



SURVIVING TOGETHER

A JOURNAL ON SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS



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A JOURNAL ON SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS

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From the Editors

ISAR's publication *Surviving Together: A Journal on Soviet-American Relations* chronicles the many and diverse activities in Soviet-American relations. It reports on current events in the Soviet Union, exchanges, joint projects, trade, legislation, public education programs and media coverage. The journal provides a forum for very different points of view and exposes the reader to the complex nature of relations between the Soviet and American governments and between the peoples. The focus of *Surviving Together* is on constructive activities, constructive criticism and constructive alternatives to an adversarial relationship.

Although the journal includes official agreements in its coverage, the emphasis is on the wealth of private sector initiatives which breathe new life into the bilateral relationship. We believe that the individual can improve Soviet-American relations by using his or her creativity, ingenuity and resourcefulness to create new exchanges and channels of communication. We see these private sector innovations affecting the overall climate of superpower relations, bringing new ideas and fresh approaches into government-to-government affairs.

Cover photo: This photograph, taken while Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev were in West Germany, conveys the new sense of connection which the Soviet leader has brought to the world stage. By reaching out to people both in his country and in other nations, he has generated a dynamic response to his efforts to reform the Soviet Union and create a better relationship with the rest of the world. He is carrying a banner of hope for the many people who are working toward an interdependent global community.



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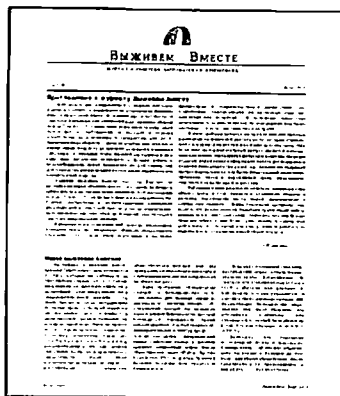
Some Responses to the Russian-Language Edition:

Your journal *Surviving Together* reached us quite by chance. I'd like very much to continue receiving the Russian-language edition. I learned about your country at a very early age. I was six years old when, in 1937, my father was arrested. His only crime was that he subscribed to the journal *One-Story America* and knew English. For this, they called him a spy and put him in prison, where he died. Not until 1956 did they send us notification that he was totally innocent. All my life I've wanted to know what sort of country America was that people were killed simply for knowing about her. It's a pity I won't be able to see for myself, but perhaps my son or daughter will. I can't travel because I suffer from heart problems. They don't show much about your country on our television and you can't pick up much from what you see on the gray screen anyway. That's why I'd really like to read more about America.

A little about myself. My name is Prackova (Polly) Dimitrieva and I am 58 years old. For 17 years I worked as a nurse taking care of the children of invalids who suffered from cerebral palsy. Now my son does the same work. In the boarding school where he works as assistant director, live six hundred children of invalids. He dreams of finding out how invalids in your country live and whether they are able to learn useful things. He has many problems and maybe you could help organize a joint venture to produce wheel chairs, crutches and artificial limbs.

We also fight for ecology and so far have successfully prevented the building of an asphalt factory right in the center of a dacha settlement. Now we are fighting have to clean-up equipment installed at a tannery.

The Dimitriev family, Moscow



What I particularly liked about your journal is that it is very concrete—it addresses the question of what each person can do. I also liked the mass of information it offers, its positive approach and its objectivity.

*Lt. General A.M. Shevchenko,
Soviet Generals and Admirals for
Peace & Disarmament, Moscow*

I am chairman of a friendship society whose main task is broadening the informal contacts between the residents of the Magadan area and the State of Alaska. The geographic location of our two regions provides us with a unique opportunity for the development of Soviet-American collaboration. I'd like to send your journal information about our work. Please let me know what interests you most.

*Oleg Bushev, Magadan
Magadan-Alaska "Friendship Bridge"*

We are members of a small local committee of "Physicians against Nuclear War" in the small Ukrainian town of Kobelyaki. We set as our goal the prevention of nuclear war and establishing friendship or at least good relations and better understanding between all countries, but especially between the US and the USSR. We would very much like to be added to your mailing list for the Russian-language edition. We'd also like to receive the English version so we can read and translate it.

Valery Korobeinik, Kobelyaki

Your journal was brought back to us from the conference of "Physicians against Nuclear War" in Moscow. My colleagues and I read it with great interest. No one was unaffected by it. Indeed, each of us, every individual, is worried about the problem of man's survival.

The Kitov family, Omsk

I got the first issue of your journal *Surviving Together* from the American Council on Foundations delegation to Moscow. With much joy, I read about the relations between two towns, Santa Barbara and Yalta, and about the idea to create a cultural center in Yalta. I'll be glad to meet our friends from Santa Barbara in my town in the future.

Yulia Mishchenko, Yalta

Kiev Ecology Club Seeks Contacts:

We started the club because we are concerned about the future of our planet. One of our most important tasks is maintaining a healthy ecosystem in our region. For this we have collected data on the environmental impact of humans on the Podol district of Kiev, where we live and study. We have also studied the extent and chemical composition of pollutants in the area. We are drawing up an ecological map of the district and issuing a monthly bulletin. We are appealing to industries which pollute to stop discharges and set up purification systems and we also try to raise the ecological awareness of the workers.

We would like to exchange information as to how best to carry out environmental protection activities. We strongly believe that without such activities children will be deprived of their future. If you share our beliefs and would like to share your experience with us, please write to us: The Ecological Club, Zhivaya Priroda, Ul. Malishko 15, kv. 80, Kiev 252206, USSR. [This letter was forwarded to us by OASES, Washington, DC]



INTRODUCTION

Recent months have witnessed unbelievable change in the Soviet Union as the reform process initiated by Mikhail Gorbachev continues to transform his vast and troubled country. In the last few weeks a new, more pluralistic Congress of People's Deputies exposed long-hidden national problems, inspired Soviet citizens to hold elected delegates accountable for their actions, spurred miners from Siberia to the Ukraine to go on strike and gave rise to a surprisingly activist legislature, one of whose first moves was offering economic independence to the Baltic states.

At the Congress, delegates hotly debated procedure and railed against food shortages, crime, corruption, KGB excesses, environmental abuses and bureaucratic incompetence. Emboldened and energized by what they saw, miners struck for better conditions and more workplace autonomy. Unlike any of his predecessors, Gorbachev did not respond with armed force; instead he praised the workers for "taking things into their own hands" and sympathized with their frustration with unresponsive party bosses. Once again he turned a moment of potential danger to advantage, using the miners' "revolution from below" to further the faltering process of economic restructuring.

Learning democracy and exercising individual initiative led to moments of chaos. Scientist-deputy Roald Sagdayev, referring to the Bible, said, "In the beginning there was chaos, but better such chaos than the kind of order we had before." With growing parliamentary skill, Gorbachev moderated the debates, holding out the possibility that out of chaos might come creative ideas for re-ordering and reorganizing the Soviet system. Sometimes playfully, sometimes sternly, he carried the crucible of change for his countrymen, offering them the hope that solutions to the nation's staggering problems lay within them and in their ability to shape their own lives.

Not only has Gorbachev started to open the governing process to his own people, he has also begun to open the Soviet Union to the outside world. Soviet media carries new, more accurate coverage of world news; foreign reporters are permitted to cover hitherto concealed aspects of Soviet life. Actively seeking a role in the international community of nations, Gorbachev has traveled to England, China, West Germany and

France where citizens and government leaders alike acknowledged the significance of perestroika and wished him success.

Americans, too, are responding to the changes in the Soviet Union. Nationwide polls indicate growing impatience with huge defense expenditures and rising concern about the environment and other global issues. Increasing numbers of US citizens are traveling to the USSR to engage in a rich variety of cooperative activities. In this issue we highlight the growing number of grassroots environmental exchanges. And President Bush, after months of holding back, has avowed his support for Gorbachev's reform efforts. At two European summits he honored perestroika's promise for US-Soviet relations and its "absolutely amazing" effect in Europe, East and West.

The summit meeting demonstrated another sign of change. Bush and the West European leaders all placed the planet's perilous ecological condition firmly on their official agenda. Sensing the same danger which Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze described at the UN, Bush warned that environmental destruction respects no borders and called for a major cooperative effort so that Europe would never be "ravaged by pollution" as it once was by war.

Senator Albert Gore in our "Points of View" section illustrates that the global ecological crisis has become a serious issue for American politicians, and Siberian scientist Valentine Koptug reveals growing ecological awareness in the Soviet Union. Worldwatch researcher Hilary French details the stark environmental situation in the USSR today, and Michael Renner describes how concepts of national security are changing as nations wake up to the planet's precarious situation.

Philosopher Thomas Berry says mankind is at an historical turning point: only now are we capable of listening to the voices of species in danger of extinction and able to sense the intimacy of the earth community we all share. Chief Seattle takes us back to a vision of man and nature which points a possible way into the future. Signs of awakening are everywhere, but nowhere are the changes more dramatic than in the Soviet Union. There where the need is greatest, the risks most profound, a transformation is taking place.

The Editors



It is dreadful when you do not feel comfortable on your native soil, which from year to year continues to be destroyed and impoverished. I grew up on the bank of a marvelous river which no longer exists. My childhood and youth were led amongst the sounds, sights, and movements of Siberia's miraculous nature. You did not have to search for nature then, as you do now.

Valentine Rasputin.
Priroda i Chelovek (Nature and Man), Vol. I, 1989

Environmental Cooperation: A More Fruitful Form of Security

*Excerpts from a Worldwatch paper
by Michael Renner*

As the cold war is starting to wind down, the debate about the essence of national security is broadening. Several factors are coalescing in a way that may make the nineties an unprecedented period for redirecting security policies. These include the "new thinking" in the Soviet Union that gave rise to glasnost and perestroika, mounting budgetary constraints on military spending in many countries, renewed regard for the United Nations' role in conflict resolution and international cooperation, popular yearning for a less heavily armed world, and escalating international concern over the environment.

National security is a meaningless concept if it does not include the preservation of livable conditions within a country—or on the planet as a whole. Increasingly, countries are finding their security undermined by environmental threats emanating from other nations, such as pollutants flowing across their frontiers through the air or water, or cataclysmic floods unleashed by denuded watersheds far from their borders. On a global scale, climate change, ozone depletion, deterioration of the agricultural base, and deforestation are formidable challenges to the safety and well-being of the entire race. Environmental threats with the potential to erode the habitability of the planet from beneath us are forcing humanity to consider national security in far broader terms than that guaranteed solely by force of arms.

The newfound urgency to counteract global environmental problems may also bring change in US-Soviet relations. Among other things, scientists from the Soviet Union and the United States have begun to exchange data and viewpoints with regard to the greenhouse effect, in an effort dubbed "greenhouse glasnost." On a more official level, the US and Soviet academies of science recently formed a joint Interacademy Committee on Global Ecology.

The success of international environmental policies depends on the collaboration of those countries that contribute most to environmental degradation. One of the worst offenders has been the Soviet Union, but under Gorbachev's leadership the Kremlin is gradually becoming a more responsible player in environmental matters. In a speech to the UN General Assembly, Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze acknowledged that "the biosphere recognizes no division into blocs, alliances, or systems. All share the same climatic system and no one is in a position to build his own isolated and independent line of environmental defense."

Grassroots pressure continues to play an important role in pushing governments to stem environmental degradation. In widely divergent ways, environmental groups have sought not only to influence the policies of their own governments and corporations, but also, by linking up with their counterparts abroad, those of foreign governments and of international organizations such as the World Bank. Environmental links across the East-West divide on the grassroots level are still in their infancy. But Friends of the Earth

and Greenpeace, among others, are busy building contacts with the nascent Eastern European and Soviet environmental movements. A number of private Soviet and American groups, meanwhile, emphasize that a healthy environment is an inalienable human right. Their goal is to formulate a Citizens' Treaty on Ecological Security, which they hope could become a vehicle for creating a "global culture of ecological responsibility" and to help establish binding principles to governing ecological relations among countries.

"Environmental security" offers a more fruitful basis for cooperation and security among nations than military security because it is both a positive and inclusive concept. Whereas military security offers at best the continuation of an uneasy status quo and at worst the prospect of annihilation, environmental security seeks to protect or to restore. While military security rests firmly on the competitive strength of individual countries at the direct expense of other nations, environmental security cannot be achieved unilaterally: it both requires and nurtures more stable and cooperative relations among nations.

Reflecting on the opportunities for increased US-Soviet cooperation in environmental and other matters, former US Ambassador George Kennan has argued that "in the very process of collaboration in a necessary and peaceful process, useful to all humanity, the neurotic impulses of military and political rivalry would be bound to be overshadowed; and the peoples might find, in the intermingling of their own creative efforts, a firmness of association which no other inter-governmental relationships could ever assure."

Michael Renner is a senior researcher with the Worldwatch Institute and coauthor of State of the World 1989. [Excerpted from Worldwatch Paper 89, May 1989. Reprinted with permission.]

Ecological Kristallnacht

By Albert Gore Jr.

Humankind has suddenly entered into a brand new relationship with our planet. Unless we quickly and profoundly change the course of our civilization, we face an immediate and grave danger of destroying the worldwide ecological system that sustains life as we know it.

It is time to confront this danger.

In 1939, as clouds of war gathered over Europe, many refused to recognize what was about to happen. No one could imagine a Holocaust, even after shattered glass had filled the streets on Kristallnacht. World leaders waffled and waited, hoping that Hitler was not what he seemed, that world war could be avoided. Later, when aerial photographs revealed death camps, many pretended not to see. Even now, many fail to acknowledge that our victory was not only over Nazism but also over dark forces deep within us.

In 1989, clouds of a different sort signal an environmental holocaust without precedent. Once again, world leaders waffle, hoping the danger will dissipate. Yet today the evidence is as clear as the sounds of glass shattering in Berlin. Listen:

- The earth's forests are being destroyed at the rate of one football field's worth every second, one Tennessee's worth every year.
- An enormous hole is opening in the ozone layer, reducing the earth's ability to protect life from deadly ultraviolet radiation.
- Living species die at such an unprecedented rate that more than half may disappear within our lifetimes.
- Chemical wastes, in growing volumes, seep downward to poison ground water and upward to destroy the atmosphere's delicate balance.
- Huge quantities of carbon dioxide, methane and chlorofluorocarbons dumped in the atmosphere have trapped heat and raised global temperatures.

- Every day, 37,000 children under the age of five die of starvation or preventable diseases made worse by failures of crops and politics.

Why are these dramatic changes taking place? Because the human population is surging; (it took a million years to reach two billion people. In the last 40 years, world population has doubled. And in the next 40 years, the number of people could double again); because the industrial, scientific and technological revolutions magnify the environmental impact of these increases, and because we tolerate self-destructive behavior and environmental vandalism on a global scale.

Why, once again, do we fail to rally our forces? Much of the world closed its eyes as Hitler marched because the only adequate response was a horrible war many hoped to avoid. Do we now shrink from the unimaginably difficult response demanded by the global environmental crisis, and hope against hope that it will yet prove unnecessary?

The crisis is so different from anything before that it is hard to believe it is real. We seize scientific uncertainties, however small, as excuses for inaction. Some, like Prime Minister Neville Chamberlain in Munich, would rather adapt to the threat than confront it. This time, they are protected not by an umbrella but by floppy hats and sunglasses.

Our complacency stems in part from a standard of living dependent on rapid consumption of the earth's resources. Our generation has inherited the idea that we have the right to appropriate for ourselves the earth's accumulated treasures as quickly as we can consume them. We reach back through millions of years for the deposits that fuel our industrial civilization.

Just as a drug addict needs increasing doses to produce the same effect, our global appetite for the earth's abundance grows each year. We transform the resources of the

past into the pollution of the future, telescoping time for self-indulgence in the present.

In 1987, carbon dioxide levels in the atmosphere began to surge with record annual increases. Global temperatures are also climbing: 1987 was the second hottest year on record; 1988 was the hottest. Scientists now predict our current course will raise world temperatures five degrees Celsius in our lifetimes. The last time there was such a shift, it was five degrees colder; New York City was under one kilometer of ice. If five degrees colder over thousands of years produces an ice age, what could five degrees warmer produce in a lifetime?

In a classic experiment, a frog dropped in boiling water jumps out. The same frog, put in the water before it is slowly boiled, remains in the pot. Our environment is at the boiling point. Will we react?

The 1990s are the decade of decision. Profound changes are required. We must create a new global compact for sustainable development—for example, trading debts for shared environmental stewardship. Our agenda must include the following:

- A worldwide ban in five years on chlorofluorocarbons, which simultaneously destroy the protective ozone layer and cause up to 20 percent of global warming.

- Rapid reductions in carbon dioxide emissions, through increased vehicle mileage standards, increased energy efficiency and development of alternative energy sources.

- A global halt to destruction of forests and swift implementation of worldwide reforestation programs.

- A ban within five years on packaging that is neither recyclable nor naturally degradable, a comprehensive waste minimization program and aggressive efforts to control emissions of methane from landfills and other sources.

- A series of global summit meetings to seek the unprecedented international cooperation the environmental crisis will demand.

In the 1940s, as victory neared over the dark forces unleashed on Kristallnacht, General Omar Bradley offered advice that is once again relevant to the challenge that confronts humanity: "It is time we steered by the stars, not by the lights of each passing ship."

Albert Gore Jr., a Democrat, is Senator from Tennessee. [© New York Times, 3/19/89. Reprinted with permission.]

Ecological Concerns of Humanity

Excerpts from an article by Valentine Koptug

The ecological concerns of humanity have grown swiftly in the last ten to fifteen years. The global changes to our habitat, resulting from the rapid spread of industrial and agricultural activity, have begun to be analyzed and understood.

According to the United Nations International Commission on Environment and Development, every year six million hectares of fertile land disappear from production due to desertification and over eleven million hectares of forest are logged or perish due to burning and other harmful human activities. This is comparable to an area the size of India. The swiftly growing number of endangered animal and plant species are registered in the Red Book [the list of endangered wildlife and plants in the Soviet Union].

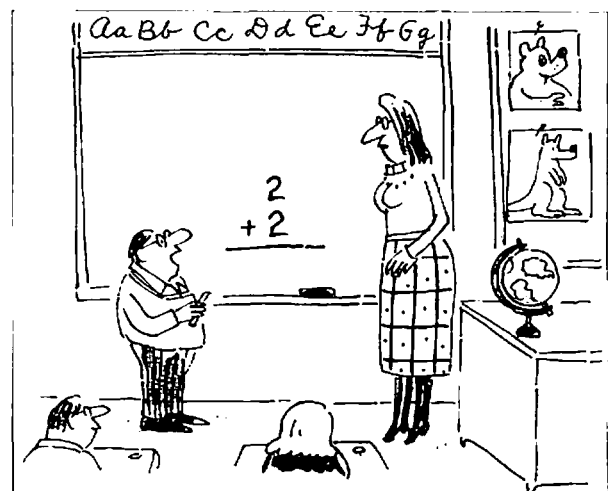
The increasing use of chemicals in agriculture and disposal of toxic industrial waste means that more harmful substances filter from food and drinking water into the human body, causing irreparable health damage. According to the UN report, every year approximately 14,000 people die of pesticide poisoning worldwide, and thoughtless pesticide use adversely affects the health of more than 700,000 people (most of them in the developing countries).

As production and transport expand, the depth and scale of ecological prob-

lems have become emergency situations. Many ecological problems have already left the confines of national borders and now affect humanity as a whole. The transborder transfer of harmful wastes from industrial enterprises and their dispersal in the form of acid rain on neighboring countries is but one example....

The ecological concerns of society are growing in our country as well, all the more strongly given past experiences with the parochial-egotistical attitude of Soviet ministries. The problems we face include insufficient control of the cutting of forests, the filling of reservoirs by hydro-electric stations without taking notice of the needs of surrounding forests, the salinization of land due to thoughtless irrigation, the drying up of the Kara-Bogaz-Gola Gulf and the Aral Sea, the catastrophic pollution of rivers and of the atmosphere in many industrial cities. Ecological questions have resounded especially sharply in the past two years, as glasnost has brought forth more complete information on the true state of affairs.

Valentine Koptug is chairman of the Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences. [Kommunist, May 1988, from Paper #7, American Committee on US-Soviet Relations]



H.L. Schwadron. Reprinted with permission.

"First of all, is this problem to be solved under the laws of an Einsteinian or a Newtonian Universe?"

health concerns amongst the local population. *Literaturnaya Gazeta* reports that DDT—supposedly banned in the mid-seventies—is still in use today in some parts of the country.

Last August, the same journal published a letter complaining of excessive pesticide use in the rice fields outside of Rostov, which is to the north of the Black Sea. Citing press reports that over the past five years there had been a 27-percent increase in cancer in the region, the letter's author stated: "We feel that chemical warfare has been declared against us."

In Soviet Central Asia, agriculture is both the indirect cause of and one of the major losers in an extraordinary disaster—the death of the Aral Sea. By the year 2010 the sea may exist only on old maps, a victim of excessive irrigation withdrawals from the two major rivers that feed it. The fourth largest inland body of water in the world until 1973, the Aral has now dropped to sixth place. Since 1960, its volume has dropped 66 percent, its surface area has decreased 40 percent and its level has fallen by nearly 40 feet.

The port of Muynak used to be one of the Soviet Union's great fishing centers, with more than 10,000 fishermen producing about 11 percent of the country's catch. Now the city lies 30 miles from the waterline and commercial fishing on what is left of the lake has stopped, due to the decline in fish populations caused as salt concentration increases.

Ironically, the former seabed is now a saline desert from which vast dust storms sweep up salt and sand, then deposit the crop-killing mixture on the surrounding irrigated farmland at a rate of almost half a ton per acre per year. Salt damage to crops is likely to be aggravated by changes in the local climate. With the sea's contraction, its moderating influence on the regional weather has waned, resulting in hotter summers, cooler winters and shorter growing season.

Human health is endangered, too. Analysts speculate that unusually high rates of

stomach and liver disease, throat cancer and birth defects can be attributed to the pesticides dumped on crops in the region, as well as the increased salinity and mineral content in local drinking water. Solutions to this national catastrophe are not readily apparent. It may already be too late to save the sea.

"They say one thorn of experience is worth more than a whole forest of instructions," Gorbachev wrote in *Pravda* a few years ago. "For us, Chernobyl became such a thorn." Indeed, the 1986 Chernobyl disaster sparked a rethinking in the Soviet Union of not just nuclear power policy, but of environmental risks in general.

Once the province of an elite cadre of writers and scientists, environmentalism has, in the space of just a few years, moved into the Soviet mainstream. Across the country, citizens have banded together to protest nuclear power reactors, chemical plants, ocean pollution, and all manner of environmental degradation. Somewhat surprisingly, the central government has been generally supportive of the new environmental activism, although, as elsewhere, activists find it never responsive enough. In February, Gorbachev visited Chernobyl to deliver a speech that reaffirmed the government's commitment to nuclear power while hailing the birth of the Soviet environmental movement. He called for a sweeping new program to protect the environment, including public referenda on disputed projects.

Official tolerance of this activism is particularly intriguing in light of the fact that environmentalists often challenge the political status quo in their country. In the Baltic and Armenian republics, local environmentalists have at times allied with nationalist movements struggling for a measure of independence from Moscow.

Although scattered and relatively unorganized, the fledgling environmental movement can still count several triumphs. Bowing to citizen opposition, authorities have closed an operating nuclear power plant

and canceled the orders for at least five others since the Chernobyl accident. Plans for several industrial plants also have been shelved, including a biochemical factory on the Volga River near Kazan, where construction was halted while officials consider its likely effects on the river and the region's forests. In Yerevan, Armenia, officials have agreed to close down a chemical plant in response to public concern over its health effects. And, in Priozersk, protesters were successful in closing a major paper mill that had been dumping waste into Lake Ladoga.

Other indications of an ecological groundswell include news of the official birth of an Estonian green movement on May 23, 1988, and reports that the issue of environmental protection figured prominently in the Soviet Union's recent parliamentary elections.

"Ecological problems have now become a kind of touchstone of our strengthening democracy," declared a Soviet journalist in the weekly newspaper *Nedelya*. To the extent that public legitimacy hinges upon it, reversing environmental decline may be critical to the success of Gorbachev's reforms.

Hilary French is a researcher at the Worldwatch Institute. [World Watch, May/June 1989. Reprinted with permission]

The Intimate Community of Earth: Our New Historical Vision

*Excerpts from "The Dream of the Earth"
by Thomas Berry*

As the crashing of the tropical rain forest resounds about us, as the sun is dimmed in the day and the stars at night by the hovering pollution in the atmosphere, as the great hydrological cycles are disturbed in their vast role of watering the continents and bringing forth the greenery of the land, as a multitude of living species become extinct throughout the earth—even amid all these events, there is a resilience, a hope, and even an expectation for a surviving abundance of life upon earth, if only the human community will

respond to the urgency with the insight and the vigor that distinguished other historical periods.

There is a new historical vision, the vision of an intimate earth community, a community of all the geological, biological, and human components. Only in recent times has such a vision become possible. We never knew enough. Nor were we sufficiently intimate with all our cousins in the great family of the earth. Nor could we listen to the various creatures of earth, each telling its own story. The time has now come, however, when we will listen or we will die. The time has come to lower our voices, to cease imposing our mechanistic patterns on the biological processes of the earth, to resist the impulse to control, to command, to force, to oppress, and to begin quite humbly to follow the guidance of the larger community on which all life depends. Our fulfillment is not in our isolated human grandeur, but in our intimacy with the larger earth community, for this is also the larger dimension of our being. Our human destiny is integral with the destiny of the earth....

The deepest crises experienced by any society are those moments of change when the story of the universe and the human role in the universe becomes inadequate for meeting the survival demands of a present situation. Such, it seems to me, is the situation we must deal with in this late twentieth century. We are confused at present because our historical situation has changed so profoundly.

In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries another historical vision was introduced, by Francis Bacon, the vision of a better order in earthly affairs through scientific control over the functioning of the natural world, a vision that was first articulated as the doctrine of "progress" by Bernard Fontenelle in the following century. This vision found its fulfillment in the industrial age of the past two centuries. Whatever their differences, both liberal capitalism and

Marxist socialism committed themselves totally to this vision of industrial progress which more than any other single cause has brought about the disintegration that is taking place throughout the entire planet. By a supreme irony this closing down of the basic life systems of the earth has resulted from a commitment to the betterment of the human condition, to "progress."

The issue now is of a much greater order of magnitude, for we have changed in a deleterious manner not simply the structure and functioning of human society: we have changed the very chemistry of the planet, we have altered the biosystems, we have changed the topography and even the geological structure of the planet, structures and functions that have taken hundreds of millions and even billions of years to bring into existence. Such an order of change in its nature and in its order of magnitude has never before entered either into earth history or into human consciousness....

Such a fantastic universe, with its great spiraling galaxies, its supernovas, our solar system, and this privileged planet Earth! All this is held together in the vast curvature of space, poised so precisely in holding all things together in the one embrace and yet so lightly that the creative expansion of the universe might continue on into the future. We ourselves, with our distinctive capacities for reflexive thinking, are the most recent wonder of the universe, a special mode of reflecting this larger curvature of the universe itself. If in recent centuries we have sought to collapse this larger creative curve within the horizons of our own limited being, we must now understand that our own well-being can be achieved only through the well-being of the entire

natural world about us. The greater curvature of the universe and of the planet Earth must govern the curvature of our own being. In the coincidence of these three curves lies the way into a creative future.

Just now one of the significant historical roles of the primal people of the world is not simply to sustain their own traditions, but to call the entire civilized world back to a more authentic mode of being. Our only hope is in a renewal of those primordial experiences out of which our more sublime human qualities could take place. While our own experiences can never again have the immediacy or the compelling quality that characterized this earlier period, we are experiencing a postcritical naiveté, a type of presence to the earth and all its inhabitants that includes, and also transcends, the scientific understanding that now is available to us from these long years of observation and reflection.

Fortunately we have in the native peoples of the North American continent what must surely be considered in the immediacy of its experience, in its emotional sensitivities, and in its modes of expressions, one of the most integral traditions of human intimacy with



Drawing by Leo Cullum; ©1989 The New Yorker Magazine, Inc.

the earth, with the entire range of natural phenomena, and with the many living beings which constitute the life community. In their traditional mystique of the earth, they are emerging as one of our surest guides into a viable future.

*Thomas Berry, a historian of cultures and former president of the Teilhard Association for the Human Future, is director of a New York research center. [Excerpted from *The Dream of the Earth*. Reprinted with permission from Sierra Club Books.]*

Every Part of the Earth Is Sacred

Excerpts from Chief Seattle's Message

Every part of this earth is sacred to my people. Every shining pine needle, every sandy shore, every mist in the dark woods, every clearing, and humming insect is holy in the memory and experience of my people. The sap which courses through the trees carries the memories of the red man.

The perfumed flowers are our sisters; the deer, the horse, the great eagle, these are our brothers. The rocky crests, the juices of the meadows, the body heat of the pony, and man—all belong to the same family.

The red man has always retreated before the advancing white man, as the mist of the mountains runs before the morning sun. But the ashes of our fathers are sacred. Their graves are holy ground, and so these hills, these trees, this portion of the earth is consecrated to us. We know that the white man does not understand our ways. The earth is not his brother, but his enemy, and when he has conquered it, he moves on. He kidnaps the earth from his children, he does not care. He treats his mother, the earth, and his brother, the sky, as things to be bought, plundered, sold like sheep or bright beads. His appetite will devour the earth and leave behind only a desert.

There is no quiet place in the white man's cities. No place to hear the unfurling of leaves

in the spring or the rustle of insect's wings. But perhaps it is because I am savage and do not understand. The clatter only seems to insult the ears. And what is there to life if a man cannot hear the lonely cry of the whip-poorwill or the arguments of the frogs around a pond at night? I am a red man and do not understand. The Indian prefers the soft sound of the wind darting over the face of a pond, and the smell of the wind itself, cleansed by a midday rain or scented with the pinon pine.

The air is precious to the red man, for all things share the same breath—the beast, the tree, the man, they all share the same breath. The white man does not seem to notice the air he breathes. Like a man dying for many days, he is numb to the stench.

Teach your children what we have taught our children, that the earth is our mother. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth. If men spit upon the ground, they spit upon themselves. This we know. The earth does not belong to man; man belongs to the earth. All things are connected like the blood which unites one family. All things are connected. Whatever befalls the earth befalls the sons of the earth. Man does not weave the web of life, he is merely a strand in it. Whatever he does to the web, he does to himself.

What is man without the beasts? If all the beasts were gone, men would die from a great loneliness of spirit. For whatever happens to the beasts soon happens to the man. All things are connected.

One thing we know. Our God is the same God. This earth is precious to Him. Even the white man cannot be exempt from the common destiny. We may be brothers after all. We shall see.

Chief Seattle, a Northwest Indian, delivered a speech in his native Duwamish to his tribal assembly in 1854. These excerpts are based on a contemporary translation. [Thinking Like A Mountain, New Society Publishers, 1988. Reprinted with permission.]

KGB Attacked by Olympic Champ

A former Olympic weight-lifting champion stunned the Congress of People's Deputies May 31 by delivering an impassioned attack on the KGB, describing the secret police as "a threat to democracy." The former athlete, Yuri Vlasov, a member of the congress from Moscow, related the KGB's history of torture and murder, and said that to this day the agency uses the threat of psychiatric hospitals to intimidate those who threaten the status quo.

"The KGB is not just a service, it's a real underground empire that hasn't divulged its secrets yet—except for some excavated graves," said Mr. Vlasov, whose father disappeared forever into the hands of state security police in 1953. "And despite such a history, this service retains its own, special status. It is the most powerful of all existing weapons of the apparatus."

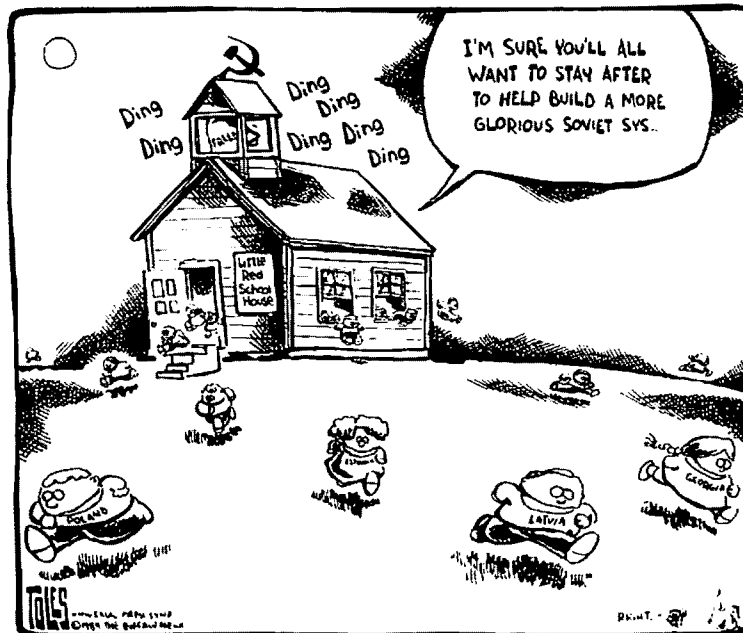
Mr. Vlasov portrayed the agency as a menace to any hope of greater liberty in the Soviet Union. "After the hard lessons of the past, with millions of people murdered, all of which, without exception, with the direct involvement of the Cheka and the MGB—the KGB's predecessors—the threat to democracy in our present day cannot be considered mythical."

He called for the congress to appoint the head of the KGB, and said deputies must know its size, budget and activities. He proposed relocating the KGB from its headquarters on Dzerzhinsky Square in central Moscow to humbler offices.

"The bloody history of the main building, where the sword that defends the people is kept, is too unforgettable," he said. "This is where, for decades, orders for the destruction and persecution of millions were sent out. This service sowed grief, cries, torture on its native land. In the veins of this building people were tortured—as a rule, the best, the pride and flower of our people. The buildings themselves are so inexplicably huge and monumental, as if they bore witness to whom power really belongs."

When Mr. Vlasov finished, hundreds of deputies rose in a standing ovation, while others—including members of the Communist Party's ruling Politburo and the head of the KGB, Vladimir Kryuchkov—sat with stares frozen on their faces. President Mikhail Gorbachev applauded briefly.

The speech, broadcast live to a nationwide television audience, was easily the sharpest criticism of the KGB ever heard from an official podium, and demonstrated that no institution is immune to censure in the new parliament. [Bill Keller, © *New York Times*, 6/1/89]



Tom Toles in *The Buffalo News*.

200 Million Watch Political Drama Unfold

Olvar Kakuchaya, chief of broadcast news, wondered if there will ever be a letup in what is now the biggest television hit in Soviet history, the daily eight hours of live coverage of the new Congress of People's Deputies. Mr. Kakuchaya goes back 30 years in Soviet broadcasting, when he had to first write out the proper answers for government ministers to read while he "interviewed" them for radio news.

In contrast to the wooden, fearful ministers of old, members of the new congress, prodded by the live television coverage, have begun reserving speaking time days in advance in their sudden discovery of the new electronic rostrum. "The list is up to 400 and still growing," said the obviously amazed news czar. "Something is really turning over in our national consciousness. The deputies are realizing the people are watching them, the voters can see them live, and the level of discussion is rising. There's never been anything like this—people watching how the leadership is changing."

This afternoon state television demographic researchers told Mr. Kakuchaya that the live coverage had hit a new peak of mass interest, 200 million viewers across 12 time zones. This is a leap of 25 percent over any previous audience for a show that viewers find remarkable not only for its unpredictable political content, but also for the subtle revelations of relatively fearless camera work in the hall.

Eight cameras have been zooming in on deputies as they make angry charges of scandal, on their pained targets as they sit tight-lipped in the hall, on some of the old stony-faced party hardliners looking incredulous at the scene, on the new generation of younger politicians confidently rising to confront their elders.

The Soviet show is kaleidoscopically free in the hands of the director, Kaleriaya Kislova, who works in a van parked on the Kremlin grounds outside the Palace of Congresses. Miss Kislova, one of the hidden legion of women who dominate state television directing, is obviously making up for lost decades as she has cameras poke about the room. On May 31 she lingered long on Col. Gen. Igor Rodionov, who was in charge of the troops who killed 20 civil demonstrators in Tbilisi in April.

As a member of the congress, the general was summoned to speak and he did so hesitantly,

defensively. The screen showed the eyes of critical fellow deputies glowing furious in the audience as he contended that the dead, mostly women, were to blame. He said, "These people were..." and did not finish the characterization as Miss Kislova's camera zoomed slowly on his frowning, tight-lipped anger. Such scenes are a crash course in the power of television as much as democracy for this candor-starved nation. [Francis Clines, © *New York Times*, 5/31/89]

Congress Catalyst For Fresh Thinking

During the Congress of People's Deputies, politics came out of the closet in the Soviet Union. Decisions that used to be the sole prerogative of a closed circle of elderly apparatchiks were thrown open for public discussion. Public opinion, a meaningless concept when everyone was required to vote the same way, began emerging as an important political force.

"This is practically the first time in Russian history that ordinary people have felt free to criticize their government," said Bronislaw Genzalis, a congress member from Lithuania. "I have the impression that those deputies who have been democratically elected fear their own electors much more than they fear the Politburo."

The opening up of the Soviet political system was particularly striking if compared with the byzantine political power struggle in China and the use of military force against demonstrators in the Chinese capital. While Chinese leaders squabbled behind closed doors for almost seven weeks over how to squelch a massive popular movement in support of democratic political reforms, President Mikhail Gorbachev took practical steps to channel popular discontent through new, more flexible institutions.

The influence of the radicals was more substantial than their minority of seats in the congress might suggest. It was magnified considerably by the live television coverage of the proceedings—and clear popular support for some of the most outspoken legislators. "On the first day, we were a small minority," acknowledged Mikhail Poltoranin, a member of the "Moscow group" of liberal-progressive deputies. "When people began seeing what was happening on television, they

which provides medical services for the party and government elite. Special hospitals and other privileges were a target of public wrath during the election campaign this spring. [Bill Keller, © *New York Times*, 6/8/89]

New Legislature Prompts Deeper Political Debate

Behind the continuing excitement generated by the new Soviet parliament is a sense of deep crisis: Reformers say the country has about two years to produce tangible improvements in the economy or run the risk of widespread unrest. Party leaders of all political shades are also deeply aware that the leading role of the Communist Party itself is under question.

The Supreme Soviet, which convened June 26, is due to stay in session until August 4. Live TV coverage of the session has been stopped—Vice-President Anatoly Lukyanov said Monday that productivity had dropped by 20 percent during the two weeks that the full Congress was in session. But the new parliament is already proving it has a mind of its own. Early this week it rejected six names put forward by Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov for senior ministerial positions.

Reformers like the new Deputy Prime Minister Leonid Abalkin warn that further economic decline will lead to wide unrest. Ethnic tension may have been one of the factors behind the recent violence in the Uzbek district of Fergana (about 100 dead and more than 16,000 refugees) and the Kazakh town of Novy Uzen (three dead and 4,200 refugees). But economic factors—poverty, pressure on the land, and the disappearance of basic consumer items—undoubtedly inflamed the situation. A number of economists say they fear rioting could easily spread to other parts of the country, including the Russian heartland, where living conditions are often Spartan.

