

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. reports	bios (10 pages)	c 10/1997	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
First Lady's Office
Speechwriting (Noa Meyer Subject Files)
OA/Box Number: 13007

FOLDER TITLE:

The Trip of the First Lady to Kazakhstan, Kyrgystan, Uzbekistan, Russia, and Ukraine,
November 9-18, 1997 (Laura) [Binder] [5]

2012-0869-S

kc964

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advice between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
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- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]



Russia

President

Boris Yel'tsin

(reelected July 1996)



Key Ministers and Other Government Representatives

Chairman
 First Deputy Chairman
 First Deputy Chairman
 Deputy Chairman
 Deputy Chairman
 Deputy Chairman
 Deputy Chairman
 Deputy Chairman
 Deputy Chairman
 Deputy Chairman
 Minister of Agriculture & Food
 Minister of Civil Defense, Emergencies, & Natural Disasters
 Minister of Cooperation with Member States of the CIS
 Minister of Culture
 Minister of Defense
 Minister of Economics
 Minister of General & Vocational Education
 Minister of Finance
 Minister of Foreign Affairs
 Minister of Foreign Economic Relations & Trade
 Minister of Fuel & Energy
 Minister of Health
 Minister of Internal Affairs (MVD)
 Minister of Justice
 Minister of Labor & Social Protection
 Minister of Nationalities Affairs & Regional Policy
 Minister of Natural Resources
 Minister of Railways
 Minister of Science & Technology
 Minister of State Property
 Minister of Transportation

Viktor Chernomyrdin
 Anatoliy Chubays
 Boris Nemtsov
 Ramazan Abdulatipov
 Maksim Boyko
 Vladimir Bulgak
 Viktor Khlystun
 Anatoliy Kulikov
 Valeriy Serov
 Oleg Sysuyev
 Yakov Urinson
 Viktor Khlystun
 Sergey Shoygu
 Anatoliy Adamishin
 Natal'ya Dement'yeva
 Igor Sergeyev
 Yakov Urinson
 Vladimir Kinelev
 Anatoliy Chubays
 Yevgeniy Primakov
 Mikhail Fradkov
 Boris Nemtsov
 Tat'yana Dmitriyeva
 Anatoliy Kulikov
 Sergey Stepashin
 Oleg Sysuyev
 Vyacheslav Mikhaylov
 Viktor Orlov
 Nikolay Aksenenko
 Vladimir Fortov
 Maksim Boyko
 Nikolay Tsakh

Date of Independence: 24 August 1991

Population: approx. 149 million

Minister without Portfolio
 Chairman, Federal Securities Market Commission
 Director, Federal Security Service (FSB)
 Chief, State Protection Service (SGO)
 Director, Foreign Intelligence Service (SVR)
 Director, Federal Border Service
 Head, Government Apparatus
 Chairman, Central Bank of Russia
 Central Currency & Export Control Service
 Chief, Government Press Service
 Ambassador to the US
 UN Perm Rep

Yevgeniy Yasin
 Dmitriy Vasil'yev
 Nikolay Kovalev
 Yuriy Krapivin
 Vyacheslav Trubnikov
 Gen. Andrey Nikolayev
 Vladimir Babichev
 Sergey Dubinin
 Oleg Pavlov
 Andrey Nikolayev
 Yuliy Vorontsov
 Sergey Lavrov

Key Legislative Officials

Chairman, Federation Council
 Duma Speaker
 First Deputy Duma Speaker
 Deputy Duma Speaker
 Deputy Duma Speaker
 Deputy Duma Speaker
 Deputy Duma Speaker
 Deputy Duma Speaker
 Deputy Duma Speaker
 Chairman, Duma Security Committee
 Chairman, Duma Budget, Taxes, Banking,
 and Finance Committee
 Chairman, Duma International Affairs Committee
 Chairman, Duma Defense Committee

Yegor Stroyev
 Gennadiy Seleznev
 Vladimir Ryzhkov
 Mikhail Gutseriyev
 Artur Chilingarov
 Svetlana Goryacheva
 Sergey Baburin
 Mikhail Yuryev
 Viktor Ilyukhin

Mikhail Zadornov
 Vladimir Lukin
 Lev Rokhlin

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EVENTS IN YEKATERINBURG

Yeltsin orders tsar's bones to Moscow for tests

RTw 11/4/97 4:04 PM

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(Adds details, quotes from governor's spokesman)

By Adam Tanner

MOSCOW, Nov 4 (Reuters) - Russian President Boris Yeltsin on Tuesday ordered the transfer of the last tsar's bones from the Urals city of Yekaterinburg to Moscow for final identification, the Kremlin said.

The order would move all remains of Nicholas II and the royal family from Yekaterinburg for the first time since they were dug up in 1991, officials said. Scientists have previously sent small fragments abroad for tests.

A Kremlin statement said the remains of the royal family, executed in 1918, would return to Yekaterinburg after experts came to their conclusions. It said Yeltsin would make a final decision on the time and venue of their burial in 1998.

The decision upset local officials including Governor Eduard Rossel, who want to bury Nicholas, Empress Alexandra and their children at the site of their execution.

"The governor today sent Yeltsin a telegram in which he expressed his categorical opposition to such a plan," spokesman Alexander Levin said. "It's forbidden to remove the remains, he said, to bar, God forbid, even the slightest doubts later on that they swapped the bones."

The belief among a growing number of Russian Orthodox Christians that the tsar should be canonised adds further symbolic value to the bones, which one church splinter group already considers holy relics.

Levin said the governor would fulfil a presidential decree and transfer the bones despite his objections. The remains are now kept in plastic cases in a special room of the town morgue under lock and key.

The Kremlin statement said the president announced his decision during a meeting with First Deputy Prime Ministers Anatoly Chubais and Boris Nemtsov, who chairs a government commission deciding what to do with the royal remains.

"The president ordered B.E. Nemtsov to move temporarily the remains of the royal family to Moscow under strict control of the general prosecutor's office for final identification," the statement said.

It gave no date for the removal.

A series of tests performed in Russia and abroad have left little doubt about the authenticity of bones dug up near Yekaterinburg in 1991.

"On the genetic molecular level, our scientists studied the remains of the tsar and have reported today a certainty of 99.9 percent that these are the remains of Nicholas II, the tsarina and the children," Nemtsov told reporters after the commission met on Monday.

"But we nonetheless need to carry out what I'd call a small additional test that will take about two months."

Nemtsov said Yeltsin would decide what to do with the remains

after the commission's final recommendations in January.

Yekaterinburg, St Petersburg and Moscow are vying for the right to rebury them, but the status and nature of the ceremony of burial have not been decided.

"Later the remains will be returned to Yekaterinburg and the president will make the final decision about the time and venue of their burial after an appropriate commission completes its work in January 1998," the Kremlin statement said.

REUTERS

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The Ottawa Citizen

November 5, 1997, Wednesday, FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. A12

LENGTH: 453 words

HEADLINE: Russians debate burial of last czar

BYLINE: ALAN PHILPS; THE DAILY TELEGRAPH

DATELINE: MOSCOW

BODY:

The bones of the last czar, Nicholas II, are at the centre of an unseemly tussle among Russia's regional bosses. Each wants the right to provide a burial place, which is certain to attract many pilgrims and tourists.

The bones of the czar, his wife, children and servants are lying in the morgue of the Urals city of Yekaterinburg, where they were murdered by the Bolsheviks 79 years ago and then buried in an unmarked grave.

The Russian government decided on Monday to transfer the bones to Moscow for a final examination which is supposed to remove the last trace of doubt as to their authenticity.

But Eduard Rossel, the governor of Sverdlovsk province, which includes Yekaterinburg, said he was "categorically opposed" to letting the bones leave his territory, apparently fearing he would lose his claim to provide the site for their final burial.

If any tests should be done, he said, the experts should go to Yekaterinburg -- 1,610 kilometres east of Moscow. Mr. Rossel proposed that the Imperial relics should be buried on July 19 next year in a memorial church, to be called the Church of the Spilt Blood, 80 years and two days after the murder at the hands of the Bolsheviks.

He said he feared the bones might be substituted for fakes during their removal -- but the real reason seems to be fear that the ambitious mayor of Moscow, Yuri Luzhkov, would grab them once they reach the capital.

Mr. Luzhkov has offered as final resting place the newly rebuilt Cathedral of Christ the Saviour, an imposing but soulless edifice that badly needs some top quality relics.

The third contender for the site is St. Petersburg, where the other Romanov czars are interred in a vault in the St. Peter and Paul Cathedral. This is the most popular option, but Mr. Rossel pointed out that the czar had forfeited the right to burial in the Imperial vault by his decision to abdicate.

The bones of martyrs are held in Orthodox tradition to be miracle-working but, in the case of Mr. Rossel, the desire to keep these relics owes more to his desire to place his industrial city on the cultural map.

The Ottawa Citizen, November 5, 1997

Exhaustive genetic testing in Britain and the U.S. has already established that the bones found in the 1980s are indeed those of the Imperial family.

A Russian first deputy prime minister, Boris Nemtsov, said experts were "99.9 per cent" certain of the authenticity of the remains".

Only the Russian Orthodox Church, which is split on the question of whether to declare the royal family martyrs, remains to be convinced and is asking for more tests.

