969-1971
Alexander George Stanford University	1983
James Giffin President, U.S.-Soviet Trade Council (1981-1989)	1988
Melinda Gilmore Kettering Foundation	2004
Albert Gore U.S. Vice President (1991-1999)	1986-1987
Thomas Gouttierre Dean, University of Nebraska, Omaha	1986-2002

Name	Period of Participation
Thomas Graham Senior Director, U.S. National Security Council (2004-2007)	2009-2010
Lester Granger Advisor, U.S. Department of Labor	1962
James Grant Executive Director, UNICEF (1980-1995)	1976
Donald Green Chase Bank	1979
Erwin Griswold U.S. Solicitor General (1967-1973)	1961
Gregory Grossman University of California, Berkeley	1972
Tim Grove Catholic Charities	2003
Leo Gruliow *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*	1977
Darrell Hammer Indiana University	1962
Feri Hammer Joint East European Center	1993
Lloyd Hand U.S. Chief of Protocol (1965-1966)	1971
Robert Hanson Chair, John Deere Company (1982-1990)	1981
Clifford Hardin U.S. Secretary of Agriculture (1969-1971)	1976
Ruth Hardin Photographer	1976
Roy Harrington John Deere Company	1979
Particia Harris U.S. Secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (1977-1980)	1969-1971
Harry Harvey Conference Coordinator (1960-1965)	1969
Mary Harvey *Saturday Review of Literature*	1960-1964

Participants United States

Name	Period of Participation
Mark Hatfield U.S. Senator from Oregon (1964-1994)	1971
Gabriel Hauge Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs (1953-1960)	1961
Rita Hauser President, The Hauser Foundation, Member of the Brookings Commission on the Middle East (1975-1977)	1977
John Hennessey Dartmouth College	1972
William Hewitt Chair, John Deere Company (1969-1982)	1974
Jim Hoagland *Washington Post*	1979
Harold Hodgkinson Demographer	2008
Virginia Hodgkinson Georgetown University	2006-2008
Richard Holbrook Special U.S. Representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan (2009-present)	1989
Alan Holiman Rapporteur	1988
Kenneth Holland President, Institute for International Education	1969
Mark Hopkins *Milwaukee Journal*	1969
Arnold Horelick RAND/UCLA	1984-1992
Norris Houghton Dramatist, Vassar College	1962
Robert Howe RAND	1987
Jacob Hurewitz Columbia University	1979
William Hyland Editor, *Foreign Affairs*	1981-1985

Name	Period of Participation
Les Ihara Jr. State Senator, Hawaii	2004-2006
Joseph Iseman European Council	1993
Paul Jabber University of California, Los Angeles	1979
Terry Jack Gulf Coast Community College	2006
Elmore Jackson Rockefeller Foundation	1976
Oren Jarinkev Rapporteur	1969
Joseph Johnson President, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (1950-1971)	1961
Nancy Johnson Congresswoman from Connecticut (1983-2007)	1988
David Jones Chair, Joint Chiefs of Staff (1978-1982)	1984-1992
Barbara Jordan Congresswoman from Texas (1973-1979)	1988
Vernon Jordan Advisor to President Bill Clinton (1991-1998)	1977
Peter Juviler Hunter College	1961
Robert Kaiser *Washington Post*	2000-2008
Philip Karber BDM Corporation	1990
Mark Kasoff Staff	1977
Richard Kaufman Vice President, Chase Bank; Staff	1972-1974
Donald Kendall Chair, PepsiCo (1971-1986)	1972-1976

Participants United States

Name	Period of Participation
George Kennan U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union (1952)	1960
George Khlebnikov United Nations, Chief of Interpretation (1950-1983)	1961-1988
Brendan Kiernan Rapporteur	1988
Robert Kingston Kettering Foundation	1991
George Kistiakowsky Manhattan Project, President's Science Advisor (1953-1960)	1969-1971
Helen Kitchen Center for Strategic and International Affairs	1984-1988
Philip Klutznick U.S. Secretary of Commerce (1980-1981)	1994
Elizabeth Koontz National Education Association	1964
Larry Korb U.S. Assistant Secretary of Defense (1981-1985)	1992
Nancy Kranich American Library Association	2003
Marvin Lamborg Director, Kettering Laboratory	1977
Arthur Larson Executive Assistant to the President (1957-1958)	1960-1969
Nathalie Latter Interpreter	1988
Jim Leach Congressman from Iowa (1977-2007)	2006
Richard Leghorn Colonel, Consultant to the President on Disarmament (1955-1956)	1960
Robert Legvold Columbia University	1979-2009
Robert Lehman Chair, Fetzer Foundation	1986-1989

