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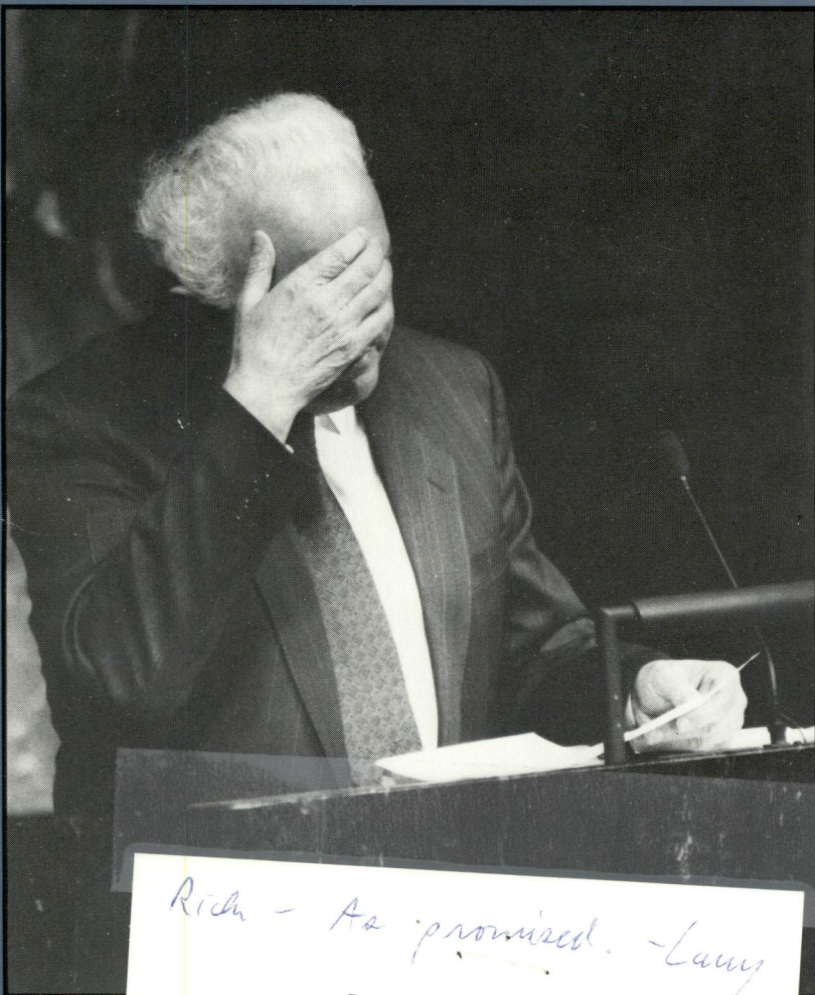
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Transitio

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Eduard Shevardnadze Contemplates the Future...



Rich - As promised. - Larry

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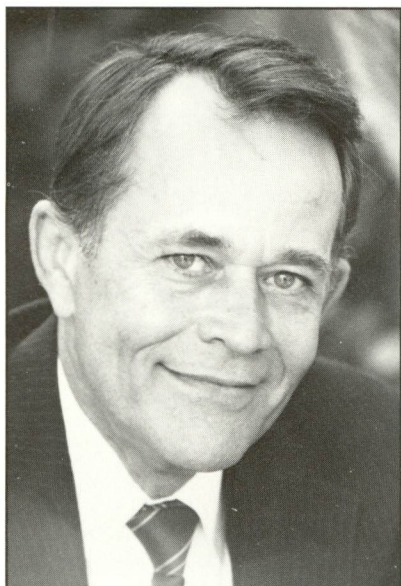
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FROM THE PUBLISHER

Dear Reader:

Someone said recently that "Transitions" reminded him of the Index of Leading Economic Indicators. By this he meant that the articles which we published in 1990 seem in retrospect to have foreshadowed recent events. We understand his point.

The writers appearing in "Transitions" have almost uniformly been less sanguine than Western writers. As you may recall from a previous message in this space, we were disturbed by the somber tone which "Transitions" had acquired, and we engaged in some introspection on the possibility that we were presenting too negative a view of developments in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Our conclusion was that, notwithstanding the optimism prevailing in the West, "Transitions" was accurately reflecting the perceptions of those who were first-hand observers of the changes in the East.

Now it appears that those pessimistic perceptions were themselves realistic assessments of political and economic realities. Recent developments do not encourage the belief that the transition to democracy and free enterprise will follow a straight line.

In the Soviet Union, the resignation of Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze, and the brutalization of the Baltics, were perhaps the most telling incidents. In the first section of this issue, former Soviet diplomat Arkady Shevchenko analyzes the significance of Shevardnadze's departure. The Soviets' hamhanded barbarism in Lithuania is among the subjects thoughtfully addressed by Stasys Lozoraitis in the interview which begins on the page opposite this.

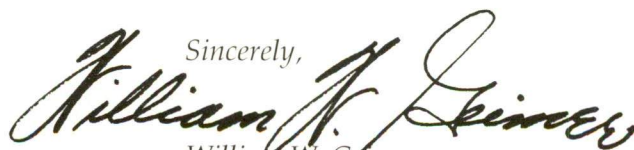
The backward transition of the Soviets was also evident in regressions such as the extension of the KGB's mandate to harass business entities, the intrusion of the army onto the streets of hundreds of cities, the confiscation of large-denomination ruble notes, the timid tinkering with wage and price controls, and the ongoing onslaught on what's left of glasnost. While this hardliner handiwork was on the increase, the strength of the democratic forces ebbed.

On the international scene, the Kremlin's performance throughout the Gulf crisis was the diplomatic equivalent of a Stealth flight. However there is reason to believe that the Bush administration's radar worked better than its public statements suggested.

In Eastern Europe, political and ethnic internal divisions put increased strain on several transitions. In Poland, a consensus developed around the discouraging realization that the country's economic recovery is hostage to its leaden foreign debt. Croatia and Slovenia seem on the verge of departing, and thereby fracturing, Yugoslavia.

1991 is proving to be a wrenching year.

Sincerely,


William W. Geimer

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Conversation With a Lithuanian Leader

[Recently "Transitions" conducted an interview with the Charge D'Affairs of the Lithuanian Legation, Stasys Lozoraitis. Throughout an impressive career with the Lithuanian diplomatic corps, Mr. Lozoraitis has been an active member of the Lithuanian resistance movement. Concurrent with his position in Washington D.C., he is Chief of the Lithuanian Mission to the Vatican.]

Q: Let's begin with what happened in January. The Soviets said that they sent troops to Vilnius at the request of a Lithuanian National Salvation Committee. Who comprised this committee?

A: The committee was a bubble of hot air chaired by Mr. Jermalaricius, a member of the Lithuanian Communist Party, which has not separated from Moscow. Its only other member was Burokevicius. These are two rather well-known figures of the old Communist Party, and are still faithful to Moscow.

Q: Those were the only two people who were identified?

A: Yes, only those two. There was nobody else. And almost immediately after the violence, the committee idea was dropped. Now nobody talks about them, not even the Soviets.

Q: So it was just these two party officials?

A: Party officials who probably tried to use the moment, use the confusion, etcetera, and as they have done in Hungary and so on to create something out of nothing.

Q: You're implying that they made the decision?

A: No. But I think they might have influenced Gorbachev's decision by saying, "look, the situation is ripening, we can help him. If he does something, we can help him." They could have.

Q: We'll provide the cover for you...

A: "We provide the cover. We will talk to the Communists, we assure you that the majority of the Communists still want to be with Moscow." They

could have done that, and created the impression that just a little push would change everything.

Q: What was the role of the Russian minority in this?

A: It didn't participate.

"You know, there was a demonstration in Moscow, 300,000 Russians in favor of Lithuania, which is fantastic. I think that Gorbachev was impressed by it because the following day he immediately received two Lithuanian deputies."

Q: Not at all?

A: No. About five thousand demonstrated once or twice against the Parliament. Of these five thousand quite a lot of them were young and were looking like the military in civilian clothes. At least that's the impression I got from some people who came here to Washington. But it seems that now at least 75% of the Russians are for the independence of Lithuania because they realize that it is much better to live in an independent Lithuania than to be under Moscow. You know, there was a demonstration in Moscow, 300,000 Russians in favor of Lithuania, which is fantastic. I think that Gorbachev was impressed by it because the following day he immediately received two Lithuanian deputies. He started talking about commissions for investigating...

Q: The troops who fired on the Lithuanian people, who were they?

A: They were only troops which came from outside. Black berets and the RVD...

Q: Those are Interior Ministry troops?

A: Yes, both are, but they didn't include men who were stationed in Lithuania. Because those who are stationed have already been in contact with the Lithuanian population and they know what the situation is. They don't want to participate - partly because they sympathize with us, and partly because they fear for their families.

Q: But the attackers were partly Red Army troops, and partly Interior Ministry troops?

A: Yes. I couldn't tell you what proportion. I couldn't tell you how many Interior Ministry, and how many...

Q: No, but there were two chains of command then. Both Yazov and Pugo were involved?

A: Yes, absolutely. Yes, both of them. Yazov and Pugo made some declarations. How much Gorbachev was involved, I don't know. I think that he didn't give the order to shoot, as a matter of fact, but he created the atmosphere and whether he wanted to or not, he had to let these troops act.

Q: What role did the KGB play?

A: I really don't know the role of the KGB. It's strange. I've known some KGB people, Lithuanians and non-Lithuanians, I think the KGB are much more intelligent than the rest. From what I saw of what was done in Lithuania, it's certainly not the KGB. It's too stupid. Why take a television tower when one hundred miles away there is another television tower which still functions today and was never touched? Well you might say that they took the television tower to frighten the people. But I think that the KGB must know that we are not people who get frightened. We have been used to this for fifty years. There were ten thousand people standing around the television tower. Not one budged when the tanks were coming in. That's

why the poor girl was hit. She didn't run. That's the way Lithuanians are. The KGB knows that.

Q: Are you saying that the KGB might have been involved in the strategic thinking about this but, as far as the tactics are concerned, it wasn't a KGB operation?

A: I'm not even sure they were involved in the strategic. I've long believed that the Red Army was dissatisfied and that the Red Army would do something. They are getting pushed out of Eastern Europe, have no housing back home, they are not getting good treatment, they are not respected, they could lose their armaments, and so on. They were becoming a second-rate group of people. And they reacted. They might have said "Okay, we're getting out of Eastern Europe, but not out of the Baltics. Because that would first of all hurt the prestige of the Soviet Union, and we must defend the prestige of the Union and of the Red Army. Enough is enough."

Q: Gorbachev, as far as I can recall, never expressed any regrets about what happened in Vilnius. But he did about Latvia. Is that correct?

A: Absolutely.

Q: Why the distinction?

A: I don't know. I think that he has a special grudge against the Lithuanians, that he was very hard hit when he came to Lithuania last year and tried to convince us to stay with the Soviet Union. Workers laughed at him, insulted him, offended him. For the first time in history he got really mad, and was filmed when he was mad. I don't think that he is being pushed. He wants the power, he wants to keep the power. He is doing what he thinks is best in order to keep the power.

Q: To some people the crackdown in the Baltics has appeared to be very clumsy, inept. It looks like Gorbachev's indecisive, doesn't know quite what to do.

A: Absolutely. I couldn't agree more. They take over a building which has absolutely no tactical or strategic importance, stay there, go away, and then disappear. They smash something and then they disappear.

Q: Does that tell us something about Gorbachev's own mentality, or about

the environment in which he finds himself and the pressures that are being exerted upon him?

A: No. I would think that this shows us they probably wanted to frighten the people. They miscalculated. They thought, "all right, we'll start shooting, we'll start sending tanks up and down the streets, we will take over the television tower." They smashed everything within the television offices, and that's where about 20 people died because they were trapped in a room.

What could have been the strategy? To frighten the Balts, in the hope that they would cave in. But this shows that they don't know the Baltics. I remember when I was a child, sometimes students would demonstrate and the police would react and beat them with those rubber things - we called them "bananas." The students would never duck. And I know I'm like that too. If a policeman in Washington would do that to me, my first reaction would be not to budge, not to show that I am afraid - and my countrymen are like this.

"There were ten thousand people standing around the television tower. Not one budged when the tanks were coming in. That's why the poor girl was hit. She didn't run. That's the way Lithuanians are. The KGB knows that."

Q: Would you say that the Estonians and the Latvians share this same...

A: I would say, yes, absolutely. They share it.

Q: Do you think that the Kremlin has learned a lesson from all this and, if so, what will they do next? What will become their strategy?

A: The strategy will become what I call "if you can't lick them, slice them." They will try to divide us, they will try to weaken us politically, they will probably try to undermine Landsbergis, to eliminate him.

They will do a series of little things which can't be denounced in the West

every day. You can't tell the West every day, or *The Washington Post*, "Well, yesterday they burned 50 million stamps." They did it. The stamps were coming from the West. They were printed for Lithuania. They took them away and they burned them. But nobody notices such "little things."

Q: I understand your point.

A: Of course, there is still a possibility, I think, that one day some silly general, or Marshal Yazov with Gorbachev, will decide to put a rope around the Baltics and finish them off. Of course, there will be a public opinion reaction. But they might think that it is worth the price.

Q: Could that happen with Gorbachev in power?

A: Absolutely. And I think the only thing that could protect us in this case is recognition. Now we are not recognized, but it would be a protective shield.

Q: You would then be more in the position that Kuwait was in?

A: Yes. Nobody would go to war for the Baltics, of course, but the recognition of Western Europe, of the United States and of Canada, could protect us.

Q: What is the status of the agreements that you have with the other republics, say with the Russian republic? Are they being implemented?

A: Yes, they are being implemented. In some cases, we don't get what we want, what was promised. Not because they don't want to give it to us, but because the confusion and the anarchy in the Soviet Union is such that factories promise, but then can't deliver. Because they have the things, but they don't have the trucks. Maybe they have the trucks, but the trucks are without tires, or something else happens. Therefore, quite a lot, I would say half of the products we should get are not arriving in Lithuania because of the complete disorder and anarchy in the Soviet Union.

Q: Are the Lithuanians able to deliver their end of the bargain?

A: Yes. We insist on it. But if the trains or trucks are not there, we can't deliver. Even during the blockade, there was a decision by the Parliament to deliver everything to the last nail, so as to show that we on our part are doing what we can.

Q: What's the condition of Lithuanian economy relative to the Russian economy?

A: It's in much better shape. First of all, we have food, that's a very important thing. We really don't need any imports of food, we have food. Right now, we need fodder for the animals. I think we have about 70% of what we need but the other 30% or even 40% must be imported from the Soviet Union - and they are not giving it to us because they need it for themselves. It's not a political move.

We also need some other things. For instance, if we had five hundred light tractors, we could privatize our land. It would have huge political impact and political importance. Right now people are afraid to take the fifty hectares and make private ownership of this because they don't know what will happen to them, how they will work on this land, if they become independent.

Q: Have you made any effort to get the tractors?

A: Yes, we have. Some months ago, the U.S. Congress was considering a loan of ten million dollars for this purpose, but the legislation went awry. We could get this through private channels - that would be wonderful.

Q: Would Moscow tolerate that?

A: I think Moscow would.

Q: I think the first thing that would occur to American private interests who might make a contribution here, is how do we know the money or tractors would stay in the hands of the Republic?

A: Oh, the Soviets wouldn't take it. If they were going to stop it, they would stop it at the border. But they would never take it away. No, no.

Q: What are your thoughts on U.S. policy towards the Soviet Union?

A: I would say and you will understand immediately what I am talking about, there are two schools of political thought in Washington. One says we have to support Gorbachev to the bitter end, whatever. The other one says why only Gorbachev? I belong to the latter school, of course. Why only Gorbachev? Okay, have good relations with Gorbachev, but if he does something which he shouldn't do, he must know that he will not only be criticized, but that some sanctions will be

applied.

Then I would add that America and the West must have direct relations with the republics, with Yeltsin. Why not let Yeltsin come to, and be received by, Washington? He's a political man. Landsbergis was received, why not Yeltsin? Yeltsin might be a decisive man tomorrow.

Then I would say that the democratic movements in the Soviet Union have to be supported. We have to support them, we have to encourage them within the limits of the possibilities without, of course, provoking anything. But if Uzbekistan wants democracy and liberty, why not? I would say then that we Lithuanians can have an important role in this. We can and we are starting to do this, to have relations with all these republics and to start explaining... We must have friendly relations. All these republics, all these nations must have friendly relations and signal to the West that if the Soviet Union, disintegrates it doesn't mean some terrible explosion; that it will be done peacefully and that we have nothing against the Russians and the Russians have nothing against the Ukrainians.

Q: From what you've said, it sounds as though relations among the republics are on a bi-lateral basis, except maybe for the Baltics, who are acting in concert. Do you see any possibility of

multi-lateral relationships developing among the republics?

A: It could be. The first step was when the Baltics and the Federal Russian Republic signed an agreement. The agreement I mentioned before was not only signed by Lithuanians, but by Estonians and Latvians at the same time. Four already signed an agreement, so it's not impossible that tomorrow, let's say, Armenia and the Ukraine join together in signing a similar agreement.

Q: What do you see in the larger sense? What historical forces are at work here, and what do you see happening?

A: What I see is, I usually go back to '45 and I see the British Empire and the French Empire, the Dutch Empire which were at the end of their historical evolution and you could have kept them for another year or two. The French tried to make war in Algeria. But everybody knew, deep inside, that it was the end of it, that you had to change. I think the same thing is happening in the Soviet Union. Why? Because if you have an empire there must be something that binds people together. For example, economic interest, it's not the case in the Soviet Union; nor religion, nor language, nor race, nor national origin, not ideology - which is dead. There is no communism. There is no vision of the future.



Lithuanians stand in front of a Red Army armoured vehicle in Vilnius. (AP/Wide World Photos)

At least if they had a vision and said "Well, we have to unite because tomorrow we will be very important, very powerful. Our suffering will pay off." No.

Q: And no external threat?

A: And no external threat. Yesterday I was at the Foreign Affairs Institute and someone said, "Yes, but you must understand that the Soviet leadership thinks that there is an external threat, and they have to keep the Baltic states." I said, "Look, if this is the case, then they are absolute idiots." Look at the map. They have 22 million square kilometers. This is three times as much territory as the United States. Now to have a few hundred miles of territory in the Baltics, doesn't mean a thing today. Japan is an example. Japan has practically no territory, there are 120 million people living on these islands, it has practically no military force and it still is probably the second power in the world. Because things are changing. If you have more kilometers, it doesn't mean a thing. The Red Army doesn't understand that they are not getting more power if they keep the Baltics. If they let them go, then they would actually become more powerful.

There is another question. What to do with 13,000 nuclear weapons or 15,000 or 10,000? I don't know exactly how many there are. Well, to this the answer is very clear: would you like to have them in the hands of Marshal Yazov? I think just watching his face on television is enough, it tells you everything. Or would you prefer to have them under the control of a democratic government and in the hands of democratic officers? I think the answer is very simple.

Q: What about the self-interest of the Party, the KGB, and military leadership as a unifying or cohesive force?

A: I think this is the most important point. These forces have waited and wanted to see some results from Gorbachev. They waited. They saw that there was confusion, that there was disorder. These people want first of all to protect their interests, protect their privileges, but they are also people who like discipline and order. They don't care what kind of order. They prefer order, and when they see

a young man in blue jeans, this is the end of the world. They don't understand that this young man or young girl in blue jeans may be much stronger and less morally corrupt than the man who is for order and discipline. Of course, these people are against perestroika.

Q: What you're saying is that the self-interest of this element is not sufficient to overcome the longer term centrifugal force, the historical force...

A: No, I don't think so. Because life is going in a certain direction and you can't run the country from Moscow. You can't keep it together anymore. People have seen what it means to be more or less free. Oh, you can keep it, of course, for five years. Why not? But generals will not solve the problem. That's why I am not afraid if they push Gorbachev out and somebody else takes over. Because, to go back to the Stalinist method is impossible.

Q: You've told us what kind of support you'd like from governments. What about the business community? Is investment in the Baltics a good idea now?

"...(businesses) should start now, not to invest, but at least to create headquarters, to use the Baltic states as a base, because we have a good infrastructure"

A: Well, they will not invest. As a matter of fact, they are not even investing in the Soviet Union. To the businesses I say this: they should start now, not to invest, but at least to create headquarters, to use the Baltic states as a base, because we have a good infrastructure. We have people who speak English, who at the same time know the Russians and the peoples living by the Pacific Ocean. Therefore, if a company, let's say XYZ, creates headquarters with a vision of tomorrow and with the help of our people they start studying what they could do tomorrow in the Ukraine, in Armenia, in Uzbekistan, in Russia and so on, I think that they are doing very good bus-

iness. I can give you one good example. The Danes, it's a small country, they had a company in China. This company had absolutely no profit because it couldn't do anything because it went through the Mao Tse Tung period, they were just keeping their headquarters. Now a few weeks ago, they signed a contract for the production of beer in a nation of one billion people. No limits. They got it. That's the spirit. For heaven's sake, I don't want to imply that you have to wait fifty years, but don't expect profits right now. Although, in some respects, profits are possible, even now. But give us your business advice, how to change our production, because I think our economic problem is this: we are producing things which are of absolutely no value. We can't sell them in the West, but we know very well that we can sell them in the East. Whatever we produce in the East, the Soviet Union will take because they don't have it. So we produce old computers, which in the West were probably produced twenty or twenty-five years ago. They are produced by 20,000 people, whereas in the West they would probably be produced by 500, so you can imagine what folly it is. We can export shoes, but they are horrible shoes. They are good shoes, but horrible to look at. We produce furniture, good furniture, but horrible to look at. So what we need is to change our production so that it would be attractive in the West. We would then start exporting to the West, earning hard currency, then go back to the Soviets and say, "Why don't we do business with you? Give us your crude oil, we'll pay with hard currency." Why not? "Give us your cotton or we will pay the Uzbeks with our hard currency." We should re-orient the production and look at the West. We can. It's not that we couldn't export to the West. You can export anything. We could beat the price, for instance. Our labor is not very expensive, not yet. The transport expenses are not very high because, as far as Western Europe is concerned, it's here. I would say again that businessmen should go, should see how the people are, should get in touch with people, know the people. We should know them and prepare for tomorrow.

Shevardnadze's Resignation: The Aftermath

By Arkady N. Shevchenko

It is a well known axiom that there is an organic interdependence between foreign and domestic policy. The gap between the two can be neither wide nor deep. As the new Soviet Foreign Minister Alexander Bessmertnykh rightly said recently, "I have always thought and think now that the link between domestic and foreign policy is not only philosophical in nature... There is also a purely concrete, day-to-day link between domestic and foreign policy."

The latest events in the Soviet Union provide graphic confirmation of this interconnection. It wasn't long ago that success in foreign policy was widely considered one of the greatest achievements of perestroika. Eduard Shevardnadze and Alexander Yakovlev, who were at the helm with Mikhail Gorbachev in guiding foreign affairs, were given credit for the Soviet successes in the world arena. The USSR's "new political thinking" in international relations had found expression not only in innovative concepts and language, but also in impressive practical deeds. But today one sees a different picture in Moscow. The "new thinking" is being severely tested by the changing political climate, and by the ascendancy of hardliners in the Kremlin.

Eduard Shevardnadze's sensational resignation seemed at first glance unexpected. But only at first glance. If one takes into account the internal developments in the Soviet Union which preceded the resignation, then the finale of the most independent-thinking and talented Foreign Minister the Soviet Union has ever had doesn't seem all that surprising.

It is obvious that Shevardnadze, as one of the country's senior leaders, knew before his resignation what we now see all too clearly in Moscow's behavior. He knew that bloody reprisals were being prepared against the Baltic republics. He experienced personally the growing influence of the

military-industrial complex, which had with increasing impudence been slowing progress at arms reductions talks. He saw that an attack on glasnost was being readied. And he couldn't help but understand that what was happening was further concessions by Gorbachev to the bellicose-minded supporters of the "hard line," who in essence had always rejected both perestroika internally, and the "new political thinking" in international relations.

By autumn 1990, the reactionaries in the Soviet Union had recovered from the initial shock induced by the reformist changes in the USSR, and they began to take their revenge. And Gorbachev? The man who had concentrated in his hands almost unlimited legal power as President of the Soviet Union, the father of perestroika who for the longest time had tried to drift in the center of a stormy stream of counteracting political forces, had left the liberal reformers, and had turned the wheel of the Kremlin to the right, joining ranks with the retrograde party apparatus, the generals, and the KGB. His program no longer included the radical economic reforms and democratic restructuring so vitally important for a country exhausted by ruin, but rather advanced the preservation, even if by fire and sword, of a bankrupt and collapsing union. And this course is now being pursued under the familiar slogans of support for law and order, and for preventing the "restoration of a bourgeois system" and for saving "socialism." In other words, the notorious "Brezhnev Doctrine" is reborn in a new manifestation; it is now applied to the people of the Soviet internal empire. And when the hardline coalition carried out a witch hunt against his closest reformist collaborators, first Alexander Yakovlev and then Shevardnadze, Gorbachev looked the other way.

Shevardnadze of course is a communist, who believes in the illusion of a "humane Soviet socialism," which

could allegedly place human values above its own narrow or so-called class interests and become a bona fide member of the world community. We should therefore be careful not to idealize him. But one must give him his due.

In his post as Foreign Minister he contributed in many ways to the ending of the "cold war," and to the resolution of difficult and urgent problems. He did not turn into a "gray mare," blindly executing commands from above, as many had predicted he would do when he first came into the job. Unlike his predecessor Andrei Gromyko, who was a professional diplomat, but never a politician, Shevardnadze, in a surprisingly short period of time, became both a professional diplomat and an effective politician.

Shevardnadze showed uncommon valor and strength of will in refusing to plod along at Gorbachev's tail. He didn't want to become a mere statue, looking passively on as the new Soviet foreign policy which he had so scrupulously tried to build over the last five years was torn down.

In Shevardnadze's speech at the Fourth Session of the Congress of People's Deputies, in which he explained his resignation, the most attention was given to his conclusion that the Soviet Union was heading towards a dictatorship. He did not specify what exactly he had in mind. But in principle, Shevardnadze was right. The crimes of the military clique in the Baltics demonstrated the Kremlin's decisiveness in returning to its former police-state methods of threats, blackmail, slander, and the iron fist of force.

In his interview with the newspaper *Moscow News*, Shevardnadze went a little further in explaining the reasons for his resignation. He said:

"...I realized that if the country's destabilization continues and if the democratization process were to stop, it would become impossible to continue the foreign policy line pursued until

now. The development of events could lead to a repetition of what has already happened in Tbilisi and Baku, in which case what kind of 'new thinking' could we talk about?"

Shevardnadze's fears have been realized. The *Moscow News* correspondent in New York, Yuri Bandura, noted that:

"...it is clear that the Soviet Union faces the threat of dictatorship, as predicted recently by Eduard Shevardnadze...A military and party dictatorship with a decorative president center stage. In these conditions there will be no need left to speak about "perestroika" or "new thinking": Lithuania under the circumstances will be yet another, and not the last link in the "Hungary-Czechoslovakia-Afghanistan chain."

"...today one sees a different picture in Moscow. The 'new thinking' is being severely tested by the changing political climate, and by the ascendancy of hardliners in the Kremlin."

The "new thinking," which was coming to form the basis of Soviet foreign policy, emphasized "common human values" as its guiding principle, rather than the class warfare approach of previous regimes. The latest Communist Party Central Committee session, held in Moscow at the end of last January, may have signaled the end of the new approach. The senior leader of the Party conservatives, Ivan Polozkov, declared at that session that Gorbachev's emphasis on "common human values," rather than the Marxist class approach, had been a gross ideological mistake. There is no evidence that Gorbachev resisted this reversion.

In well-informed Moscow circles — and I heard this myself in meetings with well-placed Soviet figures — speculations about Shevardnadze's impending departure from the Foreign Ministry had been circulating long be-

fore his resignation. There were hints of splits between Shevardnadze and Gorbachev, and between Shevardnadze and Evgeny Primakov, a member of the former Presidential Council, who had been entrusted with the mission of carrying out shuttle diplomacy in hopes of finding a way out of the Persian Gulf crisis. These rumors leaked into the Soviet press. The paper *Kommersant* wrote, for example, that "according to confidential information, in the Foreign Ministry itself Primakov's growing influence in the formation of foreign policy is being noted. According to several assessments, the situation in the Foreign Ministry can almost be characterized as one of dual leadership." And in the Soviet-engineered "peace initiative" which immediately preceded the ground war in the Gulf, Primakov was the dominant Soviet diplomat.

Also interesting are the admissions of Shevardnadze's senior assistant, Teymuraz Stepanov, in a meeting with the Moscow correspondent of the *Sunday Times*, James Blitz. Stepanov said that Shevardnadze saw how support by Gorbachev for the foreign policy being carried out by them was fading. "The minister was using all his political reserves, but he understood that he was in no position to change what was going on," claimed Stepanov. "I lived for an entire year with the feeling that he was just about to resign."

Summing up, a grim conclusion comes to mind: the shining triumph of the politics and diplomacy of Eduard Shevardnadze ended with his own personal downfall. His resignation hit Gorbachev hard, and evoked an extremely negative reaction and concern in the West. Gorbachev, naturally, promised that Moscow's course in international affairs would remain unchanged. His choice of Alexander Bessmertnykh as new Foreign Minister was intended to underline this. The name of Bessmertnykh, a man close to and promoted by Shevardnadze himself, is closely connected with the policies directed at improving Soviet-American relations. However Bessmertnykh has come to head the Foreign Ministry at a very difficult time. Whether he wants it or not, he will have to defend something that is impossible

to justify. But he is an honest man. And knowing him well myself through working together with him in the past, I can risk saying that he will not forsake his views easily just for the sake of his career. Of course, he does not carry the weight and influence that Shevardnadze did. And already it is being said that henceforth Gorbachev will be his own Foreign Minister, and Bessmertnykh will just be a yes-man. Yet we must remember that at first they said the same thing about Shevardnadze.

Notwithstanding this regression, I don't think that Gorbachev or some other Soviet leader is going to establish his own personal dictatorship. More likely, in the Soviet Union a rather well known triumvirate is gaining strength: the partocracy, the army, and the KGB. And Gorbachev, though endowed with the widest presidential powers, might well become an instrument in their hands.

There is little doubt that we will witness in the nearest future the negative changes in Soviet foreign policy. Some of them are already visible. As for others, it would be premature to guess right now as to what they might be and when they will occur. As they say, "only time will tell." □



[Ambassador Shevchenko, above, was the Undersecretary General of the United Nations. The author of the best selling political memoir *Breaking With Moscow*, he is currently an Adjunct Professor at the American University. He is also a Consultant to the Jamestown Foundation.]

Shevardnadze Resigns at December 20 Congress Session

"Izvestia"

[Speech by Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze at the Fourth Congress of USSR People's Deputies in the Kremlin Palace of Congresses in Moscow on 20 December, 1990.]

Comrade deputies: This is perhaps the shortest and the most difficult speech of my life. I did not ask for the floor, but because certain deputies have insisted- the reasons are known to me - I have drawn up the text of such a speech, and I gave it to the secretariat, and the deputies can acquaint themselves with it. What has been done in the sphere of current policy by the country's leadership, by the president and by the Foreign Ministry, and how are the present conditions shaping up for the development of the country, for the implementation of the plans for our democratization and renewal of the country, for economic development and so on? A certain amount has been done, and this is spoken of in the speech.

I would like to make a short statement, comprising two parts.

The first part: Yesterday, there were speeches by some comrades-they are our veterans-who raised the question of the need for a declaration to be adopted forbidding the president and the country's leadership from sending troops to the Persian Gulf. That was the approximate content, and this was not the first or the second occasion. There are many such notes and items in the press, on television, and so on.

These speeches yesterday, comrades, overfilled the cup of patience, to put it bluntly. What, after all, is happening with the Persian Gulf? On about ten occasions both within the country and outside the country's borders I have had to speak and explain the attitude and the policy of the Soviet Union toward the conflict. This policy is serious, well considered, sensible, and in accordance with all standards, present

standards, of civilized relations between states. We have friendly relations with the state of Iraq. They have been built up over years. These relations are being preserved, but we have no moral right at all to reconcile ourselves to aggression and the annexation of a small, defenseless country. In that case we would have had to strike through everything that has been done in recent years by all of us, by the whole country, and by the whole of our people in the field of asserting the principles of the new political thinking.