These should be completed in January, when it will be up to President Boris Yeltsin to decide where, when and how to carry out the burial.

LANGUAGE: ENGLISH

LOAD-DATE: November 6, 1997

Yekaterinburg Town Hall

PARTICIPANTS FOR TOWN HALL ON "WOMEN'S ISSUES IN RUSSIA"

1. Galina Karelova, Deputy Minister of Labor (Russian Federation), and former State Duma Deputy

Ms. Karelova was the first President of the Urals Women Association and is one of the most prominent women politicians in the Urals.

2. Svetlana Gvozdeva, Deputy of the State Duma of Russia.

Ms. Gvozdeva She was the chief accountant at the one of the first commercial banks in Yekaterinburg, "Gold Platinum Bank." Six years ago, she was elected to the Oblast Duma and became Chair of the Finance Committee. Two years ago, Ms. Gvozdeva was elected to the State Duma. She has been to the US under a USIA program.

3. Vera Sokolkina, Executive Director, Urals Women Association and Former President, Pervouralsk Association of Business Women.

Ms. Sokolkina founded the "Success" Center in Pervouralsk to assist unemployed women acquire the business skills to start their own businesses. She previously served as the Pervouralsk City Administration lawyer and continues to lobby for city programs to support women's entrepreneurship. She has traveled to the US under a USAID program.

4. Nadezhda Golubkova, Deputy of the City Duma, and President of "Yekaterina" Center.

Ms. Golubkova is a former teacher of music who decided to enter politics to promote her views on education. After serving in her local district administration, Ms. Golubkova won her seat in the City Duma by defeating six other candidates, all men. There are 28 members in city Duma and only 4 of them are women.

5. Natalya Vetrova, Head of the Sverdlovsk Oblast Department of Culture and former Deputy Speaker of the Oblast Duma.

Ms. Vetrova is a member of "Preobrazheniye Urala" political party (affiliated closely with Sverdlovsk Governor Rossel). She is a close advisor to the Governor. She has been to the US under a USIA program.

6. Galina Kovalyeva, Head of the Department of Finance at the Sverdlovsk Oblast Government.

Previously, Ms. Kovalyeva was a professor at the Ural State Economic University

7. Yelena Korotkikh, Executive Director of "Yekaterina" Center and Director of the Center of Social Support for Women.

Yelena is an economist by profession and has effectively found resources to build the activities of the Center in difficult economic times. She recently received a grant from TACIS to buy computers to teach women entrepreneurs how to work with computers.

8. Tamara Alayba, Vice President of the Urals Women Association and Rector of the Institute of International Relations.

Tamara is one of the earliest activists of the Urals Women Association and the first woman in Yekaterinburg to head a university-level institute. She has been to the US under a USAID program.

9. Valentina Deryabina, Vice President of Urals Women Association.

She is in charge of social welfare direction at the Urals Women Association and works with women veterans and pensioners.

10. Lyudmila Yermakova, Press Secretary for the Urals Women Association.

Lyudmila is an independent journalist who has established the reputation of the Urals Women Association in the press. Lyudmila will be responsible for a new program on abuse within families. She has been to the US under a USIA program.

11. Yelena Goncharova, owner, publisher and Chief Editor of the women's magazine "Mariya" and "Partner" magazine.

12. Larisa Leonova, Director of the "World Family" Center. The center deals with family issues.

13. Svetlana Kornilova, Staff member of the Governor's Information Department and member of the Urals Women Association. She has a degree in political science. She has been to the US under a USIA program.

14. Yevgeniya Barazgova, President of "Women of Russia" Research Center. She is a professor of sociology and the initiator of a budding women's studies program at the State University. She has been to the US under a USIA program.

15. Yelena Tishchenko, Head of the Regional organization "Christian Women." Yelena unites women from different religious confessions and works for prisoner's, particularly women prisoner's, rights. She is also the Head of the Religious Council of Trustees for the Methodist Church, "Return" in Yekaterinburg. "Return" has a sister church relationship with Pulaski Heights Methodist Church in Little Rock.

16. Dina Salokhina, Chairperson of the Yekaterinburg Committee of Soldier's Mothers. She participates in the Presidential

Commission for the release of Urals prisoners of war. Many of the soldiers who have fought in Chechnya are from the Urals.

17. Yelena Maksimova, Director of the "Stone Crafts" jewelry and souvenir shops. She started this private business in 1992 despite serious economic obstacles.

18. Olga Zinovyeva, Director of "Gold Marzipan" bakery. Olga donated her own apartment for the bakery to get a start. They are now starting their own production line.

19. Valentina Samsonova, Director of the Womens Entrepreneurship Support Fund. This private fund assists businesswomen. The most recent project was a trade fair, "Women in Business" (October 26-29, Yekaterinburg). Several dozen companies were represented.

20. Irina Varganova, Director of "Style" company. She started her clothing business in 1992 with a small bank credit with a 120 percent annual interest rate, but has overcome the obstacles to create one of the more successful local clothing marketers.

21. Oksana Volgina, Director of design studio "T". Oksana worked as a scientific researcher at the Technological Institute, but resigned four years ago because of the low and irregular pay. She started her own clothing manufacturing business despite not having any business experience. Her firm now employs 30 people in manufacturing their trademarked material and designing clothes. Their products are marketed in the Urals, Siberia and Moscow.

22. Natalya Bykova, Director of "Mariya" supermarket. "Mariya" was one of the first large supermarkets to open in Yekaterinburg. Natalya has opened several related businesses such as a fast food cafe, a restaurant and a 24 hour food mart.

23. Olga Katayeva, Director of "Ideal Service" trade firm

24. Tatyana Kukovyakina, Director of the City Center "Success", Pervouralsk, Sverdlovsk Oblast

25. Tatyana Belanova, Director of the Informational Analytical Center "Success", Pervouralsk, Sverdlovsk Oblast

26. Natalya Guseva, President of the League of Business Women, Chelyabinsk

27. Galina Volgina, City administration employee, Sverdlovsk Oblast

28. Lyudmila Novikova, member of the Urals Women Association, Verkhnyaya Pyshma, Sverdlovsk Oblast

29. Galina Bessonova, President of the Business Womens Association in Revda, Sverdlovsk Oblast. Ms. Bessonova is also

the Director of the Rehabilitation Center for Women. She ran for Mayor of Revda last year.

30. Yelena Perelygina, Vice President of Business Women Confederation and Director of the Urals College of Economics.

YEKATERINBURG: FINE ARTS MUSEUM

SCENESETTER

The First Lady will arrive with Mrs. Yeltsin and the Governor and be greeted by the Museum Director. A brief tour of the exhibit will follow, including the highlights of the Museum's permanent collection. The First Lady will say a few words to open the "Tamarind Impressions" exhibit.

The Fine Arts Museum is Yekaterinburg's most well-known museum. It is a modern glass and concrete building located in Yekaterinburg's so-called historical square on a river bank across from the site of the city's first mint. The Museum is a two-minute drive from the city's central square.

BACKGROUND

The Fine Arts Museum is known for its collection of cast iron sculptures unique to the Urals region. The sculptures are made at the Kasli factory in the city in the city of Chelyabinsk about two hours drive south of Yekaterinburg. The most prominent exhibit is the large "Kisli Pavilion," which was shown at the 1900 World Exhibition in Paris. The Kasli Pavilion is an elaborate, cube-shaped frame covered by a series of decorative cast-iron panels painted black and gold. It is over one story tall and provides one of city's most recognizable backgrounds for a photo-op.

The U.S. Exhibit "Tamarind Impressions" consists of 39 lithographs by 22 American artists. Eight of the artists are women and two are Native Americans. The eclectic collection contains colorful lithographs depicting abstract and realistic subjects. All of the lithographs are original works of art. The purpose of the exhibit is to showcase the creativity of a unique American workshop, the Tamarind Institute, where artists and printers collaborate to produce works of art. The Tamarind Institute has been a driving force in the revival of American lithography since its opening in 1960 in Hollywood, California. It is now located in Albuquerque at the University of New Mexico. The USIA-funded traveling exhibit has also been displayed in Vladivostok.

PARTICIPANTS

TBD

TALKING POINTS

- I am pleased to see that friendship between our two countries is thriving on many levels. The cultural exchange that is represented here is a clear indication of this new understanding. This is the second noteworthy exhibit of U.S. art displayed here, and I am sure that it is not the last.
- The number of cultural opportunities available to Russians and Americans alike is manifold in a climate of political openness. Indeed, art reflects the openness of a society: when freedom of expression is not hindered, the desire to express oneself can be fulfilled and art forms flourish.
- It is wonderful to see the images of one of America's most beautiful regions, California and the Southwest, displayed in one of Russia's most beautiful.

YEKATERINBURG: AMERICAN COMMUNITY EVENT

SCENESETTER

The American Community will meet with the First Lady in the Fine Arts Museum immediately following the opening of the U.S. exhibit.

PARTICIPANTS

All official Americans (20-25), plus two American representatives from each NGO, church or business operating in Yekaterinburg will participate. This would bring the total to 45-60 people.