Name	Period of Participation
Robert Leiken Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	RCTF
Flora Lewis *New York Times*	1982-1984
Mary Lindamood Kettering Foundation	1988
James Linen President, Time-Life, 1960-1969	1969
Estelle Linser Assistant Coordinator of Dartmouth Conference	1969
Francis Lloyd University of Chicago	1964
Jan Lodal Senior Staff, National Security Council (1980s)	1979
Robert Lodgson Citizen	2003
Eric Lohr American University	2009-2010
Richard Lombard Kettering Foundation Board of Trustees	1969-1988
Carl Long Dartmouth College	1972
Frank Long Cornell University	1964
William Loos World Peace Union	1960-1961
Stephen Low U.S. Ambassador, Director Foreign Service Institute (2005-present)	1984-1987
Edward Luck UN Assistant Secretary General (2008-present)	1979
William Luers U.S. Ambassador; President, Museum of Modern Art (1986-1999)	1988
Robert Lundeen Chair, Dow Chemical (1982-1986)	1984-1991

Participants United States

Name	Period of Participation
Gordon MacDonald Dartmouth College	1974
Thomas Malone Massachusetts Institute of Technology (1946-1994)	1971-1976
Anthony Mango Interpreter	1988
John Marcum University of California at Santa Cruz	1987
Hans Mark Deputy Administrator, National Aeronautics and Space Administration (1981-1984)	1988
Jonathan Matheny U.S. Department of Defense	1987
David Mathews President, Kettering Foundation	1981-2008
Mary Mathews Citizen	2008
Charles Mathias U.S. Senator from Maryland (1969-1987)	1979-1988
Jack Matlock U.S. Ambassador to Russia (1987-1991)	1997-2009
Robert B. Mayner Governor of New Jersey (1954-1962)	1962
Weir McBride Kettering Foundation	1976
Gordon MacDonald Dartmouth College	1972
Donald McHenry Ambassador to the United Nations, 1979-1981	1984-1987
Madeline McWhinney Elliott & Co.	1991
Margaret Mead Columbia University	1961-1962
Dennis Meadows Dartmouth College	1972
Constantine Mertvagos Interpreter	1979

Name	Period of Participation
Edward Meyer Army Chief of Staff (1979-1983)	1989-1992
James Michener Writer	1964
Harry Middleton Director, LBJ Library (1980-2002)	1988
Arthur Miller Playwright	1969
William Miller U.S. Secretary of the Treasury (1979-1981)	1976
Jacqueline Mitchell Interpreter	1979
Felix Morlion Reverend, Pro Deo University	1972
Milton Morris Joint Center for Political Studies	1988
Louis Morton Dartmouth College	1972
Philip Mosley Columbia University	1960-1962
Robert Moskin Foreign Editor, *Look* magazine	1969
Robert Muller United Nations	1972
Cyril Muromcew Interpreter	1988
Franklin Murphy Chair, Times-Mirror Company (1968-1980)	1964-1969
Robert Nelson *Christian Science Monitor*	1988-1992
Robert Neumann U.S. Ambassador to Afghanistan (1966-1973), Morocco (1973-1974), Saudi Arabia (1981-1983)	1983-1997
Waldemar Nielsen Ford Foundation	1960
Lauris Norstad Supreme Allied Commander, Europe (1956-1963)	1972

Participants United States

Name	Period of Participation
Sam Nunn U.S. Senator from Georgia (1972-1997)	1986
Lana Oleen State Senator, Kansas (1988-2002)	2006
John Oakes Editor, *New York Times* Editorial Page (1961-1976)	1962
Robert Oakley U.S. Ambassador (1979-1988)	1996-1997
Don Oberdorfer *Washington Post*, Columnist	1997
Martha Olcott Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	1996-2009
Alberto Olivas Maricopa Community Colleges	2008
Donald Paarlberg Special Assistant to the President for Economic Affairs (1958-1961)	1979
Leslie Paffrath President, S.J. Johnson Foundation	1964-1969
Rosemary Park Vice Chancellor, University of California, Los Angeles	1969
Samuel Pisar Attorney, Author	1971-1974
Susan Purcell Council on Foreign Relations	1985-1990
William Quandt National Security Council (1972-1980)	1987
Howard Raiffa Harvard University	1972
George Rathjens Massachusetts Institute of Technology	1972-1975
James Read Vice President, Kettering Foundation	1971-1979
Leonard Reiser Dartmouth College	1972
Roger Revelle Harvard Population Center	1972

