

GLASNOST



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Soviet physicians watch as American surgeons treat a 10-year-old Armenian earthquake victim with a fractured leg.

Photo by Roy Farrell, M.D.

Second Citizens' Summit Planned for Moscow '89

One hundred and thirty American social innovators will join their Soviet counterparts for the Second Citizens' Summit, "The New Relationships: Joint Projects for the Third Millennium," October 19-29, 1989 in Moscow.

Building on the success of the first Citizens' Summit in Washington, D.C. in February, 1988, delegates will again have opportunities to co-create and develop joint projects.

Delegates will be hosted in the USSR by the Soviet Peace Committee, and will participate in task forces with representatives of leading Soviet organizations.

Scheduled task forces include Global Politics, Human Rights, Ecological Concerns, Religion & Atheism, Cooperation in Outer Space, Education, Medicine & Health, Business & Trade, and Media.

The Center for Soviet American Dialogue will conduct an advance briefing for delegates in Finland. ♦

Quake Creates New Ties

by David D. Hunt

Imagine...Soviet and American physicians working side-by-side around the clock treating trauma patients.

Imagine...Austrian soldiers, the first foreign army on Soviet soil since World War II, conducting search-and-rescue efforts in Spitak and Leninakan.

Imagine...uniformed American airmen and Soviet soldiers unloading medical and building supplies from a flag-bearing US National Guard C-141 transport on the airstrip in Yerevan.

Imagine...a ten-year-old girl donating her Christmas \$50 to the King County Disaster Team office to help the victims of the Armenian quake.

Imagine...the US State Department arranging communication and transportation for the relief teams, in full cooperation with the Soviet authorities. Incredible? Yes. But true!

The clocks in Leninakan stopped at 11:35 a.m. on December 7, 1988, when the massive earthquake devastated Soviet Armenia. The tragedy was almost beyond comprehension...30,000 were dead and tens of thousands injured. Bodies of victims were everywhere, under a chaos of concrete rubble. In the shadow of Mt. Ararat, three Armenian cities lay wasted. The International Red Cross now estimates the magnitude of the disaster and the number of victims to be six times larger than the 1985 Mexico City quake.

Before the dust settled, relief efforts began to mobilize. In Seattle, Washington, a private relief organization, the King County Disaster Team which provided relief after the Mexico City and El Salvador quakes, telephoned Roy Farrell, an emergency physician who speaks Russian. Farrell had visited the USSR three times, including living for a month in a physician's home in Seattle's sister city, Tashkent. He considered the opportunity "for about sixty seconds" and decided to go. The following day Dr. Farrell agreed to act as Medical Director, and began to put together the team.

At first, the Soviets said they would not accept groups from the US, so Bob Walsh, President of the Goodwill Games, tried to secure permission to send a medical team. Walsh's close personal ties had inspired trust and understanding, and permission was granted by the Soviet Embassy in Washington, DC.

During the next three days, Dr. Farrell assembled a full medical contingent. "People's desire to help was overwhelming," says Farrell. "Every hospital we called contributed boxes of equipment. People called from throughout the US to offer help."

Flying Tigers, a major freight carrier, donated a Boeing 747, fuel, and a flight crew. Recreational Equipment, Inc. offered cooking and camping equipment. Hundreds of thousands of dollars worth of medicines and medical supplies were contributed. For Roy Farrell, "putting the whole trip together in three days due to the tremendous response from our community was a profound experience...as meaningful as being there, in some ways."

On the night of December 13th, the 747 prepared to leave Seattle, crammed

full of operating room equipment, medical supplies, a field kitchen, a generator, kerosene, space heaters, tents, stretchers, blankets...everything the teams needed to be completely self-sufficient during their mission to Armenia. Fifty-three Americans, mostly from the Pacific Northwest, said goodbye to their loved ones and boarded the plane.

The King County Disaster Team included thirty people: thirteen physicians (including two orthopedic surgeons, a neurosurgeon, and four emergency physicians), twelve paramedics, a nurse anesthetist, a pharmacist, two nurses and an administrator.

Two other relief groups were on board: Northwest Medical Teams, based in Portland, Oregon, with sixteen physicians and nurses; and a 3-man, 2-dog search-and-rescue team arranged by Gov. Steve Cowper of Alaska.

Also settling in for the twenty-hour flight were three Armenian-American physicians and a Russian-speaking interpreter. No one on the plane, including the pilot, had ever landed in Yerevan, an airport now handling two hundred planes per day, ten times the usual traffic load. Yerevan airport had never seen a Boeing 747.

Only two days before, a Yugoslav Air Force transport had lifted off from the Petrovac airfield on a similar mission, carrying medical supplies, provisions, concrete cutting equipment, and detectors for locating trapped earthquake victims. However, some twelve kilometers from the Yerevan airport the plane crashed, killing the entire crew.

"It was a real white-knuckler," said Farrell of his late-afternoon arrival in Armenia on a murky, overcast day. But all breathed a sigh of relief as their 747 safely touched down at the Yerevan airport. It took Soviet authorities almost an hour before the stairway was brought alongside and the door to the airplane opened. One of the Americans said hello in Armenian, and everyone broke into smiles and started waving hello. Over two-hundred observers were on hand, and they pitched in for four hours to unload over 90,000 pounds of equipment into thirteen trucks. A crane was necessary to unload the heavy generator.

Soviet officials collected and counted their passports without opening them. Customs made no inspection of the plane-load of supplies. Farrell was surprised.

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Gorbachev Speaks to World Peace Leaders

by Rama Vernon
Director, Center for Soviet-
American Dialogue

Two hundred leaders of peace organizations throughout the world gathered on June 2, 1988 for three hours with General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev.

The Peace Committee hosted most of the delegation that was invited to the Kremlin for this unprecedented event.

General Secretary Gorbachev spoke to his international audience about the Summit, only hours after President Reagan left Moscow:

"I know during these days while President Reagan and I were meeting, you were real participants of this summit. You had contact with one another and you were really striving for peace. I will not speak for the President of the United States; I will speak for myself and for the Soviet leadership. The Soviet leadership has conveyed to me the content of your discussions during this time. Maybe they told only the good things. Maybe you have critical comments.

"When I heard you wanted to meet me, I responded immediately (applause). Sincerely, in the spirit of friendship with profound respect and appreciation of your work, I welcome you here in the Kremlin. I consider your efforts most important. Here we have the whole world in miniature with its hopes and plans. Your activities are a sign of the character of the times. For example, the direct involvement of people in international affairs.

"The price of an error is critical in the nuclear age. The involvement in politics of the international community is a mighty factor in politics. I wish to take this opportunity to thank you and all those who have sent me wishes, greetings and appeals on the occasion of the Moscow summit.

"I do hope our assessment of the fourth meeting of the United States President and the General Secretary is known to you. I would like to size up the main points we have summarized in Geneva and Washington.

"We did not indulge in euphoria or idealism. This dialogue embraced problems of vital concern to Soviet and American people and people of all continents. We did not discuss all we wanted to, but it is a fact; dialogue has continued since Geneva. As a result of the Moscow summit, Soviet-American dialogue is progressing.

"I believe in the wisdom of the people on this planet and I believe that perestroika will survive."

Mikhail Gorbachev

"With each meeting there is more realistic policy and less rhetoric, which is not possible to get rid of totally, but the trend toward realistic dialogue is gaining strength.

"Real achievements made according to our Soviet-American agenda will be the basis for further advances. Moscow guarantees certainty in the stage-by-stage process initiated in Geneva. It will be turned over to negotiators to produce new agreements, new accords, in areas such as science, culture, youth contacts, human rights and space exploration.

"When the President was here, it was easy for me to express ideas, but what was more difficult to communicate was my feeling that he arrived with the positions of



Rama Vernon, Director of the Center for Soviet-American Dialogue, presents a photo of the "Peacemakers" commemorative monument to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev, flanked by Nicolai Yakolev, Secretary of Central Committee, and Anatoly Dobrynin, Foreign Affairs Advisor.

Twin sculptures have been created for the United States and the Soviet Union by artist Frank Hendler in honor of the Soviet-American Summit agreements.

Photo by Norm Gershman

yesteryear. It is not only harmful to us, but produces confusion in the people's minds. Let us respect one another. Sometimes it's not completely justified, though I believe that international relations cannot be based on anything other than mutual respect and competence. If we don't accept this, we cannot restructure our relationship.

"We will do everything in our power to not impose on one another. We will not accept advice on how we should run our affairs. Therefore we are more inspired by our own goals. We do not need anyone else's models or values.

"I believe in the wisdom of the people on the planet and I believe that perestroika will survive. All continents of the world are in motion. All people are seeking a better world. Not trusting people to find their own better way is unacceptable. History will show whose values are better or who had the mettle."

Gorbachev then opened the floor to discussion with the invited delegates from countries such as Greece, Japan, Italy, Ireland, Australia, Mexico, several African countries, Argentina, East and West Germany and Finland. Coming forth to speak were leaders of US peace organizations such as the Retired NATO Generals Working for Peace and Disarmament, Women for Meaningful Summit, Promoting Enduring Peace, Greenpeace, Elbe Alliance, US and Soviet War Veterans' Committee, Samantha Smith Foundation and Fellowship of Reconciliation.

Rev. William Sloane Coffin, President of SANE/FREEZE, presented Gen. Sec. Gorbachev with a peace pipe, which was a gift from American Indians. Gorbachev replied: "I am not a smoker."

Pat Montandan, Founder/Director of Children as Peacemakers, presented a white dove of peace on paper for Gorbachev's signature, which would then be transferred to a special peace banner.

In response to a speaker from East Germany who said, "We want to take perestroika back to our country," Gorbachev replied: "We do not impose our own experience, but anyone is welcome."

Next came the Japanese monks of the Buddhist Peace Initiative who travelled thirteen countries on their way to Moscow, carrying the holy relics of Lord Buddha. They approached the podium to present these relics and a parchment fan with calligraphy saying, "No more Hiroshimas." They addressed Gorbachev: "As a nuclear war can never be won, it must never be fought. You have opened a new process of evolution of non-violence, and a new world order." They then gave him the

blessings of Buddha for the success of his initiatives.

It is unprecedented, we were told, for Gorbachev to receive these representatives of peace organizations from throughout the world. Soviet participants represented various institutes and organizations, and included Metropolitan Filaret of the Russian Orthodox Church.

A representative from Beyond War acknowledged Gorbachev for his endorsement of the Soviet/American collaboration on the book *Breakthrough*.

Barbara Weidner, mother of 10, grandmother of 15, introduced herself as the founder and president of Grandmothers for Peace. Gorbachev interrupted enthusiastically, "We now need a rival organization. I am a grandfather. Can we have an organization called Grandfathers for Peace?" The delegation laughed and applauded, and Gorbachev began to speak again:

"How do I deal with this difficulty? I knew how to open this meeting with all of you, but I do not know how to close it. I have a feeling of profound satisfaction for what I have witnessed in these last three

hours. I am deeply moved by the feeling of cordiality and warmth I have felt.

"It is difficult to overcome logjams and find new ways of cooperation, trust and confidence. It is not an easy task. President Reagan and I are an example of how people who are so different from one another culturally, politically, and even in age, when they realize what should be done, can meet to find an answer... how it is possible to find solutions to common problems and find an element of trust. The content of what we have achieved is immense. We have to meet, to discuss in an open manner, and to respect each other's positions. In that case, it will be possible to reach truth, trust, understanding and participation in the fate of all people throughout the world.

"We will not be able to achieve anything unless we adopt new approaches, discarding wornout stereotypes that were the result of alienation between people.

"Some people are part of one social system, and others part of another. These are the realities. We all have to accept this with tolerance. This is real politics.

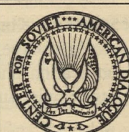
"We came to the conclusion that we must renovate our society for our people. We looked around us, we came to new thinking, we put forth new initiatives. When we did, we were blamed because some thought this a messianic vision, far from the realities of life.

"We want to improve relations with the US. This is not only in the interest of our people, but of the whole world.

"There are over 200 million copies of *Perestroika* in print, several million in other countries. This is not a major book. We just talked of how we wanted to live in the world community. Its popularity symbolizes that people are ripe for such change. What you have been saying today is huge support for us.

"How multifarious our world is. We must search for a better life, for it is a common concern of all people. We want to be participants for the betterment and improvement in human and international relations. I do not think one can form serious policies without regard to other countries. Of this I'm convinced after our three hours together. Peace is too serious for a monopoly by generals and foreign policy makers.

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Reagan-Gorbachev Summit Marks New Relationship

An Interview with Sergei Plekhanov

Deputy Head of Institute of US & Canadian Studies,
Soviet Academy of Sciences

CSAD: What are your impressions of the successes or failures of the Reagan - Gorbachev Summit in Moscow?

Plekhanov: I think the summit was a very important event. It is part of the trend toward building and improving Soviet-American relations. It confirmed the trend that has already been developing for a couple of years now, that can be viewed as a symbolic ending of the cold war.