Reception Hosted by
Governor Edward Rossel

YEKATERINBURG: GOVERNOR'S RESIDENCE

SCENESETTER

Mrs. Clinton will pay a courtesy call to the newly renovated Governor's mansion. After a brief private session with Governor Rossel, there will be a stand-up reception with light hors d'oeuvres in one of the large rooms in the 19th century mansion.

BACKGROUND

The Governor's residence is a three-story mansion surrounded by a perimeter wall. It is a two minute drive from the city's center.

PARTICIPANTS

Mrs. Yeltsin
Governor Rossel
Deputy Mayor
TBD

TALKING POINTS

- I am impressed with the intellectual and economic vibrance of Yekaterinburg.
- While in Russia, I have seen numerous examples of what the Russian and American people can achieve when we cooperate.
- I appreciate the efforts you have made to allow U.S.-Russian contacts to grow in a number of spheres in this region, and count on your help in making these ties stronger.

Note: The question of where the last Czar's and the Royal Family's remains should be re-interred and related issues are very contentious at the moment. It would be politic to stay away from this subject.

Symphony Opening
Night Performance

YEKATERINBURG: SYMPHONY PHILHARMONIC HALL

SCENESETTER

The evening at the Philharmonic will mark the re-opening of the newly renovated interior of one of Yekaterinburg's premiere cultural institutions. The opening was coincidentally scheduled for the same day as the visit of the First Lady. The governor would be expected to preside at this opening in his role as the Patron of the Charity Fund in Support of the Ural Academic Philharmonic Orchestra.

For this reason the attendance of the First Lady is appropriate and provides a second opportunity, after the Arts Museum, to emphasize that the performing arts can prosper in a market economy and that the opening of Yekaterinburg to the world has benefited cultural institutions, in particular the Philharmonic, through expanded contacts with America and the rest of the world.

The orchestra will be led by guest conductor, Rene Gulikers of Waddinxveen, the Netherlands. The Kingdom of the Netherlands is funding his participation. The soloist will be pianist Vladimir Mishchuk from Moscow. The program will be Bruckner, Ravel, Piper, in the first half and Beethoven's Symphony No. 8 in the second half.

The First Lady and the American delegation would arrive together with Mrs. Yeltsin and Governor Rossel. The audience, expected to number over 600, will have been seated one hour earlier for a lecture on the music. Tentatively, we expect the Governor to use the opportunity to address the audience. The First Lady will not be expected to make remarks. Journalists will be allowed to film until the beginning of concert. There will be an intermission during which the Director of the Philharmonic will probably invite the First Lady to the guest lounge to offer a drink and introduce her to the Conductor of the Philharmonic and other key people. We hope to include four young Yekaterinburg musicians who toured the United States and Russia as part of the American-Russian Youth Orchestra in June-July 1997. Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin are the honorary chairpersons of the Youth Orchestra.

BACKGROUND

The Ural Academic Philharmonic Orchestra was founded in 1936 and is housed in the building of the pre-revolutionary Yekaterinburg Public Assembly. It is the only professional philharmonic orchestra in the Urals. The Orchestra developed quickly in the early 1940's when noted musicians and conductors performed with the Orchestra during the evacuation of Moscow. The Philharmonic is now completing a 6-month long, million dollar renovation of the interior of this historic building and will reopen its doors November 15. The building was designed in 1914 as a concert hall for the pre-revolutionary Public Assembly. The Public Assembly consisted of noted members of society interested in supporting the cultural and intellectual development of the city. The building was completed, but never fully occupied and the Public Assembly was dissolved in 1917. The building was used as a Business Club until 1936. The building was designed in classical motifs from the early part of the century. The foyer includes newly restored murals of communist workers from the 1920's.

The Orchestra has hosted many famous musicians and composers over the years including Dmitriy Shostakovich, Khachaturyan, Oistrakh, Kogan, Rostropovich and Rozhdestvenskiy. Several of their former conductors have moved on to the leading orchestras of Russia, including Gergiyev at the Mariinskiy Theater in St. Petersburg and Chistyakov at the Bolshoy Theater in Moscow.

More than any other cultural institution in town, the Philharmonic has developed close ties with the United States since the opening of the city to foreigners in 1991. The Artistic Director and Conductor of the Boston Opera Company, Sarah Caldwell, first visited Yekaterinburg in January 1993 as part of a festival of American music titled, "From the New World." Ms. Caldwell has returned to Yekaterinburg eleven times since then for dozens of concerts with many American vocal and solo instrumental performers.

The American-Russian Youth Orchestra, chaired by Mrs. Clinton and Mrs. Yeltsin since 1993, has included the Yekaterinburg musicians in their last two tours. The Philharmonic Orchestra conductor, Dmitriy Liss, was the ARYO co-conductor for the 1997 tour, performing to a standing room only hall for the final July 1997 concert of the tour in Yekaterinburg. The American co-conductor, Mark Mandarindo, will return in January 1998 as guest conductor. In August 1994, the Director of the Philharmonic, Alexander Koloturskiy, was one of nine Yekaterinburg arts

managers to spend a month in the United States at the invitation of the United States Information Agency to learn more about arts management in a market economy. As a result, he has introduced significant changes, including a new season ticket system and a Board of Trustees.

PARTICIPANTS

Mrs. Yeltsin

Governor Rossel

Guest Conductor, Rene Gulikers of Waddinxveen, the Netherlands

The Director of the Philharmonic

The Conductor of the Philharmonic

Pianist Vladimir Mishchuk of Moscow

Four young Yekaterinburg musicians

Private Dinner
with Mrs. Yeltsin

YEKATERINBURG: PRIVATE DINNER WITH MRS. YELTSIN

SCENESETTER

This will be Mrs. Yeltsin's opportunity to formally welcome the First Lady to Russia. The meal will be served in the dinning room of the dacha where Mrs. Clinton will be staying.

PARTICIPANTS

Mrs. Yeltsin
others TBD

TALKING POINTS

- My sincerest congratulations on the birth of your new grandson. Bill and I were delighted to hear that both mother and son are healthy.
- Bill told me about his recent phone call with President Yeltsin. They have a good, effective relationship. Bill is sorry that he couldn't join me on this visit to your and President Yeltsin's hometown.
- I am happy to have this opportunity to visit with you in your hometown and I thank you for taking time with me here.
- In his great work "Ruslan and Ludmilla," Russia's national poet Aleksander Pushkin said "It is here one feels the Russian soul; It is here one senses the aroma of Russia." This is the feeling that I have being here in the heartland of Russia.
- This visit will give us the opportunity to build on the closer relationship that our husbands have established and to highlight other important elements of U.S.-Russian relations.
- I particularly would like to call attention to the wonderful work that Americans and Russians are doing together in hospitals and clinics across Russia.
- These partnerships demonstrate the concern of the American people for Russians and show the ways that our countries can work together on the grassroots level.
- I know from talking with American participants in these programs that our side also benefits from these exchanges.

- Education is another area in which I have seen productive cooperation, including university partnerships, during my visit to the region.
- President Clinton intends for the United States to participate actively in President Yeltsin's new multilateral initiative under which thousands of Russian managers will receive business training in Russia, followed by internships in foreign companies.
- We have put together a pilot program which will provide internships in U.S. companies for Russian managers. We are also proposing to expand this program throughout Russia and all of the New Independent States in the coming year.

NOVOSIBIRSK: ETHNOGRAPHY MUSEUM

Scenesetter

As your speech on youth and education will take place at the academic center of "Akademgorodok," we are arranging a visit to its noteworthy Ethnography Museum. The museum's holdings include centuries-old artifacts from several Siberian ethnic groups. These objects shed light on ancient Siberian social structures, religious beliefs and economies. You will be greeted by the director of the museum and possibly a university official, who will then conduct a one-hour tour. The holdings are divided among several rooms connected by a narrow central corridor.

Background

The Ethnography Museum, constructed in the 1950's with the rest of Akademgorodok, was likely originally designed for classrooms and offices. It is located on one of the numerous side streets in the academic village. Despite its modest appearance, the museum contains several rare artifacts - including a number of mummified remains that constitute its centerpiece - that were featured last year in a "National Geographic" article. U.S. philanthropist George Soros paid a special visit to the museum in September. While much Siberian lore focuses on ethnic-Russian pioneers and explorers, this museum concentrates on indigenous tribes from the Altay region (on the Kazakhstan border), and the arctic Khanti and Mansi nomads.

Talking Points

- This museum documents the existence of the human bridges that linked indigenous peoples in Asia, Siberia and Europe.
- The museum's artifacts contain many clues about the origin of Native Americans, some of whom passed through Siberia and over the Bering land bridge.
- I am pleased to hear that the important work being done by this museum is gaining wider recognition, including by the National Geographic Society.

Speech
at Akademgorodok

hemorrhaging money and since 1987 it has accumulated net losses approaching \$40 million. It plainly stated in its 1988 10-K that it had difficulty meeting its obligations.

Other than by Harriman's generous cash infusions, Great American has been funded mostly through many small debt and equity underwritings marketed by bucket shops like Hibbard Brown, F.N. Wolf and L.C. Wegard, all identified by *FORBES* as Brennan associates.

Great American's share price has sunk from around \$14 in late 1988 to a recent 12½ cents per share. No wonder the Harriman heirs are suing.