Name	Period of Participation
Lloyd Reynolds Economist, Yale University	1961
Walter Roberts Founder, National Center for Atmospheric Research	1971-1972
David Rockefeller Chase Manhattan Bank	1962-1988
William Rogers U.S. Undersecretary for Economic Affairs, 1976-1977	1982-1985
Lucy Rojansky U.S.-Russia Business Council	2010
Matthew Rojansky Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	2009-2010
Alan Romberg Council on Foreign Relations	1989-1994
Jay Rosen New York University	1992
Walt Rostow Special Assistant for National Security Affairs (1964-1968)	1960-1988
William Ruckelshaus Director, U.S. Environmental Protection Agency (1970-1973)	1972
Eugene Rumer National Defense University	2008-2010
Katie Runella Kettering Foundation	2006
Phillips Ruopp Kettering Foundation	1976
Stella Russell Vice President, Norton Simon	1969
Benjamin Rutherford Arms Control Specialist	1987
Harrison Salisbury Writer, *New York Times* journalist	1981-1986
Hal Saunders U.S. Assistant Secretary of State (1976-1980)	1981-2010

Participants United States

Name	Period of Participation
Harold Scott President, U.S.-Soviet Trade Council (1975-1979)	1976
Hugh Scott U.S. Senator from Pennsylvania (1959-1977)	1974
Herbert Scoville Jr. Arms Control Agency (1963-1969)	1979
Brent Scowcroft U.S. President's National Security Advisor (1975-1977 & 1989-1993)	1981-1988
Pat Scully Kettering Foundation	1993
Stephen Sestanovich Carnegie Endowment for International Peace	1996
Stephanie Sharp Kansas State Legislator (2002-2007)	2006
Kate Sheaffer White House Staff in Clinton Administration	2003
Danielle Shepherd Council for International Educational Exchange	1972-1976
Max Sherman Dean, LBJ School for Public Affairs (1983-1997)	1988
George Sherry UN Secretariat, Interpreter	1961-1988
Marshall Shulman Special Advisor to U.S. Secretary of State C. Vance (1976-1978)	1964-1976
Norton Simon Founder and President, Hunt Foods (1945-1993)	1964-1969
Paul Simon U.S. Senator from Illinois (1985-1997)	1986-1987
Joseph Sisco U.S. Undersecretary of State (1974-1976)	1977
Randa Slim Kettering Foundation	1991-2000

Name	Period of Participation
Walter Slocombe U.S. Undersecretary of Defense (1994-2001)	1986
Louis Sohn U.S. Delegate to Law of the Sea Convention (1972-1984)	1961-1962
Stephen Solarz Congressman from New York (1975-1993)	1979-1989
Howard Solomon National Security Council (2009-present)	2009-2010
Helmut Sonnenfeldt Counselor of the U.S. Department of State (1974-1977)	1972-1977
John Sprat Congressman from South Carolina (1982-present)	1990
Allison Stanger Rapporteur	1988
Maxwell Stanley President, Stanley Engineering (1936-1980)	1969
Frederick Starr Founder and President, Central Asian Caucasus Institute	1979-1997
Herman Steinkraus Founder and President, Bridgeport Brass (1928-1962)	1962
Philip Stewart Ohio State University, Conference Coordinator (1972-present)	1972-2010
Shepard Stone Ford Foundation	1961-1964
John Stremlau Vice President, Carter Center (2006-present)	1979-1995
Bernard Sucher Citibank, Moscow (2003-2010)	2009-2010
Howard Swearer President, Brown University (1977-1988)	1985-1987
James Thomas Kettering Foundation Board of Directors	2004

Participants United States

Name	Period of Participation
Maxine Thomas Kettering Foundation	1992
Harold Todd Commandant, Air War College (1985-1989)	1990
Paul Tsongas U.S. Senator from Massachusetts (1979-1985)	1979
Galina Tunicks Interpreter	1972-1974
Morris Udall Congressman from Arizona (1961-1991)	1972
Cyrus Vance U. S. Secretary of State (1977-1980)	1985-1987
Ed Verona President, U.S.-Russia Business Council (2008-present)	2008
George von Streeruwitz Observer	1979
Christopher Wagner Sustained Dialogue Campus Network	2008-2009
Wallace Wakefield George Mason University	1997
William Walker Citizen	2004
Wallace Warfield George Mason University	1992-1995
Ted Warner RAND	1986-1992
Paul Warnke Director, Arms Control and Disarmament Agency (1976-1980)	1975-1976
Larry Welch Air Force Chief of Staff (1986-1990)	1992
Charles Whalen Congressman from Ohio (1966-1979)	1979
Paul D. White Cardiologist	1964