The two-week session of the Congress of People's Deputies probably had more impact on the public than four years of speeches by the leadership. For the first time it brought home to many Soviets the gravity of their situation. Debates during the Congress, where leaders like Mr. Gorbachev were openly criticized, and previously untouchable institutions like the KGB were

attacked, have stimulated a new willingness to criticize the government.

In the Central Asian backwater of Nukus, for example, residents said life came to a halt during the Congress. People gathered around television sets to watch the debates, then discuss among themselves. The effect has been striking. A relatively conservative local official volunteered that he was deeply impressed by the views of Nikolai Shmelyev, a deputy who is one of the most outspoken radical economic reformers. A senior city official commented that "lots of people" in Nukus were discussing the idea of a multiparty system. The Congress transformed the idea of a multiparty system from a minority interest among liberal intellectuals to a nationwide debate. [Paul Quinn-Judge, © *Christian Science Monitor*, 6/30/89]

Gorbachev Warns on Ethnic Unrest, Calls for Local Autonomy

President Mikhail Gorbachev used a rare televised address July 1 to warn that a chain reaction of ethnic conflict threatens to tear the country apart and stifle economic and political change. Declaring that stresses among the scores of minorities endanger "the destiny and integrity of our state," he said, "If we don't recognize the enormous danger of such phenomena, if they spread, we can expect worse times."

He called for a policy combining greater tolerance of ethnic aspirations and more local autonomy with "the most decisive measures" against those who promote separatism, territorial disputes or ethnic conflict.

The Kremlin's growing willingness to accommodate the flourishing of ethnic consciousness was apparent in two other events. In Tallinn, the capital of Estonia, an international conference of scientists called for annulling the 1939 secret Stalin-Hitler agreement that was the basis for Soviet annexation of Estonia, Lithuania and Latvia.

The Kremlin, fearful that acknowledging the secret agreement would undermine its legal claim to the Baltics, has long questioned whether the secret agreement existed. But Moscow has been gradually moving toward an official admission,

under pressure from Baltic nationals. The conference, which was a non-governmental event but had official blessing, said there was no doubt the secret protocols existed and that they violated the "sovereignty, political independence and territorial integrity" of the Baltic states.

In another sign of flexibility toward minority demands, the Communist Party newspaper *Pravda* published a scathing attack on top party leaders in Soviet Byelorussia for trying to suppress a new nationalist movement, the Byelorussian Popular Front. The republic's party chief, Yefrem Sokolov, was among those criticized by name for "intolerance and aloofness" in the face of popular attempts to promote the Byelorussian language, environment and culture.

While similar movements have blossomed in many other republics, the Byelorussian authorities repeatedly refused to let the mass popular movement hold its founding congress there. The movement finally met in Vilnius, the capital of Lithuania.

"It is important that, while firmly counteracting any manifestations of nationalism, one should be sensitive and responsive to all legitimate ethnic demands and aspirations," Mr. Gorbachev said. The Soviet leader endorsed "free development of language and culture" by ethnic minorities and "conservation and rational utilization of the environment in which their forefathers lived for centuries." One of the most incendiary causes of ethnic grievance has been the ecological threat of industrial plants built by Moscow without consulting the local population. Mr. Gorbachev promised a "profound transformation of the Soviet federation" to give people more control over their local affairs. [Bill Keller, © *New York Times*, 7/2/89]

New Legislature Endorses Economic Autonomy for Baltics

The Soviet legislature July 27 overwhelmingly endorsed a plan to give the three Baltic republics an unprecedented degree of economic independence from Moscow by the beginning of next year. Fyodor Burlatsky, a legislator from Moscow, said the plan was a "historic" moment for radical economic reform, and called it an experi-

ment that could lead to similar autonomy for all 15 Soviet republics.

Preliminary approval of the radical plan, which would give Estonia, Lithuania, and Latvia control of their own trade, industry and resources and the right to run their economies on a free-market basis, came just as Soviet officials announced that national and foreign trade has slipped badly so far this year.

Nikolai Belov, deputy chief of the state Statistical Committee, painted a grim picture of current economic trends during a news conference. While wages rose 10 percent and the money supply also went up during the first six months of this year, productivity increased by only 2.7 percent, he said. At the same time, foreign trade fell into deficit both with the industrialized West and Communist countries and all available indexes point toward increasing inflation.

The economic-autonomy plan approved for the Baltic states will not take effect until sometime after October 1 when draft legislation to implement the plan is to be taken up by the legislature, or the Supreme Soviet. Nevertheless, Estonian Prime Minister Indrek Toome interpreted the vote as a "green light for the development of our economic independence." [David Remnick, © *Washington Post*, 7/28/89]

Party Prestige Plummets and Gorbachev Calls for Renewal

With Kremlin leaders openly alarmed that the Communist Party is losing control over events in the country, President Mikhail Gorbachev has called for a sweeping purge of the party ranks from the shop floor to the ruling Politburo. As wildcat strikes and nationalist violence broke out across their domain, besieged party leaders met to share their fears that the party's prestige is plummeting and that the pace of political change is beyond the party's ability to keep up, according to the transcript of the July 18 meeting, which was published in *Pravda*.

Mr. Gorbachev, the party leader, joined in the chorus of self-doubt, and demanded an urgent "renewal" of the party's leadership ranks—an unmistakable call for replacement of conserva-

unmistakable call for replacement of conservatives at all levels with officials more attuned to the public mood. "The cadres need renewal, an influx of fresh forces," he said, "And they need to be renewed at the level of the work collective, district, city, region, territory, republic, Central Committee, and Politburo."

The transcript of the July 18 party meeting read like the dispirited locker-room talk of a team on a losing streak. But Mr. Gorbachev cautioned his comrades against panic in the face of the surrounding turmoil.

"If perestroika is a revolution—and we agree that it is—and if it means profound changes in attitudes toward property, the status of the individual, the basis of the political system and the spiritual realm, and if it transforms the people into a real force of change in society, then how can all of this take place quietly and smoothly?" he said. Unless the party adjusts to the upheavals in society, Mr. Gorbachev said, other political forces will seize the initiative.

As if to confirm the party's dwindling stature, official television broadcast an appeal to striking coal miners by Boris Yeltsin, a maverick Communist who made clear that he was speaking not for the party but for an independent, radical faction in the new national legislature. [Bill Keller, © *New York Times*, 7/22/89]

Radical Bloc of Legislators Create Group to Press for Reform

In the wake of the historic Soviet miners' strike a newly created radical bloc of Soviet legislators met on July 29 as a kind of loyal opposition to discuss ways of forging closer links between the liberal intelligentsia and the working class and to urge Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to take an even more reformist path. Led by maverick Boris Yeltsin, economist Gavril Popov, historian Yuri Afanasyev and more than 300 others, members of the "Inter-Regional Group" of legislators said at a two-day founding meeting that the miners' strike showed that the intelligentsia was no longer alone in wanting immediate, deep changes in the country's political and economic systems.

Communist Party rules have outlawed opposition parties and factions for six decades, but members of the Inter-Regional Group said they were determined to create a nucleus of legislators within the Congress of People's Deputies who would press the majority to push for radical reform. "The strikers have exposed the lie that the working class just wanted to be left alone to work and that the intelligentsia was trying somehow to lead them astray," said Popov. "We deputies express full solidarity with the workers who were on strike."

Until now, the most radical voices in the Soviet reform movement have been in the intelligentsia, especially from Moscow, the Baltic republics and a few other cities. At once supporting Gorbachev's initiatives and demanding that the massive government apparatus stop trying to stifle those reforms, the intelligentsia had looked in vain for support "from below." The strikes provided precisely such a "revolution from below," and some of its leading figures—deputies from western Siberia and the Ukraine—attended today's meeting.

"If we are ever going to get a real radical reform in this country, one that means something more than just words spoken into a microphone, we need what amounts to a mass movement, workers and intellectuals together," said Medikov, a deputy from the Kuznetsk Basin, one of the main strike locations.

When the Congress of People's Deputies convenes its next session in October, the radical bloc plans to introduce a package of new laws and constitutional amendments stressing radical economic changes, including the elimination of some central ministries, new regulations on property, the right for enterprises to establish direct links with other economic actors and an overhaul of the tax system.

They will also push for laws on freedom of the press and the freedom to form independent social and political organizations. Their plans are printed in the first issue of the group's newsletter, *People's Deputy*. [David Remnick, © *Washington Post*, 7/30/89]

Government Offers Concessions And Strikers Return to Work

After winning a package of major economic and political concessions, tens of thousands of miners in the Soviet Union's biggest coal fields went back to work, putting a virtual end to one of the most perilous episodes in the four-year history of Kremlin leader Mikhail Gorbachev's reform program.

Miners in the Ukraine agreed to end their strike only after representatives of strike committees from around the republic held a tense, late-night meeting at the Kremlin July 24 with Prime Minister Nikolai Ryzhkov. The government concessions included pledges of better working conditions, higher bonuses for shift work, and improved food supplies, health services and housing. The miners also pushed the Soviet legislature into passing a dramatic resolution July 25 "guaranteeing" passage this fall of a set of radical laws making laborers "masters at their work places."

The miners' strikes, by far the most serious expression of labor unrest in this country in six decades, is already being seen as a milestone—a moment in which workers finally felt bitter enough, and free enough, to make an organized, grassroots show of their anger over the decline in living conditions and the lack of political and economic change on a local level. The miners threw a tremendous scare into the central government with the strikes, and the new Soviet legislature had to respond to a major crisis less than two months after opening its first session. The miners forced the government not only to offer a huge economic settlement, which is expected to add further to the country's 120-billion-ruble budget deficit, but also to reverse an earlier decision to delay local elections from this fall until next spring.

"People wanted local elections right away because they are furious, and they want to throw out the local authorities who are standing in the way of reform," said Oleg Kul, a strike committee leader. Gorbachev said that the country's 15 republics can now hold local elections as soon as they like, even as early as fall.

Although Gorbachev was clearly worried that the strikes would spread to other industries, he has tried to make them work for him, calling them a "breakthrough" and even saying he admired the

workers for "taking matters into their own hands."

The immediate political impact of the strikes was evident in an "appeal to the Soviet people" passed by the legislature, or Supreme Soviet. The appeal guaranteed that the Supreme Soviet will pass laws this fall ensuring "real independence for work collectives, their right to be masters of their own enterprises and to dispose of the results of their labor, to transfer, in real fact, land to the peasants" and other key platforms of radical economic reform. The government also said it will pass a measure on the legal settlement of labor disputes and laws "protecting people from bureaucracy and arbitrary actions."

The strikes are also likely to transform the organization of labor in the Soviet Union. Soviet labor unions have long acted as conduits of the Communist Party and little more, but now workers are making moves toward transforming their strike committees into an independent labor union movement. One of the most dynamic figures to emerge during the strikes, Ukrainian legislator Aleksei Boiko, said that "workers clubs" have already started up in the Soviet republics of Lithuania, Latvia, Byelorussia and the Ukraine, and in the Russian cities of Magnitogorsk, Sverdlovsk and Chelyabinsk.

Perhaps what was most extraordinary to watch in both western Siberia and in the Ukraine was the discipline of the striking miners, their determination not to give "the bosses" any reason to discredit them. Marshals appointed by the miners patrolled. Workers and wives set up outdoor cafeterias to keep everyone fed. The miners themselves asked that liquor stores be closed during the strikes. [David Remnick, © *Washington Post*, 7/26 & 27/89]

Ukraine Steel Mills Heed Workers and Improve Conditions

The scarcity of food and housing among workers in this major steel-making center has driven Soviet factory executives to desperate measures worthy of Noah's efforts on his ark. To put food on the workers' tables and head off the sort of despair that set off the national coal miners' strike, the steel mills in the last year have begun their own cattle herd and pig farm. To shelter laborers, the

housing construction business. To solve the workers' shortage of soap and detergent, Aleksandr Vashchenko, a reform-minded executive at one mill, has gone out and bartered his plant's steel piping for soap.

The steel factories' growing inventiveness is a sad comment on the Soviet government's failure to provide for consumers. But it may also be an explanation of why the steelworkers' unions did not follow the example of the country's coal miners and join a strike over living conditions.

A major anxiety for the Kremlin during the coal strike was the possibility that with living conditions such a source of general dissatisfaction, the miners' strike might easily spread to related heavy industries. But workers and executives in Dnepropetrovsk, an industrial city on the Dnieper River, say such a critical point was already reached a few years ago. Rather than causing a strike, the problems prompted industry and government to begin devoting extra care to the steel mills, the workers say. In contrast, the coal miners walked out when they decided local industry and government officials had ignored the earlier warnings.

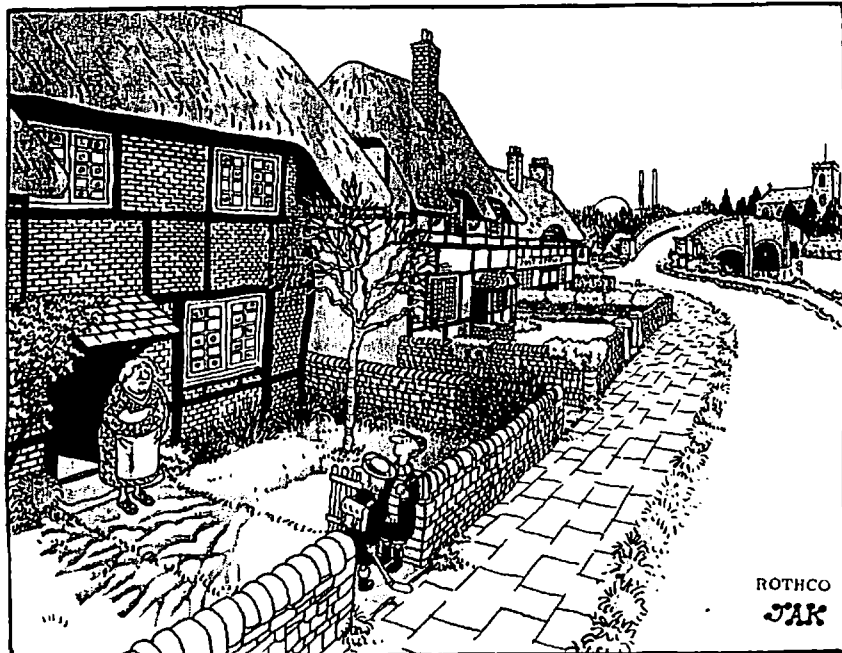
Vladimir Yabarov, a labor specialist who covers the steel mills for the newspaper *Dnepropetrovskaya Pravda*, said, "There are many, many problems among the steelworkers, but a few years ago most of the enterprises here began working on improving housing more intensively than the mines did." He said that the basic difference between the miners and the steelworkers is no great cornucopia of consumer goods, but only a modicum of fresh hope. [Francis Clines, © *New York Times*, 7/27/89]

Kazakh Writers Protest Nuclear Tests

Opposition to nuclear energy has spread to Kazakhstan, the central Asian republic that is home to the Soviet Union's main nuclear test site of Semipalatinsk. Alleging that gas leaked from the site after two underground explosions in February, Kazakhstan's Union of Writers called for the closure of test sites and all related military facilities in the republic.

"No considerations of defense can any longer justify the silent atomic war waged by the state against its own people," says an open letter signed by four board members of the Kazakhstan Union of Writers. The letter marks an extension of antinuclear activity from protests against atomic power to opposition to nuclear programs of the Soviet military, until recently an institution considered to be above criticism.

Following tests on February 12 and 17, gases escaped into the atmosphere, the open letter claims. An appeal issued by the Nevada Movement, an antinuclear organization founded in Kazakhstan immediately after the explosions, specifically describes the February 17 emission as "a nuclear cloud." Officials assert that the gases



"Now mind the traffic, stay away from that polluted river, go the long way round the nuclear power station, don't talk to strangers, don't eat the school dinner, don't drink the water...!"

© Jak/London Evening Standard/Rothco .

were harmless, but two government commissions—one headed by a deputy defense minister—were formed immediately after the incidents.

In an open letter addressed to the Supreme Soviet and its republican counterpart, the Kazakhstan writers claim that radiation-related illness in the republic has long been on the rise. Over the past decade, they say, life expectancy in the republic has declined by four years. "One of the main reasons for this is the growth in the level of radiation in the soil, water and food products."

The Nevada Movement has four demands: the closure of all nuclear test sites in Kazakhstan, the dismantling of military facilities in the republic that produce nuclear weapons, public control over the disposal of nuclear wastes, and the creation of an ecological map of Kazakhstan, identifying contaminated land. Antinuclear activists in Kazakhstan chose the name Nevada in hope of enlisting the support of groups in Nevada opposed to the tests in their state. The Nevada Movement is calling on these groups to organize parallel protest movements, taking the name either of Semipalatinsk or Kazakhstan. [Paul Quinn-Judge, © *Christian Science Monitor*, 3/13/89]

Moscow Responds to Protests, Cuts Back Nuclear Testing

The Soviet Union has scaled back its nuclear testing program, possibly to ease concerns of Soviet citizens that the blasts are contaminating the environment, Bush administration officials say. Moscow has conducted three underground nuclear tests this year, about half the number conducted in a similar period last year, government specialists said. The last test was in February.

The cutback in nuclear testing follows protests from a Soviet environmental group in Kazakhstan about the release of radiation at the Soviet test site in Semipalatinsk in that region. The group has asserted that radiation leaks have endangered people living nearby. Responding to such concerns, the Soviet Prime Minister, Nikolai Ryzhkov, said last month that the Soviet government planned to reduce the number and size of tests conducted at the Semipalatinsk nuclear test range.

Olzhas Suleimenov, a writer in Kazakhstan and a member of the Supreme Soviet, has been leading a campaign against testing at Semipalatinsk. In February, he helped found the anti-nuclear group called the Nevada Movement. [Michael Gordon, © *New York Times*, 7/8/89]

Environmentalists Challenge Leningrad Barrier Project

In 1980, the city of Leningrad proudly broke ground on the construction project Soviet engineers and city officials had dreamed of for more than 150 years. They were building a huge concrete barrier across the Neva Delta that would finally protect the city from the Gulf of Finland's powerful and dangerous waves.

Leningrad is built on islands and contains almost 100 canals. One of the world's shortest rivers, the 74-kilometer-long Neva River carries the water from Lake Ladoga and a 276,300-square-kilometer watershed (equal to the size of Italy) through the city before it empties into the Gulf. Under certain cyclonic weather conditions a peculiar tidal wave, known as the "long wave," moves eastward up the gulf and focuses its full force squarely on the Neva River Delta and Leningrad. Usually, the long wave does little damage to the city itself. But about every 100 years, it hits Leningrad in all its fury.

Every few decades, the water levels reach three meters. Floods of this magnitude can cripple the city's activities and also damage the wooden underpinnings of many historical structures. Over the years, some of Leningrad's most treasured landmarks have suffered serious subsidence and cracking.

The new barrier, say city planners, will solve the flooding problems, once and for all. It will stand 7.6 meters above sea level and stretch 28 kilometers, connecting Kotlin Island to the north and south shores of the Gulf of Finland. About \$585 million has already been spent to complete the northern section. Authorities estimate that the southern portion will be done in the next six years.

Before Gorbachev's policy of glasnost, objections to the barrier received scant if any public exposure. During the last two years, however, this

controversy has surfaced in the press with a vengeance. Highly critical articles and letters by hydrologists, engineers, and ecologists have appeared in scientific journals and newspapers directed against the project, its proponents, and the bureaucracy. The barrier's most vocal critic, the environmental group Delta, has gone as far as to hold press conferences calling for the barrier's removal. The barrier, claims Delta, has stopped the gulf currents from consistently flushing the Neva's polluted waters out of the delta. The river, which is the source of Leningrad's water supply, has become so contaminated in recent years that tourists have been warned not to drink it.

Nearly 70 percent of the Neva's pollution is from Leningrad's municipal and industrial wastes—very little of which receives treatment. Waste water treatment plants are being constructed, but a city-wide treatment program will not be in place until the year 2000.

The Neva's other major polluter is the river's own source, Lake Ladoga, the largest fresh-water body in Europe. Lake Ladoga has been fouled with sewage and wastes from a wide variety of industrial complexes, as well as agricultural runoff, containing herbicides, pesticides, and fertilizers. The organics and phosphorous alone, experts estimate, account for about one million tons of waste in the lake. Last summer for the first time in history, blue green algae bloomed in the lake—a sign that pollution is reaching critical levels.

Those same ominous signs have been showing up at the barrier itself. After the northern section was completed in early 1987, blooms of blue green algae and high coliform counts began appearing behind it—a noxious brew made even worse in the warm weather. The assurances from city officials that this was no problem did not allay the concerns of the population. In fact, a growing number of people are being gripped with fear that the barrier has created a biological cauldron far more dangerous to the city than the worst of the long waves. [A. Gennino, © *World Rivers Review*, May/June 1989]

Ecologists Protect 'Mother Volga'

Soviet ecologists have already proven that it is not impossible to stop a major water project which is well under construction. After a five-year effort, concerned citizens were able to stop the Volga-Chogray Canal on the lower Volga River even though 30 kilometers of canal had already been dug at the cost of \$96 million.

This huge scheme would have irrigated farmland in the arid Kamyk Steppe, preventing 1.9 cubic kilometers of water from entering the Caspian Sea each year. Scientists warned that the Caspian, the largest inland sea in the world, would begin to dry up like the Aral Sea in Central Asia, if the river's diversion were permitted.

The Save the Volga Committee, which formed last July, is now fighting to clean up the river and restore its fisheries. Known as "Mother Volga" in folk songs, the river is the largest in Europe, running about 3,680 kilometers through the heartland of Russia. [A. Gennino, ©*World Rivers Review*, May/June 1989]

New Spirit Warms Soviet-China Border

In Blagoveshchensk, USSR, a far east reach of the Soviet Union where the Siberian hinterland abuts northern China, another of Mikhail Gorbachev's ubiquitous peace initiatives—healing decades of border aggravation—is quietly proceeding apace. China sits as imposing as ever a half mile across the river, but there is a bemused sort of vigilance these days among Soviet border patrols that once faced taunts and violence from the mobs of the Chinese Cultural Revolution.

"The only ones who come over now are either drunk or insane," the commander of the local border patrol, Lieutenant Colonel Alexandr Ozhgibesov, said with the smile of a professional soldier at peace.

Down one street Soviet school children can be heard in daily practice at their mandatory Chinese lessons. And Soviet boosters on this side of the river say that the vanguard is already here for a healthy boom that is supposed to include a full-blown duty-free trade zone, a joint hydroelectric

power project, and a dozen other enterprises left dangling when the turmoil shut the borders tight in the 1960s.

Bartering was renewed two years ago with 200,000 tons of watermelons coming across from China like so many sugarplum visions for the mercantile minded denizens of the town. It was a dramatic relief from the older, tenser days when, residents say, tanks would crunch out menacingly onto the frozen river and crowds thrust forward banners of Mao and shout that they were coming across to take the land.

Officials at the newly galvanized Amur branch of the USSR-China Friendship Society talk happily of recent trips to China and they say revived interest in ecology should help solve and early dispute over where to build a power dam. [Francis Clines, © *New York Times*, 4/30/89]

Gorbachev in China Ends 30-Year Rift

Ending a 30-year rift between the world's two largest communist states, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev said on May 17 that socialist countries could not hope to reform their stagnating economies without moving toward greater democracy and revising their Marxist ideologies.

As Gorbachev was speaking in the Great Hall of the People, more than 250,000 demonstrators crowded into neighboring Tiananmen Square, where several thousand students were in the fifth day of a hunger strike for greater democracy. It was the largest demonstration seen in Beijing since prodemocracy demonstrations began in April.

The Soviet leader addressed "representatives of Chinese society" who were handpicked by a communist government that has come under growing popular pressure to match major economic reforms of the last decade with political changes. The speech was not televised live in China. Gorbachev praised the Chinese leadership for launching radical economic reforms much earlier than Soviet leaders did, but suggested that the changes needed to be accompanied by moves toward greater democracy.

The Soviet president said that his country's experience had shown that "economic reform will not work unless supported by a radical transformation of the political system." He cited the Soviet decision to hold contested elections last month for the first time in seven decades, while carefully noting that each communist country should pursue its own model of socialism. Gorbachev also revealed details of cutbacks of 120,000 troops in the Soviet Far East along the border with China.

In comments that would have been branded ideological heresy just a few years ago, Gorbachev told Deng Xiaoping that neither Karl Marx nor Soviet state founder Lenin had the answers to today's problems. He said that both the Soviet Union and China had a special responsibility to adapt socialism to new conditions. "Karl Marx lived in the last century and could not anticipate all the problems we would face in this century. He did not foresee the October Revolution and Lenin did not foresee the Chinese Revolution," Soviet spokesman Gennady Gerasimov quoted Gorbachev as saying. [Michael Dobbs, © *Washington Post*, 5/18/89]

SUMMITTEERS



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Gorbachev in West Germany Seeks Bilateral Cooperation

The Soviet Union and West Germany pledged June 13 in a unique East-West document to strive for disarmament, intensify their bilateral cooperation, and respect peoples' rights of self-determination with the overall aim of "overcoming the division of Europe." Visiting Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl signed the joint declaration, the first of its kind between the Soviet Union and a Western country, committing their governments to seek "a peaceful European order or a common European home."

The two nations, proclaiming their desire to achieve a "stable and lasting" improvement in their relations, also signed 11 other agreements on the second day of Gorbachev's four-day official visit. The most important of the accords expanded guarantees of West German companies that invest in the Soviet Union. Others provided for stepped-up economic, cultural, and youth exchanges, and for establishing a "hot line" between Kohl's office and the Kremlin.

The declaration also said that the US and Canada, NATO's two non-European members, have a role to play in Europe. That reference was included to allay US and other Western allied fears that Gorbachev's call for "a common European home" was designed to expel US military forces from the continent and generally diminish American influence.

Before the midday signing ceremony at the Chancellery, Gorbachev received an effusive welcome from several thousand West Germans as he walked through Bonn's central Market Square after a ceremonial visit to Bonn's Town Hall. They repeatedly chanted, "Gorby, Gorby," and pressed forward to try to shake hands or catch a glimpse of the Soviet leader, who opinion polls show is more trusted here than Kohl.

Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Gennady Gerasimov later quoted Gorbachev as saying that he "felt as if he were in Red Square among his own people." [Robert McCartney, ©*Washington Post*, 6/14/89]

Gorbachev in France Opens Talks with Mitterand

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev opened a three-day visit to France July 4 in continued pursuit of Western European backing for his campaign to restructure the strained Soviet system. The Soviet leader's stay here, coming after his June visit to West Germany and a trip to London last April, demonstrates his emphasis on improving relations between Moscow and its West European neighbors. Those relations are expected to become more important in coming months as the Soviet Union tries to speed up arms-reduction talks in Europe and seeks more support from Western European economies.

President Francois Mitterand, in an opening round of talks, expressed support for Gorbachev's efforts. Mitterand has held from the outset of Gorbachev's new policies that the West will benefit if the Soviet leader succeeds and should thus encourage his moves. "I desire success for your perestroika," Mitterand said in a toast at an Elysee Palace dinner, "if it brings more liberty and well-being for Soviet citizens, if it reinforces peaceful cooperation between the Soviet Union and the rest of the world, as has already begun."

A senior Mitterand adviser said the French president believes West European nations should weave a broad web of relations with the Soviet Union and its East European allies as quickly as possible. In that way, the adviser explained, European countries can profit economically from new markets opening up there and make any attempts to reverse Gorbachev's political reforms more difficult.

The French president scheduled about 15 hours of talks with Gorbachev. In what was described as a particular gesture of friendship, Mitterand invited the Soviet leader and his wife to dine Wednesday night with him and his wife Danielle in their Left Bank townhouse near Notre Dame.

France is expected to register a deficit of nearly \$1 billion in its trade with the Soviet Union this year, mainly because of French purchases of Soviet oil and natural gas. Gennady Gerasimov, the Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman, said Moscow hopes to sell even more gas and oil and use the extra foreign exchange to buy consumer goods in France. [Edward Cody, ©*Washington Post*, 7/5/89]

Gorbachev in Strasbourg Calls for Common European Home

Acknowledging that changes are possible in the "social and political order" of postwar Europe, Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev called July 6 for the convening of a 35-nation summit conference within the next two years to design a "common European home" for the next century. Addressing legislators from 23 West European countries, the Soviet leader condemned the East-West division of Europe. He also went a considerable distance toward rebutting the premises of the so-called "Brezhnev Doctrine" that sought to justify Soviet military interventions in East European countries as protecting communism.

Perhaps most tantalizing was Gorbachev's suggestion that long-term changes are possible in the European status quo—relationships that previous Soviet leaders have done everything in their power to defend. While describing the existence of different social systems as "a historical fact," he also insisted that "any attempts to limit the sovereignty of states" by "friends and allies or anybody else" were "inadmissible."



Reuters/Bettmann Newspictures.

As Hungarian soldiers removed the barbed-wire fence between Hungary and Austria, the Iron Curtain which divided Europe for four decades began to rise.

"The social and political order in some particular countries did change in the past, and it can change in the future as well. But this is exclusively a matter for the peoples themselves and of their choice," the Soviet leader said. Gorbachev's phrasing was ambiguous, since it could apply to both capitalist and communist countries. But even the suggestion that Soviet Bloc nations such as Poland or Hungary might eventually elect noncommunist or capitalist-oriented governments would have been regarded as ideological heresy in the Kremlin just a few years ago.

The Soviet leader coupled his calls for a "common European home" with a proposal for a "second Helsinki-type meeting within the next 18 to 24 months." He was referring to a summit conference held in the Finnish capital in 1975 where the leaders of the US, the Soviet Union and 35 other nations endorsed the post-war borders of Europe and promised to promote human rights and economic cooperation. The agenda proposed by Gorbachev—to allow a new generation of leaders to contemplate "progress toward a European community of the 21st century"—is also significantly broader than that of the 1975 summit.

Gorbachev made clear that he sees the US, as well as the Soviet Union, prominently involved in "the European international and political structure" he would like to promote. West German Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher described the Soviet leader's speech as "an impressive declaration of belief in Europe" that embraced "the basic values of European culture and civilization." [Michael Dobbs and Edward Cody, © *Washington Post*, 7/7/89]

Novel Describes Lenin's Intolerance and Cruelty

The boundaries of glasnost have been stretched to their greatest extent yet with publication of a 1963 novel that contains the most excoriating criticism ever sanctioned in this country of Lenin and the Soviet state he founded. The reputation of Lenin, for more than 70 years the nation's ideological lodestar, had been virtually sacrosanct heretofore, with only the most gingerly and apologetic public criticism of him permitted. That has now apparently come to an end with the appearance in the literary journal *October* of the late Vassily Grossman's *Forever Flowing*.

The novel—ostensibly a memoir of a political prisoner who returns home after 30 years in the Arctic gulag—portrays Lenin as a ruthless fanatic, a mad revolutionary who destroyed the fledgling democracy of the 1917 February revolution and replaced it with what Grossman calls the “unfreedom” of the October, or Bolshevik, revolution.

“Lenin’s intolerance, Lenin’s implacable drive to achieve his purpose, his contempt for freedom, his cruelty toward those who held different opinions and his capacity to wipe off the face of the earth, without trembling, not only fortresses, but entire counties, districts and provinces that questioned his orthodox truth—all these were the characteristics of Volodya Ulyanov Lenin,” Grossman wrote.

Grossman has been much reviled by Soviet conservatives and especially by members of a number of antisemitic Russian nationalist groups. Nina Andreyeva, a Leningrad teacher and president of a recently founded politically conservative organization named Unity, decried in a recent interview what she called the Grossmanization of Russian culture.” [David Remnick, © *Washington Post*, 6/29/89]

Novy Mir to Publish Solzhenitsyn Works

After decades of censorship and waiting, the literary journal *Novy Mir* is publishing the Nobel Prize lecture of the exiled author Alexander Solzhenitsyn in its July issue and will then print excerpts from *The Gulag Archipelago* in the following four issues, according to Editor-in-Chief Sergei Zalygin. Chief prose editor Margerita Timofeyeva said the official Soviet Writers Union—which in the 1970s had voted overwhelmingly to condemn Solzhenitsyn—voted unanimously June 30 to approve publication of *Gulag Archipelago* and to urge the government to consider restoring Solzhenitsyn’s Soviet citizenship.

After excerpts run in *Novy Mir*, the book publishing clearing house Sovietski Pisateli will publish in its entirety the three-volume work, a monumental history of the Soviet labor camp system.

Late last year *Novy Mir* printed an announcement on its back cover that it was planning to publish Solzhenitsyn in 1989, but it then had to destroy the covers at great expense after members of the government intervened and said they could not tolerate the author’s scathing comments about the country’s founder, Vladimir Lenin.

After the unanimous vote supporting *Gulag Archipelago*, the union’s First Secretary Victor Karpov reportedly said, “I have never seen us so unanimous on anything.” Came the answer from a writer in the audience: “At least not since we voted to expel Solzhenitsyn.” [David Remnick, © *Washington Post*, 7/4/89]



[Excerpted articles from *The Christian Science Monitor*, *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post* and *World Rivers Review* are reprinted with permission.]

ROGER
Barricada
Managua
NICARAGUA

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Soviet Publication of Solzhenitsyn An Extraordinary Event

by David Remnick

When Alexander Solzhenitsyn was writing *The Gulag Archipelago*, he did not expect it to be published in his lifetime. Instead, Solzhenitsyn worked on his history of the labor camps in feverish isolation after 1958 “out of a sense of obligation—because too many stories and recollections have accumulated in my hands and I cannot allow them to perish.”

Now this country’s greatest witness will be published where he matters most. The literary journal *Novy Mir* will begin printing long excerpts from *The Gulag Archipelago* in August. The event is one of the most extraordinary moments in what amounts to a culture’s desperate attempt to revive and remember itself.

More than any other book, *Gulag* expanded our imagination and vision in order to comprehend an event, a system of deliberate cruelty, that had been unknown until then. The military defeat of the Nazis ensured the world that it would not have to wait long to see and read of the unspeakable experience of the concentration camps. But Stalin was a victor, and the word “Gulag”—an acronym for the Russian words for State Administration for Camps—did not enter the general vocabulary until the witnesses began to circulate their first writings underground, and, later, abroad.

Two years ago, on the 70th anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution, Gorbachev gave his most important speech to date, an address on Soviet history. At first, many were disappointed that he did not go far enough, that he spoke only of “thousands” of repressions and failed to deal with issues as varied as the annexation of the Baltic States and the career of Leon Trotsky. But that missed the point: Gorbachev opened the gate to memory, and when that gate was opened, the truth, in the form of *The Gulag Archipelago*, was inevitable. Now the witness has been returned to his people. That return was one of the few things that was beyond him to see. [© *Washington Post*, 7/9/89]

Noble and Positive Processes In Soviet Legal Reform

“We are witnessing noble and positive processes” in Soviet legal reform, but longstanding conceptual and procedural approaches to law will have to be transformed if a “legal state” is to emerge, according to Arkady Vaksberg, a lawyer, a special correspondent for *Literaturnaya Gazeta* and a member of the Soviet Writers’ Union, at the Kennan Institute on April 11.

Legal reforms face “traditional and psychological obstacles that have formed over decades,” according to Dr. Vaksberg. A “contemptuous” attitude towards procedure persists in the Soviet legal system, while a tendency to create “endless exceptions” allows the bureaucracy to evade regulation. Furthermore, due to a traditional reluctance to “offend” anyone, regulations are often so vague that they are virtually meaningless.

There are, however, internal and external pressures for legal reform. A new independent union of Soviet defense lawyers has released a reform program emphasizing legality and human rights, and is now trying to get permission to initiate legislation. The formation of this organization, despite resistance from the Ministry of Justice, constitutes “a qualitatively new phenomenon in Soviet society.”

Dr. Vaksberg noted that the Soviet Union has recognized the international jurisdiction of the World Court and has published the provisions of the Vienna Convention on Human and Civil Rights. In addition, a Soviet informal organization has arranged to publish a collection of all the international human rights agreements signed by the Soviet Union, in a press run of 500,000. It is now clear to the highest levels of the Soviet leadership that restrictions on travel, emigration, internal emigration, and free expression “must be brought into consonance” with international norms. [*Kennan Institute Report*]

Soviet Papers Call For Psychiatric Reform

The past few weeks have witnessed a sudden spate of articles in progressive Soviet journals and newspapers focusing attention on continuing abuses of psychiatry for political purposes. Several articles have suggested that radical reforms in Soviet psychiatry will not be possible without the dismissal of doctors and theoreticians who have dominated the profession for the past two decades.

The controversy that has erupted in the Soviet press reflects a struggle between the old guard that still dominates Soviet psychiatry and reformers who want a complete break with past practices. Both groups appear to have their patrons within the political leadership.

The progressive *Literaturnaya Gazeta* this week named leading Soviet psychiatrists who, the paper said, were responsible for past abuses. The doctors included Georgy Morozov, head of Moscow's Serbsky Institute for the past 30 years and the most powerful individual in Soviet psychiatry; Marat Vartanyan, head of the Soviet Center for Psychiatric Health, and Albert Churkin, chief psychiatrist for the Soviet Health Ministry.

"The vast number of facts that have been uncovered of violations in psychiatry and its use for

political purposes testifies to the guilt of the leaders of this branch of medicine. It was with their agreement that healthy people were sent to psychiatric hospitals," wrote Leonid Zagalsky, a reporter for *Literaturnaya Gazeta*. [Michael Dobbs, *Washington Post*, 7/1/89]

US Physicians Probe Deaths In Soviet Georgia

At 4 a.m. on April 9, Soviet troops armed with sharp shovels, clubs, and shields waded into a crowd of 10,000 Georgian nationalists who were holding an all-night demonstration in the city of Tbilisi. The troops broke up the gathering with a brutality that left 20 people dead. Reports immediately began appearing in the Soviet and Western press that some of the victims had died from poison gas.

In late May a team of three US physicians returned to the US from an extraordinary fact-finding visit to Tbilisi with a less sinister, but no less dramatic, explanation. The group found no evidence that nerve gas had been used, but they reported that an old riot-control agent called chloropicrin was probably employed along with more common tear gas CS and CN (the active ingredient in mace). Most of the deaths were apparently caused by physical trauma, but a few demonstra-

tors may have died after being sprayed directly in the face with tear gas.

The delegation sponsored by the Boston-based Physicians for Human Rights found the city still traumatized by the event six weeks after it happened. So deep were the emotional scars that 300 to 400 children and adolescents sought medical attention around May 10 for symptoms of what seemed to be toxic exposure, but which turned out to be severe psychological reactions to the tragedy.