Did Mulvihill and Brennan go down with the ship? Dumb question. Having gotten their own shares for pennies, the pair sold out well before the collapse. At one time Mulvihill controlled 50% of Great American and Brennan over 20%. By late 1993 Brennan and Mulvihill had apparently sold out. Mulvihill, 60, disposed of over 400,000 shares at prices ranging from 68 cents to \$2.50. His 34-year-old daughter, Julia Mulvihill, remains as the chief operating officer.

And, top this: In mid-1990 Harriman adviser Rich, a former Morgan Guaranty trust officer, reportedly began to threaten Mulvihill with litigation. But Rich's attorneys apparently persuaded Rich to agree to let the dispute be mediated by, guess who: Robert Brennan.

Was Clark Clifford as unknowing as he claims? Maybe, but it's interesting to note that BCCI-controlled First American Bank lent \$5.5 million to Great American in 1990 while the Harriman money was being pumped into the resort. First American got its money out in November 1990, after Mulvihill and company sold the resort's 27-hole golf course to Japanese investors for \$20 million.

Clifford was extremely close to Harriman: It was at a party at her Washington mansion that Clifford drew laughter and ensuing liberal plaudits for labeling ex-President Ronald Reagan "an amiable dunce."

Dunce himself or culpable, Clifford let his old friend down. Can we hope that in negotiating with the French on behalf of the U.S. Pamela Harriman shows better judgment than she did in picking financial advisers?

What's it like to do business in Russia?

To get a gritty glimpse, ride along with us and a load of furniture from Moscow bound for Siberia.

On the road to Novosibirsk

By Craig Mellow

AT FOUR O'CLOCK on a foggy morning, our Soviet Kamaz 14-wheeler breaks down. We're nine hours east of Moscow and seven days from our destination, the Siberian city of Novosibirsk, where we're bound with a load of living room furniture imported from Europe. The nearest truck stop, if you can call it that, is in the muddy hamlet of Nizhny Lom, 300 miles farther east along the two-lane, unlit highway Russians call their M-5.

Our driver, Vladimir Afonin, works under the Kamaz's hood by the light of his cigarette, while our security

man, a 30-year-old former gymnastics coach named Anatoly Urusov, pats the pistol—a bulky 9mm Makarov—under his coat. "Everybody who does this [security] work is just trying to survive," he says in the predawn chill.

The old Soviet economy collapsed, in good part, because it never developed a modern distribution and transportation system. I'm tagging along on a truck belonging to Dimitri Sitnov, the entrepreneurial founder of a three-year-old trucking firm, to get an idea of how things are going as this vast country grows new tentacles of



transport. Vladimir Belyayev, who was commissioned to design a national depot system, estimates that shipping costs represented over 30% of the total cost of a product in the U.S.S.R., roughly three times what it costs in a capitalist economy.

The old state-owned transport monopolies had no incentive to worry whether a cargo made it in good shape to its destination—or made it at all. The markets of Almaty, in Kazakhstan, might be full of beautiful apples, and the people of Moscow might be starving for apples. Let the apples rot in Almaty. Nobody much cared.

The corrupt, couldn't-care-less state trucking monopolies are now being driven off the road by what Russians call *kustarniki*, or cottage industrialists. The truck I rode in belongs to Dimitri Sitnov's Onyx Trucking, one of these *kustarniki*.

Educated as a geologist, Sitnov worked during school as a driver and mechanic. In 1991 he bought three army surplus trucks; a year and a half later he traded up to big Kamaz rigs, the top Russian long-haul vehicle. Flourishing, Sitnov bought a two-room apartment on Moscow's outskirts, where he lives with his wife and

daughter. His personal vehicle is a 1993 Mitsubishi Pajero 4x4.

If things can go wrong for Sitnov and Onyx, they usually do. Early in November, Onyx had two trucks loaded for Lithuania. Then the owner of the goods suddenly disappeared. Soon thereafter a deal to move metals to the Latvian border fell through. Why? Replies Onyx's enterprising marketing manager, Andrei Dvorchensky: "We don't really like to associate with criminals."

The rig I was riding in arrived for its load of Spanish living room sets in late November. But the agent for the customer noticed the tarpaulin had gaping holes. In the old days the trucker's customer would have had two choices: shrug and accept that half the stuff would be ruined on the way, or let it sit for weeks or months until another pickup could be scheduled. Even then, no guarantee. The next tarp might be worse.

But this was postcommunist Russia. The agent demanded a new tarpaulin. By the time a new tarp could be secured, the warehouse had closed for the day. Onyx driver Afonin returned the next day and sat around for several hours before his load, which now included me and Makarov-toting Anatoly Urusov, could set out on the eight-day trip to Novosibirsk. An American outfit operating like this would be bankrupt in a week.

As Afonin repairs the clogged fuel lines, Urusov tries to reassure me this close to Moscow we're probably safe from bandits. "It gets dangerous farther out, in Siberia," he says. "There, if you don't know a safe place to stop,

you keep driving, day or night." Urusov probably enjoys scaring a foreigner and, besides, he must justify his job. People who know the roads say they are not as bandit-infested as some of the wilder stories would have it.

When the truck reaches the Siberian badlands, Urusov will get support from his older brother, Alexander, who'll be riding shotgun with his Remington 12-gauge on another *kustarniki* truck. At \$41 a day each, the brothers are among Russian transport's cheaper security options. Heavier firepower can be hired directly from the Interior Ministry at \$150 to \$200 a day—nearly a month's wages based on official figures and current dollar/ruble rates.

By dawn Afonin has repaired the fuel lines, and we're on the road again. Watching him, I think of Humphrey Bogart and George Raft in *They Drive By Night*, the part where Bogie falls asleep at his truck's wheel, goes over a cliff and loses his arm. But Afonin is used to tough hauls. Five hours later we rattle into Nizhny Lom, a dreary pit stop where Afonin gorges on steaming cabbage soup, goulash and kasha, buys five packs of L&Ms from a store that stocks little else, and decides to catch a couple hours' sleep. I hop a ride in an automobile back to Moscow.

Later I hear the rest of the story. The most direct route to Novosibirsk passes briefly through the northwest corner of Kazakhstan. There our driver was halted by customs authorities intent on shaking him down. Two days later Afonin was still there, awaiting a letter proving he was merely passing through the republic.

For all this Afonin will earn around \$156—about \$10 a day, including the return trip. He has a shot at doing better if he can hustle up a load to bring back to Moscow. This is unlikely, says marketing manager Dvorchensky, because the Siberian companies still tend to use the old state-owned truckers.

Onyx charged 6.8 million rubles, a little less than \$2,200 at current exchange rates. In the U.S. such a round-trip would cost \$3,500, but of course current exchange rates don't reflect purchasing power parities. In purchasing power terms, the Russian load cost many times what an equiva-



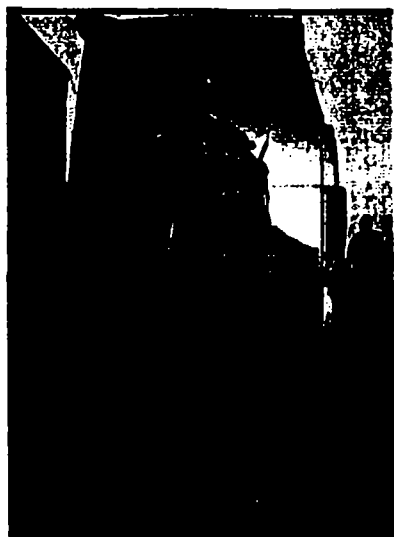
Left, Onyx Trucking driver Vladimir Afonin and security man Anatoly Urusov; owner Dimitri Sitnov Afonin can handle the rigs and Urusov the bandits, but Sitnov must needs defending against bankers and Russia's highway bureaucrats.



lent U.S. load would cost.

Dimitri Sitnov has big ambitions. This September he took ten of his best drivers to Holland and returned happily with ten slightly used Mercedes-Benz rigs, which he bought for \$650,000 in borrowed money. The Benzes mean access for Onyx to international shipping: Kamazes and other Russian-made trucks belch too much exhaust to be allowed west of Poland. When he returned from Holland, Sitnov brandished a contract to carry regular loads of mayonnaise from Düsseldorf to Moscow.

Sitnov's happiness was short-lived. For two months the Benz trucks have sat idle on Sitnov's Moscow lot because he cannot obtain licenses from the GAI, or State Auto Inspection,



Security man Anatoly Urusov
Up against crooked bureaucrats.

Russia's notoriously corrupt highway police. The idle Benzes cost Sitnov about \$20,000 a month in financing costs, much more than Onyx can earn from its Kamaz fleet. And Sitnov's bank is said to be the kind that settles delinquency by more direct means than Russia's creaky courts of arbitration. If Sitnov isn't careful the bank will simply grab his trucks.

"Things are very complicated right now," the ever optimistic Sitnov admits. He means for Onyx Trucking, but it's true for all of Russia. You don't turn a totalitarian nation into a free one simply by changing the guys in the government ministries.

For-profit DeVry offers a college education for about half what taxpayer-subsidized state universities charge. Does that constitute unfair competition?