Name	Period of Participation
Jerome Wiesner Science Advisor to Presidents Eisenhower, Kennedy, and Johnson	1960
David Williams U.S. Department of Agriculture, Foreign Agricultural Service (2003-2007)	1979
Taylor Willingham Texas Forums	2003-2004
John Wilson Vice President, Chase Bank	1977
William Winter Governor of Mississippi (1980-1984)	1991-2008
Debi Witte Kettering Foundation	2003
Sylvan Wittwer Michigan State University	1977-1979
Robert Wood President, University of Massachusetts (1970-1977)	1972
George Woodwell Brookhaven National Laboratory	1974
Sterling Wortman Vice President, Rockefeller Foundation	1974
Daniel Yankelovich Yankelovich Group	1984-1988
Herbert York Physicist, Ambassador to Test Ban Negotiations (1979-1981)	1977
Charles Yost U.S. Ambassador to United Nations (1969-1971)	1971-1979
Thomas Zamostny Assistant Rapporteur	1979
Barry Zorthian Time, Inc.	1969
Mortimer Zuckerman Publisher, *US News & World Report*	1988-1989

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Valery Abarenkov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1989
Anatoly Adamishin Ambassador to United Kingdom (1994-1997)	2008-2010
Dmitry Agrachev Interpreter	1989
Sergei Akhromeyev Marshal of USSR, Chief of General Staff (1984-1988)	1989
Namik Akhundov Central Committee of Azerbaijan Communist Party	1988
Valentina Alekseeva Moscow Helsinki Watch	1993
Vladimir Alkhimov Board Chair, USSR State Bank	1979-1981
Nikolai Amelko Admiral, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1992
Vassilly Andreev Foreign Trade Division, GOSPLAN	1971
Anatoly Anikin Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1974-1975
Revold Antonov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1979
Alexey Arbatov State Duma Deputy	1972-1992
Georgy Arbatov Director, USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1971-1992
Ivan Artobolovsky Academician	1961
Boris Asoyan Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1984-1987
Vladimir Averchnev Russian Embassy, D.C.	1992
Vladimir Babak Institute of World Economy and International World Relations	1986-1988

Name	Period of Participation
Grigori Baklanov Editor, *Znamya*	1988
Yuri Balagurov Vice Chair, USSR State Bank	1974
Petr Barabolya Major General of Justice	1992
Vladimir Baranovsky Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1986-1987
Alexander Barchenkov Interpreter	1988
Geli Batenin Colonel General, General Staff	1986-1992
Yuri Baturin Cosmonaut	2003-2004
Spartak Beglov Head, Novosti Press Agency	1961-1972
Yuri Beketov Captain, General Staff	1987
Vladimir Belous Major General	1992
Igor Belyaev Deputy Director, Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1969-1983
Grigory Berdennikov Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1991
Valentin Berezhkov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1979
Igor Blishchenko Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1969
Nikolai Blokhin Oncologist	1964-1974
Genrikh Bobovik President, Soviet Peace Committee	1989
Igor Bobovkov Expert, Supreme Soviet	1992
Yuri Bobrakov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1969-1979

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Alla Bobrysheva Staff, USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1960-2000
Alexander Bochever Institute of Europe, Academy of Sciences	2000
Konstantin Bochkarev Propagandist	1969
Aleksey Bogaturov Rector, Moscow State Institute of International Relations	2008-2010
Radomir Bogdanov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1975-1989
Larisa Bogoraz Moscow Helsinki Watch	1993
Mikhail Bondarenko Duma Representative from Kostroma	2006
Alexander Borisov Russian Orthodox Priest	2008
Boris Borisov Chair, USSR Chamber of Commerce	1974-1977
Stanislav Borisov Deputy Minister of Finance	1976-1984
Victor Borisyuk USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1993
Genrikh Borovik President, Soviet Peace Committee	1987-1992
Alexander Bovin *Izvestia*	1983
Anna Boykova 1st Vice Chair, Leningrad Soviet	1964-1969
Evgeny Breus Interpreter	1988
Karen Brutentz Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, International Department	1989
Ilya Bulychev Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences	1986
Evgeny Bunimovich Moscow Duma	2003-2008