According to delegation member Ruth Barron, a psychiatrist at McLean Hospital, which is associated with Harvard Medical School, the children



Etta Hulme. Fort Worth Star Telegram. Reprinted with permission.

were suffering from deep insecurity, and "the population as a whole was upset and traumatized." The children, who were examined by the US team and a team of French physicians visiting Tbilisi under the auspices of *Medicins sans Frontiers*, came down with these symptoms at the culmination of the traditional 40-day period of mourning.

One of the most remarkable aspects of the physicians' visit may be the fact that it took place at all. "As outrageous as this event [the massacre] was, there's a point to be made that the Soviet government allowed us in and allowed us to work with the Georgia authorities," says Jennifer Leaning, chief of emergency services at the Harvard Community Health Plan, who led the delegation. "It is evidence that glasnost is at work." [*Science*, 6/9/89]

Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev Reveal Being Baptized

Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the Soviet Union's officially atheistic Communist Party, revealed July 6 that his parents had him baptized. It has long been rumored that the Soviet leader's mother, Maria Panteleyevna, is a practicing Christian who still attends church near her home at Privolnoye in southern Russia. But until Gorbachev was directly asked by a reporter about his personal history, practically nothing was known about this aspect of Gorbachev's private life.

"I was baptized. I was christened, and I think this is quite normal," Gorbachev told a press conference in Paris on the second day of his official visit to France. Gorbachev's wife, Raisa, later told reporters that she had also been baptized as a child growing up in Siberia. But she said that she and her husband had not baptized their daughter Irina, explaining that "times have changed." [Michael Dobbs, *Washington Post*, 7/6/89]

Pope Names Bishop of Byelorussia, First in Six Decades

The Vatican took another significant step toward closer relations with the Soviet Union July 25 when Pope John Paul II named the first Roman Catholic bishop in the Soviet republic of Byelorussia

in six decades. A Vatican spokesman said the appointment had the blessing of Soviet leaders.

The announcement means that the Rev. Tadeusz Kondrusiewicz, 43 years old, will become Bishop of the Byelorussian capital of Minsk, spiritual leader to two million Catholics in the republic. A native of Byelorussia, Father Kondrusiewicz has served as a parish priest in the city of Grodno there since last year; before that he was a parish priest in Vilnius, Lithuania. His title will be apostolic administrator, roughly equivalent to charge d'affaires in diplomatic parlance.

The last apostolic administrator in Byelorussia, Boleslao Sloskans, was assigned by the Vatican in 1926, but was jailed the next year and later expelled from the Soviet Union. He died in exile in Belgium eight years ago. [Clyde Haberman, *New York Times*, 7/26/89]

Bells Are Ringing as Soviets Return Churches to Faithful

In a turnabout that finds Soviet believers praising God, not to mention Mikhail Gorbachev, hundreds of tattered old churches have suddenly been returned to surprised congregations in the last year, a boon of the Government's flagging faith in militant atheism. Under new decrees, bell-ringing and works of church charity are no longer proscribed, and there has been better than a ten-fold speedup in the state's recognizing new religious groups and handing back the baroque church buildings that are the state's own relics of zealotry from its 70-year war on religion.

"Did you hear the bells?" the Rev. Georgi Studenov asked, beaming from within the musty but newly re-energized sanctuary of the Church of the Archangel Michael, filled once more with choir chant, incense and creed 50 years after the state seized it and evicted the faithful as superstitious fools.

Until December, the church was used by the state as a rundown workshed for artisans painting decor for the Moscow subway. From the first week of renewal, growing crowds have come forward for communion, led by reverential babushkas, the old women with fervent memories who brought with them icons and sacramentals that they had stored at home in yearning for just such a moment of resurrection.

Directly prompted by Mr. Gorbachev's meeting with Russian Orthodox leaders, replete with blessings and photo opportunities, state bureaucrats have been struck from their high horses like St. Paul finding faith. They returned 937 church buildings to the people last year, compared with ten the previous year, and authorized 1,610 new religious associations, compared with 104 the year before. [Francis Clines, *New York Times*, 4/16/89]

Christian Writers' Workshop Conducted in USSR

The first workshop held officially for Christian writers in the Soviet Union was conducted March 7-10 in Kiev, the capital of the Soviet Republic of the Ukraine. Eighty-six Soviet Baptist writers, pastors, evangelists and pastors' wives attended the workshop, which was designed to train Soviet Christians to take an active role in writing materials for the church and to help them take advantage of the new opportunities they have for ministry and evangelism. As a result of the workshop, Christians have plans to produce a new weekly magazine to evangelize non-Christians and to report news of their church, the first such publication in the history of their denomination. The four-day intensive workshop was cosponsored by Slavic Gospel Association of Wheaton, IL, and Media Associates International of Bloomingdale, IL. [*Breakthrough*, A Slavic Gospel Association Newsletter, May/June, 1989]

The Paradoxes of Glasnost

Just inside the entrance to Moscow's Central Synagogue on Arkhipova Street, an advertisement is posted: "Hebrew Lessons, telephone 167-50-52." Not long ago, the poster would have been illegal. Learning Hebrew was considered a crime. Police raided private lessons in apartments and locked up the teachers.

Under Mikhail Gorbachev, an organized Jewish community is reviving in the Soviet Union. More and more of the three million-plus Soviet Jews are studying Hebrew, learning about Jewish history, celebrating Jewish holidays, and returning to synagogues.

For those Jews who don't want to leave their homes, much hard work remains ahead to rebuild Jewish culture. The process has gone furthest in the Baltic states, where Jewish communities have reorganized under the umbrella of grass-roots Popular Front movements. Elsewhere, there's a strong feeling of improvisation and uncertainty to the Jewish renaissance.

"To set up the first Jewish library, I had to give 250 of my own books," says Vladimir Mushinski, head of Jewish Information Center in Moscow. "There's a lack of trained Hebrew teachers, there's a lack of history teachers, there's still no classroom, no regular lectures."

Fear also prevents many Jews from cultural activism. Under Soviet law, Jews are considered a "nationality." Their passports are stamped "Jewish." For years, the mark restricted job and educational opportunity.

Thanks to glasnost, Soviet authorities finally have admitted the discrimination against Jews in higher education and promised to end it. But openness also has given space for a strong popular strain of anti-Semitism to resurface. In public meetings, leaders of a Russian nationalist group, Pamyat, blame a "Jewish conspiracy" for Russia's problems.

No matter the dangers, no matter the difficulties, there is a palpable sense of excitement among ordinary Jews over rediscovering a long-lost identity. "There used to be two solutions to being Jewish: emigrate or forget about your identity and assimilate," says Valeri Colender, another Jewish leader in Riga. "Now we have a third option—stay and be a Jew in the Soviet Union." [William Echikson, *Christian Science Monitor*, 3/29/89]

US-Soviet Jewry Delegation Holds Breakthrough Talks in Moscow

The first National Conference on Soviet Jewry Leadership Delegation ever to visit the Soviet Union held breakthrough talks with high government officials, May 24-26, on the issues of Jewish emigration and cultural and religious rights; met with Jewish activists in both Moscow and Kiev.

On May 24, the delegation met with Dr. Yuri Reshetov, Head of the Soviet Foreign Ministry's Department for International Humanitarian

Cooperation and Human Rights, who, according to Martin Wenick, new NCSJ executive director, "personally believes that everyone who wishes to emigrate from the USSR should have the opportunity to do so." Wenick said that Reshetov promised that Jewish emigration in 1989 will reach the level recorded in the watershed year of 1979, when 52,320 Soviet Jews were allowed to leave and said that the refusal rate has dropped in 1989 to 0.5 percent. [NCSJ *Newsbreak*, 6/8/89]

Sergei Petrov Allowed to Emigrate

A Russian photographer whose eight-year battle to emigrate was a persistent irritant in Soviet-American relations was given a passport April 17 and permission to leave the Soviet Union. The release of photographer, Sergei Petrov, who married an American woman in 1981 but was denied permission to join her in the US on the ground of national security, was a milestone of sorts in the superpower conflict over human rights.

Although many other Soviet citizens are still clamoring to leave and encountering official resistance, Mr. Petrov was the last of a group of long-term, high-profile would-be emigres whose cases were raised at each summit meeting and ministerial encounter between the US and the Soviet Union. "We turn a page with this one," said a Western diplomat who has followed Mr. Petrov's case closely. "There are still some very good and important people waiting to get out, but he's the last one of this generation." [Bill Keller, *New York Times*, 4/18/89]

Abe Stolar Returns to Chicago

On July 4, national, state and city dignitaries, as well as old friends, welcomed Abe Stolar home to Chicago. 77-year old Mr. Stolar, born and raised in Chicago, was taken to the Soviet Union by his Russian-born parents in 1931. What was to be a short stay in Russia turned into a 58-year odyssey that only ended in March of this year when he was allowed to emigrate to Israel with his wife, son, daughter-in-law and two infant grandchildren. After his welcome in Chicago, Stolar toured the US from coast to coast. [Press release]

Amnesty International in Moscow

Representatives of the leadership of the influential international nongovernmental organization Amnesty International are in the Soviet Union for the first time, by invitation of the USSR Academy of Sciences' Institute of State and Law.

The organization currently has over 700,000 members living in 150 of the world's states. It is headquartered in London. Let us recall that until recently, Amnesty was not recognized in our country at all, and newspapers even called it "an affiliate of Western special services." However, on the 30th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, Amnesty International was given the UN Human Rights Award "for outstanding achievements in the field of human rights," and in 1977 it was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize "for strengthening freedom and justice, and thereby peace on earth." In the view of UN Secretary General J. Perez de Cuellar, it is "the most effective organization in the field of human rights."

The organization's secretary general, Ian Martin, told an *Izvestia* correspondent about the purpose of Amnesty International's visit to the Soviet Union: "We came to Moscow to get first-hand information—from scholars, practitioners and members of the Soviet public—about how the principles of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights are being observed in the USSR. We have seen how citizens are discussing new draft criminal legislation here. At various meetings, we constantly discuss legislative acts and legal norms that are in effect in the Soviet Union and how they conform to international standards of democracy and humanism." [G. Charodeyev, *Izvestia*, 3/30/89, from *Current Digest of the Soviet Press*, 4/26/89]

London Information Forum A Remarkable Event

The London Information Forum, which ran from April 18 through May 12, was the first non-security-related meeting to be mandated by the Vienna Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe review meeting. It was convened to examine compliance by the 35 signatory-states of the CSCE with the information provisions of the

Helsinki Final Act, and the Madrid and Vienna concluding documents. The forum focused on: improvement of the circulation of, access to, and exchange of information; cooperation in the field of information; and improvement of working conditions for journalists. Three working groups looked at these issues in the fields of oral, printed, filmed, and broadcast information of all kinds.

The meeting was remarkable for several firsts. For the first time, a CSCE meeting was held with a near-maximum of openness and access for the press and the general public. For the first time, a professional group keenly interested in and dependent on the Helsinki process—journalists—was intimately involved in deliberations normally limited to diplomats. And for the first time, two East European delegations included truly independent representatives expressing their own points of view rather than those of their governments. [Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD), *Congressional Record*, 6/7/89]

CSCE Conference on 'Human Dimension' Concludes

On June 23, the 35 states participating in the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) completed in Paris the first of three four-week meetings on what has been called the Conference on the Human Dimension of CSCE or the CDH. The meeting, mandated by the Vienna Concluding Document, examined a wide range of human rights and humanitarian issues within the context of the Helsinki process.

American and other Western representatives said they were generally pleased with the meeting, noting that there were many confidence-

building contacts between East and West and that there was much discussion on how to strengthen mechanisms for monitoring human rights. "The Iron Curtain in human rights is melting at the edges," said Morris Abram, chief American delegate to the conference.

Delegates made more than 30 new proposals, including ones calling for free, multi-party elections and for allowing foreign representatives to attend trials of human rights advocates. One of the most widely discussed proposals was a French-Soviet proposal to establish a common legal framework in which Eastern and Western nations would adopt certain precepts. Mr. Kashlev, the chief Soviet delegate, said he was generally satisfied with the meeting, saying it helped move East and West "from confrontation to interaction." [*Congressional Record*, 6/29/89 and Steven Greenhouse, *New York Times*, 6/25/89]

Turning Point for Europe

The Council of Europe, an organization committed to human rights, has granted observer status to Moscow. The granting of "special guest status" to the Soviet Union and other East European nations was a turning point after decades of attacks on Communism by the council, which is made up of 23 Western European countries.

The 40-year-old council is the oldest, broadest-based organization in postwar Europe, with membership limited to those states which "accept the principles of the rule of law and of the enjoyment by all persons with their jurisdiction of human rights and fundamental freedoms."

Its elected delegates have no legislative powers, but they can initiate inter-governmental action by members' foreign ministers. [*New York Times*, 7/7/89]



CHANGING PERCEPTIONS

What They're Saying Now . . .

Mikhail Gorbachev: From Enemy to Partner

Mikhail Gorbachev, bidding farewell to the first top-ranked US military officer ever to visit the Soviet Union, declared June 22 that relations between the two superpowers were moving from "the notion of enemy to the notion of partner."

The Soviet leader's comments about the improving relationship between Washington and Moscow came at the end of an extraordinary 11-day tour of the Soviet Union by the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Admiral William Crowe. The admiral struck a similar upbeat note by telling Gorbachev that he had discovered that Americans and Soviets are "very much alike."

"I might have understood intellectually, but I had to visit the Soviet Union in order to understand it emotionally," said the admiral. Crowe told reporters that "the most overwhelming impression" he had received as a result of his visit was an understanding of the "searing" impact of World War II on the Soviet psyche. [Michael Dobbs, *Washington Post*, 6/22/89]

General Joseph Went: Your Soldiers Are like Ours

"You know, general, your soldiers are just like ours," shouted General Joseph Went, assistant commandant of the US Marine Corps, as he climbed out of a Soviet armored personnel carrier on the rolling plains of Byelorussia.

It was a remark calculated to warm the heart of General Mikhail Moiseyev, chief of staff of the Soviet Union's 5 million-member armed forces. For the past week, Moiseyev has been trying to convince the highest-ranking delegation of US military leaders ever to tour this country that Soviets want peace as much as Americans.

"I got in there and the first thing I see is a picture of a soldier's girlfriend pasted up in front. That's exactly what our men do," Went said with a chuckle. Went's insight into the human side of the Soviet war machine forms part of an unprecedented series of military-to-military exchanges between the world's two most powerful countries. The process began last year when Moiseyev's predecessor, General Sergei Akhromeyev, toured

the United States. It is now the turn of the US Joint Chiefs of Staff to visit the Soviet Union.

Headed by the chairman of the joint chiefs, Admiral William Crowe, four-star generals and admirals representing all four services have had their first close-up exposure to the rival superpower.

Perhaps the flavor of the remarkable journey the joint chiefs made around the Soviet Union is best conveyed by the two large black briefcases that accompany Crowe wherever he goes. Initially, Soviet and US reporters assumed that the briefcases—carried by a lieutenant colonel who is never more than a few steps away from Crowe—contained secret nuclear-strike codes or vital communications equipment.

It turns out that the briefcases contained a powerful new ideological weapon: baseball caps. As the Crowe party moved on to Soviet Central Asia, several hundred Soviet officers and enlisted men had become the proud owners of caps bearing the logo: "The Joint Chiefs of Staff—Chairman." [Michael Dobbs, *Washington Post*, 6/19/89]

General Yuri Lebedev: I Have a Dream

Major General Yuri Lebedev, a former arms negotiator, said he hoped that Secretary of State James Baker III, realizes that many old Soviet soldiers like himself have a dream. "Although it is difficult to talk about my dream when I am 63," Lebedev told a reporter, "I do have a dream." In it, he said, the Soviet Union and United States call off the arms race and turn their energies to giving their citizens better, freer lives.

His mother and father also had a dream, Lebedev said. "My parents participated in the revolution to make my life better," the two-star general said during a visit here hosted by the Center for Defense Information. "They thought the revolution [of 1917] would make them and their children real owners of their country, a free people. That was the direction given to us by Lenin. But in the 1930s, with the help of Stalin, we turned away from the real path of socialism."

"Without question, that path includes ownership of farms by those who till the soil," Lebedev said. He added that the time has come to make "Mother Russia" free, as Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev is trying to do; to end the rigidity; to

make the Soviet people more like the American people in the way they think about things.

"We have to learn from Americans how to work," said the one-time artilleryman who is now an arms control adviser on the Red Army's general staff. [George Wilson, *Washington Post*, 5/9/89]

Carnegie Endowment: Gorbachev Is For Real

Two years ago, when a group of 20 Washington-based experts on the Soviet Union started gathering for a bimonthly discussion about Mikhail Gorbachev, only a tiny minority said they thought the Soviet leader was "for real."

"We started with a great deal of skepticism," recalled Dmitri Simes, one of the leaders of the discussion group, which included Brent Scowcroft and Dick Cheney before they joined the Government as national security adviser and Secretary of Defense, respectively. "There was a very powerful feeling that Gorbachev was more style than substance. Now everyone agrees: Gorbachev is for real."

What happened to the discussion group, held at the office of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, is typical of a transition in thinking among long-time Soviet watchers. "Today, the debate is not about whether he is for real, but about whether he will succeed, whether we can, or should, help him, and, most of all, whether, even if he disappears tomorrow, the reforms that he has initiated can ever be rolled back," said Charles William Maynes, editor of the magazine *Foreign Policy*. [Thomas Friedman, *New York Times*, 5/6/89]

Senator John Warner: Where's the Sugar?

In early May, Senator John Warner (R-VA) publicly related "a little personal experience" that he said he and other legislators are having with voters back home. It was a tale commonplace in Western Europe, but still new enough here to generate profound disquiet among many of the Bush administration's senior appointees.

Warner told Defense Secretary Richard Cheney during a defense budget hearing that a high school student posed a troubling question at a recent Virginia gathering. The student said

something like, "Senator, you're asking the nation for \$300 billion, primarily as a deterrent against the threat now and for the foreseeable future the Soviet Union, a nation that can't even produce enough sugar for its coffee and cake. A nation which cannot produce its basic fundamentals of household equipment, a nation which has come to the rescue of the United States to clean up its oil, and a nation that's going to receive the queen as a guest. Now, why, senator, do you need that amount of money for defense?" Warner said the student demanded.

As US opinion about the Soviet Union shifts with startling speed, such questions are increasingly being asked by voters hungry for an end to the arms race they feel has dominated East-West relations and domestic spending. [R. Jeffrey Smith, *Washington Post*, 5/8/89]

Finish Off the Cold War: Stop Covert Actions

President George Bush triumphed at the NATO summit because he jettisoned a sterile Cold War ideology that marked the first months of his Administration and adopted new thinking that can lead to genuine disarmament...Bush should maintain his initiative by proposing negotiations to terminate the clandestine war.

During the height of the Cold War, covert operations were marginal at best; today they have become an anachronism. Gorbachev and his associates are determined to dismantle Stalinism. They have rejected the goal of worldwide communist states run from Moscow. They want to disarm by more than 50 percent and they want to demilitarize competition with the West. They urge a ban on direct or indirect military intervention in Third World disputes, including the use of covert paramilitary forces. Thus, Gorbachev's policies are removing the rationale for clandestine warfare. When it becomes clear that both sides have given up the idea of winning the Cold War, it will be apparent that new clandestine operations are counterproductive.

It is time to launch the negotiations to end the clandestine war. High priorities should be given to removing intelligence personnel from embassy staffs and UN delegations. Spy masters, operating under diplomatic cover, have been a major source of distrust and an impediment to diplo-

macy. The phasing out of clandestine operations is difficult but essential, in order to proceed simultaneously with political and disarmament negotiations. [Arthur Macy Cox, retired diplomat and former CIA official, *Los Angeles Times*, 6/4/89]

American Neo-Conservatives Notice Change in USSR

A group of American neo-conservatives were busy in June facing Soviet intellectuals asking in detail about topics from Alexis de Tocqueville to the role of extramarital sex in American politics. Curious practitioners of Soviet scholarship had been invited to raise questions in six days of lively give-and-take with visiting American politicians and polemicists, some of whom have doubted that real change would ever overtake the Kremlin.

"Norman Podhoretz travels to Moscow in search of enemies," said Soviet participant Sergei Plekhanov in an acerbic comment on a speech by Mr. Podhoretz, the editor of the neo-conservative journal *Commentary*.

Rather than look for enemies, however, Mr. Podhoretz conceded that undeniable changes had taken place in the Soviet Union, so much so that he was astonished. "I feel uncertain about this," he said. "Perhaps I too am being seduced by Gorbachev's smile." But he told the outspoken gathering: "Glasnost, as we are proving right this minute, is a reality."

"I have friends who spent many years in the gulag for saying a lot less than what we're saying today," he continued. His 70-minute summary of the last four decades ended with a kind of tribute to Mr. Gorbachev: "He seems to have convinced even Ronald Reagan that Lenin was a democrat." [Francis Clines, *New York Times*, 6/21/89]

Komsomolskaya Pravda: Pull Down the Iron Curtain

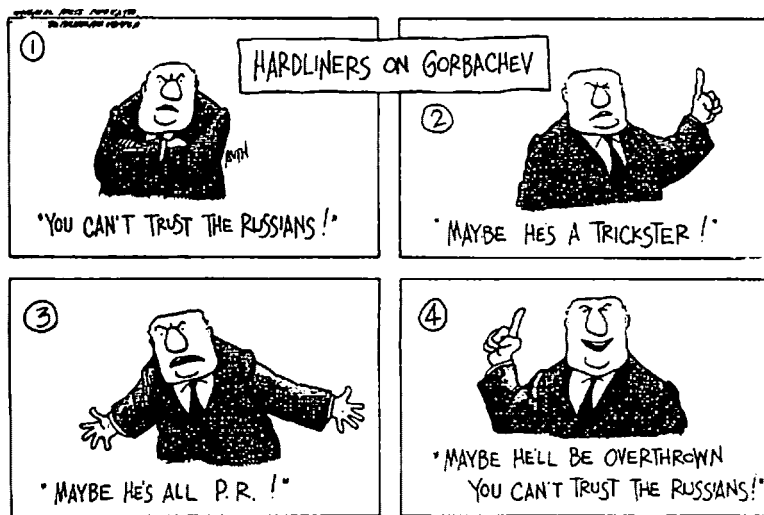
It is imperative—once and for all, and in the most decisive manner—to pull away the remnants of the "Iron Curtain" and open up our country, so that the Soviet Union ceases to be a riddle to the West. And the West must cease to be, for us, a conglomeration of everything that is foul, the 20th-century Sodom and Gomorrah. Stop thinking that every foreigner comes here only to spy. Stop guarding the "ideological virginity" of the Soviet people—they cannot be recruited. [Aleksai Novikov, *World Press Review*, June 1989]

Soviets Move into US Sports

They are arriving in the United States in increasing numbers and participating in a wider variety of sports, amateur and professional athletes from the Soviet Union doing their part to make perestroika a success. It is a friendly invasion and one of the more visible signs of the political and economic reforms initiated by the Soviet leader, Mikhail Gorbachev.

In the current climate, athletic competition has become more comparable to a cultural exchange, rather than a metaphor for war. Only nine years after the United States boycotted the Moscow Olympics and five years after the Soviet Union reciprocated in the Los Angeles Games—underscoring the effect that political tensions can have in sports—the Soviet sports presence in the United States is more visible than ever. These are among the recent developments:

Last month, Sergei Priakin became the first Soviet athlete to play



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with a North American professional sports team when he joined the Calgary Flames of the National Hockey League.

The Soviet Boxing Federation reached agreement with an American promoter to have Soviet boxers train and eventually fight professional bouts in the United States.

The fledgling Soviet national baseball team completed a tour of the United States last week, its primary goal to learn more about America's pastime.

The Soviet presence is felt in professional hockey, boxing, tennis, basketball, baseball, figure skating, long-distance running, cycling, swimming and even yachting and harness racing. [Peter Alfano, *New York Times*, 4/30/89]

Polls Reveal Changed Perceptions

... Toward Gorbachev

Mikhail Gorbachev's aggressive and inventive diplomacy has so transformed this country's view of the Soviet Union that two out of three Americans say Moscow no longer poses an immediate military threat to the United States and nearly three out of four consider nuclear war unlikely.

According to the latest *New York Times*/CBS News Poll, an ever-growing number of Americans sees Mr. Gorbachev, who took over as the Soviet leader in 1985, as a radical departure from his predecessors. In his first year, only 47 percent of the respondents to a *Times*/CBS News Poll considered him different from previous Kremlin bosses. In 1987, that figure increased to 65 percent, and it stands at 79 percent in the new survey.

Overall public opinion toward the Soviet Union now stands at 30 percent favorable, 24 percent unfavorable and 43 percent neutral. That represents a doubling of positive sentiment since 1987, when only 15 percent had a favorable opinion, 41 percent had an unfavorable one and 40 percent described their view as neutral. [R.W. Apple, Jr., *New York Times*, 5/16/89]

... Toward Pentagon Spending

The US public thinks the Pentagon needs to stay on its diet. As Congress begins its annual considerations of the defense budget, two major opinion polls say that a majority of Americans

believes there should be no growth or substantial cuts in military spending for some time to come.

In one survey, taken by the Roosevelt Center for American Policy Studies, fully three-quarters of those participating said that the Defense Department's budget should not grow at all for five years, or should be reduced by 3 percent in each of the next three years. Such findings indicate that support for the big Reagan-era military budgets has largely dissipated.

In late 1987, about 70 percent of the American public felt the Reagan buildup had been necessary, according to the Americans Talk Security polling project. New data compiled by ATS find that only 46 percent now believe the buildup was needed; 48 percent think it was unnecessary.

Nuclear weapons appear to be the area where the public would cut first. While Congress and the White House are engaged in an intricate debate over whether to buy mobile MX missiles, a new Midgetman intercontinental ballistic missile, or both, the public may not support any new long-range nuclear missile. In the ATS Survey, a plurality of 32 percent preferred the "neither" option over the MX or Midgetman.

Americans have long been somewhat ambivalent about their nation's role as policeman overseas; thus there is growing support for redefining the US role in the world, according to both surveys. The Roosevelt Center found a plurality of 44 percent opting for a small reduction of US troops based in Europe—with 39 percent calling for a large reduction. ATS, in the course of its research, found that 81 percent of the respondents agreed at least somewhat with the statement: "We can't afford to defend so many nations." [Peter Grier, *Christian Science Monitor*, 5/3/89]

New Poll Finds Broad Support for Major Shift in National Priorities

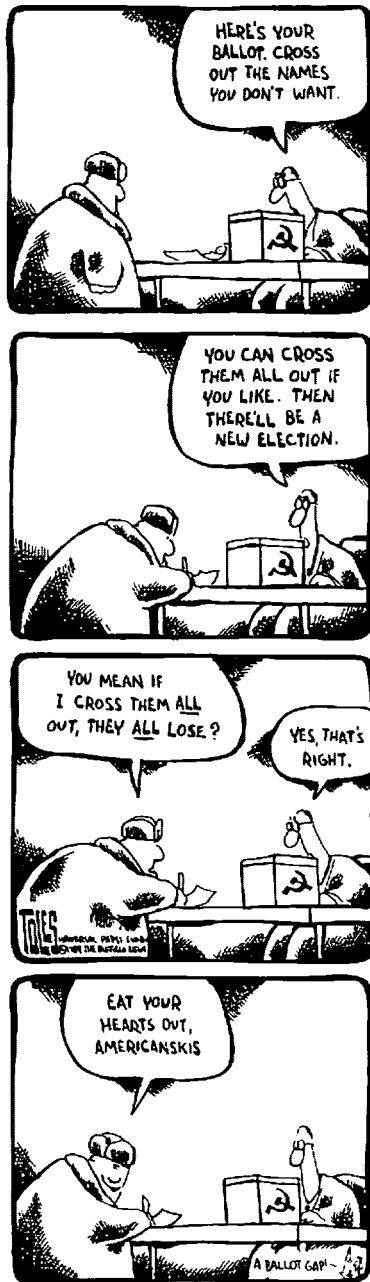
By a decisive 63 percent to 27 percent margin, American voters believe that "current federal budget priorities are wrong," and "that we are spending too much on the military and short-changing our economic, social and environmental needs," according to a new national public opinion poll conducted by Greenberg-Lake: The Analysis Group and released June 12 by the World Policy Institute, a New York-based research and policy studies institute.

The new poll finds that the public is not only dissatisfied with current priorities but is now prepared to support "major changes in US priorities." By an overwhelming majority of 81 percent to 17 percent, the public favors a new and sweeping program involving increased domestic spending, a smaller restructured military and more taxes on high income individuals. The new program, backed by the voters surveyed, would entail

\$200 billion in new annual expenditures on domestic economic and social needs, \$125 billion a year in reductions in military outlays and \$125 billion in new revenues from households earning over \$80,000 and from big corporations.

In releasing the data, Archibald Gillies, president of the World Policy Institute, said "the results of this survey show—rather dramatically—that the American public is ahead of politicians of both parties in understanding both the severity and urgency of our economic, social and environmental problems and the changed nature of world conditions." Gillies added, that "while Washington's recent focus has been on issues of personal ethics, it is clear from this study that the nation's voters want action on problems that directly affect their lives, and they are prepared for changes on a scale well beyond what is being debated today."

A report on the survey findings, "Defining American Priorities," is available from the World Policy Institute. [Press release]



Tom Toles in *The Buffalo News*.

Environmental Worry Up

Public support for greater environmental efforts regardless of cost has soared since the Exxon Valdez oil spill in Alaska, a *New York Times* Poll shows. Eighty percent of the 1,497 people interviewed by telephone from June 20 through 25 said they agreed with this statement: "Protecting the environment is so important that requirements and standards cannot be too high, and continuing environmental improvements must be made regardless of cost." Fourteen percent said they disagreed. The poll had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus three percentage points.

That statement, asked in *New York Times*/CBS News Polls since 1981 in an effort to measure unqualified environmental support, had won the agreement of 74 percent of the public in April, shortly after the spill. From 1986 to 1988 polls had recorded ratings in the middle 60 percent range. In September 1981, early in the Reagan Administration, 45 percent agreed and 42 percent disagreed. [*New York Times*, 4/2/89]



OFFICIAL BILATERAL AGREEMENTS

US Soviet Accord Cuts Risk of War

The United States signed an agreement with the Soviet Union June 12 that is meant to avoid or contain accidental military encounters before they escalate into critical confrontations. The agreement, covering sensitive areas like laser-weapons testing, radio jamming and accidental incursions of airspace, was signed by Admiral William Crowe, Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and General Mikhail Moiseyev, Chief of the Soviet General Staff. The pact, which is to take effect next January 1, is to establish a commission of military experts from both countries to study risks that grow out of standard military readiness practices.

The agreement envisions the designation of special radio frequencies to allow direct communications between the two nations' military units in the field to prevent misunderstandings. It also will seek to develop mutual cooperation in the wording of training manuals to insure that the risks of accidental encounters are reduced.

The accord pledges the two nations to take precautions "to insure expeditious termination and resolution, by peaceful means without resort to the threat or use of force, of any incident which may arise as a result of dangerous military activities." [Francis Clines, *New York Times*, 6/13/89]

US and Soviets Dismantle 1,269 INF Missiles

The United States and the Soviet Union destroyed 1,269 nuclear-tipped missiles during the first year of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty, US officials have disclosed.

The two sides also have conducted 340 inspections of each other's facilities to verify missile destruction and ensure compliance with other terms of the treaty. "The past year has been marked by almost continual elimination of missiles, launchers and related equipment as both sides seek to implement the primary aim of the INF Treaty," Defense Department officials said in a statement Wednesday. [AP, *Washington Post*, 6/3/89]

Nuclear Reactor Exchange For US and Soviet Regulators

Not long ago, the details of running a nuclear reactor were guarded by the US and the Soviet Union as secrets vital to national security. But last week it seemed that the superpowers were rushing to bare all.

The Nuclear Regulatory Commission and three American utility companies arranged a tour for Vadim Malyshev, who is in charge of regulating nuclear power in the Soviet Union, and three Soviet officials. They visited two plants in Westchester County, the Indian Point 3 plant, where a renovation project is under way, and Indian Point 1, which was shut 15 years ago but has not yet been dismantled. They also saw the twin-reactor Calvert Cliffs plant in Maryland, singled out by the commission as one of the ten worst-run in the US.

The Soviet officials' visit followed a trip in August 1988 by Lando Zech Jr., the chairman of the Nuclear Regulatory Commission, who visited several Soviet reactors, including Chernobyl. Earlier this month the Soviets were the hosts of a meeting in Moscow of representatives of 138 utilities and operating authorities from 31 countries, who together run most of the world's 400 nuclear reactors. The gathering was the founding of the World Association of Nuclear Operators. This group will exchange operating data and help insure that nuclear accidents are reported promptly to neighboring countries. [*New York Times*, 5/28/89]

"AND IF YOU ARE VERY GOOD AND HEED MY ADVICE AND IMPROVE, YOU MIGHT COME TO BE ACCEPTED IN THE WORLD — SAY, ARE YOU LISTENING TO ME?"



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Environmental Cooperation Proceeds During Organizational Changes

Plans for the twelfth meeting of the Joint Committee of the US-USSR Environmental Agreement are proceeding during a period of considerable change in the Soviet government's environmental bureaucracy.

Officials at the US Environmental Protection Agency and the other US agencies which participate in the Environmental Agreement are planning for the Joint Committee Meeting (JCM), to be held in the US, October 23-29. EPA Administrator William Reilly and the Chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Protection (Goskompriroda) will chair the meeting, which will chart the course for official cooperation through joint symposia, research projects, and other exchange activities. In Moscow, a rapid-fire series of changes in the structure and staffing of environmental organs, has raised questions of who will lead the Soviet delegation.

In early June, Fyodor Morgun stepped down from his post as Chairman of Goskompriroda after only fifteen months on the job. Over a month after Morgun's departure, no successor had been appointed, despite reports in the Soviet press that several possible candidates had been considered and rejected. In a report on the Soviet newscast "Vremya," Premier Mikhail Ryzhkov even indicated that a number of candidates had declined to be considered for the position. Asked about the reasons behind this development, Ryzhkov responded. "I think they felt that life here would not be a bed of roses."

In another development affecting Soviet environmental protection, the USSR Supreme Soviet created a new governmental organ with responsibility for environmental protection—the Supreme Soviet's Committee for Questions of Ecology and Efficient Utilization of Natural Resources. The new committee will be comprised of 45 to 50 specialist and non-specialist members of the Congress of People's Deputies. It will join a number of other environmental protection organs—including Goskompriroda, Gosplan, the USSR Academy of Sciences, and Goskomgidromet.

Kakimbek Salykov, the former oblast-level party secretary from the Kara-Kalpak region in Uzbekistan who will chair the committee, recently

explained the role of his agency, relative to the four others: "Among [that] multitude of organizations there was not a single one that had the right to coordinate the actions of the others. . . We have this." [Reported by Jonathan Elkind, Organization for American-Soviet ExchangeS (OASES), which provides logistical and language support for EPA's activities under the US-USSR Environmental Agreement.]

Soviet Scientist Reports On Environmental Cooperation

This report on collaboration under the Environmental Agreement was sent to ISAR by Michael Shandala, director of the Republican Scientific Hygienic Center of the Ukrainian Ministry of Public Health.

Our organization has been collaborating with American scientists for 13 years, studying the biological effects of physical environmental factors. In the course of our work we have visited the US several times and have hosted our American colleagues.

In accordance with the Study Agreement, workshops are held every other year alternately in the US and USSR. Workshop reports will be published later in a book. The seventh workshop is planned for September 1989 in Lvov.

US and Soviets Proceed on Ozone Layer Research

A Soviet delegation of scientists visited the US June 29-July 13 to discuss cooperative research being conducted at Heiss Island. The visit was part of the ongoing meetings occurring under the bilateral protocol agreement achieved in Leningrad in 1988. Under the agreement research from the Soviet and US ozone measurement cites are being compared and utilized in cooperative efforts to preserve the ozone layer.

The bilateral group meets again in Washington in October. The Soviets have proposed that US specialists be invited to the Soviet Union in 1990 to discuss the results of comparison theoretical models and predictions of ozone changes for different scenarios. [Report of Working Group VIII]

US and Soviets Team Up To Explore Space

American and Soviet space officials and scientists are quietly collaborating on the exploration of the planets, taking advantage of warmer political relations to arrange exchanges of researchers, data and flight instruments between the two nations.

Soviet scientists participated for the first time in an American planetary mission, the Magellan expedition now on its way to Venus.

The Soviets provided a full set of data to the Magellan project from their most recent flight to Venus, and American scientists said it helped in preparing for Magellan's radar-mapping operations.

These are the early fruits of a five-year bilateral agreement, signed with little fanfare in April 1987. The accord opened the way for official talks about working together.

After several meetings in Moscow and Washington in the last two years, arrangements are nearly complete for other space ventures involving greater Soviet-American cooperation. Some Soviet scientists will be added to the research group for Voyager 2 when it flies by Neptune in August. At least ten Soviet Scientists are to join the team that will analyze data sent from Mars Observer, an American craft scheduled to be launched in 1992. The craft will also carry a radio receiver specifically provided to help track balloons the Russians plan to deploy over Martian terrain in 1994.

The same 1994 Soviet mission will probably include American scientific advisers and as many as three American remote-sensing instruments. An American ozone-mapping instrument is expected to be flown on a Soviet weather satellite soon. [John Noble Wilford, *New York Times*, 5/8/89]

Cooperative Agriculture Ventures

The US Department of Agriculture reports that preparations are under way, despite the June 28 abolishment of the Soviet State Committee for Agro-Industry (Gosagroprom) by the Soviet Congress, for the next set of negotiations on cooperative agriculture ventures. The meeting is tentatively planned for December.

Regional Issues Discussed

US and Soviet experts resumed their periodic talks on regional issues in Rome in early June with discussions on Africa, according to US officials. Officials said the two sides will probably discuss the Middle East and Asia in Mid-June and Central America in late June, though no precise dates have been fixed for these talks.

The two superpowers began the practice of discussing ways of cooperating to resolve regional conflicts following the Geneva summit in November 1985 and have continued ever since, with both sides expressing satisfaction with the results.

In the past two years, the two nations have cooperated in various ways to help end the Iran-Iraq war, arrange for a UN-sponsored agreement on the withdrawal of 115,000 Soviet troops from Afghanistan and negotiate an accord providing for both the phased withdrawal of 50,000 Cuban troops from Angola and independence for South African-administered Namibia. The two superpowers are probing for new areas of possible cooperation on other East-West tension points in the Middle East, Central America, Asia and northeast and southern Africa. [David Ottaway, *Washington Post*, 6/2/89]

Anti-Terrorism Talks Held

US and Soviet counterterrorist experts met in late June in Moscow to explore possible joint action and information exchanges. The unpublicized session may have opened the door to another area of cooperation in the expanding US-Soviet relationship, officials said. However, reflecting the delicate nature of the talks, neither government announced the meeting, which took place June 26-27. Nor did either side disclose what progress, if any, was made on combating terrorism. [David Ottaway, *Washington Post*, 7/6/89]

Cultural Exhibits To Be Viewed By Millions in US and USSR

DESIGN USA is the second major cultural exchange exhibition to be produced by the US Information Agency for showings in the USSR under the terms of the agreement signed at the 1985 Geneva Summit. The exhibition will open in September 1989, and will travel to nine Soviet

cities over a period of 19 months. More than two million Soviet citizens are expected to visit the exhibition.