Competition? Heaven forbid

By Leslie Spencer

ROUGHLY 27,000 high school graduates attend one of DeVry's 13 campuses scattered throughout the U.S. and Canada to earn associate and bachelor of science degrees in fields like electronics engineering technology, computer information systems, business operations, accounting and telecommunications management. Another 3,000 students earn their M.B.A.s or other graduate degrees at the 17 sites that are maintained by the associated Keller Graduate School of Management.

But DeVry isn't just another university. It is a publicly traded company (Nasdaq: DVRY) charging \$3,000 a semester in tuition, or \$24,000 for a B.S. This is almost half what a B.S. costs at some big state universities and about a third what it can cost at a private college. Yet DeVry has shown solid earnings and steady growth since going public in 1991.

DeVry is not beloved of many in the educational establishment. At a time when both state and private colleges are constantly dunning the public and alumni for more money, DeVry underprices them and is entirely independent of tax subsidies and private donors.

DeVry Inc. may not be unique for long. Apollo Group is parent company to the for-profit University of Phoenix, which focuses on adults who need to complete degrees or get new skills. Apollo filed for an initial public offering in September. RTI's education division, which offers technical associate degrees, is also thinking about a public offering soon.

DeVry has set a standard the others

apparently want to follow. Its June 1994 fiscal year net profit was \$12.2 million, up 30% from the previous year, on revenues of \$211.4 million. Net income was up 21% in the first quarter, ended September, from last year's first quarter.

Chicago Corp., an investment bank, managed DeVry's second public offering last year, offering 1.8 million shares at \$22 a share (the stock is now 28%). Chicago Corp. analyst Steven Saltzman boasts: "DeVry has done nothing but meet or beat our estimates."

The educational establishment has long thrown roadblocks in the way of

**DeVry is criticized for its
lenient admissions policies.
When public colleges do the
same thing they are praised
for "open admissions."**

for-profit schools by withholding accreditation—the seal of approval required for a school to receive student loans and grants. Any school seeking to make a profit was automatically denied the seal. That rule was dropped, and in 1977 DeVry's Keller Graduate School of Management was accredited. Accreditation for DeVry followed in 1981. But even now, accreditation remains a key hurdle for any new school attempting to enter the post-secondary market.

Many schools that operate for-

cries. Call it backlash? I call it a cry for help. Who has the courage to hear them?

In the year ahead I think we will see that the domination of sexuality panels by those speaking for suffering minorities and their interest groups will be challenged. There may be no "normal" and "normative" set of human arrangements, but the vast majority of people are in, or cherish, rather traditional husband-wife, parent-child arrangements and they want and need help in them. They feel threatened when what they regard as the "nonnormal" and "nonnormative" attracts the bulk of the church's interest. They will more likely act generously and expansively toward those who are different if they sense support for who and where they are.

The church-and-state front is hard to analyze. The Supreme Court sends out contradictory messages. It is ready to limit free exercise as in the case of Native American sacraments, while it also seems ready to move toward establishment-like privileging of religion and religions. We will watch the next couple of decisions closely.

As for movements: "spirituality" will still be the code word covering everything from profound quests to warm tingles between the toes. The New Age has gotten old, but the ghostly notion that Energy and Connectedness make gods out of us all will remain marketable under any number of names, especially in hard times. The New Religions have lost their lustre, and 1992 will not shine them up. Expect more disappearances and bankruptcies among what used to be named "cults." Pentecostalism will continue to surge around the world, but the charismatic movements inside mainstream religion will not offer the earlier-advertised promise or threat. Evangelicalism has lost its coherence, but not the momentum of many of its parts. Listen to a Hispanic Pentecostalist of unquestionable evangelical heritage trying to find herself in the "mainstream evangelical" discourse that contains the cadences of 19th-century Princeton propositionalism, and you can get some sense of the disarray, ferment and creative possibility in evangelicalism. Celebrity televangelism will continue to be more a joke than a scandal. And more of its exemplars will go broke.

Organized religion, as the counterorganizers call it, will endure and perform in ways that often get overlooked. Expect another year of debate on the megachurch and church growth movements. Curiously, some in very traditional denominations are among those most eager to throw away even what is vital in their traditions while they take "how to" lessons on growth. I would not be surprised to see a few megas go bankrupt, along with the malls with which they share an ethos and a market. They will remain an option for a (huge?) "few," while the many will remain in less dramatic, less audience-centered, more communal and congregational forms.

The Protestant-Catholic-Jewish mainstream? One more explanation of What Went Wrong will induce only a thou-

sand more yawns. It is time to study congregations that work, theologians who neither rehash what has already been said nor reach for postmodern clevernesses which do not touch where most people live. I am glad that my colleagues are dedicating some of this magazine's energies to locating such places and listening to such people, in the spirit of—you guessed it—realistic hope.

Martin E. Marty

A Church Takes Root in Ekaterinburg

THIS PAST September I witnessed the consecration of the first legal new church in Russia since the Bolshevik Revolution. The story of the church's birth is like Acts revisited. Dwight Ramsey, pastor of Broadmoor United Methodist Church in Shreveport, Louisiana, arrived in Sverdlovsk on a peace exchange in July 1990. He stayed in the home of a man named Paul. Through the interpreter assigned by the government, he spoke of his faith and his dream of starting a church, and he offered Bibles in Russian. He became acquainted with Lydia Istomina, who, like the Lydia in Acts, "listened eagerly to what was said" and became a believer. Others listened also. The head of a medical institute listened because over the years his most compassionate doctors had confided that secretly they were believers. Some people had always experienced a void and wanted to hear more. Others recognized something that they sensed in their hearts but did not know how to express. Still others dared to reveal for the first time in their lives that they were already believers. Ramsey touched that spiritual center out of which a redefinition of identity could be born.

Rather than going underground, the believers wanted to proclaim their new identity. They wanted a symbol—a visible legal congregation. The leaders and Ramsey met with the City-Soviet of People's Deputies (City Council) to obtain permission to establish a United Methodist church. The deputies required a petition with 20 signatures before considering the request. Signing the petition took courage, for this was two months before the Soviet Parliament approved the law that would guarantee freedom of conscience and prohibit government interference (which had meant arrests, beatings and imprisonments) with religious activity. Some of the believers feared they would be sent to Siberia if they signed. But Istomina signed: "I used to be afraid. Now I am a believer! I am not afraid." Others began to sign, including Ramsey's interpreter. The screech of the pen on that paper was not without cost, for some signers lost their jobs. Yet after months of deliberation the City-Soviet granted their request to form the church and provided a site for a future building.

Ramsey returned to Sverdlovsk for the third time in September 1991, accompanied by Bishops William B. Oden and Hans Växby and members of Broadmoor United Methodist Church. On the first day of the visit about 500 people gathered for worship in the park. We stood under red and gold leaves, amid bicycles, strollers and wandering dogs. I was stunned by the realization that to these people everything in the service was new. Except for the very elderly, who had distant childhood memories, Christian worship had been entirely missing from their lives. After five centuries of Czarist rule followed by seven decades of communist rule and official atheism, they were experiencing the birth of freedom and the rebirth of religion. The chief deputy of the City-Soviet brought greetings, and a boys choir sang special music. Bishop Växby preached. Toward the end of the service all of us knelt to pick a blade of grass, and we held it high as the bishops consecrated the site for the new church on this ground. Russian ground. Holy ground.

ON THE SECOND day the Louisiana delegation and leaders of the new church met with the City-Soviet. Its response was tempered by the upcoming elections, a novel event for them. This meeting occurred during the same hour that the Soviet Parliament in Moscow was voting to restore the city's prerevolutionary name, Ekaterinburg. Also, on this day the new church gratefully received the blessing of Archbishop Melkhisedek of the Russian Orthodox Church. In the evening people packed the Philharmonic Hall for another worship service, and 62 children were baptized, with their parents taking the associated vows.

On the third day the church leaders arranged meetings with top officials in education and medicine for reciprocal discussions with representatives in those fields from our delegation. People crowded once more into the Philharmonic Hall for evening worship. The bishops commissioned Istomina to be the local pastor, named Ramsey her supervisor and baptized 133 adults, who took membership vows into the new church.

The events of these three days are remarkable. Less than five years earlier President Mikhail Gorbachev was still mandating an "uncompromising struggle against manifestations of religion." Just prior to our visit, members of the church had persuaded the City-Soviet to pass a special resolution exempting the worship services from the 150-person restriction on assemblies.

The new congregation faces struggles and uncertainties. Its members are diverse—artists, architects, Soviet police officers, teachers, doctors, city officials, students, pensioners and KGB officials. Uniting them is their hunger for spiritual expression and their desire to make up for lost time. They were intently interested in learning about our experience of Christianity, and many took time off from work to be with our delegation. They have patience and perseverance born of waiting for hours in long lines for bread and for years on long lists

for apartments. They have known hardship, hunger, suspicion and persecution. One of the new Christians spoke about all the years of being duped by the government—of being told that their sacrifices were worth it because they were better off than people in other countries, and believing it because they had no access to accurate information.

The church offers not only a spiritual center but also a way to take responsibility for the future. One of their dreams is of a church building where they can gather for study and weekly worship, for their primary focus is spiritual growth. They also dream that the building will have an educational wing to house a school based on religious ideals rather than on communist or atheist philosophies. They have begun an after-school program three days a week with volunteer teachers. They also sponsor a class for hearing-impaired children. Another dream, arising from the general fear of the poor quality of hospital care, is to add a medical wing to the church.