It doesn't mean that all the mechanisms inherent in the cold war have suddenly stopped functioning. No, the mechanisms are still there, and the arms race is still going on. But, in terms of the symbolic and political equations, there is much in the way the summit went on that shows that the cold war is over. At least on both sides there is a sincere desire for a different type of relationship.

Ronald Reagan, who has represented a strand of American political opinion which has fought for a very uncompromising and militant policy vis-à-vis the Soviet Union, came to Moscow and said that we must have a different sort of relationship because this is a new era.

Q: And after being here, Reagan no longer views the Soviet Union as the "Evil Empire."

A: That's right. Yes, I saw it when he said it at the Cathedral Square inside the Kremlin. It was reported on Soviet television. I saw it on the screen as Dan Rather asked him. But, I think that he was al-

ready changing. It was not something learned here, but confirmed here. I think that the process had been in his mind for quite some time—in fact, starting in Geneva for Ronald Reagan. And from Geneva to Moscow is a new stage. It is one thing hearing about the Soviet Union by talking with the Soviet leaders, it's another thing to come right in here, to be able to say the things that you wanted to say, and to talk to people, to look at the country, to look at the city. And, in that sense, seeing once is better than hearing 100 times. He saw a lot of things that are reflected in his thinking now.

Q: I think Reagan could feel the sincerity of the Soviet people, which he doubted, having had no contact.

A: Absolutely. There is no way you can stage whatever he saw here—the country in a real process of change, change seen as positive not only by the people inside the Soviet Union, but also by a lot of people outside the Soviet Union. Because it goes beyond ideology, beyond human concerns. Freedom is a good thing—everybody recognizes that. And what is happening now is liberation.

The meaning of perestroika is liberation of a huge creative potential that exists in this society. Democratization—who can argue against democratization, or disarmament, or the ideals of international law, strengthening international law? The whole

range of ideas and tasks that we are now setting for ourselves in the Soviet Union, as we go about perestroika, captures the imagination and the interests

of a lot of people around the world precisely because it cuts across ideology, it has a general human concept.

It's almost universal. These are universal values and that's what happens with any genuine revolution. Why were a lot of Americans sympathetic to Ho Chi Minh? Because of the issues he raised, and the purposes he outlined for his nation. He started by quoting from the Declaration of Independence. That is an extreme case—

"The meaning of perestroika is liberation of a huge creative potential that exists in Soviet society."

Sergei Plekhanov

dealing with a country which was at war with you. But it cut across ideology, it appealed to certain general human concerns. And any real revolution becomes attractive worldwide because it appeals to worldwide concerns.

Q: Wasn't Lenin an admirer of the American Revolution?

A: Absolutely, he was. He certainly considered it one of the greatest revolutions of all time—one of the most genuine expressions of people's desire for liberation.

Q: Do you think he tried to pattern the Russian revolution in a way after that?

A: No, I don't think so. He certainly belonged to the same intellectual tradition to which Thomas Jefferson and Thomas Paine belonged. Lenin realized that there is that trend in human history which expressed itself in various impulses for liberation, like the American revolution, the French revolution, several German revolutions, and he viewed the Russian revolution as another link in that chain. That's for certain, but he was a far too creative thinker to pattern the revolution along some other development.

Q: Were there any disappointments on the Soviet side of the summit?

A: Yes, there was a disappointment ... in the way the human rights issue was played by Ronald Reagan in the first two days, or even before the summit started. I think that there was something in it that perhaps reflected poor judgment.

Q: On the side of the Americans?

A: Yes, because I think the human rights issue certainly belongs to the agenda of the Soviet-American relations. It must be discussed, but in a constructive manner, and I think there was an intent on the American side to make a kind of a propaganda show, at the first. But, I don't think it worked. It didn't spoil the summit, but it somehow soured the atmosphere at the start of the summit, then everything went smoothly. And, I think that the discussions of human rights will continue between the two countries, and between the two leaders.

Hopefully, there will be a seminar between the U.S. Congress and the Supreme Soviet of the Soviet Union. That proposal was made by Mikhail Gorbachev. Problems exist in both societies. If we are serious about the issues, let's do it seriously, rather than simply firing propaganda salvos, because each side can do that—it was done in the past. Other than undermining trust it doesn't do any good.

"There is much in ... the summit ... that shows the cold war is over."

Q: Was this proposal by Gorbachev accepted by Mr. Reagan?

A: I'm not sure that it was accepted, but neither was it rejected, so hopefully it will be discussed further. Another disappointment was that we have not been able to achieve the significant progress on the specific issues of disarmament we would like to see. ♦

Gorbachev Speaks

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"Friends, you've arrived in Moscow because of the summit that concerns the US and the USSR. But one cannot view the world only through So-

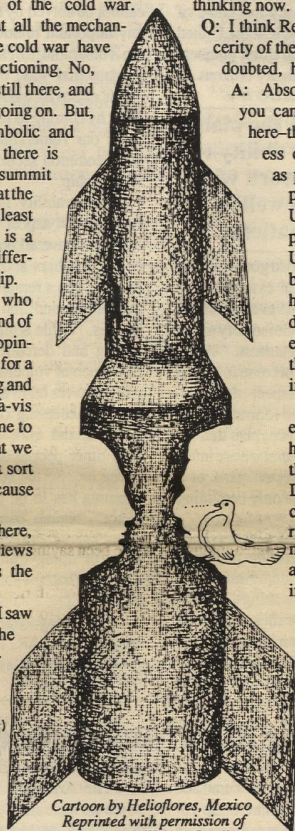


viet-American relations. This is chauvinistic on the part of the superpowers. Europe is unique in its historical experience. Correct policies must take the growing complexities of the world into account. The talk we have had today points to what concerns me: politicians are lagging behind in arms negotiation. We may find ourselves in a blind alley without a way out. We must not waste time, we must act.

"It seems a lot of things are changing. Continents and people are in motion. We could make serious errors if we do not pay attention to the processes of the people. Ecological and environmental problems are accumulating. Policy must be combined with concrete actions. During these days when the press was here, I identified the future world as seen by the Soviet government in areas such as disarmament, political dialogues, regional conflicts and third world. We are aware of our problems and are making our contribution toward solutions. Practical steps must follow our declarations."

Gorbachev rose and we all jumped to our feet in applause. Gorbachev, Yakolov and Dobrynin applauded us in return. As we started to leave, Gorbachev began to speak again. I quickly reached for my simultaneous translation earpiece, in time to hear his final words: "It's a struggle." ♦

Drawing by Carol Lindahl



Cartoon by Helioflores, Mexico
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Editor's Welcome

What is really happening to Gorbachev's reforms? Will he succeed? What do the Soviet people think about the profound changes within the USSR? What are the implications for US-Soviet relations? What are the effects of citizen initiatives?

You've probably pondered these crucial questions. Perhaps you're already an active "citizen diplomat." This newspaper deals with the complex and fascinating changes in the superpower relationship, but with special emphasis on the role of citizens.

Our new name, GLASNOST, means "voice-ness" in Russian, and recent dictionaries add it to the English language. In the Soviet Union, our colleagues are busy with their glasnost—reinventing the art of political discourse.

GLASNOST: Soviet-American News will report quarterly on these changes taking place in the Soviet Union, and between our two great countries, as we work together to shape a new era of peaceful and respectful coexistence.

In this Winter 1988-89 issue, you'll meet such interesting Soviets as Sergei

Plekhanov and Andrei Melville of the Soviet Academy of Sciences. You'll read excerpts from Gorbachev's address to world peace leaders. Share the excitement of numerous citizen initiatives and innovative joint projects. Read a compelling story of a team of Americans who brought medical relief to victims of the Armenian earthquake. In these pages, Soviet citizens speak candidly of the problems and possibilities of "perestroika," the difficult task of restructuring their society, and Muscovites contacted in a rare telephone poll offer their views on U.S.-Soviet relations.

Our goal is to develop this newspaper as a viable joint venture, written and edited in both countries, and published in English and Russian. This issue was published in the United States.

Future issues will focus on business and trade, human rights, and sister cities. We welcome your letters and your ideas. Our next issue will include advertising, so contact us for rates.

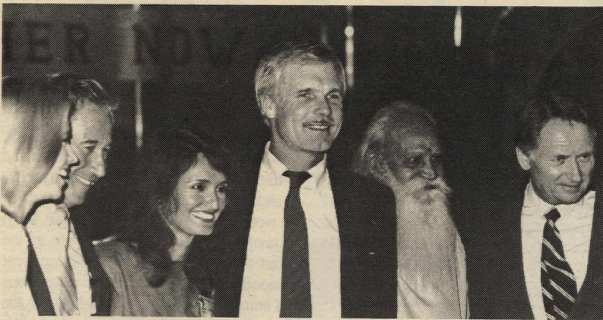
I come to my position as editor from a background which includes founding and coordinating the Salem, Oregon-Simferopol, Crimea, sister city project; initiating and co-coordinating three US-USSR Sis-

ter Cities Conferences; and serving as West Coast Director of Citizen Diplomacy, Inc. Creating dialogue is my stock in trade.

I believe that the Center for Soviet-American Dialogue is leading the way to a new era of stable relations. Over a thousand citizen diplomats have travelled to the Soviet Union with the Center, and many of the conferences they have sponsored have been milestones. For example, the Citizen's Summit was the 1988 "event of the year" in citizen diplomacy.

Plans are well underway for the Second Citizen's Summit, and our models for collaborative work are being extended to relations between the superpowers and China, and the Arab-Israeli conflict. Our home-base in the Seattle area gives us access to other pioneering efforts, such as Earthstewards, Ploughshares, the Seattle-Tashkent Sister City program, and the 1990 Goodwill Games. I know we'll be in the middle of things. Won't you support us and join us?

David D. Hunt, Editor
GLASNOST: Soviet-American News



Citizens' Summit participants included J.J. Ebaugh, Gerald Jampolsky, MD, Diane Cirincione, Ted Turner, Swami Satchidananda, and Soviet Peace Committee President Henry Borovik.

Photo by Steve Mains

Citizens Create Friendships

by Paul Temple

Since the February, 1988 US-USSR Citizens' Summit in Alexandria, Virginia, it has become increasingly clear to me that those of us active in citizen diplomacy should not only be "diplomats." That word unfortunately has certain overtones of formality, insincerity and even manipulation.

Our true objective is a relationship; a state of being, not doing, although it should lead to us enjoying each other's company and having some fun together.

I believed for many years that such a relationship with Soviets was not possible. I believed that they were all indoctrinated with the idea of a worldwide proletarian revolution, and with the concept of inevitable class struggle and conflict with the "imperialist warmongers" (i.e. Americans). This made it impossible for us to have a trustworthy friendship with them. They had all studied Lenin's doctrine of strategic retreats and zigzags in relations with other peoples and nations. Thus they could only pretend to be our friends, and they would do this only so long as they felt it to be in their self-interest. The state, the party and communist ideology was supreme, and could not be transcended by deeper human commitments. The latter would have to give way when the party and its ideology so required. Indeed, in the days of Stalin and for some time after, this understanding was probably correct.

"Our true objective is not diplomacy; it is real human friendship with the Soviets."

Now, however, the situation has changed. On a state-to-state level, President Reagan and General Secretary Gorbachev have fundamentally improved the atmosphere, but they still feel compelled to repeat endlessly "trust, but verify." They are no doubt right about this, since the morality of states is both suspect and ephemeral.

On a person-to-person level, however, I believe it should now be possible to go further in trust. I have unexpectedly seen and experienced some of this possibility. It first arrived fully with Gorbachev and perestroika. It is still short of the necessary decade or two to become long-term, but world peace cannot wait that long. Thus we must try to take advantage of this new reality at once. Again we have an opportunity to prove that "if the people lead, the leaders will follow." In doing so, we shall experience the great pleasure and blessings of new friendships as well as the satisfaction of being in the vanguard of an important new development.

What has changed? There is a new spirit in the Soviet Union, epitomized by Gorbachev, glasnost and perestroika. Men and women who had learned to suppress any outward manifestation of their spiritual natures are now much more freely showing their inner selves and expressing

their feelings to others. The Russian Orthodox Church has been given greater freedom. I have seen men thought to be in the KGB publicly joining others in saying "The Lord's Prayer."

Radio and television, including "space bridges," reveal that the new Soviet leaders are facing up to a crisis. The Soviet press is debating issues formerly forbidden to them. Former leaders of the USSR are now criticized or condemned for their errors. The new leaders confess that their economy does not function efficiently and is no longer an attractive model for other developing nations. School examinations have been cancelled because textbooks are recognized to have departed too far from the truth. More local decision-making, more personal incentive, more freedom of individual initiative is confessedly needed.

There is still very little cohesion among the many nationalities that constitute about half of the USSR's population. Riots and other public demonstrations among those nationalities are now seen on Soviet front pages. Withdrawal from Afghanistan is the anguishing but relieving equivalent of American withdrawal from Vietnam.