DESIGN USA is planned to appeal to a wide spectrum of Soviet society, engaging the attention of the nation's leaders and decision-makers, professional designers and architects, as well as average citizens who are eager for information about America.

The exhibit opens with a multi-screen video presentation of architecture and urban life in six American cities. With detailed models and photographs, the Architecture section highlights recent trends in American building, ending with an in-depth look at contemporary housing and a full-scale model kitchen. Visitors exit through "Design in Motion," a fast-paced look at the process of automotive design and the role of the automobile in American life, with several American cars providing the focal points. Twenty-four Russian-speaking American guides demonstrate exhibits and answer questions about design and life in the United States. [USIA Press Release]

* * *

A counterpart exhibit, "USSR: Perestroika" is being prepared by the USSR Chamber of Commerce and Industry and some 30 other Soviet organizations. The exhibit will travel around the US for almost a year, visiting nine cities. The list of cities has not yet been finalized, but it will almost certainly include Orlando, Fla., Los Angeles and San Diego, Cal., Scottsdale, Ariz., Dallas, Tex., Seattle, Wash., Portland, Ore., Baltimore, Md., and St. Paul, Minn. The exhibition will open December 20 in Orlando and will remain for about three weeks in each city.

The Soviet exhibition of photographs, films and video recordings will introduce Americans to the current social and economic changes and new foreign policy thinking in the USSR and will illustrate the present level of Soviet-American relations. It will give close attention to the conversion of the Soviet defense industry and to major ecological projects. Visitors will see unique scientific instruments, mock-ups of new generation space vehicles, various books and paintings by avant garde artists, old church articles and rare Russian gold and silver coins.

At the exhibition they will be able to listen to deputies to the new Supreme Soviet of the USSR, prominent scientists and engineers, cosmonauts, artists and celebrated athletes. The discussions will alternate with concerts by folk companies and fashion shows. Visitors will also be able to sample traditional Russian dishes at a special restaurant. [Novosti Press Agency]

Arts America Performances

USIA's Arts America office reports that the Pittsburgh Symphony Orchestra will perform in Moscow and Leningrad October 9-11; Ruth Laredo (pianist) in October; and the Aspen Wind Quintet in December

Arts America has scheduled no art exhibits for the next couple of months, as glasnost has opened the doors to normal art traffic.

Soviet Education Officials in US

A 12-person delegation of Soviet education officials, representatives from leading Soviet universities, came to the US in February under the auspices of the US Information Agency to acquaint themselves with the US system of higher education and to discuss new exchange programs. They held discussions with the American Council of Teachers of Russian and the American Council for Collaboration in Education and Language Study, among others. The delegation was headed by Gennadiy Jagodin, chairman of the state committee on public education of the USSR.



In summary, it appears to me that whatever reasons there may once have been for regarding the Soviet Union primarily as a possible, if not probable, military opponent, the time for that sort of thing has clearly passed. That country should now be regarded essentially as another great power like other great powers—one, that is, whose aspirations and policies are conditioned outstandingly by its own geographic situation, history, and tradition, and are, therefore, not identical with our own, but are also not so seriously in conflict with ours as to justify any assumption that the outstanding differences could not be adjusted by the normal means of compromise and accommodation.

It ought now to be our purpose, I consider, while not neglecting the needs of our general security, to eliminate, as soon as possible, by amicable negotiation, the elements of abnormal military tension that have recently dominated Soviet-American relations, and to turn our attention, instead, to the development of the positive possibilities of this relationship, which are far from insignificant.

Ambassador George F. Kennan

Bush Unveils Concept For Future of Europe

Both in his actions and his words at the seven-nation Paris economic summit, President Bush put new emphasis on the role that he sees Western Europe playing in the future of East-West relations, particularly in encouraging the spread of political and economic change in Eastern Europe.

This came as a pleasant surprise to European leaders accustomed to a heavier American insistence on playing the leadership role in allied dealings with the Soviet Union. As he did during the NATO summit in Brussels at the end of May, Bush put the goal of achieving quick consensus with his summit partners as his first priority in Paris.

Bush achieved this in part by accepting a coordinating role for the European community in Western efforts to encourage change in Poland and Hungary. Bush unveiled his concept of a "Europe whole and free" at a press conference in Paris. He praised Gorbachev's evocation of the need for a "common European home," adding that the American vision was one of Eastern European countries "moving toward what works—freedom, democracy, market economies." [Jim Hoagland, *Washington Post*, 7/17/89]

Gorbachev Offers Cooperation for Growth and Third World Aid

Mikhail Gorbachev surprised the summit leaders July 15 by sending them a letter calling for greatly expanded economic cooperation between Eastern Europe and the West to promote world-

wide growth and ease the Third World's debt problems. Officials at the Group of Seven's annual summit meeting said it was the first time that a Soviet leader had sent a letter making such sweeping proposals in the middle of a summit meeting.

President Francois Mitterrand, who was host of the gathering, read Mr. Gorbachev's letter, which praised the West's efforts at economic cooperation and said the Soviet Union wanted to join such efforts. Mr. Gorbachev said East and West should go far beyond the existing bilateral commercial agreements, asserting that East-West economic coordination could help spur economic growth and stability just as the Group of Seven's economic coordination has.

"The formation of a cohesive world economy implies that the multilateral economic partnership be placed on a qualitatively new level," he wrote. "Multilateral East-West cooperation on global economic problems is far behind the development of bilateral ties. This state of things does not appear justified, taking account of the weight that our countries have in the world economy." He said that perestroika, his program of economic restructuring would help bind the world together more, and that as a result more coordination would be needed.

"Our perestroika is inseparable from a policy aiming at our full participation in the world economy," he wrote. "The world can only gain from the opening up of a market as big as the Soviet Union." [Steven Greenhouse, *New York Times*, 7/16/89]

Bush Credits Gorbachev With Change in East Bloc

President Bush said July 13 that the changes transforming Eastern Europe are "absolutely amazing" and credited the Soviet Union with making those changes possible. Mr. Bush's buoyant reflections on his five-day trip to Poland and Hungary were a far cry from the tart skepticism he maintained toward President Mikhail Gorbachev and changes in Eastern Europe during his campaign and the opening months of his Administration.

"I am firmly convinced that this wave of freedom, if you will, is the wave of the future," President Bush said. "And I would expect that this visit has been watched by the people of other Eastern European countries and hopefully given encouragement to those who want to go the path of reform."

Asked if it was Mr. Gorbachev's approach to East-West relations that has given people in Eastern Europe the license to make changes, Mr. Bush agreed and said he wanted to "repeat for the umpteenth time" that he wants to see perestroika succeed. "I think without the change in the Soviet Union it would have been highly unlikely that Eastern Europe would be achieving the kinds of changes that it is aspiring to," he said. [Maureen Dowd, *New York Times*, 7/14/89]

Gorbachev Welcomes Bush Troop Plan

On June 12 Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev welcomed "with satisfaction" President Bush's recent initiative to slash troops in Europe and said the new Western position should make it possible to reach an East-West agreement on reducing conventional forces "much earlier than previously thought."

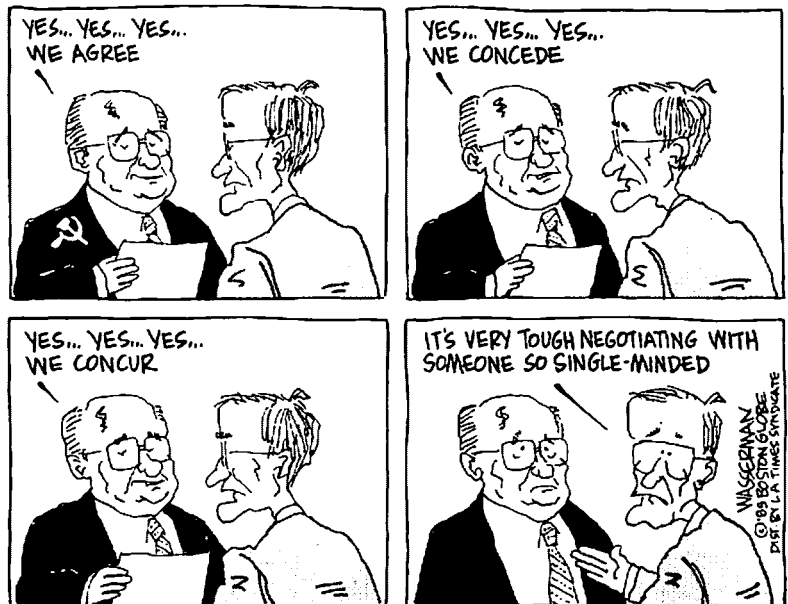
In his first response to the US proposals, unveiled by Bush two weeks ago, Gorbachev said at a state dinner on the first day of an official visit to West Germany that Bush's initiative was a serious and specific response "to Warsaw Pact positions.

The Soviet leader also welcomed NATO's new readiness to enter negotiations on reducing short range nuclear weapons, although he criticized the alliance for requiring stiff conditions to be met before embarking on such talks, and he renewed Moscow's call for the elimination of all nuclear weapons. [Robert McCartney, *Washington Post*, 6/13/89]

US and USSR Settle Key Issues On Chemical Weapons

The US and the USSR reached agreement July 17 on key elements of a treaty banning chemical weapons, including a timetable for destruction of such arms and procedures for inspecting chemical factories. The recommendations of the two governments will be submitted to the 40-nation Conference on Disarmament in Geneva. The agreement is significant because the US and USSR have by far the biggest arsenals of chemical weapons.

A State Department official said that the two sides had agreed in principle on a "mathematical formula" prescribing the amounts and types of chemical weapons to be destroyed over a ten-year period. [Robert Pear, *New York Times*, 7/18/89]



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Space Summit Launches Environmental Studies

Eighteen national space agencies and three international scientific organizations launched a broad "Mission to Planet Earth" program for the International Space Year (ISY) in 1992 at an ISY summit in May in Frascati, Italy, near Rome. The ISY space agency activities will involve global coordination of hundreds of sounding rockets, spacecraft, balloons, aircraft, ships, and ground instruments.

"We now have a clear set of space agency priorities and responsibilities for an ISY Mission to Planet Earth that will make a major contribution to understanding and managing environmental problems on a global basis," said Professor Hurbert Curien, French Minister of Research and Technology, who chaired the summit meeting of the Space Agency Forum on ISY (SAFISY).

NASA will lead a greenhouse detection project; European Space Agency (ESA), an ocean-climate project; and Japan, a sea surface temperature project. Other projects address land cover change, polar ozone holes, ocean productivity, deforestation and related issues. [Press release]

Soviet Oil Skimmer Offers a Helping Hand

A Soviet oil-skimming ship, described by the Coast Guard as the world's largest, arrived at Seward April 19 to help clean up oil that has leaked out of Prince William Sound and into the Gulf of Alaska.

"We're certainly happy to see them," said Don Byron, spokesman for the state Department of Environmental Conservation (DEC). "It's definitely going to help get some of the oil off the water."

The 420-foot Vaidagurski can skim 200,000 gallons of oil an hour and, unlike its US counterparts, is fully self-contained. The Soviet skimmer "will leave port tonight and work until the job is done," said Jack Holleran, an Exxon spokesman. He said the \$15,000 a day the Soviets are charging for use of the ship will be paid by the company. Exxon also has provided language interpreters to help coordinate ship-to-shore communications.

The arrival of the skimmer marks the second time in less than a year that a Soviet ship has come to the aid of Alaska. Last October when three California gray whales were trapped in the ice off Point Barrow, the Soviet icebreaker Vladimir Arseniev smashed a path to help free two of them. [Matt Lait, *Washington Post*, 4/20/89]

Soviet Warships in Norfolk

A group of Soviet warships made an official call at the port of Norfolk July 21-25. This was the first visit of its kind in 14 years and the second in the postwar period. The ships' complements totalled about 1000 and included staff officers, newsmen, members of the song and dance company of the northern fleet and the navy's model orchestra.

The purpose of this call was to promote further dialogue between the armed services of the Soviet Union and the US. Three US ships are to visit the Soviet Black Sea port of Sevastopol August 4-8. [Novosti Press, 7/11/89]

USSR Sends Arctic People to Parley

In a new sign of its changing policy toward the Arctic regions of the world, the Soviet Union has agreed for the first time to allow representatives of an indigenous Arctic people to attend an international gathering in Greenland in July.

Mary Simon, president of the Canadian branch of the Inuit Circumpolar Conferences, said that Moscow had promised to send an 18-member delegation to the organization's General Assembly, which will bring together representatives of the Inuit Arctic peoples, often called Eskimos, from Canada, Greenland and Alaska.

"We have held these meetings of Inuit from the high Arctic every three years since 1977 and the Soviet Union has always refused to allow its Inuit to come until this year," said the official, who is an Inuit from northern Quebec.

Canadian experts see the Soviet shift as reflecting President Mikhail Gorbachev's recent call for Arctic countries to devise a comprehensive plan for protecting the region's environment and its indigenous peoples, as well as for a substantial reduction in military forces stationed there and the creation of an Arctic nuclear-free zone. [Paul Lewis, *New York Times*, 6/28/89]

Easing Travel for Eskimos

Blowing snow forced officials from Alaska and the Soviet Union to meet over the telephone instead of on the Bering Sea ice April 23 in what had been intended as a symbolic gesture aimed at easing travel restrictions on Eskimos from the two lands.

Gov. Steve Cowper and his counterpart from the Magadan region of the Soviet Far East, Vyacheslav Kobets, signed a protocol urging Soviet and US officials to allow regular visits between Eskimos. The men had planned to sign the document on the international dateline until bad weather grounded Mr. Cowper. [AP, *New York Times*, 4/25/89]

House Panel Hears Four Soviet Officials

Customarily, the House Armed Services committee's hearing room is the imposing setting for testimony by the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the Defense Secretary and, occasionally, high-ranking intelligence officers. But May 9 and 10 the cast of witnesses underneath the high ceilings and within the wood-paneled walls was strikingly different. Appearing before the panel to discuss arms control, the history of the cold war and the fate of Mikhail Gorbachev were four officials from the Soviet Union.

The men from Moscow appealed for a warmer approach by Washington and asserted that internal Soviet opposition to Mr. Gorbachev's foreign policy initiatives could grow if the West failed to respond to them. "We need very much that you open a second front against the cold war," said Roald Sagdeyev, the former director to the Soviet Union's Space Research Institute and a specialist on arms control.

"There are many people in the Soviet Union saying, 'To what extent can we do these unilateral steps without being responded to by the other side?'" said Andrei Kokoshin, deputy director of the Institute for the USA and Canada. The four Soviet officials were invited to testify so that the committee could better assess Soviet trends in making decisions on the American military budget. [Michael Gordon, *New York Times*, 5/10/89]

US and Soviet Congressmen Meet

Sergei Stankevich is a young Soviet professor of American politics elected as a representative to his own country's great experiment, the Congress of People's Deputies. He has the earnest bearing of the young Jimmy Stewart—"Mr. Stankevich goes to Congress." As an academic, he has studied 200 years of congressional political history, the political range from Calhoun to Johnson to Kennedy.

Stankevich is just one of Moscow's new radical-reform legislators, but he is singular in his knowledge of the structures of Western democracy. Recently, Stankevich was in Washington where he spent a day with Sen. Bill Bradley (D-NJ) and his staff. It was a crucial lesson in organization and potential. Stankevich said he "would not want to idealize the Senate," but he was "more than impressed" with the size and professionalism of the staff, the way they dealt with 10,000 letters from constituents every week, the computer network, the system of press secretaries, the access to the Library of Congress and the Congressional Research Service.

"I guess the most important point Bradley made was on the way of holding discussions," Stankevich said. "He advised us to go slowly, to consider each point, not to hurry. That is not the Russian habit, generally. And it certainly was never the habit of the Supreme Soviet, which had always been a rubber-stamp legislature. Now that we're in a kind of democratic fervor, we have to be careful, because these decisions we make could shape our lives for years to come."

Stankevich is also trying to lend his own power to independent groups: the Popular Front, the environmental movement, consumer groups. It helped on this score, he said, to have met with Fred Wertheimer of the lobbying group Common Cause. [David Remnick, *Washington Post*, 5/24/89]



Environment

S. 324, Wirth (D-CO), to establish a national energy policy to reduce global warming, and for other purposes.

H.R. 1078, Schneider (R-RI), to establish national policies and support and encourage international agreements that implement energy and natural resource conservation strategies appropriate to preventing the overheating of the Earth's atmosphere, known as the "greenhouse effect."

H.R. 1704, Porter (R-IL), to enable and encourage developing nations with external debt and tropical forests to preserve, restore, enhance, and manage such forests by reducing their debt to private lenders if such nations demonstrate actions to protect tropical forests and other endangered ecosystems or species.

H.R. 2782, Stark (D-CA), to authorize the suspension of duty-free treatment to wood products under the Generalized System of Preferences (GSP) to beneficiary countries that do not implement appropriate reforestation programs.

S. 201, Gore (D-TN), to respond to the global environmental degradation by human activity by reversing the trends that are presently altering or destroying vast portions of the biosphere, and to ensure that US policies provide for the protection of the world environment from future degradation.

S. 603, Boschwitz (R-MN), to establish, within the US Department of State, the Office of Global Warming to serve as the single coordinating point for the US on all global warming policy and response matters and to establish an interagency team for ongoing formulation of policy and response mechanisms to global warming.

S. 928, Pell (D-CA), to encourage the President to promote debt-for-nature swaps; encourage the Secretary to initiate negotiations among member countries of the Organization for Economic Coordination and Development to coordinate their approach to global warming, tropical deforestation, sustainable development, and biological diversity through bilateral assistance programs; authorize the President to initiate negotiations with major lender countries to establish an international institution to facilitate exchange of commercial debt for sustainable development and conservation purposes.

Trade

S. Con. Res. 45, Moynihan (D-NY), **H. Con. Res. 153** and **155**, Downey (D-NY), relating to congressional support of a Presidential waiver of the provisions of the Jackson-Vanik amendment with respect to the Soviet Union.

H. Res. 2307, Pease (D-OH), to condition the granting of nondiscriminatory treatment (most-favored-nation treatment) and other commercial benefits to non-market economy countries on the satisfactory implementa-

tion by those countries of internationally recognized worker rights, to provide special tariff treatment for products of cooperative enterprises in certain non-market economy countries, and for other purposes.

S. 1018, Heinz (R-PA), to set forth principles for US nationals involved in industrial cooperation projects in the Soviet Union and the Baltic States, and for other purposes. This act may be cited as the "Slepek Principles Act," which aims to establish a "code of conduct" for US companies doing business in the Soviet Union.

H.R. 2366, Miller (R-WA), to encourage trade which promotes liberalization inside the Soviet Union and the Baltic States.

Human Rights and Refugees

S. Con. Res. 25, Grassley (R-IA), and **H. Con. Res. 73**, Sikorski (D-MN), expressing the sense of the Congress that the number of refugees admitted to the US and the appropriation for programs for refugee migration and resettlement should be increased and that the Department of Justice should reestablish the presumption that Jews and members of other religious minorities emigrating from the Soviet Union qualify for refugee status for admission to the United States.

H.R. 1605, Berman (D-CA), to provide for the emergency admission of additional refugees during fiscal year 1989, to transfer temporarily certain funds available for State legalization assistance grants to programs to assist in the admission of emergency refugees and to replenish subsequently such funds, and for other purposes.

H.R. 2022, Morrison (D-CT), and **S. 893** Lautenberg (D-NJ), to establish certain categories of nationals of the Soviet Union and nationals of Indochina presumed to be subject to persecution and to provide for adjustment to refugee status of certain Soviet and Indochinese parolees.

S. 476, Simon (D-IL), to increase the number of refugee admission numbers allocated for Eastern Europe/Soviet Union and East Asia.

Arms Control and Conversion

S. 1047, Kennedy (D-MA), and **H.R. 2403**, Wyden (D-OR), to encourage negotiations between the US and the Soviet Union to establish mutual and verifiable restrictions on the production of plutonium and highly enriched uranium for nuclear weapons purposes.

Space

S. 752, Harkin (D-IA) and **H.R. 2201**, AuCoin (D-OR), to preserve the cooperative, peaceful uses of outer space for the benefit of all mankind by prohibiting the basing or testing of weapons in outer space and the testing of antisatellite weapons, and for other purposes.



When Trading with the Soviets, US Government Is Bad for Business

Despite the opening of the Soviet Union as a major new market, despite the growing participation of major US players in this market, Washington remains a major obstacle to bilateral progress. Instead of viewing trade as part of the normalization of the relationship—one that brings more benefits to Washington than to Moscow, at least in terms of balance of payments—the US government acts as though trade is a favor, a special dispensation to be bestowed only if the Soviets behave as we want them to, domestically and internationally.

Travel by US business executives to Moscow and by Soviet businessmen to the United States has increased tenfold over the past two years. Some deals have been concluded; other are being negotiated in virtually all sectors—natural resource development, energy processing, hotels and tourism, medical equipment, chemicals, retail products, publishing, computers and electronics, even food processing.

US state and local governments, local chambers of commerce and trade associations are exploring the newly opened market with enthusiasm. No surprise! The Soviet Union is the world's second-largest economy; it has a population of almost 287 million with more rubles than there are products to buy, and it possesses the world's largest natural-resource base.

Differences between our two economies frequently make it difficult to structure commercial transactions but those difficulties are not insurmountable—and they are not significantly different from difficulties encountered in other countries where the national government plays a major role in the economy and hard currency is either not available or in short supply.

In a recent speech to the US-USSR Trade and Economic Council, Secretary of Commerce Robert Mosbacher carried the conditional US government message on mutual trade. He reiterated the President's position that if the Soviet Union codifies its laws "in accordance with international standards" (as determined by the US) and implements them faithfully (as determined by the US), then the Administration will work with Congress for a temporary waiver of the Jackson-Vanik Amendment. That amendment denies a country non-discriminatory tariff treatment if it restricts emigration. This message, hardly reassuring to businesses exploring long-term deals, was put forward as a major concession. Fortunately, a number of Congressmen have introduced legislation supporting a waiver.

Mosbacher also held out prospects of expanded trade with the Soviets if Mikhail Gorbachev's government proceeds with price reform, devaluation of the ruble, decentralization of economic decision-making

—the other reforms the Soviet have already declared as policy objectives to be implemented.

The secretary said, "We welcome the words and the beginning steps. We now look for deeds," reflecting an apparent unawareness of radical reforms under way and the intensity of Soviet efforts to achieve the very goals he specified. The tone of Mosbacher's remarks suggested that the US was overseeing these developments as a sort of umpire, in order to determine whether or not US business may participate on the newly opened playground. His tone seemed condescending and paternalistic.

Mosbacher went out of his way to encourage Soviet cooperatives, a promising new form of private business in the Soviet Union. Because of their modest size and lack of manufacturing expertise, however, cooperatives are often not ideal candidates for partnerships with major US corporations. The singling out of cooperatives is equivalent to the Soviets saying they favor business deals with American ESOPS—employee stock-ownership plans—because they are owned by the workers.

Finally, Mosbacher said at least five times, that expansion of trade must be on a commercial basis. None of the corporations in his audience could be accused of being charitable organizations; each ventures into the Soviet market out of economic imperatives. The major element of commercial risk in their participation is the US itself.

This is the time for the US government to recognize the scope of Soviet economic reform in progress, as well as the significant market opportunities those reforms present. It is also time to formulate trade policy based on economic facts rather than a misperception that Washington can dictate Soviet domestic behavior.

An appropriate agenda might include:

- Renegotiation of a bilateral trade and investment protection treaty, similar to the treaties US allies are signing with the Soviets.
- Renegotiation of the bilateral tax treaty (the current tax treaty does not cover the new business relationships, such as joint ventures, now permitted in the Soviet Union).
- Streamlining of export controls to release products and technology available from other sources and not of direct military application.
- Constructive encouragement of Soviet participation in the International Monetary Fund and World Bank.
- Abandonment of the current petulant attitude toward Gorbachev's economic and political initiatives. [Sarah Carey, partner in the Washington law firm Heron, Burchette, Ruckert & Rothwell, *Los Angeles Times*, 6/25/89]

Jewish Groups May Back Lifting of Soviet Trade Curbs

The National Conference on Soviet Jewry, after an exhaustive six-month assessment, declared on June 13 that it will support an easing of trade restrictions with the Soviet Union once President Bush receives "appropriate assurances" of Soviet intentions to resolve several remaining impediments to free emigration for Soviet Jews.

The decision appears to be most significant because the Conference, the main US Jewish group concerned with the issue, has decided not to insist on the prior publication of a new emigration law, as Bush has demanded, before supporting a waiver of the 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment, which placed restrictions on bilateral trade as a way to force a free flow of emigrants.

Both the Administration and Congress have been waiting for a signal from American Jewish groups, particularly the National Conference, on their attitude toward restoring even on a temporary basis the Soviet Union's "most favored nation" trade status and trade credits before moving to act themselves. [David Ottaway, *Washington Post*, 6/14/89]

Varied Views in Congress On Lifting Curbs on Soviet Trade

In early June, members of Congress began to prod President Bush to ease restriction on trade with the Soviet Union, arguing that the US should reward the recent improvements in Soviet policy toward Jews who want to emigrate. But Bush has also received congressional support for his position that he waive for one year the trade curbs imposed by the 1974 Jackson-Vanik amendment only if the Soviet Union writes into law the more liberal approach to Jewish emigration.

Rep. Thomas Downey (D-NY) and Sen. Daniel Patrick Moynihan (D-NY) want the President to move faster, in part to encourage further Soviet liberalization, and on June 15 introduced a joint resolution calling on Bush to waive temporarily the Jackson-Vanik restrictions.

But members of Congress who want the President to wait until the Soviet Union writes its more liberal emigration policy into law called plans to ease trade restrictions premature. Rep. Steny Hoyer (D-MD), co-chairman of the commission that monitors the 1975 Helsinki accords on human rights, said, "We still ought to expect the institutionalization, the putting into law, of the guarantees that open emigration ... is in fact not the subject to the whims of the leader." [Brooke Masters, *Washington Post*, 6/16/89]

Trade Notes

•The Zodiak Computer Cooperative in Moscow is now renting computers to travellers in Moscow. Computers can be delivered (approx. \$100 per day); or they can be rented by the hour at Zodiak's Moscow location (\$20 per hour).

•The Russian Research Center at Harvard University has become a partner in a series of exchange programs with Soviet research institutions. The first exchange program has been signed with the Research Institute and Gosplan. [*The Center*, May 30, 1989]

•Peat Marwick Main & Co., the New York accounting and management consulting firm, began teaching the top 45 managers and engineers at Mosinzhstroi, the Moscow building agency, in June. After the two months' training, Soviet trainees will go to the US in the fall to observe American businesses for two months. [Francis Clines, *New York Times*, 6/11/89]

European Plan for Soviet Pact

A top European Community official said on June 9 that the trade bloc was ready to negotiate a 10-year trade and cooperation agreement with the Soviet Union. Formal negotiations could start before August.

The accord would include "most favored nation" treatment under international trade rules established by the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT). The agreement would also offer management training, joint ventures and other forms of business cooperation. [AP, *New York Times*, 6/9/89]

First Soviet Bank Office In US to Open Soon

Executives of the Soviet Bank of Foreign Economic Affairs is preparing to open the first American office of a Soviet bank. A Soviet banking presence in the US can aid recent Soviet efforts to encourage foreign trade and foreign investment in Soviet enterprises. The new Soviet offices, authorized in April by the New York State Banking Department, will start by providing advice to American and Soviet financiers and smoothing the way for consultations between business executives from the two countries. It will be what is known as a representative office and will not be licensed to make loans, handle financial transactions or earn a profit. Scheduled to open in early August, the bank could help American banks participate in financing for business ventures in the Soviet Union and offer advice on foreign currency transactions in the Soviet Union.

Until late last year, the Bank for Foreign Economic Affairs was known as the Bank for Foreign Trade, and was the only Soviet bank allowed to handle foreign currency financing. [Michael Quint, *New York Times*, 5/25/89]

New Data on Soviet Cooperatives

A Soviet statistical agency has released new data on Soviet cooperatives. As of January 1, 1989 there were 77.5 thousand cooperatives involving 1.4 million people. The largest number are in the Russian republic. However, on a per capita basis, the largest volume of production of goods and services takes place in Latvia, where the figure is 71 rubles per person. In Estonia, the figure is 64, as it is in Armenia.

Surprisingly there are relatively few official cooperatives in the Central Asian republics. On a per capita basis, Turkmenistan shows an output of only six rubles per person. The average for the country as a whole is 21 rubles. A very strong premium is placed on individual production and private trade in Central Asia. Therefore, it can be assumed that Central Asians simply continue with their private activities and do not take the trouble to legalize their efforts. [Russian Research Center Economic newsletter, 4/12/89]

New Publications

Doing Business with the Soviets, American Management Association Briefing. In addition to an overview of business processes, this briefing includes case studies of companies already doing business with the Soviets. AMA, Membership Publications Division, 135 West 50th Street, New York, NY 10020.

Institute for East-West Security Studies: Public Policy Papers

The Soviet Union and the GATT: Benefits and Obligations of Joining the World Trade Club, Harold Malmgren. The author argues that granting the USSR observer status in the GATT is not only desirable but would help Soviet officials learn how trade relations are disciplined by the world trade rules and dispute settlement processes of the GATT. This paper has been translated into Russian and has been widely circulated among Soviet officials.

The Soviet Union and the Bretton Woods Institutions: Risks and Rewards of Membership, Richard Reinberg. Explores the role which the IMF and the World Bank could play in accelerating the integration of the Soviet Union into the global economy. IEWSS, (212) 557-2570.

Soviet Museums, Capitalizing on Art

According to Yuri Korolev, director of the State Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow, exhibitions of Russian avant-garde art long hidden in Soviet museum storerooms are now available for rental to institutions abroad. The asking price per exhibition, \$1.5 million, is being called "astronomical" by some museum officials, "shrewd business" by others. "Good God!" was the reaction of Hirshhorn Museum Director James Demetrian.

The price does not include the costs of framing, packing, shipping or insurance, which Korolev says are "negotiable."

The idea is not entirely new: Some museums now charge what they call a "participation fee," but it is customarily well under \$100,000 and—most insist—barely covers real costs, including research and staff time. [Jo Ann Lewis, *Washington Post*, 5/19/89]

The Soviet Union's First MBA Program

The Khabarovsk Institute of National Economy, some 4,300 miles east of Moscow, is setting up what is believed to be the Soviet Union's first masters degree program in business administration. It will be a two-year program with professors from Portland State University in Oregon.

"This will give us independence in making decisions," says Pyotr Konevskih, rector of the Institute, who signed the papers in Portland on April 4, making the project official. According to Mr. Konevskih, there has been some sporadic teaching of business by visiting western professors in the Soviet Union, but "a completely worked-out program such as this doesn't exist." He says he expects the program to be copied widely throughout the Soviet Union.

The first class of Soviet MBA candidates, about 50 students, will begin their studies next April. They will be drawn largely from the managers of the Soviet enterprises in the Khabarovsk region who are being forced to make their agencies self-sufficient as controls from Moscow are phased out under the economic restructuring. [John Fialka, *Wall Street Journal*, 4/5/89]

The Greening of the Soviet Market

A major drive is underway in the Soviet Union to reduce existing levels of pollution, treat existing waste properly and to prevent future pollution. They want to modernize outdated industrial plants and add pollution control equipment to plants that are not targeted for modernization. They need treatment and safe storage of a broad range of industrial wastes, the reclamation of land currently put out of production due to pollution, and the recycling or salvage of valuable materials currently being thrown out as worthless waste.

Due in part to the pre-1987 period of inadequate enforcement of environmental standards, no domestic industry has developed to produce the equipment, technology and systems required to achieve the country's environmental goals. This means that the major polluting industries cannot find on the Soviet market the tools they need to achieve the goals the authorities are imposing on them. The Soviets do have an advanced research and development capability that is producing new products in the environmental field. But because the industrial base does not exist to commercialize these products, they will not go on line for five years or so—unless foreigners help to develop them.

This setting creates significant opportunities for US companies interested in selling environmental protection equipment (or acquiring Soviet pollution control equipment). Moreover, the US government is strongly committed to Soviet-American cooperation on environmental issues. For over 17 years, the US and the USSR have cooperated under a series of bilateral governmental cooperation agreements on the environment that have survived even periods of political strain that destroyed other forms of cooperation.

From the seller's perspective, the environmental industry offers more promise than other segments of Soviet industry because of the availability of hard currency to finance imports. Each of the major polluting industries (petrochemicals, chemicals, fertilizers, pulp and paper, etc.) is itself an exporter and has hard currency earning to spend for environmental equipment. In addition, the national government has committed significant resources to clean up the environment, and many republic governments are following this lead. Finally, as noted above, the cities, through

their new taxing powers, are authorized to acquire hard currency and spend it for environmental purposes. [Sarah Carey, partner in the Washington law firm Heron, Burchette, Ruckert & Rothwell, *Soviet-American Trade*, June 1989]

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In April, Heron, Burchette, Ruckert & Rothwell and the USSR State Committee on the Environment (Goskompriroda) announced the establishment of a cooperative program to facilitate the matching of Soviet needs with commercial US offerings in this field. [Press release]

Soviet Environmentalists May Defeat Chevron Oil Search

The Chevron Corporation's plans to search for new oil in the Soviet Union are being threatened by Soviet environmentalists. Gordon Feller, a trade consultant just returned from the Soviet Union, said Ministry of Oil officials told him that a delay in Chevron's project could also harm a US consortium's plans to create as much as \$10 billion in US-USSR joint ventures.

Feller said Soviet environmentalists have banded with local party leaders to stop Chevron from exploring for oil in a wilderness area near the Caspian Sea. The Soviet newspaper *Pravda* reported that Chevron officials visited the site near the northeast coast of the Caspian Sea last November. The site is just north of the giant Tengiz oil field, which has come under fire by Soviet environmentalists because of potential pollution of the Caspian Sea. In an article in *Pravda* this spring, one local government official suggested drilling at Tengiz be halted immediately because waste was being dumped into the sea. [UPI, *Washington Post*, 7/12/89]

US Relaxes Computer Sales Curbs

On July 18, the Bush administration relaxed export restrictions on some of the most popular brands of personal computers, a move that could allow American companies to supply Soviet bloc nations with a higher level of US technology than ever before.

Commerce Secretary Robert Mosbacher said the Administration decided to lift controls on such commonly used desktop PCs as the low-end Apple

Macintosh Plus and IBM PS/2 and AT models because similar computers are readily available from foreign suppliers in 11 countries, including some in Eastern Europe. Those nations impose few if any controls on computer sales to the Soviet Union.

The relaxation applies to computers of any make with the equivalent power and speed of the IBM-AT model, which is considered in the mid-range of personal computers and is widely used in American offices and homes for word processing and basic financial calculations.

The decision reflects a shift in philosophy from the early Reagan years, when hard-liners insisted that the US retain stringent controls on the export of high technology, including some of the products that are affected under the new rules.

The July 18 decision followed a major debate within the Bush administration and represents a change in the thinking of the President, who said in an interview during his campaign that he would be wary of relaxing export restrictions for high-technology items. This concern has largely given way to the enormous political and economic openings to the West on the part of Mikhail Gorbachev and his Eastern European allies, which Bush saw first hand during his July visits to Poland and Hungary.

The President's trip "paved the way for expanding trade in areas that improve prospects for prosperity in Eastern Europe without harming America's national security," Mosbacher said. "Eliminating export controls on AT-compatible computers is one way to meet this objective. Consistent with the spirit of the President's initiatives, we are creating new opportunities for US manufacturers to sell more widely abroad."

Under the new rules, US manufacturers no longer need to go through the time-consuming process of obtaining government permission to ship AT-compatible computers to communist nations. Further, on July 17 the Bush administration requested that the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls (Cocom), the 17-nation group of NATO allies and Japan that regulates high-technology sales from the West to Soviet bloc nations, match the administration's move. Cocom is expected to act favorably on the US request within a few months. [Stuart Auerbach, *Washington Post*, 7/19/89]



Every Citizen a Diplomat

Since founding the Center for US-USSR Initiatives (CUUI) in 1983, Sharon Tennison and her nine-member staff have sent more than 70 groups of Americans to the Soviet Union. CUUI's trademark is the "home visit," an evening spent over a supper table in a Soviet flat. These contacts have been set up outside government control.

Tennison's goal is to get as many average, nongovernmental, "middle American" citizens as possible into Soviet homes for visits—and to bring Soviet citizens to the United States in return. Forthcoming trips include ones for young leaders, young artists, environmentalists, and community college presidents, as well as some for the nonspecialist traveler.



"Life has been hard for the Soviet people. About the only consistent joy they've gotten out of life is the human contact, so they go for it anytime they get a chance. Much of what Americans get happiness from has not been an option for them. They haven't been able to buy BMWs, own large homes or travel. The one thing that always works is that deep human contact that always warms their hearts. They've been able to develop that to a much deeper level than we have.

"In our American dream," she continues, "some way or another we have lost touch with the things that are most deeply human. And going back to the USSR, a country that has never had any of the stuff we've had is a jerk into reality." Again and again, she says, she watches American visitors realize "there are important things that we have forgotten about, that we forgot to instill in our children." [Rushworth Kidder, *Christian Science Monitor*, 6/1/89]

MacArthur Foundation Awards Ellendea Proffer and Pam Solo

The John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation's "genius" awards were established to give people the freedom to pursue accomplishments in the arts, sciences or community affairs without having to produce a creative work or even to account for their time to the foundation. Included this year were two longtime workers in the Soviet-American peace vineyard. Ellendea Proffer is an author, translator and co-founder with her late husband, Carl, of Ardis Publishers, which published important modern Russian literature suppressed during the Brezhnev era, and the *Russian Literature Triquarterly*. She received one of 29 awards which range from \$30,000 to \$75,000 annually for five years. Another went to Pam Solo, co-director of the Institute for Peace and International Security and author of "From Protest to Reality."

Adele Simmons, president of the foundation, said of the awards, "We believe in the power of the individual to contribute to American life." [*New York Times*, 7/18/89]

Van Cliburn Returns to Moscow

Pianist Van Cliburn, in Moscow on his first Soviet visit since 1972 at the invitation of Mikhail and Raisa Gorbachev, performed July 2 on the same stage where he gained fame by winning the first Tchaikovsky International Piano Competition three decades ago. "I have never left Russia in my heart," Cliburn, 54, told a rapturous welcoming party that thrust bouquets of roses into his hands.