Second, I have been repeatedly explaining-and Mikhail Sergeyevich spoke of this in his speech at the Supreme Soviet-that the Soviet leadership does not have any plans-I do not know, maybe someone else has some plans, some group-but official bodies, the Defense Ministry-and they are now accusing the foreign minister of having such a plan, a plan to land troops in the Persian Gulf, in that region. I have been explaining and saying that there are no plans like this, they do not exist in practice. Nobody is planning to send even one serviceman in a military uniform, even one representative of the Armed Forces of the Soviet Union. This was said. But someone needed to raise this issue, this problem again. I know what is happening in the corridors of the congress.

The third issue. I said there and I confirm and state it publicly that if the interests of Soviet people are encroached upon, if just one person suffers-wherever it could happen, in any country, not just in Iraq but in any other country - yes, the Soviet Government, the Soviet side will stand up for the interests of its citizens. I think that deputies should back up, should back up the Soviet leadership in this. (applause) I would like to raise another question. Excuse me, is it all accidental? Is it an accident that two members

of the legislature made a statement saying that the Minister of Internal Affairs was removed successfully and the time has come to settle accounts with the Foreign Minister?

This statement has been circulated literally throughout the world press and in our newspapers. Are they such daredevils, these lads - I will call them that, age permits me to because they are really young, in a colonel's shoulderboards-to address such statements to a minister, to a member of the government? Look in the newspaper, I will not name a single name today. What is surprising, I believe one must think seriously about this: Who stands behind these comrades, and what sort of thing is this? Why does no one deny it and say that this is not so, that there are no such plans? Perhaps there are such plans.

In this connection permit me to say a few words about the personal worth of the man, about his personal sufferings, because many people think that the ministers who sit there or the members of the government or the president or someone else are hired, are being hired and that they can do what they like with them. I think that is impermissible. In this connection I remember the party congress. Was this really a chance phenomenon? Because at the congress a real struggle developed, a most acute struggle, between the reformers and- I will not say conservatives, I respect the conservatives because they have their own views which are acceptable to society - but the reactionaries, precisely the reactionaries. (applause) Furthermore, this battle, it must be stated bluntly, was won with merit by the progressive members, delegates, by the progressive-minded delegates to the congress. I would like to recall that it was against my will, without being consulted, that my name, I, my candidacy, was included for secret voting, and I had 800 against; 800 delegates

voted against. What then: Is this random, or on purpose? Is the Foreign Ministry's policy not good enough? Or am I personally undesirable? This is a serious matter, more than serious. I say that, all the same, this is not a random event. Excuse me, I am now going to recall the Supreme Soviet session. At Comrade Lukyanov's initiative, literally just before the start of the sitting, a serious matter was included on the agenda about the treaties with the German Democratic Republic. As it happened, I was on my travels, and they called in deputies, and people found themselves in an utterly stupid position, and the issue was a flop. I myself had to speak the following week. How did it turn out? Those same people who are now speaking as the authors came out with serious accusations against the Foreign Minister, of unilateral concessions, of incompetence, lack of skills, and so on and so forth. Not one person could be found, including the person in the chair, to reply and say simply that this was dishonorable, that this is not the way, not how things are done in civilized states. I find this deeply worrying.

Things went as far as personal insults. I endured that, too. Comrades, a hounding is taking place. I will not name the publications, all manner of publications, the Pamyat Society - I add the Pamyat Society to these publications - what expressions: Down with the Gorbachev clique! They also add Shevardnadze and several other names. Who are they, the so-called reformers? I will put it bluntly, comrades: I was shaken; I was shaken by the events of the first day, the start of the work of our congress. By the pressing of a button, the fate not only of the president but of perestroika and democratization was decided. Is that normal? Democrats, I will put it bluntly: comrade democrats, in the widest meaning of this word, you have scattered. The reformers have gone to seed. Dictatorship is coming; I state this with complete responsibility. No one knows of what kind of dictatorship this will be and who will come - what kind of dictator - and what the regime will be like.

I want to make the following statement: I am resigning. Let this be - and

do not respond, and do not curse me - let this be my contribution, if you like, my protest against the onset of dictatorship.

I express profound gratitude to Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. I am his friend. I am a fellow thinker of his. I have always supported, and will support to the end of my days, the ideas of perestroika, the ideas of renewal, the ideas of democracy, of democratiza-

tion. We have done great things in the international arena. But, I think that it is my duty, as a man, as a citizen, as a communist; I cannot reconcile myself to the events taking place in our country and to the trials awaiting our people. I nevertheless believe that the dictatorship will not succeed, that the future belongs to democracy and freedom. □

Shevardnadze Discusses Resignation Decision

by Yegor Yakovlev
"Moskovskiye Novosti"

[Eduard Shevardnadze told chief editor Yegor Yakovlev that his decision to resign was not dictated by his personal relations with Mikhail Gorbachev, nor by emotional impulse.]

"The Soviet Union's present foreign policy has yielded results: Interstate relations based on equal interests are beginning. I have tried not to deceive anyone, and others have tried not to deceive me. But eventually I realized that if the country's destabilization continues and if the democratization process stops, it will be impossible to continue this foreign policy. Events could bring a repetition of Tbilisi and Baku, in which case what kind of 'new thinking' could we talk about? Obviously we will try to further develop our relations with all other countries, but will our partners want to do the same? They will be unable to avoid public opinion in their own countries.

"I believe that unless we succeed in extricating the country from crisis, dictatorship is inevitable. What is the solution? First and foremost, the democratic forces must unite. For the sake of preserving democracy and the sovereignties now taking shape, for the sake of our joint salvation.

"Everyone is talking about the need for discipline and order. Unfortunately, in many people's minds discipline and order are associated with force. I am

not sure that direct presidential management or any other punitive sanction, no matter what its objective, can really become a tool for solving the present problems. It is very difficult to resign myself to the idea of violence, arbitrary acts, and vendettas. I wonder whether violence really could fail to have repercussions on the country's foreign policy, on the USSR's image. The course I took, namely to resign, was the simplest, perhaps the most naive but the most honest: I wanted to warn the congress of the real dangers. However, the majority of congress had different ideas.

"Three years ago, during talks with a Western leader, we received good advice on how to reduce the money supply, which is not underpinned by goods. Above all, we should have established a housing market and decisively increased interest rates on deposits. We did it too late.

"The trouble is that many of us have simply stopped working. We hold constant congresses, sessions, meetings, and plenums, instead of solving problems. This applies to everybody - the leadership, the ministers, and even the president. We are adopting laws which nobody implements. And the president is certainly now in the most difficult situation: It was he who initiated everything - who first showed great courage. He is now in great difficulty.

"If it is well known that supplies of foodstuffs have not diminished but are simply not reaching the population, and there is constant talk of speculation and sabotage, that means that we must choose deliberate rationing. Every person must know that he will get, say, his monthly 200 grams of butter. If the state does not have sufficient resources to do this right now, we

must use the credits that we have obtained from many countries. At the present people are not seeing results. There are still many who think that, the worse things get, the better it is for them. No, it is not in a dictatorship that we will find our way out, but in the creation of fundamental order within a frame-work of democracy and legality."

Asked what he intends to do in 1991, Shevardnadze replied that he would like to set up an association for foreign policy. "It is possible that solutions which we have been able to find in the past in international relations could help us resolve the inter-ethnic conflicts within our own country." □

Marshals' Dachas on the Taxpayers' Back

By Yuri Shchekochikhin

(Member of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Privileges and Benefits)

"Literaturnaya Gazeta"

On November 28th an article was published by Colonel Vladimir Sergeev entitled "Unconquerable Privileges," on abuses in the construction of dachas for the high command. The article appeared just before a meeting of the Supreme Soviet Commission on Privileges and Benefits.

At the meeting it was concluded:

- that in the Ministry of Defense, a practice of building private homes, mansions and other buildings had developed, a practice not based on law and determined arbitrarily by the decrees of the Central Committee, the Council of Ministers, and by commands (mostly secret) from the Ministry of Defense.

- that a significant amount of money was spent on these activities - often arbitrarily, above set estimates, and without control by the Council of Ministers or review by the Main Military Procurate.

- that several homes had been left for lifetime use by high-ranking officers after their retirement, and that after their death these homes were handed over to their widows and other relatives. Expensive new homes and other facilities were built for the generals who replaced them.

(In 1989, three dachas were built for the following individuals named to high-ranking positions in the Ministry of Defense: comrades V.M. Arkhipov, M.A. Moiseev, K.A. Kochetov, and still one more, for Minister of Defense D.T. Yazov. The costs for these dachas came

to 808,700 rubles, including 73,900 rubles for furniture and other items. There is reason to believe that these figures are understated. The former dacha of Marshal N.F. Shestopalov, consisting of 14 rooms, 431 sq. meters of floor space, and worth 121,800 rubles, was at first renovated, then later torn down to make room for the construction of Dacha No. 1, belonging to Minister of Defense Yazov.)

- that the extremely high outlays for the construction and equipment of the aforementioned homes came at the expense of capital improvements and renovation.

- that on the site of military hunting preserves, expensive buildings and installations intended for a narrow circle of people and shut off from use by outsiders have been built. (For the maintenance of just one such preserve, "Zavidovo", more than 1.5 million rubles per year are spent, including 327,000 rubles alone for officer and warrant officer allowances. Eleven officers and 98 warrant officers work at the preserve, as well as a guard and security battalion.

The commission resolved:

- To recognize as unsatisfactory the activities of the Council of Ministers in regulating the Ministry of Defense's construction funds and of the Main Military Procurate, in supervising the construction and exploitation of official dachas.

- To order the Committee of People's Control, in tandem with the Auditing

Directorate of the Ministry of Finance and the State Housing Bank, and with the Financial Inspectorate of the Central Financial Directorate of the Ministry of Defense, to review the financial activities of the Ministry of Defense in this area.

- To direct the Union Procurate to investigate.

COMMENTARY FROM LITERATURNAYA GAZETA

Was the question discussed at the first meeting of the new parliamentary commission too picky? After all, there are not that many marshals and those millions that are being wasted on (their) castles and palaces are just a drop in the bucket.

No, the question was not too picky.

Though representatives from the Ministry of Defense tried to lower its importance, in my view these private homes, hiding behind thick walls exemplify the system that has developed in our country, which claims to have replaced social classes but in fact has created a new class that shamelessly seizes privileges from a budget allotted for everyone.

This is why the commission's meeting evoked such interest. The subject was not the redistribution of wealth (and how many such distributions have there been in our history!); it was the system that allows one person to grab excess profits at the expense of the state, while another leads a miserable existence.

As long as this system remains, it will be silly to talk about a legal government in a legal society.

Poland: Communism Without Communists

by Teresa Bogucka
"Gazeta Swiateczna"

When this article was selected for publication in "Transitions", I briefly wondered if its publication would be timely. However, the passage of time has made Teresa Bogucka's main point more valid and more important.

Analysis of Poland's political and economic condition, and for that matter Eastern Europe in general, has tended to center on events and on quantifiable realities. The tumultuous election campaign, the coming to power of Lech Walesa, the country's abysmal foreign debt, and the other measurable devastations which nearly 45 years of communism inflicted on Poland - all these have preoccupied the analysts and prognosticators.

What is often overlooked, and what makes this article a valuable contribution to our understanding, is tremendous psychological devastation which Communism has wreaked on the minds of the people. As we in the West observe what appears on the surface to be inexplicable developments in the societies which are trying to fashion institutions of democracy and free enterprise, we must remember Bogucka's observations. Understanding the lingering psychological warp which she describes, and which is perhaps the saddest legacy of communism, will enable us to see the full dimensions of the national problems which we will want to help the Poles to solve.

Robert B. Walewski

[Robert B. Walewski is formerly the First Secretary at the Polish Embassy in Moscow. He is currently a Consultant to the Jamestown Foundation.]

Communism promised an age-old dream of utopia — an ideal society, where equality exists among all people, all have what they need, where neither poverty nor excessive wealth exists, where a lower-class social background is no impediment to the rise and development of a human being.

Communist propaganda cultivated such dreams in societies throughout Europe, but only in Eastern Europe was the experiment carried out.

The Polish experience and historic military necessity made us especially susceptible to Utopian dreaming: Poland was always either being given to us or taken away from us, organized according to the visions of others, while we Poles — we were famous for it — could only debate and deliberate on what Poland should be.

Other nations built modern institutions, worked hard and learned how to solve new problems, while our wounded history deprived us of all that. Deprived of our own statehood and the responsibility for the state, we as a nation and as a society lived in literary works.

"And we are waiting. In our consciousness or subconsciousness we expect someone to come up with a simple idea to create at last a better life for us."

And our literature dreamed. It dreamed that one day wealth would cease its arrogance and disregard for poor and simple people; that workers and farmers would live in dignity; that their children would not die in poverty and ignorance; that the rich would no longer squander their money in pleasures while poor students died of tuberculosis; that Janko's dream of a violin would become reality and that little Jas would grow up to be called Jan.

For years, we were subjected to an all-encompassing education intended to

bring about a new man with a natural desire to care for the needs of others and a willingness to work for reasons other than those which have existed for thousands of years. This new man was supposed to work not for himself but "for society," which in turn would give him everything — at least according to his or her needs.

As it is well known, it is easier to destroy than to build. Communism destroyed the natural need for work. The natural and rational link between the effort of work and the satisfaction derived thereby was replaced by a strange link between senseless torment and the unfulfilled expectation of compensation.

Now the communists are gone. Their crimes and the inefficiency of their system have been condemned, but a yearning for and a belief in paradise, and most of all the conviction that we exhausted Poles deserve some kind of earthly Eden, remains deeply within us. "It was supposed to be better but it is worse" — a phrase so often heard these days — is the best proof of how deeply rooted in us is the idea of the communist utopia. We believe in the achievement of well-being by who knows what means, but quickly and without effort, even though more fortunate countries achieved their goals only by working hard for decades!

And of course, Mr. Mazowiecki's government did not promise improvements shortly. On the contrary, the government warned that conditions would be worse for several years. But we want to hear a promise of improvement because for so many years we had lived with such a promise. And we are waiting. In our consciousness or subconsciousness we expect someone to come up with a simple idea to create at last a better life for us.

Now everything has changed. The

private sector seems to be our only chance. But former communists are engaged here too, which seems to be historically unjust. Despite the drafting of a new law aimed at controlling the cooperatives and recovering unlawful profits derived from unjust practices, voices are heard in favor of ignoring the law in favor of immediate action to strip the communists of their control. In common parlance the word "cooperative" has acquired a pejorative connotation, and to be called a partner in a cooperative sounds like an indictment.

We have not surrendered the ideal of equality. Communism was terrible but our stomachs are indeed equal, and so the right to consumption is equal too. The country's average salary attracts a great deal of emotion. Various trade associations fight for a certain percentage of it, as well as for the right to sell their low-quality products, and for benefits, subsidies and guarantees. Who is supposed to give these benefits? The state, of course. Evenly and justly.

In August, 1980, the working class at first glance was trying to implement the most idealistic dreams of the Left, to give the values of the Left new meaning. The working class was not a revolutionary force, which by fighting for its own interests served a common cause, but instead directly demanded benefits for all. Those were not masses in revolt singing revolutionary songs. They were singing religious songs, and they did not fight for power; they expected the authorities to reason.

In fact, it wasn't the "working class" but workers and intellectuals, artists, students and office employees and representatives of various enterprises and institutions that went on strike. All realized their responsibility for the country. This sense of responsibility was reflected in the true meaning of Solidarnosc (Solidarity).

Today, after ten years, not much is left of it. The working class is returning to the scene — acting out the communist fantasy in which a populace, although simple, is inspired by its instinct and reveals the true nature of the situation.

This return of the working class was evident at the Solidarity Congress, when during a discussion with

Balcerowicz some trade union's presumptive leaders (who should have a better understanding of the social-political situation) combined ignorance and demagoguery in the communist style. They shouted with almost class indignation: What have you done for Polish children?

In front of millions of TV viewers, the trade-union leaders in Gdansk showed their ignorance of Parliament's role and shouted down the Speaker, just as the political Commissars had trained their parents and grandparents to shout down their landlords. They then spoke nonsense about eliminating historical injustice to improve the situation in Poland.

And what can one say about the shipyard workers who summoned Parliamentary deputies (representatives, by the way, of all of society) to lecture them on matters that the workers themselves do not understand. The workers wagged their fingers in the

deputies' faces, to remind them and warn them that the working class has a special place in society.

There is no longer a Communist Party. But what the Party knocked into our heads still remains: the belief that the workers and peasants see better, know better, and should be paid more attention than teachers, merchants or economists.

In fact attention should be paid to all. Democracy provides for equal treatment for the voice of a worker and the voice of a stalker. The belief that workers and peasants have more right than other Poles to decide the fate of Poland, is nothing but the acceptance of the communist myth without the communists. So too is the belief in miraculous formulas for progress and well-being; or the belief that well-being is given and not earned; or the vision of the state as the distributor of goods and the guardian of equality. □

Reform: Czech? Slovak? Czechoslovak?

by Marek Boguzsak
"Lidove Noviny"

Will the demise of communism in Eastern Europe bring about the final victory of democracy and the free market, or will the region fail once again in its attempt to catch up with the more advanced West? The answer to this question is much more complicated than was originally supposed.

There is no doubt that the countries of the former Soviet bloc have a better chance than ever to gradually become full-fledged members of the Western community. The communist and socialist ideas that had such a strong influence in the region have been discredited. Successful democracy and a free market in the West offer a ready model for imitation. Eastern and Western enthusiasm for Europe becoming "one and free" has never been greater. Western economic and intellectual resources available for help, while short of East European demands, are nevertheless substantial.

Yet recent developments also reveal that there are formidable obstacles that must be

overcome during this process.

The revival of aggressive and intolerant nationalism, for example, is much more readily recognized as potentially fatal to democratic reforms by observers in the West than by its advocates in the East. Neither will it be as easy to overcome the communist legacy in the region. There is a tendency now, both in the East and the West, to look at communism as an "unnatural" aberration which is inherently foreign to human nature. If everything were so simple, the damage it has inflicted upon the societies, economies, politics and psychology of the countries under its control could be repaired relatively easily. The removal of ossified communism would be enough for the "natural" state of affairs to assert itself quickly in every aspect of life. Attempts to reintroduce any of these ideas even in different forms, would be easily recognized and repudiated.

Things are not so simple, however. People

in all the countries of the former Soviet bloc have repudiated their communist past. Yet the yearning to rebuild their new identity on the Western model, and their ability to assume the burdens inherent in Western freedoms, are not necessarily one and the same thing.

This problem is especially important in multinational states as, for example, the Czech and Slovak Federal Republic. Not surprisingly, different nationalities such as the Czechs and Slovaks, express significantly different reactions to political and economic reforms in their counties. This is well illustrated in the following article from "Lidove Noviny." Although such differences result mostly from the disparate historical experience of these nationalities, they will seriously complicate their attempts to radically re-organize their future.

The answer to the question as to whether the East will successfully restructure itself depends on the adoption of new value systems by the main political forces and people there. The closer those values and concomitant motivations resemble those of the West, the greater will be the chance that, despite Kipling's prediction to the contrary, the East and the West will meet one day.

Milan Svec

[Formerly the Deputy Ambassador and Charge D'Affairs of the Czechoslovakian Embassy in Washington, D.C., Dr. Svec is currently a Jennings Randolph Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace and a Consultant to the Jamestown Foundation.]

The clarifying of the federative relationship between the national republics has acutely complicated the social and economic transformation of our society. The key terms: national interest, national identity, authentic federation. What is at stake is the range and effectiveness of economic reform. The negative social consequences that reform will bring will be more evident in Slovakia.

We now hear some political representatives explicitly suggesting that Slovakia needs "softer" reform. Consider the poll conducted by the Association of Independent Social Analysis, which explores whether the differences between Czech and Slovak popular opinion are big enough to require different approaches to reform in each national republic. The answer is yes.

These differences were already evident before the parliamentary elections, and many were deepened during the summer and fall.

During the last year, the Slovak public has been far less satisfied than the Czechs with political developments, has shown less trust in political institutions and political representatives and less interest in politics. Slovak citizens do not consider economic reform as important as Czechs do—or as inevitable, or as right. For Slovaks the number one task is the solution of the social consequences of such reform.

In both republics, great majorities expect that economic reform will lead to unemployment and a significant

"The collapse of Slovak reform would be the collapse of Czechoslovak reform."

lowering of the standard of living. The difference lies in how these expected results are evaluated and how people think they should be dealt with. Agreement with privatization and price liberalization is much lower in Slovakia than in Bohemia and Moravia. Slovaks stress social equality more, and are more opposed to the principle of rewarding according to merit and to the possibility that some people could get rich (although to get rich is a personal priority more often in Slovakia than in Bohemia or Moravia).

Bohemia and Moravia stress an active orientation towards education, labor, efficiency and competence. Slovakia more often prefers a defensive life strategy, oriented towards thriftiness, modesty, conformity and self-sufficiency. Typical for the Slovak, but not the Czech, is the belief that the state should take responsibility for decent standards of living, employment, and stable income regardless of efficiency.

Slovak citizens are not as willing to take responsibility for their own lives or to economize in order to support reform. Slovaks give pollsters a higher

figure than Czechs for the minimum income with which it is still possible to live; in fact, that figure is in their view even higher than their average income today. Slovaks thus believe that they have no reserves for lowering the standard of living. In general, Bohemia and Moravia agree on a liberal concept of economics, while Slovakia is orientated towards an economy with socialist elements. This is reflected in the Slovaks' greater willingness to use forcible means, including strikes, to reach their demands.

Social conflicts will probably come sooner and reach greater intensity in Slovakia than in Bohemia or Moravia. Pressures to slow or stop reforms, or to drain financial reserves prematurely in order to relieve social tensions will be high. These problems will aggravate relationships between the two national republics, or between the Slovak republic and the federation.

As we try to solve these problems, we should keep three principles in mind. First, the majority of citizens agree that economic reform is the only way to prevent our economy from total collapse. There is no realistic alternative. Second, if the reform has to comply with all the attitudes of the public about negative social consequences, there will be no reform. In Slovakia, for example, such compliance would require that the average standard of living not only must not fall, but must actually rise; this is clearly impossible. Third, if Czechoslovakia is to remain a single state, it is inconceivable that completely different rules should prevail in each of the two national republics, with one accepting a significantly sharper social crisis than the other. The tension caused by such an extreme contrast would lead directly to a dissolution of the state.

We must not fear to identify this problem openly, but think about it and discuss it from the very beginning. The key decision-makers, especially the Civic Forum and VPN, must reach an agreement on the intensity and character of the reform, even at the eleventh hour. The collapse of Slovak reform would be the collapse of Czechoslovak reform.

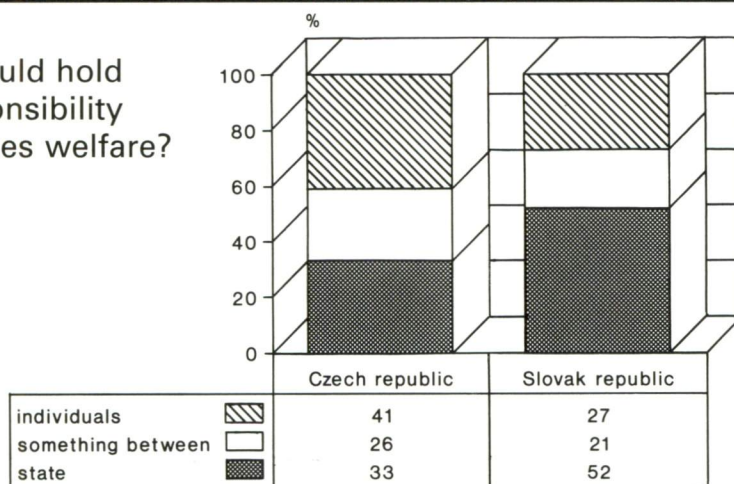
There should be no doubts about the importance of re-distribution of financial resources in Slovakia. Such re-

distribution is necessary for maintaining the speed and extent of reform in all of Czechoslovakia, and the public in both republics should know that. □

Differences in the attitudes of Czech and Slovak public, in percentage; source: Association of Independent Social Analysis - a survey "The value orientation of Czechoslovaks" (October, 1990) and "Czechoslovakia - November, 1990."

	CR	SR
Satisfaction with the political development in the past year	47	33
Confidence in European partnership	72	54
Evaluation of one's own situation as a happy one	73	52
Importance of education and qualification	43	28
Importance of having no conflicts	38	57
Economic reform as a wrong economic development	23	48
Economic reform as a prevention of economic collapse	75	57
Economic reform as a carrier of social injustice	52	71
Reform as a means of maintaining the standard of living	40	58
Need to expand private ownership of businesses and factories	66	42
Individual endeavor and performance should be rewarded	87	63
State should be responsible for people's welfare	34	52
Competition is positive, leads to hard work and new ideas	88	74
Readiness for a strike because of a price increase	41	59
Readiness for a strike if the employer threatens to close up	27	37
Fear of failure of the economic reform	26	42
Fear that the reform will enable some people to get rich	57	67

Who should hold the responsibility for peoples welfare?



at least in large part, by the banks and governments in the West, it will be extremely difficult for Poland to attain the economic level necessary to enter the European Community. There is precedent for this in the case of post-war Germany, which had about 60% of its external debt forgiven.

Poland has accepted the sacrifices and the social costs of transition to a market economy but, except for privatization, not too much more can be done in the near term. When one looks at the overall situation in Central and Eastern Europe, a further sobering factor is the possibility of upheavals in reaction to the necessary pain of transition.

Tadeusz Kucharski

[A former Polish Commercial Attache in Angola, Mr. Kucharski was an economist and trade negotiator with particular expertise in the Third World. He is a Consultant to the Jamestown Foundation.]

We are the fifth country to start the transition towards a new market economy—after Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland, and East Germany. So far, none of these countries has been very successful at "rafting" the white water of this passageway.

The idea of coordinated progress among these post-communist countries is inspired by the similarity of their economic and social problems. Help should be distributed equally to ensure that the civilized world will be open immediately and to everybody, rather than gradually and only to a select few.

ROMANTIC DREAMS

There have been several attempts to reach agreement on united progress, but without any tangible outcome. Paradoxically, the most promising has appeared to be the Warsaw Pact. Because of its violent past, it commands some respect both among the participating countries and those of NATO. Both East and West are interested in pacifying this "toy" of Soviet marshals.

(But instead) the post-communist countries are moving toward disintegration of economic partnerships, recently, for example, because of oil. We are united only by ballast and evils. Despite the strong political desire for cooperation, in practice it is failing. The closed border with Poland, for example,

Varieties of Maturation

by Ivan Gabal
"Respekt"

The article is an attempt to mobilize public opinion in Czechoslovakia in favor of an ambitious, independent economic drive toward obtaining competitive, equal status in the Europe of the future. As the author recognizes, Czechoslovakia's attempts to introduce a market economy have so far been far more timid and in a more preliminary stage than in either Hungary or

Poland. Nevertheless, the goals advocated in this article are probably more realistic in the cases of Czechoslovakia and Hungary, than in Poland.

The devastation of the Polish economy during the last 40 years makes it impossible for Poland to catch up with the developed world without a lot of help. Unless the very substantial Polish foreign debt is forgiven,

pits our international against our economic policies. As soon as any of our countries has a chance to gain an advantage over the others, it does so without hesitation. Most likely, mutual solidarity in this transitory stage belongs among romantic revolutionary dreams. Even the generally felt "moral claim" will not serve: that we unburdened the world of communist danger, managed to do it ourselves, paid for it with forty years of our lives and therefore deserve support from the luckier developed countries which explicitly consented to the division of Europe.

DIFFERENCES AND CONTRASTS

The former socialist countries are in different phases of transition. Prefabricated housing estates look the same in Prague and in Ulan Bator, but totalitarian socialism was practiced differently.

Hungary introduced post-communist economics first, less than fifteen years after its armed revolt. Hungary has had a rather developed private sector, which has never been renounced. The press in Hungary has always been less submissive than in other countries.

Poland never accepted socialism as its own and openly fought against communist power for a long time. Shootings of workers, martial law, and near-total economic and societal collapse led Poles to great resistance. Polish citizens have no economic illusions. They have experienced inflation, unemployment, poverty. They know that nothing is free, that one has to carry one's load without the help of an impoverished state.

Different varieties of totalitarian socialism brought forth different types of liberation. The distance between the Czechoslovakian "Velvet Revolution" and the tanks in Bucharest is as great as the distance between the parliamentary victory of the Civic Forum in June and the victory of the communists in Bulgaria. The speed at which the Civic Forum managed to take power is in sharp contrast with the failure of the Neues Forum in East Germany. Without a dissident past or political experience comparable to that of Charter 77, the Neues Forum was not ready to take and execute power and thus save the executive structure from a collapse

which had this sole result: the hasty unification of Germany "at any cost."

In Poland, the arctic economic phase is almost over. Do we have the right to demand that Poland wait for us while we carefully test if the water in our necessary bath is not too cold? Do we have the right to ask Hungary to sell us medicine, which they can otherwise sell for convertible currency? Can we require that East Germany continue business with us under former agreements, with payment in rubles? Can we face the pressure from the USSR, supported by reproaches for past discounts on oil, only with political appeals and without being tougher ourselves and presenting the bill for our uranium?

If we really want a free market we cannot demand further political intervention in international economic competition. Let us rely only on our own ability, adroitness, and convertibility. Europe wants to unite, in order

to catch up with the elusive New World. United Europe will certainly not serve as an institution in which the advanced take care of the disadvantaged. We want to join the advanced countries, and we say so in a loud voice; we expect tough treatment as an indication that our spoken wish is considered real. We count on ruthless competition as an important driving force of growth. Help may come, but not as an expression of pity—and most likely after we take the first steps.

After all, those steps are to our own advantage. The collapse of East Germany under the downpour of unselfish brotherly help, the instant loss of the value of everything that had been accomplished by East Germans, shows that external help received without one's own merit brings the instant clinical death of both economy and society. It is hard to estimate our own chances but we have a unique opportunity to seek maturity. □

Parting With the Past

by Petr Janyska
"Respekt"

The Finance Minister is perhaps the most controversial politician in Czechoslovakia today. An outstanding economist, Vaclav Klaus has been the leading proponent of the transition to a market economy. He enchanted many with his bold ideas, while frightening the general public with the specter of unemployment, rising prices and a lowering of the standard of living. He alienated others with his abrasive style and tactlessness which did not spare even President Vaclav Havel. Last December, the polls showed him to be the least trusted politician of Czechoslovakia.

Klaus' latest efforts have focused on transforming the Civic Forum (the loose organization of various opposition groups which toppled the Jakes regime in 1989) into a disciplined political organization. He believes that the Civic Forum should become a political party with a clearly defined program and with individual membership and responsibility. Opponents claim that this will be a right-wing party

which will represent Klaus' own views and the views of the like-minded, market-oriented politicians, thereby acting as an instrument for putting through the corresponding legislation in the Parliament.

Michael Lenker

[Dr. Lenker is a former Czechoslovakian intelligence officer who, since settling in the United States in 1970 has specialized in Middle East studies. He is currently the Director of the University of Pennsylvania Language Center.]

The following are excerpts from an interview with Vaclav Klaus, Czechoslovakian Federal Finance Minister and Chairman of the Civic Forum.

Q: Recently, you were elected chairman of the Civic Forum. What kind of organization, what kind of movement are you actually leading?

A: The Civic Forum, over the past year, has been defined in a rather nega-



Vaclav Havel reads out the names of Czechoslovakia's first non-communist Government since 1948. (AP/Wide World Photos)

tive way, that is, as against something. The need for a positive orientation has become evident and should be stressed, that is, it should be for something. The Civic Forum will be different than it has been. The Czechoslovakian political spectrum remains foggy, shapeless. Parties, which according to their names should adhere either to the right or to the left, sometimes behave quite differently; this makes it difficult to define the spectrum.