While the Soviet system crumbles, the new congregation is growing in spirit, mission and numbers. Members share their new faith with others, care about developing a holistic ministry and proclaim fervently: "I am a believer!"

Marilyn Brown Oden

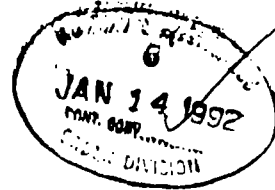
SBC Schools Resist Conservatives

THE MODERATE-FUNDAMENTALIST conflict ravaging the Southern Baptist Convention has moved from the national to the state level. Several schools operated by state Baptist associations fear that conservative leaders will impose doctrinal restrictions on faculty hiring and teaching. Last fall, conventions in Texas, South Carolina, Florida, North Carolina, Missouri, Tennessee and Georgia all signaled the depth of the discord.

In Texas, where the direction of Baylor University in Waco is in dispute, the convention grew melodramatic. A month before the Texas convention, Joel Gregory, the conservative pastor of First Baptist Church of Dallas, sent Texas's 5,000 SBC pastors copies of a videotape of himself preaching against Baylor. In that sermon Gregory challenged Baylor officials to "produce a shred of evidence there is an organized effort to take over the university."

Contradicting this apparent denial, a few weeks later Paige Patterson, president of Criswell Bible College and a leader of the conservative takeover of the denomination, announced on an Austin Christian radio station that fundamentalists have had for some time plans to take over Baylor. The statement exacerbated tensions between Patterson and Gregory.

The Christian CENTURY

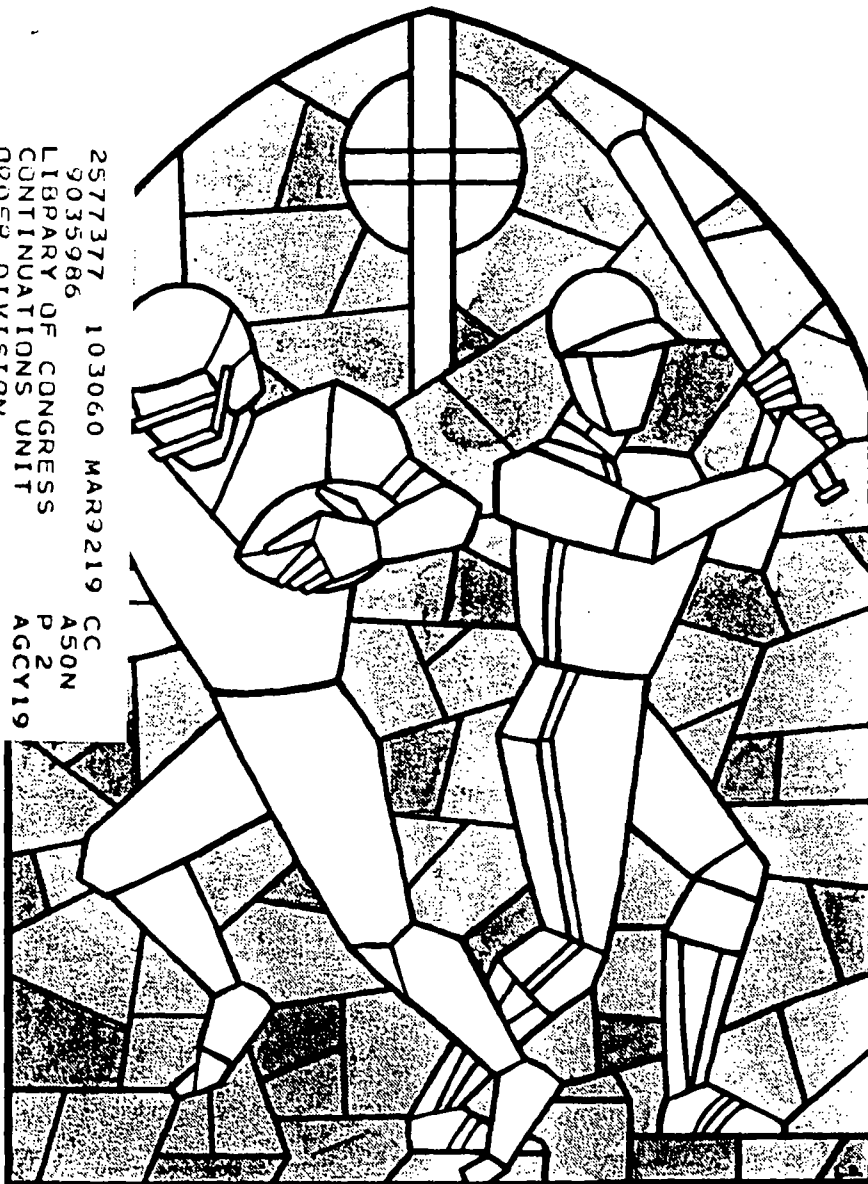


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SBC Schools
Fight Back

Bearing the 'Double Burden' in Russia

Underrepresented in positions of power and overrepresented in low-paying jobs, women in Russia are still far from attaining equality with men. Economic necessity means that many women have little choice but to play the multiple roles they first acquired in the Soviet era

by PENNY MORVANT

IN THEORY, WOMEN IN THE SOVIET UNION enjoyed full emancipation; in practice, however, they bore the "double burden" of child care and household chores on the one hand and full-time employment on the other. A never-ending demand for labor drew more and more women into the work force, while early attempts to shift domestic responsibilities onto the collective came to naught and traditional values regarding the division of labor within the home continued to hold sway.

In the 10 years since Mikhail Gorbachev took over as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, tremendous changes have occurred in all areas of life in the Russian Federation. How have women, in particular, been affected by these upheavals? The constitution of the Russian Federation, adopted in December 1993, proclaims the equality of the sexes, and Russia has signed international agreements pledging to eliminate all forms of sex discrimination; in practice, however, the lot of women remains an unenviable one.

As in the Soviet era, women continue to be paid less than men and are underrepresented in senior positions, despite having, on average, a higher level of education. They are often the first to be made unemployed and frequently face discrimination in the workplace. Reports of sexual harassment are not uncommon, and violence against women in all areas of society has been increasing. The first years of perestroika saw increased nostalgia for traditional female roles centered on the home and family, but financial constraints and the increasing number of single women and single mothers mean that only a small proportion of women are genuinely free to choose whether or not to work outside the home.

Women also continue to be in the minority in positions of power, particularly in the executive branch of government. In the legislature, after an initial sharp drop in representation following the breakup of the Soviet Union, the position of women improved largely because of the unexpected success of the Women of Russia movement in the December 1993 elections. But women still constitute only 10 percent of



MEMORIAL TO MAMAEV KURGAN IN VOLGOGRAU / VLADIMIR ILAK

ential political figures, and women have played an active part in the formation of all manner of public, political, and commercial organizations. Against the backdrop of the Chechen war, one of the most prominent groups this year has been the soldiers' mothers' movement, which has organized countless protests against the war and the extension of the military draft.

THE CONTINUING 'DOUBLE BURDEN'

In line with Marxist-Leninist theory, the Bolsheviks viewed gender equality in terms of absorbing women into socialist production, socializing child care and housework in order to fully integrate women into the productive economy, and establishing a "socialist camaraderie" between the sexes.¹ In the 1930s, the women's department of the Communist Party was closed and the "women's question" declared resolved.

Under Stalin, the initial emphasis on the liberation of women and the freedom to divorce and have abortions came to

¹Data on the situation of women in the Soviet Union are taken from Annette Bohr, "Resolving the Question of Equality for Soviet Women — Again," *Report on the USSR*, no. 14, 7 April 1989, pp. 10–16; Archie Brown, Michael Kaser, and Gerald S. Smith, eds., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Former Soviet Union* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p. 450; Richard S. Tedlow, *Russia in Politics and Society* (London and New York: Routledge,

an end, and stress was once again laid on the family as the primary social unit. The envisioned "socialization of housework," which never really got off the ground, was forgotten, and women were once again charged with bringing up children. At the same time, the demands of rapid industrialization, collectivization, and the deficit of males — due to the huge losses the Soviet Union incurred during World War II — drew more and more women into the labor force. In 1970, women accounted for 51 percent of the working population. Studies of the resulting "double burden" of a full-time job and homemaking showed that women were often working a 13- to 15-hour day, with little help from their husbands on the domestic shift.

In the 1970s, the Soviet leadership became increasingly concerned about the low birthrate — most urban families had only one or two children — and it increased child-support payments and the length of maternity leave in an attempt to encourage women to have more children. Birthrates and fertility rates rose in the mid-1980s, prompting the authorities to continue to encourage women to stay at home. In the more relaxed atmosphere of glasnost, the issue of what role women should play in contemporary society received considerable coverage in the press, with many articles suggesting that it was somehow "unfeminine" for a woman to be active professionally or politically.