Cliburn appeared at Tchaikovsky Hall with the Moscow Philharmonic, the same orchestra that accompanied him in his moment of triumph in 1958. [*Washington Post*, 7/3/89]

Timofeyev Honored in Paris

Lev Timofeyev, Soviet economist and journalist who was jailed in 1985 for "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda," received the Dal Literary Award in Paris this June. His play, *Let This Cup Pass From Me*, about a Russian intellectual in Moscow who wanted to publish abroad but faced resistance from his wife who feared his arrest, was

published in Israel in 1984 and predicted Timofeyev's own fate.

In February 1987 he was among the first 50 political prisoners released by special decree of the Supreme Soviet, but was not "rehabilitated," i.e., exonerated or restored to his profession. In the summer of 1987, Lev Timofeyev founded an informal discussion group called the Press Club Glasnost together with several well-known veteran civil rights activists. He was in the US this summer under the auspices of Helsinki Watch. [Press release]

Sergei Grigoryants Receives Golden Pen of Freedom Award

Sergei Grigoryants, the founder of the Soviet journal *Glasnost* who was once imprisoned as a dissident, has received the International Federation of Newspaper Publishers 1989 Golden Pen of Freedom award. The 48-year-old publisher founded *Glasnost* in 1987; he was imprisoned in a Soviet labor camp in 1983 for publishing *Bulletin V*, an underground newspaper on human rights. The Pen award, presented in June in New Orleans, was created in 1961 to recognize the outstanding actions of an individual, group or institution in support of freedom of the press. [*Washington Post*, 6/14/89]

Rozanne Ridgway Retires

Rozanne Ridgway who served until recently as US Assistant Secretary of State for European and Canadian Affairs retired on July 1. In that post she smoothed the way for the '80s negotiations between the US and the USSR. Ridgway's career included serving as ambassador to Finland and East Germany and ambassador for oceans and fisheries.

At a gala retirement ceremony June 26 at the State Department she received two rarely-given awards: the department's highest accolade, the Distinguished Honor Award, as well as the Wilbur J. Carr Award, given career officers with special achievements in the rank of assistant secretary. She earned the latter award for her efforts in laying the groundwork for the first US-Soviet summit. [*Washington Post*, 6/27/89]

Stephen Cohen Awarded Bukharin Prize

[ISAR's request to Stephen Cohen for information about the award he received March 15 from the Bukharin Foundation, which was reported in the Current Digest of the Soviet Press, resulted in the following information from Cohen. We decided to let him speak for himself. Ed.]

A Komsomol club in Naberezhny Chelny (formerly Brezhnev) renamed itself the Bukharin Club in 1987. With public donations, they also formed a Bukharin Foundation to give prizes to writings they admire. The first prizes were given in 1989—to me for the Soviet edition of my biography of Bukharin (published by Knopf in 1973 and still in print in an Oxford University Press edition); to Otto Latsis, deputy editor of *Kommunist*, for his articles on socialism; and to the late agricultural reformer Ivan Khudenko, who died in prison in the late 1970s. Khudenko's family, which is quite poor, received 1000 rubles; Latsis received 1000 rubles, which he donated to the Memorial Society; I received a large original painting of Bukharin done by a young artist in Naberezhny Chelny. The awards were made in the editorial offices of *Kommunist*.

Samantha Smith Sculpture To Go to Camp Artek

Sculptor Bruce Kueffer will deliver his bronze sculpture of Samantha Smith to Moscow in August for presentation to the Soviet sponsor of the commemorative work, the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR. The unveiling ceremony will be held August 25 at the Pioneer Palace and Museum. The sculpture will be located finally at the Artek Children's Camp on the Black Sea coast.

Samantha Smith is the ten-year old child from Maine who became a world-renowned citizen diplomat after she wrote Soviet Premier Andropov in 1982 asking "Are you going to have a war or not? If you aren't, please tell me how you are going to help not have a war." Samantha and her father died in 1985 in an airplane crash. [Press release]



EXCHANGES AND COLLABORATIONS

"Only a year ago, it would have been far from obvious, but indeed surprising if we had been told that environmental issues would be at the top of the agenda when the seven leaders of the most important Western industrialized nations met for their summit. The fact that this is now happening offers greater hopes that the time may be ripe for real global change."

—Gro Harlem Brundtland, Prime Minister of Norway and Chairman of the World Commission on Environment and Development, presenting *Our Common Future* to the UN General Assembly, October 1987

Need for Environmental Clearinghouse Defined

The time has come to promote cooperative activities in the environmental field. The Cold War atmosphere which pervaded Soviet-American affairs in the early '80s has dissipated dramatically. The leaders of both countries have publicly acknowledged the global ecological crisis and the need for cooperative efforts to combat it. Polls in both countries reveal a growing consciousness that the environment is a crucial factor in national security.

In the United States ecologically minded individuals and organizations have been working to fend off man's assault on nature for years. In the USSR, however, expression of the nation's deep natural concern for the motherland was blunted by the Stalinist policy of industrialization at all costs and persecution of those who objected to it. Now, under Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of glasnost, the Stalinist muzzle has been removed. Soviet newspapers, magazines, documentary films and television commentaries abound with stories of rampant environmental abuse. Unfortunately there is little accumulated wisdom in how to use the information to correct the abuses. Soviet industry, science, government and concerned citizens could benefit enormously from access to the hardwon expertise of the American environmental movement.

There is mutual interest in such sharing. Official exchanges under the 1972 and 1985 agreements on environmental cooperation are growing in number. The Soviet Union has established its own environmental protection agency, *Goskom-priroda*, and representatives of several large American advocacy groups have traveled to the Soviet Union or received fact-finding missions from the USSR. Citizen activists have also begun to make contact with Soviet grassroots environmental groups. Progress has been slowed, how-

ever, by power struggles in the Soviet environmental hierarchy and delays in the formulation of the long-promised "All-Union Environmental Law," which is to provide enforcement statutes. Given the enormity of the problems and the complex situation in the USSR, the scale of Soviet-American environmental exchanges to date is very small.

Sharing notes with American environmental activists and gaining access to information about such techniques as sustainable agriculture, energy efficiency, air and water purification and waste disposal could make a critical difference to Soviet environmentalists at all levels. The new Soviet honesty about the acute environmental problems from which they suffer inspires American response, but since Soviet needs, though great, are still poorly defined, it is difficult for Americans to shape and direct their assistance.

In other words, a major problem at the present time is lack of information. Americans do not know enough about the Soviet environmental situation, Soviets do not know enough about what Americans are doing to protect their environment. Though American environmentalists have started to work with Soviets, they are only beginning to work together to plan how best to respond to the needs of Soviet environmentalists.

ISAR has begun to gather and disseminate information on environmental exchange between the US and the USSR. A questionnaire has been sent to 90 environmental groups to determine their engagement with Soviet environmental groups. Numerous citizen diplomats have reported on their joint activities. The results are reported in this section of the journal. By pooling the collective wisdom of the government and the private sector, we hope to better understand specific needs and how Americans can join with Soviets in resolving environmental problems. [ISAR report by Eliza K. Klose]

Environmental Activists Link Up With Soviet Citizen Groups

In March, 1989, the Environmental Defense Fund was co-leader of a US environmental delegation to the USSR. The trip lasted 12 days and was organized by the San Francisco-based Center for US-USSR Initiatives. The 24-person delegation also included representatives of such groups as the Sierra Club, the Natural Resources Defense Council, Earth Island Institute and Earth First. The delegation visited Leningrad, Vilnius and Moscow and met there with citizen activists, scientists, representatives from official organizations and government agencies concerned with environmental issues.

Non-governmental Soviet activists asked the delegation for international support in combating a number of severe regional environmental threats such as the construction of a large flood control dike on the Gulf of Finland; the public health problems caused by a large plant in Kirishi, near Leningrad, which produces protein for animal feed through yeast cultivation on petroleum-based extracts; toxic and chemical pollution in many parts of the Soviet Union; and the threats posed by a number of existing and proposed Chernobyl-type nuclear reactors in Lithuania, Estonia and other parts of the European USSR.

Delegation members encountered a tremendous need and desire in the burgeoning Soviet non-governmental environmental movement for exchanges of information and people over a wide range of environmental issues. Several Soviet environmental activists asked EDF to translate and disseminate information in the West concerning their situation and specific problems. In Lithuania, delegation members and representatives of the Lithuanian Green Movement signed a joint statement calling for continued exchanges of information and people. In Moscow, the delegation met with Fyodor Morgun, then chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Nature Protection. Morgun appealed for support from both Soviet and foreign non-governmental environmental groups, noting that the fight against vested interests in Soviet ministries—particularly those dealing with the chemical industry and electric power—was a difficult one. [*EDF Report* by Bruce Rich]

Soviet Citizens Face Problems and Ask for Help

Excerpts from an interview by Gale Warner

A grassroots environmental movement has sprouted in the Soviet Union. Bolstered by the spirit of glasnost and outraged over the increase in Soviet pollution problems, environmentalists in the USSR are mobilizing. The fledgling movement is gaining ground protesting air pollution, routine dumping of raw sewage into drinking water and porkbarrel water projects built without public debate.

While successful environmental protests by well-known Soviet scientists and writers date from the 1960s and include the celebrated battles over Lake Baikal and the Brezhnev-era scheme to reverse the flow of two Siberian rivers, only in the past two years have independent citizen-based environmental lobbies become both vocal and visible.

Among the most active are a dozen small Leningrad-based groups associated with a coalition called Epicenter. This reporter interviewed three of the movement's leaders: Sergei Tsvetkov, a geologist; Piotr Kozhevnikov, a water inspection agent, veteran "unofficial" writer and head of the Delta environmental organization; and Yuri Ledin, an internationally known wildlife filmmaker whose campaign for animal rights led to his expulsion from the Union of Filmmakers in 1986.

Q: What are your main environmental issues here in Leningrad?

Tsvetkov: Mainly water problems, especially the pollution of Lake Ladoga (a large fresh water lake east of Leningrad that supplies the city's drinking water) and the new dam across the eastern part of the Gulf of Finland. The situations in these places are very, very serious.

Q: In what ways are you trying to have an influence on these issues?

Tsvetkov: We try to have an influence through publications, public actions and independent scientific research. It is now becoming possible to organize independent, formal scientific examinations to study these problems.

Kozhevnikov: On the one hand, I feel that it's almost futile. On the other hand, it doesn't matter how pessimistic I feel. If I can help just a little bit, it's worthwhile.

Q: Have you seen any results of your efforts so far?

Tsvetkov: Yes. For example, a large group of specialists appealed to the Soviet Academy of Sciences to organize an independent commission

to study how well the scientific justification for the dam was carried out.

Q: Have your groups here in Leningrad been involved with issues in other parts of the country, for example with the river diversions in Siberia?

Tsvetkov: Yes, of course. The same agencies took part in building these projects. So if they are interconnected, we must be interconnected as well. If we win, it will be easier for our friends in Siberia to fight the same agencies.

Ledin: Unfortunately, our ecological movement is so far not very united. We are considering only the most selective and local problems—like open space in Moscow—and no global problems. We are not experienced in inter-organization, we don't have good means of communication, and it's difficult for us to publish even the most primitive things.

Q: What can the people in the West do that would be helpful to you?

Ledin: Of course we are all interested in more cooperation. But it can be difficult. Our local Greenpeace acts under the auspices of the Peace Committee, and the Peace Committee does everything it can to isolate us from International Greenpeace.

Kozhevnikov: The more publications about our problems that appear in the West the better. The more letters you can write to official Soviet organizations, the better—as well as copies to us, so we know that they were sent. We need joint exhibitions, mutual forums, exchanges of materials. The best help of all would be to send experts over who can participate in scientific studies and we need to come to know each other personally.

Ledin: We don't know what's happening with the Swedes, the Finns, the people in other countries. There's a lot of potential for joint work.

Tsvetkov: We have only one planet. The Finnish industrialists dispose their pollutants which find their way to Lake Ladoga. And our authorities are satisfied with monetary compensation for this. Finnish people are just paying to have these pollutants disappear.

Ledin: But the pollutants that find their way from Finland to Lake Ladoga will flow back to the Gulf of Finland and will poison it again. So we cheat each other.

Kozhevnikov: And the dam in the Gulf of Finland violates the ecology of the whole Baltic Sea. So it's not just our local problem.

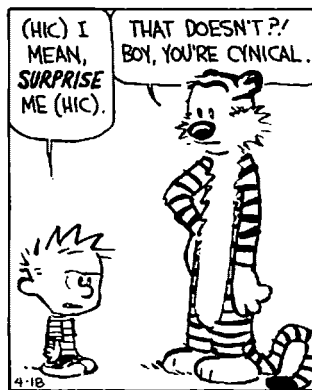
Tsvetkov: Anything that affects the global community must be examined by the whole global community. We need solidarity and help. No matter what country we are from, we ecologically-minded people form one family.

Gale Warner, co-author of Citizen Diplomats, is currently writing a book on the Soviet peace movement. [Earth Island Journal, Winter 1988-89]

Leningrad environmentalists welcome Western visitors and will appreciate all gifts of books, articles, technical equipment, cassette tapes, and batteries. Contact: Sergei Tsvetkov, c/o Shestakov, Box 664, Leningrad, USSR 191180, tel. 113-5896; Piotr Kozhevnikov, po. Khadozhnikov 2-285, Leningrad, 194285, tel. 511-3896; or Yuri Ledin, Mira St. 24-32, Leningrad 197061, tel. 232-7267.

Calvin and Hobbes

by Bill Watterson



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Colorado Professors Visit Soviet Environmental Groups

After a two-week April visit to the USSR, a team of Colorado State and Colorado University faculty members reports:

- Support by Goskompriroda (Committee for the Protection of Nature) officials for a switch from investment in military preparedness to environmental monitoring, understanding and, eventually, responses; support for the idea that the USSR publish both its military and environmental budgets (for verification purposes); and interest in joint research involving remote monitoring of potential environmental impacts on secluded regions in the US and USSR;

- Interest by Gosagroprom (Agriculture) officials in possibilities for Colorado/Soviet institutional exchanges, including "sister" institutes in eastern Colorado and a geographically similar region in the Saratov/middle Volga area;

- A tentative agreement with the Institute of Geography, USSR Academy of Sciences, for a number of young Soviet geographers to visit the Colorado University Mountain Research Station, and for Americans to visit the USSR. [Report to ISAR]

New York to Leningrad In Soviet-American Sail

Forty Soviet and American environmentalists, aged 17 to 73, are sailing a schooner together this summer from New York to Leningrad and back to underscore their convictions that the two nations should stop their arms buildup and instead begin saving the planet from its abuse by humans. The vessel left New York June 3 on the first part of the 8,000 mile voyage, returning to New York September 2.

The environmentalists, who will be working as deckhands, will take water and air samples along the way to be tested later for pollutants and will look for evidence of plastics discharged at sea by ships and that threaten marine life. [Richard Severo, *New York Times*, 3/20/89]

Siberian Scientists Study Lake Michigan

Eight Soviet researchers from the Soviet Institute of Limnology in Irkutsk, Siberia, spent two weeks this summer studying the ecology of Lake Michigan as guests of the Center for Great Lakes Studies at the University of Wisconsin in Milwaukee. The visit continued Soviet-American scientific collaboration which began last fall with the visit by the Wisconsin center's scientists to Lake Baikal in Siberia, the world's deepest lake. The Soviets' US visit was partially sponsored by the Soros Foundation.

Host of Soviet TV Program Celebrates Alaska

Vasiliy Peskov, *Komsomolskaya Pravda* nature writer and host of the Soviet television program "Animal World" began a six-week visit to the state of Alaska in late July, as part of a bilateral program with American filmmaker Robert Perkins and The New Film Company. Peskov, whose newspaper articles and television show enjoy wide popularity with Soviet readers and viewers, will collect photographs and interviews for a series of articles and a book. The book will be released at the time of the 250th anniversary of the European discovery of Alaska.

Perkins and his colleagues from the New Film Company will record Peskov's visit on film and will complete a documentary during the summer of 1990, when Peskov will host them for six weeks on the Kamchatkan Peninsula as they retrace the route of 1860s explorer George Kennan. The Perkins-Peskov exchange has been developed by the Organization for American-Soviet ExchangeS (OASES-DC), which provides consulting, coordinative and language services. [Report to ISAR]

Safe Environment A Basic Human Right

A worldwide "citizens' treaty on ecological security and human rights" is the goal of a project now underway which aims to proclaim the human right to a healthy and safe environment and to create a comprehensive system of international safeguards. The project, launched in Moscow last

December as a bilateral initiative by US and Soviet citizens, is designed to become a worldwide process in which citizens and nongovernmental organizations in all nations will be invited to participate. A Soviet-American meeting to finalize a draft treaty is planned for September 25-29 in San Diego.

Initial work on the project has been sponsored by Global Education Associates, the Soviet-American Forum for Life with Human Rights, Wainwright House, and the Exploratory Project on the Conditions of Peace. Members of other organizations, like the UN and the American Bar Association, have offered assistance and other organizations are invited to join the effort.

For the Survival of Mankind

The US National Academy of Science and the USSR Academy of Sciences have formed an Inter-academy Committee on Global Ecology. Scientists of the two agencies believe the panel to be of equal importance to the survival of mankind as arms reductions talks. Topics to be covered include the greenhouse effect, the thinning of the ozone layer, environmental pollution, loss of natural resources and species, and the influence of population growth and industrial development.

US-Soviet Architects To Rebuild Armenian Cities

When a massive earthquake struck Soviet Armenia a few months ago, Armenian architects faced an almost insurmountable task: virtually rebuilding entire cities from scratch. Through a joint effort with a group of American architects, however, they were able to contribute to reconstruction plans for the city of Spitak, and adopt new designs better suited for areas of seismic risk.

The results of this global cooperation were detailed in a major presentation to the American Institute of Architects' (AIA) national convention in St. Louis. Yuri Platonov, president of the Union of Architects of the USSR, made a rare address about the rebuilding efforts and future opportunities for joint ventures affecting the profession. He was joined by three of the American architects who had just returned from the region, and leading architects from seven other nations. The presen-

tation was part of a program entitled, "The Architectural Profession and the 21st-Century—Recognizing the Effects of the Global Economy."

* * *

Until December 7, 1988, Spitak was an obscure little industrial city in the hilly, treeless countryside of northwest Soviet Armenia. On that day, however, Spitak gained a terrible renown—it was the epicenter of, and was eradicated by, the great Armenian earthquake.

The American approach was to seek patterns in the local culture and to assimilate these in its guidelines for rebuilding Spitak. In addition the Americans brought ideas about community participation that have become conventional here but are genuinely revolutionary in the Soviet context, and they introduced entirely new concepts of how to visualize and to order the rebuilding process. (The American design was selected by Soviet officials in a design competition.) [Benjamin Forgey, *Washington Post*, 7/1/89]

Americans Join Soviets for Environmental Work

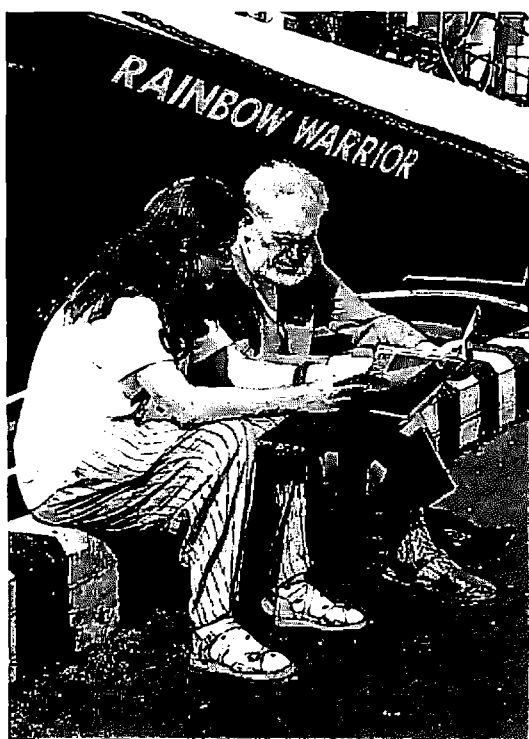
Forty-two Americans, hosted by the USSR's Association for Ecological Initiatives, participated this summer in nature park trail maintenance and other environmental work at Lake Baikal, Siberia, in a program of international workcamps arranged by Volunteers for Peace.

In other programs with an environmental focus arranged by Volunteers for Peace: the Student Ecology Club of Moscow State University hosted 10 US students for a work/study program in Moscow; a group of young Soviet scientists at the Ecological Projects Center in Moscow organized a program for American and Soviet citizens to work together in environmental projects in and around Moscow; Americans were part of an Ecotour project in Moscow and Volgograd with a focus on ecology and trade on the Volga River; and US citizens participated in a "Nature and Us" environmental program in Minsk and Moscow run by Sputnik for 650 people from 15 countries.

An Earthstewards program this summer included a visit to Lake Baikal as part of a Gardener's Journey through the Soviet Union. The visit also featured visits to nature reserves, experimental stations, farms and farm markets.

Greenpeace Teaches Children

Greenpeace is leaping into children's education to help improve environmental programs in schools around the world. Proceeds from the Greenpeace rock album "Greenpeace-Breakthrough," released this year in the US, USSR and other countries, are being used to establish Greenpeace's East-West Children's Education project in 18 pilot schools in the US, USSR and Western Europe. The project expands on the action-oriented environmental curriculum successfully used in 1500 Netherlands schools over the past two years. Emphasizing conservation and problems of air and water pollution, the program encourages children to do something about their communities' environmental problems. To foster the program, Greenpeace is establishing offices in Moscow and a number of smaller Soviet towns. The Greenpeace ship Rainbow Warrior arrived in Leningrad in late July.



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Chairman of Greenpeace USSR Alexei Yablokov and Greenpeace Director Monika Griefahn with the RAINBOW WARRIOR in Leningrad.

International Youth to Plant Trees in US Inner-Cities

In a new Urban PeaceTrees project, Earthstewards Network plans to bring young people from India, Costa Rica, the USSR and Northern Ireland to Los Angeles, New York City and Washington, DC, and, alongside American youth, to plant trees in the inner cities. The youths work in teams planting trees in empty areas such as abandoned parking lots. The public is being invited to donate trees and to join the teams for work on the projects. The first treeplanting is scheduled to begin March 1990 in Washington, DC.

Emerging Leaders Tackle Environmental Problems

Following up on a successful US-USSR "Emerging Leaders Summit" in Philadelphia last December, the Center for International Leadership and the Soviet Committee of Young Scientists is holding six workshops this year to discuss pollution, biotechnology, renewable energy, hazardous waste disposal and joint ventures in space exploration.

Women Respond To Ecological Crisis

At the First International Conference on Women, Peace and the Environment, convened in June in Moscow, 104 women from 24 nations assembled to discuss the ecological perils confronting today's world. The participants declared their intention to expose the connections between environmental degradation, greed, militarism and technology devoid of human values; insist that human and ecological values take absolute precedence; build trust among peoples and nations, and use all available international institutions and networks to achieve a common security for the family of earth. [Press Release]

'Sundance Summit' On Global Warming

Soviet and US scientists, philosophers, political leaders, environmentalists, industry executives and representatives of the media have been invited to an international "Sundance Summit" on global climate change August 24-26 at Sundance, Utah. The conference, on "Confronting the Climate Crisis: Translating Science into Policy Action," is sponsored by Robert Redford's Institute for Resource Management in association with the USSR Academy of Scientists.

Global Environment Is Focus Of Student Pugwash Meeting

Global environmental issues took the fore at the tenth anniversary Student Pugwash international conference held June 18-24 in Boulder, Colorado. Some 90 students from 25 countries, including the USSR, joined an international group of senior participants to discuss the impact of science and technology on society. Topics included "Energy Options and Environmental Impacts" and "Development, Technology, and the Environment." The organization, dedicated to preparing students to make value-conscious decisions about the use of science and technology in society, has branches at 30 US universities.

WorldPaper/Novosti Inquiry On Pollution and Politics

An October 1989 "international inquiry" in Moscow on "Pollution, Perestroika and Politics" is being organized by WorldTimes, Inc., publisher of *WorldPaper*, and the Novosti Press Agency, which will host the event. Participants will include government officials, academicians and industry executives, as well as some 25 to 40 writers and editors of *WorldPaper*, an international affairs monthly that appears in 22 countries in four language editions. The themes developed in the conference will be the basis of a future cover story of *WorldPaper*.

New Publications in Russian On Environmental Issues

- The Rocky Mountain Institute and the Soviet Academy of Sciences are working on a joint book, *Energy Efficiency and Security*.
- Worldwatch's *State of the World* is being published in Russian in the USSR by Progress Publishers, with a foreword by Galina Sdasyuk, Soviet Institute of Geography.
- The World Resource Institute's *World Resource Report* is being translated and published by the Soviet Institute of Geography.

WORLD SECURITY

Unique Visits to Soviet Military Sites Sponsored by NRDC

The National Resources Defense Council in cooperation with the Soviet Academy of Sciences organized a July trip to the Soviet Union which involved an unprecedented experiment on naval nuclear verification as well as visits to two secret Soviet military installations. NRDC has done a 15-minute video of the trip's highlights. Stories of the extraordinary events by *New York Times* journalists follow:

American scientists climbed atop the launching tube of a Soviet nuclear-armed cruise missile July 5 and tested its warhead with sophisticated measuring devices. It was an unusual demonstration intended to show that nuclear arms control can be extended to the seas. As the warship circled

in the Black Sea near the resort city of Yalta, the Soviet Navy popped open the launcher lid and gave the Americans their first close look at one of the little sea-skimming killers that have become a nagging obstacle in strategic arms talks. The Natural Resources Defense Council, sponsored the tour. [Bill Keller, *New York Times*, 7/6/89]

* * *

Down a potholed road in the forlorn steppes of Soviet Central Asia lies a shabby cluster of concrete buildings that has loomed large in the lore of the Pentagon. The unimposing compound houses a laser research center once billed by the US Defense Department as the fearsome core of the Soviet anti-missile "Star Wars" program.

On July 8 a group of ten Americans, including two physicists, three members of Congress and two journalists, were the first foreigners allowed inside this testing ground to view what the Soviets have always maintained was an innocent research program. After exploring the installation from its basement electrical circuitry to its 20-year-old transistorized computers to the laser once billed by the American intelligence agency as an operable antisatellite weapon, members of the American delegation said the complex was less a menace than a monument to Pentagon public relations.

The tour of Sary-Shagan was perhaps the most remarkable development yet in Soviet campaign of "military glasnost." Asked about the Defense Department's more threatening version of Sary-Shagan, Soviet General Tarasov said he was familiar with Pentagon descriptions of Soviet military programs, and generally admired them. "In this case, you exaggerated," he said. "But that's okay. We write the same kinds of things about you." [Bill Keller, *New York Times*, 7/9/89]

* * *

Last week, Americans were allowed inside a Soviet nuclear weapons plant for the first time and learned that the consequences of such secrecy also were similar—severe radioactive and toxic pollution, critical mechanical lapses and public fear of health threats and job losses.

The visit by American politicians, environmentalists and private scientists was to the Kyshtym Industrial Complex, which was established in 1946 and is the Soviet Union's oldest nuclear weapons plant. The Natural Resources Defense Council, a New York-based environmental and arms control group that urges a halt to producing nuclear materials for weapons, arranged the trip.

The Soviets told the Americans they were reluctant to close the two remaining reactors because of concern about 100,000 residents whose livelihoods have depended for four decades on producing plutonium for Soviet bombs. Similar social concerns have caused discussion in Congress about the future of the US Hanford Reservation, a plutonium manufacturing complex in Washington state.. [Keith Schneider, *New York Times*, 7/16/89]

Harvard Program on Negotiation Gives Course in Moscow

Twenty Soviet diplomats spent five days in March at the Foreign Ministry dacha outside Moscow taking a residential course on negotiation. The course was taught jointly by four specialists from Harvard Law School's Program on Negotiation and by Ambassador Viktor Issraelyan, a faculty member of the Soviet Diplomatic Academy.

This fall, Bruce Allyn and William Ury of the Harvard program will teach negotiation courses at the Moscow State Institute of International Relations and the Diplomatic Academy. Plans also call for a negotiation course taught by Soviet and American faculty for Soviet and American diplomats.

Search for Common Ground Explores Conflict Resolution

Americans and Soviets will work together on methods of conflict resolution and training others in those methods under a new agreement. Preliminary papers for a "Soviet-American Working Group for the Analysis and Resolution of Conflict" were signed May 3 by representatives of two US organizations, Search for Common Ground and the National Institute for Citizen Participation in Negotiation, and the Soviet Institute for the USA and Canada Studies and *Literaturnaya Gazeta*.

Institute for East-West Studies Reviews Sources of Instability

An international working group of 35 members has begun a study on "Sources of Instability: Seeking Cooperative Solutions." Members will review past approaches to regional conflicts and weapons proliferation as well as the developmental and social causes of instability, considering possible new approaches for the future. The study is a project of the Institute for East-West Security Studies.

Union of Concerned Scientists Faces Danger of Accidental War

On May 24-26, representatives of the Union of Concerned Scientists met in Moscow with members of the Committee of Soviet Scientists for Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat to explore the possibility of a joint project on the prevention of accidental or inadvertent nuclear war. The discussions focused on similarities and differences between US and Soviet command and control systems, possible sources of an unauthorized launch of a nuclear missile and preventive measures that should be considered by both nations. The two organizations seek to focus public and governmental attention on the risks of accidental or inadvertent launch, a problem that will remain despite further progress on arms reductions.

Atlantic Council Dialogue On East-West Relations

The Atlantic Council of the US held a US-Soviet Dialogue on "East-West Relations in Transition" on June 6 at the State Department in Washington. Discussion topics included the impact of new thinking on policy toward Europe, arms control and non-proliferation, and East-West cooperation on economic and environmental issues.

Among participating Soviets were Ambassador Yuri Dubinin and Andrei Kokoshin, Henry Trofimenko, Andrei Kortunov, Yuri Davydov and Pavel Podlesny of the USA/Canada Institute. Among the American participants were Andrew Goodpaster and George Seignious of the Atlantic Council, Reginald Bartholomew and Rozanne Ridgway of the State Department, Richard Pipes of Harvard and Helmut Sonnenfeldt of the Brookings Institution.

Center for Defense Information Joins US and USSR Military

Retired American and Soviet admirals and generals met this May in Washington for a conference on "new military thinking," sponsored by the Center for Defense Information. The meetings were chaired jointly by Rear Admiral Gene La Rocque, USN (Ret.) and Lieutenant General

Mikhail Milshtein (Ret.), a senior researcher for the Soviet Institute of US and Canada Studies.

Among points of agreement reached by the 15 retired flag officers were that all nuclear testing and tests of new nuclear delivery systems must cease; that no weapons should be designed, tested or deployed for use in space; that major reductions should be made in conventional forces and all troops should be removed from foreign countries; that the US and USSR should take the lead in reducing the sale of arms to developing nations and eliminate military training and military advisors in these countries; and that the two countries should intensify their cooperation and enlist support from all nations to prevent the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the world.

Institute for Defense and Disarmament Holds Arms Reduction Conference

US and Soviet arms control experts and policymakers met in Moscow last fall to discuss conventional arms reduction in Europe, both in a seminar and in meetings with Soviet officials. The meetings were jointly sponsored by the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute for World Economy and International Relations and the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies.

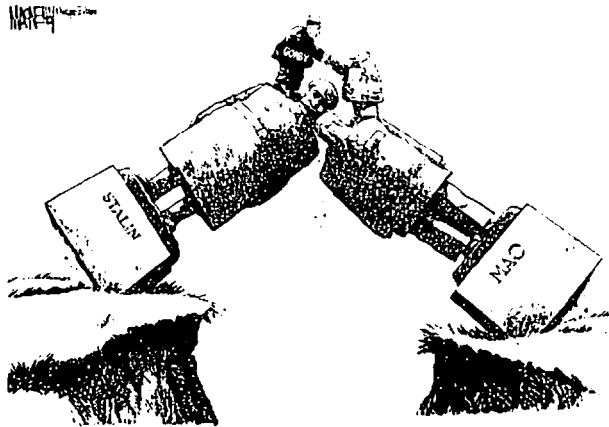
Among US participants were Randall Forsberg of the Institute for Defense and Disarmament Studies; Jonathan Dean of the Union of Concerned Scientists; Frank von Hippel of the Woodrow Wilson School; William Miller of the American Committee on US-Soviet Relations; Stanley Resor, former Secretary of the Army now a board member of the Arms Control Association; and Edward Warner of the RAND Corporation. Co-leaders of the Soviet delegation were Oleg Bykov of the Institute for World Economy and International Relations and Alexei Arbatov of the Department of Disarmament Problems.

UNA of USA Studies UN Role in Global Security

A joint statement has been issued by committees of the UN Associations of the USA and the Soviet Union on "The UN's Role in Enhancing Peace and Security." The US committee was

chaired by Richard Gardner, professor of international law at the Columbia University Law School; Soviet co-chairmen were Vladimir Shustov of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Viktor L. Israelyan of the USSR Diplomatic Academy.

In a May 8 editorial in the *International Herald Tribune*, Mr. Gardner reports that Gorbachev has called for a strengthening of the authority of international organizations, which Gardner believes presents "an opportunity to advance UN interests and the general human interest." He explains why: "The main threats to the future security of the superpowers may not be from each other but from ominous developments in the Third World—not only terrorism and drug-trafficking, but the presence of missiles, chemical weapons and nuclear arms in the armories of unstable governments and a multiplication of conflict fueled by underdevelopment, overpopulation and ecological catastrophe." [Press release]



MacNelly. Reprinted by permission: Tribune Media Services.

International Peace Academy Holds Off-the-Record Workshops

"US, Soviet and Third World Perceptions of Regional Conflict Management" is the subject for discussion at an "off-the-record" workshop to be held at Briarcliff Manor, New York, September 19 to 21. It is the second in a series being sponsored by the International Peace Academy in collaboration with the Institute of World Economy and International Relations, USSR Academy of Sciences. The theme of the first workshop was "Soviet and American Perceptions of Third World Regional Conflicts." It took place in Pushchino, USSR, last November with 31 participants from the US, USSR and Third World countries.

Aspen Institute Focuses on US/USSR/European Relations

A conference, to be held August 27-September 1 in Dubrovnik, Yugoslavia for members of the US Congress will focus on US-Soviet-European relations and will include speakers from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. The sixth in a series of meetings begun in 1986 under the auspices of the Aspen Institute, the conference brings together a bipartisan group of some 25 members of Congress with scholars and western European parliamentarians. Former Senator Dick Clark is director of the project.

At the last conference, held in Jamaica in January, the subject was the changes in Soviet foreign policy since Gorbachev and their implications for the US and the West.

Beyond War Probes Differing Views of Human Rights

To address human rights as a context for new thinking, a week-long discussion by American and Soviet participants was held this April in California. Sponsored by Beyond War and the Institute of State and Law of the USSR Academy of Sciences, the discussions focused on the social and cultural histories of the US and USSR which affect their different concepts and expectations about human rights. Participants agreed that public education about these different perspectives could foster greater understanding in the US and USSR and that joint video, film, television, and periodicals should be produced to help frame a new way of thinking.

ACYPL Alumni Exchange Once Again

Thirty Soviet alumni from nearly 20 years of US-USSR exchanges, sponsored by the American Council of Young Political Leaders, met with their American counterparts in April for a four-day conference in Charleston, South Carolina. There they discussed the changes which have occurred in US-Soviet relations, as well as arms control, human rights, bilateral trade and economic relations. The Soviets also had several days in Washington for visits with

officials from the White House, Congress and the Department of State.

Since 1971, the two sponsoring organizations, the American Council of Young Political Leaders and the Committee of Youth Organizations of the USSR, have organized some 30 exchange visits, including the first alumni exchange held in Moscow last year.

Council on Economic Priorities Offers Study in Moscow

Researchers interested in producing papers and traveling to Moscow to confer with Soviet authorities are invited to apply for participation in a two-year study of US-Soviet Military Spending and Economic Priorities. The project is being undertaken by the Council on Economic Priorities in cooperation with the Academy of Sciences of the USSR the Institute for World Economy and International Relations and other Soviet institutes.

UNA of the USA Convenes Model UN

Ten Soviet foreign affairs students selected from Soviet universities and graduate programs attended a Model UN simulation April 27-May 1

at the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies in Washington. Soviet-American negotiating teams representing Security Council countries discussed problems of Kampuchea and the Western Sahara, as well as opportunities for humanitarian cooperation.

Youth Ambassadors Give Children Head Start

A "Soviet-American Youth Summit" met in June in Alexandria, Virginia. For three days, 30 Soviet and 45 US students aged 13-18 debated the greenhouse effect, air pollution, free speech, crack, cocaine and a myriad of other topics looking for ways to make the world a safer and healthier place. Their preliminary proposals were presented June 21 to Senator Claiborne Pell, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, and to Senators Mark Hatfield and Dennis DeConcini. US Sprint and Megavision provided live video exchange facilities for a two-hour face-to-face discussion with young people in San Francisco.

Sponsored by Youth Ambassadors of America, a nonprofit organization founded in 1985, and hosted by St. Stephen's School in Alexandria, the summit was the third of a series and the first in the US. [Matt Lait, *Washington Post*, 6/21/89]

FOUNDATIONS

Foundations Look at New Philanthropy in USSR

In March, a 25-member delegation from the US philanthropic community, organized by the Council on Foundations, visited the Soviet Union to learn about the emerging charitable sector and to determine how the council and its members could be supportive. In private offices and homes, in various of the Soviet republics and local communities, delegates met with Soviets who are forming voluntary nongovernmental organizations to resolve social problems.

Writing about the experience, Council director James Joseph reported: "Everywhere we went we found private citizens forming voluntary organizations and developing new alternatives to the governmental process. We found creativity in search of institutional expression, people excited

by the possibility of directly addressing social needs and aspirations that had been ignored or stifled for 75 years. We found an almost metaphysical liberation of the human spirit, a turning to the church and other forms of spiritual outlet that had been discouraged or denied. We found a renaissance of culture and a new freedom of the mind, a willingness to criticize the past publicly, to think new thoughts and to dream new dreams.

In the midst of the incredible spiritual, intellectual and political ferment, we also found a limited knowledge of process, an intense desire to learn from the experience of others how best to translate the many new ideas into effective nongovernmental programs. We found uncertainty about whether the new activism by private citizens could really make a difference. We found

anxiety about whether the new openness would last, a lingering fear that the conservative bureaucrats and other agents of the State would not permit this new freedom to continue....

The new charitable sector is not limited to the grantmaking activities of foundations. The Church and the newly forming private business enterprises are also playing a highly visible role in encouraging and supporting nongovernmental approaches to meeting social needs and fostering social change. Privately organized benevolence which was, for all intents and purposes, obliterated by the 1917 revolution is now regarded as a vital part of Soviet society. While little distinction is made between philanthropy and private charity, it is a growing component of the spiritual and moral life of the nation."