Q: What role should the Civic Forum and especially its chairman assume?

A: All our political organizations still play rather drab roles. All are being transformed, looking for support, celebrities to assume leadership positions and to attract voters. Compared to other parties, I think, the Civic Forum is able to do so, and I think I am able to do so.

Q: Following your election as Chair-

man, you said that you are a symbol of the unwritten program. How should that program look? As far as I know, the Civic Forum already has one.

A: During the elections in June, there was a feeling among the voters that the difference between the programs of contending parties were marginal. Everybody was for a pluralistic democracy, a return to Europe, economic reform, and a fight against air pollution.

If the Civic Forum wants to retain its political power, it cannot remain in its current width and amorphousness; it has to be clarified, illuminated.

Q: The Civic Forum council recently discussed the Marxist Left Alternative, and the '68 movement Obroda. Will it have any personal consequences?

A: We reached the conclusion that it is undesirable for the Civic Forum to be associated with the views of the representatives of the Left Alternative and

Obroda. This is a political stand, and because the Forum has no deeper organizational structures and no membership cards, there are no personal consequences.

Q: The Civic Forum is today, as far as the inner structure is concerned, a kind of a hybrid. Do you think that the Civic Forum should assume the formal appearance of a political party?

A: Definitely. I think that in the future it will become a party of a democratic type. It will decidedly transform from a movement into a party, but it is hard to say when. It will most likely be organized as some central entity on the one hand, and then, without any intermediaries, regional structures on the other.

Q: Who would decide about politics in such a party, and who would execute those decisions?

A: We have a coordination center,

and there is no need to change names. There will be a major change: a significant departure from attempts to influence everyday politics, and a shift towards a global, conceptual activity.

Q: The Civic Forum did not originate as a classical party, but as an all-civilian power, which was supposed to destroy the old regime and rebuild it. During this delicate birth-giving it had to control the government and the parliament. Have we reached that quiet period yet, in which it can play the role of a classical party?

A: Definitely, it has to be directed that way. It could always assume the negativistic role, but now something else is needed.

Q: Both the Communist and Christian Parties in Czechoslovakia are federal structures comprised of Czechs and Slovaks. So far, the Civic Forum has been exclusively Czech. What, if any, relationship will it have with Slovakia?

A: This question is a bit premature; at this point we can only guess. We have very positive contacts with VPN (Verejnost Proti Nasiliu - Public Against Violence, the Slovak counterpart to the Civic Forum), but to say whether a formal cooperation will take place is impossible to determine. But it is possible to consider it.

BOTH CHAIRMAN AND MINISTER

Q: Many people understood your election as significant support to radical reform, which is connected with your name. Will it help you to achieve everything that you want to in the economy?

A: It has never occurred to me that reform was not possible. Rather than an ideological struggle for reform, I see a problem in balancing each step, avoiding mistakes. There are not many varieties of anti-reform. None are viable alternatives. It is possible to argue whether the devaluation should be 54% or 59%, but it is obvious that it is impossible to remain in a kind of non-system, which has no rules or direction.

Q: Are you hinting at gradual communist reforms, which were experienced by Poles and Hungarians?

A: I have something far worse in mind. The Polish decade and Hungarian score were lengthy periods of

struggle having neither political, nor external easement. They did not have the immediate and complete openness as Czechoslovakia has today. In our situation the result would be catastrophic.

Q: Are you planning to retain both positions of Finance Minister and the Civic Forum chairman? In the government you are subordinate to the premier and his deputy chairman, while as the chairman of the Civic Forum you decide, what direction the society will take.

A: Generally that is certainly true, but neither I, nor, as far as I can tell, my colleagues feel that way. An immense multitude of goals stands before the government today, each having many dimensions. Political dimension is only one of them. What dominates are the expert, professional issues, for example how to determine the level of devaluation.

Q: The questions of interest rates and inflation, especially who controls them, are very serious ones, in the U.S. the government is collapsing because of these issues. It could happen, that your opinion on some financial and economic issues will differ from that of the Premier.

A: I think that the government should be in charge of such issues and that free elections is still the way to do it.

Q: The reform will most likely cause great social shocks. The afflicted will certainly be against it, and therefore also against the man with whom it is identified, that is, against you. You will need a political power, which would unanimously and with all its might support you.

A: Definitely. There is no dispute about the fact that if one is committed to reform, one also needs political support. One perceives the support as either sufficient, or not. If not, one attempts to get more. This endeavor of mine, quite contrary to expectations, has brought all the support that I receive now.

CHEAP ANTI-COMMUNISM AND JUSTICE

Q: How do you view the Communist Party today, and what should the

attitude of the Civic Forum be?

A: In connection with the call for a third resistance, I fear cheap anti-communism. I have never been a member of the Communist Party, my life philosophy has always been different. Everything is far more complicated, there is no litmus test which would divide good and evil as communists and non-communists. This is a simplified view, which has its across-the-board truth, but if applied blindly, it leads nowhere.

Q: But many people, thanks to the Communist Party, spent ten or twelve years in prison, although quite innocent. How about that?

A: Let us distinguish between the greatest possible compensation of people wronged by communism and a black and white viewing of the world. These are two different things. To compensate for fifteen or twenty years in prison is impossible, there is no way. Neither revenge, nor personal pension will do.

Q: There is something like a communist way of thinking. An immense number of people were infected by it. Today, it appears to be stupid, backward, unnecessary. What is to be done with it when we want to create a new society? If the way should be different, new people are needed.

A: I consider communism to be one of the offshoots of a certain approach, a certain life philosophy, which in this century affected all of Europe. With the destruction of communism, this way of thinking does not disappear and I think it dangerous to equate it, the way some people do it, with communism.

Q: The Communist Party presented a tool of power, rather than a philosophical approach. It was a very complicated tool. How do you look at it today? Is it still dangerous? What stand should the Civic Forum take? To attack it, or let it be?

A: I hope I am right and the reality will not be the opposite. Today, I would not slander the Communist Party any more. This obviously does not mean that all the evil of the past should not be annihilated. Or that those who suffered should not get the best possible compensation. But there are many other problems and forms of evil in front of us than just the Communist Party. □

Cuba: The Dawning of Reality

By Luis Negrete

Toward the end of December 1990, *Granma*, the official organ of the Communist Party of Cuba, announced the signing of the Commercial Agreement for the year 1991 between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cuba, after more than six months of negotiations. The Cuban Ambassador to the Soviet Union, Mr. Jose Ramon Balaguer Cabrera, said in a Moscow press conference "that the signed agreement was fair and advantageous for both parties."

Apparently, neither the Soviets nor the Cubans have any intention of making known the total value of the arrangement, nor the kind nor quantity of the goods to be traded during the year 1991. However we can make certain inferences based upon what is known about past and present economic relations between the two countries, and about their current economic and political condition. In addition, clues are provided by information supplied by the Cuban government in the form of its own internal statistics, in *Granma* in foreign radio broadcasts, and in Mr. Castro's speeches.

It would appear that in 1991 the Soviets will continue to subsidize Cuba by paying over 40 cents per pound for sugar cane, more than four times the price in the international market. On the other hand, the Soviets will force Cuba to more fully comply with their obligations to the USSR, and will compel Castro to begin repaying the 22 billion dollars which Cuba owes to the Soviet Union.

Most importantly, there are indications that in 1991 the Soviets will reduce their exports to Cuba by 34%, from the \$5.2 billion which those exports have averaged over the past five years. The reductions should take the following forms:

Oil - During the period 1985-1989, the Soviet Union sent a yearly average of 13.6 million tons of oil to Cuba. In

1990, Soviet oil exports to Cuba fell 27% short of the customary supply. In 1991 the Soviets are faced with severe production problems, increased transportation costs, and a need for hard currency (which Cuba can't supply), which should result in a further 30% cutback of deliveries to Cuba - down to a total of about 9.5 million tons.

Foodstuffs - For the past five years, the USSR has exported to Cuba foodstuffs of an annual average value of \$300 million. This has consisted of wheat, lard, powdered milk, canned meat, beans, corn, rice, animal feed, and other products. The notorious food shortage in the Soviet Union is bound to force a reduction in the supply of such products to Cuba.

Transportation Equipment - The loss of so much Soviet oil in 1990 forced the regime in Havana to establish a group of austerity measures, and to declare that the Republic of Cuba was in a "special period in time of peace." Fuel shortages have reduced Cuban needs for automotive transportation equipment by, according to the Commercial Agreement, about 200 million dollars.

Investment, Technical Assistance, and Durable Goods - 1990 marked a considerable reduction in Soviet assisted development plans in Cuba. It would appear that no new projects will begin in 1991, although some funds may flow to ongoing projects. According to the Cuban government itself, all Soviet technical assistance projects have been completed. Together, these two items may account for \$400 million which seems to have been left out of the new Commercial Agreement. In addition, for production and quality-control reasons, it seems likely that Soviet shipments of washing machines, phonographs, color-television components, and other manufactured goods may be greatly reduced in 1991.

Clearly, the changes in Soviet/Cuban economic and trade relations are both wide and deep. But they don't necessarily lead to the conclusion that Cuba's strategic importance to the Soviet Union has diminished. On the contrary, the USSR's loss of Eastern Europe has made Cuba militarily and politically more important to the Kremlin than ever before. The repair base for nuclear submarines in the Province of Cienfuegos, and the facilities for electronic espionage and communication stationed in the two most western provinces of the island, for example, have acquired new significance. So, to the extent that its means permit, the USSR will do whatever it can to ensure the presence of a cooperative regime in Havana.

The same changes in Eastern Europe which magnify Cuba's importance to the Soviet Union, at the same time impose additional economic hardships on Castro. No longer can he count on exports and other forms of assistance from his former European allies.

To cope with these difficulties, Castro has adopted a two-pronged strategy:

- To increase trade and economic ties with China, North Korea, and Brazil; and to explore the possible formation of a Latin American trade bloc.

- To support the creation of joint ventures between the Cuban state and foreign private enterprise. Spanish, Canadian, and Australian companies are already developing hotels and tourist centers in Cuba. Recently, Castro announced that he had offered a French oil exploration firm a contract to join with the Cuban government in a search for oil on the island. The Spanish are actively interested in helping Castro build his automotive industry.

Castro, notwithstanding his Marxist principles, is trying to attract new foreign investment by offering a range of economic and political guarantees.

Ownership by Cuban citizens, however, continues to be prohibited. He is thus attempting to create a bizarre mixture of socialism and capitalism, wherein the ownership of property is the province of the Cuban state and foreign capitalists, while the island's 10.3 million Cubans remain workers.

Recently, Castro said "Yes, now we are going to build socialism!" Although his program is understandable in view of Cuba's desperate need for foreign capital, it is hardly what Mr. Marx would have prescribed. □

[The former Vice Minister of Industry under Castro, Luis Negrete is a Consultant to the Jamestown Foundation.]



Nicaragua: The FSLN vs. The National Interest

By Rafael Solis Cerda
"Barricada"

As the cold war heats up in Central America, double-talk and double-think are once again becoming the propaganda ploys of the left. One notable exception with respect to Nicaraguan domestic affairs appeared in, of all publications, the Sandinistas' own party organ, "Barricada."

Rafael Solis Cerda, a prominent Sandinista military and political leader, who was the first Sandinista [FSLN] ambassador to the United States, reprimanded his fellow Sandinistas in December for following a partisan policy when what the country needs at this time is the reconciliation and cooperation President Violeta Chamorro has tried to achieve. He accuses his own party, of which he has been a member since 1975, of duplicity, of not abiding by the letter or spirit of agreements reached with the government and the Nicaraguan people.

After saying that the Sandinistas should give critical support to the government's reform efforts, he concludes that the FSLN needs to seriously discuss its own future, to decide whether the ideas that guided the movement in the past are still valid, or if,

"as many Sandinistas believe," fundamental changes are now necessary.

Other critical long-standing issues not confronted directly in Solis' article, but which have emerged starkly in 1991, are:

The reality of two parallel powers in Nicaragua: the political government headed by elected president Chamorro and a military regime, consisting of the Sandinista People's Army [EPS], the police, and state security forces, under Humberto Ortega, brother of the ex-president Daniel Ortega.

Not only does this Ortega regime have the power of the guns at home, it continues to be involved in supporting insurgencies abroad, most importantly in El Salvador, as it has done with defense department participation - and Soviet and Cuban support - since 1979. In January 1991 the EPS admitted that last October four on duty and retired officers, working with 11 Salvadorans, sent 28 ground-to-air missiles of Soviet manufacture to the FMLN guerrillas, many of which have already been used in the Salvadoran war. The communique denied that top EPS officials - particularly Ortega - had authorized the transfer.

But it is absurd to suggest that missiles could be taken without at least a nod from Ortega - unless one wishes to argue his criminal incompetence - or that the EPS needs to count the missiles in its possession, as was professed necessary after the incident. Sandinista leaders have always kept very close track of these weapons; only the Chamorro government is in the dark about them. If a count is taken it should be as the missiles are destroyed or returned to the Soviets who sent them in the first place.

An EPS communique on 4 January condemned "arbitrary" supplying of the FMLN, "regardless of how just its struggle may be considered to be," pledged support for "peace and stability so necessary for re-activating the economy" - just what Solis noted it has not been giving - and insisted on the need to "strengthen discipline, professionalism and the integrity of our military institution," which is a lie since the whole purpose of maintaining Sandinista control of the military is to keep it partisan.

Even President Chamorro's talk of appointing a civilian defense minister dodges the problem. Traditionally, defense ministers in Central America have had little power, but this is particularly so in Nicaragua today because of the "Law of Military Organization of the EPS," which was decreed by Daniel Ortega in December 1989, before the Sandinistas left office, but not announced until September 1990. This law puts control of the army today, and any shifts in military personnel, and thus future control, in the hands of the Sandinista controlled military itself. The defense minister is a virtual non-entity.

The only at least partial answer to all these problems, those noted by Solis and the others, is the removal of Ortega and other top Sandinista leaders now in the Chamorro government. This should have been done at Chamorro's inauguration when international attention was focused on the Sandinistas and the Jimmy Carters of the world were praising the FSLN for its conversion to democracy. This purge of Sandinistas would mean the real professionalization of the military and its reduction to a police force.

Chamorro retained Ortega in her government of reconciliation last April in an effort to avoid a nasty showdown with the Sandinistas when she took office. The unintended but predictable result, which has split her opposition alliance, was to guarantee a parallel power base for the

Sandinistas which enabled them to largely thwart the domestic and international policies of her government, as noted with considerable frankness by Solis.

William Ratliff

[William Ratliff is a Senior Research Fellow at the Hoover Institution, Stanford University.]

It is undeniable that, despite the criticism they have received, the transition agreements represent a big step toward a new phase for this agitated country, a step that could lead to true national reconciliation.

The "honeymoon," however, did not last long. The Sandinist National Liberation Front [FSLN] took advantage of government errors and pressured by, or at least tolerant of, the FNT [National Worker's Front], embarked on the July riots which, in my opinion, had a negative effect not only on the country, but also on Sandinism. The only positive consequence the riots possibly had was that the search for an agreement was intensified and the government publicly committed itself to that search as of that moment, especially since the agreement is limited to economic and social aspects.

The FSLN made another mistake by reacting the way it did to the government's call for an agreement, by refusing to participate in the agreement unless it met conditions which were suitable for the Sandinists, but not for the agreement itself or for the country.

The government also made a mistake by yielding to the demands of the FSLN, thus turning it into the only interlocutor that could give legitimacy to whatever agreement could come out of the dialogue, and the government did this without asking for anything in return except the FSLN's participation in the dialogue and the probable signing of the agreements.

What is good for the FSLN is not necessarily good for the country.

The government's original economic plans lost their character, the economic adjustment plan crumbled, the ambition to check inflation collapsed, and in the end the FSLN secured its main objectives, especially the creation of agrarian commissions; the locking of public employees into their jobs; the

suspension, for practical purposes, of decree 11-90 and the program of returning property; an ambiguous definition of privatization; and the ratification of everything done by the previous government up to 25 February 1990.

Logically and as expected, the private sector did not sign these agreements. It could not stab itself in the back and could not bless the beginning of a "shared government" which would not take its interests into consideration.

A broad UNO [National Opposition Union] sector did not support the agreement. This, plus the accumulated dissatisfaction of the resistance, plus the covert and open support of the Catholic Church, produced the "mayores' revolt," the results of which we all know.

In my opinion, a "shared government" does not necessarily have to be bad and should not be disavowed by the Sandinists. Instead, we should publicly support it and clearly explain it.

We are not talking about sharing responsibilities with the government at the level of ministries or directorates of autonomous agencies. We are not talking about a "secret pact" or a new "deal." We are not talking about viewing these agreements as being mutually beneficial for the two sides to

"What is good for the FSLN is not necessarily good for the country."

the detriment of the country. It is not a matter of sharing a piece of the pie, watching to see which is the best piece, and fighting over who gets that piece.

It is a matter of being serious - especially for the FSLN - once and for all. It is a matter of responsibility and firmly accepting that we are going to abide by the agreements we signed, and better yet, by the spirit of these agreements.

For the FSLN, it is a matter of putting aside a double standard and of realizing that "what is good for the goose is good for the gander."

We cannot just take what is worthwhile to us from these agreements or

interpret them to our advantage. We cannot say that what was meant in the agreements is something truly different from what was said in them.

We cannot keep making demands on the government without making demands of ourselves, our rank and file, our labor sectors, the FNT and, specifically, the ATC [Farm Workers Association] and the CST [Sandinist Workers Federation].

The workers have to be told that during the critical times we are going through, the only option left to all of us - especially the workers, but all Nicaraguans without distinction - is to support this government in its efforts to rebuild the economy. It will do no good to hand the workers land or enterprises if there are no financial resources or materials with which to work.

The workers must also be told that if the government collapses, the FSLN is not going to be a viable option, because at this time it has no possibility of being an option, much less on short notice. The option would be those who you all know, or a civil war would once again become generalized throughout the country.

We are not saying that the FSLN is to become the "pro-government party" or that it is to renounce the principles it has brandished all this time. What we are saying is that the FSLN should basically assume its responsibilities toward the country and support the government in its main aspects, even though the FSLN may work in the opposition, criticize, and express its own ideas on all topics with which it does not agree.

Another thing, discussion of our own political future is barely starting, and in due course we will need to decide whether the positions held in 1979 are still valid, or if this is the time, as many Sandinists believe, to make in-depth changes to the party, bury old beliefs, seek new social and economic models, and be more in touch with the changes taking place around the world.

In this poor country, it will be our children, not only the sons of the bourgeois but also the sons of the proletarians, who will hold the Sandinists accountable in the future for its current behavior. □

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE: The principal objective of the Jamestown Foundation is improved Western understanding of the Soviet Union and its allies. The foundation's unique means to this end is the knowledge and insight of people who once occupied high positions in communist countries. The foundation seeks to disseminate their knowledge to the widest possible audience - to policy makers, to the media, and to the general public.

The historic upheavals in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have created widespread uncertainty. It is increasingly apparent that neither the rulers of the East, nor the governments of the West can be confident that they understand the implications of events which unsettle their respective conventional wisdom. Given the enormity of the stakes involved, it is imperative that policy makers, as they approach the decisions which lie ahead, have available to them the best possible information and analysis. We cannot afford gaps between perception and reality. It is to the closing of such gaps that the Jamestown Foundation is dedicated.

RESOURCES: The basic resources of the Jamestown Foundation are people who at one time were leading figures in communist countries, but who now live in asylum in the United States. In their countries of origin, they were ambassadors and other high-ranking members of government, intellectuals, intelligence officials and military officers. They come from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Ethiopia. What they have in common is high level experience abroad, and the ability and desire to share their knowledge with decision makers in the West.

In recent years, people of remarkable talent, education, and experience have made this transition from East to West, and have become associated with the Jamestown Foundation. The current relaxation of controls in the East gives them access to printed and other materials which were hitherto unavailable in the West. Thus the opportunity for meaningful research and realistic analysis is unprecedented.

There is no government program which enables such people to make their voices heard in their adopted country. It is therefore left to the private sector, and specifically to the Jamestown Foundation, to ensure that the wisdom of these unique individuals - who forsook the comfort of prominence and power in the East for the uncertainties of freedom - is not lost.

PROGRAMS: In order to achieve its overall educational goals, the Jamestown Foundation supports a number of programs including communications, publications, public policy fora, fellowships, resettlement, and career placement.

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Transitions™

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The political storm sweeping the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe forces all of us to face and to answer new questions - questions which, scarcely a year ago, hadn't even occurred to the wisest among us.

As our policy makers and the American public try to formulate perspectives on the historic transitions taking place, there is no dearth of opinions competing for primacy. The international media, entranced by the perambulations of Mikhail Gorbachev, are a cornucopia of advice. They drench us with the views of assorted journalists, of representatives of governments and political parties, and of those who differ with those governments and parties.

To those trying to distinguish between the ephemeral and real - Congressmen voting on national security issues, businessmen considering new ventures, or simply conscientious laymen seeking understanding - it is imperative to find authoritative sources which, ignoring the cacophony, can illuminate what is really happening in the Soviet bloc.

As our contribution toward such understanding, the Jamestown Foundation offers the periodical "Transitions". We distribute "Transitions" to hundreds of leading policy makers in both the Executive and Legislative branches of the federal government. It is also sent to the members of the Jamestown Foundation as a membership benefit.

"Transitions" is unique because it draws together and combines two unusual resources:

1. The availability through the Jamestown Foundation of the thinking of individuals who once occupied high positions in communist countries, who as individuals made the transition from communism to freedom, and who now live and teach in the United States.

2. The availability under glasnost of the writings of people who live in, and are experiencing in their countries, the throes of putative transitions from communism to democracy and free enterprise. Heretofore, these writings have been unknown in the West because there has been no organized effort to translate them and place them in context.

"Transitions" therefore consists of original articles written by Jamestown colleagues, plus articles from foreign sources which have been selected, translated, and commented upon, by Jamestown colleagues.

"Transitions" will not editorialize. It will not offer a world view. It will simply present pieces of the grand puzzle which the reader will not find elsewhere. And if in the aggregate, these pieces enable the reader to discover important realities below the surface of conventional media coverage, we will have succeeded in our mission - and, in the phrase of the day, will have created a few points of light.

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Gorbachev's Tilt Toward Saddam

By Lawrence A. Uzzell

WHAT turned Mikhail Gorbachev from apparent pillar of the new world order into would-be rescuer of Saddam Hussein? The Soviet leader's behavior in the Persian Gulf war should provoke Western believers in a "good Gorbachev" to reconsider their basic premises.

Though seeming inconsistent, Gorbachev's Gulf actions may have been part of a single strategy. That is the view of Evgueni Novikov, an expert on Soviet-Iraqi relations. He thinks this strategy included the Leninist tactic of saying one thing while doing another: in this case, proclaiming support of US policy in forums such as the UN while continuing to help Iraq behind the scenes.

Novikov's expertise is hard-won: He advised the Central Committee of the Soviet Communist Party on Middle East affairs for two decades before defecting to the West in 1988. He now serves as a consultant to the Jamestown Foundation

and visiting professor at the Naval War College. Last August, he became one of the first US Kremlin-watchers to predict Gorbachev's tilt toward Iraq.

"I don't believe the Soviets initiated the idea of attacking Kuwait," Novikov says. "But they welcomed it." In his view, they saw the Iraqi invasion as an opportunity to promote objectives: oil-price increases that benefit Moscow, arms sales, and greater leverage over the Gulf states. He says the Kremlin received \$4 billion in credits from Saudi Arabia during the crisis — plus new diplomatic relations.

By now we know that Gorbachev stepped up arms shipments to Saddam after the Gulf crisis began. We know Soviet military transport aircraft were delivering tons of hardware, including surface-to-air missiles, to an airport near Baghdad at the rate of 12 flights a day from August to mid-January.

We know that in January allied warships intercepted a Soviet freighter near Jordan loaded with rocket launchers, Soviet tank parts, and explosives. Iraq was the only logical destination for this cargo. Jordan doesn't use Soviet arms. We know trucks carried military cargoes into Iraq

from Jordan in mid-February.

We know from a December Tass report that at least 1,000 Soviet "specialists" had "chosen" to remain in Iraq as volunteers. Novikov says, "No Soviet adviser who serves abroad is exercising his own will; they're all under command."

It is important to distinguish what we know from what we only suspect. But we cannot dismiss reports that fall short of total certainty: for example, communications intercepts that suggest Soviet advisers accompanied Iraqi troops or intelligence reports that the Soviet embassy in Riyadh served as a "forward observer" for Iraq's Scud missile attacks. Even if some reports are inaccurate, the pattern is clear: While publicly denouncing Iraqi aggression, the Kremlin was quietly intensifying support of the aggressor.

Even in its overt diplomatic maneuvers, Gorbachev's government worked overtime to substitute a diplomatic stalemate for an allied military victory. And the Soviet media put on an anti-American festival, dwelling on pro-Saddam rallies and accepting Baghdad's

claims about alleged US atrocities.

This is precisely the sort of Soviet behavior that many of us thought had ended in 1989. Why should the Kremlin care about protecting an Arab dictator?

Gorbophiles respond by emphasizing the areas in which their hero cooperated with Western policy. They point out that Gorbachev could have used his veto power to block any UN action against Saddam; that is undoubtedly what the Kremlin would have done a decade ago.

The Gorbophiles are right to welcome changes in Soviet behavior, but wrong to believe the cause is the Soviet president's personality rather than the widening economic-technological gap between East and West. If faced with the same circumstances, Leonid Brezhnev might have behaved just as Gorbachev did.

Another mistake is to ignore areas where Soviet behavior has not improved. Gorbachev could have honored the anti-Saddam embargo by removing advisers and ending arms shipments. If the cold war were really over, he would have.

■ Lawrence A. Uzzell is vice president at the Jamestown Foundation.

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

BACKGROUND MEMORANDUM ON INTELLECTUAL FREEDOM PROJECT May 6, 1991

For the past year or so, Jamestown has been approached by an unprecedented number of actual and prospective Soviet defectors. Many of these individuals are scientists, who have no interest in engaging in the kind of activity which has hitherto been Jamestown's main thrust - that is, these scientists do not want to write articles or books, or deliver lectures, on political subjects. They want only to practice their disciplines in freedom. Historically, we have rejected such individuals as Jamestown clients, and have referred them elsewhere. However it has occurred to us that perhaps Jamestown can perform a very valuable national service by extending some assistance to at least some of these scientists.

Unlike athletes, physicians, musicians, and other types of defectors which we have traditionally declined to handle, Soviet scientists offer skills directly related to U.S. economic and security interests. In some specialties, especially in physics, they lead the world. By helping the brightest stars of Soviet science to resettle here, we would be diminishing the brainpower available for Soviet military research, enhancing U.S. competitiveness for the 21st century, and serving the cause of pure science by giving some of its best researchers more freedom to explore their own ideas and more advanced experimental facilities than their homeland is likely to offer within their lifetimes.

Such a program should probably be rather small, concentrating on only the cream of the Soviet scientific elite--perhaps not more than a few hundred people. It would identify them, match them with U.S. corporate and academic employers, and help them make the transition to life in America. It would also pinpoint whatever changes in U.S. law, regulations or policy might be needed to smooth their path.

Over the last few weeks we have begun to test some of our assumptions about this prospective project. We have telephoned Soviet scientists who have already emigrated, directors of U.S.-Soviet scientific exchange programs, corporate and foundation executives, heads of science departments at universities and other sources of information. Our preliminary investigation indicates that some of our assumptions are sound; others need more investigation. Here's what we have learned so far:

Assumption There are in the Soviet Union a large number of well-trained and highly competent scientists who are intellectually unfree, that is, unable because of political, social or economic conditions to pursue their

professions fully or to apply their knowledge to peaceful goals.

Finding This appears to be true. Thanks to the collapse of the Soviet economy, Moscow has slashed subsidies to pure-science research. One source told us that 75 percent of funding for Soviet science is now supposed to come from private industry, which of course is simply not going to happen. Many scientists are effectively out of work.

Assumption Many of these scientists are eager to come to the United States to work at universities or corporations as visiting researchers for extended but limited periods, e.g. three years.

Finding This is also correct. One source told us that the U.S. scientific community is already experiencing an "avalanche" of Soviet visitors, many of whom try to extend their visits or to stay here permanently; he estimates that as many as 10 members of the Soviet Academy of Sciences are already here for good. Another said that the KGB has launched a vigorous campaign to warn Soviet scientists against becoming part of a "brain drain" to America.

Assumption Present Soviet law and policies allow some of these scientists to come to the United States with their families for extended periods, or to other Western countries from which they can legally visit the United States.

Finding True. Since around late 1989 it has not been hard for Soviet scientists to get temporary exit visas; once they are over here, it has not been hard for them to extend their stays; those who do so are no longer considered to be "defectors." The old restrictions on foreign travel by scientists with knowledge of "state secrets" are still formally in effect, but not de facto.

Assumption Current U.S. laws or policies do not permit the free flow of Soviet scientists into the United States. Amendments are necessary.

Finding Unclear. Several sources told us that the U.S. barriers to visiting Soviet scientists are more severe than the Soviet barriers. But last year's Immigration Act amendments, the regulations for which are now being written, increased the number of visas available for employment-based immigration to 140,000 per year--which includes spouses and children--with a cap of 20,000 for any one country. That total of 140,000 is divided into several categories, including 40,000 for "priority workers" such as aliens of "extraordinary

ability" in the sciences, arts, education, business, or athletics; and 40,000 for individuals with advanced degrees or "exceptional ability" and specific job offers. Of course, this law is designed for people who apply while they are still living abroad, not while they are already in the U.S. on visitors' visas.

The Immigration and Naturalization Service currently provides J1 visas for short-term (less than two years) visitors who are students or scholars; these visas allow the host institution to pay a stipend for subsistence but not a real salary. More useful are the INS's H1 visas, which allow the visitor to bring his family and are valid for up to five years (and renewable beyond that); but since these require a request from the visitor's prospective employer, a Soviet scientist has to be linked with an employer before he comes here. So we're not making entry for such scientists as easy as we could.

But a program targeted at a few hundred scientific superstars would probably not require any major changes in U.S. laws or regulations, if White House support of the program were unmistakably clear. An Executive Order might be useful.

Assumption American universities, corporations and think tanks would welcome and profit from the services of Soviet scientists, who would enrich both the host institutions and U.S. science in general.

Finding Our small sample yielded unclear results on this. All of the universities which we talked to were very positive about the idea. Some of our corporate sources pointed out that the Soviets are strongest in pure research, weakest in applied research and in the kind of savvy needed to get an innovation from the laboratory to the marketplace which, however is not a problem for U.S. corporations, which do have the application know how. Another corporate individual said that he and his colleagues can often get what they want from Soviet scientists without bringing them here permanently, or even without bringing them here at all; they simply pick their brains from a distance. But yet another source said just the opposite: He would prefer permanent emigres to visitors because he fears that the latter get more from us than we from them. One corporate source expressed concerns about the lack of a Soviet work ethic, but this same source said that the Russians have the most brilliant scientific minds in the world and would vastly outstrip Japanese if their own political system were free. It is clear that we have to do further research on this point; and probably should include a cross-section of smaller universities and institutions.

Assumptions About Funding

Three assumptions were made:

1. That the new program would be sufficiently attractive to individuals who do not currently contribute to Jamestown that it would not be difficult to raise funds to support the two additional staff positions which we believe would be necessary. (These staff would establish a database which would include both US institutions desiring Soviet scientists, and Soviet scientists interested in working in the US.)

Finding This assumption is untested.

2. That US universities, research institutes, and corporations would be able and willing to fund Soviet scientists of interest to them.

Finding In some cases this will be true; in other cases it will not. Because our questions were about the fundability of Soviet scientists in general, rather than about the fundability of superstars (as we later decided to restrict the program) the picture we received is probably unduly pessimistic.