For all these reasons, many people of the Soviet Union are feeling and expressing self-doubt. They are, therefore, more open; reaching out for new structures, new thinking and new relationships. In short, many Soviets wish to become members of the world community. We are beginning to see each other as fellow human beings who share a common humanity. This is a good time to grasp hands and greet each other in a new relationship as friends.

Beyond the obvious spiritual and emotional benefits, friendships have practical and financial advantages of enormous proportion. The final measure is no less than the salvation of humanity and the avoidance of nuclear war. One immediate prospect is the reduction of taxes and an ability to afford necessary public projects. These objectives are worthy of our best efforts.

When we feel about the Soviets the way we feel about, for example, the Canadians, the Swedes or the French, with whom we frequently disagree but remain allies, then the new millennium will certainly have begun. So let us work and pray that our Soviet and American friendships will spawn a by-product: true peace. ♦



Cartoon by Jerry Robinson, USA — Reprinted with permission of Cartoonists & Writers Syndicate

Vulnerability & Cooperation

by Harriett Crosby, President, Institute for Soviet-American Relations (ISAR)

In the process of collecting and organizing the material for the fourteenth issue of *Surviving Together*, we seem to be witnessing a social convergence as the rivers of two great societies flow together. Ordinary Americans are making connections with Soviets on the other side of the Iron Curtain, finding common interests, working together on mutually beneficial projects, doing joint research and making music together.

With all this interaction and travel back and forth, the barriers are gradually eroding. Citizen diplomacy has come of age; it is a social movement in the United States and is reaching increasing numbers of officials as well as ordinary citizens all across the Soviet Union.

"Our survival on the planet depends on our ability to cooperate and work with the Soviets as well as people of all nations."

America's open-handed good will and resourcefulness have been extended to a broad range of Soviets and have converged with the opening up of Soviet society under Gorbachev's policy of glasnost. Thousands of Americans have become involved and committed to some aspect of Soviet-American relations and are forming a critical mass of people who recognize that we are all in the same boat—that we are interdependent and interconnected parts of a global ecology that we are only beginning to understand.

Facing problems such as Chernobyl, acid rain, massive deforestation, thinning of the ozone layer and gradual warming of the entire planet, we are waking up to the fact that we cannot solve these problems alone as nations and that our survival on the planet depends on our ability to cooperate and work with the Soviets as well as with

people of all nations. The myriad threats to our common environment force us to work together.

The most difficult and promising aspect of the superpower relationship in the nuclear age is the condition of mutual vulnerability. Neither side could protect its population centers even if SDI were fully operational. Both sides could retaliate in a devastating manner even after absorbing an all-out nuclear strike. When nuclear bombs can be carried in suitcases or taken on fishing boats into the harbors of major cities, we both have to realize that we are essentially defenseless. All the military hardware in the world will not protect us.

The problem of mutual vulnerability cannot be solved by one side alone. As in any important relationship, both partners are vulnerable to each other. In a very fundamental way, our security is in the hands of Soviet leaders and theirs in ours. Only by coming to terms with the mutuality of our vulnerability can we move toward common security and a sustainable relationship.

Vulnerability is, perhaps, the most fundamental aspect of the human condition. We have all been babies, dependent on our mothers and vulnerable. In fact, human babies remain in a vulnerable and dependent condition longer than any other species. While adults learn ways of protecting and defending themselves, their fundamental vulnerability does not disappear but lives on in their personal relationships. Accepting our own vulnerability deepens and enriches our relationships with other people and creates bonds between us. So the solution to the nuclear dilemma has to be found in the "human factor", human beings relating to each other, listening to each other, creating new ways of doing things in the world, together. That's what citizen diplomacy is all about.

[*Surviving Together* is published tri-annually by ISAR, 1608 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, DC, 20009, (202)387-3034] ♦

Human Rights Conference

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At the Conference, Americans and Soviets moved from confrontation to co-operation and each workshop came up with several joint projects. Five proposals were ratified by the final day, and numerous other projects were agreed upon. The five proposals were:

- 1) To draft a Citizens' Ecology Treaty proclaiming "the human right to a healthy and safe environment".
- 2) To create an Independent Soviet-American Commission for Promoting and Defending Human Rights and Freedoms to "examine systematic violation of rights of individuals and groups" and "advocate corrective measures".
- 3) To write a book on Soviet-American perspectives on ways to combat terrorism "using humanitarian means".
- 4) To exchange visits, documents and experiences regarding the right to freely organize and publicly demonstrate.
- 5) To procure funding for education pro-

grams on human rights in both countries.

The Armenian earthquake occurred while we were at the Conference and we, as Americans, rushed to contact influential persons back home, to ask them to respond. We contributed any clothing that we felt we could go home without and money we could spare.

Rabbi Moss rushed out to a press conference at the Foreign Ministry, hoping to get a message home, but was ignored by US network reporters. Alone in the empty press room, he wondered why he as a citizen diplomat was ignored by the media.

Upon returning, he found a crowd of threadbare Soviet men and women, some clutching photographs of dead kin and written appeals for relatives, pushing into the entrance of the Peace Committee.

They had heard that Americans had come to discuss human rights and wanted to present their cases directly to the visitors, as if we could miraculously halt the injustices. Late into the night, dozens of aggrieved people pleaded their cases to the American delegation. Six had served in labor camps, nine had been committed to psychiatric prison camps, 26 had lost their jobs, 13 had lost their flats, 15 had been separated from their families for political reasons. The abstractions of human rights suddenly became real human beings.

As the Conference drew to a close and plans were made for a subsequent conference in the US, Rabbi Moss summed up the group's commitment to transforming the proposals into realities: "All good ideas degenerate into work." ♦

Soviets Comment on Soviet-American Citizens' Summit

Excerpted from XX Century and Peace

This was a signal event in the history of people's diplomacy. Our American colleagues called it a "Citizens' Summit." Date: February 1-5, 1988. The main motto was, like at the previous meeting (Moscow, March 1987): "New Thinking in the Nuclear Age: Social Inventions for the Third Millennium."

The hospitality of our American hosts was boundless. Two charming co-directors of the meeting, Rama Vernon and Barbara Hubbard of the Center for Soviet-American Dialogue, together with their assistants, did everything possible and impossible to make this meeting as effective as possible, right up to the publication of a daily newspaper.

Hundreds of projects — from flights to Mars to compiling a joint magazine — were discussed with interest and in a businesslike manner at the plenary sessions and in working groups. Meetings took place not only in the conference halls, but also in the Pentagon, the White House, editorial offices of leading papers and radio stations. There were many business get-togethers during the trip to New York, and small groups toured various parts of the country.

Among the participants in this tour were permanent authors of our magazine. Editors asked them to share their impressions:

Unshakable Demand of Honest Conscience

by Ludmilla Saraskina

The more time that passes since our return home, the more wonderful our trip appears to us. I can't keep silent about the truly grandiose programme of those 20 days, recalling the exceptional hospitality of Americans and thanking providence for presenting me such a marvelous time.

But I want to think about the problematic aspect of "people's diplomacy".

Americans, participants in the dialogue, welcomed us with an all-conquering emotional directive: not only to shake hands but also to receive us with open arms. Their preparedness for instant goodwill and friendliness, for indispensable love—wonderful qualities—to be honest, took me unawares: for reciprocal feelings I would like to know more about my companions, the people I eat with and my fleeting acquaintances.

But the main thing is (this may sound absurd) that I would like them not to believe me at once, to be more demanding and persistent in their striving to know and understand those with whom they are going to collaborate. Words of love and friendship, kisses and smiles lavished (but not yet deserved by anything, given in advance, on credit) were perceived rather as signs of courtesy and gallantry. I felt awkward because of my more sober, more rational perception of such an emotional spectacle.

The official address to the guests mentioned precisely "our personal striving to see these projects through." I think that all advantages in this remained on the side of the hosts. American partners in projects have firm guarantees for personal respon-

sibility: desire, energy, enterprising spirit and independent material security produce the necessary effect. It is symptomatic that they want to do business with people, personalities, and not with authorities and organizations. The Americans — and this is their doubtless strength — reverently believe in the might of human individuality, the very human factor which is inscribed on the banner of our perestroika.

Thus, for my self-respect, I need by all means for our American partners to know what we, each of us, their business partners, can do personally, what is the extent of our competence and responsibility, and what is the range of our freedom. I don't want them to be misled on this score!

"I would like [Americans] to be more demanding and persistent in their striving to know and understand those with whom they are going to collaborate."

Ludmilla Saraskina

It is important to me that they take into consideration that we were equal participants in the dialogue in Alexandria, but only in the context of ideas, in intellectual, scientific and purely human sphere. From the viewpoint of our mission, passing decisions and fulfillment of these decisions, we are being placed in unequal conditions, since being unofficial persons we cannot guarantee the effectiveness of our negotiations. Our society is, so far, lacking such mechanisms which would assure the realization of efforts which exceed the bounds of personal contacts.

More than that: certain people in our country have no idea at all about the procedure and forms of cooperation between a citizen and public organizations. Thus, the members of the Party bureau of the institute where I work, and the members of the Party district committee where my exit reference was discussed, were interested in earnest whether my work collective had recommended me for work with the Soviet Peace Committee. In their opinion, an unofficial person cannot and must not take initiative of his own will without a command from Party bodies.

Thus, what is people's diplomacy, and who are we who played this role? In official diplomacy there is always a side which is more successful, but in the dialogue of citizens either all people or no one can win a victory. Ideally, people's diplomacy is the international forces of kindness, truth and humanity which will make governments live according to just and safe laws for the world.

Perhaps this is what Leo Tolstoy dreamed about: "I want love for peace to stop being a timid striving of people who are horrified at the sight of war calamities, and to become an unshakable demand of honest conscience."

In this capacity, our people's diplomacy is making its first steps. Such a public movement has been engendered by perestroika and is directly connected with it.

I, who was lucky enough to play the role of a "citizen of peace," would like to be as accurate as possible in my sensations, appraisals and thoughts regarding the experience—any embellishments, exaggerations, any illusions and mirages only do harm.

The "image of the enemy" has hindered and harmed (Soviets and Americans) for a long time in our human and state contacts. This was a dangerous abstraction. The image of an American as a "straightforward fellow" and the image of a Russian as

"open and sincere" is also an abstraction, though not so dangerous. In this sense, a dialogue between citizens must be directed, I believe, at overcoming all kinds of abstractions.

Therefore, I see the meaning of people's diplomacy not so much in reciprocal marches with white flags, not so much in dramatized fraternizations, as in honest, patient and invariably active knowledge.

The Strength of Spirituality

by Andrei Nuikin

This was my first visit to the United States and I stayed there only 20 days. Therefore, it is a great risk to make broad generalizations and firm conclusions. Some experienced people believe that this meeting did not raise us to a "new stage" compared to previous ones.

What can be said in reply? That, probably, different people must work in people's and state diplomacy? But the call of the times is to merge these two forms of diplomacy. We need to blend what cannot be blended: wisdom and naivety, calculation and recklessness, skepticism and impulsiveness, so that one does not destroy the other. A difficult task!

What if, all of a sudden, the only way out is to shrug off experience and take a "crazy" stand? Doesn't the sprout of a dandelion, which intends to force its way to the sun through layers of asphalt, look like a "frivolous idealist?"

During our tour of the USA there were many pure emotional impulses, beautiful speeches, oaths, hugs and assurances of love and friendship. From the position of skepticism, all this is very vulnerable, superficial and flimsy. But behind all this I can see the live sprout of the dandelion which boldly and illogically forces its way through the thick, dead asphalt.

"We need to blend what cannot be blended: wisdom and naivety, calculation and recklessness, skepticism and impulsiveness."

Andrei Nuikin

During this tour, groups of Soviet people got to the remotest parts of the USA, and everywhere they felt a rapidly growing interest in our country, friendliness, and preparedness to meet us halfway.

I think it is not fortuitous that women play an ever active role in the US peace movement. They are less subject to the dictates of logical arguments, fettering emotional impulses and paralyzing the will.

Is it a funny, childish method? Well, "Be like children and enter my kingdom!" It is funny only from the positions of the day before yesterday. From the positions of tomorrow, it is not funny but merry and wonderful. At one time ancient Greeks brought into big-time politics a little bit of childishness. They arranged that during the Olympic Games all wars must be stopped. I can imagine how sober-minded politicians mocked this "naive" idea, with what persuasion they explained why this "could not be done." But, in fact, it was done!

(Citizen diplomacy) is a special type of diplomacy, capable of contributing to the creation on our planet of an atmosphere of trust and goodwill. Perhaps this is the most important and the only beneficial movement for all inhabitants of our planet today?

It is impossible to approach this "diplomacy" with old yardsticks, demanding "perceptible" results, well-planned stages, "constructive" forms.

The main argument in this diplomacy is not the number of warheads, not the pro-



Peter Haggerty of Soviet-American Woolens and Soviet Astronaut Georgi Grechko address plenary session of Soviet-American Citizens' Summit.