Kellogg Foundation Contacts Soviet Union

A four-person delegation from the W.K. Kellogg Foundation in Battle Creek, Michigan, made a trip to the Soviet Union in early June. The purpose of the trip was to explore possible exchanges or other relationships with contacts in the Soviet Union, particularly in the areas of agricultural communications (extension services, training and publications), pairing Soviet farms with US farms and rural communities and public health. The foundation hopes to invite three delegations from the Soviet Union in October 1989:

- A delegation of senior officials of all-union and certain Republic agricultural and publishing ministries;
- A delegation of farm directors and certain senior managers from at least the farms visited by the delegation; and
- a delegation of agricultural communicators representing such communications vehicles as extension services, training and publications. [Reports to ISAR, June and July, 1989.]

Soros Foundation/Cultural Foundation USSR Support Joint Projects

The first annual report of the Soros Foundation-Soviet Union, published in April, illustrates some of the exciting effects of private philanthropy newly possible in the USSR:

"George Soros created the Soros Foundation-Soviet Union in 1987 after Dr. Andrei Sakharov's return to Moscow. It seemed a propitious time to effect and support changes that would lead to a more open society with pluralistic approaches to choices in every area. It became evident quickly that we needed an independent structure and so, together with the Cultural Foundation and the Peace Foundation USSR, we formed the Cultural Initiative in May 1988. Our board of directors, made up of prominent Soviet citizens, has met seven times and has, as of March 1989, allocated \$497,000 and 2,262,000 rubles in grants.

At the present time we have nine Soros Scholars from the Soviet Union doing a year's research program at Oxford toward doctoral degrees from their home institutions. Twenty young Soviet sociologists have been selected to attend a specially created summer school program for twelve weeks at the University of Manchester. Twelve Soviet jurists—advocates, prosecutors, judges—have been selected for our American Bar Association program, which will place them this fall with American law firms for internships in the areas of commercial law, environmental law and human rights law.

Our research and conference grants program has provided airfare in rubles and per diems in dollars for almost 400 Soviet citizens to travel to the West. We give preference to people who have not been abroad before. Our travellers include scholars giving papers, artists exhibiting their works, filmmakers presenting their films, teenagers participating in an Outward Bound trek, scientists doing research in the Great Lakes and environmentalists developing study aids. The point of the program is to expand the professional contacts of Soviet citizens and open up the society.

In the coming months we intend to embark on new activities that respond to frequent requests: we plan to open a cultural center in Moscow, with a video library, computer hook-up to American libraries, a hall for lectures and concerts. We will also supply space for informal groups who need a meeting space. We will coordinate periodic conferences for the exchange of ideas between Western and Soviet specialists on a variety of issues, such as philanthropy and the law. The Foundation accepts applications directly from Soviet citizens. Over 2300 proposals arrived in the first 30 days. [News from the Soros Foundation, USSR, April, 1989.]

Foundation for Social Inventions Supports Perestroika

The Soviet Foundation for Social Inventions, created by special correspondent Gennady Alferenko for *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, works to support and unite those Soviets who, by their actions, contribute to the success of perestroika. The foundation looks on the social inventor as essential to progress, as essential as is the modern physicist, biologist or computer programmer. Alferenko writes that social innovators are "one tributary of the river called democratization, one of those tributaries which facilitate the establishment of an atmosphere of creativity, dynamism of social thought and, in consequence, accelerates the development of the entire society." He cites Mikhail Gorbachev's call at the 20th Komsomol Congress, "It is important today for us to study

everything and to teach young people social creativity, because no progress is possible without it."

The foundation's operating methods are simple. The best and most interesting proposals sent by readers of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* to the foundation are re-presented to the readers for financial support. The author of a proposal which receives readers' approval receives monies donated by readers to the foundation's account for implementing that project. Alferenko reports that the foundation receives about 5000 proposals a month and funds about 20.

The foundation has offices in Moscow and in San Francisco, enabling it to receive donations of both rubles and dollars. The US office is operated by the Washington Research Institute, a 501(c)3 tax-exempt corporation. Contributions sent to the US office, 3220 Sacramento Street, San Francisco 94115, are tax-exempt if made payable to the WRI. [Foundation for Social Inventions Report]

COMMUNICATIONS

Novosti Reports on USSR-US Journalistic Exchanges

When Hal Sharp, editor of the *Nashville Graphic*, a North Carolina tri-weekly, made a two-week familiarizing tour of the Soviet Union last year, he was one of many other journalists who visited this country under the auspices of the Novosti Press Agency. With the growing interest of the American public toward processes of perestroika and glasnost in the USSR, more and more regional US newspapers want to provide their readers with first-hand information about Soviet life. Soviet media in the provinces also try to present to the population here a much more varied, colorful and objective picture of the US, preferably with the help of their own writers...

Both sides came up with the idea to start a program which includes exchanges of articles or even entire newspapers. Novosti was approached by Soviet and American newspapers to help in finding partners for the exchange.

The first to start the ball rolling were newspapers of sister-cities. There are currently about a dozen pairs of newspapers which exchange articles on a permanent basis. The most active are Tallahassee and Gainesville (Florida) newspapers, which not only exchange articles with sev-

eral South Russia and Black Sea shore counterparts, but also send delegations to each other. *The Dixon* (Illinois) *Telegraph* enthusiastically responded to an offer for exchanges from *Taimyr*, a newspaper in the Arctic town of Dickson, East Siberia.

Another stream of exchanges is growing between university student newspapers. About 20 pairs in the USSR, USA and Canada are participating now in projects which include publishing columns and articles, as well as mutual visits by editors. Novosti provides both sides with translation and communication facilities and also arranges meetings for visiting American journalists. [Novosti Press, 4/24/89]

For Soviet Journalist, Nothing New under the Moon

In April the US-based World Media Association invited Soviet journalists to take part in its annual conference. The invitation—the first of its kind—came as a surprise. We knew that the Association is part of the empire belonging to Korean preacher, businessman and politician Sun Yung Moon now residing in the US, who makes no secret of his anti-communist convictions.

However surprised, we accepted the invitation. We saw for ourselves how American ultra-conservatives think, argue and behave, while they had the opportunity to compare notes, views and ideas with 12 Soviet journalists. There was much evidence of change in attitude to the USSR on the part of conservative-minded Americans. Editors and reporters from provincial papers, TV and radio stations, mayors of small towns, historians and publishers showed a benevolent interest in our affairs, wished us every success in our perestroika and democratization and expressed hope for a peaceful future and bilateral cooperation in various spheres.

The Rev. Moon's opening speech sounded quite liberal, too: "I welcome the new policy of glasnost and perestroika." [Yevgeny Pozdnyakov, *Moscow News* #19, 1989]

US/USSR Journalists Call for Greater Access

In continuing exchanges, 10 Soviet journalists visited the US in April 1988, a US delegation went to the Soviet Union in May 1989 and a Soviet delegation will be in the US this October. As part of the exchanges, roundtable discussions were held in Moscow and San Francisco revealing an "agreement among members of the delegations on the need for greater freedom of access to sources of information and removal of unwarranted restrictions on travel by journalists in both countries," according to an article by Bill Kovach in the *Bulletin of the American Society of Newspaper Editors* (ASNE).

In his article, Kovach, who is chairman of ASNE's international communication committee, writes of the "truly breathtaking sweep of change in Soviet society and in the flow of information taking place." He adds that it is "clearly in the interest of American journalists to do all we prudently can to encourage present developments regarding freedom of expression in the Soviet system."

Joint Student Magazine: California-Moscow Tie

Students at Pepperdine and Stanford Universities have teamed up with Soviet students to establish a Soviet-American student magazine. The students expect to start publishing early next year. The magazine will be distributed and sold to institutions of higher learning in California and in the Soviet Union.

In Moscow, the Novosti press agency has offered technical assistance and guaranteed the students an independent editorial board. The Government is providing office space. When articles in Moscow have been edited, they will be sent to San Francisco through an electronic mail service, the San Francisco-Moscow Teleport, and the journal will be printed here and shipped to the Soviet Union. "At the basis of *Montage* is the shared nature of the project," a student editor said. "Each side has equal power." [*New York Times*, 7/9/89]

Women's Magazines Survey Soviet and American Women

Women's Day magazine entered into an extraordinary joint venture last summer with *Krestyanka*, the largest women's magazine in the Soviet Union: The two would do a survey of their readers' attitudes about the state of their families and publish the results.

Thirty thousand American women and 200,000 Soviet women participated in the survey. Several results stood out: Women in both societies are feeling stressed and overburdened. More than half of the Soviet women surveyed and 88 percent of the American women surveyed felt their work in the home was undervalued and women in both countries felt the stress of family and jobs.

Women in both countries are worried about upcoming generations. A *Krestyanka* editor who visited the US in connection with the survey said that the Soviets have raised a generation they consider spoiled, infantile and unwilling to work. "And we have raised a generation we think of as very materialistic and very indulged," said the *Women's Day* editor. "I think the survey marks the beginning of exploring things together. At the same time we are holding all these talks on disarmament and nuclear issues, it would be interest-

ing to hold minisummits on some of these personal issues like the future of the family." [Judy Mann, *Washington Post*, 3/22/89]

Atlanta TV Employs Soviet Journalist

In the seven weeks he has been reporting for WXIA-TV in Atlanta, Nugzar Ruhadze has become a celebrity. Throughout the city, viewers come up just to say hello and shake his hand. But Mr. Ruhadze is not a fellow Southerner. He is a Soviet Georgian journalist now reporting for this NBC-affiliate station as the second part of an exchange between a network affiliate in Georgia and a Soviet Georgian television station. Simeon Smith, a reporter for WXIA, worked in Tbilisi, the capital city of Soviet Georgia, for six weeks before Mr. Ruhadze came to the US.

While American and Soviet journalists have worked in each other's countries before, this is the first time TV journalists have actually become employees of the stations they visit, said Harvey Mars, the president of WXIA-TV.

"When we sent Simeon to Tbilisi," he said, "we told the Georgians: 'We don't want him to be an American reporter—Simeon works for you and if you want to censor him, fine, but when he comes back, he's going to do a documentary and tell all. And when you send Nugzar, he's going to work for me.'" [*New York Times*, 7/10/89]

Soviet TV Quiz Show Attracts US Competition

Six Russian-speaking Columbia University graduate students at the Harriman Institute became the first Westerners to appear on a popular Soviet Union television quiz show, "What? Where? When?" with an estimated viewership of 50 million. The Americans, along with Polish, Bulgarian and Soviet contestants, first appeared May 6 on the live, two-hour show, accompanied by professor Jonathan Sanders. Invited back to become regulars on the program, they are now forming "What, Where, When?" clubs in the US, aiming for chapters across the country and regular exchanges with USSR chapters. The 1989 games are scheduled to open September 9, with the US represented by students from the University of California at Berkeley.

Pop World Wrestles with "Our Common Future"

A five-hour global television broadcast, "Our Common Future," took place on June 3. Relayed to about 100 countries, the program was intended to create awareness of environmental problems and to urge global cooperation. Broadcast live from Avery Fisher Hall with material from the Soviet Union, England, Australia, Poland, Norway and Brazil, the program mixed musical performances with pro-environmental statements, a format akin to Live Aid.

Unlike Live Aid, the program was not a benefit, and it was less a live concert than a staged event; the audience was largely an invited one and many of the performances were on tape. It was also considerably lower in star power than Live Aid, with Sting, Stevie Wonder, Elton John, Diana Ross, Joni Mitchell, R.E.M. and Kenny Loggins as its best-known names.

"Our Common Future" is the title of a 1987 report by the World Commission on Environment and Development, an independent group sanctioned by the United Nations. The commission's chairman, Dr. Gro Harlem Brundtland, the Prime Minister of Norway, appeared on the program. [Jon Pareles, *New York Times*, 6/5/89]

Gosteleradio in Co-Production With Better World Society

Gosteleradio and the Better World Society have agreed to co-produce a cable television program, "An Agenda for US/Soviet Collaboration," illustrating the tangible benefits for humanity and the planet of cooperative efforts by the East and West in such areas as the environment and health. The Society, an international organization founded by cable entrepreneur Ted Turner, uses cable television for public education on global issues.

According to Better World, Gosteleradio has offered to pay half the total cost of \$400,000. Under a unique arrangement with Gennady Alferenko of the Soviet Foundation for Social Inventions, some of the rubles needed may be raised by recruiting Soviet citizens as members and donors to Better World.

US, Soviet Women Teachers Share Common Problems

Classes are too large, teachers are underpaid and too few women are at the top where decisions about teaching are made. So, a leading Soviet educator said, teachers in her country are organizing to improve their lot. "Sounds just like home," lamented an American woman.

The exchange took place at Pitzer College in Claremont, California, where seven high-ranking professional women from the Soviet Union took part in discussions with American counterparts. The visit was arranged by Claremont Women for Soviet-American Dialogue and the Claremont Association for Mutual American-Soviet Understanding.

Valentina Mitina, head of an educational institute that is part of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said that 90 percent of her country's public school teachers are women and that when their workday ends, they are still burdened with lesson plans and papers to be corrected at home, where they usually must do most of the housework and child care. "Unfortunately, the prestige of teachers is not very high," she said. Those in the Pitzer College audience noted similarities in the US, where about 85 percent of all public school teachers are women. [Mary Barber, *Los Angeles Times*, 4/22/89]

Massive High School Partnership

The US-USSR High School Academic Partnership Program begins its second year in October with the arrival of Soviet students for study at 50 participating US schools, all of which offer an average of four years of Russian language study. The Soviet students live with families and spend approximately four weeks in academic and cultural activities.

In the first four months of 1989, 800 American and Soviet high school students attended each other's schools, with Soviets at 30 American schools in 19 states, and US students at 30 schools in 11 Soviet republics. The program is administered by the American Council for the Teaching of Russian in cooperation with the National Association of Secondary School Principals, with partial funding by the US Information Agency.

School-to-School Program

American high schools will host Soviet students and teachers during the academic year 1989-90 in month-long programs arranged by the Citizen Exchange Council.

- Southern Lehigh High School, Lehigh, Penn., will host 16 students and four teachers from Minsk.

- Maumee Valley Country Day School, Toledo, Ohio, and the Dalton School, New York City, will share the hosting of 15 students and two teachers from Vilnius, Lithuania.

- Phoenix, Arizona, public schools will host 17 students and 3 teachers from Novgorod.

Chicago Students Go to Kiev

The Chicago Center for US-USSR Relations and Exchanges, working with the Chicago Public Schools, has arranged to send ten students who are studying Russian at Morgan Park High School to be the guests of High School District #125 in Kiev for three weeks this September.

US Collegiate Consortium Expands Exchange Program

In August, 58 Soviet students arrive at Middlebury College, Vermont, for a two-week orientation in preparation for a year of study at one of 28 US colleges and universities which are members of the American Collegiate Consortium. At the same time, a group of 65 American students head for an orientation in Moscow, preparing for a year of study at 16 institutions in seven Soviet republics. For the first time, American undergraduates will be studying in Tashkent, Alma Ata, Riga, Tallinn, Irkutsk, Minsk and Odessa.

During 1988-89, the first year of the Consortium exchange, 56 Soviet students from 21 Soviet institutions were in the US studying at member colleges.

New Exchanges Expand Russian-English Study

The American Council of Teachers of Russian reports a significant expansion of its Soviet-American exchanges, not only in numbers of students but in diversity of Soviet partners and variations in types of programs, now including joint research projects, teacher/curriculum consultant exchanges and Russian-English language textbook projects. The Council now has partnerships with eight Soviet institutions of higher education.

Twenty-five Soviet graduates and undergraduates from the Herzen Institute, Moscow Steel Institute, Plekhanov Institute, Moscow Energy Institute and Maurice Thorez Institute studied English in the US this spring at Grinnell College, University of Northern Iowa and James Madison University. Another group is expected in the fall.

The Council's Russian language curriculum consultant program has provided 38 Soviet teachers of Russian to colleges and universities across the US this year and expects to place a total of 70 in 1989-90.

CIEE in the Heart of Siberia

The Council on International Educational Exchange (CIEE) reports news from the depths of Siberia: Its newly launched Cooperative Russian Language Program for science students is a smashing success at Novosibirsk State University. Although it might be hard to believe that American students would want to spend their summer vacation grinding away at their studies in Siberia, the resident director reports that the students are enjoying an unusually warm welcome. The usual Russian standards of hospitality aside, the students find the snack of walnut ice-cream filled blinis, served at midnight, is exceptional.

University Pairings

Three new pairs of schools have joined the University Pairing Program, according to the USSR's State Committee on Public Education and the US Citizen Exchange Council. They are: Tennessee Technological University and the Leningrad Electrotechnical Institute; University of

Michigan and Lvov State University; and University of Wyoming and Moscow Oil and Gas Institute. All three will begin their exchanges during 1989-90. Ten other university pairs have already begun exchanges.

Cal State and Ukrainian University Forge Academic Glasnost

With jokes and a hug, the president of Dnepropetrovsk State University in the Ukraine and the president of California State University at Northridge signed an agreement May 19 to collaborate on research and swap professors, graduate students and books. The agreement ended a week-long visit by Vladimir Priskyakov and other Soviet educators who lectured on political reforms in their country, Soviet policy in the Third World and mathematical modeling of the human brain. This is a first for the 12,000-student Dnepropetrovsk State, Priskyakov said, as his university was previously closed to foreigners because it does space research. [Barbara Koh, *Los Angeles Times*, 5/20/89]

Faculty Institute on US-USSR

Scholars from the Soviet Union were among the participants at the 1989 Summer Faculty Institute on US-Soviet Relations held June 12-16 at Hampshire College, Amherst, Massachusetts. The Institute is sponsored by the Five College Program in Peace and World Security Studies and Columbia University's Harriman Institute. The theme of this year's discussions was "Gorbachev, Eastern Europe, and the Nationalities Question in the USSR."

Amherst, Hampshire, Mount Holyoke, Smith and the University of Massachusetts are the five sponsoring institutions.

Soviet Youth Speak Out

American Youth Work Center Director Bill Treanor spent two weeks in April on a UNESCO mission to the Soviet Union where he met with senior youth leaders and disgruntled student and youth Komsomol members. Treanor reports: "Thanks to the political and social reforms promoted by General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev,

young people and youth organizations in the Soviet Union are undergoing profound and rapid cultural and structural changes.

Komsomol is an organization suffering a much-belated adolescent identity crisis. Today's pressure for reform comes not just from Gorbachev but from Soviet young people themselves. Under the current social environment alternative youth groups are mushrooming all over the place.

These informal youth groups are not under the control and direction of Komsomol. Interest groups form around rock music recreation, environmental concerns and hobbies. While tame by Western standards, their real political importance is that they represent independent competition for Komsomol in winning the hearts and minds of Soviet young people. [*Youth Work World*, Summer 1989]

CITIZEN

250 Soviets Expected for "Chautauqua at Pitt"

Some 250 Soviet citizens and officials are expected in Pittsburgh this fall for the Fifth General Chautauqua Conference on US-Soviet Relations. The meetings will take place October 29-November 3 at the University of Pittsburgh. Approximately 200 members of the Soviet delegation will stay in private homes throughout the Pittsburgh area.

Dubbed "Chautauqua at Pitt," the exchanges between the Soviets and their American counterparts are expected to attract thousands of Pittsburgh, citizens as well as Americans from other parts of the US, journalists, and other observers. The meetings, open to the public, are the first in the US-Soviet Chautauqua series to be held in a major American city. Pennsylvania Senator John Heinz will serve as chairman and deliver the opening address.

University of Pittsburgh President Wesley W. Posvar and Chautauqua Institution President Daniel L. Bratton have announced that subjects to be discussed over the five days include the environment, conventional arms reduction, regional conflicts, human rights, space exploration, drug and alcohol abuse, women's and family issues, trade and economic relations. Each day's schedule will feature morning plenary sessions and afternoon workshops. In the evenings, there will be performances by Soviet and American artists.

US and USSR Mayors Meet

Mayors and other officials of nine US cities visited the mayors of Moscow and Leningrad and met with members of the Soviet Peace Committee this spring in a trip organized by Promoting Enduring Peace in cooperation with the Soviet

Peace Committee. As a result, an agreement was made for Soviet representatives to make a presentation at the next annual meeting of Mayors of County Governments of the US. Cities represented were Davenport and Dubuque, Iowa; Hannibal, Missouri; Memphis, Tennessee; West Memphis, Arkansas; St Louis, Missouri; and New Haven and Hartford, Connecticut.

Esalen Dialogues Focus on US-Soviet Interdependence

The Esalen Soviet-American Exchange Program began its first Soviet-American Dialogues on Social and Economic Transformation June 11-16 at Big Sur, California. The Dialogues bring together individuals of influence from the US and USSR to discuss issues of mutual interest and create projects of mutual benefit. Through the Dialogues, Esalen hopes to refocus attention on areas which have been largely ignored during the Cold War and to cooperate in a shared exploration of the challenges facing humanity on the threshold of the 21st century.

Dialogue participants included members of the new Congress of People's Deputies, Central Committee staff members, prominent journalists, educators, scientists and economists. Discussions focused on new opportunities and dilemmas emerging in East and West as a result of perestroika.

Christian Leaders Meet in Moscow

In historic sessions at the Danilov Monastery February 23-24, representatives of the National Council of Churches and churches across the

USSR took part in two days of conversations to discuss future plans for cooperation and mutual mission.

The consultation between the 40 church leaders resulted in a 15-point program of future cooperation between churches in the two countries, including exchanges of theological students and professors; establishment of Christian work camps in the US and USSR where Americans can work, worship and study together; joint publishing and TV projects; and bringing Christians of the two countries together in times of emergency or in connection with summit meetings, disarmament talks and other international negotiations.

US Armenian Evangelicals Visit Earthquake Victims

The Armenian Missionary Association of America in April sent an Armenian evangelical delegation to Yerevan to visit the earthquake-devastated areas. In a report noting the personal sufferings resulting from the tragedy, the delegation made recommendations for particular rebuilding projects to be assisted by the American organization. Among the kinds of assistance it hopes to provide are medical equipment, clinics, schools, mills, ovens and cold storage equipment, and psychiatric assistance through volunteer specialists and training programs.

Women's Policy Conference

A delegation of 20 American women will meet with Soviet women counterparts at a policy conference in the USSR in September to discuss common concerns about global security, the environment, public health, human rights and the social and economic status of women. The visit, sponsored by the Women's Peace Initiative and the Organization for American Soviet Exchanges, is being led by State Representative Barbara Hildt of Massachusetts.

Seattle Ploughshares Sponsors First US-Soviet Volunteer Corps

The first US-Soviet volunteer corps project began in June, with ten US and ten Soviet volunteers working for five weeks in Armenia on recon-

struction efforts, followed by five weeks building homes for needy families and remodeling a child care center in Washington's Yakima Valley with Habitat for Humanity. Seattle-based Ploughshares, an organization founded by returned Peace Corps Volunteers, mounted the effort in partnership with the Soviet Peace Fund. This US-Soviet partners program expects to send its first joint US-Soviet volunteer team next year to work in a Third World country.

Soviets Give Aerial Access To 11-Year-Old US Aviator

An 11-year old American aviator in June made a 19,000-mile good will flight to the Soviet Union and around the world, carrying his parents, a Soviet pen pal, an observer from the National Aeronautic Association and a "friendship scroll." Tony Aliengena flew his family's single-engine Cessna 210 Turboprop airplane, "Friendship Flight '89," taking off from John Wayne Airport in Costa Mesa, California. His plane carried letters from American schoolchildren to children in the Soviet Union, as well as the scroll, which was signed by US children on the American leg of the journey.

It was the first time Soviet authorities had given aerial access to foreigners. The Soviet government also agreed to pay half the cost of the \$150,000 expedition, which included 14 stops in the Soviet Union. Tony's Soviet pen pal, Roman Tcheremnykh, 10, was along for the entire flight.

Tony wrote to President Mikhail Gorbachev in May 1988, proposing a friendship flight. He received a reply nearly six months later, when the Foundation for Social Inventions, an arm of the Soviet Communist Party newspaper *Pravda*, let the Aliengena family know that the Soviet Union supported the proposal. [AP, *New York Times*, 6/6/89]

Mac Plus and Big Macs - A Young Soviet's US Visit

A young Soviet university student recently spent three months in Palo Alto, California, interning in the offices of the Beyond War organization. According to the organization's newsletter, he came to this post in a roundabout way.

"A year and a half ago, Michael Vasyanin passed a bookstore in Moscow and saw a copy of *Breakthrough, Emerging New Thinking*. He bought the book, shared it with his student friends and together, they formed a "Breakthrough Club" at Moscow State University, with Michael as president. Since then, the students have met with more than 600 Americans, some of whom were from Beyond War chapters, on visits to the Soviet Union. Michael found himself dreaming seriously of visiting the US. Early this year, Michael's dream came true when he accepted the internship..."

The young Soviet, who hopes to become a diplomat, described his impressions of the US in Beyond War's newsletter. "One of the most interesting things here is the special feeling one has traveling on American highways, a feeling of freedom and mobility.... Could I even have thought that I would be using a computer some day? But now I'm typing this article, and Mac Plus is as important a part of my experience as Big Mac."

Soviet at Vietnam Memorial Thinks of Afghan Vets

What struck retired Soviet army general Vladimir Orlov most about his visit to the Vietnam Veterans Memorial was a pair of children's sandals that were among the many gifts left at the wall. "It clearly shows what tragic consequences war can bring," he said, "not only for the people directly affected, but for the many generations to come. It's a memorial that serves as a remembrance and as a warning to the people of the future to preserve peace." Orlov and former army sergeant Robert Ivanov, both veterans of World War II, were in Washington May 20 as part of a nationwide tour of US monuments.

John Wheeler, who helped spearhead the memorial's construction and invited the Soviet veterans to the US, said the memorial's mystic healing power for US veterans of Vietnam is what fascinates Soviets most about the wall. "It's a healing the Soviet Union must go through with its veterans of the recent war in Afghanistan," Wheeler said. "The parallels concern the homecoming of these veterans—the guys who bled." [Carlos Sanchez, *Washington Post*, 5/21/89]

Estonians Are Coming: Americans Are Going

The first reciprocal visits between American and Soviet members of the Children's Art Exchange are under way. The Americans were the first to play host, with the June 5th arrival of ten adults (mostly teachers of arts and crafts to young children) and five schoolchildren from Tallinn, Estonia. The visitors, after sessions in Middlebury and Montpelier, Vermont, were joined by 30 Vermont schoolchildren for a four-day encampment at Camp Keewaydin on Lake Dunmore.

In July, 15 Americans—ten children and five adults—travelled to Estonia. Their visit included time in Leningrad, Moscow, homestays in Tallinn and five days at a Pioneer seashore camp.

US-USSR Bridges for Peace

Visits arranged by US-USSR Bridges for Peace in cooperation with the Soviet Peace Committee, which hosts the delegations to the Soviet Union include: October 5-12, 10 Soviet women will be in the US, completing the fourth Women's Exchange, visiting Washington, DC and North Carolina; and October 13-28, a delegation of 20 American business people will visit the USSR, initiating a second Executive Exchange.

State bridges scheduled for this fall include the following, all to take place September 16-October 1:

Twenty New Jersey citizens to visit the USSR as guests of the Volgograd Peace Committee, completing the first New Jersey-Volgograd Oblast State Bridge.

Twenty North Carolinians to visit the USSR as guests of the Tbilisi Peace Committee, initiating the first exchange of the North Carolina-Soviet Georgia State Bridge.

Twenty Maine citizens to visit the USSR as guests of the Komi Peace Committee, initiating the Maine-Komi State Bridge.

Twenty citizens of Massachusetts to visit Moscow and the Ukraine as guests of the Ukraine Peace Committee, initiating the second exchange of the Massachusetts-Ukraine State Bridge.

Friendship Force Exchanges

Friendship Force, an organization which arranges homestays and tours for American and Soviets "ambassadors," this year has organized trips for over 300 American and 300 Soviets to visit

each other's countries. Soviet visits to the US begin with a one-day visit to Washington, D.C. and two days in New York City. American visitors to the Soviet Union begin in Moscow, and, after a homestay in one of the 15 Soviet Republics, visit Leningrad.

During the remainder of this year, exchanges include Maine to Estonia, Florida to Leningrad, Nebraska to Tadjikistan, New Jersey to the Ukraine, Charlotte to Kirghizia, Ohio to Turkmenia, and Iowa to Stavropol.

US and Soviet Kids Meet In Plattsburgh, New York

Twenty children aged 10-15, from Leningrad visited children and families in Plattsburgh, New York, June 22-July 6, sponsored by Kids Meeting Kids. Next year the Leningrad children and their families will host the Plattsburgh children.

Kids Meeting Kids is also sponsoring an "international children's summit" November 13-15 at UNICEF House in New York City, with participants expected from the US, the USSR and each member nation of the United Nations.

World Youth at Irish Camp

Aiming to improve international communications among young people, the Ireland-based Centre for International Cooperation, in conjunction with the Irish Peace Institute, this summer ran three international camps, "Young People Together," for 135 youths 16-21 in the Shannon region of Ireland. Participants came from Northern Ireland, Republic of Ireland, UK, US, Canada, USSR, Poland, Hungary, the Federal Republic of Germany and the German Democratic Republic.

4-H Club Visits Pioneer Palace

This summer 20 Minnesota 4-H Club members joined Soviet youth from the Moscow Central Pioneer Palace on a camping program at Moose Island near Moscow. A return visit of the Pioneers to Minnesota

is planned for June 1990. In connection with the exchange, arranged by CONNECT, a joint 4-H-Pioneers photo exhibit is being shown in Moscow and Minneapolis this year.

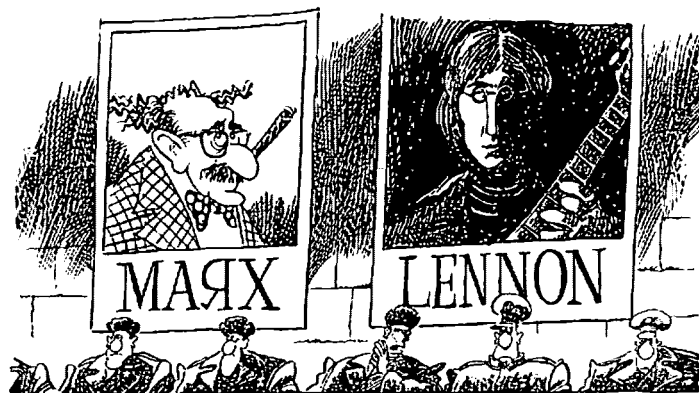
A New Pen Pal Program

A new "Kids Talk To Kids" pen pal project has been launched by Mothers Embracing Nuclear Disarmament (MEND) to meet what the organization describes as an overwhelming number of requests from Soviet children for American pen pals. The requests came as a result of MEND's earlier American-Soviet mothers' exchanges in the US and USSR.

Pen pal letters can be of any length, but should include the writer's name, address, age and grade level. Letters should be sent to MEND, PO Box 2309, La Jolla, California 92038 for forwarding to program coordinators in Moscow who will distribute them.

Peace Lanterns

Soviet and American "peace lanterns" floated together on the Volga and Mississippi Rivers again this year on August 5 in the fourth annual "Lanterns for Hope" international peace demonstration on the rivers of the world, to commemorate the bombing of Hiroshima. Over 400 cities in 30 countries were expected to participate in the project. In the USSR, local coordinators organized the lantern float in 20 Soviet cities.



Marlette in *New York Newsday*. Reprinted with permission.
" GORBACHEV'S GOING TOO FAST! "

Soviet Writers Found Fledgling PEN Chapter

Prominent writers are organizing a Soviet chapter of the international PEN organization. News of the proposed new PEN chapter was in *Literaturnaya Gazeta*, a weekly publication of the Soviet Writers' Union. Their first official statement, a condemnation of the death mandate on Salman Rushdie, signified a major effort by leading poets, critics, novelists and playwrights to end the Soviet Union's position as the last major nation not to have a chapter in PEN, a worldwide organization of professional writers and editors devoted to respect for literary freedom.

Such leading members of PEN as Arthur Miller, the American playwright, long had encouraged a Soviet chapter. But overtures were rebuffed in the past, in part because the Soviet Writers' Union opposed it and because PEN rules stress complete independence of formal Government-connected writers' groups. Prominent among the writers cited as founding members of the Soviet PEN group were such leading officials of the Soviet Writers' Union as Vladimir Karpov, the first secretary of the Union. Other leading writers identified as founding members are Anatoly Rybakov, Sergei Zalygin, editor of *Novy Mir*, and Vitaly Korotich, editor of *Ogonyok*. The president of the group was identified as Daniil Granin, a novelist.

A delegation of writers from the prospective chapter intends to attend the regular PEN congress later this year in Maastricht, the Netherlands. [Francis Clines, *New York Times*, 4/5/89]

USSR-USA Cartoon Show

From May 30 to June 17 the National Press Club in Washington, DC, was the setting for the third showing of the USSR-USA Cartoon exhibit, sponsored by the Cartoonist's Club of *Komsomolskaya Pravda* and the San Francisco/Moscow Teleport. Andrei Konstantinov, founder of the Soviet cartoon club and Yuri Ivanov, chief artist of *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* were special guests at a Press Club reception June 4.

Gallaudet Hosts Deaf Theater

French playwright J.B. Moliere's classic comedy *Georges Dandin* came to life in spoken and signed Russian when the Shukhin Theater Company of Moscow performed July 6 at Gallaudet University's Model Secondary School for the Deaf. The eleven deaf, professionally trained actors were in Washington for further training at the Model School's summer theater and dance institute and to participate in the Deaf Way Festival, an international gathering of deaf artists sponsored by Gallaudet. The Deaf Way brought together people from around the world to research and celebrate the artistic, linguistic and cultural accomplishments of deaf people. The Shukhin Theater's performance of *Georges Dandin* marked the American debut of this exceptional group of actors. The group also performed at the Smithsonian Institution's Discovery Theater for children. [Press release]

Moscow Peace Child Center

Peace Child now has an official presence in the heart of Komsomol. Complete with a phone, telex and permanent staff person, Sergei Djurovsky, the 30-room house in downtown Moscow is to become a cultural center for Peace Child with rehearsal rooms, offices and residential suites. A three-day rock concert in March raised over 100,000 rubles for the new center. The organization reports that there are now over 100 Peace Child alumni in Moscow.

Peace Child also reports that it is beginning its first programs in Japan this summer with an August performance in the Hiroshima theater. The cast includes children from the US, USSR, China, Britain, France and Japan.

Children's Art Exchanges Expand

Over 650 American children's paintings have been sent to the USSR and an equal number of Soviet paintings have come to the US in a program begun in 1984 by CONNECT's US-USSR Youth Art Exchange. Six of the Soviet children's paintings have been reproduced as greeting cards and a seventh has been selected for use as a book jacket

by Houghton Mifflin. Since 1986, traveling exhibits of the Soviet children's art have been touring the US. The exhibits were seen in 14 cities in 10 states during the 1988-89 school year.

* * *

Schools participating in the 1989-90 Children's Art Exchange(CAE) program will receive new round robin exhibits of artwork created by children at CAE schools in Moscow, Leningrad, Alma Ata and Frunze, beginning in September 1989. The touring exhibits of artwork on the theme "Earth Our Garden" will join the already existing traveling exhibits collection, which includes children's work based on earlier themes ("Animals of the Earth" and "Holidays and Celebrations.")

CAE also offers two framed exhibits for rent to galleries, museums and other exhibition areas. "Soviet Views Through the Eyes of Children" is arranged through the CAE office. The second exhibit, "Child to Child: American/Soviet Children's Art Exchange," is distributed through the Smithsonian Institution Traveling Exhibition Service.

Visions of a World at Peace

Visions of a World at Peace, an exhibition of artwork by young people of Hawaii and the Soviet Union, was shown at Ala Manoa Center, Honolulu, Hawaii, April 20-23. Sponsored by the Hawaii Society for American-Soviet Friendship in cooperation with the Baha'i Peace Council and the Hawaii Committee for UNICEF, the exhibit featured approximately 175 entries representing 30 Hawaii schools and more than a dozen cities in the USSR ranging from Riga to Vladivostok, from Leningrad to Tashkent. The Hawaiian children's art will travel to Vladivostok for a joint exhibition there later this year.

Project Harmony

Under the sponsorship of Project Harmony, teenagers from Vermont public schools will put on musical performances in Soviet cities this November, accompanied by Banjo Dan and the Midnight Plowboys. The organization has also set up a program for 90 Vermont students to live with families and attend school in Leningrad for two

weeks in November. In December, 90 Leningrad students from three high schools will come to the US to live with Vermont families, celebrate the holidays and attend local schools.

Young American Musicians Perform in USSR Cities

Among concert tours arranged for the first part of 1989, the twelfth year of cooperation between the Friendship Ambassadors Foundation and Sputnik were the following:

- Buffalo Suzuki Strings to Moscow, Leningrad and Kalinin;
- Redwood Coast Children's Chorus of Eureka, California, to Vladimir, Rostov and Moscow;
- The Schubertians of University of California, Santa Barbara, to Moscow, Leningrad and Tallinn;
- University of Vermont Top Cats to Yaroslavl, Moscow and Kiev;
- Southern Methodist University Conservatory Orchestra to Riga, Leningrad and Moscow;
- Wilde Lake (Maryland) High School Chorus to Moscow, Leningrad and Tallinn;
- Project Luck of Weymouth, Massachusetts to Kalinin, Moscow and Leningrad;
- Ohio Boys choir touring the Ukraine;
- Millikin University Chorus of Decatur, Illinois, to Moscow, Leningrad and Tallinn;
- Iowa State Singers in Moscow and Leningrad;
- Dance Odyssey of Johnson City, Tennessee, to Moscow, Tbilisi and Leningrad;
- High school students from Sitka, Alaska, to Moscow, Tallinn and Leningrad;
- Nevada Union High School Concert Choir to Leningrad and Tallinn.

"Women Who Cook" in USSR

An all-star group of 13 women musicians from the Midwest, "Women Who Cook," toured Moscow and Sochi last August in the first US tour of the USSR not sponsored or arranged by Goskoncert or any other state organization but by an independent Soviet concert promoter. Infinity Productions of Minneapolis videotaped the tour, which will be broadcast. Since the August 1988 tour, several musicians from the initial tour formed a new "Rock House" group which toured Moscow and Leningrad in January. A number of Soviet musicians have already visited Minnesota as guests of band members and more tours are planned.

Academic Commission To Study US-USSR Films

Contacts between American and Soviet film communities during the past two years have resulted in several joint ventures in production and exhibition. This cooperation has now been extended to the academic world with the establishment at Princeton University in January of the US-USSR Commission on Film and Video Studies. The American Council of Learned Societies and the All-Union Scientific Research Institute of Film Art and the USSR State Committee for Cinematography are the cooperating organizations, with administration handled by IREX. The commission's first event will be a symposium to be held this fall in the USSR—Art and Popular Entertainment: Soviet and American Cinema of the 1980s.