As we at Jamestown have learned from the experience of our political defectors, sometimes U.S. academics regard Soviet newcomers as unwelcome competitors for scarce professorships and research grants. Several of the U.S. professors we called did indeed cite the tight academic job market; some explicitly said that Americans would get first preference. Some said that their universities are interested ONLY in short-term visitors. We found general pessimism about the ability or willingness of universities to help Soviet newcomers financially without outside help. One university mathematics chair said he would take all the visitors Jamestown could send if we underwrote their costs, but that his institution would not provide a penny of its own funds. Other academics said that Russians would not be useful for undergraduate teaching because of the radical differences between the U.S. and Russian educational systems. (Perhaps they fear that Russians would be insufficiently tolerant of dumbed-down textbooks and grade inflation.) We would like to think that this resistance would vanish if our program were confined only to the certified scientific superstars, the potential Nobel Prize winners and others who would win fame and funding for any institution; but we just don't know yet.

On the positive side, most of our sources agreed that it would not be hard to identify the top luminaries of Soviet science--through their personal contacts with

Western scientists, their participation in international conferences, their publications. Super-stars are impossible to hide.

3. That where the visit to the US of a Soviet scientist required outside funding, foundations and other donors would be willing to support a private-sector program for matching Soviet scientific emigres with U.S. employers.

Finding Unclear. We ran into lots of skepticism about the availability of funding, even from people who were enthusiastic about the idea. Some of our sources said that they already have Soviet scientists in hand, but can't get funding for them. We were told that some potential donors said they would support programs that bring Soviets here as visitors--especially genuine exchange programs, in which U.S. scientists also travel to the Soviet Union--but not programs that would add to the Soviet "brain drain" problem. Again here, our questions were not specifically about scientific superstars, so further research is needed before a conclusion can be reached.

Assumption Our proposed program would not increase the flow of technologies with military applications to the Soviet Union.

Finding If we carefully coordinate our activities with US military and counterintelligence officials, we should not have a problem in this area.

Assumption The program would not unintentionally jeopardize other strategic and human-rights goals, such as increased emigration rights for all Soviet citizens.

Finding Last month a member of the Soviet parliament said that one reason for the Kremlin's delay in enacting the much-discussed new emigration law has been its reaction to the scientific brain drain that has already started. (See attached Wall Street Journal article.) However, given the objectives of the proposed program, perhaps we should not be overly concerned about the problem as it appears to the Soviets. Under international law, they have no right to link the two.

Assumption The Soviets will not find it easy to counter this program once it's clear what we're up to.

Finding Unclear. One can imagine a Kremlin decree forbidding scientists to take their families with them whenever they go abroad. Nevertheless, there is ample reason to believe that many leading Soviets will defect first, and then try to obtain reunification with their

families.

Obviously we need further exploration of all these assumptions, and others, before committing ourselves to any large venture. We also need to weigh the risk that this project might further emphasize our resettlement function at the expense of our think-tank function--further aggravating our "identity" problem.

Perhaps we could seek an exploratory grant, enabling us to hire someone for 3 to 6 months to do more research. We might be able to get someone from Capitol Hill to examine the legislative/regulatory side on a volunteer basis. One thing that encourages us: All of our current Soviet clients love the idea, with the exception only one (who is something of a congenital pessimist in any case).

Soviet Union Fears Brain Drain As Scientists Take Work Abroad

By ANDREA RUTHERFORD

Staff Reporter of THE WALL STREET JOURNAL

MOSCOW—When physicists at Landau Institute started getting invitations to visit prestigious U.S. universities, Isaac Khalatnikov was proud but worried.

"The U.S. acts as a black hole for Soviet scientists," says the physicist, who runs the highly respected research center, where about 80 scientists—the Soviet Union's brightest theoretical physicists—work.

Now, Mr. Khalatnikov's worst fears are coming true. Fifteen of his star scientists are scattered across the U.S.—and Europe—doing research at such universities as Princeton, Rutgers and Massachusetts Institute of Technology. And despite his efforts to restrict sabbatical leaves to one year, Mr. Khalatnikov says "nobody has come back. Not one. Zero!"

In the past, scientists like Mr. Khalatnikov and his colleagues were assured a place among the Soviet Union's privileged elite, pampered by a government that was eager to reap the prestige, as well as the military benefits, of their achievements.

Nowadays, even science research isn't immune to this nation's economic woes, and many young scientists are starting to think they can do better in the West. Soviet politicians and scientists alike are worried that a full-scale brain drain is already jeopardizing the future of research here.

Delayed Emigration Law

In a speech in March, Gurty Marchuk, president of the Academy of Sciences, said that more than 500 scientists from academy institutes alone have gone abroad, either permanently or on long-term contracts. And in April, Nikolai Neiland of the Soviet Parliament's foreign affairs committee said that a vote on a long-awaited law easing emigration has been put off indefinitely, partly because of alarm about a brain drain.

Soviet scientists are especially worried that it is the youngest and most talented who are leaving. The Landau Institute, for example, has lost leading lights in mathematical physics and conformal theory—a sophisticated new branch of physics that is trying to find a single explanation for all phenomena in the universe.

"A few real stars like these determine the entire direction of development in physics," says Mr. Khalatnikov, warning that a whole generation of talent is slipping away.

Western diplomats emphasize that they have no policy of luring promising scientists out of the Soviet Union.

Over the past few years, the Soviet government has become much more relaxed about letting its citizens travel abroad. And with Soviet physics, mathematics and biology on a world-class level, the best scientists have little trouble arranging to

study or do research in the West.

In Moscow, throngs of some 450 young people regularly show up for a monthly lecture about U.S. graduate schools, given by the U.S. scholars exchange organizations, ACTR and IREX. And a guide book for passing English-language tests is one of the hottest items on the black market.

Mikhail Petrov passed the exam with flying colors last year and is headed for Princeton University's doctorate program in physics this September. Perched on a stool in a cluttered laboratory in Moscow's Lebedev Institute, the 23-year-old says his decision to go abroad was an easy one. "I want to work in a laboratory where I can get really first class results," he says.

Still, not everybody wants to flee the Soviet Union. Igor Trofimov, Mr. Petrov's adviser at the Lebedev Institute, is planning to do research in Germany next year, but insists that he can't stay away from home for very long. "I'm too Russian—a real patriot," he says with a smile.

'Constant Competitiveness'

And Boris Kadomtsev of the Kurchatov Institute of Atomic Energy predicts that many wayward scientists will eventually become disillusioned with life abroad. "It's a harsh life in the West—there's constant competitiveness," he says.

But Mr. Kadomtsev admits that deteriorating conditions for scientific research in the Soviet Union are driving people away. All kinds of equipment—from lasers to computer disks—are in short supply. And although the government's overall spending on science increased slightly this year, the Academy of Science's hard currency budget for buying instruments that aren't available in the Soviet Union was slashed by 50%, according to its financial director, Alexander Kanoshenko.

Many scientists are searching for ways to keep the best brains in the Soviet Union. But they are wary of hysteria fanned by anti-reform politicians who oppose the new emigration law. "I'm sure that the brain drain problem cannot be solved by restrictions," says Mr. Khalatnikov. "We are living in a new world."

At the Landau Institute, Mr. Khalatnikov's solution has been to create branches in France, Italy and Israel, where Soviet physicists can work for up to six months. Other institutes are trying to find ways to earn currency to pay for new equipment and communications links with the West.

The Soviet government is also trying to make life better for its scientists. It started by giving them hefty pay raises late last year, says Igor Makarov of the Academy of Sciences. But young scientists fresh out of graduate school still earn less than 400 rubles a month (about \$15 at the tourist exchange rate)—making even the humblest U.S. salaries look like a fortune.

Helping Soviet defectors find new lives in the West

William Geimer talks about why defectors need assistance and why the private sector should play a role

With all the hoopla over the onset of *glasnost*, it is tempting to think that Americans no longer need to keep a watchful eye on developments within the Soviet Union. But nothing could be further from the truth. There has been in the past, and there will continue to be for the foreseeable future, a pressing need to understand how the Soviet system works

ever to defect.

The full story of the Shevchenko defection is, of course, detailed in his best-selling book, *Breaking with Moscow*. Shevchenko conveyed important and hitherto unknown information about Soviet foreign policy objectives to American intelligence agencies both before and after his defection. And thanks to the help

friends and confidants, someone to share their problems with. They don't anticipate the emotional loss, they don't realize the trauma that they will undergo," Geimer said. "Often, these people feel lonely, homesick, guilty, and afraid. It can be a real roller coaster of emotions."

Getting involved

The Jamestown Foundation must always tread carefully during the initial stages of a defection case. "We don't get active until all the debriefing is done. We try to get access as soon as possible, but often it's an uphill struggle," Geimer explained. Jamestown's relationship with government has not always been smooth, either. Geimer thinks this might be because of conflicting objectives: "We know a lot more than the guys who are running the current settlement program because it's our main mission. For them, resettlement is just a way of getting rid of someone from whom they have gotten information. They're covert, we're overt."

When someone breaks from Moscow, they need professional help, legal help, emigration help, language training for public speaking, and, of course, they need jobs. Some defectors are taken care of by the government and supported for a while, but a lot are not. And this is where Geimer sees a chance for the private sector to enter the picture. "We provide housing to these people—sometimes it's temporary, sometimes it's long term," he said. "We get them on refugee relief and try to find them something in the academic world or in a think tank if they have the training and expertise. After basic shelter and income are attended to, you then can find out if there is a book in them."

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Ninety-nine percent of the people assume that the government is actively out there helping these people after their defection. But the reality is far different.

in order to gain a realistic understanding of what the latest developments really mean. And while there are many research institutes dedicated to the study of the Soviet Union, one nonprofit organization has provided a unique and authoritative perspective on Soviet policies and objectives by helping former Soviet officials who have defected to the West speak out about their country and its political leadership.

A private initiative

In 1978, Arkady Shevchenko lived a life of privilege and comfort few Soviet citizens enjoy. As the Under Secretary General of the United Nations, Shevchenko seemed to have reached the pinnacle of success. And yet one morning in April, after months of planning, he jumped into a waiting car and sped off to begin a new life in America. Soon Shevchenko's name was everywhere: he was and remains to this day the highest ranking Soviet official

and encouragement of his lawyer and confidant, William Geimer, Shevchenko was able to overcome some initial obstacles and make a successful transition into his new life in America.

After being inside the most important defection of the century and seeing the trials and tribulations which Arkady Shevchenko went through, William Geimer conceived the idea of a private organization, The Jamestown Foundation, which would be dedicated to helping defectors make new lives in the U.S. Geimer's experience with Shevchenko was an education of sorts. "What I learned from Shevchenko was how hard it is to defect, what a traumatic experience it is for these men to give up everything," Geimer said from the foundation's headquarters in Washington, D.C. The needs of a defector are overwhelming: "Helping Arkady involved more than giving legal advice. It soon turned into a full time job for me. I learned that these defectors need

Why not government?

Most people think that the intelligence community offers help to those who defect, especially if they are able to provide valuable information. Geimer, however, is anxious to correct this view: "When we tell people about our activities, almost always their first reaction is 'I thought the government handled that.' Ninety-nine percent of the people assume that the government is actively out there helping these people after their defection. But the reality is far different."

According to Barbara Abbott, executive vice president of the Jamestown Foundation, "The government wants to know what these men can do for them, what knowledge they might have which would be valuable to the intelligence community. Remember, the CIA is not some kind of a resettlement organization, and it sure isn't a Fullbright agency. We're doing something that the government either doesn't do or does poorly."

When discussing an operation as sensitive as that of political defection, the

autonomy and independence must always be carefully guarded. In their literature, the Jamestown Foundation's vice president, Donald "Jamie" Jameson, is described as a 20-year veteran of the CIA. Geimer is realistic about the perception this can create: "Unfortunately, the intelligence community provides the only real training ground for the kind of work we do. We can't avoid that. Sure Jameson worked with defectors at the CIA, but he's here because of his expertise. At a recent anniversary party of our Foundation, Webster, Gates, Colby, and others came. What that should have told people is that if we were a front organization, then those people would not have shown up."

"There will always be people who will think we are connected with the government and that we're some kind of CIA front organization, Abbott added. "Actually, our relationship with government is more often antagonistic than cooperative. We take no government money and we remain completely independent."

The changing nature of the U.S. relationship with the Soviet Union is bound

to affect the flow of defectors, only not in the way one might think. Rather than decrease the flow of defectors, openness within the Soviet system will probably increase the number of individuals who defect. "Traditionally there have been more defectors during periods of detente. It's easier to get out at such times. Besides, now that it's easier to place a telephone call into the Soviet Union, more and more people can learn that it's possible to make a life in the U.S.," Geimer said.

The Jamestown Foundation believes that during a time of change, it is most important that the Americans have an authoritative perspective on what goes on in the upper echelons of the new Soviet leadership. "What is dangerous," Geimer warned, "is if the philanthropic community gets the message from Moscow that efforts such as ours to expose the inner working of the Soviet system through the writing and speeches of defectors are no longer needed. After all, some might be tempted to think, the Soviets will tell us everything. We need to combat this perception." PF

People to know

With the Soviet Bloc in flux, new opportunities abound for American nonprofit organizations to influence the course of events overseas. By supporting free speech and human rights inside the U.S.S.R., nonprofits can improve the odds that the current move towards reform continues and that what little advances have been made are not reversed.

The **Center for Democracy**, which is supported by the National Endowment for Democracy, promotes free speech and democratic principles in the U.S.S.R. through its two principal programs. Under the direction of Yuri Yarim-Agaev, the Center ships personal computers, printers, and copy-

ing machines to Soviet writers and publishers. In addition, the Center publishes an English translation of the *Information Bulletin Glasnost*, an independent journal published in Moscow by Soviet human rights activists which critically examines recent developments within the U.S.S.R.

Formed in 1987, the **Slepek Foundation** finds its origin and mission in the vision and life of the renowned Soviet human rights activist Vladimir Slepek. The foundation's primary purpose is to inform and enlighten the American public in regard to the conduct of the Soviet Union, to separate truth from perception. While the Foundation supports friendly relations between the U.S. and the Soviet Union, Slepek executive director Stephen Carter insists that this ideal should never risk the economic well-being or military security of the United States. The foundation's most recent project has been the development of "Slepek Principles," a code of behavior serving as a standard for

all exchanges between the United States and the U.S.S.R. This code of conduct for corporations seeking to do business with the Soviets is intended "not to obstruct trade but rather to encourage the forces for liberalization within the Soviet Union."

While the broadcasts of U.S. government sponsored **Radio Free Europe** and **Radio Liberty** are fixtures within the Soviet Union and its satellites, much of the information reported on these stations never reaches an American audience. For those interested in tracking developments within the Soviet bloc, the *Soviet and Eastern European Report* is a useful tool. Edited by Stephen Miller, the newsletter publishes stories based on the broadcast reports of RFE/RL, many of which chronicle the changes which occur behind the Iron Curtain. The publication provides a perspective which is not easily found in the popular news media.

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

The principal objective of the Jamestown Foundation is improved Western understanding of the Soviet Union and its allies. The foundation's unique means to this end is the knowledge and insight of people who once occupied high positions in communist countries. The foundation seeks to disseminate their knowledge to the widest possible audience - to policy makers, to the media, and to the general public.

The historic upheavals in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union have created widespread uncertainty. It is increasingly apparent that neither the rulers of the East, nor the governments of the West can be confident that they understand the implications of events which unsettle their respective conventional wisdoms. Given the enormity of the stakes involved, it is imperative that policy makers, as they approach the decisions which lie ahead, have available to them the best possible information and analysis. We cannot afford gaps between perception and reality. It is to the closing of such gaps that the Jamestown Foundation is dedicated.

RESOURCES

The basic resources of the Jamestown Foundation are people who at one time were leading figures in communist countries, but who now live in asylum in the United States. In their countries of origin, they were ambassadors and other high-ranking members of government, intellectuals, intelligence officials and military officers. They come from the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Cuba, Nicaragua, and Ethiopia. What they have in common is high level experience abroad, and the ability and desire to share their knowledge with decision makers in the West.

In recent years, people of remarkable talent, education, and experience have made this transition from East to West, and have become associated with the Jamestown Foundation. The current relaxation of controls in the East gives them access to printed and other materials which were hitherto unavailable in the West. Thus the opportunity for meaningful research and realistic analysis is unprecedented.

There is no government program which enables such people to make their voices heard in their adopted country. It is therefore left to the private sector, and specifically to the Jamestown Foundation, to ensure that the wisdom of these unique individuals - who forsook the comfort of prominence and power in the East for the uncertainties of freedom - is not lost.

HISTORY AND ORGANIZATION

The Jamestown Foundation was founded in 1984 by William W. Geimer, a Washington attorney. For six years Geimer had represented Arkady Shevchenko, former Under Secretary General of the United Nations, and the highest ranking Soviet defector ever to settle in the United States. During these years, Shevchenko eventually emerged as perhaps the West's leading authority on Soviet affairs.

But Geimer's experience with Shevchenko suggested that all too often the information provided by defectors fails to resonate beyond the debriefing rooms of U. S. intelligence services. So, believing that the special knowledge and talents of high-level defectors are a national treasure to be nurtured and expanded, and concluding that only a private sector institution could fill this need, Geimer established Jamestown.

The Jamestown Foundation is a non-profit, 501 (c) (3) tax exempt organization. The foundation does not accept government funds, and is entirely supported by tax deductible contributions from corporations, foundations, and individuals.

Jamestown employs a full-time staff of six, and a network of high caliber volunteers including former intelligence officers, attorneys, editors, writers, translators, and students.

PROGRAMS

In order to achieve its overall educational goals, the Jamestown Foundation supports the following activities.

COMMUNICATIONS

Speakers Bureau - Jamestown arranges lectures by its foreign policy specialists at universities and other educational institutions, and before business groups, and military and government audiences.

Media Appearances - Jamestown analysts regularly appear on national and international radio and TV, including such programs as the McNeil-Lehrer News Hour, Nightline, CNN International Hour, the Financial News Network, and the network's evening and morning news shows.

PUBLICATIONS

Books and Articles - The foundation assists its clients to write and publish articles and books. Jamestown provides translation and editorial services, functions as a placement and literary agent, and promotes the widest possible readership of its clients' writings.

Magazine - Jamestown publishes a magazine "Transitions" which, among other features, includes translations of significant articles which have appeared in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Cuba. Commentary on these articles is provided by Jamestown's clients.

PUBLIC POLICY FORA

For members of Congress, the Executive Branch, members of the media, and academics, Jamestown arranges briefings and conferences at which its clients provide their insights on East/West issues.

STUDIES ON THE TRANSITION FROM COMMUNISM

Jamestown provides fellowships to its client-scholars to enable them to conduct major studies of the changes taking place in the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and Latin America. The published research and analyses on these subjects is disseminated to policy makers, the media, and to the interested public.

RESETTLEMENT

Where necessary, Jamestown assists its clients through the myriad details of resettlement in the United States. This may include finding interim employment, locating housing, providing language training, legal assistance, and the other basic necessities of life.

CAREER PLACEMENT

Jamestown Assists its clients to obtain research and teaching positions at academic institutions.

EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF THE PRESIDENT
OFFICE OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY POLICY
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20506

4/23

John Rick -

I received a call from Larry
Uzell of the Jamestown Foundation
(483-8888). They are interested in
expanding their work into the
scientific community. They would
like to understand the current
situation of Soviet scientists -
numbers that might wish to emigrate -
US laws supporting or impeding
their emigration - ties into the current
Soviet scientists emigre community.
To whom should we refer

Mr. V. Uzell
Larry

Vice President
Jamestown

White House Pub's Office
395-7332

- Originated in last decade.
- DAS of State in Foreign Trade : Founder.
 - Carlucci urged the founder to set up a private foundation.
- Works closely w/ IC

US - USSR - EAST EUROPEAN
SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL
SYMPOSIUM
and
EXHIBIT

Includes more than 50 state-of-the-art displays of scientific and technological equipment from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe designed for space exploration and environmental studies

March 18 and 19, 1991
The Center of Adult Education
University of Maryland
at College Park

Hosted by The East West Science and Technology Center, the Department of Physics and Astronomy and the Soviet American Ventures Initiative (SAVI).



UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

DEPARTMENT OF PHYSICS AND ASTRONOMY

EAST WEST SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY CENTER

March 5, 1991

Dear Colleague:

On March 18 and 19, the University of Maryland at College Park will host the **USA - USSR - EASTERN EUROPEAN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL EXHIBIT AND SYMPOSIUM** featuring displays of more than 50 pieces of State-of-the-Art scientific equipment never before viewed in the United States. Accompanying the equipment will be leading Soviet and Eastern European scientists from the space and defense industries and high-ranking government officials who will be available to demonstrate their equipment and discuss ideas for future joint ventures.

Due to your company's interest in potential opportunities in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, we are sure that you will find this program especially attractive. Enclosed is a description of some of the equipment to be displayed and the conference program.

Opening the conference on Monday, March 18 will be **Maryland Governor William Donald Schaefer**. Featured speakers will include **Academician Yuri Ossipian**, Vice President of the USSR Academy of Sciences and Chief Science Advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev; **Academician Alec Galeev**, Director of the Soviet Space Institute; **Academician Yuri Ryzhov**, Director of the Moscow Aviation Institute and Chief Science Advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin. To balance the program, we have also invited speakers from the American scientific, government and corporate sectors who are especially interested in the overall conference themes and the important areas of technology transfer and licensing.

Preceding the program's official opening on Monday, March 18, we have scheduled a Sunday afternoon (2:00 - 4:00 p.m.) corporate preview, hosted by Dr. Rudolph Lamone, Dean, College of Business and Management. During this session, the Soviet and Eastern European delegates will be available to discuss their equipment and ideas for future joint ventures.

The exhibit and symposium will be hosted by the **East West Science and Technology Center** and the **Soviet American Joint Initiatives (SAVI)** at the Center for Adult Education, conveniently located on the College Park campus. Reservations for lodging at \$65 (single occupancy) and \$80 (double occupancy) can be directed to the Center at 301-985-7300. The registration fee, including two lunches and all-day exhibit passes, is \$100.00. The banquet dinners (Monday and Tuesday evenings are by admission ticket only (\$50.00 each). And since your organization has a special interest in commercial linkages with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, I invite you to make a donation of sponsorship toward the conference.

For further information about the exhibit and symposium, contact **Molly Brennan**, Conference Coordinator, 301-405-7280 or FAX 301-405-9966.

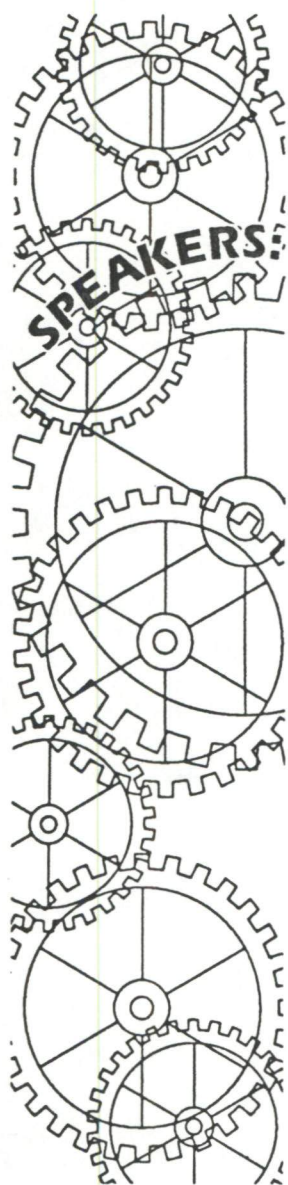
Sincerely yours,

Roald Sagdeev

Roald Sagdeev
Distinguished Professor of Physics
Director, East West Science & Technology Center

US - USSR - EAST EUROPEAN SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL SYMPOSIUM AND EXHIBIT

Topics: Political framework for cooperation in science and commerce • US/USSR collaboration on business ventures • Framework for science cooperation in American and Soviet space programs • Technology transfer, joint ventures, free economic zone, licensing • Environmental and energy issues • International security and conversion issues • Cooperation in space science



DR. WILLIAM E. KIRWAN

President, University of Maryland at College Park

THE HONORABLE WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER

Governor, State of Maryland

ACADEMICIAN YURI OSSIPIAN

Vice President, USSR Academy of Sciences
and Chief Science Advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev

ACADEMICIAN YURI RYZHOV

Chief Science Advisor to Russian President Boris Yeltsin
and Chairman, Science and Education Committee of the Supreme Soviet

ACADEMICIAN STANISLAV C. SHATALIN

Institute of Economics and Forecasting, Academy of Sciences

ACADEMICIAN ALEC GALEEV

Director, Space Research Institute

THE HONORABLE DEBORAH WINCE-SMITH

Assistant Secretary of Commerce for Technology Policy,
United States Department of Commerce

DR. FRANK PRESS

President, National Academy of Sciences

DR. DONALD N. LANGENBERG

Chancellor, University of Maryland System

MR. DANIEL SCHORR

Senior News Analyst, National Public Radio

Registration will be held in the Grand Concourse, Center of Adult Education Center:

- All day, Sunday, March 17, 1991
- Beginning at 7:00 a.m., Monday, March 18, 1991 (program begins at 9:00 a.m.)
- Beginning at 8:00 a.m., Tuesday, March 19, 1991 (program begins at 9:00 a.m.)

PARTIAL LIST OF
SOVIET DELEGATION TO UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY EXHIBIT (March 15-22)
AND SYMPOSIUM (March 18-19, 1991)

Academician Yuri Ossipyan
Vice President, USSR Academy of Sciences and
Science Advisor to M. Gorbachev

Academician Yuri Ryzhov
Chair, Committee on Science and Education, Supreme
Soviet; Science Advisor to B. Yeltsin

Academician Stanislav C. Shatalin
Institute of Economics and Forecasting, Author of "500
Days" plan, USSR Academy of Sciences, Moscow

Academician Abel A. Aganbegyan
Rector, Academy of National Economy;

Academician Valeri L. Makarov
Director Central Economics & Mathematics Institute

Academician Nikonov
USSR Academy of Agriculture, Moscow (former President)

Academician Alec Galeev
Director, Space Research Institute

Dr. Vyacheslav Batenin
Director, High Temperature Institute

Dr. Gennadi Guskov - General Director/Designer, ELAS
Company, Scientific/Industrial Amalgamation

Dr. Arkadi Shipunov - General Director/Designer,
Tochnost NPO

Dr. Grigori Cherniavsky - Chief, Center for Applied
Investing,
Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Sciences

Academician Georgy M. Griaznov
Director of Red Star Company

Cosmonaut Georgi Grechko

Dr. Igor Strukov - Head of Laboratory, Space Research
Institute

Dr. Georgi Managadze - Head of Laboratory, Space Research
Institute

Dr. Vecheslav Rodin - Head of Laboratory, Space Research
Institute

Dr. Yuri Lagutin - Deputy chief designer, Energizer

Dr. Aleksander Bober - Director, FAKEL, NPO

Dr. Vecheslav Balebanov - Deputy Director, Space Research
Institute

Dr. Aleksander Kemurjian - Institute for Transport
Engineering

Dr. Garri Popov - Director, Plasma Propulsion Center, Moscow
Aviation Institute

Dr. Sergei Baibakov - Director, Skif, Cryogenetic Company

UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND AT COLLEGE PARK

SOVIET TECHNOLOGY EXHIBITION

General Description of Technology Clusters

Software Products

Several software and system products will be on display including: data protection software for personal computers; statistical data processing software; system for encoding/decoding television signals; software to develop, pack, and load set of fast fonts.

Ultrasonic Scanner

On display will be an ultrasonic scanner that uses digital processing of acoustic signals to produce colored images of inner eye structure on IBM Compatible PCs. The system can be used for diagnostics of retinal and choroidal detachment, intraocular tumors, intraocular and orbit foreign bodies, and vitreous destruction.

Mass Spectrometer

Several different mass spectrometers will be shown in a technology cluster including: compact portable, remote control for solid or condensed phases, based on laser time-of-flight techniques.

Microwave Devices

This cluster includes a family of highly sensitive millimeter radiometers. The basic element is a parametric amplifier which provides high sensitivity without severe restrictions in cooling.

Robotics

Remotely controlled rovers will be displayed along with video footage of their use on the roof of the Chernobyl reactor. An improved prototype with artificial intelligence and stereo vision and laser ranging capability also will be provided (with participation from Hungary).

Spacecraft Technology, Subsystems

A mock-up of a spacecraft with altitude control, based on solar sails (to be launched in 1994), will be exhibited. Ion and plasma thrusters for orbital corrections, space telecommunication equipment, and thermal control subsystems will also be exhibited.

X-ray Detectors

On display will be arrays of detectors and individual detectors based on multi-element chip technology. Two of these detectors are currently in satellite orbit. One, on the space station MIR, incorporates an array of x-ray and gamma-ray telescopes. Sample data from space missions will be on display.

Material Processing in Space

Material processing and crystal growth in space is the subject of a technology cluster. A prototype of a high temperature furnace and samples of materials produced in space will be on display. Also crystals obtained from high gravity extremes (centrifugal force rotating platform) will also be available for viewing.

Laser Technology

Laser technology applied to wide range targets (from atmospheric lidars to medicine) will be displayed.

Remote Sensing and Ecology from Space

Several different systems will be on display with images and spectrograms obtained from MIR and remote sensing satellites. The systems will be accompanied with image processing algorithms and other technology for a wide range of applications (including medical uses).

**US - USSR - EAST EUROPEAN
SCIENTIFIC AND TECHNOLOGICAL MARCH 15-22
AND EXHIBIT AND SYMPOSIUM (MARCH 18-19)**

Adult Education Center
University of Maryland at College Park

MONDAY, MARCH 18, 1991

7:00 a.m.

Registration, Grand Concourse, Adult Educational Center

9:00 a.m. WELCOME:

Dr. William E. Kirwan
President
University of Maryland at College Park

9:15 a.m. OPENING REMARKS:

Governor William Donald Schaefer
State of Maryland

**FIRST SESSION:
POLITICAL FRAMEWORK FOR
COOPERATION IN SCIENCE
AND COMMERCE**

9:45 a.m. SESSION CHAIR:

Dr. Donald Langenberg
Chancellor
University of Maryland

10:00 a.m.

Dr. Yuri Ryzhov
Director, Moscow Aviation Institute
Chief Science Advisor to
Russian President Boris Yeltsin
Chairman, Science and Education Committee
of the Supreme Soviet

10:30 a.m.

Dr. Karoly Sego
Director
Research Institute for Particle and Nuclear Physics
Central Research Institute for Physics
Hungarian Academy of Sciences

11:00 a.m.

Dr. I. Griazin
People's Deputy, Estonia
Visiting Professor of International Law
University of Notre Dame

11:30 a.m.

The Honorable Deborah Wince-Smith
Assistant Secretary of Commerce
for Technology Policy
United States Department of Commerce

12:00 a.m.

Luncheon, Adult Education Center
Guest Speaker: Dr. Frank Press
President, National Academy of
Sciences

**SECOND SESSION:
US - USSR COLLABORATION
ON BUSINESS VENTURES**

INTRODUCTION:

Dr. Rudolph Lamone, Dean
College of Business & Management
University of Maryland

1:30-4:00 p.m.

DOING BUSINESS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Dr. Lance Roulic, Manager
International Business Development
Polaroid Corporation
Cambridge, Massachusetts

John Kiser
President
Kiser Research

Jeffrey A. Burt
Partner
Arnold and Porter
Washington, D.C.

4:00-6:00 p.m.

**Panel discussion by Soviet American Venture
Initiatives (SAVI/Moscow) on changing political and
economic climate.**

Panelists:

Academician Valeri L. Makarov
Director
Central Economics and Mathematics Institute

Academician Abel A. Aganbegyan
Rector, Academy of National Economy

Academician Stanislav C. Shatalin
Institute of Economics and Forecasting
Academy of Sciences

6:30 p.m.

**Reception
Adult Education Center**

7:00 p.m.

**Banquet Dinner
Adult Education Center
Guest Speaker: Daniel Schorr**

TUESDAY, MARCH 19, 1991

**FRAMEWORK FOR SCIENCE COOPERATION
AND AMERICAN AND SOVIET
SPACE PROGRAMS**

8:00 a.m. Registration

9:00 a.m.

OPENING REMARKS AND INTRODUCTION

Dr. Richard H. Herman (Session Chair)
Dean, College of Computer, Mathematical
and Physical Sciences

9:15 a.m. **Keynote Speakers**

Academician Yuri Ossipyan
Vice President, USSR Academy of Sciences
Chief Science Advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev

Professor Roald Sagdeev
Former Science Advisor to Mikhail Gorbachev

9:45 a.m.