Photo by Steve Mains

ductivity of blast furnaces, not the figures of commodity circulation, but the expression in the eyes of people who meet one another, the strength of handshakes, goodwill, and the wit of jokes. Therefore, we must meet, talk, touch one another, smile, although for political and scientific generalizations all this material is purely ephemeral and beyond all calculation.

Spirituality is, I would say, sympathy for the world. To be spiritual means to have an open heart for all global problems of the century, to take to heart all the troubles of one's people and mankind, to rejoice at their joys, and to be personally responsible for the past, the present and the future.

The most precious present I brought back to Moscow from America is a sheet of paper on which, next to flowers, is scrawled by a child: "We love Andre. Love, Benjamin and Stephanie."

Leaving far-off Seattle, I knew for sure that nobody will ever succeed, no matter how he tries, to cause a quarrel between me and my new friends left behind in that city. Among them are Shelley and Mark, the scrawls of whose son and daughter show that this friendship has already started dropping healthy seeds into the soil of the life of coming generations.

Working for Perestroika

by Alexei Pankin

In people's, just like in big-time diplomacy, it is highly important to have an idea about the aims. For Americans everything is clear: they are trying to dispel false suspicions and stereotypes existing in the US regarding the Soviet Union, to humanize, so to speak, the Soviet people in the eyes of Americans, and also, coming to the Soviet Union, to show Soviet people there is no need to fear Americans, because they are friendly and open.

"Perhaps the most important aim for us is to let as many of our people travel abroad as possible."

Alexei Pankin

Perhaps the most important aim for us is to let as many people of our people to travel abroad as possible. A pretty restrictive, too complicated practice of travelling abroad for loyal Soviet citizens exists in our country. I believe that those who introduce these bans and complications fear, without giving much thought to it, that a Soviet person, having visited a foreign country and compared life there and in our country will be disappointed, will lose faith and so

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1989 INTERNATIONAL CITIZEN DIPLOMACY MISSIONS TO THE SOVIET UNION, CHINA, AFRICA & CENTRAL AMERICA

Sponsored by Center for Soviet-American Dialogue

March 9-19, 1989

US-USSR BUSINESS AND TRADE: Opportunities & Development

Moscow
To build bridges through joint trade and cooperative ventures, thirty-five American business men and women will be hosted by the Soviet Chamber of Commerce in conjunction with the Ministry of Economics and Finance, Academy of Foreign Trade, Council of Cooperatives, All Union Trade Council, banks and other leading Soviet business equivalents. Counterpart meetings are being arranged in advance with a variety of Soviet organizations to maximize the exploration and development of business, trade, joint ventures and project opportunities.

April 16-30, 1989

NETWORK OF LIGHT

Helsinki, Moscow, Tbilisi, Kiev, Leningrad

Americans and Soviets involved in the rapidly expanding expertise in various alternative healing modalities will have the opportunity to meet and learn from each other and share their common interest. The group will explore the ancient caves in Kiev where mummies of monks have been found whose presence is still said to be pervasive.

May 6-24, 1989

CENTRAL ASIAN STUDY TOUR

Moscow, Dushanbe, Alma-Ata, Tashkent, Samarkand, Leningrad

For those interested in meeting peoples of different Republics and studying their language and customs, visits to the Kremlin, the Hermitage and excursions to the Varzob Gorge and Mount Medeo, the site of the Soviet Olympic training center are included, as well as a Pioneer Palace, a Maternity Home and Health Care Center. Four theater performances and a Tajik Gala Dinner while in Dushanbe will make this tour memorable.

May 14 - 21st, 1989

PROJECT DEVELOPMENT TRIP II

Moscow

This is a working trip for those who are currently developing projects with the Soviets. New projects to be initiated will be taken on an application basis. Pre-arranged meetings will be organized through the sponsorship of the Soviet Peace Committee with Soviet counterparts. This is the first of a two-part exchange-CSAD, in conjunction with the Soviet Peace Committee, will arrange for the Soviet counterpart group to come to the US.

May 21st - June 7th, 1989

YOGA AND HEALTH FITNESS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Prague, Moscow, Tbilisi, Odessa, Leningrad

Swami Satchidananda, known for his international ecumenical work, will present lectures to members and representatives of the Soviet Peace Committee, Physicians with the Ministry of Health, the Institute of Psychology and the Institute of Philosophy. The group, members of the Integral Yoga Association, will meet with Soviet clergy, physicians, psychologists and Health Club members to discuss the benefits of Yoga for fitness and health. There will be the first official Yoga demonstrations in the Soviet Union as well as informal discussions with citizens in their homes.

June 18-July 3, 1989

ECONOMISTS STUDY TOUR

Shannon, Ireland, Moscow, Kharkov, Kiev, Leningrad

Meet with Soviet economists and representatives of the Soviet Trade Unions to discuss the unfolding and implementation of perestroika, visits to a Trade Union Education Center, three different types of factories and the opportunity to meet directly with Soviet workers; excursions to a collective farm, Zaporozhye HydroElectric Power Station and to Petrodvorets. We will see the Kremlin, the Hermitage and two theater performances.

June 25-30, 1989

CONFERENCE IN COSTA RICA: Seeking the True Meaning of Peace

Costa Rica, Central America

Sponsored by the United Nations University of Peace, this Conference will create an opportunity for sharing diverse perspectives on Peace and Peace education, with the purpose of creating a common vision.

Former Under-Secretary General of the UN, Robert Muller, 1987 Nobel Peace Laureate President Arias of Costa Rica and his Holiness Tenzin Gyatso, the XIV Dalai Lama of Tibet will be among the participants.

July 2-24, 1989

COMPREHENSIVE SOVIET STUDY TOUR

Shannon, Ireland, Moscow, Baku, Erevan, Tbilisi, Kiev, Vilnius

This tour will visit Zagorsk, the Nardaran carpet-weaving factory, Garni and Gegharkunik, Echmiadzin and Zvartnots, Sadarapat, Khor Verab, Lake Seven, Mtskheta and Petrodvorets. We will also see the Kremlin, the Lavra Monastery and Caves and the Hermitage. We will have the unique privilege of spending 5 nights in Moscow at the beginning of our tour and 3 additional nights at the end, meeting people in our wide network of officials and citizens and taking classes in conversational Russian.

July 23 - August 6, 1989

NEW HORIZONS IN LEARNING

Shannon, Ireland, Leningrad, Rostov-on-Don, Tbilisi, Erevan, Baku, Moscow

Educators will have a unique opportunity to meet with teachers developing new methods of learning based on the Waldorf-Steiner method. We will visit a school of this type in Leningrad where students are co-creating extraordinary paintings in a group effort in which children learn how to work without comparison or competition.

August, 1989 (Dates to be set)

DOLPHINS, CONSCIOUSNESS & WATER BIRTHING

Moscow, Yalta, Sudak

For midwives, body-workers, nurses, doctors, alternative health professionals, psychologists and those interested in interspecies communication. We will be hosted by Igor Charkovsky, the pioneer underwater birthing, and the Family Health Club at their special Summer Camp near Sudak, a hidden Paradise on the Black Sea. Participants will cook over an open fire with Soviet families, meditate together and share information on rebirthing, underwater-birthing and interspecies communication.

July 31 - August 15, 1989

SOVIET STUDY TOUR FOR STUDENTS

Helsinki, Leningrad, Tallinn, Vilnius, Moscow

Explore the rich history and culture of the Baltic Republics of Estonia and Lithuania. Participate in round-table discussions with Soviet teachers and educators on education today in the Soviet Union and visits to a collective farm, a Young Pioneer Camp, a day care center and a Trade Union Education Center. We will stay in Sputnik Hotels, designed for youth and students.

August 6th - 20th, 1989

TRANS-SYBERIAN EXPEDITION OF HAM RADIO OPERATORS

Siberia

US and international ham operators will meet with their Siberian counterparts in Irkutsk, Novosibirsk, and other regions of Siberia. Part of the journey will be by Trans-Siberian Express.

August 18-Sept. 3, 1989

TRADE UNION EXPLORATION-Designed for League of Women Voters

Moscow, Ivanovo, Rostov-on-Don, Odessa, Leningrad

Meet with representatives of the Central Council of Trade Unions, the staff of the national daily trade union newspaper *Trud*, and in round-table discussions with trade unionists and scholars. Visit a factory medical care facility, a factory workers' cultural center, a child care center and health sanatorium. Boat rides on both the Moscow River and the Don River Canal, excursions to the old Russian city of Palekh, to Novocherkassk, Petrodvorets, the Kremlin and Hermitage.

September, 1989

AFTER THE WARS: A Meeting of Vietnam and Afghanistan War Vets

Moscow, Leningrad (other Cities may be added)

Vietnam War veterans will travel to the Soviet Union to meet with Afghanistan War Veterans to share their experiences and how they overcame problems of re-entering society and healing the wounds of an unpopular war.

Sept. 17-Oct. 2, 1989

INTERNATIONAL HEALING; Integration of Science and Soul

Moscow-Leningrad (other Cities may be added)

Group will join the villagers in Medjagorje for evening worship where the Madonna appears to young visionaries, and stay in the homes of the villagers. In the Soviet Union, the group will meet with Soviet healers, artists, psychics, and members of the Family Health Club, who are part of the community that has pioneered underwater birthing and work with the dolphins, to share ways of integrating progressive methods of healing.

September 3-17, 1989

ARTISTS EXCHANGE

Imatra and Retretti, Finland

Leningrad - Tbilisi - Moscow

Working artists will have a unique opportunity to visit, work and stay with "unofficial" artists in Leningrad, Moscow and Tbilisi, as arranged by Nika Shcherbakova, Moscow art critic and dealer, who represents 100 Soviet "unofficial" artists.

Artists will submit 6 slides, out of which two works will be chosen to bring to the Soviet Union as part of an Exhibition.

We will stay overnight at Imatra, Finland visit the world famous underground Art Gallery of Retretti before continuing by bus to Leningrad.

September 1989

ENGLISH-SOVIET CONNECTION

Moscow, Leningrad, Tbilisi

CSAD will conduct a special 2-day Soviet orientation in London before taking 25-50 English Citizen Diplomats to the USSR to meet with their official and unofficial Soviet counterparts. The purpose will be to explore together how the masculine and feminine principles affect us personally as individuals and politically as nations.

Sept. 24-Oct. 3, 1989

INTERNATIONAL MANAGEMENT SCIENCES CONFERENCE: Re-structuring Societies in a Post Cold War Era

Shanghai, China

Conference is internationally sponsored by many prestigious institutes including the Center for Soviet-American Dialogue.

Space for American participants in this conference is extremely limited. Priority will be given to those willing to sponsor a delegate from a developing country with non-convertible currency.

An optional added week in Beijing will be available to meet with Chinese intelligentsia, architects, engineers, educators from elementary to university level, businessmen, and people active in the cultural arts.

October 19-29, 1989

CITIZENS' SUMMIT II

Moscow

The Second Citizens' Summit will be hosted in Moscow by the Soviet Peace Committee. 100 Americans will meet with 100-200 Soviets on a variety of task forces. This Summit will be a continuation of the Soviet-American Citizens' Summit held in Washington, DC, February 1988. Participants to be selected by invitation and application.

November, 1989

Antsokio Valley, Africa

AQUACULTURE IN ETHIOPIA

Ethiopia, Nairobi, Addis, Tanzania

Twelve Americans and twelve Soviets will spend 3 days in Nairobi at briefings and Game Park safaris, and then fly to Addis, the capitol of Ethiopia to be briefed by the US and Soviet governments and the Ethiopian Ministry of Agriculture on prevailing conditions. Then on to the source of the Blue Nile and from there to Antsokio Valley, the site of the Aquaculture Project, one of the first self-sustaining whole systems of recycling and earth restoration projects in a developing nation, which demonstrates that Ethiopia possesses enough land, water, and human resources to support and promote sustainable food supplies. It is currently feeding 5000 people.

Dec. 29-Jan. 12, 1990

CELEBRATING THE NEW YEAR

Leningrad, Tallinn, Riga, Moscow, Prague

Program includes excursions to Petrodvorets, Salaspils, the Hermitage, the Done Cathedral and the Kremlin. A Gala New Year's Eve Dinner Celebration is planned in Leningrad, plus four theater performances, including the highly acclaimed Kirov Ballet. Winter is the most beautiful time of the year in the Soviet Union and the people truly come alive.

Soviets Comment on Citizens' Summit

continued from page 5

on, or even won't return. I think these are invented fears. It is much more fearful if people, having no opportunity to compare, resign themselves to the way they live.

So, let people travelling abroad see what and how it must be in our country—that there can be shops full of products and clothes and without queues, and that one can stand in a queue, which happens elsewhere, too, without elbowing people in an attempt to get first to the counter by hook or by crook, that one may exchange smiles in the street, and so on.

In short, I think that acquaintance with a more comfortable and well-organized life is no reason for cynicism, but rather a stimulus to improve our country. So, it appears to me that people's diplomacy today also works for perestroika.