Documentary Film Exchange

In the spring of this year, 22 new Soviet documentaries were shown at 20 sites on US campuses and in US cities, with Soviet film directors also on the tour. Next May and June, the Soviet public will for the first time have an opportunity to view American documentary films and discuss them with filmmakers as 20 US documentaries are screened in eight Soviet cities. The film exchange is a joint project of the American-Soviet Film Initiative of Moscow and the Citizen Exchange Council of New York.

Directors and Producers In Theatre Exchanges

Exchange visits of American and Soviet artistic directors and executive producers are taking place this year, organized by Theatre International Exchange Service and the Union of Theatre Works of the Russian Federation and sponsored by the Soviet Ministry of Culture and the US Information Agency.

Theatre directors and producers who went to the USSR May 18-June 2 report that they attended drama productions, ballet performances, rehearsals of drama works in progress and met with artistic directors from major Soviet theatres and ballet companies. Soviet theatre artistic directors are scheduled to visit the US in October.

Soviet Poets in Philadelphia

A symposium presented by the American Poetry Center March 18 in Philadelphia featured Russian poets Yunna Moritz and Aleksandr Tkachenko reading from their works, with translation and reading in English by American poets Stanley Kunitz and Robert Bly.

As a result of new freedoms, Miss Moritz, who was accused in 1962 of "unhealthy tendencies" and was not published in the Soviet Union for nine years, has been in the United States twice in two years. Mr. Tkachenko, 43, an editor of a popular woman's magazine, *Rabotnitsa*, in Moscow, offered more traditional poetry, but he, too struck the historical theme. He warned against losing the battle against inertia: "If we slow down, then the past will catch up with us and take us away with it." [Celestine Bohlen, *New York Times*, 7/21/89]

HEALTH

Vietnam and Afghan Vets Expand Rehabilitation Programs

The Earthstewards Network, working with the Soviet Foundation for Social Inventions, continues its sponsorship of joint meetings of Afghan and Vietnam war veterans. Fifteen Vietnam veteran leaders met in Moscow from April 18-May 2 with Afghansy leaders to discuss programs for

rehabilitation. Later in May, 12 Afghansy were in the US to further those discussions and formulate programs. The next delegation of Vietnam veterans to the USSR September 3-19 will introduce Outward Bound style programs to Afghan war veterans meeting in the Chatkal Mountains.

Soviet Amputees in New York Get New Limbs and Run Race

Six Soviet amputees came to New York City in June to be fitted with state-of-the-art artificial limbs at New York University's Rusk Institute as part of a program organized by the Achilles Track Club, a running club of amputees, and the Soviet Health and Charity Foundation. After being fitted with new limbs and training with the Achilles team, the six ran in the Post Raisin Bran Family Fitness Festival race in Central Park. They will run in the Moscow Marathon in August and hope to return to the US to run in the New York City Marathon. "This is a celebration of life," said their coach, Richard Traum, a New Yorker who is also an amputee. [*New York Times* and *Newsday*]

Soviets Study Alcoholism At Rutgers University

The Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies reports that seven Soviets attended the 1989 summer sessions at Rutgers in June. The USSR delegation then traveled in July to Hazelden in Minnesota and to the Betty Ford Center in California to combine course work with experience at treatment centers.

Insight Meditation Goes to Soviet Union

Two US teachers of Vipassana (Insight) Meditation, Joseph Goldstein and Sharon Salzberg of the Insight Meditation Society of Barre, Massachusetts, led a group of 14 Americans to the USSR last summer. In Leningrad, Tbilisi and Moscow they introduced Soviet psychotherapists to the 2,500-year-old practice of silent contemplation. This August, they return for a Vipassana meditation retreat organized by last year's Soviet participants.

Maharishi Ayur-Ved Sets Up First Clinic in Moscow

In March 1989, Soviet health officials agreed to establish the USSR's first clinic for Maharishi Ayur-Ved, a system of natural health care in Moscow. This agreement culminated three days of meetings between representatives of the Ma-

harishi Ayur-Ved Foundation of India and physicians from several national Soviet health institutes, as well as a Soviet Deputy Minister of Health. The delegation's hosts were the USSR Research Center for Preventive Medicine and the Department of International Scientific Programmes.

Psychologists Lead Workshops On Creativity

Psychologist Natalie Rogers, founder of the Person Centered Expressive Therapy Institute of Santa Rosa, California, put on workshops on "Creativity as a Path to Self-Empowerment" in Moscow and Tallinn during May at the invitation of Soviet authorities. Ms. Rogers, daughter of psychologist Dr. Carl Rogers, spent a month in the Soviet Union, accompanied by colleagues, Frances Macy and Claire Fitzgerald. The therapists reported that Soviet psychologists and teachers were enthusiastic about new ways to foster creativity, likening the workshop experience to "a breath of fresh air" and "entering a window into a new world."

Wellness Program In Soviet Union and Hungary

The American Cancer Society, Penn State University and Gaudenzia Drug and Alcohol Rehabilitation Center have initiated a wellness program in the Soviet Union and Hungary. On April 1 a delegation of five Soviets and five Hun-



Jim Borgman in *Cincinnati Enquirer*. Reprinted with special permission of King Features Syndicate, Inc.

garians arrived in Harrisburg, Pennsylvania, to begin a two week training program focusing on nutrition education, smoking prevention and drug and alcohol abuse prevention. Their goal was to gather knowledge and materials that they could then implement into classrooms in their respective countries.

Teachers have requested that wellness coordinators in Harrisburg travel to Leningrad and Budapest to continue the training this fall and in spring 1990. [Press release]

Physicians Collaborate on Laser Surgery

Writing in the April 1989 *Mayo Clin Proc*, Mayo Clinic physician Dr. C. J. Gostout reported a groundbreaking session and a candid exchange

of ideas and experiences with Soviet counterparts at the National Center for Laser Surgery of the USSR in Moscow last August. Dr. Gostout was part of a US delegation to the USSR meeting with Soviet physicians at the two-year old Moscow center. The new center occupies an entire complex at a Moscow hospital and, according to Dr. Gostout, reflects the cumulative pioneering efforts of its director, Dr. Oleg Skobelkin, and his colleagues over the past 15 years.

Dr. Gostout, an endoscopic laser therapist, noted that although "the applications of laser therapy in medicine and surgery involve the advanced technology of both countries, they are yet in a period of infancy." He predicted that the outcome of this meeting of physicians from both countries to discuss an evolving area of high-technology medical care may in time provide a change in the lives of citizens of both countries.

SPORTS

US-Soviet Team in Historic Bridging of Bering Strait

Congratulatory telegrams from George Bush and Mikhail Gorbachev awaited six Soviets and six Americans who arrived in Kotzebue, Alaska, May 10 after a 1,000 mile two-month dogsled and ski trek across the Bering Strait. Some 76 Soviet guests, led by Chukotka government official Nikolai Kashtikan, were flown by Aeroflot from Anadyr, where the expedition began on March 7, for a six-hour visit and welcoming ceremonies in Kotzebue, the largest Eskimo community in the US.

The purpose of the Soviet-American Bering Bridge Expedition was to promote better relations between the two countries. The nine-man, three-woman team, co-led by American Paul Schurke and Soviet Dmitry Shparo, included representatives of the native groups of the Bering Region—Yupik Eskimo, Inupiaq Eskimo, and Chukchi people, as well as non-native Alaskans and adventurers from Minnesota and Moscow. The expedition was sponsored by US companies and by Sputnik and *Komsomolskaya Pravda*.

As the team crossed the international dateline in the middle of the Bering Strait on April 23, Alaska Governor Steve Cowper and his Soviet

counterpart, Governor Kobets of the Magadan Region, marked the event by signing a protocol calling for visa-free travel between Alaska and Chukotka by native people.

Soviet Yachting Team In Liberty Cup Regatta

The People-to-People Sports Committee reports that this year for the first time, a Soviet team entered the Liberty Cup Regatta and Block Island Race Week. The six-member Soviet team, from the Odessa Yacht Club, has competed in many yachting events in Europe.

Soviet Teenagers Play Soccer With Spirit and Skill

Glasnost made its first appearance on a Washington soccer field in mid-July when two teams from the Soviet Union arrived for exhibition games against area youth clubs. Sparta, a team of 13- and 14-year old players from Novosibirsk, played a Stoddert Soccer League select team and a Columbia, Maryland, team during their stay in the Washington area. The Soviets were on the last leg of a two-week tour that began in Blaine, Minnesota. [*Washington Post*, 7/16/89]

Soviets Prefer Kicks and Punts To Points

A few years down the road, when Joe Montana is quarterbacking the "Moscow Evil Empires" and Tex Schramm is general manager of the "Irkutsk Igloos," they will look back on this day and remember with reverence how two squads of Oklahoma high school boys played some fine American-style football in Moscow's Dynamo Stadium June 29, the first-ever game in the Soviet Union.

The boys played their hearts out. And the crowd loved it, though they seemed a bit confused. They were nonplussed by the touchdowns, which seemed to them random and obscure, but loved the great arc of the kicks and punts. [David Remnick, *Washington Post*, 6/29/89]

Novice Soviet Paddlers Get Warm US Welcome

A Soviet squad of ten paddlers landed at the World Canoe/Kayak championships in Bloomington, Maryland, to participate in slalom races on the Savage River. How far are the Soviets behind the world's elite teams in slalom kayak and canoe, which rejoin the Olympics in 1992 for the first time in 20 years? "Today, pretty far," conceded Coach Anatoly Kuzmin. But the Soviets are back in the whitewater game anyway, gearing up after a hiatus of 17 years.

U.S. slalom team coach Bill Endicott made a pilgrimage to the Soviet Union last summer to teach basics. He'll lead another such group this summer. [Angus Phillips, *Washington Post*, 6/21/89]

A Raft of Opportunities For White Water Enthusiasts

Project RAFT (Russians and Americans for Teamwork) reports that 90 American rafters joined over 300 Soviet rafters this spring for the largest gathering of international rafters in history, the International Peace Camp Chuya Rally. The competitions, held in the remote Chuya River in southern-central Siberia's Altai Mountains, attracted 90 teams of white water enthusiasts from 16 countries, including Zambia, Australia, New Zealand, Britain, Costa Rica and Nepal. In October, American, Soviet and Zambian river

guides will meet on the Zambezi River as a prelude to Project RAFT's Three Worlds Youth Exchange to be held in Zambia next year.

This summer the previously closed Northern Urals were opened for the first time to a foreign expedition when Project RAFT and Sputnik conducted a joint Soviet-American Youth Exchange along the Vishera River. Another youth exchange took place in July on the Katun River in the Altai Mountains. These wilderness expeditions brought together 17 to 22-year-olds for rafting and trekking.

Also this summer, 16 Soviet youth and river guides joined their American counterparts for a river trip in the Grand Canyon of the Colorado River, followed by participation in the Windstar Foundation's "Choices for the Future" symposium at Aspen.

Mountaineering Exchanges

Recreational Equipment Inc.'s (REI) adventure travel program grew out of the 1987 Seattle-Tashkent Mountaineering Exchange. REI continues to sponsor climbing exchanges. In cooperation with the Mountaineering Exchange, now called "Svyazka" (Russian for rope team), REI brought nine rock climbers from Yalta, Leningrad and Tashkent to California in May 1989. The five Russian men and four women spent three weeks climbing with Americans in the Yosemite Valley. Svyazka will send a team of American rock climbers to Yalta and Leningrad in September.

US and USSR Compete In Balloon Races

For the first time since the Russian Revolution of 1917, international balloon teams flew in competition in the Soviet Union, in and around Vilnius, Lithuania, July 23-29. The competition involved 14 hot air balloon teams from Finland, Germany, Hungary, Poland, the USSR and the US.

The roots of this competition lie in the 1988 visit of a Soviet scientific team to the Gordon Bennett Balloon Race in Palm Springs. Because the Soviet Mars '94 mission will include two unusual unmanned craft to explore the planet's surface (Mars Balloons), the scientists were inter-

ested in the possibility of using sport ballooning to help in planning and designing the balloons that will be sent to Mars.

The Planetary Society, a member of the Mars Balloon team for the '94 Soviet mission, helped sponsor a series of balloon flights in Lithuania in July '88, as well as assisting in the recent races. [Press release, Planetary Society]

Biking in US and USSR

Soviet and American bicyclists are riding together this summer from Greenwich, Connecticut, through New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland to Washington, DC. Then the Americans, joined by many of the same Soviet cyclists, will be covering ground in the Soviet Union, where they will bicycle in a number of Soviet republics.

The exchange involves 11 Soviet cyclists, all of whom are making their first visit to the US. They are members of Travels for Peace and Environment, a branch of the Soviet Peace Committee. The five Americans, who hosted the Soviets in the US, are members of Cyclists for Peace.

Soviets to Host '94 Goodwill Games

The 1994 Goodwill Games will be held in Moscow and Leningrad. The site of the third Goodwill Games, which features contests between athletes from the US, the USSR and six other countries, was announced July 19 by representatives of Goskomsport and Gosteleradio.

The first games were held in Moscow in 1986 to provide a forum for US and Soviet athletes to compete against each other after two Olympic boycotts. The next event will take place in Seattle. [Washington Post, 7/20/89]

OASES Receives Exchange Proposals from Soviets

As the Organization of American-Soviet Exchanges (OASES) continues its work to facilitate US-Soviet exchanges, it is receiving an increasing number of proposals from Soviet citizens. Grant Pendill, director of OASES-DC's office says, "After over 30 years of work in the private sector of US-USSR exchange activities, it is fulfilling to see initiatives coming from the Soviet side."

Soviet proposals received recently by OASES include:

- Soviet Dixieland Jazz Band anxious for the opportunity to perform in the US. Willing to invite American jazz musicians to the Urals to live in Soviet homes and work together with area jazz musicians.

- Soviet blue-collar family with five children (1-13 yrs.) invites the children of an American family with similar background to spend two-three summer months in Leningrad. Simultaneous exchange of oldest children from both families preferable.

- Soviet Amateur students' theater company invites a representative from an American student theater company to discuss the possibility of a mutual exchange of performances, at the International All-Union Festival of Amateur Theaters, June 1990, in Chelyabinsk.

- Byelorussian family is extremely interested in starting an exchange of 17 year-old daughters with an American family.

- For high-flying, daredevil circus professionals, the Soviets propose an exchange between American and Soviet circus collectives.

- Soviet children's folklore ensemble invites an American children's folklore group to perform in various Moscow regions, preferably in the summertime, two-four weeks.

- Soviet puppet theater invites an American children's group for a two-four week stay while performing with them in Kiev and Moscow.

- High caliber Soviet university looking for an American university to join them in an educational student exchange in the field of environmental studies. The US university must have a strong environmental studies program.

- Soviet classical and ethnic dance company of six members, invites a similar American group, for two-four weeks, to perform Jewish folk dances with them in Moscow. Possibility of a tour through the Ukraine.

Any readers wishing to be the responsible US partner in one of these exchange proposals are requested to contact OASES, 1302 R Street, NW, Washington, DC 20009-1145. Tel: (202) 332-1145.



Capital-to-Capital Begins Fall Series with Environment

A fall series of three Capital-to-Capital spacebridges linking US Congress members with members of the Soviet Central Committee will include discussions on the Environment, Soviet Systems, Leadership and Elections, and Cooperation in Space. ABC News anchor Peter Jennings will host the shows for late evening viewing on ABC TV. The programs will also be simulcast on ABC's affiliate radio networks.

The first program, to discuss the interconnectedness of environmental problems, is scheduled for September 12. Environmentalists from other nations are being asked to participate, and US business leaders will be the audience to respond to questions regarding industry's impact on the environment. The programs will also be simulcast on ABC's affiliate radio networks.

The Capital-to-Capital spacebridges, which began April 25, 1987, have covered mutual security, human rights, regional conflicts and the summer summit meeting to date. [Report to ISAR]

Satellite Hookup Aids Armenian Quake Victims

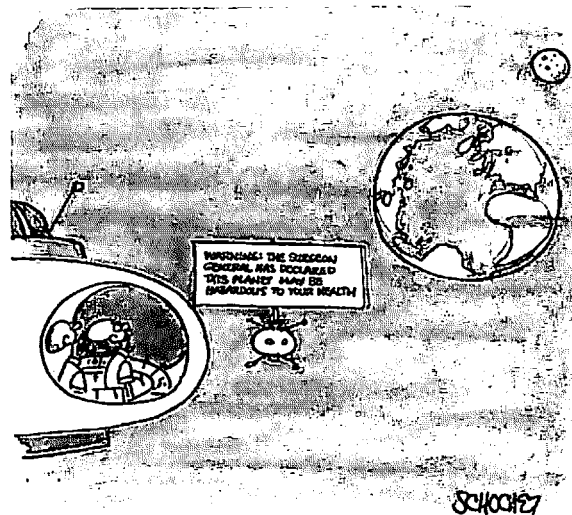
The US National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the USSR agreed in March on a satellite hookup to exchange medical data to help people injured in December's earthquake in Armenia. Under the plan US medical

facilities are linked with Soviet hospitals and rehabilitation centers via satellite. NASA provided a compatible ground terminal for installation in Armenia. The link began operation this spring. It provides one-way television and two-way voice capabilities for several hours a day, two days a week. The telemedicine spacebridge is coordinated under the US-USSR Joint Working Group on Space Biology and Medicine.

Handbook on Spacebridges Published

A guide to the phenomenon of television "spacebridges" between the US and the Soviet Union has been published by the Citizen Exchange Council. The 115-page book has an introduction by ABC News anchor Peter Jennings, who says, "This publication based on two conferences CEC sponsored in 1987, is the first book-length synthesis of the new technologies and ideas in which spacebridge producers and participants are involved today. As such it is valuable reading for anyone keen on exploring the medium of telesummitry."

Mr. Jennings was the American host for the dramatic "Capital to Capital" series of live discussions between members of the US Congress and the Supreme Soviet of the USSR, broadcast on the ABC network in 1987 and 1988. [Press release]



Bob Schochet. Reprinted with permission.



Glasnost in Soviet Television

... Perestroika Primetime

In her most recent book, *Split Signals: Television and Politics in the Soviet Union*, Dr. Ellen Mickiewicz, a leading expert on Soviet television, points out that each day 80 percent of all Soviet adults—150 million people—watch television. Further, 63 percent of the workers and intelligentsia consider television to be their main source of information and values.

Television is still the state's central voice for speaking to the masses, and it is still the primary purveyor of entertainment. But it's using a different style to communicate a new message about the state. Now programs espouse the need for rapid and radical reform. They encourage citizens to support change.

As Richard Stites points out in his recent article "Soviet Popular Culture in the Gorbachev Era," the improvement in television has "caused a reduction in the public's consumption of reading matter, theater, shows of all kinds, concerts and cinema-viewed movies." He quotes an official from the children's book industry who calls television "a terrorist aggressor which tries to oust literature." Soviets have always placed great value on the high cultural expressions of classical music, drama, and literature, so this concern about television's impact is understandable.

Others are less worried about the growing number of Soviet couch potatoes. Gorbachev's army of reformers sees television as heavy artillery in the war to restructure Soviet society. Last July, the government televised the ground-breaking 19th Party Conference at which Gorbachev was elected president. For the first time since the 1920s, Soviet political leaders debated the issues in front of the public. Large numbers of Soviet citizens stayed glued to their televisions for all five days of the conference.

Soviet television's entertainment value has also increased remarkably. But don't expect it to become as entertainment-oriented as its US counterpart. The fundamental duty of Soviet television is still to educate the collective on the goals of society as defined by those who set that policy. [Michael Dimock, *Discovery Channel Magazine*, June 1989]

... TV as Change Agent

To highlight the impact that higher levels of education, the introduction of television and high readership of newspapers (*Pravda*, 11.5 million; *Izvestia*, 7 million) have had on Soviet politics, compare the impact of the two intellectual "thaws": the first under Khrushchev in the late 1950s and early 1960s and the second under Gorbachev since 1986. The heroes of the first thaw were the novelists such as Solzhenitsyn and poets like Yevtushenko. The literary magazine *Novy Mir* was the flagship of liberal reform. A quarter of a century later the pattern is different: the heroes of the Gorbachev thaw come from the mass media and cater to a mass audience. Film makers like Tenghiz Abuladze and Yefim Klimov, editors like Vitaly Korotich of *Ogonyok* and Yegor Yakovlev of *Moscow News*, and television programs like *The Twelfth Floor* are the new protagonists of change. In the first thaw, hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, were affected; in the second thaw, the advocates of change reach tens and, ultimately, hundreds of millions.

But it is Gorbachev himself, and above all Gorbachev on television, who has dominated the Soviet media since 1985—another fact that makes it difficult for conservative members of the Politburo to dispose of him by conspiracy. A surprising aspect of Western speculation about the balance of power in the Kremlin since 1985 is that specialists will consider at length the attitude of the traditional institutions of the state such as the KGB, secretariat, Central Committee and armed forces toward reform, but neglect to consider the political impact of Gorbachev's ability to appear at will on *Vremya*, the nine o'clock news, which runs on all three channels. Yet it is through his appearances on television that Gorbachev has been best able to control the political atmosphere and affect the political agenda ever since he became general secretary. Important meetings of the Central Committee are preceded by Gorbachev's tours of the provinces. It was, for instance, in the speeches in Khabarovsk in the Far East and Krasnodar near the Black Sea in the fall of 1986 that Gorbachev first announced that political change was a central component of economic reform. No other member of the Politburo has achieved this degree of public visibility. Indeed, Gorbachev has been quite successful in outflanking official institutions of the party and the state by appointing his own

supporters as spokesmen who explain policy to the media. Thus the spokesmen for the crucial Central Committee meeting on the economy in June 1987 was Abel Aganbegyan, an advisor to Gorbachev who is not on the Central Committee. [Patrick Cockburn, *World Policy Journal*, Winter 1988]

Radical TV Show, "Fifth Wheel," Is Talk of Leningrad

The resident censor at Leningrad television—an exacting matron of the local Communist Party apparatus named Natalya Strepetova—doesn't get much work anymore. In the old days, when the writers would hand over their scripts for approval, she would turn down anything a shade more daring than, say, the latest report on sugar beet production. Strepetova was a nyet-sayer of boundless energy. Nowadays, she just makes sure that no one is giving away the blueprint for the hydrogen bomb or other state secrets. Then she signs her name. "Work is getting pretty easy around here," she says.

But while the policy of *glasnost* has severely proscribed the work of Strepetova, the party leaders of this famously conservative city have themselves tried hard to crack down on Leningrad's television station and its best-known, most radical show, "The Fifth Wheel."

"Oh, the hotshots in the party would love to shut us down, but we've gotten so popular, I don't think they can do it," says Bella Korkova, "Fifth Wheel's" chief editor and lead reporter.

Barely a year old, "Fifth Wheel" has become the most innovative outlet of the Soviet mass media, airing penetrating reports on homeless children, political corruption in Leningrad, an oppressed ballet master, a former executioner in the gulag, groups that believe in the "Judeo-Masonic conspiracy to destroy Russia" and dozens of other topics guaranteed to drive the dinosaurs of the city establishment to distraction.

"Fifth Wheel" airs for at least two hours every Monday and Thursday and features long segments, each one a kind of distinct "Nightline." In Leningrad, the show is mandatory for fans and detractors alike, a focus of civic attention: who will be skewered tonight? What will they dare this time?

"We're not about entertainment. Marxism-Leninism turned out to be an absolute zero, and we're searching for new ways to think and live," says reporter Viktor Pravdyuk. [David Remnick, *Washington Post*, 7/5/89 or 7/6/89]

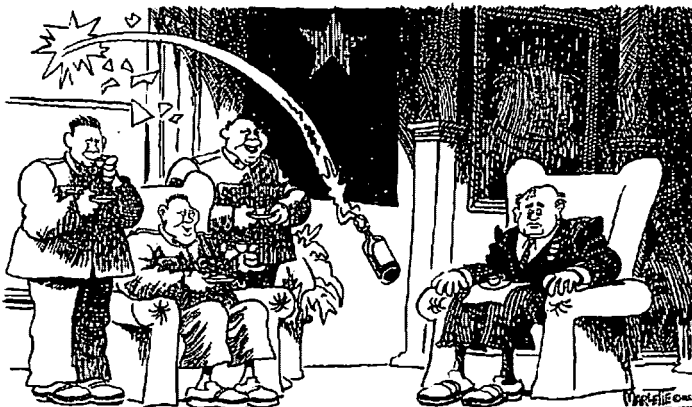
Moscow TV Shuttters Glasnost in Beijing Coverage

The news program "Vremya," which is watched every evening by at least 150 million Russians, broadcast nearly two hours of coverage on May 17 of Mikhail Gorbachev's historic trip to China. Yet there was not a single image of the hundreds of thousands of Chinese demonstrating in Beijing.

When the broadcast did give a glimpse of the protests Monday, the brief interviews stuck to one theme: the students and their supporters back Gorbachev. There was no mention of the students' demands, the hunger strikes, the calls for Chinese leaders to resign.

Gorbachev and his advisors have come to understand the power of television far better than previous Soviet leaders. As Communist Party foreign policy chief Alexander Yakovlev said early in Gorbachev's rule, "The television image is everything."

By refusing to show the hundreds of thousands of people in Beijing's Tiananmen Square, Soviet television did give a clear view of the meaning of *glasnost* at the highest levels—and apparently reflected Gorbachev's own anxiety about unrest at home. [David Remnick, *Washington Post*, 5/18/89]



"DON'T BE ALARMED, COMRADE GORBACHEV—THAT WAS MEANT FOR US!"

Marlette in *New York Newsday*. Reprinted with permission.

Soviet CNN Broadcasts to Start Soon

An official of Turner Broadcasting System said May 5 that he expects the Cable News Network to be broadcast live to the Soviet Union, possibly as soon as August. Robert Wussler, executive vice president of Turner, said negotiations with Moscow were well under way. And two Soviet television officials said in Moscow this week that they saw no political obstacle to the broadcasts or other live satellite news broadcasts from commercial networks in the United States and elsewhere.

Eduard Sagalayev, head of news for Soviet television, and Grigory A. Shevelev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Television and Radio Broadcasting, said the major impediments to broadcasts from American news networks were technical and legal, not political. Those statements were Moscow's first public agreement in principle to the reception of commercial news broadcasts, said Ellen Mickiewicz, director of a program at Emory University that monitors Soviet broadcasting and publishing.

Mr. Wussler said he expected Soviet television to begin transmitting a scrambled CNN signal on UHF Channel 24. Soviet residents who wish to receive the broadcasts would have to purchase or rent a decoder similar to those used to decode signals on American cable television. Asked if the broadcasts would be restricted or if they could be seen by the Soviet public at large, Mr. Wussler said he expected that CNN would be seen by "anybody who wants to pay for a box," referring to the decoder. [Jerry Schwartz, *New York Times*, 5/6/89]

Glasnost in the Arts

Films Cover Once Banned Topics

Soviet films are on the march. "Forgotten Tune for a Flute" opened recently in the United States, and now "Little Vera" has arrived — hot on the heels of "Commissar" and "Repentance," two pictures from the late 1960s that had belated US premieres not long ago. It's not exactly a flood, but it's more Soviet movies than American screens have seen for many years within such a short time span.

"We see changes not only in the films themselves but in their marketing concepts, the way they promote the films with posters, full-color catalogs, sound-track albums. Everybody's carrying this new philosophy!" said Christopher Wood, a film importer in New York.

The latest Soviet film in American theaters is "Little Vera," which first tested the US waters (in a slightly longer version) at New York's prestigious New Directors/New Films and at the Telluride Film Festival in the Colorado mountains. It's already a hit in the Soviet Union, where it sold a record-breaking 50 million tickets in the first three months.

That new Soviet films are benefiting from recent developments was seconded in a conversation I had recently with Tatiana Dogileva, star of "Forgotten Tune for a Flute" and a veteran of many Moscow-based stage and screen productions. "Five years ago, she told me, "official newspapers and magazines said we had no problems at all in the Soviet Union—that the Soviet people were the happiest people and our families were the strongest in the world. But we see that we have a lot of problems...."

"Cinema and theater are one of the most important parts of *glasnost* and *perestroika*," she continued, "because they tell people about our problems. And people now want to *hear* about our problems. Now our film and theater directors can speak about this....And that is beautiful, although it is also hard work!" [David Sterritt, *Christian Science Monitor*, 4/28/89]

Film Makers Take on New Turf

Call it *glasnost* with vengeance. Soviet documentary filmmakers, for years relegated to the role of "polite chroniclers of the times," as film critic Sergei Muratov put it, are finally being freed to explore some of the social and political ills of their own country. The opening of the Glasnost Film Festival May 1 suggested that they relish their new role.

The three films screened at the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences in Beverly Hills displayed a surprising willingness by the film makers to level criticism at the Soviet Union's government and social structures. The first film told the bleak and violent stories of alcoholic

mothers and their children who have become wards of the state. A second documentary exposed the grim reality of the lives of a handful of young gymnasts rigorously being groomed for the Olympics.

The third film, which appeared to be the favorite with the American audience that night, depicted a group of elderly peasant women who were forced to cut down forest trees for firewood in an effort to augment their meager pensions. During this strenuous labor, the women swap their own poignant and often humorous philosophies on life—"We'll all be equal when we're dead," insists one. But they also criticize the government's pension program and express skepticism about the country's highly touted *perestroika* policy.

"We think it is essential to make political films that show the sore spots of our society," said Leonid Gurevich, a Soviet scriptwriter and film critic who appeared on a panel of experts following the screenings. "It's our duty....No one is forcing us." [Nina J. Easton, *Los Angeles Times*, 5/3/89]

The Peoples' Choices

Five of the Soviet Union's 12 top-grossing movies in 1988 were made in the U.S., reports *Komsomolskaya Pravda*. No. 1 was the Soviet film *Little Vera*, which sold 43 million tickets in just the last quarter of the year. The American movies are *King Kong* (1976), which placed third with 35 million tickets in four months; *Short Circuit* (1986) and *The Bedroom Window* (1987), which ranked fifth and seventh respectively; *King Kong Lives* (1986), eighth; and *One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest* (1975), 12th.

American mass-audience periodicals are also becoming a little easier to get in the Soviet Union, but do not tell *Literaturnaya Gazeta* that. Although it has paid for 1989 subscriptions, the weekly says that as of the end of March it had received one issue of *Rolling Stone* and not a single one of *The New Yorker*, *The New York Review of Books*, *The New Republic* or *Life*. The frustrated paper blames the Soviet agency it dealt with and the Soviet postal system—and threatens to deal directly with foreign distributors. "We hear that they are quite obliging toward their customers." [Steven Shabad, *World Press Review*, June 1989]

Kirov Enters the World of Glasnost

A new history is being made these days at the Kirov Theater. In a spacious rehearsal room this spring, a dozen dancers practiced the steps to George Balanchine's "Scotch Symphony." On a stairwell landing, two dancers discussed a program for the company's experimental studio theater. And in his office, the Kirov's energetic director, Oleg Vinogradov, was reviewing an agreement to bring Mikhail Baryshnikov and the American Ballet Theater to Leningrad later this year, checking the latest project for the company's joint theatrical business venture with a British firm and finalizing plans for the company's first New York engagement in 25 years.

"We want to show American audiences the Kirov as it exists," said Mr. Vinogradov, "with its past, its present, and its future. For a long time, they haven't seen us as we wanted ourselves to be seen. But the opportunities of the last few years have turned us into a new corps. We begin to live more freely in our professional lives. There was less interference, and you can see it in our work. It's more alive."

Tomorrow, the Kirov Ballet begins a three-week run at the Metropolitan Opera House. Perhaps as remarkable as the rare visit itself is the fact that the company will be performing two works by Balanchine, the master choreographer who was raised as a dancer on the stage of the Kirov until his emigration to the West in 1924 and whose works were not officially performed in his native country until this year. The company's offerings will include its interpretations of his "Scotch Symphony" and "Themes and Variations."

I cannot even explain what it means to us to perform these dances," Mr. Vinogradov said. "It is like being given back a piece of our past." [Esther B. Fein, *New York Times*, 7/2/89]

Need for New Thinking In US Media

The Center for War, Peace, and the News Media asked 23 leading journalists how they see the changing East-West relationship, what they see as the opportunities and risks it presents for US media. Among the comments appearing in the Center's *Deadline* and urging journalistic new thinking are these:

Flora Lewis

We are in a period of historic transformation. Of course, that is much harder to report and analyze than something you can represent with pins on a map. Perhaps the most difficult problem for journalism can be summarized as the presentation of interdependence, not only of different parts of the world, but of different topics and issues: for example, the relation of military security and economic concerns, environmental problems and sociocultural attitudes. How do you break all this down into compartments that can be handled effectively, specifically enough to convey real information and not just vague simplicities, and at the same time include all the crucial links?

Hodding Carter III

Is the cold war over? Sure, so much so that this has become the new conventional wisdom for Right and Left alike. And if we are not very careful, the new parrot-speak will produce as much mindlessness as the old. The world has for a long time been infinitely more complex than the old formulas. But you would have had a hard time understanding that if you relied on the typical news and commentary in the mass media. Gorbachev's campaign for public criticism and institutional restructuring of his outmoded system is not a bad model for American journalism as well. Like the Soviet state, as presently constituted it is not up to the challenges posed by the world around it.

James Chace

The role of the socialist states in the world economy and the use of international institutions to control conflict and curb environmental excess will require a new sophistication in reporting and analysis. Foreign correspondents, for example, will have to familiarize themselves with the details of fiscal and monetary strategies as they once had to master the intricacies of arms control.

David Shipler

The mainstream American press has never been very good at leading conceptually beyond the limitations of mainstream thinking in American society. Reporters writing about foreign affairs cover government primarily; mostly they quote officials, or a few anointed scholars and think-tank analysts who rarely break out of the parameters of consensus. This is natural, even logical, but it has a sterilizing effect on public debate. It would be healthier, especially in this time of immense fluidity, if journalists wrote more skeptically and creatively about the big issues and opened their news columns to a greater array of unorthodox voices that could push back the horizons of imagination.

Thom Shanker

In a sense, the entire lexicon for reporting on Soviet politics and superpower relations is up for grabs. Correspondents must reach for finer definitions and greater nuance. [*Deadline*, Summer 1989]



SISTER CITIES

Atlanta, Georgia

Tbilisi, Georgian SSR

In May a delegation from the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce visited Tbilisi. They discussed many possible joint ventures. The result was an agreement to fund a representative of Atlanta to stay in Tbilisi. Later in the month, Atlanta's Channel 11 received a news reporter from Tbilisi. In June 10 high school students stayed for a month with families of students from school #1 in Tbilisi. The reciprocal visit will take place in November. There will be an exchange through Friendship Force of adult groups in August and September.

Baltimore, Maryland

Odessa, Ukrainian SSR

In April a 14-member delegation from Odessa State University visited Goucher College and Johns Hopkins University. High school students from Odessa visited Baltimore schools. Their visit included homestays with Baltimore students who had visited Odessa in September 1988. In August, 19 students from McDough School will visit their sister school #119 in Odessa on a second exchange.

Black Mountain, North Carolina

Krasnaya Polyana, RSFSR

An exhibit of the sister city relationship between Black Mountain and Krasnaya Polyana will open in August at a museum in Black Mountain. A teacher from Krasnaya Polyana will visit Black Mountain in October to sign a formal sister city agreement.

Boulder, Colorado

Dushanbe, Tajik SSR

As part of the first segment of a high school exchange program, 21 Boulder area high school students visited the Soviet Union for two weeks in March-April, with homestays during their week in Dushanbe. There will be a reciprocal visit by Dushanbe students next spring. In May, 26 Boulder residents visited the Soviet Union for three weeks, spending four days in Dushanbe. Local physicians are planning to host a group of four Dushanbe physicians who will spend two to three weeks in Boulder in October.

Cambridge, Massachusetts

Yerevan, Armenian SSR

In April, 15 teachers from Yerevan spent a week visiting Cambridge elementary and high schools. In July, 10 musicians and educators from Yerevan visited Cambridge. In September, Cambridge and Yerevan government environmental officials, grassroots environmentalists, and environmental scientists will meet in Yerevan for a special conference called "Common Ground: Working Together to Protect Our Earth."

Chicago, Illinois

Kiev, Ukrainian SSR

Current projects include: a five-year contract between Kiev State University and a consortium of institutions of higher education in the Chicago area, an exchange of high school students, and the formation of a committee at the International Trade Club to work on a program

for small businesses in Chicago regarding trade between the two cities. In February the Chicago Center hosted, in conjunction with Northwestern Memorial Hospital's Center on Aging, a five-member group from Kiev's Institute of Gerontology. As a result of this visit, a gerontology protocol and agreement was signed and executed.

Cincinnati, Ohio

Kharkov, Ukrainian SSR

In March an 11-member delegation from Cincinnati visited Kharkov for several days. In September Cincinnati will host a delegation from Kharkov.

Cleveland Heights/Shaker Heights, Ohio

Volzhsky, RSFSR

A delegation from Cleveland and Shaker Heights visited Volzhsky in May. Arrangements have been made for exchanges over the next two years beginning with a teacher exchange this fall.

Corning, New York

Lvov, Ukrainian SSR

In August four students and two teachers from Lvov will spend three weeks in the Corning area with host families. In October, an official delegation and a blue grass band from Corning will make a visit to Lvov.

Dixon, Illinois

Dickson, RSFSR

The publisher of Dixon's local paper visited Dickson in April. After the Tashkent Conference in May, a delegation from Dixon visited Dickson. This year's projects include education and business exchanges.

Duluth, Minnesota

Petrozavodsk, RSFSR

There will be at least 22 trips between the cities from May 1 through October, including two youth group exchanges. Two or three Russian teachers will be coming to Duluth and one English teacher to Petrozavodsk. Four sailors from Duluth will participate in the Lake Onega Regatta and a tourist group will be there to see the finish. All official exchanges and most tourist groups include discussions on trade and joint business ventures. In the planning stages are: ties between Vietnam and Afghanistan veterans groups, exchanges between ham radio clubs, sponsorship of a Petrozavodsk toastmasters club and an exchange of young business people. Duluth has instituted a Peace Center and gift shop. A similar venture is planned for Petrozavodsk.

Greater Portland, ME

Archangel, RSFSR

In April a delegation from Archangel visited Greater Portland. Also in April the two communities exchanged high school students for a one month stay. Homestays were provided by both sides. In June a 42-member tour group from Archangel visited Greater Portland.

Houston, Texas

Baku, Azerbaijan SSR

Houston hosted a delegation from Baku in April. Plans were made for an educational exchange involving the University of St. Thomas, a medical exchange with Houston Medical Center and a performing arts exchange with Rice University.

Report from Sister Cities International On the Meeting in Tashkent

Five US-USSR prospective city pairs met for the first time at the US-USSR Sister Cities Meeting in Tashkent, May 29-31. During the conference, cities had the opportunity to explore affiliation possibilities as well as work on program development and exchange. We are pleased to report that over 180 delegates from more than 40 US cities and their counterparts in the USSR, as well as prominent national and international figures, attended the conference. The workshops, which ranged in topic from youth and professional exchange to financing of exchanges to human rights, were a great success. After the meetings in Tashkent, the US delegates traveled to their Sister Cities with their hosts. All feedback we have thus far received regarding these visits has been outstanding.