Dr. George A. (Jay) Keyworth
Science Advisor to former
President Ronald Reagan

10:15 a.m.

Dr. Samuel Keller
Associate Deputy Administrator, NASA

10:45 a.m.

Academician Alec Galeev
Director, Space Research Institute
Corresponding Member, USSR Academy of Science

11:15 a.m.

Dr. Martin Harwitt
Director
National Air and Space Museum
Washington, D.C.

12:00 a.m. Luncheon

Adult Education Center

1:30-4:00 pm.

TOPICAL WORKSHOPS

WORKSHOP A: Corporate workshop with American and Soviet delegates discussing technology transfer, joint ventures, free economic zone, licensing.

Dr. Warren Phillips
Director, SAVI/Maryland

Mr. Wayne Swann, Director
Office of Technology Liaison, UMCP

Dr. Viacheslav Balebanov
Deputy Director, Space Research Institute (IKI)
Moscow

WORKSHOP B: Environmental and energy issues of concern to the United States and the Soviet Union.

Dr. Alan Miller, Director
Center for Global Change, UMCP

Dr. Irving Mintzer
Associate Research Scholar
Center for Global Change, UMCP

Academician Viacheslav Batenin
Director, Institute of High Temperatures
Moscow

Dr. Christine Hall
IBM Corporation
Washington, D.C.

Cosmonaut Georgy Grechko
Head of Laboratory
Institute of Atmospheric Physics
Moscow

Dr. Caterina Nystedt
Assistant to the President
Asea Brown Boveri
Stockholm

WORKSHOP C: International Security and Conversion Issues

Dr. Catherine Kelleher
Director
Center for International Security Studies, UMCP

Dr. Gennadi Goskov
General Director/Designer, ELAS
Scientific/Industrial Amalgamation, Moscow

Dr. Grigori Chernivsky
Chief, Center for Applied Investing, Moscow

WORKSHOP D: Cooperation in Space Science

Dr. Stephen Holt
Director, Space Science
Goddard Space Flight Center

Academician Alec Galeev
Director, Space Research Institute

Dr. Roald Sagdeev, Director
East West Science and Technology Center, UMCP

6:00 p.m. Reception, Adult Education Center

7:00 p.m. Dinner, Adult Education Center

East-West Science and Technology Center and Soviet American Venture Initiatives (SAVI)

For additional information, please write

*Molly Brennan, Conference Coordinator
East-West Science and Technology Center
Department of Physics and Astronomy
University of Maryland, College Park, MD 20742-3511
301-405-7280 FAX 301-405-9966*

REGISTRATION FORM
Scientific and Technological Symposium and Exhibit

Name _____

Title _____

Company Name _____

Address _____

Telephone _____

FAX Number _____

1. Registration fees include admission to exhibits and luncheons for the two-day symposium. In addition, there will be a symposium dinner banquet on March 18. Please check the appropriate items below:

_____ \$100 per person, two-day registration for Monday and Tuesday, March 18 and 19.

_____ \$75 per person, one-day registration.
Please specify date attending: Monday, March 18 _____ or Tuesday, March 19 _____.

_____ \$50 per person, for Monday, March 18 Symposium Dinner Banquet
(Guest Speaker: Mr. Daniel Schorr).

\$ _____ **TOTAL**

2. Please make your check payable to THE UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND, EAST WEST CENTER and mail with your completed symposium registration as soon as possible to:

Mary Ridgell
East West Science and Technology Center
Department of Physics and Astronomy
University of Maryland
College Park, Maryland 20742-4111

You may also FAX your registration form to (301) 405-9966 and mail your check under separate cover.

3. Lodging accommodations are available at the Center of Adult Education. Please contact the Center directly at (301) 985-7300 to make your reservations.

4. To ask questions or obtain further information, please contact:

Molly Brennan, (301) 405-7280 or Mary Ridgell, (301) 405-6052 or FAX (301) 405-9966.

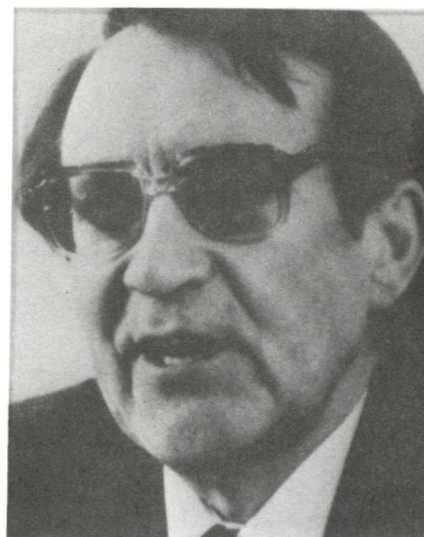
- Est. last yr. / Oct 90
- Visiting prof, now FT prof
- Designed to create effort for Univ Md of Sci + Sov Sci to collaborate
- Housed in the Physics + Astron. Dept.
- Future of Ctr.
 - Keep the Ctr. narrowly focused on Space Science
- Dir of Sov. Space Institute in Moscow -- formerly

Roal'd Zinnurovich SAGDEYEV
(Phonetic: sahgDAYyef)

USSR

*Director, Analytical Research Center,
Space Research Institute, USSR Academy
of Sciences (since late 1988)*

Addressed as: Academician Sagdeyev



Renowned physicist Roal'd Sagdeyev became a key adviser to the Soviet leadership on space issues while serving as director of the prestigious Space Research Institute (IKI) during 1973-88. A leading voice for reform in the science sector, he resigned as director in accordance with his challenge to fellow members of the Academy of Sciences to rejuvenate science by adopting new approaches, such as limiting institute directors' terms of office. He then began putting together the Analytical Center at IKI, a think tank where Soviet scientists from a wide range of disciplines will work on problems of international cooperation, security, and arms control.

Sagdeyev is a familiar figure in disarmament forums. He is chairman of the Soviet Committee of Scientists in Defense of Peace and Against the Nuclear Threat and often leads his country's delegation to meetings that deal with disarmament questions. He has served as Communist Party General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev's technical expert on SDI issues at several summit meetings. A longtime proponent of international cooperation in space sciences, Sagdeyev laid much of the groundwork for the US-USSR Space Cooperation Agreement signed at the Moscow summit held in May 1987.

Of Tatar extraction, Sagdeyev was born in Moscow on 26 December 1932. After graduating from Moscow State University in 1956, he worked in nuclear and plasma physics at the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute for about five years. He then served as deputy director of the Institute of Nuclear Physics in Novosibirsk. In about 1970 he returned to Moscow, where he worked at the High Temperatures Institute until becoming IKI director.

Sagdeyev, who holds a doctorate in physical mathematical sciences, became a full academician at the young age of 35. In 1984 he was awarded a Lenin Prize, his country's highest science honor, for work on thermonuclear toroidal plasmas. He has received two Orders of Lenin—one on the occasion of his 50th birthday and the other for directing a multinational space project that explored Venus and Halley's Comet. In early 1989 he was elected a representative of the academy to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

Sagdeyev speaks fluent English and French. On 9 February he married Susan Eisenhower, granddaughter of the late US President. The couple had met at a 1987 conference on US-Soviet relations. Sagdeyev has two grown children from a previous marriage and has said he is looking forward to having a family that includes his new wife's three daughters, aged 8 to 17. The couple will spend summers in Moscow and the rest of the year in Washington—although Sagdeyev will commute to Princeton University to teach at the School of Advanced Physics.

15 February 1990

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

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THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

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The Honorable Robert D. Stuart, Jr.
The Jay and Betty Van Andel Foundation
The Whitehead Foundation

THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

LIST OF JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION ASSOCIATES (as of March 1991)

DR. JUAN BENEMELIS, former Cuban diplomat and intelligence officer. He served in a number of African countries and was Castro's foremost Africa specialist. His book on Cuba's involvement in Africa was published in Spanish and Portuguese in 1990. His latest book about Castro, entitled *The Last Communist*, is being published in Italy and Spain this year.

ANATOLY DAVYDOV, former Soviet film producer and director. A graduate in journalism and Japanese from Leningrad State University, he directed and produced over 50 documentaries and feature films. He is now a media specialist who has worked as technical director and appeared in such movies as "The Hunt for Red October" and "The Package." As the John M. Olin Fellow at the Center for the Study of Disinformation at Boston University, he authored a study on the Soviet media and glasnost.

MAXIM KNIAZKOV, former Chief Supervisor at the Foreign Desk of the TASS news agency of the USSR until November 1990. Mr. Kniazkov also served as the TASS correspondent in New York and Washington. He has written articles and news analysis for a number of Soviet publications including *Izvestiya*, *Soviet Russia*, *Komsomolskaya Pravda*, and *Literary Gazette*. Since his arrival in the U.S. he has appeared as an analyst on the McNeil-Lehrer Newshour and his articles have appeared in such newspapers as the *Chicago-Tribune*.

STANISLAV LEVCHENKO, former KGB major who worked under the cover of a journalist in Japan. He is currently a consultant on Soviet disinformation, active measures and recruitment of agents of influence. He is the author of several books, among them *The KGB Against the Main Enemy* (co-authored by Herb Romerstein), and his autobiography, *On the Wrong Side: My Life in the KGB*.

YURI MALTSEV, a former Soviet economist, Dr. Maltsev served until 1988 with L. Albalkin and A. Aganbegyan as a Senior Researcher at the Institute of Economics at the Moscow Academy of Sciences. His work consisted of research on the economic reforms of the government of Mikhail Gorbachev. He conducted comparative studies of Soviet and Western management systems. Dr. Maltsev received his Ph.D. in Economics from the Institute for Labor Research in Moscow. He is currently a Peace Fellow at the U.S. Institute of Peace.

MAJOR ROGER MIRANDA-BENGOCHEA, former Chief of the Secretariat of the Nicaraguan Ministry of Defense and chief aide to General Humberto Ortega, Nicaraguan Defense Minister. He is currently working on an extensive analysis of the Sandinista regime and its rise to power. His analysis and opinion pieces on current events in Nicaragua regularly appear in major U.S. newspapers.

LUIS NEGRETE, former Cuban Vice Minister of Industry and General Director of the Automobile Industry and Industrial Development Enterprises. Leading analyst of the Cuban industry and the civilian sectors of the military.

DR. EVGUENI NOVIKOV, former staff member of the International Department of the Central Committee of the CPSU. Prior to his defection in 1988 he was designated to become the Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Committee on Religious affairs, responsible for Islam. Dr. Novikov is currently an Adjunct Professor at the Naval War College in Rhode Island, where he lectures on Soviet affairs and conducts research on the internal power structures of the Soviet Union.

ION PACEPA, former Deputy Director of the Romanian foreign intelligence service and personal advisor to Romanian dictator Nicolae Ceausescu. Author of the 1987 book *Red Horizons* exposing the tyrant's grand design to deceive the West and impose totalitarian rule on his people.

ARKADY SHEVCHENKO, former Under Secretary General of the United Nations and advisor to then Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko. Author of the bestselling *Breaking with Moscow*, Shevchenko is the West's leading analyst of Soviet foreign policy and the foreign service establishment.

VICTOR SHEYMOV, former KGB Major in the secretive 8th Chief Directorate, the center for KGB communications intelligence. In 1980 he and his family were exfiltrated out of Moscow in a daring mission by the CIA and brought to the United States. Mr. Sheymov went public in March 1990, after first having published numerous articles under a pseudonym. He is currently writing a book and numerous articles analyzing the current critical situation in the Soviet Union.

ROMUALD SPASOWSKI, former Polish Ambassador to the United States until December 1981, when he defected in protest to the imposition of martial law in his country. His autobiography, *The Liberation of One* was published in 1987 and details his rise to the pinnacles of the Polish foreign policy establishment. Spasowski continues to be a keen analyst of affairs in Poland.

DR. MILAN SVEC, former Deputy Ambassador and Charge D'Affairs at the Czechoslovak Embassy in Washington, DC. In addition, Dr. Svec was personal advisor to the Czech Foreign Minister. Since his defection in 1986, he has held visiting scholar positions with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, the National Defense University, and most recently, with the U.S. Peace Institute. He is one of the foremost analysts on the situation in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. His articles have appeared in such periodicals as *Foreign Affairs*, *The Wall Street Journal*, and *The Washington Post*.

ROSSEN VASSILEV, former Bulgarian diplomat who served over 8 years with the Bulgarian Mission to the United Nations. Mr. Vassilev is a supreme analyst of Soviet and East European affairs. His assessments are regularly printed in the mass media. He is currently a research associate at Ohio Wesleyan University and is studying for his Ph.D. at Ohio State University.

YELENA VOLOVIK, former Staff member of the International Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. From 1985-1990, Ms. Volovik worked in Prague, Czechoslovakia on the publication *World Marxist Review*. She also served in the office of the Central Committee's Department of International Information in Moscow. Currently Ms. Volovik works at the Slavic Department of The George Washington University while studying for a graduate degree in international business.

BOGDAN WALEWSKI, former Polish diplomat. He volunteered his services to U.S. intelligence for more than twenty years while steadily rising in the Polish foreign service. In 1981 he was captured shortly after completing a tour of Duty as First Secretary at the Polish Embassy in Moscow. Since his exchange in 1985, he has been an analyst of Soviet affairs. He was given a life sentence of which he served four years until his release in 1985 as part of an East-West exchange of intelligence officers. He is currently an analyst of Polish affairs, and is writing his memoirs.

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Number of Soviets Asking for Asylum In United States Quadrupled Last Year

Many Applicants Cite Fears That Turmoil Could Lead to Crackdown

By Ruth Sinai
Associated Press

The number of Soviet citizens seeking political asylum in the United States quadrupled last year, and many applicants cited fears that their country's turbulent politics could lead to a reversal of recent freedoms.

"I could foresee a crackdown coming against liberals, against nationalists," said Maxim Kniazkov, a senior official of the government-run Tass news agency who defected two months ago.

In 1989, 243 Soviets applied for asylum, said Duke Austin of the Immigration and Naturalization Service. Of those requests, 109 were approved, 11 were denied and the remainder are pending.

In fiscal 1990, which ended Sept. 30, 1,043 Soviets applied. Of those, 239 applications were approved, 51 were denied and the rest are pending.

"We're seeing more Soviet defectors than ever before because of the deterioration there," said Leigh S. Lamora, a spokeswoman for the Jamestown Foundation, which helps resettle political refugees.

Many of last year's applicants cited fears that the KGB secret police and the Soviet military—reacting to growing chaos, demands by many republics for independence and strident calls for democracy—will reverse the freedoms introduced in recent years by President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Kniazkov, whose job was to supervise the foreign news desk at Tass, disappeared in October while participating in an exchange program in Lawrence, Kan.

"I was in government service," Kniazkov said in an interview here. "I would have had to support what could be a very bloody thing, to write propaganda about it."

"You know a crime is going to be committed by the government you

work for, and hundreds could perish. You have to take sides," he said.

Kniazkov, who left behind a son and former wife, said he knew when he arrived for the week-long program that he wouldn't be going home with the 250-member Soviet delegation. He called the local police, who handed him over to the INS.

The agency granted him asylum a week later.

To be eligible for asylum, foreigners must prove "a well-founded fear of persecution" if they return to their homeland, said INS spokesman Austin.

The growing number of asylum seekers can be explained in part by the fact that under *glasnost*, Gorbachev's policy of "openness," many Soviets are free to travel. But that is proving to be a mixed blessing.

U.S. authorities once valued asylum seekers who fled the Soviet Union as tools in Cold War propaganda battles with Moscow and, in some cases, as intelligence assets.

But now, the asylum seekers are placing a strain on the INS—already snowed under by the growing number of Soviets and Eastern Europeans seeking immigrant or refugee status in this country.

Dan Danilov, a veteran immigration attorney, said it is impolitic to grant political asylum to Soviet citizens. Such action, he said, announces "to all the world that that government is an evil government."

Administration officials said relations with the Soviet Union have improved to such a degree that asylum cases no longer pose the irritant they did during the Cold War. Gorbachev has pledged that his foreign policy will not be affected by measures taken domestically to restore order.

But Kniazkov said that despite improved ties with the United States and the relaxation of government controls on state institutions, "once you decide to leave a senior government position, you're considered an enemy of the Soviet Union."

Kniazkov said that when he first arrived in the United States, Americans believed things had improved so dramatically in the Soviet Union that no one was in danger of persecution.

"Now there's been an awakening of public opinion," he said.

WHAT SOME HAVE SAID ABOUT THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

"It could well be that uncoiled nationalism in Eastern Europe, and perhaps even in the Socialist Republic, will result in abuses to freedom that Jamestown must watch very carefully. Obviously, our greatest assets can assist in this overwatch."

- General Alexander M. Haig, Jr.
former Secretary of State -

"Given the speed at which events throughout Eastern Europe are unfolding, I rely, now more than ever, on the insightful and lucid thinking expressed in your publications. While so many have come to believe that the Soviet threat is a thing of days past...it is wonderful to know that Jamestown will continue to provide the kind of solid informative analysis which will enable us to make effective and consistent policy. Understanding the long-term ramifications of change in the East as well as the deeper meaning behind the media headlines will allow us to make decisions which are in the best interest of America...Keep up the great work."

- Malcolm Wallop
United States Senate -

"It is particularly important that the Jamestown Foundation contribute to education about the crucial events in the Soviet Union at this time of extraordinary upheaval."

- John Norton Moore
Walter L. Brown Professor of Law,
University of Virginia -

"It is indeed a very crucial time to have the expertise of (Jamestown's) people available."

- W. Bruce Weinrod
Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense

"Said simply, the work of the Jamestown Foundation is exceedingly beneficial to United States national interests."

- Kenneth Adelman
former Director, U.S. Arms Control
and Disarmament Agency -

WHAT SOME HAVE SAID ABOUT *TRANSITIONS*...

"I believe that a journal such as TRANSITIONS can provide members of the national security community with a valuable perspective on the events now taking place in Eastern Europe, and I applaud the effort."

Duane P. Andrews
Assistant Secretary of Defense

"I am sure that this publication (TRANSITIONS) will be helpful in my consideration of legislative proposals in this area."

Bill Bradley, United States Senator

"I commend your efforts on the publication (TRANSITIONS), as it provides an opportunity for knowledgeable individuals to share their perspectives on the events that continue to develop before our eyes..."

David V. Kitchen, Director
Counter Intelligence Programs
National Security Council

"TRANSITIONS will be very useful for a number of story ideas."

The Voice of America

"I am delighted to have a copy of your new publication (TRANSITIONS). It is high time the people of the transitional communist countries were given such a forum in which to write."

William E. Simon
WSPG International, Inc.

"Congratulations on a splendid effort!"

Constance Homer
The Under Secretary of Health and
Human Services

"TRANSITIONS is going to be of great value to all of us with a serious interest in tracking events in the East; a movement that is as historic as it is, for the moment, undefined."

David M. Abshire, President
Center for Strategic &
International Studies

"TRANSITIONS is a fascinating publication. I look forward to future issues."

Newsweek

"I commend the Foundation for your efforts in this worthwhile undertaking..."

Richard F. Stolz
Deputy Director of Operations
The Central Intelligence Agency

"TRANSITIONS looks like a very interesting publication. I was impressed by the article Groping Down The River, which addresses some of the key issues U.S. companies face in doing business with the Soviet Union."

Thomas J. Murrin
The Deputy Secretary of Commerce

"I've read TRANSITIONS and I think it's an excellent magazine."

Gerald Gidwitz
Chairman of the Board
Helene Curtis Industries

"This (TRANSITIONS) is clearly going to be an interesting and important publication..."

Brian Crozier
British Author and Journalist

"It (TRANSITIONS) looks like a very worthwhile publication...In fact, we will ask for multiple copies so we can share them with a number of our Board members who will be going to the Soviet Union later this year."

Edwin J. Feulner, Jr., President
The Heritage Foundation

"TRANSITIONS is an excellent and informative publication."

Reader's Digest

"...TRANSITIONS is groundbreaking work that promises to shed new and informative light on the recent changes in Eastern Europe. I look forward to using this journal as a unique source of relevant foreign policy information."

Bob McEwen
Member of Congress

"I have read it (TRANSITIONS) through, and I must say I think it's excellent. The perspectives it provides are truly gap-filling in nature and, therefore, quite valuable."

Douglas M. Johnston
Executive Vice President
Center for Strategic & International
Studies

"TRANSITIONS provides valuable information regarding the economics of the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe."

Journal of Commerce

"TRANSITIONS is great! The Betrayal of the Coops was unique and most informative. It is high time the American public become aware of the modern realities of Soviet society."

Chief Executive Magazine

WHAT SOME HAVE SAID ABOUT THE JAMESTOWN FOUNDATION

"I want to take this opportunity to applaud the magnificent work of the Jamestown Foundation. Those of you who fled persecution and oppression in your native lands and have since devoted your lives to speaking out against totalitarianism are extraordinary individuals. Thank you for sharing your knowledge and experience with us. Your courageous efforts have made our world a better place."

- President George Bush -

"Now that the Soviet Union and other communist regimes seem to have taken first steps on a long road to democratization, your work is more important than ever in providing insights into their behavior and intentions. I want to assure you... that your efforts will surely help us better evaluate these changes and secure a more peaceful future."

- President Ronald Reagan -

"The Jamestown Foundation has played an important role in alleviating suffering, and in furthering democracy...I appreciate your keeping me in touch with your efforts. Keep up the good work."

- Dick Cheney,
Secretary of Defense -

"I strongly endorse the views expressed in your letter... The disintegration of the communist world creates all sorts of openings which have to be intelligently exploited by the West. I am very supportive of your efforts."

- Dr. Zbigniew Brzezinski
former National Security Advisor-

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

April 28, 1989

I am delighted to join with the members of the Jamestown Foundation as you honor Ambassador Max Kampelman.

Throughout our nation's history, extraordinary Americans have dedicated their lives to advancing the cause of freedom around the world. Max Kampelman is such an individual. As an attorney, scholar, diplomat, and confidant to several Presidents, Max has long devoted his talent and energy to defending human rights and democratic principles. I proudly add my hurrah to all of yours tonight as you salute Max on a job well done.

I also want to take this opportunity to applaud the magnificent work of the Jamestown Foundation. Its commitment to promoting human rights and individual freedom stands as a shining example to people everywhere. Those of you who fled persecution and oppression in your native lands and have since devoted your lives to speaking out against totalitarianism are extraordinary individuals. Thank you for sharing your knowledge and experience with us. Your courageous efforts have made our world a better place.

Barbara joins me in offering Max our heartfelt congratulations, and in sending best wishes to all for a wonderful event and every future happiness.

God bless and keep you.

George Bush

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

October 4, 1990

I am delighted to send greetings to the members and friends of the Jamestown Foundation as you gather to honor Ambassador Jeane Kirkpatrick. My heartiest congratulations to Jeane and to Senator John McCain, who will be presented with a special award by Senator Chuck Robb.

The sweeping political changes we have witnessed throughout central and eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, as well as in our own Hemisphere, bear testimony to the strength of man's desire for freedom and self-determination. Today, the Jamestown Foundation can claim more than a little credit for its part in encouraging this dramatic shift toward greater openness and democracy around the world. Since its inception, the Foundation has helped defectors from oppressed nations make the transition to life in a free society; it has helped us to learn from their firsthand accounts of tyranny and repression; and it has closely studied events and trends in communist countries, not only during the Cold War years, but also at the dawn of this promising new era in world relations. I commend its staff and members for their unique contribution to public debate and to the development of foreign policy in the United States.

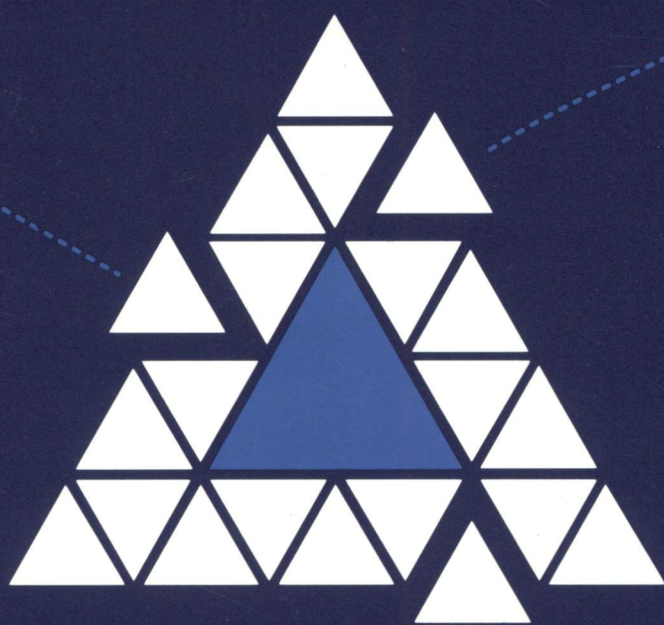
It is most fitting that the Jamestown Foundation honor Jeane Kirkpatrick, a woman who has enriched our understanding of the world around us. Jeane has distinguished herself as a champion of freedom and human rights through her outstanding work at the United Nations; as a professor of political science at Georgetown; and as a respected columnist, author, and lecturer. Her eloquent and forceful arguments for a strong, united stand against totalitarianism have time and again

helped both the American people and their elected representatives to recognize perils and opportunities before our country.

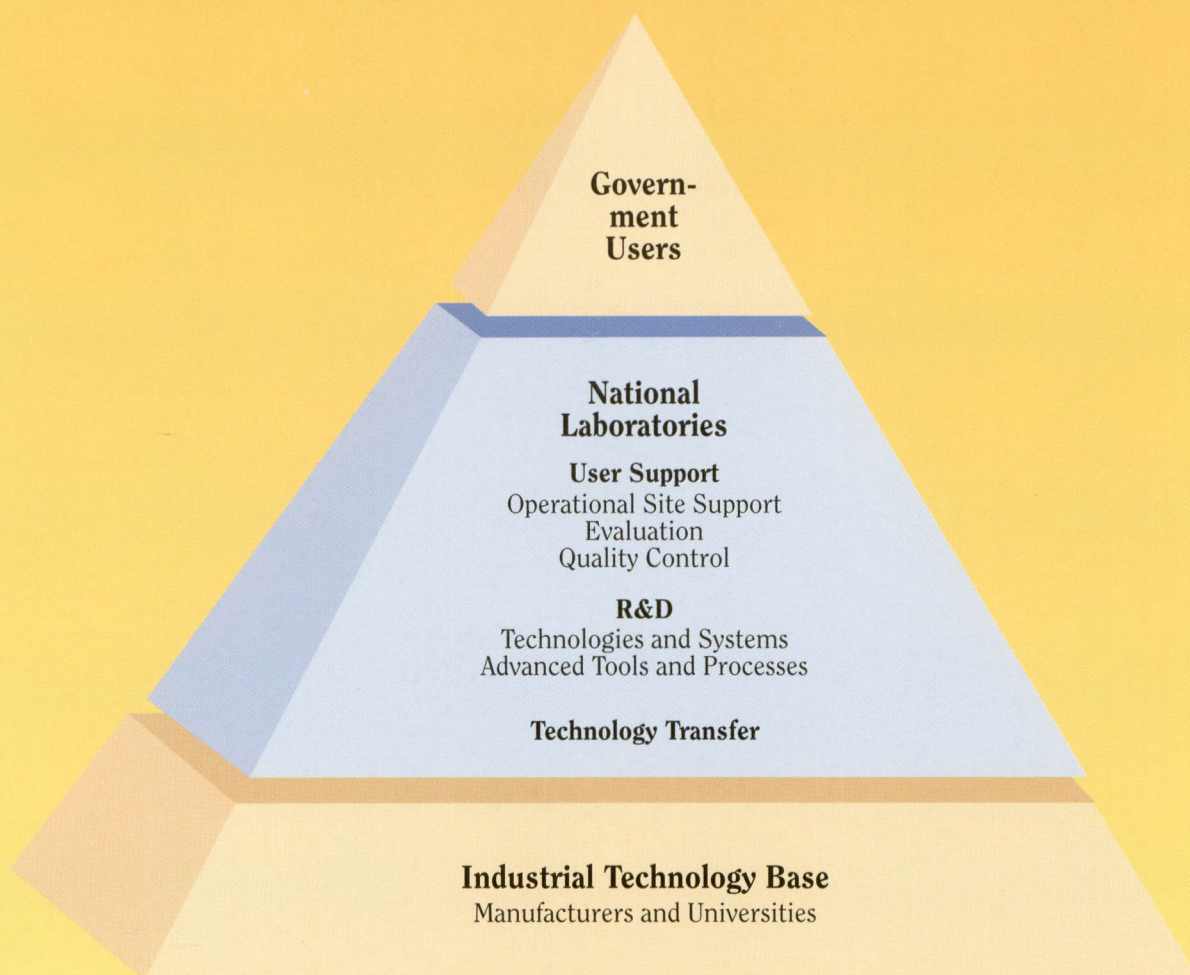
Senator John McCain has also been a tireless advocate of human rights and an influential voice for a strong national defense. A decorated Vietnam veteran, he is profoundly aware of the dangers that totalitarian regimes pose to free nations. I congratulate him and Ambassador Kirkpatrick on their many accomplishments; and on behalf of all Americans, I encourage them to keep up the good work.

Barbara joins me in sending best wishes for an enjoyable evening and for every future success. God bless you.

Cy Burl



NATIONAL
Center of Excellence
LABORATORIES



Benefits to Government

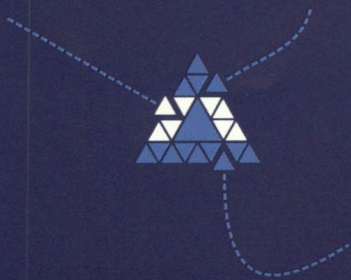
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Increase Quality
Reduce Program Cost
Promote and Advance the Technology
Develop Standards
Focus on Critical Technologies
Centralized Access to Industrial Technology Base
Technology Transfer

Benefits to U.S. Industry

Cost Sharing in Developing Base Technologies
Future Commercialization of Government Requirements
Early Development of Standards
Broad Access to User Requirements
Fosters Cooperative Spirit
Promotes Exchange of Technology Across Industry

THE NATIONAL LABORATORIES

Each National Laboratory, centered at a world-leading organization, supports and works with users to develop advanced technologies. Each Laboratory brings together resources from a broad industrial and university R&D base. Through these Laboratories, Government can access and use the world's best resources, and in performing its mission, acts as a catalyst for development of new technologies within industry.



*For additional information about the NIDL,
its programs, and the ways it can assist you
please contact:*

National Information Display Laboratory
David Sarnoff Research Center
P. O. Box 8619
Princeton, N.J. 08543-8619

or call

Dr. Curtis R. Carlson
Director, National Information Display Laboratory

or

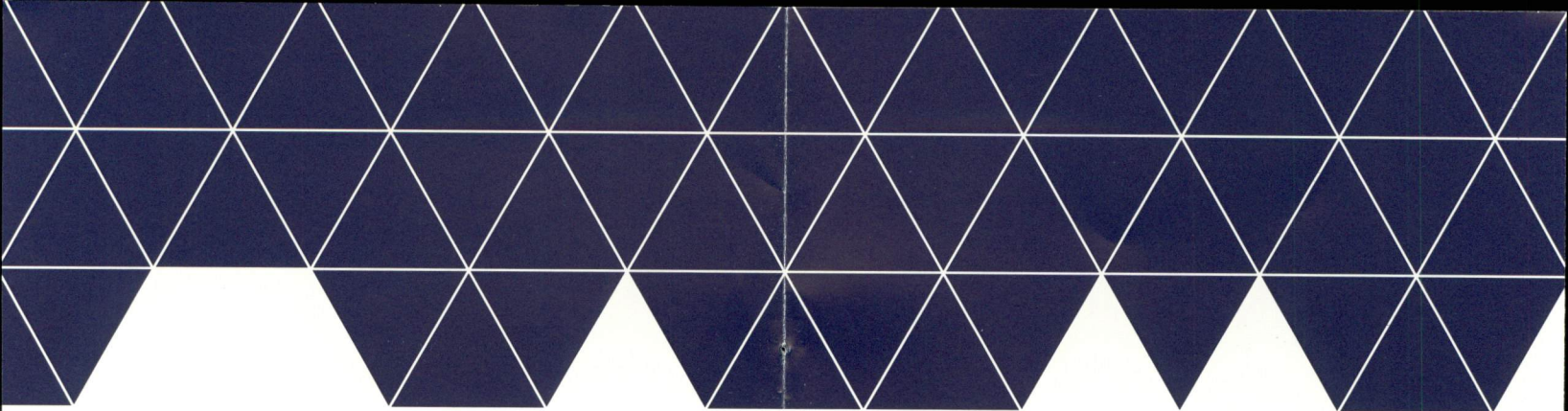
Dr. Arthur Firester
Director, Advanced Display Technology

or

Dr. Norman Winarsky
Director, Software Tools & Technology

(609) 951-0150

NATIONAL INFORMATION DISPLAY LABORATORY: NIDL



THE CHALLENGE

Within the Federal Government there is a growing need to process and extract useful information more rapidly. The challenge is to accomplish this while maintaining, or even reducing, financial resources. Solutions to Government problems also need to be developed much more rapidly to keep pace with worldwide technological developments.