In this connection the question arises: Who participates in citizen diplomacy? I think that serious democratization in choosing participants is needed. Each time the Soviet delegation includes many of the same people. These are either experts in US studies, or well-known people who have opportunities to travel on business, and the majority are Muscovites or inhabitants of large cities. It is difficult to astonish them with anything—their perception has lost its freshness in many respects.

On the American side, it is usually the majority of people who could afford to pay for participation or who have won the right to come having participated in some competition, or delegates of communities who had collected money for the trip. Generally speaking, an imbalance arises quite frequently: our specialists are more qualified and pragmatic, but Americans are more emotional, and now and then even naive. Sometimes this prevents mutual understanding. At our Washington get-together, of great importance for Americans were all sorts of symbolic acts: meditation, burning of candles and other things of this kind, but this aroused a feeling of awkwardness among many Soviet participants. In fact, there are many people in our country who would like these meditations. Wouldn't it

be more logical to send such representatives to a summit meeting of citizens?

It seems an agreement has been reached on holding a similar summit in Moscow. Perhaps it would be proper to announce a nationwide competition for social programs which could be presented to the Americans?

Besides, it appears to me that we are vitally interested in drawing as many people as possible from different parts of the country to expand the geography of people's diplomacy. I'll explain why. One of the most attractive features of the American way of life is the genuine collectivism of "real America," that is, the population of small cities. People there do not wait for their problems to be solved from above, but actively strive themselves to improve their lives. Voluntary first-aid crews and fire-fighting squads, associations for studying local history, organization of all kinds of groups, educational courses, art centers as a social service, ecological projects funded by voluntary contributions by the population and, finally, such simple things as mutual aid in looking after children or old people. All this and many other things are done by Americans with great satisfaction as a social service.

We must learn from this splendid independence the ability to feel the master of their lives. Therefore, I would suggest that we draw into people's diplomacy as many people from the provinces as possible, preferably respected people who would be heeded. Let them be Party, government, trade union functionaries, journalists and editors of local papers, leaders of non-formal associations. They would be able not only to establish useful contacts, but also realize what a great deal can be done to make life better, if we approach our work not parasitically, but creatively and with some imagination.

Summing up, I say it is high time for people's diplomacy to critically assess our work in that direction, clearly outline the priorities, tasks, possibilities and means to achieve them. ♦



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Center for Soviet-American Dialogue

The Center for Soviet-American Dialogue grew out of the vision of an American mother who wanted to ensure a safe and peaceful world for her children and future generations. Following her first visit to the Soviet Union with a peace group in 1984, Rama Vernon wrote a proposal suggesting a new structure for official meetings. The meetings with Soviet officials had left her feeling deprived of personal interaction and in-depth dialogue.

After making numerous visits to the Soviet Union within one year, the former housewife and mother of five, developed a revised meeting format with the Soviets which called for freer and more in-depth communication between Americans and Soviets.

CSAD has taken over 1000 Americans to the Soviet Union. We hosted over 100 Soviets in the US for the first Soviet-American Summit, which led to the formation of over 200 joint projects. CSAD conducts an ongoing program of open conferences and professional exchanges where both American and Soviet citizens have the opportunity to meet with their official and non-official counterparts. These exchanges are creatively designed to open hearts as well as minds.

TRAVEL

Citizen Diplomacy Missions to the Soviet Union are designed for optimum interaction with Soviet counterparts. Since 1985, CSAD has taken groups and individuals such as film, theater and media professionals, women in leadership, economists, leading US innovators, business executives, educators, health professionals and healers from throughout the US who wish to improve relations between the citizens of the US and USSR.

US-USSR JOINT PROJECTS

The Center initiates, supports and sponsors projects that encourage the ongoing bilateral exchanges between the US and USSR that make a significant contribution toward the betterment of humankind. Primary projects in development are:

- Annual Soviet-American Citizens' Summits
- Joint Project Data Base
- Citizen Council on Human Rights
- Soviet-American Wholistic Health Council
- Business and Trade
- Satellite Radio Broadcasts
- Documentary, Film Festival
- Film and Theatrical Co-Productions
- Joint Newspaper/Magazine/Book Publications

CONFERENCES/ EXCHANGES AND FORUMS

- Both in the US and USSR, such as:
- Soviet-American Citizens' Summits
- Business and Trade
- Film and Media
- Human Rights
- Conference on the Healing Arts
- Project Development Trips
- Poets and Writers

THE CENTER FOR SOVIET-AMERICAN DIALOGUE HAS EXPANDED OUR PROGRAMS:

- To foster Soviet-American collaboration in developing nations.
- To develop a support network of resources and people.
- To strengthen the community of US citizens working on ongoing projects with the USSR.
- To demonstrate, through joint projects, models of how our nations & other nations can set precedents in creative cooperation.
- To develop and maintain a computerized joint project data bank.
- To disseminate information through the quarterly publication GLASNOST: Soviet-American News to all interested citizens in the US and USSR.
- To move all systems—economic, political and ideological—toward global cooperation.

Center for Soviet-American Dialogue Citizen Diplomatic Corps Membership

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The Struggle for Perestroika

Interview with Andrei Melville,
Section Head, Institute of U.S.
and Canadian Studies, Soviet
Academy of Sciences

CSAD: What does perestroika mean to you?

Melville: You know, in the 70's and early 80's, I had the feeling that I was not able to come out and say what I thought. Now with the advent of glasnost, there are certain illusions which you feel not only yourself but in some other people and in your friends. Illusions that you know the truth but you are not allowed to express the truth. Q: It is an illusion, you say?

A: It's an illusion because you don't know the truth, and glasnost and perestroika don't mean simply that censorship disappears and you can speak out. Glasnost and perestroika are for me a very difficult challenge for oneself. Because you only think that you know the truth, you don't know the truth. You have to work, to look for it, to change yourself. And, you're not necessarily ready for that. This is sometimes a disturbing, though very exciting experience. And it is only the beginning of the process of change. Perestroika and glasnost can't be adopted by decree. It is just a process.

Q: So you feel perestroika begins within the individual?

A: Definitely. There is much talk about new thinking, which is quite understandable, but we need not only new thinking, but new psychology, and a new sort of political culture because sometimes on the rational level you understand the requirements of the new thinking and its logic, but

at the emotional level you are not necessarily prepared to accept this logic. So one has to change the very structure of perceptions, feelings and priorities in order to really change on the rational and the emotional level. And sometimes that is very difficult, very painful.

Q: And do you think those in your country that can't perhaps make the change will be very fearful about perestroika? Change is a threat in any country.

A: Sure, the very fact that there is opposition and there are those who resist, who are against perestroika and glasnost, is the symbol of optimism and success because that means that something real is changing. In all revolutions, there are winners and losers, those who work for the revolution and those who oppose it. And for the first time in this country I am witnessing political and ideological struggle, the struggle for perestroika and the struggle against it—the Gorbachev revolution.

"Opposition ... is the symbol of optimism and success because that means that something real is changing."

Andrei Melville

But, some people are talking about the prospects for the emergence of a multi-party system here in this country, and I don't think this is a practical option, taking into account historical, cultural and political traditions in this country. What is at issue is the democratization of the party, inside the party, the perestroika inside the party, and there is plenty of space for that.

Q: Do you see any barricades?

A: I see a real struggle, and I want the fight, I want the struggle. Because only through the struggle can you create something new which will really change the society.

Q: Some people in the US say that Soviets like to invent obstacles, difficulties, because they like to overcome them. Do you agree?

A: No, today we are not creating difficulties, we are trying to overcome the difficulties which were created for us. The core problem is the political culture. Many people are coming to the conclusion that pluralism is the only way to create a normal society. The term "normalcy" might become a very important term in conveying the psychological message of perestroika—that changes are becoming just normal. We would not be able to be successful in perestroika, to change the society, to build a different model of socialism, unless we change the psychology of people, the human material, the personality. And sooner or later we are bound to talk about the changes in psychology that accompany changes in economic, political, and social structures as well.

Q: How would this relate to the third pillar of communism which is the transformation of the new man? Are

you saying that once society is transformed the individual will be transformed?

A: The two go together. Success depends on the simultaneous and parallel movement—the transformation of the personality, the transformation of the psychology of man, and the transformation of the social level. ♦

Conversation with an American Writer

"You have courage,"

they tell me.

It's not true.

I was never courageous.

I simply felt it unbecoming to stoop to the cowardice of my colleagues.

I've shaken no foundations. I simply mocked at pretense

and inflation.

Wrote articles. Scribbled no denunciations. And tried to speak all

on my mind.

Yes,

I defended men of talent, branding the hacks,

the would-be writers.

But this, in general, we should always do; and yet they keep stressing my courage. Oh, our descendants will burn with bitter shame to remember, when punishing vile acts, that most peculiar

time,

when

plain honesty

was labeled "courage"...

—Yevgeny Yevtushenko
New York, 1961

Reprinted from *The Poetry of Yevgeny Yevtushenko*; selected, edited and translated by George Reavey; Marion Boyars Company, publisher; Ruth Kampann & Co, distributors (800) 526-7626

Opinion Poll

Muscovites Speak Out on Soviet-American Relations

This telephone poll of 939 Moscow residents was conducted by the Institute for Sociological Research in May, 1988 at the request of the New York Times and CBC News.

1. WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE UNITED STATES?

Very positive.....6%
Positive.....64%
Neutral.....11%
Negative.....3%
Very Negative.....1%
Hard to say/don't know.....15%

2. WHAT IS YOUR ATTITUDE TOWARD THE AMERICAN PEOPLE?

Very positive.....8%
Positive.....70%
Neutral.....7%
Negative.....1%
Very Negative.....0%
Hard to say/don't know.....14%

3. DO YOU THINK THAT RELATIONS BETWEEN THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES ARE:

Improving a lot.....36%
Improving somewhat.....53%
Staying about the same.....2%
Getting somewhat worse.....2%
Getting a lot worse.....1%
Difficult to say/don't know.....6%

4. DO YOU THINK THAT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT MAY BE AN IMPORTANT STEP IN IMPROVING SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS?

An important step.....70%
Mainly symbolic.....16%
Hard to say/don't know.....14%

5. HOW DO YOU THINK THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE USA AND THE SOVIET UNION PRESENTLY COMPARE?

USSR is stronger.....13%
USA is stronger.....10%
They are equal.....50%
Hard to say/don't know.....27%

6. HOW SHOULD THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE USSR AND THE USA COMPARE?

The USSR should be stronger.....17%
They should be equal.....61%
The USSR should not have to be as strong as the USA.....7%
Hard to say/don't know.....15%

7. IF GORBACHEV AND REAGAN AT THE MOSCOW SUMMIT REACH AN AGREEMENT ON 50% CUT IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS, HOW WILL IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS AGREEMENT AFFECT THE SECURITY OF THE USSR?

Strengthen it.....44%
Harm it.....8%
Not harm it.....25%
Hard to say/don't know.....23%

8. IF GORBACHEV AND REAGAN AT THE SUMMIT IN MOSCOW REACH AN AGREEMENT ON 50% CUT IN STRATEGIC WEAPONS, HOW WILL IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS AGREEMENT AFFECT THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES?

Strengthen it.....33%
Harm it.....4%
Not harm it.....34%
Hard to say/don't know.....19%

9. DO YOU THINK THAT SECRETARY GORBACHEV WANTS THIS AGREEMENT ENOUGH TO MAKE CONCESSIONS TO THE USA IN ORDER TO GET IT?

Yes.....53%
No.....15%
Don't know.....32%

10. DO YOU THINK THAT PRESIDENT REAGAN WANTS THIS AGREEMENT ENOUGH TO MAKE REAL CONCESSIONS TO THE USSR IN ORDER TO GET IT, OR NOT?

Yes.....20%
No.....43%
Hard to say/don't know.....37%

11. DO YOU THINK THAT THE USSR AND THE USA SHOULD SEEK AGREEMENTS, OR SHOULD THEY NOT SEEK AGREEMENTS?

Should seek agreements.....96%
Should not seek agreements.....1%
Hard to say/don't know.....3%

12. DO YOU THINK THAT THE POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES THREATENS THE SECURITY OF THE SOVIET UNION, OR NOT?

Threatens.....52%
Does not threaten.....29%
Hard to say.....19%

13. DO YOU THINK THAT THE POLICY OF THE SOVIET UNION THREATENS THE SECURITY OF THE UNITED STATES?

Threatens.....10%
Does not threaten.....85%
Hard to say.....5%

14. SINCE THE SOVIET SYSTEM AND THE US SYSTEM ARE SO DIFFERENT, DO YOU THINK THAT THERE WILL ALWAYS BE CONFLICT BETWEEN THEM?

Always will be conflict.....16%
Can have good relations.....74%
Hard to say/don't know.....10%

15. WHAT DO YOU THINK OF PRESIDENT REAGAN? IS YOUR OPINION OF HIM FAVORABLE, OR NOT FAVORABLE OR UNDECIDED?

Favorable.....24%
Not favorable.....18%
Haven't heard enough.....24%
Undecided.....16%
Hard to say.....18%

16. DO YOU THINK BETTER OR WORSE OF PRESIDENT REAGAN NOW THAN YOU USED TO?

Better now.....52%
Worse now.....4%
Same, no change.....35%
Hard to say.....9%

17. DO YOU APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE OF THE WAY SECRETARY GORBACHEV IS HANDLING RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES?