SCI currently records thirty-six affiliations, of which the most recent include the State of Alaska and the Khabarovsk Region; Muscatine, Iowa, and Kislovodsk; Tucson, Arizona and Alma-Ata; and Fresno, California, and Dzhambul. Fourteen US cities are in the pending stage, ten are in their initial affiliation efforts, and 30 are investigating the possibilities.

**Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota
Novosibirsk, RSFSR**

In Minneapolis on February 9, the mayors of Minneapolis, St. Paul and Novosibirsk signed official agreements formalizing the sister city affiliation between the three cities. Projects planned include an ecumenical meeting with religious leaders, a design-construction symposium in Novosibirsk, and an exchange of newspaper articles. The cities currently plan to send a gynecologist to Novosibirsk for two-three months to cooperate with health care personnel on issues of contraception and pregnancy with the goal of promoting higher rates of planned pregnancy, safe abortions and reductions in infertility.

**Oakland, California
Nakhodka, RSFSR**

After the Tashkent conference, the Oakland delegation traveled to Nakhodka. Plans were made for the following activities: exchanges of high school students, ice hockey coaches, and librarians; a chef from Nakhodka to come to Oakland to prepare Russian specialties at a local restaurant; and an exchange of newspaper articles.

**Portland, Oregon
Khabarovsk, RSFSR**

Portland hosted its first official delegation from Khabarovsk in June. The five-member delegation met with board members and representatives of Portland organizations to discuss future exchange opportunities. A joint film exchange is now taking place. In June a film crew from Khabarovsk arrived in Portland to film the first part of the project.

**Rochester, New York
Novgorod, RSFSR**

An official Novgorod delegation made a week-long visit to Rochester in early April. In May, a visit by a 30 person tour group led by the local Public Broadcasting System station WXXI, featured daily live radio broadcasts, including call-in shows from Moscow, Novgorod and Leningrad.

**Salt Lake City, Utah
Chernovtsky, Ukrainian SSR**

The Salt Lake City group is providing hospitality and community relations for the Soviet inspection team located in nearby Magna, Utah. In April, Salt Lake City hosted an exhibit of paintings by children from Chernovtsy.

**Seattle, Washington
Tashkent, Uzbek SSR**

Fifteen lawyers and judges will visit Tashkent in October to meet with counterparts in city agencies, courts and the law institute in Tashkent. Mental health facilities will also be visited. This year's medical exchange with Tashkent focused on reducing the incidence and prevalence of Hepatitis B and on the delivery of emergency health care. Intensive training in the Uzbek language is being offered at the University of Washington. Lakeside School and School 20 in Moscow joined School 20 in Tashkent in a three-way sister school relationship. Two members of the Seattle Sister City

group helped establish an Amputee Soccer Club in Tashkent. Tashkent agreed to send a contingent of amputee players to Seattle for additional training.

**Spokane, Washington
Makhachkala, RSFSR**

A four-member group from Makhachkala was in Spokane in June for the opening of the Festival of Four Cultures. A Spokane businessman and camera crew will be going to Makhachkala in the fall to shoot a sequence of "Peace Table," a show on Soviet-American culinary diplomacy.

**State of Alaska
Khabarovsk Region, RSRSSR**

In February, sixth-graders at Soldotna, AK, Elementary School hosted a group of Russian students and teachers from the Soviet city of Magadan, while Magadan in return hosts a group of students from Soldotna. The exchange visits are the result of a Russian studies program that includes letter writing to many Soviet far eastern cities. There are plans for an extended student/teacher exchange for the fall.

**State of Iowa
Stavropol Region, Ukrainian SSR**

On the invitation of the Ukrainian Republic Peace Committee, 15 Iowa high school students will travel to the USSR in August to work

with Soviet youth on a collective farm. The Iowa Peace Institute has been invited to take part in the newly formed Joint Soviet-American Working Group for the Analysis and Resolution of Conflict.

**Stevens Point, Wisconsin
Rostov Veliky, RSFSR**

Ten high school students from Stevens Point traveled to Rostov Veliky this summer. Plans have been made for a delegation to visit Rostov Veliky in September. A reciprocal visit will follow within a month.

**Tallahassee, Florida
Krasnodar, RSFSR**

A Soviet delegation from Krasnodar visited Tallahassee for a week at the end of April. The six-member delegation was the first to visit from Krasnodar. In September a delegation from Tallahassee will visit Krasnodar.

**Washington, District of Columbia
Moscow, RSFSR**

The Washington/Moscow Exchange is working with the Washington, DC METRO system to publish a bilingual pocket guide to the METRO system in Russian and English. The guide will be available in late summer or early fall. The Washington group is sponsoring an exhibition of paintings and sculpture by contemporary Washington and Moscow artists. The exhibition is scheduled for fall 1990.

***Adventure on the High Seas*
Gainesville, Florida/Novorossiisk, RSFSR**

The day the Gainesville delegation left for the Tashkent conference, a group of 15 engineering students and a teacher from the Novorossiisk Merchant Marine Academy ended a 22-day adventure on the high seas when they cleared customs and immigration at the port of Miami. The saga began when academy officials were unable to secure airline tickets for the group of English-speaking cadets to travel to Gainesville as part of a two-month student exchange program. Rather than postponing the visit until the fall, the officials decided to put the group on a 700-foot grain ship headed for New Orleans. But before the ship sailed, its destination was changed to Canada. The students' visas were valid only until May 31, so the shipping company decided to transfer the group to another ship, an oil tanker headed for Cuba.

Once the students boarded the second ship, academy officials discovered that the tanker would not be allowed to dock at any US port before the May 31 deadline, due to a State Department requirement of 14-days' notice for Soviet ships entering US territorial waters. To make matters worse, when contacted for assistance, neither the US State Department nor the Soviet Embassy in Washington seemed to know anything about the student group. After a flurry of telexes, faxes and phone calls arrangements were made to bring the cadets ashore in Florida. On May 26 at 0800 hours, a Soviet ship was waiting in international waters between Miami and Cuba for a motor launch to pick up the cadets. The students are studying to be engineering officers on merchant ships. The voyage was their first experience at sea.



Women On The Move . . .

Committee for National Security

Against the backdrop of extraordinary changes in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and the general structure of East-West relations, over 150 American women community leaders met in Washington in early May to explore new definitions of national security. The conference, sponsored and organized by the Committee for National Security and funded by the Ford Foundation, combined the resources of research and policy institutes like the Brookings Institution and the Harvard Russian Research Center with the interests and needs of local chapter-based national organizations like Women's Action for Nuclear Disarmament, the YWCA and the 20/20 Vision Project.

The audience was a reflection of the pervading and intense community interest in the everyday implications of global change. A broader understanding of peace and security has already captured "mainstream" public support. Participants were clearly seeking to prepare themselves and their children for a different kind of leadership in a new world order that has yet to be created or fully envisioned.

Since the conference, women in Philadelphia, South Florida and other areas have been translating the information, program ideas and skills learned at the conference into workable community activity toward a new national security. [Report to ISAR by Mary Lord, ACCESS]

Women's Foreign Policy Council

The Women's Foreign Policy Council has initiated a campaign to build an international coalition of women's organizations and individual women who will work together to ensure that environmental issues are a top priority in local, national, international and individual policymaking. The group will provide the tools to educate, organize, strengthen and expand existing environmental coalitions or to build new ones.

The program includes a Pledge of Allegiance to the Family of Earth stating that human and ecological values must take precedence when policy decisions are made and that partnership of all

peoples is essential for the survival of the planet. The Council is co-chaired by Bella Abzug and Mimi Kelber. Among its sponsors are Senator Barbara Mikulski and Representatives Claudine Schneider and Patricia Schroeder.

Golubka Flies Between US & USSR

Golubka, the inspiration of activists Gale Warner and David Kreger, recognizes the new needs in the USSR for information and communication about environmental and peace issues. The newly formed organization has arranged for the hand delivery of half a ton of fact sheets, articles and books on peace and ecology to various informal networks of Soviet activists by October 1989. The first 250 pounds of information, much of it in Russian, and donated by such groups as Educators for Social Responsibility, Worldwatch, The Environmental Defense Fund and ISAR, was delivered in April. Arrangements are being made for the translation of additional information into Russian. Golubka also serves as a letter courier to and from the USSR and is developing other services for the Soviet-American community.

Harvard Students Teach in Moscow

Under a new program coordinated by the Russian Research Center, the House of Stankevich, a Moscow cooperative specializing in after-school programs for secondary school students, will introduce a program for the teaching of English by American undergraduates, two of whom will be from Harvard College. Beginning in September, the House of Stankevich will offer four nine-month teaching positions to undergraduates willing and able to teach English in the Soviet Union. The cooperative will provide a visa, housing, and a modest hourly wage. The Americans chosen to participate in the program will be responsible for funding their travel expenses to and from the Soviet Union. [*Russian Research Center News*, 5/30/89]

New Study Opportunities In Leningrad

A new organization has been established that will expand opportunities for scholars, teachers and students in American universities and high schools to conduct research, live and study in the Soviet Union. Following a series of direct negotiations with independent cooperatives in Leningrad over the past year, the American-Soviet Partnership for International Research and Education (ASPIRE) was formed to design and administer programs for scholarly research and language study in the Soviet Union.

Approximately 35 university-level teachers of Russian spent four weeks this summer at Leningrad State University under the new program.

Harvard Studies Psychological Dimensions Of International Relations

Ongoing work at Harvard's Center for Psychological Studies in the Nuclear Age backs up Harvard's Kennedy School of Government in pointing out that the Cuban Missile Crisis was as much a psychological phenomenon as a military one: The crisis provides a striking example of the dangers of ignoring the psychological dimensions of international relations.

Current activities at the Center include studies on the cultures of nuclear weapons designers and peace activists, exploring the meaning their work has for them and the strategies they use to defend their work; the personal and professional forces that constrain or facilitate the exercise of socially responsible action at the top levels of corporate management; ways in which the language of nuclear defense intellectuals distances their thinking from the reality of nuclear destructiveness and insulates the industry from public scrutiny; therapy techniques for use in structured dialogue among groups with conflicting ideologies; and the historical and psychopolitical functions of nationalism and ideology.

Nuclear Dialogue Reaches Decision Makers

Twenty-four citizen groups across the country from California to Georgia and in ten other states have adopted the Nuclear Dialogue Project as a creative approach to increasing security in the nuclear age. The Nuclear Dialogue Project, a national organization based in Princeton, NJ, was created in 1985 as a way to reach the people who make key decisions over long periods of time about nuclear weapons planning and development:

- scientists working on classified research at universities or national weapons labs;
- executive officers of companies that manufacture nuclear weapons;
- civilian and military officials who analyze and recommend strategic nuclear policies.

Each citizen dialogue group reaches out to one of the key decision-makers for personal discussions about national security policies over an extended period. Thoughtful dialogue facilitates changing positions and opinions. [Press release]

Colloquium Series For Public School Teachers

Elections in the Soviet Union, the prospect of a multiparty system in Hungary, mass protests in China—what is the Communist world coming to? What progress has been made thus far? Where are the reforms headed? What obstacles yet exist? What are the implications for global security? These critical questions will be the focus of a year-long colloquium series for public school teachers in Philadelphia, to commence in September 1989. Sponsored by the Foreign Policy Research Institute, the series will feature scholars representing diverse disciplines and diverse points of view.



Reports

American Committee on US-Soviet Relations, "After the Cold War," an article by George Kennan and transcript of a recent interview on McNeill/Lehrer; "The Jackson-Vanik Amendment and Changing Circumstances in the Soviet Union"; and "Masters of the Land?": The Dilemmas of Agricultural Reform in the Soviet Union.' 109 Eleventh Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003.

Aspen Institute's fifth conference report, "US-Soviet Relations: Building a Congressional Cadre." Aspen Institute Publications Office, Wye Center, PO Box 150, Queenstown, MD 21658.

Atlantic Council of the US, recent Occasional Papers: "Indicators of Change in Soviet Security Policies," John Hardt and Timothy Stanley; "Change in Eastern Europe: Soviet Interest and Western Opportunities," Karen Dawisha, Lincoln Gordon, and John Kiser; and "Organizing for Change: An Essential Part of Comprehensive Security and Western Prosperity," Leonard Sullivan, Jr., \$8 each. 1616 H Street, NW, Washington, DC 20006.

Committee for National Security, "New Thinking in Soviet Defense Policy: New Opportunities for US Arms Control Initiatives" \$4.60. Arms Control Task Force, 1601 Connecticut Avenue, NW, Suite 301, Washington, DC 20009.

The Current Digest of the Soviet Press, "Soviet Foreign Policy Today" 3rd edition, \$24.50; and "Current Soviet Policies" on the 23rd-27th Party Congresses. 1480 W. Lane Avenue, Columbus, OH 43221.

Eisenhower World Affairs Institute, "US-Soviet Exchange: The Next Thirty Years." 918 16th Street, #401, Washington, DC 20006.

Helsinki Watch, "Human Rights Under Glasnost," a 105-page report, \$8. 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017.

The Institute for East-West Security Studies, Occasional Paper (No. 9), "Gorbachev's International Outlook: Intellectual Origins and Political Consequences," \$7.95. Westview Press, 5500 Central Avenue, Boulder, CO 80301.

International Peace Academy, "American, Soviet and Third World Perceptions of Regional Conflicts," free. 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017-3521.

Stanley Foundation, "Soviet Integration Into the World Economy," "UN Peacemaking and Peace-keeping." 420 E. Third Street, Muscatine, IA 52761.

The Union of Concerned Scientists, "A Trimmer NATO at 40: Building Down the NATO-Warsaw Pact Confrontation," Ambassador Jonathan Dean. 26 Church Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

Trilateral Commission, "East-West Relations" a report. 345 E. 46th Street, New York, NY 10017.

United Nations Association of the USA and the Asia-Pacific Association of Japan, "Gorbachev's Asian Policy: Refashioning American and Japanese Policy Toward the Soviet Union." 485 Fifth Avenue, New York, NY 10017-6104.

UCLA Center for International and Strategic Affairs, "US-Soviet Relations: From Confrontation to Cooperation Through Verificational Deterrence," CISA Working Paper No. 64. 11383 Bunche Hall, UCLA, LA, CA 90024.

World Commission of Environment and Development, "Sustainable Development: A Guide to Our Common Future." Global Tomorrow Coalition, 1325 G Street, NW, Suite 915, Washington, DC 20005.

World Policy Institute, "American Priorities in a New World Era," \$3. 777 United Nations Plaza, New York, NY 10017.

Worldwatch Institute, "National Security: The Economic and Environmental Dimensions" (Worldwatch Paper 89), \$4. 1776 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

New Publications

Visa Views, an update on a variety of issues relating to visits in the USSR. Information packets and visa applications to and from the USSR are also available. PO Box 2361, Berkeley, CA 94702.

In Brief..., the US Institute of Peace newsletter. 1550 M Street, NW, Suite 700, Washington, DC 20005.

Across Frontiers, a quarterly devoted to analyses from Eastern Europe's democratic and socialist opposition. PO Box 2382, Berkeley, CA 94702.

Science and Global Security, a quarterly journal published in Russian and English on arms control, disarmament,

ment and related issues. Subscription rates vary. Gordon and Breach Science Publishers, Marketing Department, PO Box 786, Cooper Station, New York, NY 10276.

Grassroots Resources

Foreign Policy Association, "Leadership Handbook" ideas on fundraising and dealing with the media, \$15. 729 Seventh Avenue, New York, NY 10019.

Fund for Peace, an annotated bibliography for people who want to work for peace but don't know where to begin, \$5.95. 1755 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Global Education Associates, "Whole Earth Papers," educational tools for adult and classroom educators, community organizers, lobbyists, etc. 475 Riverside Drive, Suite 570, New York, NY 10115.

The League of Women Voter's Educational Fund, "Thinking Globally, Acting Locally," a citizen's guide to community education on global issues, \$6.75. 1730 M Street, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Psychologists for Social Responsibility, speaker's packet on enemy images, \$8. 1841 Columbia Road, NW #207, Washington, DC 20009.

Physicians for Social Responsibility, a series of brochures on national security issues. 1000 16th Street, NW Suite 810, Washington, DC 20036.

Curriculum Materials

The Soviet Studies Resource Guide, a loose-leaf listing of readily available recommended materials on teaching about the USSR. The Minnesota Department of Education, International Education, 635 Capitol Square Building, St. Paul, MN 55101.

Vladimir Nabokov at Harvard, a boxed, two-cassette album containing readings by Nabokov of his own prose and poetry and his translations of Russian poets. English and Russian versions. Harvard College Library, \$24.

New Services

Federal News Service, offering broad coverage of political, economic, environmental and scientific issues direct to your computer system. Fees vary. 620 National Press Building, NW, Washington, DC 20045.

FYI: Information Resources for a Changing World, information about the Soviet Union for businessmen and women, journalists, educators and travellers. Fees vary. 735 8th Street, SE, Washington, DC 20003.

Films, Videos, Tapes

Videos with Vision, Common Ground video library tapes introducing new approaches to rethinking, redefining, and reframing conflict. 2005 Massachusetts Avenue, NW, Washington, DC 20036.

Soviets, Meet Middle America! a half-hour program chronicling the adventures of four Soviet citizens traveling across the US, \$29. Center for US/

USSR Initiatives, 3268 Sacramento Street, San Francisco, CA 94115.

Soviet Cinema Today, a collection of Soviet feature films on video. Prices vary. International Film Exchange, 201 W. 52nd Street, New York, NY 10019.

Infinity Productions, documentary on the lives of children in the USSR. 3351 Emerson Avenue South, Minneapolis, MN 55408.

Everyday Life in the Soviet Union: The Story of Tanya, a Moscow Teenager, a 25-minute program aimed at grades 5-10, \$40 purchase/\$25 rental. World Affairs Council of Boston, 22 Batterymarch Street, Boston, MA 02109.

How to Prevent a Nuclear War, activities anyone can engage in to lessen the threat of nuclear war. Rental \$45. New Day Films, 853 Broadway, Suite 1210, New York, NY 10003.

What One Child Can Do, narrated by John Denver, about a group of American young people on their first trip to the Soviet Union. Educational Film and Video Project, 5332 College Ave., Suite 101, Oakland, CA 94618.

The Peace Tapes: a Video Guide to Peace, information on how to get involved in peace-oriented activities, set to music by well-known artists, \$24.85. 350 Kensington Rd. Suite 122, Mt. Prospect, IL 60056.

Transcripts of TV programs i.e., *Nightline, 20/20, Donahue, 60 Minutes* on the Soviet Union. Prices vary. Journal Graphics Transcripts, 267 Broadway, New York, NY 10007.



ENVIRONMENT

Conflict over the World's Resources. By Robert Mandel. West Port, CT: Greenwood Press, 1988. Tests general ideas against case studies of recent experience in whaling, oil, grain, strategic minerals and pollution (Chernobyl).

Environmental Management in the Soviet Union and Yugoslavia. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988. \$55. Compares the methods of environmental management in the USSR and Yugoslavia, both one-party command economies, concluding that the Soviet and Yugoslav failures in handling ecological damage have considerable similarities with the situation in the US.

Environmental Politics and Policy: Theories and Evidence. Edited by James Lester. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988. \$22.95. Provides a summary of various prescriptions for dealing with environmental issues, presents several visions of environmental policy making in the 1990s, and reviews literature on international environmental politics.

Managing the Environmental Crisis: Incorporating Competing Values in Natural Resource Administration. By Lynton Caldwell. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1988. \$18.95. A practical perspective on critical environmental and natural resource issues.

Our Common Future. By The World Commission on Environmental Development. Oxford, England: Oxford Press, 1988. \$10.95. Serves notice that the time has come for a marriage of economy and ecology, so that governments and their people can take responsibility not just for environmental damage but for the policies that cause the damage.

SECURITY ISSUES

A Strategy for Peace: Human Values and the Threat of War. By Sissela Bok. New York: Pantheon, 1989. \$17.95. The author looks to increased concern for human values that will serve the cause of peace.

Conflict & Peace in the Modern International System: A Study of the Principles of International Order. By Evan Luard. Albany: SUNY Press, 1988. Revised edition of a standard work on international relations published in 1968.

Next Moves: An Arms Control Agenda for the 1990's. By Edward Warner II and David Ochmanek. New York: Council on Foreign Relations, 1989. \$10.95. Based on a Council study group, this volume sets negotiations in their political context and suggests sensible ways to move forward.

The Other Side of Arms Control. By Alan Sherr. New York: Unwin Hyman, 1988. \$44.95. A detailed account of contemporary Soviet arms control objectives.

US-Soviet Security Cooperation: Achievements, Failures, Lessons. Edited by Alexander George, Philip Farley and Alexander Dallin. New York: Oxford University Press, 1988. \$17.95. A study of the efforts the US and Soviet Union have made since WWII to develop and carry out cooperative arrangements to improve their own security and that of other nations.

War and Peace in the Nuclear Age. By John Newhouse. New York: Knopf, 1989. \$22.95. Written as a companion to the PBS television series, this book ranges from atomic physics in the 1930s to the end of the Reagan administration.

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

Beyond Globalism. By Raymond Vernon and Debora Spar. New York: Free Press, 1989. \$22.95. An analysis of American foreign policy in the post-WWII era.

Gorbachev's Russia. By Basile Kerblay. New York: Pantheon, 1989. \$9.95. An analysis of glasnost and perestroika.

Heritage of Fear: Illusion and Reality in the Cold War. By Richard Lawrence Miller. New York: Walker, 1989. \$24.95. The author argues that the motivating force behind American foreign policy is fear and that such fear is unfounded.

Soviet-American Relations: Understanding Differences, Avoiding Conflicts. Edited by Daniel Nelson and Roger Anderson. Wilmington, DE: Scholarly Resources, 1988. \$11.95. Focuses on the domestic and foreign policy questions that necessarily command the attention of both superpowers.

Window of Opportunity: From Cold War to Peaceful Competition in US-Soviet Relations. Edited by Graham Allison and William Ury. Cambridge, MA: Ballinger, 1989. \$14.95. Growing out of a series of Soviet-American meetings on crisis management, this book is a reminder of how much has been accomplished behind the harsh rhetoric of competition.

HISTORY & CULTURE

Russia Looks at America: The View to 1917. By Robert Allen. Washington, DC: Library of Congress, 1989. Russian views of America up to 1916 and the importance of these views in Soviet-American relations.

Soviet Youth Culture. Edited by Jim Riordan. Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 1989. \$9.95. Glimpses into the lives and attitudes of young Soviet men and women and little-known aspects of Soviet popular culture.

Soviet Passage. By John Humboldt Gates. Eureka, CA: Summer Run Publishing (PO Box 911, Trinidad, CA 95570), 1988. \$9.95. Contemporary travel stories and photography based on an independent journey across the Soviet Union.

The Gift to Young Housewives. By Elena Molokhovets, Trans. by Joyce Toomre. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1989. An annotated version of the major pre-revolutionary Russian cookbook.

The Thinking Reed: Intellectuals and the Soviet State from 1917 to the Present. By Boris Kagarlitsky. London: Verso, 1988. A panoramic view of the intelligentsia's often rocky relationship with the State from Bolshevism and Stalinism through the distinct intellectual climates under Brezhnev, Khrushchev and, finally, Gorbachev.

Women of Consequence, USA/ USSR. Boston: Quinlan Press, 1989. Photographs of distinguished Soviet and American women taken by Marylu Raushenbush, text by Vivian Day, Maria Lebedeva and Raushenbush.

BIOGRAPHIES & AUTOBIOGRAPHIES

George Kennan and the Dilemmas of US Foreign Policy. By David Mayers. New York: Oxford Press, 1988. \$32.50. Explores almost 60 years of Kennan's published and unpublished writings.

Gorky. By Henri Troyat, Trans. Lowell Bair. New York: Crown Publishers, 1989. \$19.95. A novelistic approach to Gorky's life.

Growing Up in Moscow: Memories of a Soviet Girlhood. By Cathy Young (Ekaterina Jung). New York: Ticknow & Fields, 1989. \$18.95. A unique personal account of what it is like to grow up in Russia today.

Of Love and Russia. By Irina McClellan. New York: Norton, 1989. \$19.95. The moving story of how Irina McClellan survived eleven long years in Moscow separated from her American husband.

Ours: A Russian Family Album. By Sergei Dovlatov, Trans. Anne Frydman. New York: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1989. \$15.95. An autobiographical satire on a Russian emigre and his family.

To Live Like Everyone. By Anatoly Marchenko. Henry Holt & Co., 1989. \$19.95. Marchenko chronicles the KGB's sometimes comic and everthreatening attempts to arrest him after he was released in 1987, his brutal second term in prison, and what it means to be a writer who does not know if his voice will be heard.

LITERATURE

August 1914. By Aleksandr Solzhenitsyn. New York: Farrar, Straus & Giroux, 1989. \$19.95. The complete and definitive edition of the work that appeared in truncated form in 1972.

On the Golden Porch. By Tatyana Tolstaya, Trans. Antonina Bouis. New York: Knopf, 1989. \$17.95. A collection of 13 marvelous stories which take place in Soviet Russia.

Polar Star. By Martin Cruz Smith. New York: Random House, 1989. \$19.95. A continuation of the adventures of Arkady Renko, *Gorky Park's* detective.

Say Cheese! By Vassily Aksyonov. New York: Random House, 1989. \$19.95. The saga of Soviet rebellion, dissidence and the doings of Moscow's bohemia in the late 1970s.

The Human Experience: Contemporary American & Soviet Fiction and Poetry. Alfred Knopf, New York and Khudozhestvenaya Literatura, Moscow, 1989. Representative snapshots of life in both countries revealing how different and alike we are.

The Russia House. By John le Carré. New York: Knopf, 1989. \$19.95. Spies confront the difficulties of espionage in the age of glasnost.



Meeting Soviets Gets Easier

The Bureau of Information Travel is a new cooperative set up in the Soviet Union, to match up Americans and Soviets for exchange visits. They collect information to help match up possible exchange vacationers. The Bureau matches similar interests and language capabilities, provides addresses, so that the families contact each other. For more information write: Bureau of Information Travel, Prospekt Mira 110/2, Apt. 95, Moscow, USSR 129164.

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In Iowa, American-Soviet Homestays, Inc. has started business. According to Director Byron Olson, the new effort is designed to open the doors of Soviet homes to American visitors. They make all arrangements for Americans for two one-week stays with English-speaking families in two cities. All meals and accommodations, as well as personalized sightseeing are provided by the Soviet family.

Each homestay trip is 16 days long and costs \$1,990, including roundtrip airfare from New York to the USSR and transportation in the USSR. The trips are cosponsored by local Soviet organizations and will be accompanied by representatives from American-Soviet Homestays, who supervise all arrangements. Three trips are planned for summer 1989.

American-Soviet Homestays, Inc. also offers the opportunity to open your home to English-speaking Soviet citizens visiting the US. For 1989, they are limiting the program to Eastern Iowa and Chicago. For more information call American-Soviet Homestays, (319) 626-2125.

SEPTEMBER

Center for Soviet-American Dialogue, (206) 641-5206. Part I of exchange for artists: "Creating a New Vision": Leningrad, Riga, Moscow. Sept. 3-17.

Pioneer Travel Service, (617) 648-2020. September in the USSR: A tour for high school age students: Leningrad, Pskov, Tallinn, Minsk, Moscow. Sept. 3-26. •Cambridge-Yerevan Sister City Environmental Conference Tour: Yerevan. Sept. 9-20.

US-USSR Bridges for Peace, (802) 649-1000. Citizen diplomacy: Moscow, Yerevan, Tbilisi, Leningrad. Sept. 10-25.

MIR Corporation, (206) 624-7289. Folk Art Tour: Moscow, Rostov, Kastromo, Vladimir, Moscow. Sept. 10-23.

OASES, (617) 864-7717. American/Soviet Women's Policy Conference: Moscow, Tbilisi, Leningrad. Sept. 9-19.

Center for US-USSR Initiatives, (415) 346-1875. Foundation directors: Leningrad, Yerevan, Moscow. Sept. 10-24. •Creating a Sober World: Leningrad, Volgograd, Moscow. Sept. 14-28. •Citizen Diplomacy: Leningrad, Yerevan, Moscow. Sept. 10-24; Moscow, Tyumen, Tashkent, Leningrad. Sept. 17-Oct. 1. •League of Women Voters: Leningrad, Kiev, Vilnius, Moscow. Sept. 17-Oct. 1.

Center for Soviet-American Dialogue, (206) 641-5206. Artists' Exchange: Leningrad, Tbilisi, Moscow. Sept. 3-17. •International Healing-Integration of Science and Soul: Medjogorje, Dubrovnik, Moscow, Kiev, Leningrad. Sept. 17-Oct. 2. •After the Wars: A Meeting of Vietnam and Afghanistan War Vets: Moscow, Leningrad. Sept. (date TBA).

Pioneer Travel Service, (617) 647-1127. Fall Tour to Armenia: Moscow, Yerevan, Leningrad. Sept. 22-Oct. 7.

Projects for Planetary Peace, Inc., (408) 373-7506. Business & Trade, "Emerging Windows of Opportunity": Leningrad, Kiev, Moscow. Sept. 24-Oct. 8. •World Aloha Soviet-Hawaiian Tour. Sept. 24-Oct. 8.

Baylis International Journey, (415) 849-9572. Soviet Far East/Native Peoples Tour: Sakhalin, Ulan Ude, Yakutsk. Sept. 10-27.

Citizen Ambassador Program, (509) 534-0430. Juvenile justice delegation. Sept. 23-Oct. 7.

Youth Ambassadors of America, (206) 734-6132. Soviets & American Youth Perform in China. Sept. 25-Oct. 9.

Fellowship of Reconciliation, (914) 358-4601. Journey of Reconciliation to southern USSR and Central Asia. Sept. (dates TBA).

OCTOBER

Peace Odysseys, (301) 730-8296. People-to-People Tour, includes homestays: Tallinn, Moscow, Tbilisi, Minsk, Leningrad. Oct. 1-18.

MIR Corporation, (206) 624-7289. Story singers: Moscow, Baku, Volgograd, Leningrad. Oct. 2-23. •Spiritual Midwifery Tour: Moscow, Kiev, Odessa, Leningrad, Helsinki. Oct. 8-24.

Citizen Exchange Council, (212) 643-1985. In conjunction with the John T. Conner Center for US/USSR Reconciliation, "Theology of Worship": Leningrad, Tallinn, Minsk, Moscow, Zagorsk. Oct. 2-17. •Program for Architects: Leningrad, Tbilisi, Moscow. Oct. 7-21.

Projects for Planetary Peace, Inc., (408) 373-7506. Primary Health Care in the Soviet Union: Leningrad, Tbilisi, Moscow. Oct. 8-22.

US-USSR Bridges for Peace, (802) 649-1000. Agriculture Tour: Moscow, Kiev, Cherkassy, Leningrad. Oct. 8-23.

Citizen Ambassador Program, (509) 534-0430. Women in Society delegation. Oct. 13-27.

Center for Soviet-American Dialogue, (206) 641-5206. Citizens' Summit II: Moscow. Oct. 19-29. There will be two post-summit tours: one to Leningrad and a Transcaucasian Adventure to Tbilisi, Yerevan, Baku, and Leningrad. The Transcaucasian tour is open to all.

Youth Ambassadors of America, (206) 734-6132. Baha'i Exclusive in the USSR. Oct. 23-Nov. 6.

NOVEMBER-DECEMBER

Youth Ambassadors of America, (206) 734-6132. Second Annual Art & Culture Convergence in the USSR. *Nov. 26-Dec. 10.*

Anniversary Tours, (800) 223-1336, in NY (212) 465-1200. Leningrad Winter Language Program: Leningrad, Moscow. *Dec. 17-Jan. 13.*

Center for Soviet-American Dialogue, (206) 641-5206. Winter Student Tour: Prague, Leningrad, Tallinn, Riga, Moscow. *Dec. 29-Jan. 12.*

Dialogue (Soviet language cooperative). Live with a Soviet family in Leningrad and learn Russian at Dialogue. Call Ray Stiefel, (315) 594-9601.

1990

JANUARY-FEBRUARY

Projects for Planetary Peace, Inc., (408) 373-7506. Moscow Choral Festival 1990. *Jan. 20-Feb. 4.*

REI Travel, 1-800-622-2236. Russian Winter, Cross Country Skiing in Russia and Estonia. *Feb. 10-20.*

Smithsonian National Associate Travel Program, (202) 357-4700. "Leningrad for Art Lovers." *Feb. 26-March 10.*

Citizen Exchange Council, (212) 643-1985. University Student Seminar in Riga: Leningrad, Riga, Moscow. *Feb. 28-March 12.*

MARCH-APRIL

Citizen Exchange Council, (212) 643-1985. Novgorod School Conference: Moscow, Novgorod, Leningrad. *March 10-24.* • Rostov-on-Don School Conference: Leningrad-Rostov-on-Don, Moscow. *March 15-29.* • Minsk School Conference: Moscow, Minsk, Leningrad. *March 17-31.* • Volgograd School Conference: Moscow, Volgograd, Leningrad. *April 1-15.*

OASES, (617) 864-7717. Independent Scholars: Moscow, Tallinn, Leningrad. *March 29-April 12.* • Law Enforcement in the USSR: Moscow, Vilnius, Leningrad. *March 30-April 14.*

Services to Help Soviet & American Travelers

Marine Risks, Inc. has obtained an agreement from American International Underwriters to underwrite travel accident insurance for Soviet citizens visiting the US. Marine Risks places the insurances for various Soviet agencies in the US such as Intourist, Tass, Aeroflot and Amtorg. Rates for groups and individuals. For more information call: (212) 349-5500.

Publications from the International Intertrade Index:

• **Moscow Hotel & Restaurant Guide.** The guide, a 5x9 inch paperback, is filled with information on all major restaurants and their specialties in Moscow. It also lists nightclubs, theaters, shopping areas and discos. Also included is a 1989 map of Moscow, noting all restaurants, theaters, hotels and hospitals. \$5.95 plus 90¢ postage.

• **American's Tourist Manual for the USSR,** John E. Felber. Full sightseeing information on Soviet cities where Intourist offers services. \$9.95 plus 90¢ postage. To order write: Box 636, Federal Square, Newark, NJ 07101. (201) 686-2382.

Citizen Ambassador Program, (509) 534-0430. Orthopedic Surgery delegation. *April 2-16.*

American Dance Friendship Tour, (415) 641-8863. Spring Tour '90: Leningrad, Moscow, Odessa. *April 8-22.*

Baylis International Journey, (415) 849-9572. London-Soviet Union-Beijing Motor Tour, reenactment of the famous 1907 Paris event: London, Istanbul, Tbilisi, Baku, Krasnovodsk, Ashkhabad, Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, Dushanbe, Frunze, Alma-Ata, Beijing. *Starts April 7, 56 days.*

MAY-JUNE

Citizen Exchange Council, (212) 643-1985. Ecumenical Campus Center, Friendship and Peace Seminar in Soviet Europe and Central Asia: Moscow, Samarkand, Bukhara, Tashkent, Kiev. *May 11-30.*

OASES, (617) 864-7717. Early Childhood Development: Moscow, Pyatigorsk, Leningrad. *May 14-27.*

Citizen Ambassador Program, (509) 534-0430. Nutrition delegation. *Two weeks in the Soviet Union in May (Date TBA).* • Blood banking delegation. *May 7-21.*

REI Travel, 1-800-622-2236. Cycling the Crimean Coast. *June 3-17.*

JULY-SEPTEMBER

REI Travel, 1-800-622-2236. Trekking in Soviet Central Asia: the Pamir-Alai. *July 1-17.* • Mt. Elbrus Circle: Trekking in the Caucasus. *July 15-31 and July 29-Aug. 14.*

Citizen Ambassador Program, (509) 534-0430. Intravenous Therapy/Parenteral Nutrition delegation. *July 23-Aug. 7.*

REI Travel, 1-800-622-2236. Trekking in Soviet Central Asia: the Pamir-Alai. *Aug. 12-28.* • Cycling the Crimean Coast. *Sept. 16-30.*

Citizen Ambassador Program, (509) 534-0430. Cytology delegation. *Two weeks in the Soviet Union in September (Date TBA).*



CONFERENCES

August

Planetary Society, Planetfest '89. Pasadena, CA. 65 N. Catalina Ave., Pasadena, CA 91106. *Aug. 23-27.*

Windstar Foundation, "Choices for a Healthy Environment: Personal and Planetary." Aspen, Colorado. (303) 925-9000. *Aug. 25-27.*

US-USSR Enterprises and the Leningrad Institute for Finances & Economics, Business Seminar. Leningrad, USSR. (312) 787-9050. *Aug. 26-Sept. 10.*

September

Interfaith Center for Peace and Justice, "Strengthening the Roots." Fairfield, PA. Bill Wilson, PO Box 134, Gettysburg, PA 17325. *Sept. 22-24.*

Rice University, "The Uses of Nationalist Ideology in Russian Literature." Houston, TX. Ewa Thompson, Dept. of German & Slavic Studies, PO Box 1892, Rice University, Houston, TX 77251. *Sept. 22-23.*

2nd International Conference on International Relations, "50th Anniversary of the Opening of the Second World War." Paris, France. Prof. David Wingate Pike, American College, 31 Avenue Bosquet, 75007 Paris, France. *Sept. 27-29.*

October

Consortium on Peace Research, Education, and Development, annual conference. Center for Conflict Analysis and Resolution, George Mason University, 4400 University Dr., Fairfax, VA 22030. *Oct. 5-8.*

Central Slavic Conference, annual meeting. Columbia, MO. Charles Timberlake, History Dept., University of Missouri, Columbia, MO 65211. *Oct. 6-7.*

International Physicians for the Prevention of Nuclear War, Ninth World Congress, Hiroshima/Nagasaki, Japan. *Oct. 7-12.*

Center for Soviet-American Dialogue, Citizens' Summit II. Moscow, USSR. Hosted by the Soviet Peace Committee. (206) 641-5206. *Oct. 19-29.*

13th Annual Conference on the Teaching of Foreign Languages and Literatures. Youngstown, OH. Dept. of Foreign Languages, Youngstown State University, Youngstown, OH 44555. *Oct. 27-28.*

November

Global Tomorrow Coalition, Globescope Pacific Assembly. Los Angeles, CA. GTC, 1325 G St., NW, Ste. 915, Washington, DC 20005. *Nov. 1-5.*

AAASS, 21st National Convention, Midwest Slavic Conference, Chicago. Sandy Costa, (415) 723-9668. *Nov. 2-3.*

Ohio State University Transcultural Family Institute, "The Transcultural Family: Integration of Knowledge, Understanding and Skill." Columbus. (614) 292-1885. *Nov. 5-8.*

UNA of the USA, "Forging a New Relationship." Washington, DC. (212) 697-3232. *Nov. 9-11.*

December

AATSEEL annual meeting, Washington, DC. (405) 744-5825. *Dec. 28-30.*

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