Electronic processing and display of images and information (i.e., Softcopy) provides one exciting opportunity to address the needs described above. Giving users more powerful tools, Softcopy provides the vehicle for putting them in greater control of their environment, while also enabling them to become much more productive and perform tasks that are impossible today.

Softcopy technologies are experiencing explosive growth in the commercial sector. In many Softcopy technologies commercial investments and capabilities now exceed those of the Government. This reality is the basis for the movement to Commercial Off-The-Shelf (COTS) solutions.

The National Information Display Laboratory (NIDL) was established to help the Government exploit and develop Softcopy solutions. The NIDL supports present user needs using the best available resources. Where appropriate these solutions are based on COTS technology. Supporting present needs also provides the NIDL with the understanding to help develop advanced technology for users' future needs.

An important function of the NIDL is to work as an interface between Softcopy users and the established and growing Softcopy industry. Thus, the NIDL provides a centralized location for serving Government users and for coordinating the capabilities of industry.

ADVANCED DISPLAY TECHNOLOGY

- △ CRT displays with both high-resolution and high-brightness
- △ EL and LCD display systems
- △ Computer simulation of CRT and LCD display systems to allow users to analyze and evaluate new display systems
- △ Perceptual modeling of image quality
- △ Novel interactive multisensory display systems

SOFTCOPY TOOLS AND TECHNOLOGY

- △ Interactive data visualization systems programmed in the user's visual language for analysis of widely distributed, diverse data
- △ Real-time image and signal processing of multispectral images, sonar, radar, video, and command and control
- △ Fusion of images and data
- △ Alerting and search using real-time computer vision and image analysis systems
- △ Real-time volume rendering for creating synthetic environments
- △ Parallel computing languages, advanced architectures, and hardware for real-time, interactive data-intensive applications
- △ Advanced workstations with integrated software environments

display systems before significant money is invested. It is used to demonstrate to users the performance improvements that will result from different systems using their images and while performing their tasks. This simulator is being extended to include a wide range of image processing effects, as well as emerging display technologies, such as LCDs.

▲ DISPLAY EVALUATION AND CERTIFICATION

The NIDL has established a display evaluation laboratory for measuring the performance of a wide array of high-perfor-



mance display systems. This facility helps improve the testing and performance of users' displays. The current program is focused on evaluation of high-resolution

CRTs. In the near future this laboratory will include high resolution projection systems, stereo, LCD, and virtual reality systems. The results of these measurements are also used to guide improvements in future display systems.

▲ ADVANCED TECHNOLOGIES

Government applications are often either more advanced than or significantly different from normal commercial develop-



ments. An important aspect of the NIDL is to develop advanced technologies to address Government needs that are not immediate-

ly addressed with commercial capabilities. For example, the Princeton Engine, pictured above, is a supercomputer designed to process gigabit data rate signals in real time. The following list gives an indication of the advanced technologies under development by the NIDL.

THE NIDL: CENTER OF EXCELLENCE TO ADVANCE SOFTCOPY TECHNOLOGY

▲ RESOURCES

The focal point of the NIDL is the David Sarnoff Research Center, located in Princeton, N.J. Sarnoff provides a centralized location for serving Government users and for coordinating the programs within the NIDL. It also has in place the people, facilities, and expertise to make immediate and significant impact on the Government's problems. The David Sarnoff Research Center is a proven leader in Softcopy technologies with nearly 50 years of pioneering achievement in the field. From the invention of color television, to LCD displays, to today's Softcopy display technologies, Sarnoff's expertise is a committed resource to the NIDL.

Sarnoff's capabilities are augmented by the addition of other world-leading resources to form an integrated constellation of technical capabilities. These associate members include international R&D centers, commercial manufacturers, and universities. The combined capabilities of these resources go well beyond what any one organization could offer.

Gaining access to this expertise for the Government is one of the primary goals of the NIDL. Thus, a cornerstone of the program is that both NIDL partners and NIDL associates create mutual value. The NIDL achieves goals through cooperation, co-funding, and project sponsorship. Additional benefits are access to new customers, emerging markets, and other partners. The NIDL can also aid in illuminating important results and making them available for Government applications.

▲ COMMUNICATIONS

Several times a year the NIDL holds meetings to discuss, in detail, specific NIDL technology developments and their ramifications for the Government community. This open communication helps generate consensus, locate opportunities for consolidation of resources, and provide a catalyst for new programs. New speakers and organizations are invited to broaden the base of Government contributors.

▲ PUBLICATIONS

One of the important functions of the NIDL is to provide an interface to help both industry and Government communicate more effectively without compromising security or client

confidential information. Publication in the open literature of the technical results generated by the laboratories is encouraged. Newsletters and other publications specific to the NIDL are available.

▲ STANDARDS

The NIDL provides a forum for understanding and publicizing Government system standards and for transferring those standards to industry. For example, the NIDL is currently working with the Society for Information Display to develop commercial display evaluation standards. Other opportunities under consideration include software and communications interfaces.

▲ TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

Since the NIDL leverages commercial capabilities it provides an excellent mechanism for transfer of advanced technology to commercial industry. The transfer of this technology helps lower cost, provide sustained maintenance, and improve compatibility with commercial standards.

NIDL PROGRAMS

The goal of the NIDL is to develop capabilities that will enable Softcopy users to be more productive. The specific functions within the NIDL are to:

- ▲ Provide on-site support and consultation for Government users
- ▲ Provide Softcopy display quality control
- ▲ Provide for display evaluation and certification
- ▲ Develop advanced display technologies
- ▲ Develop advanced Softcopy tools and technology
- ▲ Transfer these technical developments to the commercial marketplace

These functions are indicated in Figure 1. As this figure also indicates, the NIDL is a bridge between Government users and the Softcopy industry.

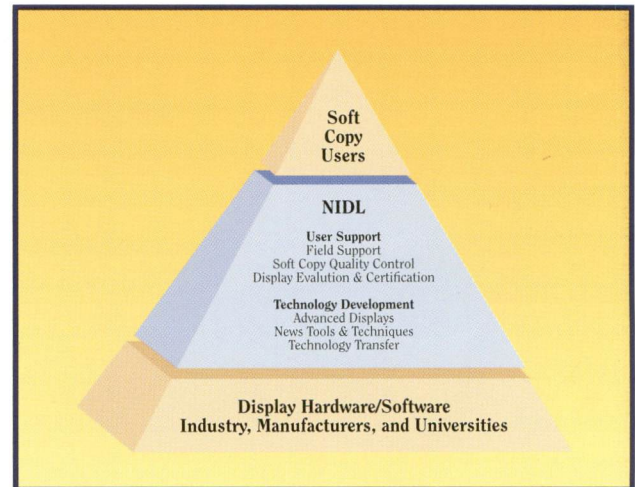


FIGURE 1
OVERALL REPRESENTATION OF THE NIDL

▲ ON-SITE USER SUPPORT

NIDL experts are ready to work on-site with users to analyze, troubleshoot, instruct, and provide near-term technical solutions to Government operational problems in the areas of display, information processing, and software technologies. The NIDL provides sustained user support, consulting, and assistance in the design of new display systems and in the maintenance of existing systems.

Contact with users is also essential to understanding and solving their long-term problems. Frequent contact with users allows the NIDL to help develop the most relevant long term-solutions to support users.

▲ SOFTCOPY QUALITY CONTROL

The NIDL evaluates display system performance in the field. Among the tools developed by the NIDL is a comprehensive computer model that can simulate many existing and proposed display systems. This computer model, called the Display System Simulator, is a joint project between Sarnoff and other NIDL associates. It can simulate the performance of new





NIDL Partner Focus: The Joint National Intelligence Development Staff

In early 1991, the NIDL established its partnership with the Joint National Intelligence Development Staff (JNIDS) to address the need to exploit diverse quantities of national and tactical data. The NIDL and JNIDS share a common vision — to identify and expedite the delivery of crucial technologies to the Government user. Both organizations utilize a strong methodology to make this vision a reality.

The NIDL teams with both industrial and academic organizations to provide innovative, cost-efficient solutions to government problems. The key to JNIDS' approach is the continual involvement of Government users in a rapid, iterative design process which provides users with the optimal solution. The union of NIDL and JNIDS is an effective example of the NIDL-Partner relationship. This issue of **SOFTCOPY** introduces JNIDS, its programs, methodology, and on-going activities with the NIDL.

In This Issue . . .

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Challenge 22	5
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JNIDS' VISTA Volume Visualization System - developed with Texas Instruments. The 3-D laser disk display allows groups of analysts multiple views of moving scenarios, such as fighter tactics (above) or satellite orbital mechanics.

Courtesy JNIDS

JNIDS

The Joint National Intelligence Development Staff, which was chartered in 1983 by senior leadership of the Intelligence Community, explores new technology frontiers and builds analytical aids for intelligence analysts. Unique in comparison to other development organizations, JNIDS is composed of individuals with interdisciplinary experience in intelligence and computer science from the Air Force, Navy, and Defense Intelligence Agency. This diverse team provides JNIDS with its most powerful asset: knowledge of a diverse user community and its range of needs.



Current projects at JNIDS, concentrating on technology exploration, include the development of a volume visualization system (VISTA), hypermedia searching (HYPERION), multiple database access and retrieval (ENVOY), multimedia capabilities (MOSAIC), and imagery analysis tools (IMPRINT). Additional projects, focusing on the development of advanced systems, include advanced graphics for intelligence analysis (STATS III), the Korean Analyst Workstation (KAWS) which employs artificial intelligence to predict changes in war readiness, a submarine analysis and battle management system (NAUTILUS), and All Source Space Evaluation Tools (ASSET) to validate compliance with arms treaties.

The JNIDS facility is located in Suitland, Maryland.



The IMPRINT Project Team

NIDL/JNIDS Teambuilding Announcement

The NIDL hosted a potential partner screening for the IMPRINT project during the week of March 30. Invitees included industrial and academic "centers of excellence" interested in bringing significant technological resources to the JNIDS/NIDL IMPRINT project team. Attendees gave relevant presentations, demonstrations, and participated in open discussions with NIDL and JNIDS personnel.

Industrial or academic institutions interested in participating in future partner screenings, for IMPRINT or other NIDL projects, should contact the NIDL office.

Understanding User Needs, Finding Solutions

The development of new tools is critical in enabling the intelligence analyst to fully utilize advances in intelligence gathering technology (see figure, bottom). JNIDS personnel have interviewed hundreds of analysts, from all intelligence disciplines, to determine the important tasks they face and the challenging problems associated with these tasks. JNIDS analyzes the applicability of new technologies to these problems, identifies projects of critical and immediate value to the greater intelligence community, and manages the rapid development effort of the projects chosen.

Often, in organizations that follow a traditional development model, projects initially

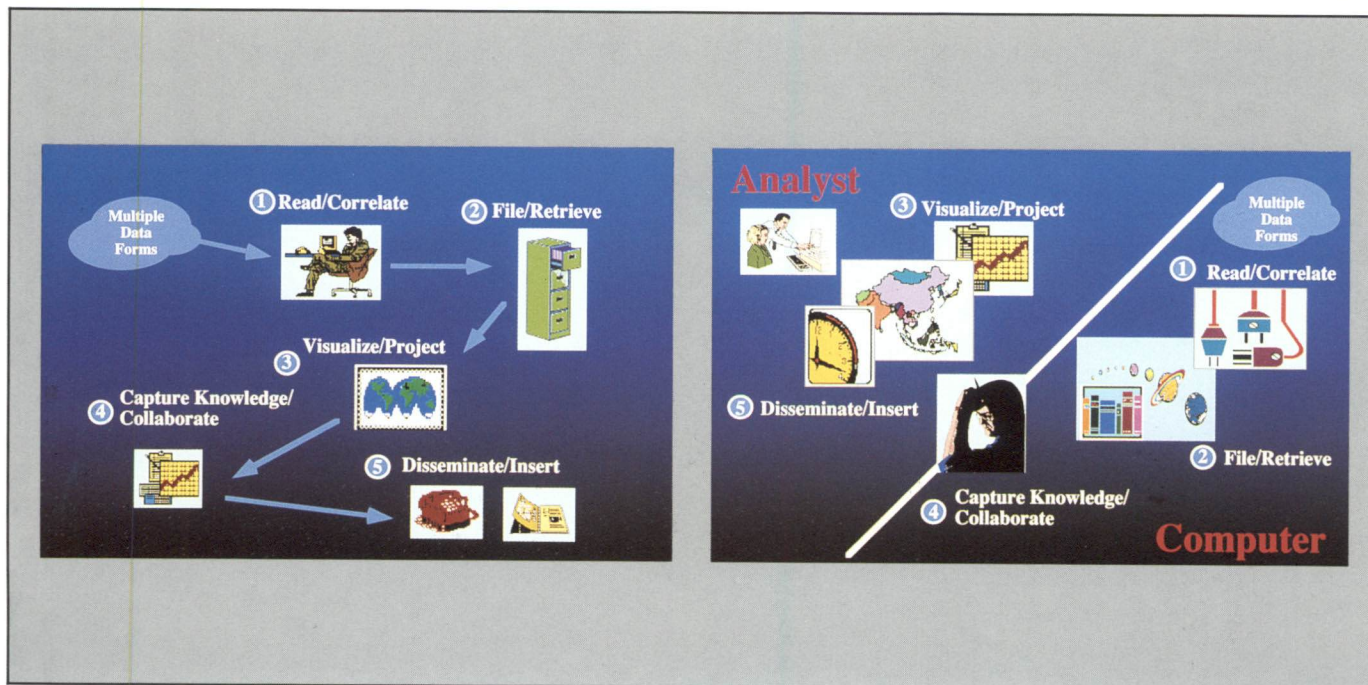
specified by the user do not fulfill the expectations or requirements of the user by the time they are completed. JNIDS attributes this shortcoming to lack of user involvement beyond initial specifications. JNIDS overcomes this problem by employing one, or several, user test site facilities for each of its projects. These test sites provide initial specifications, real data, and iterative refinement to JNIDS' rapid development process. As a project progresses, these users actually utilize successive prototypes of analytical aids, and discover additional requirements only revealed by "hands-on" experience.

This sensitivity to user involvement reflects JNIDS' sincere commitment to its mission.

JNIDS and the NIDL have complementary strengths that make this a powerful partnership. JNIDS provides the NIDL with added insight into Government user requirements. The NIDL provides JNIDS with solutions through its expertise, and its vast knowledge base of current image technology achievements and abilities within the industrial and academic communities. While JNIDS' methodology (see "Challenge 22") is driving rapid development, the NIDL is building teams to increase technological resources (see NIDL/JNIDS Teambuilding Announcement).

In the current analysis process flow the image analyst takes in raw intelligence data and produces finished reports (left).

By implementing computer technology the analyst is able to focus on the more cognitive, creative aspects of the tasks before him (right).



Courtesy JNIDS

"Challenge 22" — A Project Development Methodology

Webster's defines a "catch 22" as a "problematic situation for which the only solution is denied by a circumstance inherent in the problem." JNIDS identifies a similar situation when describing systems development. Computer systems are developed to meet user needs, but users don't know exactly what is needed until the system is in their environment. Major Christine Haapala, USAF, Deputy for Technical Research, JNIDS, refers to this dilemma as "Challenge 22."

Addressing this challenge, JNIDS employs a development approach where the best of both worlds is obtained. Enlisting a rapid prototyping philosophy, with successive design iterations, facilitates parallelism in system implementation and development. This method allows the analyst to continually specify/refine requirements throughout the development process. Dovetailing, or interlacing, user requirements with system specifications results in a successful system development that satisfies requirements at final delivery.

The key to JNIDS' methodology is user participation. Programs begin with *teambuilding*, and the user must be an active team member during the entire development process. Success is not obtained by meeting original specifications, but by meeting the critical goal of the project — supporting the user's needs.

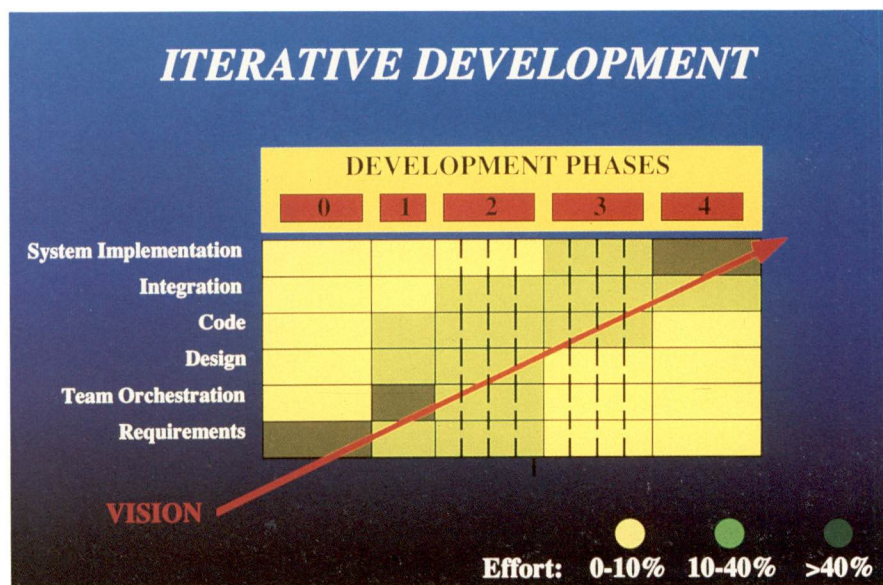
JNIDS selects one or more users to participate in a program. After on-site meetings with the user, the JNIDS team defines the

initial project specifications at a macro level. Following a rigid schedule, the initial prototype is implemented in the users' environment, initiating the iterative process of refining requirements and developing the system. The *rapid development* of the prototype is crucial. JNIDS has found that strict adherence to a regular delivery schedule places technology into the hands of the user more effectively than traditional development methodologies.

The added-value of JNIDS' methodology is *iterative development*. Because the new technology has often never been implemented in the users' environment, evaluation of a "work in progress" allows the users to better understand its application to their environment. The users can then directly communicate their

needs to the system developer. In more traditional development methodologies, developers provide a complete design specification, often learning at system delivery that it will not support the users' current needs. It is more advantageous for developers and users alike to iteratively take ten steps forward, and one back, to reach the optimal solution.

To date, this methodology has been tested and proven successful on seven four-year, ten million dollar, thirty person projects. JNIDS is seeking test cases in the one-hundred million dollar project range to prove scalability of the methodology.



Courtesy JNIDS

Multiple cycles of analyst review and contractor modification enable the end user to be closely involved throughout the development process

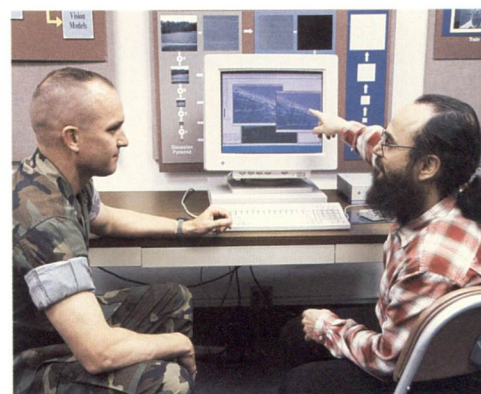
Imagery Prototype Initiative

In response to the need to effectively exploit, correlate, and visualize image and other diverse data types, the NIDL and JNIDS are working on a three year effort to produce the next generation, computer-based, image analysis tools. The IMagery PRototype INItiative (**IMPRINT**) is aimed at rapidly applying advanced image processing technologies to assist in the exploitation of imagery, and developing interactive softcopy image exploitation tools for image analysts. This suite of innovative, interactive, image exploitation tools is based on current NIDL technology in hierarchical image matching, image database management, and image analysis. It also incorporates commercial-off-the-shelf (COTS) fractal compression technology from Iterated Systems, Inc.

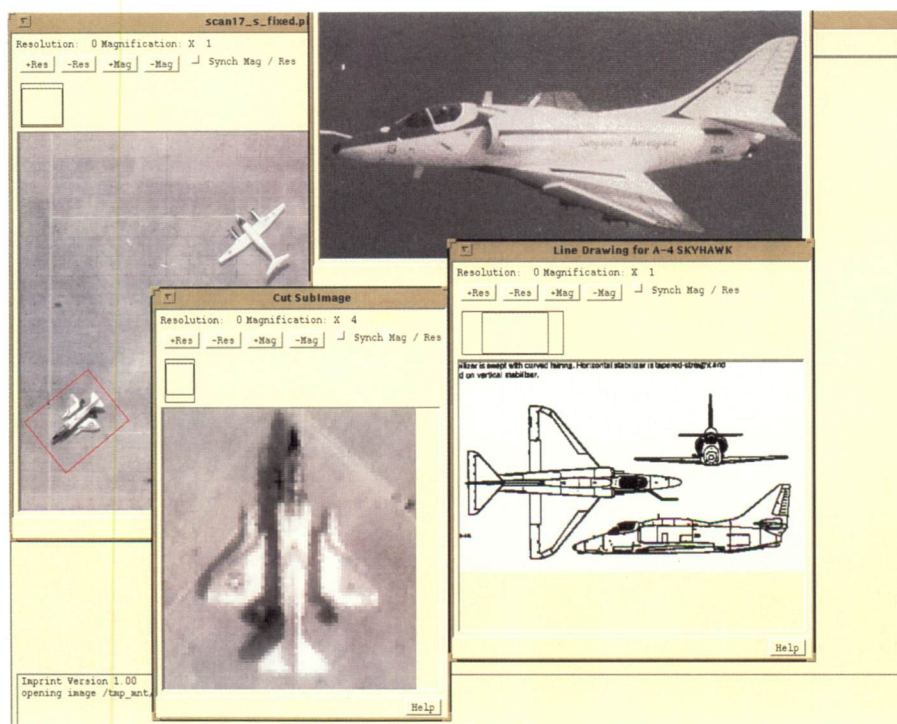
Typical to JNIDS' methodology, **IMPRINT** is employing a Government user test site, the US Marine Corps 2d Force Image Interpretation Unit (USMC 2d FIU), which has provided initial data and insight to define project requirements. Personnel from NIDL and JNIDS participated in a 3-day knowledge engineering session with members of USMC 2d FIU in Cherry Point, N.C. Based on this intensive interaction, the team defined a set of interactive image exploitation tools. NIDL will deliver the first **IMPRINT** prototypes in June, 1992. Iterative developments will continue to June, 1994.

Testbeds are located at the NIDL and JNIDS. These testbeds are available to interested parties for examination and testing of the imagery analysis tools.

Companies, laboratories, and institutions interested in contributing to future phases of **IMPRINT** should contact the NIDL (see NIDL/JNIDS Team-building).



IMPRINT team members review image registration tools (top & bottom)



IMPRINT tools enable the analysts to manipulate incoming image data and compare it to existing database information

Director's Forum: **Challenge for the '90's**

The Joint National Intelligence Development Staff (JNIDS) was formed in 1983 by the leadership of the Intelligence Community to "remedy shortfalls in the intelligence analysis process ... using advanced technologies and ... innovative development methodologies." Essentially JNIDS was asked to address the "firehose" challenge — the increasing flood of collected information which was (and still is) overwhelming the ability of the intelligence analysts and their support systems to fully use and exploit information resources.

With the end of the Cold War, this information challenge becomes greater, due primarily to three consequences.

The first, and most obvious, consequence has been radical change in the threat, and therefore our intelligence mission. The simple phrase "multipolar world" does not begin to indicate the vastly different global arenas faced by analysts today. The problem for the analyst is not nearly so focused as in the past, and as the scope of his efforts increase, so does the need for more and better information.

A less obvious, but no less onerous consequence is unpredictable changes in the nature, quantity, and quality of information needed and actually available to the analyst in this new world — "bigger haystacks, different hay, smaller needles."

The third consequence of the Cold War's end is the impact of reduced defense resources. We can no longer ask the analyst to do "more with less," but to do "less with less," is likewise unacceptable. While reductions in the Intelligence Community will make it more difficult to collect and analyze information, reductions in the operational forces will result in demands for the same or even better intelligence support. We must find ways to do "better with less."

We are at a critical point in time when resource reductions and increasing global responsibilities demand state-of-the-art tools if we are to hold the line in intelligence capabilities.

JNIDS answer to the challenge, now as ever, is to rapidly apply the very best in technology to the analytical process. Toward this end we work with a wide range of advanced technologies across a broad spectrum: imagery exploitation and understanding; advanced visualization and three dimensional volume displays; hypermedia and multimedia; intelligent tutoring systems; natural language, automatic translation, and message understanding; and advanced human/computer interfaces. Emerging technologies such as these are essential to freeing the analyst from the drudge work (sifting, correlation, fusion, representation, etc.), so that the analyst can focus on more creative cognitive aspects.

Of course, advanced technology is only part of the story. Successful application of the technology in support of analysts' needs requires new and innovative development approaches. Development efforts must be collaborative in nature and include direct interaction with the analysts at all phases of development to ensure what is developed solves the analysts' problem. Increasingly what is needed are partnerships between user organizations and technology sources, where committed and empowered people can come together and address the challenge directly.

The strategic partnership between JNIDS and NIDL effectively demonstrates how such partnerships can be mutually beneficial. The JNIDS methodology and user base together with the NIDL's ability to exploit emerging capabilities and leverage off work in both the industrial and academic communities has provided an excellent model for the infusion of "intelligent" technologies to solve real world problems.



Courtesy JNIDS

Captain John S. Oates
U.S. Navy

Director, Joint National Intelligence Development Staff



NATIONAL INFORMATION DISPLAY LABORATORY

David Sarnoff Research Center | CN 8619 | Princeton, NJ 08543-8619
Attn. Victor Korsun | Tel. 609-951-0150 | E-mail NIDL@sarnoff.com

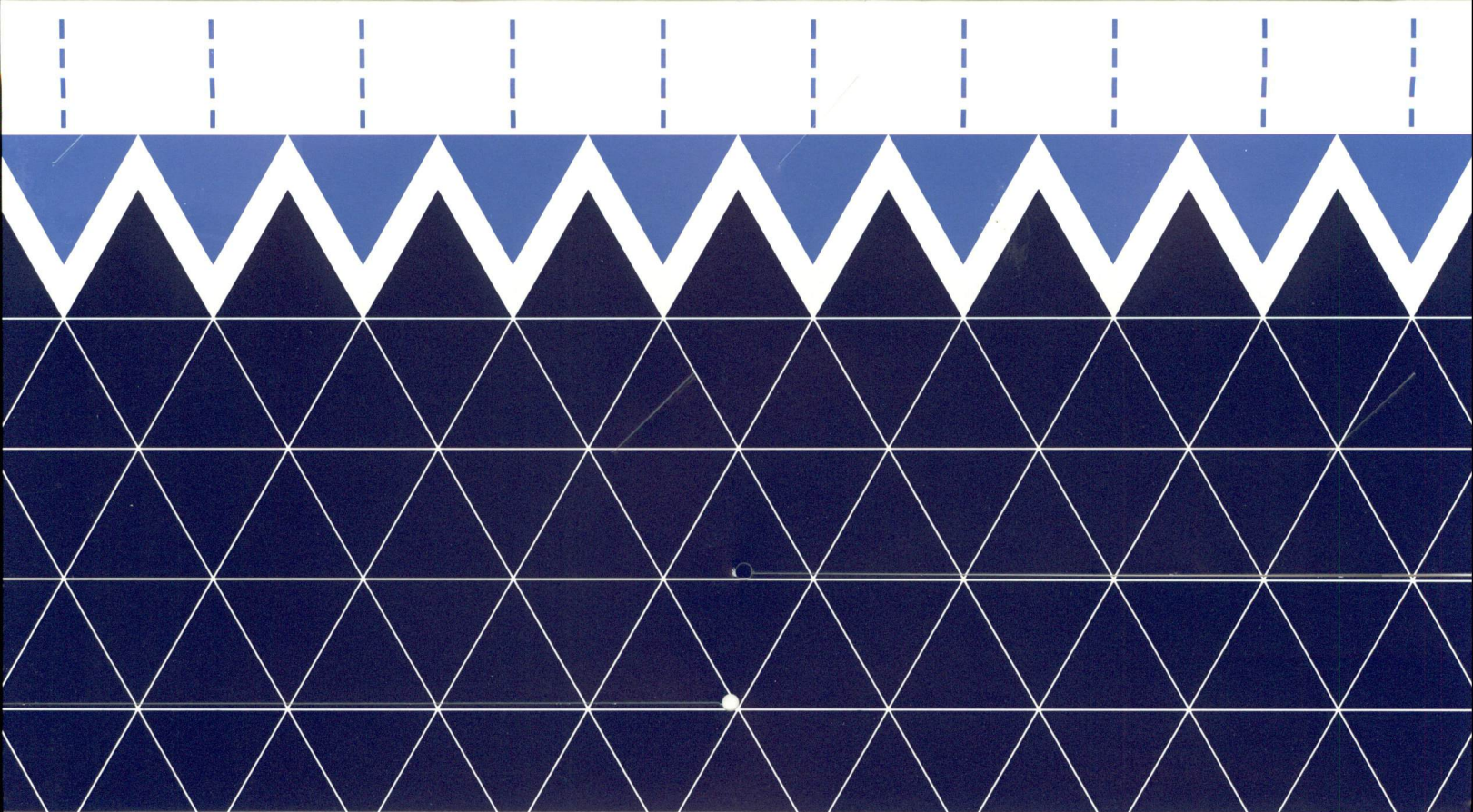
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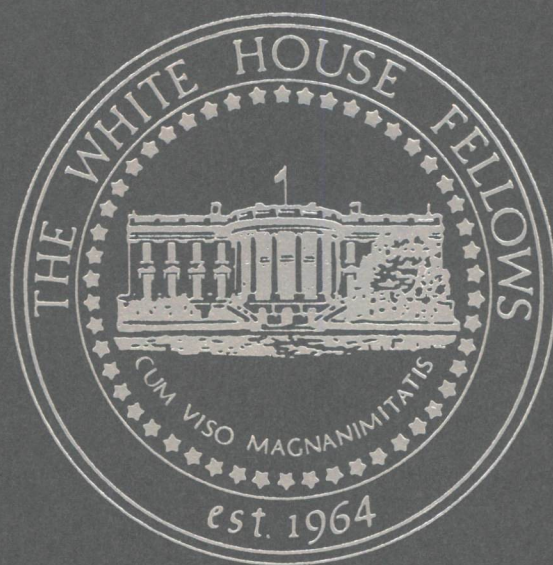
NATIONAL INFORMATION
DISPLAY LABORATORY

NATIONAL MEDIA
LABORATORY

NATIONAL
LABORATORIES

Center of Excellence





THE WHITE HOUSE FELLOWSHIPS

THE WHITE HOUSE**WASHINGTON**

June 19, 1990

"We the people," the first three words of the Preamble to our Constitution, express the essence of our belief in self-government. These words are a reminder that each of us is responsible for ensuring the success of our democracy and that the effectiveness of our institutions of government depends upon the individual men and women who shape them.