Name	Period of Participation
Fydor Burlatsky Soviet Association of Political Science	1981-1983
Oleg Buyanov Soviet Peace Committee	1983
Victor Bydanov Baltic Foundation for Foreign Policy	1993
Oleg Bykov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1960-1989
Nikolai Chervov Colonel General, General Staff	1986
Alexander Chicherov Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1982-1983
Georgy Chistyakov Russian Orthodox Priest, Librarian	2006
Viktor Chkhikvadze International Law Expert	1960
Igor Chubais University Peoples' Friendship	2008
Gennady Chufrin Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1988-2008
Andrei Chuklinov Moscow Pedagogical University	1993
Marina Chumkova Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences	1985
Ignat Danilenko Head, Main Political Administration of the Army	1989
Vladimir Danilov Colonel General, Supreme Commander of the Commonwealth of Independent States Forces	1992
Yuri Davidov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1989-2000
Apollon Davidson Institute of History, Academy of Sciences	1977-2000
Petr Deinekin Colonel General, Supreme Commander Commonwealth of Independent States Air Forces	1992

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Andrey Dementiev Editor, *Yunost*	1988
Igor Demyanchuk USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1985
Yuri Denisenko Interpreter	1979
Anatoly Dobrynin Ambassador to Washington (1962-1986)	2000
Alexander Drozdov Editor, newspaper *Rossia*	2008
Yuri Drozdov Federation of Peace	1992-1994
Yuri Dubinin Ambassador to Washington (1987-2000)	2000
Vladimir Dvorkin Ministry of Defense	1992
Nina Dzavakhishvili Director, Institute of Experimental Morphology	1972
Igor Efimov Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Information Department	1989
Vasily Emelyanov Soviet Peace Fund	1974
Dmitry Ermolenko Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Russian Foreign Ministry	1974-1975
Anatoly Ermolin State Duma Deputy	2006
Genady Evstaf'ev Political Consultative Council	1991
Valentin Falin Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Information Department	1981
Yevgeny Fedorov Explorer, Meterologist	1964-1981
Nikolai Fedorenko Editor, *Mezhdynarodnaya Literatura*	1972
Timofei Fedorenko USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1993

Name	Period of Participation
Yuri Fedorov Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Russian Foreign Ministry	1972-1992
Petr Fedoseyev Academy of Sciences	1985
Aleksey Fenenko Institute for International Security	2008-2010
Rashid Feyzuhanov Federation Council	2009-2010
Igor Filin Soviet Peace Committee	1988-1991
Alexander Filonic Federation of Peace	1992
Leonid Fituni Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1987
Igor Fomin (unknown)	1964
Babadzhan Gafurov Director, Institute of Peoples of Asia	1961
Vladimir Gantman Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1972-1984
Vitali Ganzha Colonel, Ministry of Defense	1986
Sergei Garasimov Film Producer	1961
Mahmud Gareev Four-Star General, Served in Afghanistan	1996
Ekaterina Genieva Director, Library for Foreign Literatures	2004-2008
Gennady Gerasimov Novosti Press Agency	1981
Sergei Gerasimov Film Producer	1964
Peter Gladkov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1991
Anatoly Glinkin Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences	1982-1991
Alexander Gogitidze Foreign Ministry	1984

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Nikolai Goncharov Vice President, Academy of Pedagogical Sciences	1961
Viktor Goncharov Institute of General History, Academy of Sciences	1985-1987
Valentin Gorodnov Institute of General History, Academy of Sciences	1987
Svetlana Gorokhova Library for Foreign Literatures	2003-2008
Leonid Gozman Union of Right Forces Party	2008
Andrei Grachev Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Ideology Department	1989
Anatoly Grigoriev Expert, Naval Headquarters	1992
Vassily Grigoriev Major General, Ministry of Defense	1995
Lev Gromov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1976-1977
Anatoly Gromyko Director, Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1972-1984
Boris Grushin Sociologist, Pollster	1988-2000
Yuri Gryadunov Ambassador to Jordan	1997
German Gvishiani Chair, State Committee on Science and Technology	1975
Boris Ivanov Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1961-1992
Ivan Ivanov Council of Ministers	1988-1989
Yuri Ivanov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1992
Sergei Karaganov Institute of Europe, Academy of Sciences	1989-2000
Alexander Karev Head of USSR Baptist Church	1960-1961
Viktor Karpov Foreign Ministry	1969