Approve.....94%
Disapprove.....1%
Hard to say.....5%

WHEN THINKING ABOUT AVERAGE AMERICAN AND AVERAGE SOVIET CITIZENS...

18. WHO CARES MORE ABOUT THEIR CHILDREN?

Americans.....8%
Soviets.....38%
Both equally.....33%
Hard to say.....21%

19. WHO WORKS HARDER, AVERAGE AMERICAN OR AVERAGE SOVIET CITIZEN?

American.....56%
Soviet.....17%
Both equally.....10%
Hard to say.....17%

20. WHO HAS BETTER HOUSING?

American.....26%
Soviet Citizen.....36%
Both equal.....5%
Hard to say.....23%

21. WHICH COUNTRY DOES BETTER AT MAKING SURE EVERYONE HAS A JOB?

The United States.....2%
The Soviet Union.....89%
In both countries.....2%
Hard to say.....7%

22. WHICH COUNTRY, THE USA OR THE SOVIET UNION ENSURES ITS CITIZENS A HIGHER STANDARD OF LIVING?

The United States.....53%
The Soviet Union.....21%
In both countries.....4%
Hard to say.....22%

Results were rounded to the nearest percent and had a margin of sampling error of plus or minus 4%.

Soviets Speak of Obstacles to Perestroika

Excerpts from a roundtable in the editorial offices of XX Century and Peace

Boris Mozhayev - writer:

As a writer, I try to deal with authentic common problems: the needs of the people who work on the construction sites, in factories and collective farms.

Not only the 27th Congress of the Party, but many Plenums of the Central Committee since September 1953, have stated the need to forbid the centralized agricultural planning which has had a devastating effect for this country. What about today? The distribution of areas under grain crops has been strictly planned for years to come. What choice is then left to the peasants? Either fool the authorities, or follow their instructions and cripple the land. There is no other choice whatsoever.

"Our leadership ... should oblige the executive bodies to respect the law."

Boris Mozhayev

As for the reform in legislature, I believe it has been properly outlined, but is being delayed by the administrative habit of ostentatious conformity. There is something our leadership should do. It should oblige the executive bodies to respect the law. Then the whole process will go well.

Anatoly Arsenyev - historian:

I have mixed feelings about perestroika. On the one hand, I am certainly totally in its favor, both as a human being and as a philosopher who for decades has been doomed to muteness because of the lack of openness, and tortured by the sense of impossibility of self-expression. On the other hand, I have strong doubts about its possibility in the near future.

The bureaucracy, with its almost limitless power, seems to me the most fundamental impediment to perestroika. At the expense of the state, it possesses numerous caste privileges, not only material ones (like apartments, cars, special facilities, food produced at special farms), but also, for instance, legal impunity.

"The first thing to do on the way to perestroika is to disentangle ourselves from the enormous system of lies, deception, hypocrisy, and distortion."

Anatoly Arsenyev

Characteristically, the bureaucracy enjoys its caste privileges "like a thief in the night," while any public revelation concerning them was, until recently, punishable as anti-Soviet slander. Generally speaking, to protect its power and privileges, the bureaucracy established the universal system of lies and hypocrisy. So it seems to me that the first thing to do on the way to perestroika is to disentangle ourselves from the enormous system of lies, deception, hypocrisy, and distortion of all notions, including those of morality, that has dominated for decades. Otherwise, all reasoning about perestroika will be senseless.

Georgi Kunitsyn - philosopher:

We have to agree on a basic concept: we are talking not just about perestroika, but about a new phase of the revolution that began in 1917, which includes winning back what we have lost. If it is going to be only restructuring, it will not create a new quality. There have been many losses, but

the initial act of the Great October Revolution has not been reversed. It was the abolishment of private property. We survived due to it. Now, as before, our society will find a way out of this situation. We shall survive.

Grigory Pelman - sociologist:

The sworn enemies of perestroika have been mentioned here — these are the elite castes. However, the perestroika is endangered also by its internal processes, because, in the sphere of social relations, it is eventually going to generate new socially active groups and alter the politics of inter-group and intra-group relations. It will also cause a new relationship between Soviet Party and public organizations and groups.

On the other hand, it should be realized that the present course of democratization, openness, and expanded socialism will encourage personal participation by individuals in radical reforms. The variety of approaches to perestroika will naturally lead to the formation of groups protecting public opinion and penetrating (in a democratic manner) the sphere of political relations. This is a positive process, and we must be ready for it and get used to the "demilitarization" of political relations.

At the moment many people might get the impression that perestroika is going to relax social and political tensions, including those within particular enterprises. That is not the case. There is emerging a new mechanism to resolve contradictory interests among social groups based on "forced reconciliation" rather than on "voluntary unity." The contradictions between groups will then be expressed in a natural way, rather than concealed behind apparent unity.

Len Karpinsky - sociologist:

We tend to repeat that we are all "on the same side of the barricade." But we should not imagine the barricade the way it was presented in children's books: overturned trams, heaps of cobblestone, furniture thrown out of apartments, — and Gavroche deftly climbing it all, carrying cartridges! There can be other barricades, for example, when a person takes the floor and speaks frankly about his ideas which some other person detests. These moral barricades cannot be avoided.

Yuri Afanasyev - historian:

It is necessary to say that if we want to know ourselves, or, in other words, to know the essence of the society formed over years of the Soviet government, we have to review and re-analyze our whole history, which means to describe the situation of our society and the long road it has passed to the present situation, not only in facts and characters, but also in the language of problems, to present our past and our present in scientific terms and categories.

Lyudmila Saraskina - literary critic:

The socio-political consciousness of the champions of orthodoxy is based on three obsolete concepts:

The first concept: we are a victorious society and a "hegemonic force" absolved by history of all sins for all time. Of course, it was not history ... we ourselves, in the name of history, have issued the warrant of our eternal rightness. "The only true theory" justifies our practice, while the practice is supposed to support history.

The second concept: "We have passed a glorious way, and each day our history is valuable." He who knows about the horrible crimes committed against the nation, and yet insists on the value of each day, even one of those days, months and years

when the country was ruled by "the monster enormous, wicked, and of many heads," (Radishchev) is at least immoral. To reason in terms of "occasional mistakes in the steadily progressive movement" is unfair, to say the least, especially when you know, however approximately, the number of Gulag victims. The sinister, senseless formula of "the glorious way" has been haunting me all my life. Should we mindlessly stick to this incantation today?

Finally, the third concept (incidentally, it is not even native to this country) saying: "The chief is always right." In the Russian context it means: "Superiors never commit mistakes!"

Those who advocate this slogan are well aware: if you want to survive and succeed you have to follow the mainstream. Can people without their own convictions, without moral values, put the perestroika into effect?

While these three concepts remain at the foundation of perestroika, it will be alien and unacceptable for the youth. They must know the leader can be wrong! During my lifetime there has been no leader in this country better than Gorbachev, but unless we promote the culture of debate, the culture of dialogue with the leader at any level, we shall inevitably retreat to where we have come from.

"Everyone who is committed to the perestroika must make a step towards understanding the threat of a dead end."

Andrei Nuikin

Andrei Nuikin - publicist:

Everyone who is committed to the perestroika must make a step towards understanding the threat of a dead end. We can support the perestroika by criticizing it. Yes, it is time to submit the perestroika to criticism! Not the concept of it, which is brilliant, but the ephemerality of its forms, the uselessness of some of the means, concessions gained by the main enemies of perestroika — the many millions of bureaucrats and administrators. We should not lose a moment hoping that progress will be irreversible. It still depends on the position of one or two persons. It means that perestroika can be easily nipped in the bud. It has no guarantees. I think that to assist its progress it is essential that open political structures be formed in the country reflecting differing approaches to building communism. The peculiarity of their leaders' stands should be known to the people, they should be the basis for the consolidation of their supporters. Yes, this will lead to polarization of forces, but you cannot choose without having a choice! The possibility of free political choice could become a real guarantee of perestroika.

Yuri Burtin - publicist:

I share the passion and the criticism of the opinions that have been expressed here about our present situation. But I feel that something is missing in our conversation. It is the question mark. Over the years of silence we have accumulated in ourselves a whole symphony of exclamatory notes, and they all want to break out. We need strength not to give hasty answers, and I would like to put in some question marks.

What hampers the perestroika, what is in its way? Well, everything hampers it, all and everything! The first problem is in the very object of perestroika. The problem is not just to correct a number of rather serious but still incidental breakages and shortcomings of a generally healthy social system, breakages that can be repaired with-

out changing the foundations of the system. Today the object of transformation is the social system as a whole. That this system is well established, in a way complete, integral, and, in a sense "mature," is a fact that cannot be questioned either because of its separate contradictions or because of the general crisis in which it has been sinking over the recent decades. Both the shortcomings of the system (stagnation, lack of democracy) and its advantages (planning, political stability) are a logical result of the same basic principles.

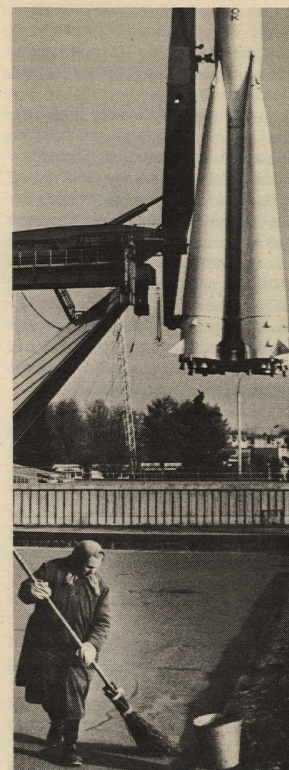
As a result of 70 years of Soviet history, there exist two systems in the modern developed world, the viability of which has been proven by time: capitalism and real socialism. My question is the following: Can a certain third structure be as viable? We are not alone in seeking the answer to this question — it is sought by the whole of humanity: East and West, North and South. In modern capitalism there is a pronounced socialist element, and it is gaining ground. The fact that the search for a "third way" is going on here and there suggests that a new state of civilization is emerging, one that would respond to the vital needs of the whole of mankind.

Leonid Batkin - historian:

I feel something like a sad optimism about perestroika. I do not think I should explain why it is sad, and there is only one reason for optimism: a most profound crisis in this country and the absence of any alternative to Gorbachev's course at all levels.

I do not think that the perestroika has started yet. We are in a period of a pause before we start on the road of reform, before a confusion of minds and radical changes in a country where so far little change has taken place. Can we just push a button to get things moving in a place where traditions have been forming for centuries?

We are at the very start of a long and difficult way. Of this I am sure. ♦



Sweeping up in front of the Vostok Rockets at the Exhibition of Economic Achievements in Moscow.

Photo by David Hunt

Filmmaking & Perestroika

by Igor Kokorev

The Movie Business, Film Scheduling, The Independent Film and Videomaker's Guide and forty other books on cinema business in the USA are on the Russian interpreter's desk. They were brought to Moscow by the US filmmaker Larry Schiller, a member of the Board of Directors of the American-Soviet Film Initiative, who had worked in the Soviet Union on his film *Peter the Great*.

As Gorbachev's perestroika comes to the movie industry, all the necessary things are being prepared in order to open the Soviet cinemamakers' business school. It has become a real necessity.

The Mosfilm Studios are no longer a giant factory with thousands of hired workers, but nine independent studios earning money to insure their future existence. And that means to find a proper scenario/story, to gather the creative group, to lease the necessary equipment and pavilions and then to argue about selling your film to the local hiring offices, and maybe to foreign rollers.

So this is the way all the film studios begin to work now: the famous Vladimir Menshov's studios of "genre painting" (he has an Oscar for his *Moscow Does Not Believe in Tears*), Roland Bykov's teenagers' film studio, the woman-filmmaker Renita Grigorieva's studios that work on ecology films, and many others. All film studios will soon need the kinds of specialists that are new for the USSR: producers, agents, lawyers, marketing specialists. For example, the chief of the independent CIRCLE studios, Sergei Soloviev, began to

roll his film ASSA himself. He hired the cinema hall, organized a rock-group show with avant-garde paintings to promote his film. This enormous publicity campaign was very expensive, but after a month of sensational premiers in Moscow, and a continuation contract from the Urals and Sverdlovsk, it became clear that the film will make a large profit. And that means profit for the studios, not for Goskino, as it was before.

"The Mosfilm Studios are no longer a giant factory with thousands of hired workers, but nine independent studios earning money to insure their future existence."

Igor Kokorev

The American experience in cinema production is being transferred to the USSR by the newly created Union of Filmmakers social organization called AMERICAN-SOVIET FILM INITIATIVE (ASFI). It is being sponsored by the new studios interested in developing co-operation with the United States and will be the first agency in the USSR to present to its clients in both countries an alternative to the state SOVINFILM and SOVEXPORTFILM associations.