If our Nation is to remain strong, every American must not only develop an understanding of our history and government but also participate actively in the democratic process. The White House Fellowships Program provides a unique opportunity for promising young men and women from diverse backgrounds to participate in government at the national level. In so doing, they gain valuable leadership experience and firsthand knowledge of the Executive Office of the President, the Cabinet-level departments, and other agencies within the Executive Branch.

Because the White House Fellows bring the fruits of their educational and professional experience to their work, the Nation as well benefits from this program. The White House Fellows Program strengthens the link between government and the private sector while enabling talented young men and women to share their expertise and their ideas with those in public service.

White House Fellows are helping to ensure that our Nation's great experiment in self-government continues to succeed, and I am grateful for their service to our country.



▲
*President Bush with Commission
Chairman Ronna Romney*

Ge. Bush

"In America, the name of the game has always been talent. Not just how to nurture and encourage it, but how to turn the energy and intelligence of free men and women to the great public purposes of expanding and securing the democratic system.

The White House Fellowship Program is part of that process. Its purpose has been to seek out men and women of achievement whose commitments and capabilities demonstrate their potential for leadership.

I have had the opportunity to meet and talk to the Fellows. I have been impressed by their forcefulness and thoughtfulness, their perceptions and insights, by the sheer scope of their concerns.

They are proof to me that despite all the problems and challenges America faces, we continue to command resources of will, intellect and ability that are matched by no other nation on earth."

—J. Richard Munro, Former Co-Chairman and Co-CEO, Time Warner, Inc.

Since its inception in 1964, the White House Fellowship program has provided gifted and highly motivated Americans with firsthand experience in the process of governing the Nation and a sense of personal involvement in the leadership of society. In this, our twenty-sixth year, the program continues to attract people with these same unique qualifications. Our Alumni Association members are proud to count among them many prominent and successful leaders in industry, government and the academic world. Moreover, we are consciously expanding our outreach efforts to ensure the continuation of a successful program.

The program seeks to draw exceptionally promising people from all sectors of our national life — the professions, business, government, the arts and the academic world. It is essential to the healthy functioning of our system that we have an understanding — gained firsthand — of the problems of national government. In a day when the individual feels increasingly remote from the centers of power and decision-making, such leaders can help their fellow citizens comprehend the process by which the Nation is governed.

In this country today, we produce great numbers of skilled professionals, but too few of this intellectual elite provide society with statesmanlike leadership and guidance in public affairs. If the sparsely settled American colonies of the late 18th century could produce Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Monroe, Madison, Hamilton, Franklin and others of superlative talent, breadth and

statesmanship, should we not be able to produce, in this generation, ten times that number? We are not doing so.

Surely the raw material is still there, and just as surely more must be done in the development of our ablest people to inspire and facilitate the emergence of such leaders and statesmen. Their horizons and experience must be broadened to give them a sense of personal involvement in the leadership of the society, a vision of greatness for the society, and a sense of responsibility for bringing that greatness to reality.

The White House Fellowship program is designed to give superbly qualified Americans precisely those experiences.

— Adopted by the President's Commission on White House Fellowships, 1965



1989-90 White House Fellows with President Bush in the Oval Office.



THE WHITE HOUSE FELLOWSHIPS

Declaring that "a genuinely free society cannot be a spectator society," President Lyndon B. Johnson announced the establishment of the White House Fellowships program in the East Room of the White House in October, 1964. Prompted by the suggestion of John W. Gardner, then President of the Carnegie Corporation, President Johnson's intent was to draw individuals of exceptionally high promise to Washington for one year of personal involvement in the process of government.

Since that time, Presidents Nixon, Ford, Carter, Reagan and Bush have enthusiastically supported the program. Officials of current and past administrations serve on the President's Commission on White House Fellowships. Many others are regional panelists during the selection process.

The Fellows themselves, even after their year in Washington, continue to contribute to the program. The Fellows' educational program is supported financially by the White House Fellows Foundation, which is largely supported by contributions from former Fellows. The White House Fellows Association, whose members are former Fellows, meets annually to be briefed on issues by current administration officials and others.





▲
*1987-88 White House Fellows meet
with Prime Minister Margaret
Thatcher at No. 10 Downing Street.*

The White House Fellowships are a highly competitive opportunity to participate in and learn about the Federal government from a unique perspective. For one year, 11 to 19 Fellows are full-time Schedule A employees of the Federal Government, working in the Executive Office of the President or in an Executive Branch department or agency. Rather than fit the Fellows to their pre-Fellowship specialties, the program aims at utilizing their abilities and developing their skills in the broadest sense possible.

Fellows have served in all of the Cabinet departments, with senior White House staff and the Vice President. Additionally, Fellows have served in other major Executive Branch agencies including the Office of Management and Budget, the National Security Council, the Central Intelligence Agency, the United Nations with our Ambassador, the Office of the U.S. Trade Representative, the Agency for International

Development, the Federal Bureau of Investigation and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration.

The education program complements the full-time work assignment and is a major element of the Fellowship year. Throughout the Fellowship year, Fellows will meet with leaders from government, business, academia and journalism in intimate, off-the-record sessions. Through the education program, Fellows are exposed to a broader range of issues and leadership styles.

THE WORK EXPERIENCE

The work assignment provides the Fellows with the opportunity to observe closely the process of public policy development and to come away with a sense of having participated in the governmental process, as well as having made an actual contribution to the business of government.

Although White House Fellows will draw on specific prior training, education and experience, they should not expect to continue doing the type of work they had been doing before entering the program. An attorney may spend a large part of his or her year working on arms control and disarmament issues. A businessman may spend a year working on welfare reform. A physician may take the lead in establishing a pilot exchange program with a foreign government.

The actual nature of a Fellow's work assignment varies with the particular talents and interests of the Fellow, and depends greatly on what needs to be done. The experience and role of the Fellow depends largely on the personal relationship formed with his or her specific principal and staff, on how hard and successfully



the Fellow applies him or herself to whatever tasks are assigned or become available and on the Fellow's individual initiative in developing relationships and initiating worthwhile projects.

By the end of the year, most Fellows will have written speeches, attended conferences, supervised staff work, reviewed or helped draft proposed legislation, answered Congressional inquiries, chaired meetings, drafted reports, conducted briefings and spearheaded one or more projects.

Some Fellows will have dealt with the whole range of policy matters faced by their agencies, while others will have become deeply involved in just a few select issues. Throughout the year emphasis is placed on linking theory and practice, analysis and action.

Although they operate on a high level, the work done by Fellows is not always glamorous. Sometimes it is frustrating or pedestrian, and there are times when it becomes routine. The experience of most Fellows contains a mixture of significant involvement in major and minor government issues and routine tasks that help make a Federal official's office run smoothly.

It is difficult to generalize about the assignments of White House Fellows. The tasks demand flexibility, a capacity for learning quickly and a willingness to work hard. These are the qualities which have already made the Fellows promising leaders in their own career fields.

THE EDUCATION PROGRAM

The education program is an important feature of the White House Fellowship program. Through a series of off-the-record meetings with top-level government and private sector leaders, Fellows are exposed to a wide range of issues and opinions.

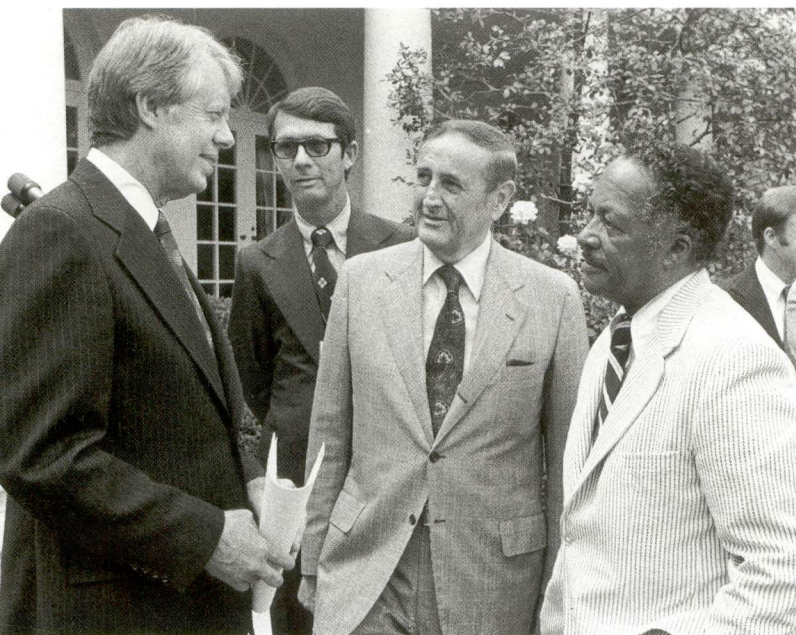
The meetings in the Washington area are supplemented with occasional travel to experience, observe and examine firsthand major issues confronting our society. Fellows have in some years examined international affairs and U.S. foreign policy, and developed an understanding of the goals of other governments through overseas travel.

The 1989-90 Fellows traveled to Belgium, Germany, Hungary, the Soviet Union and Finland to study the dramatic changes taking place in Europe. In addition to witnessing firsthand day-to-day changes which will affect the world for years to



▲ 1989-90 White House Fellows visiting the Berlin Wall following its destruction.





"Our Founding Fathers all came from villages or the countryside, or from what would now be regarded as very small cities. All of them had the opportunity, as youths, to see at first hand the process of governing.

Today young people of comparable ability grow up in a huge, complex, noisy society, and almost none get a close-up view of government. The White House Fellows program is one attempt to deal with that unfortunate fact.

Each year a selection of the most promising young men and women in America are given the opportunity to see and participate in the process of governing at the highest levels. As the years go by they have become a growing reservoir of exceptional individuals prepared to serve their country."

—John W. Gardner, former Secretary of HEW and Commission Chairman

come, the Fellows had the opportunity to discuss these changes with leaders from business, academia and high-level government officials.

During their stay in Brussels, the Fellows had the unique opportunity to discuss the role of NATO and the European Community with NATO Ambassador, William H. Taft IV; USEC Ambassador, Thomas Niles and U.S. Ambassador, Maynard Glitman. In Berlin, they witnessed the aftermath of the remarkable destruction of the Berlin Wall and visited Checkpoint Charlie a few months prior to its removal. In Frankfurt, a meeting with leaders of the Deutsche Bundesbank helped them understand the economic factors at work in a changing Europe. The Fellows then traveled from Frankfurt to the Fulda Gap where they observed the major changes taking place on the East/West German border and were briefed by the members of the 11th Armored Cavalry Regiment. A special highlight of the trip was attending Easter Sunday Services at the Esteragon Cathedral in a newly free Hungary and discussing current affairs with several young Hungarian leaders who had just been elected. In Moscow, the Fellows witnessed one of the first public political demonstrations ever to take place in the U.S.S.R. and had several meetings with business and political leaders. Subsequently, in Tallinn, the Fellows had a roundtable discussion with the leaders of the Estonian Independent Party as they charted their path toward independence. The trip concluded in Helsinki where the Fellows met with United States Ambassador John Weinmann and business and political leaders of Finland who have long traded with the Soviet Union.

During domestic trips to Los Angeles, Seattle and New York City, Fellows met with city and state officials, business leaders, economists and community activists. In New York City, the Fellows had the opportunity to discuss current affairs with the late publisher, Malcolm Forbes; the President of the Rockefeller Foundation, Peter Goldmark; Dick Munro, then Chairman of Time/Warner; U.N. Ambassador Thomas Pickering; noted commentator and author William F. Buckley and visited the trading floor of the New York Stock Exchange. In Los Angeles, the Fellows were special guests at the dedication ceremonies of the Richard M. Nixon Library and Birthplace. This was an historic first, to see four Presidents of the United States together on one platform. The Fellows spent a day in Watts discussing the major changes that have taken place there since the Watts Revolt in 1965. In Seattle, under the auspices of the Goodwill Games, the Fellows engaged in a bilateral leadership conference with emerging Soviet leaders focusing on the economic and political changes confronting the Soviet Union. In addition to this experience, they also had the opportunity to meet with former President Ronald Reagan, tour forestry lands and Mount St. Helens by helicopter with Weyerhaeuser officials and tour the Boeing 747 plant, which is the largest assembly plant in the world.

The Fellows had an opportunity to visit the Strategic Air Command in Omaha, Nebraska. They also traveled to Norfolk, Virginia on a C2 aircraft provided by the military to experience firsthand an arrested landing and a catapult takeoff aboard the USS Enterprise, where they discussed military changes with Captain Harry T. Rittenour, USN.



▲
Wade Dyke, John McKay and Antonio Angotti, 1989-90 White House Fellows, visit American Embassy in Moscow.

Fellows traditionally participate in two or three seminars each week. During these seminars, Fellows met with most members of President Bush's Cabinet and senior White House officials. Fellows have met with members of Congress representing all aspects of the political spectrum. Among these have been: Senators John Glenn, Mark Hatfield, Edward Kennedy, John McCain, Tim Wirth, and Congressman Bob Dornan. Senior members of the military such as Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, Colin Powell, have spoken to the 1989-90 class of White House Fellows. They have also met various media personalities such as: David Brinkley, Patrick J. Buchanan, John McLaughlin and Diane Sawyer. There was also an opportunity to meet with members of the business community: William McGowan, founder and Chairman of MCI; Edmund Pratt, Chairman and CEO of Pfizer Inc.; and Jack Valenti, Chairman of the Motion Picture Association. In sessions emphasizing national security affairs and foreign policy, the Fellows met with former

Secretaries of Defense Harold Brown, Robert McNamara, James Schlesinger and Caspar Weinberger, as well as former Secretary of State Henry Kissinger. The White House Fellows have visited with the Librarian of Congress and the President of *The National Geographic*, and spent a day at the National Institutes of Health.

WHERE DO WHITE HOUSE FELLOWS GO AFTER THEIR FELLOWSHIP YEAR?

The White House Fellowship program is not a Federal recruitment program and is not designed to attract people to the Federal civil service. It is a sabbatical or leave of absence without salary from the individual's business or school for one year. Some Fellows have stayed on for a short time after their Fellowship year ended, and some have returned to government in later years. Most Fellows, however, return to their geographic, or at least their professional communities where they can share their new knowledge and contribute to society more productively through a fuller understanding of the Federal government.

White House Fellow alumni are now presidents of major corporations, universities, newspapers and banks. Others are flag-rank officers in the Armed Forces and some are serving as mayors, Members of Congress, and presidential advisors. One is currently a governor. All former Fellows are productive and influential members of their communities.

WHO IS ELIGIBLE?

U.S. citizens are eligible to apply during the early and formative years of their careers or professions. There are no basic educational requirements and no special career or professional categories. Employees of the



Secretary of Housing and Urban Development Jack Kemp with White House Fellow, Joyce Rayzer.



▲ Secretary of Defense Dick Cheney with 1989-90 White House Fellows

Federal government are not eligible with the exception of career military personnel of the Armed Services (Army, Navy, Marine Corps, Air Force and Coast Guard). There are no restrictions as to specific age, sex, race, creed or national origin, nor any physical requirements. Fellows may not retain an official state or local office during their Fellowship.

WHO ARE THE WHITE HOUSE FELLOWS?

The more than 350 persons who have been chosen as White House Fellows are a diverse group representing the many occupational, geographical, racial and ethnic elements of our society. There is a strong desire on the part of the Commission to have all segments represented — not necessarily in one year, but over the years of operation of the program.

In the 25 classes of Fellows there have been lawyers, physicians, academicians, businessmen and women, engineers, military officers, journalists, farmers, police officers, an orchestra conductor, former state legislators — all of them early in their careers.



▲ 1989-90 White House Fellows with their Soviet counterparts at a Joint Leadership Conference during the Goodwill Games in Seattle.

"The White House Fellowship Program is one of the most effective methods I know in bringing some of the ablest young people in the United States together with the governmental agencies with which, or for which, they will have to work throughout their careers. It has identified some of our most capable young people, and performs a unique service in enabling them to serve in and become familiar with, the highest levels of our government very early in their careers. I have always felt that the program is an unqualified success, and one that should indeed be continued."
—former Secretary of Defense Caspar Weinberger

Katharine Graham, Chairman of the Board, The Washington Post Company, with 1989-90 White House Fellow, Robert Marbut.





The program is fulfilling its original promise of developing a cadre of national leaders. All Fellows have contributed to their communities — geographic or professional. This leadership and commitment to their communities is a vital element in the Commission's criteria for selection.

The Commission is proud of its outreach effort which has resulted in significant participation by women, Blacks, Hispanics, Asians, Native Americans and the physically disabled. Several Fellows were foreign born but became citizens by the time they were selected. The group as a whole represents a wide variety of religious and ethnic groups and ideologies. Partisan politics plays no role in the selection process. Active Republicans have served in Democratic administrations and vice versa.

HOW ARE FELLOWS SELECTED?

The approximately 30 members of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships prescribe the policies and standards in the selection of

White House Fellows. The Commission is appointed by the President and is composed of outstanding citizens in the fields of public affairs, education, science, business and the professions.

The application is designed to elicit information about the applicant's demonstrated performance in his or her chosen career and the parallel kinds of community service or activities which indicate the applicant's degree of community involvement and commitment. It is a thorough request for information and is designed to bring out talents and interests, not to exclude persons.

Completed applications are processed by the Commission staff and initially screened by professionals from the U.S. Office of Personnel Management and former Fellows. Approximately 125 of the most promising applicants are selected for interviews at 11 regional panels. The panels are composed of leading citizens from each region. Each panel interviews 10 to 14 candidates.

Based on the results of the regional interviews, 33 candidates are selected to be national finalists and are interviewed in a four-day meeting by members of the President's Commission. The Commission then recommends to the President those individuals whom it finds most qualified for the Fellowship.

The qualities being sought at each level are high levels of achievement early in one's career, continued potential for achievement, demonstrated leadership, commitment to serve others and the skills which would make one a good special assistant in the short run and a national leader in the long run. While the program has no age limit, it is designed to encourage future leaders, rather than reward established leaders.

HOW IS THE PROGRAM FUNDED?

As a government employee, each Fellow is paid by his or her agency at an appropriate level based on experience and education. Fellows may not be paid at a rate higher than a GS-15, step 3, which, at this time, is \$63,000.

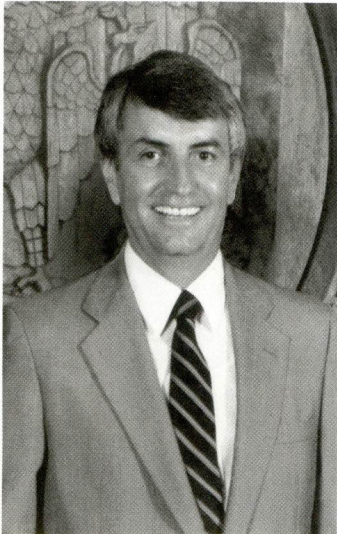
Moving and relocation expenses are not funded by the government and Fellows and their families are responsible for seeking their own housing accommodations in the Washington area.

The program is administered through a line item in the U.S. Office of Personnel Management's budget consistent with the policies established by the Commission. The Commission has a small staff to support all phases of the program. The education program is supported in large part by private funds contributed to the White House Fellows Foundation.

"I have found that the White House Fellows program attracts people who are enthusiastic, committed, and dedicated to making things work. The contributions that the Fellows have made at the FBI and at the CIA have been significant and of real value to the Nation. I am a believer in this important program."

—Judge William Webster, Director of the CIA and former Director of the FBI





▲
Garrey Carruthers,
*Governor of New Mexico, 1974-75
White House Fellow*

"I knew as an American I had an obligation to serve the public, but I had no particular enthusiasm to do so. After serving as a White House Fellow under President Ford and his Cabinet, I learned the value of taking part of my life to serve, the skills required to serve admirably and the necessity of serving close to the people."

"The White House Fellows program instilled in me a commitment to get heavily involved in community affairs. It is imperative that we in the private sector work hard with government to help solve national and local problems. We should not demand that 'the other guy' solve all our problems."

—Walter J. Humann, Chairman and CEO, Hunt Investment Corp., 1966-67 White House Fellow



▲
Bobbie Kilberg
*Deputy Assistant to the President
1969-70 White House Fellow*

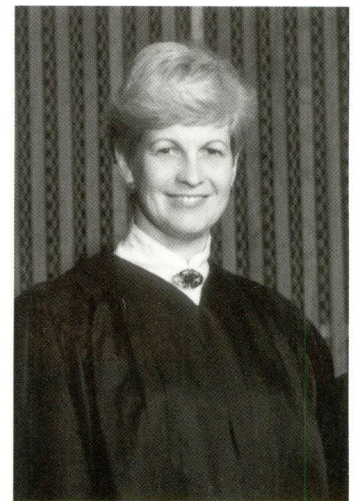
"I was most fortunate to enter the Fellows program directly after law school. As a 'first job,' the fellowship assignment was an extraordinary experience. The opportunity to observe the White House decision-making process and to participate in the development of Administration policies was the determining factor for me in following a career path that has focused on public service. The fellowship year was an incomparable year of professional and personal growth. At its conclusion, I married a White House Fellow classmate, further proof that the program can profoundly affect the lives of its participants. There are now five young Kilbergs, all part of the White House Fellows extended family."



▲
General Colin L. Powell
*Chairman Joint Chiefs of Staff and
former Assistant to the President for
National Security Affairs.
1972-73 White House Fellow*

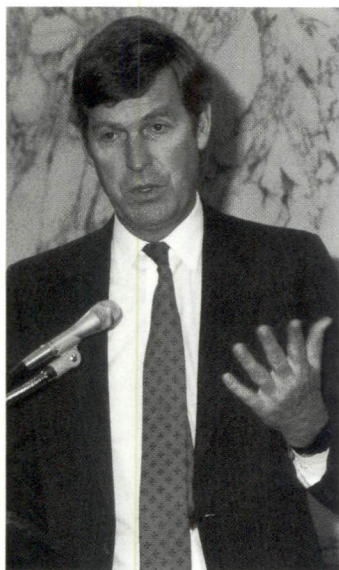
"The White House Fellowship experience had a profound impact on my career. In 1972 Frank Carlucci selected me to serve my fellowship year in OMB. Seven years later he asked me to be his Senior Military Assistant when he became Deputy Secretary of Defense. Six years later he asked me to be his deputy when he became National Security Advisor. Ten months later I replaced Frank when he became Secretary of Defense."

Being a White House Fellow isn't what led me down this road. What I learned about government as a White House Fellow was the key to the opportunities that came my way. I know of no other program that provides such a learning experience."



▲
Deanell Reece Tacha,
*Judge, U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals,
10th Circuit, 1971-72 White House
Fellow*

"The opportunity to observe first-hand the leadership styles of some of this Nation's highest officers inspired rigorous self-scrutiny and guidelines for personal development. I continue to feel indebted to the Nation and those far-sighted individuals who gave me an opportunity at such an early age to spend a year learning about government at its highest levels."



◀ **Timothy E. Wirth**

*U.S. Senator from Colorado
1967-68 White House Fellow*

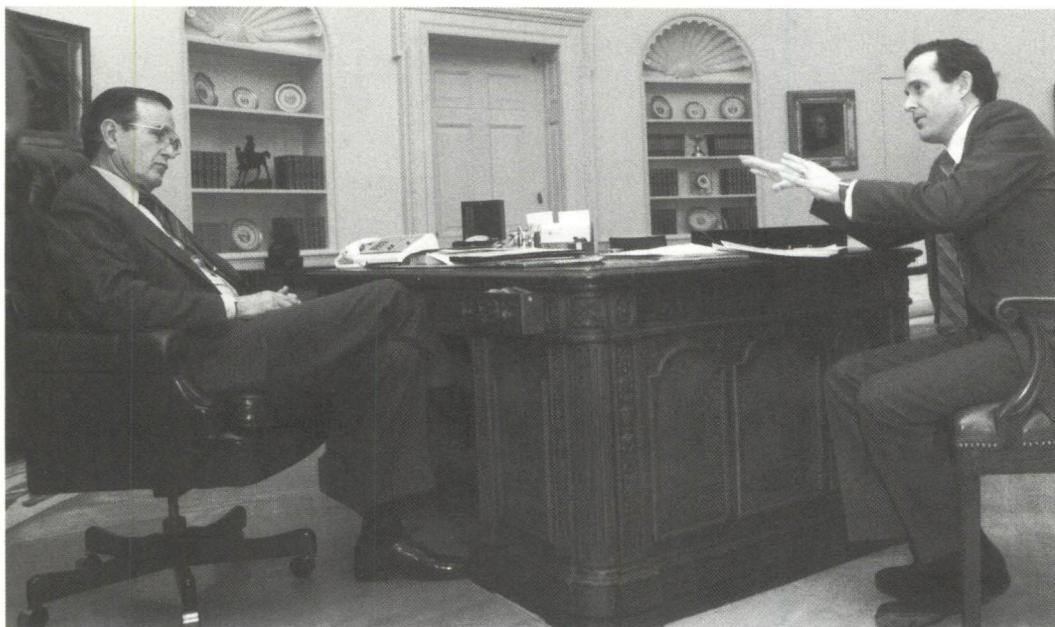
"The White House Fellows Program is one of the greatest investments the country can make in one of its citizens. The process of applying makes you more aware of your responsibilities as an American; being fortunate to receive a Fellowship should cement a life of commitment. Don't apply if you are just looking for another merit badge."



▲ **Michael H. Walsh**

*Chairman and CEO, Union Pacific
Railroad Company
1965-66 White House Fellow*

"It's hard to believe it was 25 years ago or that I was only 23. Time flies, but the lessons are enduring. The White House Fellows year was, pure and simple, the single best learning experience of my life. Nothing else comes close."



▲ **Roger B. Porter**

*Assistant to the President for
Economic and Domestic Policy
1974-1975 White House Fellow*

"By coincidence, my fellowship year began on the day of transition from one president to another. My assignment to work for Vice President Gerald Ford soon found me working alongside a newly sworn-in President at a time of great challenge and opportunity. The sense of excitement, the wonder of public service, and the thrill of

effectively governing have never left me. Since my fellowship year I have had the privilege of serving two other Presidents. What contribution I have made, I owe in large part to the door that was opened to me through the White House Fellowship program. Wherever one serves, all across America, the experiences of the White House Fellowship program provide a foundation and a framework for understanding the processes of governing in a democracy."

"The White House Fellows opened my eyes to the tremendous opportunity and encouragement our system of government gives to every individual to realize their dreams."

—Joe Barton, U.S. Congressman from Texas, 1981-82 White House Fellow

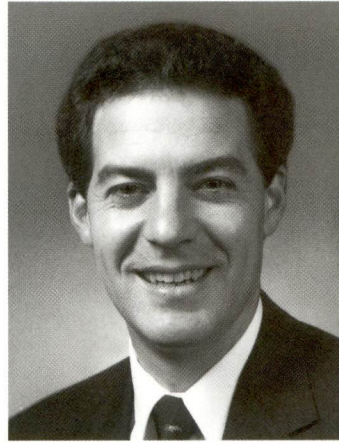
"The White House Fellows experience opened splendid new horizons for me. My personal and professional world was broadened more by this fellowship year than by any other educational experience in my life."

—Tom Johnson, President, Cable News Network, 1965-66 White House Fellow



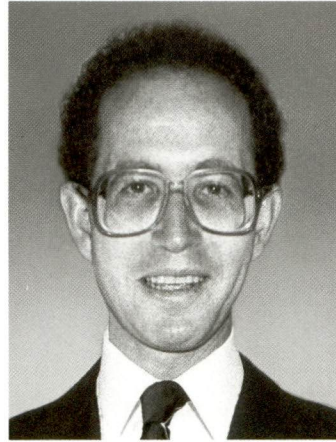
Andrew I. Batavia
Washington, DC.

Andrew I. Batavia, 33, is the associate director of the National Rehabilitation Hospital Research Center and a member of the faculty of Georgetown University School of Medicine. He holds a bachelor's degree with honors from the University of California, a master's degree in health services research from Stanford Medical School, and a jurisdoctorate degree from Harvard Law School. After two years as an attorney for the U.S. Health Care Financing Administration, Batavia was awarded the Department of Education's Mary E. Switzer Distinguished Research Fellowship in Rehabilitation Finance. He has authored 25 publications, including two books, on disability and health care policy. He is co-founder of a corporation to develop a national attendant services program, and a founding associate editor of the *Journal of Disability Policy Studies*. In 1988, Batavia received the Distinguished Disabled American Award from the President's Committee on Employment of Persons with Disabilities. His professional affiliations include membership in the Bar Associations of California and the District of Columbia.



Sam Brownback
Topeka, Kansas

Sam Brownback, 33, is Kansas Secretary of Agriculture and is presently the youngest state director of agriculture in the nation. Raised on a farm near Parker, Kansas, Brownback has served as a state and national officer in the Future Farmers of America and was Student Body President of Kansas State University. He received his bachelor's degree in agricultural economics at Kansas State University and later earned a law degree from the University of Kansas. After graduation, he practiced law in Manhattan, Kansas, and taught agricultural law at Kansas State University. In his present position, Brownback has aggressively pursued economic development projects and pushed policy issues helpful to Kansas agriculture and rural communities. In addition, he has written numerous articles and co-authored two books on the subject of agricultural law. Brownback currently chairs a national consortium pushing for greater industrial uses of farm commodities, is on the advisory board of the U.S. Export-Import Bank. In 1988, he was named a Kansas of Distinction by the Topeka Journal.



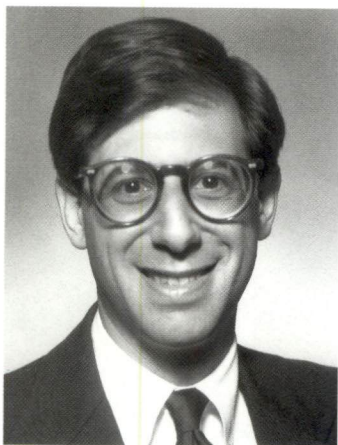
Robert Chess
Palo Alto, California

Robert Chess, 33, is an entrepreneur who has been involved in the founding of a number of different businesses. Born and raised in California, Chess received his bachelor's degree in computer science from Caltech and later earned a master's of business administration from Harvard University. In 1983, Chess helped start Metaphor, a \$60 million computer systems company. Three years later, he co-founded Penederm Inc., a Palo-Alto based pharmaceutical corporation that is currently developing ways to improve the delivery of drugs into the skin. Additionally, Chess is on the Board of Directors of The TV Magazine, provides business and financial consulting to American Tenant Screen, a credit debate firm, and serves as a general partner in Annandale Associates, a real estate development group. In addition to his business ventures, Chess serves on the Board of Directors of the Mayfield Clinic, a non-profit medical center serving the disadvantaged. In recognition of his civil and business contributions, Chess was named to appear in the 1990 Who's Who in California.



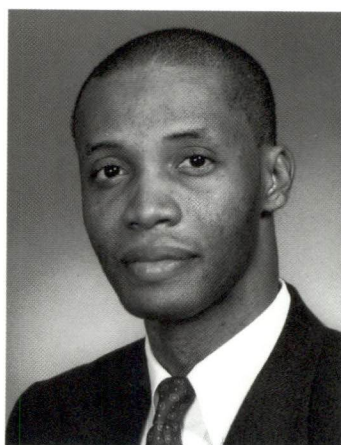
Jody Greenstone
Greenville, South Carolina

Jody A. Greenstone, 32, is a vice president of the investment bank, The Robinson-Humphrey Company, Inc., primarily involved in public finance. Born and raised in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, Greenstone received her bachelor's degree in psychology from the University of Michigan. After college, she earned a law degree from the University of Virginia and won the William Minor Life Moot Court competition in 1982. Greenstone practiced law in New York City at Cravath, Swaine & Moore and in Greenville, South Carolina, at Wyche, Burgess, Freeman, and Parham. Later she served as legal counsel to then South Carolina Governor Richard W. Riley and as a public finance investment banker for Shearson Lehman Hutton after Riley left office. In addition to investment banking, Greenstone is a member of the North Greenville Rotary Club and is involved in improving housing and services on the South Carolina Affordable Housing Resources Council, the South Carolina Low Income Housing Coalition and the Board of Directors of Greenville Housing Futures.