Following the collapse of the Soviet Union and the introduction of radical economic reform in Russia, the demographic imperative behind "returning women to the home" was reinforced by a new factor: the specter of unemployment. The belief was widespread that women had no business working if there were men without jobs. Asked in 1993 about strategies for tackling the high female unemployment, Labor Minister Gennadii Melikyan replied, "Why should we employ women when men are out of work? It's better that men work and women take care of children and do housework. I don't think women should work when men are doing nothing."²

Exhausted by their labors, many women were not averse to the idea of giving up work that was often badly paid and monotonous and devoting their energies exclusively to the home and family. Nina Gabrielyan, the feminist writer and editor of the magazine *Preobrazhenie* (Transformation), argues that large numbers of women responded positively to the "replacement of the socialist pseudo-egalitarianist mythology" with the "old patriarchal" one, because they were tired of the "pseudo-emancipation" that left them torn between work and home.³ In 1988, the sociologist and academician Tatyana Zaslavskaya estimated that 40 percent of working mothers in the Soviet Union would give up their jobs if their husbands earned enough money to support their families adequately.⁴ In an August 1994 survey by the All-Russian Center for the Study of Public Opinion (VCIOM), 67.5 percent of respondents said that the best way for the state to help families would be to ensure that the salary of one spouse was increased considerably to enable the other to stay at home; only 42 percent had favored that in 1989.⁵

Yet many women appear not to want to confine their activities to the home. Tamara Afanaseva, the author of numerous books on the family, argues that childbearing has become less important in families and that when faced with unemployment, "women, used to independence and economic hardships, took on new forms of activity: engaged in ... trade, became agents for Herbalife ..."⁶ The trend toward lower birthrates, which was slowed temporarily by perestroika, had been apparent since the 1960s, probably reflecting a change in values similar to the one that has occurred in the West: greater emphasis is placed on self-realization through work, leaving less time for child care. (Owing to a variety of factors, birthrates in Russia fell to unprecedentedly low levels in the 1990s, dropping to 9.4 per 1,000 population in 1994 from a high of 17.2 in 1986–1987.⁷) A series of annual surveys conducted in European Russia for OMRI's Audience and Opinion Research Department suggests that attitudes toward women and employment are becoming more liberal. Whereas in 1992, 21 percent of male and 12 percent of female interviewees disagreed with the statement that women have the same right to and need for a professional life, in 1994 only 14 percent and 8 percent, respectively, disagreed.

While it is unclear how many women would prefer not to work, few are genuinely able to choose because of financial constraints. Official statistics currently show that 47 million people, or just under one-third of the population, are living in families whose average per capita income is below the poverty line.⁸ According to a survey conducted among women in the military-industrial complex, 54 percent said they would have been happy to stay at home and devote themselves fully to the family, but only about 3 percent were in a position to do so.⁹

The decline in living standards that accompanied the freeing of prices and decentralization of the economy means that many families need the income of both partners to make ends meet, while in better-off households, both often work in order to guarantee that the standard of living will not fall.¹⁰ Against a backdrop of growing unemployment, reduced working hours, and frequent delays in compensation, women may well be reluctant to withdraw from the labor force for fear that their husbands' employment status may deteriorate. In practice, only women whose partners enjoy high incomes can afford to stay at home for an extended period.

Because of an increase in the number of divorces, a drop in the number of marriages, and a rise in the share of children born out of wedlock, there are more and more single women and mothers reliant solely upon their own earnings. As state child allowances and unemployment benefits are

²Anastasiya Posadskaya, "Demokratiya minus zhenshchina — ne demokratiya!" [Democracy Minus Women Is Not a Democracy], *Ogonek*, no. 38, 1993, pp. 8–9.

³*Knizhnoe obozrenie*, 4 July 1995.

⁴TASS, June 1988, cited in Bohr, "Resolving the Question ..."

⁶*Delovoi mir*, 27 May 1995, p. 9.

⁷*Demograficheskii ezhegodnik Rossiiskoi Federatsii, 1993* [Demographic Yearbook of the Russian Federation, 1993] (Moscow: Goskomstat, 1994), p. 37.

⁸Radio Rossii, 28 June 1995, citing Deputy Prime Minister Yuri Yarov.

⁹Cited by Galina Sillaste, "Zhenskiiye elity v Rossii i ikh osobennosti" [Female Elites in Russia and Their Peculiarities], *Obshchestvennye nauki i sovremennost*, no. 1, 1994, pp. 112–121.

¹⁰M. E. Baskakova, "Sotsialnaya zashchita zhenshchiny-materi v usloviyakh transformatsii obshchestva" [Social Protection of Women-Mothers in Conditions of the Transformation of Society], in the Russian Academy of Sciences' Institute for Ethnology and Anthropology's *Zhenshchina i svoboda* [Woman and Freedom] (Moscow: Nauka, 1994).

low, these women have little choice but to work if they can. In 1993, the marriage rate per 1,000 population was 7.5, down from 10.5 per 1,000 population 10 years earlier, while the divorce rate rose from 4.1 to 4.5 over the same period.¹¹ The proportion of illegitimate children also grew markedly in the 1980s, as prejudice against single mothers declined and knowledge about and the availability of contraceptives remained low. In 1992, 17.2 percent of all births were to unmarried mothers. From 1987 to 1992, the number of children born in wedlock fell by 44.3 percent, while the number born out of wedlock dropped by only 14.2 percent.¹²

The lot of working mothers is made particularly onerous by the deterioration in the network of child-care services. Some have been closed, as there is no money to maintain them. Privatized factories oriented toward profit-making, for example, cannot afford to pay for the child-care facilities traditionally attached to them. In 25 areas surveyed between January and September 1992, a total of 1,500 preschool facilities (4.4 percent) were closed.¹³ Other nursery schools have been commercialized, making them too expensive for many families to consider.

Household appliances that would reduce the amount of time women must devote to housework are now widely available — but at prices many Russians cannot afford. Moreover, women may now have even less time to devote to domestic responsibilities, as working hours in new, private companies tend to be longer. For similar reasons, they may also receive even less help from their husbands. As a result, most women continue to face the “double burden” of a job, household chores, and child care.

BELOW-AVERAGE WAGES

In the Soviet era, women tended to predominate in sectors where pay was low, such as health care, education, culture, and financial institutions (see Table 1), and to have more monotonous, less responsible jobs than men. In general, women earned about one-third less than their male counterparts, although more women had a completed secondary or secondary specialist education or higher education (see Table 2). Women are still earning less today: earlier this year, for example, men earned 50 percent more than women in health care and 40 percent more in engineering and textiles.¹⁴ In a February survey of some 1,500 Muscovites regarding average earnings, carried out by VCIOM, women predominated in groups with incomes of less than 300,000 rubles (about \$70) a month, while men were the most numerous in groups with incomes between 300,000 and 500,000 rubles (the average monthly income of the respondents was 377,000 rubles).¹⁵ In general, employees in the “feminized” sec-

Table 1: Proportion of Women in Enterprises and Organizations, by Branch of the Economy
(in percentages)

	1980	1990	1993
Total	52	52	51
Industry (production personnel)	49	48	46
Agriculture	42	40	38
Lumber	20	18	20
Construction	29	27	25
Transport	25	25	26
Communications	71	71	70
Trade and public catering; supply, marketing, and procurement	80	80	77
Informational-calculating services	71	82	75
Communal housing and consumer services	54	52	46
Health, physical education, and social services	85	83	84
Education	78	79	80
Culture and art	70	71	73
Science and scientific services	52	53	53
Credit, finances, and insurance	87	90	81
Government apparatus	69	67	68
Others	53	47	41

Source: *Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik* [Russian Statistical Yearbook] (Moscow: Goskomstat, 1994), p. 64.

tors still receive the lowest salaries; moreover, their wages have been increasing more slowly than those in other branches of the economy. In sectors such as education and health, the average wage has fallen definitively below the subsistence minimum.¹⁶ The standard of living of women, therefore, tends to have deteriorated more than that of men during the economic transition.

Women's dissatisfaction with both falling living standards and the continuation of the “double burden” is reflected in survey data. In polls conducted by VCIOM, a majority of respondents said that the position of women in the family has deteriorated in comparison with that of men.¹⁷ In this spring's OMRI poll, women expressed greater dissatisfaction than men with their standard of living and were considerably more worried about the future. Asked how satisfied they were with their own standard of living, 45 percent of female respondents said they were “not at all satisfied,” in comparison with 40 percent of men. Similarly, 58 percent of the women thought that their personal economic situation was now somewhat or much worse than a year before, as opposed to 51 percent of the men. Thirty-five percent of the female interviewees viewed the 12 months to come with worry; only 22 percent of the men gave the same response.

¹¹ *Demograficheskii ezhegodnik* ... , p. 98.

¹² Valentina Bodrova, “Reproductive Behaviour of Russia's Population in the Transition Period,” *Berichte des Bundesinstituts fuer ostwissenschaftliche und internationale Studien*, no. 15, 1995, p. 6; G. A. Bondarskaya, “Vnebrachnaya rozhdaemost v Rossiiskoi Federatsii: dinamika i perspektivy” [Illegitimate Births in the Russian Federation: Dynamics and Prospects], *Zhenshchina i svoboda*, pp. 151–159.

¹³ Baskakova, “Sotsialnaya zashchita ...”

¹⁴ Interfax, 6 March 1995.

¹⁶ *Izvestiya*, 11 May 1995, p. 2.