Name	Period of Participation
Mirza Kartlin Latvian Ministry of Education	1977
Alan Kasaev *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*	1997
Alexander Kashirin Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1974
Valentin Kassatkin Ambassador	1984
Albert Kauls Chair, Adazi Agro-Industrial Firm, Latvia	1988
Nikolay Kaveshnikov Institute of Europe, Academy of Sciences	2000
Irina Khakamada Party, "Our Choice"	2006
Oleg Kharkhardin Soviet Peace Committee	1975-1992
Anatoly Khasanov Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1989
Anton Khlopkov Energy and Security Center	2009-2010
Georgi Kim Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1983
Yuri Kirshin Major General, Federation of Peace	1992
Sergei Kishilov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1989
Aleksandr Kislov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1975-2000
Lev Klochkovsky Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences	1985
Vladimir Kokorev Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1987
Andrei Kokoshin Deputy Director, USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1983-2000
Igor Kolchevsky Ministry of Internal Affairs	2003
Georgy Kolesnikov Director, Hydrophysical Institute	1971

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Leonid Kolevatov Moscow Helsinki Watch	1993
Igor Kolshevsky Ministry of Internal Affairs	2004
Stanislav Kondrashev *Izvestia*	1988-2000
Alexander Konovalov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1989-1991
Boris Konstantinov Chemist	1964
Yuri Kopelinski Market Research Institute, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1977
Vladimir Koretsky Director, Institute of Law, Academy of Sciences	1971
Viktor Korgun Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1986-1989
Alexander Kornichuk Writer, Khrushchev protégé	1960-1971
Yury Koroloyov Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences	1985
Andrei Kortunov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1986-2000
Irina Kosareva (unknown)	2006
Nikolai Kosolapov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1982
Yuri Kostko Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1974
Mikhail Kotov Soviet Peace Committee	1964-1977
Viktor Kovanov Surgeon	1961-1964
Oleg Kovtunovitch Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1983
Evgeny Kozhokin Institute for Strategic Research	2008
Daniel Kraminov Editor, *Za Rubezhom*	1964-1969

Name	Period of Participation
Vladimir Krasnikovsky Center for Public Opinion Research	1993
Victor Kremenyuk USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1984-2000
Zinaida Kruglova Chair, Soviet Friendship Societies	1977
Alexander Krutov Moscow City Duma	2004
Vladimir Kubaidze Director, Machine Tool Association	1988
Evgeny Kutovoy USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1982-1983
Georgi Kuznetsov Vice President, Peace Committee	1991
Irina Lagunova Radiologist	1960
Valentin Larionov Major General	1991-1992
Marklen Lazarev Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences	1985
Vladimir Lebedev Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1987
Yuri Lebedev Novosti Press Agency	1991
Viktor Leciovsky UN Association in the USSR	1977
Genadi Lednev Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1991-1992
Yuri Legeev Director, Sona Ventures	2000
Voldeman Lein Minister of Food Industry	1975-1977
Viktor Linnik *Pravda* Commentator	1979-1988
Gregory Lokoshin Peace Committee	1986
Anton Lopukhin Association of Young Leaders	2004
Anatoly Lugashev Colonel, Ministry of Defense	1988

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Vladimir Lukin Ambassador to U.S. (1992-1994), Human Rights Commissioner of Russia, Duma Ombudsman (2004-present)	1986-2000
Viktor Lukshin Federation of Peace	1992
Fyodor Lukyanov Editor, *Rossia I Globalnaya Politika*	2008-2010
Viktor Maevsky *Pravda* Commentator	1961
Anatoly Makarov Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1987
Denis Makarov Moscow Pedagogical University	1993-2010
Robert Makaryan Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1988
Igor Malashenko Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union	1991
Dina Malysheva Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	2009
Merab Mamardashvili Philosopher	1988
Valeri Manilov Lieutenant General, Ministry of Defense	1991
Robert Markaryan Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1986-1988
Sergey Markedonov Institute of Political and Military Analysis	2009-2010
Sergey Markov Institute for Political Research	2003-2006
Vladlen Martynov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1981
Marina Martynova Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences	1985
Alexander Masevich Physicist, Space Expert	1961-1964

Name	Period of Participation
Alla Masevich Astronomer, Academy of Sciences	1964-1971
Lem Masterkov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1971
Michael Matskovsky International Center for Human Values	1993
Vikenty Matveev *Izvestia* Commentator	1974
Anne Mavity National Democratic Institute for International Affairs	1993
Aleksandr Medvedev Foreign Ministry	1985
Michael Medvedev Moscow High School #69	1993
Vsevolod Medvedev Operational Strategic Studies Center	1991
Leonid Mendelevich Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1989
Andranik Migranyan Institute for Democracy and Cooperation	2009
Konstantin Mikhailov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1988
Lev Mikhailov Soviet Peace Committee	1974-1977
Sergo Mikoyan Editor, *Latinskaya Amerika*	1985-1989
Mikhail Milstein General, USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1975-1991
Isaak Mintz Historian	1961-1964
Irina Mirnaya Center for Civic Education	2003-2008
Sergey Mironenko Russian State Archives	2008
Mark Mitin Editor, *Voprosy Filosophy*	1961-1964
Sergei Molodtsov International Law & UN Expert	1961