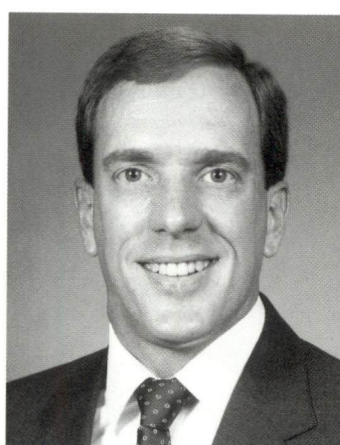
Robert R. Grusky
New York, New York

Robert R. Grusky, 32, is a Vice President in the Investment Banking Division of Goldman, Sachs & Co. Since joining the firm, he has been a member of the Mergers & Acquisitions Department where he has been responsible for soliciting, advising on, and executing mergers, acquisitions, divestitures and takeover defenses for numerous companies. Raised in Croton-on-Hudson, New York, Grusky received his bachelor's degree, cum laude and with honors in history, from Union College. After graduation, he spent four years with the Continental Bank of Chicago, where he quickly rose to Second Vice President in the U.S. Banking Department. Grusky later earned a master's degree in business administration with distinction from Harvard Business School. He is a member of the Alumni Board of Directors, Treasurer of the Alumni Association, and an advisor to the Investment Committee of the Board of Trustees of the Hackley School.



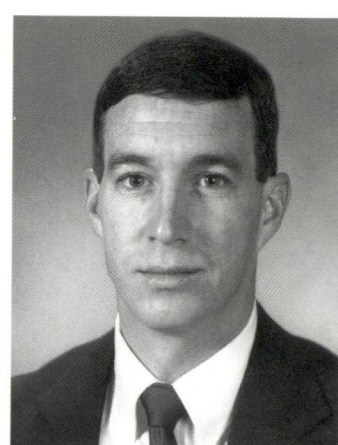
Will A. Gunn
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

Will A. Gunn, 31, is a Captain and attorney in the U.S. Air Force. Born in Birmingham, Alabama, Gunn was raised in Fort Lauderdale, Florida, and received his bachelor's degree in management from the U.S. Air Force Academy. At the Academy, Gunn was selected as an outstanding squadron commander, was president of his sophomore class, and graduated with military honors. After graduation, he served as an Admissions Advisor in the Academy's Minority Affairs Division and worked as a Research and Development Contract Negotiator. In 1986, Gunn graduated cum laude from Harvard Law School, where he had been elected president of the Harvard Legal Aid Bureau. In 1988, Gunn received the New York Bar Association's "Outstanding Advocate Award." Presently, Gunn serves as a circuit defense counsel representing service members in military courts-martial and as Vice Chairperson of the National Bar Association's Military Law Section.



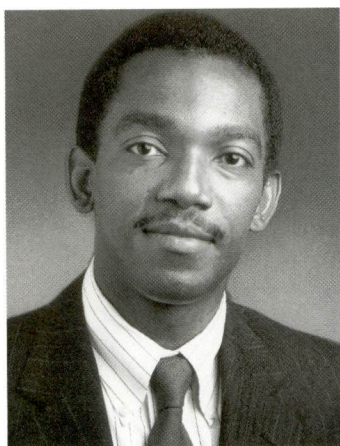
Randall H. Kehl
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Randall H. Kehl, 35, is an attorney and Major in the U.S. Air force. Born in Furstenfeldbruck, Germany, Kehl received his bachelor's degree in general engineering management from the U.S. Air Force Academy, where he served as Deputy Wing Commander. He subsequently earned a master's in business administration, graduating first in his class; and then earned a law degree from the Pepperdine University School of Law. He has served as a Minuteman ICBM Combat Crew Commander and as Squadron Commander for the 21st Tactical Fighter Wing in the Alaskan Air Command, where he received the Meritorious Service Medal for his leadership achievements. As an attorney, Kehl has served a tour of duty as a legal counsel for the Air Force in Alaska, as counsel for the Air Force's Strategic Defense Initiative Laboratory, and presently as the Air Force's Chief of Energy and Tax Litigation. In addition, Kehl is active in his community as a Boy Scout Leader, School Board Chairman, and fundraiser for the United Way. In honor of his achievements, he was named the American Bar Association's Outstanding Young Military Service Lawyer of the Year for 1989.



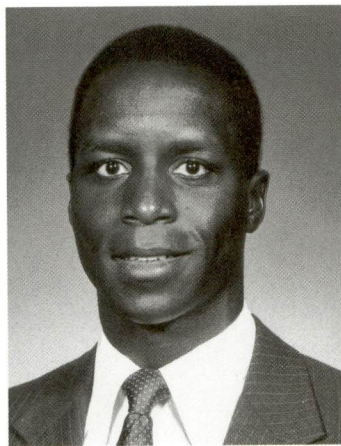
John W. Miller
Los Angeles, California

John W. Miller, 32, is a Lieutenant Commander in the U.S. Navy. Originally from Los Angeles, California, he graduated with merit from the United States Naval Academy where he commanded the Second Battalion. Finishing first in his flight school class, Miller became an F-14 pilot for the Thirty-First Fighter Squadron and was awarded the Navy's prestigious Grumman "Topcat Trophy" for junior officer leadership excellence. During his second deployment, Miller planned combat reconnaissance missions over Lebanon and received the Air Medal for aerial heroism during those missions and the Navy Medal for innovative reconnaissance planning efforts. Miller later served as the Maintenance Officer for the Eighty-Fourth Fighter Squadron, and under his leadership the squadron was recognized for having the highest level of combat readiness for two consecutive years. He has also served at the U.S. Naval Academy as the Leadership Section Head, where he directed all formal leadership education and was responsible for the aviation training of over 4,500 midshipmen.



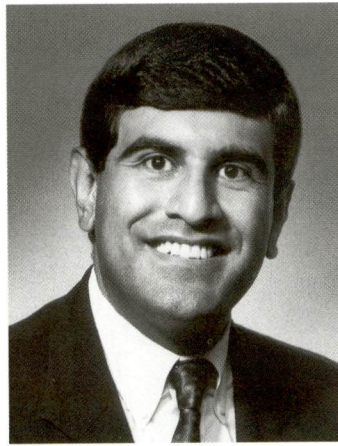
Eric M. Phillips
Maplewood, New Jersey

Eric M. Phillips, 37, is a District Manager with AT&T where he is responsible for voice, data, and video networks for the international government market. Originally from Guyana, South America, he received his bachelor's degree in chemical engineering from McMaster University in Canada. That led to several jobs at Apollo Technologies in high temperature corrosion, air pollution and waste water treatment. In 1983, Phillips earned a master's of business administration from New York University and joined AT&T. Here he has had assignments in strategic planning, systems engineering and marketing and was a project manager on FTS 2000. Phillips has done advanced work in electrical engineering and computer science, has received a Scientific Achievement Award from Apollo Technologies, a Meritorious Award from New York University and an Outstanding Service Award from the AT&T Bell Laboratories. Phillips has served as the Executive Director of the Caribbean Theatre of Performing Arts.



Edward A. Rice, Jr.
Washington, DC

Edward A. Rice, Jr., 34, is a Lieutenant Colonel in the U.S. Air Force. Born in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Rice received his bachelor's degree in engineering sciences from the U.S. Air Force Academy, where he graduated with distinction and served as commander of the Academy's 4,000 cadets. Rice earned a master's degree in aeronautical science from Embry Riddle Aeronautical University. Throughout his military career, he has served as a B-52 pilot and has been involved with testing the B-52's conventional warfare fighting capability. In 1984, Rice began working at the Pentagon and supervised administrative support functions for the Office of the Secretary of the Air Force and the Air Force Chief of Staff. He presently serves as a Rated Force Manager in the Directorate of Plans and Operations in the Pentagon where he makes policy recommendations to senior Air Force leaders regarding air crews' combat capabilities. Rice is a Distinguished Graduate of the Air Force's Squadron Officer School and the Navy's College of Naval Command and Staff.



Joseph E. Samora, Jr.
Albuquerque, New Mexico

Joseph E. Samora, Jr., 34, recently served as Chairman of the New Mexico Public Service Commission, where he was the youngest chairman of a state public utility commission in the United States. Born and raised in Albuquerque, New Mexico, Samora received his bachelor's degree in communications and his law degree from the University of New Mexico. Samora practiced law in Albuquerque and has served as a judicial clerk to the New Mexico Supreme Court. In 1986, he was appointed administrative assistant and General Counsel to Chief Justice William Riordan of the New Mexico Supreme Court and served for one year before Governor Garrey Carruthers, a 1974 White House Fellow, appointed him to the public service commission. Samora is a former president of the Young Lawyers Division of the State Bar of New Mexico. In 1988, he was selected by the American Bar Association's Young Lawyers Division's *Barrister* Magazine as one of "20 Young Lawyers in the United States who make a Difference." Samora volunteers as a Big Brother and as graduate advisor to his college fraternity, Phi Gamma Delta.



Kimberly Till
Prattville, Alabama

Kimberly Till, 34, is an international management consultant with Bain & Company in London, where she develops business strategies at the corporate overview level. Raised in Alabama, she received her bachelor's degree in history from the University of Alabama. She later earned a law degree from Duke Law School and a master's of business administration from Harvard University. In between her graduate schooling, Till was selected as a Henry Luce Fellow and spent a year in Japan working on trade and investment projects. After graduation, Till practiced international and corporate law in Washington, D.C., where she specialized in international trade and represented foreign governments and corporations involved in international trade disputes. She has also been actively involved in pro bono representation and international human rights issues. Currently, she is active in the London community by teaching children about disabilities as a puppeteer in the Kids on the Block Program of the Junior League.

THE PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON WHITE HOUSE FELLOWSHIPS

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Ronna Romney
Author and Lecturer

Mary Jo Arndt
Community activist

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Weyerhaeuser Company

Richard E. Berkowitz
Senior Vice President
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Executive Vice President
Butler Paper Company

Bruce L. Bower
Attorney at Law
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Former Deputy
Director of ACTION

H. Monroe Browne
Former Ambassador to New Zealand

Francis W. Cash
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Marriott Corporation

Paula H. Cholmondeley
Vice President, International
The Faxon Company

Myron D. Emery
Attorney at Law
Offices of Myron D. Emery

Rae Forker Evans
Vice President, National Affairs
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General Foods Corporation
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Michel T. Halbouty
Geoscientist & Engineer

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Thomas Henriksen
Associate Director
Hoover Institution

Sophocles Hero
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U.S. Delegation to NATO

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Dana G. Mead
Executive Vice President
International Paper Co.

Constance Berry Newman
Director
U.S. Office of Personnel
Management

Robert H. Puckett
Professor of Political Science
Indiana State University

Roger B. Porter
Assistant to the President for
Economic and Domestic Policy
The White House

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Vice Chairman
Touche-Ross & Company

Mrs. William French Smith
Officer and member of numerous
volunteer organizations

Frank S. Stella
President & Founder
F.D. Stella Products Co.

Jack Waltuch
Attorney at Law

Nicholas A. Zoto
President
Zoto's Inc.

Marcy L. Head
Director

☐ **December 15, 1990**

Application deadline. Applications must be postmarked on or before December 15, 1990, to be accepted.

☐ **Approximately January 31, 1991**

Applicants are notified by mail whether or not they have been selected as regional finalists. Those selected will be notified of the date and location of their regional interviews.

☐ **March 1991**

Regional finalists will be interviewed in the following 11 cities: Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Los Angeles, New York, Philadelphia, San Francisco, St. Louis and Washington. Every effort is made to assign regional finalists to the panel located closest to their homes, but since the Commission seeks to maintain an equal distribution of regional finalists among the panels, this is not always possible. Travel expenses incident to the regional interviews are paid by the regional finalists. Regional interviews are one to two days long.

☐ **Approximately April 15, 1991**

Regional finalists are notified by mail whether or not they have been selected as national finalists. The U.S. Office of Personnel Management will begin full-field background investigations on the national finalists.

☐ **May 30-June 2, 1991**

National finalists interviewed over a four-day period by members of the President's Commission on White House Fellowships at a location near Washington, DC.

☐ **Week of June 3, 1991**

Presidential announcement of the 1991-92 White House Fellows.

☐ **Week of June 17-22, 1991**

1991-92 White House Fellows are interviewed in Washington, D.C., by various Executive Branch agencies. All newly appointed Fellows must be in Washington for the entire interview period. Some Fellows may have to stay longer, or return later in the summer for follow-up interviews. All expenses for the interview week are paid by the finalists. Based on these interviews, the Director of the Commission determines the assignments of the Fellows.

☐ **September 1, 1991 - August 31, 1992**

Inclusive dates of the 1991-92 Fellowship year.

WHITE HOUSE FELLOWSHIP STAFF

Marcy L. Head
Director

Phyllis M. Byrne
Associate Director

Lynne Walker
Education Director

Roberta Sanders
Education Assistant

Janet Kelliher
Administrative Officer

Sandra Walker
Confidential Assistant

Patricia Holmes
Staff Assistant

Margaret Johnson
Staff Assistant



White House Fellowship Application

Instructions

Please read the entire application, the descriptive information in the brochure and these instructions, before answering any questions on the application. Review the eligibility requirements and be sure that you meet them before you apply. The Commission cannot legally consider applications from ineligible persons or grant exemptions from these requirements.

TYPE all responses and limit your replies to the spaces provided, except where essential to answer a question fully or when an explanation on a separate sheet is specifically requested. Any additional pages should be standard 8 1/2 x 11" size. Answer the questions fully and accurately, and sign and date the application in the space provided. Failure to do so may delay or prevent consideration of your application.

Your application **must** be accompanied by **five** personal evaluation forms furnished by individuals who have direct knowledge of your qualifications and character. One form is provided in the application, which you are requested to reproduce as needed. Have each form completed and returned to you in a sealed envelope with the evaluator's signature over the seal. Submit all five evaluations with your application.

The Commission may solicit evaluations from other persons listed in the application who were not named as references, but are in a position to measure your qualifications and character. You will be asked to submit certified educational transcripts if you are named a regional finalist. A candidate still under consideration at any stage in the selection process who experiences a change in employment or address is required to notify the Commission Office of this change.

Before an application is submitted, all pages should be in proper sequence and secured with a paper clip (please do not staple). Any sheets used to answer essay questions or extend answers to other questions must have the applicant's name and the question number in the upper right corner.

Enclose the application, the five evaluations, and the cards on the final page of the application in a large envelope for mailing. Do not fold the application. Keep a copy of your application. Transmittal letters are not necessary.

Applications should be mailed to the President's Commission on White House Fellowships, 712 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20503.

Applicants will be notified by mail upon receipt of their applications. If notification is not received in a reasonable amount of time, contact the Commission Office at **202-395-4522**.

Applications must be postmarked no later than December 15. Applicants mailing applications on or about December 15 should ask for a postmark receipt to ensure the application is not rejected due to a delay in postmarking. Applications mailed from overseas should be sent by air mail and mailed as early as possible.

The President's Commission on White House Fellowships follows section 717 of the Equal Employment Opportunity Act of 1972. Persons who believe that they have been discriminated against in violation of the law may file administrative complaints by contacting an Equal Employment Opportunity counselor at the U.S. Office of Personnel Management.

Eligibility

- Must be a United States citizen.
- Must not be a civilian employee of the Federal Government. Questions about eligibility can be answered by the Commission staff.

A completed application includes:

- Five personal evaluations.
- Applicant's original signature on page 7.
- Postmark on or before December 15.

White House Fellowship Application

1. Name (*Last, first, middle*)

7. Employer and address

2. Preferred title

☐ Mr. ☐ Mrs. ☐ Miss ☐ Ms.

☐ Other _____

3. Other names used (*e.g., maiden*)

8. Your business address and position
(and military rank, when applicable)

4. Home address (*Include ZIP Code*)

4a. Permanent address if not same as above

9. Your job affiliation:

☐ Academe ☐ Business ☐ Military
☐ State and Local Government ☐ Law
☐ Medicine ☐ Other Profession
☐ Non-profit Organization ☐ Student or Fellow

5. Phone (*Include area codes*)

Home:

Office:

10. Birthplace (*City and state, or foreign country*)

6. Are you a citizen of the United States of America?

☐ Yes ☐ No

11. Birth date (*Month, day, year*)

12. Social Security Number _____

13. Have you ever worked for or are you now working for the Federal Government or are you being paid by Federal funds? (Include Active Duty Military Service.) If so, please explain and give inclusive dates.

Have you ever been discharged from the Armed forces under other than honorable conditions?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If your answer is **yes**, give details on a separate sheet of paper.

14. Have you ever been discharged from any job, or have you quit after being informed that your employer intended to discharge you?

☐ Yes ☐ No

If yes, give details on separate sheet.

15. It is helpful for the Commissioners evaluating your application to see "at a glance" the development of education and career patterns. Therefore, on a separate sheet of paper, please provide a chronological listing of all positions you have held, employers, and dates held. Work back from your current position and include all post-secondary school education. Account for all periods of unemployment and military service.

Educational Background

16. Please provide the following information about your education, high school and beyond:

Name and location
of schools

Dates attended
From To

Degree or diploma
and field

Class rank (top 10%
1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th quarter)

17. Please list, describe and explain the purposes of the major extracurricular activities in which you participated. For each activity listed, specify the name of the school, college or university; any offices held; the length of your membership and the level of your participation. Also list any major awards or recognitions received.

Work Experience

18. If you have taken a test or examination that is required in order to qualify for the practice of any occupation or profession, give the information requested for each such test or examination, and for each time you took the examination, if more than once.

Full name of test or examination
(NOT initials)

Administering
agency

State or
jurisdiction

Year

Passed

				☐ Yes	☐ No
				☐ Yes	☐ No
				☐ Yes	☐ No

19. After having qualified for the practice of any occupation or profession, have you ever been barred from such practice or disciplined by any agency because of your conduct? ☐ Yes ☐ No
If your answer is **yes**, state on a separate sheet of paper the dates of and reasons for such debarment or disciplining, the name and address of the agency concerned, and whether you have been reinstated.

20. Detail and describe your work experience. Start with your present position and work back. Account for all periods of time since your first employment, including periods of unemployment and time spent as a student or in military service. If you have been graduated from school for more than eight years, you may summarize part-time or summer employment while you were obtaining your education. Reproduce page 4 as necessary to complete this question.

a. Dates of employment (<i>Month, year</i>)		Name and address of employer	Place of employment (<i>City and state</i>)
From	To present time		
Kind of business or organization (<i>manufacturing, accounting, insurance, etc.</i>)		Name, title, and present address of immediate supervisor	
Exact title of position	Salary or earnings Starting \$ per Final \$ per		Number and kind of employees you supervised
Description of work			

Describe any outstanding contributions made by you in this work, and list any citations, awards, or unusual promotions.

☐ Dates of employment (<i>Month, year</i>) From: To:	Name and address of employer	Place of employment (<i>City and State</i>)
Reason for leaving		

Kind of business or organization (<i>manufacturing, accounting, insurance, etc.</i>)	Name, title, and present address of immediate supervisor
--	--

Exact title of position	Salary or earnings		Number and kind of employees you supervised
	Starting \$	per	
	Final \$	per	

Description of work

Describe any outstanding contributions made by you in this work, and list any citations, awards, or unusual promotions.

☐ Dates of employment (<i>Month, year</i>) From: To:	Name and address of employer	Place of employment (<i>City and State</i>)
Reason for leaving		

Kind of business or organization (<i>manufacturing, accounting, insurance, etc.</i>)	Name, title, and present address of immediate supervisor
--	--

Exact title of position	Salary or earnings		Number and kind of employees you supervised
	Starting \$	per	
	Final \$	per	

Description of work

Describe any outstanding contributions made by you in this work, and list any citations, awards, or unusual promotions.

(Reproduce this form and use as needed)

Voluntary Community Activities

21. List the major civic and social activities (non-job related) in which you have participated during the past ten years. Describe the purposes, objectives and size of each organization, and your level of participation ("helped organize," "served as president," etc.). List any awards or special recognition that you received for these activities, and indicate for each activity listed the inclusive dates of your participation.

Name and address of organization	Purposes or objectives	Size	Level of participation	Dates	Awards and recognitions
-------------------------------------	---------------------------	------	---------------------------	-------	----------------------------

-
22. What do you consider to be your most significant contribution to your community? Explain why or in what ways you consider it to be significant.

Professional and Occupational Activities

23. List the major business and professional activities in which you have participated during the past ten years. Describe the purposes, objectives and size of each organization, and your level of participation ("helped organize," "served as president," etc.). List any awards or special recognition that you received for these activities, and indicate for each activity listed the inclusive dates of your participation.

Name and address of organization	Purposes or objectives	Size	Level of participation	Dates	Awards and recognitions
-------------------------------------	---------------------------	------	---------------------------	-------	----------------------------

-
24. What do you consider to be your most significant contribution to your professional field? Explain why or in what ways you consider it to be significant.

25. On a separate sheet of paper write a memorandum, *of not more than 500 words*, for the President, making a specific policy proposal. Explain why you think it is important, what issues it raises, and why you think he should support it. If you exceed the word limit, your application will be disqualified.
-
26. On a separate sheet of paper describe, *in 300 words or less*, your life's ambition, what you hope to accomplish or achieve in your lifetime, and what position you hope to attain. If you exceed the word limit, your application will be disqualified.
-
27. On a separate sheet of paper describe, *in 300 words or less*, why you want to be a White House Fellow, what you consider to be your major strengths and qualifications for the program, and what benefits you feel are likely to result from your participation. If you exceed the word limit, your application will be disqualified.
-
28. Describe what you enjoy doing in your leisure time, how you spend your vacations, and meaningful experiences these opportunities have afforded you. Answer on separate sheet.
-
29. In addition to the things you have mentioned in answering earlier questions, list and describe briefly any other accomplishments or skills of which you are proud or that you deem significant or outstanding. Include, among other things, literary awards, inventions, patents, prizes for architectural design or works of art, significant publications (do not enclose actual publications), and fluencies in foreign languages. You may also use this space to describe briefly any news stories, editorials, radio or television announcements, etc., that show evidence of your recognition by community, cultural, business, or other groups. Enclose pertinent news clippings only when germane and not numerous. Answer on separate sheet.
-
30. References. List five persons who are NOT RELATED TO YOU AND WHO HAVE DIRECT KNOWLEDGE of your qualifications and character. At least one person listed should have professional competence in your field; at least one should have knowledge of your major community or civic activities; at least one should have knowledge of your business or professional accomplishments; and one should be your present supervisor, if applicable. Please reproduce the personal evaluation form which is bound into this application and have it completed by each of the persons listed below. Each reference should seal the form in an envelope and sign his/her name across the seal and return the form to you. *These references must be included with your application.* Your application cannot be evaluated without the references.

List full name of references:

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.

CERTIFICATION

I CERTIFY that all of the statements made in this application are true, complete, and correct to the best of my knowledge and belief, and are made in good faith. I know and understand that any or all items contained herein may be subject to investigation or verification and I consent to the full release of all information concerning my capacity and fitness by employers, educational institutions (who are also authorized to release my academic records), law enforcement agencies, and other individuals and agencies, to duly accredited investigators of the Federal Government or to the Commission for that purpose.

Signature of applicant _____

(Sign in ink)

Date _____

THE FOLLOWING INFORMATION IS REQUESTED ON A WHOLLY VOLUNTARY BASIS AND IS INTENDED ONLY TO AID US IN EVALUATING OUR RECRUITMENT AND ADMINISTRATIVE PROCEDURES. THIS SHEET WILL BE DETACHED FROM YOUR APPLICATION AND WILL NOT BE SEEN BY EVALUATORS AT ANY STAGE.

1. How did you hear about the program? (Please be specific)

2. Do you feel this brochure has fully explained the fellowship and anticipated most of your questions? ☐ Yes ☐ No

If not, how might it be improved?

3. Race and National Origin Identification. Please check one:

A ☐ American Indian or Alaskan Native

A person having origins in any of the original peoples of North America, and who maintains cultural identification through community recognition or tribal affiliation.

B ☐ Asian or Pacific Islander

A person having origins in any of the original peoples of the Far East, Southeast Asia, the Indian subcontinent, or the Pacific Islands. This area includes, for example, China, India, Japan, Korea, the Philippine Islands, and Samoa.

C ☐ Black, not of Hispanic Origin

A person having origins in any of the black racial groups of Africa. Does not include persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish cultures or origins (see Hispanic).

D ☐ Hispanic

A person of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish cultures or origins. Does not include persons of Portuguese culture or origin.

E ☐ White, not of Hispanic origin

A person having origins in any of the original peoples of Europe, North Africa, or the Middle East. Does not include persons of Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, Central or South American, or other Spanish cultures or origins (see Hispanic). Also includes persons not included in other categories.

4. State of Residence _____

5. Birth Date _____

You are requested to furnish this information under the authority of 42 U.S.C. § 2000e-16, which requires that Federal employment practices be free from discrimination and provide equal employment opportunities for all. Solicitation of this information is in accordance with Department of Commerce Directive 15, "Race and Ethnic Standards for Federal Statistics and Administrative Reporting."

This information will be used in planning and monitoring equal employment opportunity programs. Your furnishing this information is voluntary. Your failure to do so will have no effect on your candidacy for the White House Fellowship program.

Your name

President's Commission on White House Fellowships

PERSONAL EVALUATION

Applicant: Please print or type your name: _____

To the person completing this evaluation:

The White House Fellowship Program, begun in 1964, seeks to identify gifted and highly motivated Americans. It offers them first-hand experience in the process of governing the Nation and a sense of personal involvement in the leadership of the society. The above-named individual has applied for one of the 11 to 19 White House Fellowships.

The Commission depends on persons who have known the applicant personally and in his/her studies, work or civic activities. The Commission urges you to be as specific and candid as possible, citing any particular incidents that illustrate the applicant's maturity, purposefulness and initiative. Your prompt submission of this form will be most helpful, as the applicant can neither complete his/her application nor be considered without your remarks.

Please note that provisions of the Privacy Act of 1974 entitle applicants, upon request, to have access to records about themselves, including this evaluation, and that it is the Commission's practice to destroy personal records of this sort 60 days after a letter advising a candidate that he or she has been eliminated from the competition has been mailed.

Please return this form plus any additional sheets in a sealed envelope with your signature across the seal. The applicant will then submit the sealed envelope as part of the completed application package to the President's Commission on White House Fellowships.

Thank you for your time, assistance, and cooperation.

(Reproduce this form and use as needed)

Name of Applicant _____

Below is a series of descriptive statements. Based on your knowledge of the candidate, decide the extent to which each statement is descriptive of him or her and place a check mark in the appropriate column. A check under "5" means that the statement is completely and consistently descriptive of the candidate in all contexts, circumstances, and occasions in which you have known or observed him/her and you rate him/her "outstanding" (top 5%); "4" means that the statement is almost always descriptive and you rate him/her "excellent" (top 15%); "3" means that the statement is almost always descriptive and you rate him/her "good" (top third); "2" means that it is occasionally descriptive and you rate him/her "average" (middle third); "1" means that the statement is not descriptive at all and you rate him/her "poor" (bottom third). (If you do not feel that you can evaluate the candidate in some particular, check the "Don't Know" column.)

	5	4	3	2	1	Don't Know
Intellectual ability						
Displays rigorous analytical powers						
Demonstrates critical facility						
Is clear in reasoning ability						
Writes clearly and convincingly						
Speaks clearly and convincingly						
Personal integrity and responsibility						
Demonstrates courage of convictions						
Accepts blame when it is his/hers						
Keeps his/her word						
Inspires trust on part of associates						
Decisiveness, energy, vigor, creativity						
Follows through on work						
Eager to assume responsibility						
Initiates innovative solutions						
Fulfills commitments						
Leadership						
Inspires confidence in others						
Channels/directs efforts of others						
Convinces by sound reasons						
Takes responsibility for decisions he/she makes						
Gives subordinates full credit for what they do						
Is respected for wisdom and courage of his/her leadership						
Civic-mindedness and sense of responsibility						
Believes firmly in the ideals and principles of American Government						
Feels and demonstrates a strong sense of obligation to his/her community						
Self-confidence, poise, ability to get along with others						
Is poised and confident of his/her ability						
Profits from constructive criticism						
Remains stable under stress						
Is able to work cooperatively and not just alone						
Is clear and persuasive in argument						

Although your rating of the applicant on the above scales will be important in judging his/her qualifications for a White House Fellowship, even more important will be your candid and specific comments answering the following questions. Please attach additional sheets as necessary.

1. What do you feel are the applicant's major strengths? Please include a specific example or an occasion in which these strengths were demonstrated.
2. What do you feel are the applicant's weaknesses?
3. What do you consider to be the major impact the applicant has made in his/her professional work?
4. What do you consider to be the candidate's major contribution to his/her community, outside his/her professional work?
5. What has the candidate done that you consider to be especially enterprising or creative?
6. Describe the situation, circumstance, or occasion that you feel most significantly called upon the candidate's leadership, judgment, abilities, and capacity and describe how he or she responded or acted in that situation.
7. What is the candidate's potential? What position or level of responsibility do you expect the candidate to achieve in his/her lifetime?
8. In what specific ways would you anticipate that this person would benefit personally and professionally, if selected as a White House Fellow?
9. To what extent and in what specific ways would you expect this candidate's community and the Nation to benefit from his/her participation in the Fellowship program?
10. If you were the President or Vice President of the United States, or a member of the cabinet, would you select this person to be a key member of your personal staff?

☐
DEFINITELY

☐
PROBABLY

☐
POSSIBLY

☐
PROBABLY NOT

☐
NO

11. All things considered, how does this person's ability and potential compare to others with whom you are acquainted?

☐
OUTSTANDING
(top 5%)

☐
EXCELLENT
(top 15%)

☐
GOOD
(top third)

☐
AVERAGE
(middle third)

☐
POOR
(bottom third)

Name (please print)

Address

Title

Phone No.

Nature of business, occupation, profession

How long have you known applicant? _____ In what connection? _____

Signature

Date

Records Retention

Pursuant to the Freedom of Information Act (5 USC §552, as amended) and the Privacy Act of 1974 (5 USC §552a), the President's Commission on White House Fellowships operates its competitive application process and collects personal information for its use in evaluating applicants under authority of Executive Order No. 11183, as amended.

Applicants furnish the information requested in the application form voluntarily. Failure to furnish all of the requested information, however, may result in an applicant being eliminated from consideration for a Fellowship.

All files, records, and other material submitted by or in behalf of any applicant, or collected or obtained with regard to an applicant, are used by those persons associated with the Commission for the purpose of screening and evaluating applications for White House Fellowships and will not, as a general rule, be disclosed to any person not associated with the Commission.

The information collected may also be used in aggregate form for statistical analysis that will not identify individuals. (The application forms of persons selected as White House Fellows may, however, be circulated to appropriate Executive Branch officials

incident to placing Fellows in assignments for the Fellowship year and subsequently may be retained, along with other applicant file materials, by the Commission in its permanent files on persons who are selected as White House Fellows. These permanent records are accessible to the individuals concerned.)

Sixty days after a letter has been mailed to an applicant advising that he or she has been eliminated from the competition, all materials in the applicant's file will be destroyed and this procedure will be repeated after each stage of the selection process.

The Commission cannot assume responsibility for the return of applications or supporting documents. Applicants are, therefore, advised to retain copies of their application forms and not to submit irreplaceable documents or other materials with applications.

The Commission and those involved in the selection process do not prepare written evaluations of applications or applicants for the applicants' records or files. No such evaluation can, therefore, be provided.

U.S. Office of Personnel Management
President's Commission on
White House Fellowships
712 Jackson Place, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20503

Official Business
Penalty for Private Use, \$300



Postage and Fees Paid
Office of
Personnel Management
OPM-245

To ensure prompt notification of status, please fill
your name and address within the brackets below.

(Your Name)
(Address)
(City and State) (ZIP Code)

Mr.
Mrs.
Miss
Ms.

1. (Last Name) (One Given Name) (Initial)

2. Address (Include ZIP Code)

3. Home Phone (Include Area Code) 4. Date of Birth

5. Office Phone (Include Area Code) 6. Date of This Application

YOUR APPLICATION HAS BEEN RECEIVED.

YOU WILL BE NOTIFIED OF YOUR STATUS
APPROXIMATELY JANUARY 31.

President's Commission on
White House Fellowships