It is an agency of its own. At the first stage of Soviet film industry perestroika, it is necessary as an experiment in new economic relations, as a way to gain cost accounting experience in the cinema field. This is why the ASFI, having all the stu-

dios' representatives on its Board, becomes a sort of information center, generalizing the new experience of film production and marketing, and finding modern forms of cooperation with other countries. For instance, according to its plan, the Soviet ASK and the American ASFI will, each month, exchange one filmmaker, one story author and an actor.

The Soviet documentary film festival GLASNOST is being organized under ASK sponsorship. We expect that it will make an explosive impression on Americans, because they will find a new, unprecedented Soviet cinema. Even in the USSR, nobody could imagine that social documentary cinema will be able to agitate the public opinion, to charge it with moving energy. But Podniek's documentary *Is it Easy to Be Young?* has made more money than any other artistic film. People wait for tickets from morning 'til night.

The documentary boom continued with a series of films on ecology, *Madam the Soundra*, *The Summer Snow in Ourengoi*, *Computer Games*, and films on social-psychological problems, *The Highest Judgement*, *The Wood-Goblin*, *The Return*, and *That is the Way We Live*. We would greatly like the Americans to see these films — they all have the spirit and energy of perestroika. You'll see people in these films that you may trust. All in all, some twenty films of this sort will be brought to the US for the Glasnost Film Festival. (See related article on page 12.)

The artistic cinema has not attained the new quality yet. It has a longer ripening cycle. But here, too, we saw films that were inconceivable beforehand: *The Cold Summer of 1953*, by Vladimir Troshkin. It is an

ordinary genre film with such a powerful social message that the film has become a landmark in understanding the Stalin epoch.

The Gorky Studios' *Little Vera*, in spite of the efforts of the conflict commission in the Union of Filmmakers, was not allowed by the bureaucrats to be presented. It provoked heated discussions in the press, because we have not seen such a fiercely realistic film on youth. It is our *Mean Streets* and *American Graffiti*.

And the film *My Name is Arlequino* has not been on screen yet. It has been transferred to video and became a video best-seller, far ahead of many American westerns. It is a film on youth, too, made from *Literaturnaya Gazeta* (Literary Paper) reporter J. Schekotchikhin's famous play about the sub-culture of street groups, including Moscow punk and Liubertsii fellows.

These are the first films, and it's difficult to gauge from them what will happen in the new Soviet cinema. It is awakened.

"We expect it will make an explosive impression on Americans."

Igor Kokorev is a senior researcher, Institute of US and Canadian Studies, a PhD. in Philosophy, scholar on American films, author of four Russian books on American Films widely distributed in USSR. Founder, VP and Executive Director of American Soviet Film Initiatives, and is now Vice President and Executive Director of American-Soviet Kino (ASK) initiative (Kino means cinema.) ♦

Restructuring Soviet Publishing

Interview of Georgi Andjaparidze, Director of Khudozhestvennaya Literatura, Publishers

CSAD: With perestroika happening in so many areas of the Soviet Union, we are curious to know what is happening in the field of publishing?

Andjaparidze: I should say it happens from the bureaucratic angle and from the content angle at the same time. The bureaucratic is as follows: let's say a year ago we sought to have our plans approved in the State Committee for Publishing. So we put some books in our plans and they could cross out something, saying "We don't publish that and you had better wait with that." Now we are responsible for these decisions ourselves. And the pressure is now from writers who want to get published, and from readers complaining that we don't publish what they want either.

Q: This is new?

A: Yes, absolutely.

Q: They couldn't come out and just complain before?

A: No, they couldn't complain, of course not. Before, we could say "We wanted to publish you, but the state committee said no." That's cheating a bit. We had something to hide behind.

Q: In other words, now you get the blame.

A: The point is that now we really decide what we do. And it is no deep secret that we are putting to the printing presses books which were not published before. For example, *Dr. Zhivago* is now published. I never understood why it wasn't published before, but ...

Q: Well, the movie has never been shown here either.

A: The movie is different — you have to buy the rights to it. However, for me it's a problem of buying the rights to publish the

book here. For instance, I am now thinking of publishing Brodski, but I would like him to let me publish it for rubles. So it is a problem.

Q: With the publishing, are you having the same difficulty with ruble conversion that the businesspeople are having in trying to do joint ventures?

A: Absolutely. And the same with films. Publication is now a problem of rights. There were a lot of books that were not banned, exactly — just not published.

Q: So the censorship is lifted?

A: Oh, yes, absolutely.

Q: And when did this all occur?

A: In the last two and a half years maybe.

Q: And you attribute this to Mr. Gorbachev?

A: Yes, I think so. We now use a lot of materials which were not published and which were not, let's say, in wide usage. For example, we are going to publish, starting next year, a five volume collection of Pasternak.

Q: This and other work has been on the shelf — not allowed to be published?

A: Some were published, some not — but now we have a big collection, a five-volume collection.

Q: And this is due to perestroika?

A: I think so. Gorbachev said, "We need the whole truth." So the truth is in literature as well as in history and economics.

Q: Especially literature, because literature touches the hearts and minds of the people.

A: A lot of books came into existence, foreign books — for example, 1984 by George Orwell, is going to be published by Progress Publishers, and *Animal Farm* is now going to be published in Latvia in a magazine.

Q: It's going to be published in Russian?

A: This is a book that was banned, wasn't it? A: Really, yes. This was banned.

Q: What do you think is the greatest effect of perestroika in your field?

A: It has been tradition, from the very dark ages (in Russia, not all the Soviet Union) that the printed word had some sort of holy connotation — if the word is printed it is so.

Q: But don't you think that was a tradition in many countries?

A: I couldn't say about the United States — but in Britain, they challenge. Here a writer is a very respected person and poets are treated in our country as prophets. In the West, bankers, entrepreneurs, financial consultants are serious people to you. They are the essence. Not writers, and in Russia, writers seem to be holy people. So, for many, many years, if a writer was published here, he had a sign of quality. We try to imagine that we always publish the best. But now, as a publisher, I can take a book I may not like, but that I know there is a market for, that people would enjoy — trash, why not, it's a good read.

"But now, as a publisher, I can take a book I may not like, but that I know there is a market for, that people would enjoy — trash, why not, it's a good read."

Georgi Andjaparidze

Q: But there is some value to the emphasis on the finest quality. In America we are trying to recapture that because we have lost it.

A: It is most difficult to find something golden, so we ought to find the middle path between the commercial and the, let's say, snobbish path.

Q: You don't think that's going to fall into what we call mediocrity?

A: I hope not. I don't think that's the real situation here, because, considering the

orders from my bookseller, the biggest orders are still the classics — Russian and foreign.

Q: Do you feel people's tastes are still high?

A: Yes, still. I don't know, it is very difficult to make some futuristic prophecies.

Q: Georgi, do you think people's taste in any society determines the quality of the books that are published, or do the books affect the quality of thinking?

A: It's a Russian tradition that the work of the writer is to enrich your abilities, to enrich your spiritual life. But I do think that we ought to publish more books just for joy. Why not? If we publish a detective story, read it if you like, but understand that at the same time there is Tolstoy, Dostoyevsky, Shakespeare, Faulkner, and so on. And now, we are trying to put into intellectual usage some values which were not used before, or were somehow postponed or put aside. Our aim is to make those things obtainable, and the readers will tell us who will stay. So our aim is for people who are interested to have a big rainbow of choices in literature and art, and that is brought about by perestroika definitely. Because when we speak about social pluralism, even five years ago, we were extremely monistic. If everybody liked the book, you ought to like it.

Q: Isn't that a reflection on the one party system?

A: I wouldn't put it that way. In my opinion, it is a difference of psychology — Russian psychology is a collective psychology.

Q: What then, in your mind, is social pluralism?

A: It's difference of opinion. In my field it is very easy. I say I don't like that book, well, you may like it.

Q: Thank you, Georgi, very much. ♦

Importance of Independent Activity

Interview with Gennady Alferenko,
Special Correspondent, Komsomolskaya Pravda

Alferenko: The main question in the Soviet Union concerns independent activity, really independent activity for all people in the Soviet Union. And we have only started the process. I am not so naive, for example, to applaud all perestroika, all glasnost in the Soviet Union just because a lot of people are speaking every day, every minute, every second about the historical possibilities. But sometimes they're not speaking of results, they're only speaking of the process. Maybe it's good, but I prefer for all people in the Soviet Union to have possibilities for direct action, and not necessarily to ask high-level, middle-level and local bureaucracies about these possibilities.

"If you have energy now, goodwill and ideas on projects, please go immediately to direct action and direct contact with foreign people."

Gennady Alferenko

If you have energy now, goodwill and ideas on projects, please go immediately to direct action and direct contact with foreign people, because it's very important for us to immediately break the ice and break down a lot of walls between different nations.

Q: You mean the coldness?

A: Yes, because we have the old Stalin paradigm in society right now, not just in the past. Lots of people complain about all bureaucracy. They think we must fight bureaucracy, but they are wrong. It is only a heart and human mentality problem, because all generations explain to the new generation, "Please remember forever—if you see an open door, never go through the open door, because it is very dangerous. You must ask permission."

Foundation for Social Inventions

Excerpted from Komsomolskaya Pravda, July 22, 1987

"It's important today for us to study everything and to teach young people social creativity, because no progress is possible without it." Delegates to the 20th Youth Congress were reminded of these words of Mikhail Gorbachev. They are the key to understanding the importance of innovation in the social sphere.

We hope that our Foundation will unite everyone who, by his or her actions, contributes to the success of perestroika by improving and perfecting our lives. The Foundation's operating methods are simple. The best and most interesting projects, proposals and statements sent by readers to the Foundation will be presented for your financial support. The author of a project which receives readers' approval will receive a monetary prize, consisting of the money designated by readers to go the Foundation's account for implementing that particular project.

Every ten days we will tell our readers how much money the Foundation has received and which projects they are for. The money will be turned over to authors of projects and proposals in accordance with readers' wishes. We will thereby have, all of us, the opportunity to support good ideas and assure their authors the wherewithal to carry them out. And any one of our readers may become the author of an idea. The mechanism, as you see, is completely democratic. This is something new and, in our opinion, interesting. Shall we give it a try? ♦

Q: And where does this come from? Is this attitude inherent in your culture?

A: It is the old mentality, because we had only a little time under Lenin. Maybe for two or three years Lenin tried to organize and improve democracy in society, because before that it was only a great dream. But Stalin has great powerful position, and we have the same economical and political situation as the old Stalin paradigm. The main purpose for perestroika or glasnost is to break this paradigm. It will take not several years, but several generations to change mentality for all people. If each person in Soviet Union will participate in this process, then we will have results. But now, millions of people are afraid to open doors, now Gorbachev opens doors, and invites a lot of people, "Please go immediately." We have an historic possibility.

Q: But, is there fear on the people's part?

A: Yes, there is fear, not just for a few, but for millions of people. And it's very important now to have a lot of guarantees for human rights in the Soviet Union, and to improve the quality of normal life—to have independent economic, political, and human rights activity. For us it is very important to have no low society.

Now we do not have a dialogue structure, but only one voice to command and people are afraid of this voice—typical Stalin paradigm. A lot of bureaucracies try and keep control.

Q: And still there are people who support the old paradigm?

A: Of course, because people are afraid.

Q: Are they afraid of losing their own power on a personal level, or do they feel that it is better for the society?

A: Bureaucracies try to hold their positions, to receive other special privileges.

Gennady Alferenko is a geophysicist and graduate of Novosibirsk State University. Alferenko originated the idea of the Foundation for Youth Initiatives, and the Foundation for Social Inventions. He is a special correspondent of the Komsomolskaya Pravda newspaper. ♦

(The following comments are from the first members of the Foundation:)

"I consider the Foundation for Social Inventions ... to be a cause with a great future. I have myself taken part in evaluating new ideas and projects received by the paper in the contest for social initiatives."

—Yevgeny Velikhov, Academician, Vice-President of the Soviet Academy of Sciences.

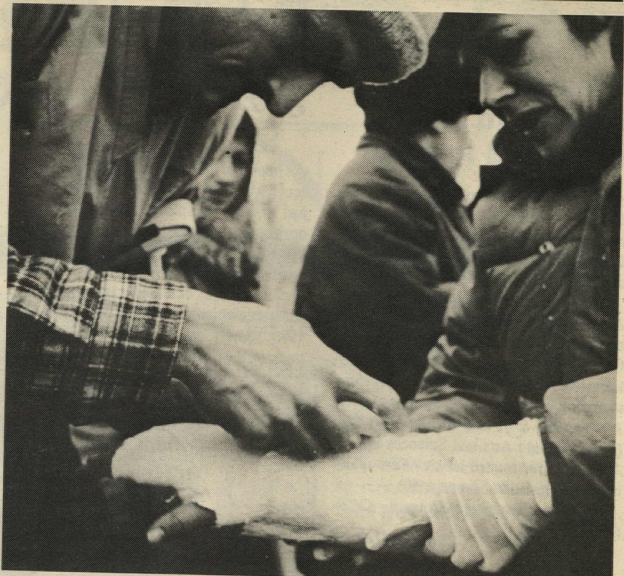
"What do I think is valuable in the movement of social innovators? This movement is one of the principle forces for perestroika, whose essence is the shift of society onto a new trajectory of socioeconomic and cultural development. Society must effect this change by its own forces, in the work of millions of people."