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Grigori Morozov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1971-1983
Arkady Moshes Institute of Europe, Academy of Sciences	1997
Vladimir Moskalenko Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1986-1996
Nikolai Mostovets Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, U.S. Department	1961-1981
Andrey Motkov Institute of Europe, Academy of Sciences	2000
Vano Muradelli Composer	1960
Igor Nagdasev Center for Civic Education	2003-2010
Vitaly Naumkin Director, Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1986-2010
Valery Nemchinov Institute for Space Research	1988
Aleksandr Nikitin Center for Political and International Studies	1986-1992
Vyacheslav Nikonov President of Fund, Politika	2008-2010
Iosif Noneshvili Secretary, Georgian Writers Union	1974
Vladimir Nosenko Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1983-1986
Aleksei Obukhov Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1984
Vsevolod Oleandrov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1979
Dmitri Olshansky Center for Political and International Studies	1992
Vladimir Orel Vice President, Soviet Peace Committee	1989

Name	Period of Participation
Nikolai Orlov Market Research Institute, Ministry of Foreign Trade	1964-1972
Vladimir Oryol Peace Committee	1986-1988
Fyodor Ovcharenko Academician, Public Figure	1971
Sergei Oznobishchev USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1992
Emil Pain Ethnopolitical Center	2008
Vladimir Pavlichenko Soviet Pugwash Committee	1974-1975
Vladimir Pechatnov Soviet Embassy, D.C.	1988
Valeri Pekshev Deputy Chair, USSR State Bank	1976-1984
Nikolai Peterski Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1964
Vladimir Petrovsky Director General, UN Geneva Office (1993-2002)	1971-1987
Yuri Pinchukov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations	1991
Alexandr Piskunov Supreme Soviet	1992
Sergey Plekhanov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1988-1989
Oleg Pleshov Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1989
Boris Polevoi Writer	1960-1977
Aleksander Popov Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1989-1994
Veniamin Popov Ambassador for Islamic Issues (2003-2006)	2008-2010

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Nina Popova President, Soviet Friendship Society	1961
Vladimir Pozner TV Host	2004
Yuri Prikhodov Vice Chair, Soviet Chamber of Commerce	1971
Yevgeny Primakov Russian Prime Minister (1998-1999)	1971-2008
Andrej Pritvorov Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1985
Zoya Pushkareva Professor of Chemistry, Urals Institute	1960-1961
Anatolij Reznikovsky Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1985
Andrej Rokrovsky Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1985
Stanislav Rodionov Space Research Institute	1989
Sergei Rogov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1984-2000
Modest Rubenstein Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1960-1964
Boris Runov Deputy Minister of Agriculture (1976-1989)	1974-1984
Natan Rybak Writer	1972-1975
Leo Rytov Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1987
Abid Sadykov President, Tashkent University	1961
Roald Sagdeev Space Research Institute	1984-1989
Konstantin Sarkisov Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences	1984
Georgy Schukin Soviet Purchasing Commission	1976
Alexander Schweitzer Interpreter	1964-1984

Name	Period of Participation
Leonid Serebriannik Soviet Peace Committee	1988
Valery Shageyev Advisor, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006-present)	2008-2010
George Shakhnazarov Soviet Political Science Association	1985-1987
Viktor Shein USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1986
Nikolai Shishlin Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Information Department	1985-1989
Boris Shmelev Institute of Economics, Academy of Sciences	2008
Nikolai Shmelev USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1988-2000
Valentin Shteinberg Institute of History, Latvian Academy of Sciences	1977
Vladimir Shubin Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, International Department	1987
Constantin Shumeiko Publicist, Soviet Trade Unions	1961
Andrei Shumikhin USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1979-1990
Savik Shuster TV Host, *Freedom of Information*	2004
Vladimir Shustov Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1988-1989
Anatoly Shuvalov Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1974
Viktor Sidenko Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, International Department	1981
Andrey Sidorov Moscow State University	2008-2010
Nodari Simomia Academic, Advisor to Academy of Sciences	2000-2008

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Sergei Sinitsin Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1984
Victoria Siradze Chair, Foreign Affairs Commission, Supreme Soviet	1975-1976
Vladimir Sirotinsky Institute for Small Business Development	2006-2008
Alexander Skakov Institute for Strategic Research	2008
Sergei Slipchenko Ambassador	1987
Vladimir Smirnov Assistant to the Russian Prime Minister (1992-1993)	1992
Nikolay Sofinsky Ministry of Foreign Affairs	2008-2009
Vasily Sokolov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	2000
Andrey Sorokin Publisher	2006-2008
Stanislav Sorokin Institute of the Economy, Academy of Sciences	2008
Victor Starodubov Lieutenant General, Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, International Department	1984-1989
Gleb Starushenko Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1987
Gennady Stashevsky Arms Control Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1987
Anatoly Stepunin Institute of Soviet-American Relations	1974
Georgi Sturua USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1986-1988
Mikhael Sturua Journalist	1974
Viktor Sukhodrev Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1989
Abdulkhakim Sultygov United Russia Party	2008-2010

Name	Period of Participation
Anton Surikov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1992
Boris Surikov Major General, USSR Ministry of Defense	1988
Viktor Surikov Institute of Strategic Studies	1992
Mefody Sveshnikov Chair, Soviet Foreign Trade Bank	1969
Vladimir Sytenko Supreme Soviet	1992
Nikolai Talensky Major General, General Staff	1961-1964
Pavel Tarabaev Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1975
Evgeny Tarabrin Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1984-1986
Sergei Tarasenko USSR Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1984
Viktor Tatarnikov Major General, General Staff of the Army	1981
Grigor Ter-Grigoryan Writer, Armenian Peace Committee	1971
Vladimir Tikhomirov Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1987
Timur Timofeeyev Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, U.S. Department	1984-1985
Alexei Treshnikov (unknown)	1964
Genrikh Trofimenko USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1974-1989
Vladimir Trukhanovsky Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1969
Georgy Trusevich Deputy Chair, Foreign Trade Bank	1972
Vladimir Tulinov Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, Secretariat	1987

Participants U.S.S.R./Russia

Name	Period of Participation
Alexander Tutkevich Interpreter	1988
Ludmilia Ulitskaya Good Book Foundation, Writer	2008
Andrey Urnov Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, International Department	1984-1985
Mark Urnov Political Scientist	2004
Boris Vaganov Rector, Foreign Trade Academy	1974
Vladilen Vasev Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1984
Alexander Vasiliev USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1987
Alexey Vassilev Institute of Africa, Academy of Sciences	1985
Ilia Vekua President, Georgian Academy of Sciences	1974
Evgeny Velikov Director, Kurchatov Institute of Science Secretary, Public Chamber of Russia (2009-present)	1984-1986
Vladimir Vinogradov Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1996
Alexander Vladimirov Major General, Ministry of Defense	1991
Rans Vladimirsky Interpreter, *Moscow News*	1969
Evgeny Volk Expert, Supreme Soviet	1992
Viktor Volsky Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences	1985-1987
Yuri Volsky Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1985
Yuli Vorontsov Soviet and Russian Ambassador to UN (1990-1994) and U.S. (1994-1998)	2000
Pyotr Yakovlev Institute of Latin America, Academy of Sciences	1985

Name	Period of Participation
Viktor Yakunin Ambassador to Pakistan (1998-2003)	1996
Victor Yesin Colonel General, Strategic Rocket Forces	2008-2010
Sergei Yutkevich Cinema Director/Producer	1960
Andrei Zagorsky Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1996
David Zahrobyan Political Scientist	2009-2010
Vasili Zaichikov All-Union Society for Political Knowledge	1961-1964
Yuri Zaitsev Institute of World Economy and International World Relations, Academy of Sciences	1985
Mikhael Zakhmatov USA Institute, Academy of Sciences	1971-1975
Yuri Zhukov *Pravda*, Political Commentator	1961-1987
Vitaly Zhurkin Director, Institute of Europe, Academy of Sciences (1987-1999)	1971-2008
Yuri Ziemel Director, Riga Electro-Machine Plant	1977
Valentin Zorin Political Observer, TV	1988
Leonty Zubailov Moscow Pedagogical University	2004
Neil Zubkov Soviet Peace Committee	1976-1977
Andrei Zubov Russian Orthodox Church	1997
Irina Zvyagelskaya Moscow State Institute of International Relations, Ministry of Foreign Affairs	1983-2010
Leonty Zybailov Moscow Pedagogical University	2003

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