—Tatyana Zaslavskaya, Academician, President of the Soviet Sociological Association.

"Noisy, inconvenient enthusiasts are the main stimulants to scientific and technical progress. The new technological revolution was not carried out by large companies and powerful firms, but by an isolated innovator building the first personal computer in his garage."

—Gennady Alferenko.

[Foundation for Social Inventions
Komsomolskaya Pravda
Pravda ul., 24
Moscow, U.S.S.R. or
Washington Research Institute
3220 Sacramento
San Francisco, CA 94115
(415) 931-2593] ♦



American emergency physicians apply a cast to an earthquake survivor in Leninakan after reducing her fractured arm.

Photo by Steven Costello

Quake Creates New Ties

continued from page 1

"They suspended some sacrosanct rules. They trusted us."

The caravan reached the Republican Hospital around 1 a.m. The Americans were exhausted and not looking forward to pitching their tents in the dark parking lot. But their hosts had cleared a ward inside and set up cots for them, a welcome sight indeed.

The next morning, Armenians again showed up to help, unload the truck and sort the supplies into piles... huge mounds of bandages, plaster, crutches, medicine. Northwest Medical Teams had a MASH ready, but instead they were offered two of the hospital's operating rooms.

The Americans split into two groups and went to work. The search-and-rescue team was provided with a bus and left for the earthquake zone. The operating team stayed in the Yerevan Hospital, where victims needing surgery had already been evacuated.

"By the time we arrived in Yerevan, orthopedic surgeons from other parts of the USSR were working 18 hour days. They had done an excellent job," said Farrell. "We started making rounds of the trauma wards together, and quickly established teamwork—deciding which patients could best be treated by which doctors. We observed and learned from each other."

"A funny thing happens between people who go to help and those who are being helped—bonds of mutual respect form which will last forever. We worked together all day long—twelve to fourteen hours—then we'd go out in the evening together for dinner and drink Armenian cognac and vodka."

They invited us into their homes and overwhelmed us with their hospitality. We plan to meet our friends again in better times."

In the actual earthquake zone around Spitak and Leninakan, the search-and-rescue team joined the grim task of looking for survivors in the freezing rubble. Lloyd Hiebert, MD, an anesthesiologist from the Northwest Medical Team remembers "...seeing the hopelessness and sense of loss and shock on their faces, and the long lines behind bread trucks. Thousands of coffins were stacked everywhere. A soc-

cer field was filled with coffins stacked ten high."

People stood by collapsed buildings and pointed to where their relatives were. Many were relieved to find the bodies and to know their loved ones were not still suffering. The search-and-rescue team came upon the charred bones of a woman who died as fire swept through the rubble. A thimble was still visible on her finger.

The remains of three schools were side-by-side in Spitak. An eight-year-old boy explained how his teacher, at the first tremors, told the children, "It's an earthquake, everybody hurry outside." The boy dove right through the window, and turned around to watch in horror as the three schools collapsed, killing all six hundred of his classmates and teachers.

Painful questions are being asked in the Soviet Union and elsewhere about the construction techniques which worsened the tragedy. A columnist for the Soviet weekly *New Times* wrote "...the tragedy teaches us that we just can't work shoddily... we can't build showcase buildings just to report completion ahead of schedule."

"This kind of criticism shows that the Soviets are opening up to the rest of the world in an unprecedented way," says Dr. Farrell. "They were totally open with us and facilitated our efforts in any way they could. The greatest need now is for building supplies and techniques."

"Going to Armenia was a very spiritual experience—to experience firsthand the unity of all mankind and the artificiality of national borders."

"It was also the most incredible medical exchange imaginable. I was using all my skills, all at once, all the time, all day long. Most of the Seattle community was part of the team, in one way or another. This crisis proved that citizen diplomats have been effective in generating trust and openness, and that there is no limit to the goodwill which can be generated. Focusing on our mutual problems and challenges is the key."

Mayor Vladimir Lavrinenko of Simferopol, USSR agrees: "The Soviet people have been deeply touched by the way that the American people have wholeheartedly extended great and selfless aid to those who have lived through this tragedy. The events in Armenia... have forced us to see America in a new light."

An Armenian woman put it this way, "We will remember you all our lives." ♦

Highlights of Breakthroughs in Soviet-American Cooperation

Glasnost Film Festival to be Presented in April

Eleven top Soviet film-makers will fan out across the US this spring to show twenty-two selected Soviet films and to discuss their work with American audiences from coast to coast.

The Citizens' Exchange Council and American Soviet Kino-initiative (Soviet sponsor) have collaborated to create the Glasnost Film Festival at more than twenty sites from March 27 through May 5th, including openings at the Smithsonian in Washington, DC, and the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences in Los Angeles. (See related article "Film-making and Perestroika" on page 10)

[Citizen Exchange Council, (212) 643-1985] ♦

Ploughshares US-Soviet Volunteer Corps Formed

Through the new US-Soviet Volunteer Corps, citizen diplomats can now address pressing problems at home as well as abroad, while building friendships and international goodwill.

Seattle-based Ploughshares, recipient of the 1988 World Citizen Award from the World Affairs Council, and the Soviet Peace Fund, based in Moscow, have announced formation of a partnership to create a prototype for a US-Soviet Volunteer Corps.

A team of ten Soviet and ten US volunteers will work together on earthquake reconstruction in Soviet Armenia in late June and July, 1989. In August and early September, the joint team will travel to Yakima, Washington, where it will assist Habitat for Humanity to build homes for needy families.

In the project's second phase, beginning in 1990, another joint US-Soviet volunteer team will work for one year in a Third World country.

Ploughshares is seeking able-bodied volunteers of all ages and backgrounds to participate in this historic step beyond cold war.

[Ploughshares, 509 Tenth Ave E, Seattle, WA 98102, (206) 328-8813] ♦

Joint Project Updates

Now, a year after the Citizens' Summit, many of the more than 275 joint projects have come to fruition. We bring you just a small sampling of these exciting projects in this issue.

Recently, a survey was sent to all US joint project managers, and Sandy McCune Jeffrey of Boulder is compiling a summary which will be available in April, 1989. Sandy has undertaken the task of tracking the many joint projects in order to

assist in networking among citizen diplomats and to help plan for the next Citizens' Summit in October.

If you have a project, or would like to be invited on the next Project Development Trip sponsored by CSAD, please contact:

Clearinghouse for Citizen Diplomacy
P.O. Box 3594
Boulder, CO 80303-3594
(303) 494-0327 ♦



Photo courtesy of Earthstewards

Earthstewards Youth Plant Trees in Third World Countries

Earthstewards Network, which has previously taken American teenagers to the USSR and Northern Ireland, recently completed two years of negotiations for a unique trilateral exchange program. In December, 1988, Soviet, American and Indian youth worked together for two weeks reclaiming a small piece of the desert in Southern India. The team is learning how to reforest barren land—how to reclaim a desert. They are learning teamwork and leadership skills while working and playing together.

In February, 1989, another group of teenagers from the US, Soviet Union and Costa Rica formed a reforestation team in Costa Rica.

Executive Director Danaan Parry says, "The main idea is to give an oppor-

tunity for these youth to get to know each other, to dispel stereotypes and false images. In addition, they are doing something useful—work that is good for the planet. They are carrying the message back to their communities that it is possible to be friends and trust one another. We are creating a model for interaction and peaceful service where there previously existed only fear and mistrust."

The next project is to bring all the teams together for an urban reforestation project in the United States, to acknowledge that "America needs help, too."

[Earthstewards Network, Holyearth Foundation, P.O. Box 10697, Bainbridge Island, WA. 98110. (206) 842-7986] ♦

First Bilateral Anti-Terrorism Talks Successful

The US-Soviet Task Force to Prevent Terrorism met in Moscow in January to jointly prepare recommendations for their respective governments; a meeting described as an "unprecedented effort" by a *Los Angeles Times* headline.

US organizer John Marks, chairman of Search for Common Ground, expressed optimism following contact with the US State Department that their recommendations will be accepted by both governments.

Immediately prior to the meeting, KGB Deputy Director General Vitaly Ponomarev called for Soviet cooperation "even with the CIA" to prevent terrorist acts.

Recommendations include:

- Establish a joint group to promote cooperation in combatting international terrorism, and to assist each other at diplomatic, intelligence and technical levels.
- Prohibit sale or transfer of military explosives and certain weapons to non-military groups.
- Work together to prevent terrorists from acquiring chemical, biological, and nuclear weapons.
- Conduct joint exercises to improve cooperation during terrorist incidents.
- Establish "tags" on explosives to aid in tracking them.
- Exchange technology useful in preventing or combatting terrorism, consistent with each nation's security interests.
- Draft an international agreement covering threats and acts of violence on civilian population.
- Create an international tribunal to try individuals responsible for terrorism.
- Establish a UN standing committee on international terrorism.

[John Marks, (202) 265-4300] ♦

Eskimos Reunited Across Bering Strait

The official opening of the Soviet-American border in the Bering Strait, the "Melting of the Ice Wall," began with the arrival of the first Aeroflot flight ever from Moscow to Anchorage. On board was a delegation of 92 Soviet officials, businessmen, performers and journalists.

The celebration week of February 20th included a folk art performance by Soviet and American Eskimos, and a joint rock concert by top American band Eddie Money and popular Soviet groups Stas Namin and Rondo.

But the most profound impact of the border opening is for the Yup'ik Eskimos who live on the Big and Little Diomed Islands in the Bering Strait—on opposite sides of the US-Soviet border, which has been completely closed since 1940.

The current agreement enables passage only with appropriate passports and visas. Negotiations during the February visit will enable the native people to pass freely across the border to reunite with family members.

The effort to open the border began in 1985 with the formation of Alaska Performing Artists for Peace, which toured the Soviet Union in October, 1986.

Now, due largely to the initiatives of citizen diplomat Dixie Belcher and Genady Gerasimov, Infoc nation Chief for the Soviet Foreign Ministry, the border is finally being re-opened.

[Dixie Belcher (907) 789-0449] ♦

First Soviet-American Citizens' Human Rights Conference

by Phyllis Grimes

The first Soviet-American Conference on Human Rights was convened in December, 1988 in Moscow, organized by Father Luis Dolan and Rabbi Sheldon Moss out of visions conceived at the Citizens' Summit a year ago.

Even before the conference began, the personal dramas of delegates emerged as a microcosm of the larger problem.

Ludmila Alexeeva, a well-known activist and historical researcher of human rights violations in the Soviet Union and Russian-born immigrant, was denied her visa, because (we believed) she was on a black list due to her involvement with Helsinki Watch.

Once we were in Moscow, the Soviet Peace Committee did succeed in getting Ludmila permission to come join us, but too late for her to come. However, her name is now permanently removed from the black list and she is scheduled to go with the Project Development Group at the end of February.

The 32 Americans who were selected to participate included a professor of peace

studies, a trial lawyer, the advocate of Administrative Justice in the UN, an editor of a Ukrainian-American newspaper, two women who had gone on the Soviet-American Peace Walk, a San Diego Tribune journalist, the Editor of the Journal of Humanistic Psychology, the Co-director of Global Education Association, and the Founder/Director of the Center for US/USSR Initiatives.

The opening address of American keynote speaker Rev. William Wipfler, Director of the Human Rights Committee for the United Council of Churches, was a scathing critique of US violations of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights in the last 40 years. Disappointingly, the Soviet keynote speaker, professor Mikhail Krutogorov, skipped over the abuses of the Stalinist era and declared the Jewish problem unsolvable without peace in Mideast.

Rabbi Moss established a "clearing" meeting each day, to process issues and discuss ways to be most effective. This procedure was of critical importance to the Conference's success in breaking through not only individual resistances, but also in

reaching points of agreement between the two countries.

History was made as the Soviet Peace Committee allowed "dissident" Soviets to sit in on the Conference, and representatives of unofficial Human Rights organizations to introduce themselves and their programs as part of the Conference agenda.

We listened to a Soviet woman's impassioned account of the death of her husband who was imprisoned for political reasons, and another woman who told of the cruel injustices that she and her family had suffered. The next morning, Gregory Lokshin, the Soviet Co-Chairman, applauded the fact that these people were given the opportunity to tell their stories! I could hardly believe my ears.

Another astonishing event was the rally we attended in Gorky Park where thousands of Soviets gathered to hear emotional speeches commemorating the victims of Stalin, and warning that "we must be aware of the mind-set that allowed Stalin's atrocities, and not let that ever happen again". continued on page 4