Table 2: Breakdown of the Employed Population by Gender and Level of Education, October 1993
(in percentages)

	Total	Men	Women
Total employed population:	100	100	100
with higher education	17.2	15.6	18.5
with secondary or secondary specialized education	65.1	63.1	67.3
with incomplete secondary education	17.7	21.3	14.2

Source: *Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik* [Russian Statistical Yearbook] (Moscow: Goskomstat, 1994), p. 66.

FEMALE UNEMPLOYMENT AND SEX DISCRIMINATION

Despite all the gloomy predictions, unemployment rates in Russia have remained relatively low. On 1 July, only 2.7 percent of the labor force was officially registered as unemployed with the Federal Employment Service.¹⁸ Women, however, have been overrepresented in the statistics. Because sectors such as textiles, the food industry, and other light industry — in which large numbers of women are employed — were among the first to downsize as a result of economic restructuring, women were also often the first to face redundancy. Women constituted 72 percent of the officially registered unemployed in 1992 and 68 percent in 1993.¹⁹ In 1994, the share of women fell again, to 64 percent,²⁰ but in many areas they still accounted for more than 80 percent of the jobless.²¹

But according to estimates of unemployment based on survey data rather than on Employment Service statistics, the proportion of unemployed men and women is about equal.²² (At the end of June, estimates using that method put the total number of unemployed at 5.7 million people, or 7.7 percent of the work force.²³) As a result, although women are more likely to be registered as unemployed than men, they are not, it seems, more likely to actually be unemployed. In a survey conducted by VCIOM earlier this year, only 50 percent of those classifying themselves as unemployed or not fully employed were women. But of the 24 percent of the total number of respondents who said they performed some kind of work, the majority were men.²⁴ Men were 60 percent more likely to have a job than were women.

The fact that women tend to be better educated than men and are more willing to retrain²⁵ should mean that they are in a better position to benefit from the restructuring of the econ-

omy.²⁶ However, there are numerous accounts of discrimination against women in questions of hiring and firing. In "Neither Jobs Nor Justice," a report issued to coincide with this year's International Women's Day (8 March), the private nonprofit organization Human Rights Watch accused the Russian government of practicing, condoning, and tolerating discrimination against women in employment. "Government employers have fired women workers in disproportionate numbers ... and refuse to employ women because of their sex," the report said.²⁷ A survey conducted by the sociologist Galina Sillaste's group Galsi in the first half of 1994 found that discrimination against women occurred in companies everywhere, whether private or state-owned, although it was more obvious in large state concerns.²⁸ The report also noted that 7.4 percent of respondents had faced discrimination after rebuffing sexual advances by their bosses. Participants in a recent conference in Saratov on women and the law noted that women are often asked in job interviews whether they are married, have children, or intend to have them in the future.²⁹ Many job advertisements state "men only." One of the reasons frequently cited for discrimination against women in the workplace is the cost to firms, in terms of money and disruption, of maternity leave and leave for mothers with sick children.³⁰

VIOLENCE AGAINST WOMEN

The Human Rights Watch report also accused the Russian government of failing to take reports of domestic violence and sexual assaults on women seriously, despite activists' efforts to bring such abuses to light. According to one official but unconfirmed statement, as many as 15,000 women were killed by their husbands or lovers in 1994.³¹ In 1993, women were the victims of more than 330,000 reported crimes (of which 14,000 were cases of rape), but countless others went unregistered. The seemingly widespread belief among law-enforcement officials that women are partly responsible for sexual assaults, coupled with the lack of legislation against domestic violence (in Soviet times the subject of wife-beating was taboo, and in tsarist Russia, the phenomenon was all too common), often dissuades women from reporting abuse.³² But crisis centers have now been opened in a number of cities, so women have somewhere to turn for counseling. The State Duma is currently drafting a law to help combat domestic violence.³³

Commenting on the abuse figures, Social Security Ministry spokesman Boris Dolotin said they reflected an increasingly brutal society. "There is violence today against women in all spheres of life," he said, adding that "apart from family dramas and cases of violence against women at work, there is a growing amount of forced prostitution, the

¹⁸ITAR-TASS, 26 July 1995.

¹⁹*Rossiiskii statisticheskii ezhegodnik* [Russian Statistical Yearbook] (Moscow: Goskomstat, 1994), p. 459.

²⁰*Osnovnye pokazateli sotsialno-ekonomicheskogo polozheniya i khoda ekonomicheskoi reformy v Rossiiskoi Federatsii v 1994 godu* [Basic indicators of the Socioeconomic Situation and Course of Economic Reform in the Russian Federation in 1994] (Moscow: Goskomstat, 1995), p. 52.

²¹RFE/RL Correspondent's Report, 8 March 1995.

²²Richard Layard and Andrea Richter, "Labour Market Adjustment in Russia," *Russian Economic Trends*, 1994, pp. 85-103.

²³ITAR-TASS, 26 July 1995.

²⁴*Sogodnya*, 26 July 1995, p. 3.

²⁶Gail Kligman, "Women, Children, and the Feminization of Poverty," in James R. Millar and Sharon L. Wolchik, eds., *The Social Legacy of Communism* (Cambridge, New York, Melbourne: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 252-270.

²⁷RFE/RL Correspondent's Report, 8 March 1995.

²⁸G. G. Sillaste, "Evolutsiya sotsialnykh pozitsii zhenshin v menyayushchetsya Rossiiskom obshchestve" [Evolution of the Social Position of Women in Russia's Changing Society], *Sotsis*, no. 4, 1995, pp. 58-64.

²⁹*Zemlya Saratovskaya*, 7 June 1995, p. 3.

³⁰*Komsomolskaya pravda*, 7 March 1995.

³¹Reuters and Interfax, 18 June 1995.

³²*The Observer*, 12 March 1995; RFE/RL Correspondent's Report, 8 March 1995.

³³*Sogodnya*, 26 July 1995, p. 3.

sale of women as a 'live commodity,' murder for sexual motives, and so on."³⁴ One of the most recent crime trends in Russia is kidnapping women to sell them to strip clubs.³⁵ Prostitution in general has escalated since the Soviet Union's collapse, owing to a combination of factors, including the freer, more permissive society and the lure of potentially high earnings at a time of economic hardship. Prostitution was made an administrative offense in the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR) in 1987 (before that, its existence was not officially recognized), but the law has rarely been enforced.³⁶

WOMEN IN THE PUBLIC EYE

Although women were well represented in state bodies in the Soviet Union, the higher one went up the administrative ladder, the fewer women there were. Of the 193 people named to the top-level Communist Party body (the Presidium or Politburo) between 1919 and 1990, only five were women. Thus, women had little say in the formulation of policy or party tactics.³⁷ Women are still virtually excluded from the upper reaches of the executive branch. The only female minister is Lyudmila Bezklepina, who took over the traditional "female" portfolio of social security from Ella Pamfilova. There are just two women of ambassadorial rank in the diplomatic service, and women serve as deputy heads of administration in only 28 of Russia's 89 republics and regions.³⁸ Other high-ranking women include Tatyana Regent, the head of the Federal Migration Service, and Tatyana Paramonova, the acting chairwoman of the Central Bank. The latter appears to have had considerable say in the country's economic policy since she took over from Viktor Gerashchenko in the wake of the ruble's crash against the dollar last October.

Thanks to a system of reserved seats in the Soviet Union, women generally constituted about half of local soviets and one-third of republic-level legislatures. Their representation deteriorated markedly in the first multi-candidate elections in the RSFSR in 1990, in which they won only 5.4 percent of the seats, prompting women activists to voice concern that the new "male democracy" might put an end to earlier legal gains for women.³⁹ The situation improved after the December 1993 parliamentary elections, in which the newly formed Women of Russia won 21 seats in the voting on party lists. Now, 57 of the 450 deputies in the Duma are women (12.7 percent) as are nine of the 176 members of the Federation Council (5.1 percent).⁴⁰

Women continue to be poorly represented in proportion to their share of the overall population. But when drawing comparisons with the Communist era, it is necessary to take into account that the soviets then were little more than rub-



THE WAY FORWARD—Protests by the soldiers' mothers' movement (above) highlighted the widespread opposition to President Boris Yeltsin's policies in Chechnya. Women of Russia, headed by Yekaterina Lakhova (below), has placed heavy emphasis on the role of women in politics.



ber-stamping bodies, while the Federal Assembly today has considerable influence, despite the heavily pro-presidential bias of the constitution. The current proportion of women in the Russian legislature (10 percent) is slightly higher than the world average (9 percent) and the average for countries in transition (8 percent). The average in industrialized states is 18 percent, with the Scandinavian countries leading the field.⁴¹ The possibility that in the future, local leaderships may delegate members to the upper house of the Russian parliament in place of elections has prompted a sharp response from women's groups. In a letter to the country's leaders and political parties, the National Council for the Fourth World Conference on Women expressed concern about the small number of women currently in the parliament and said that the proposed change in the way the upper house is formed risked turning it into a "men's club."⁴²

Apart from Women of Russia, several individual female politicians are influential in the political arena, both within and outside the Duma. Among the best known are Pamfilova, Duma deputy Irina Khakamada, head of the Socialist Workers' Party Lyudmila Vartazarova, the Stalinist Nina Andreeva, and Democratic Union leader Valeriya Novodvorskaya. Commenting on Pamfilova's decision to ally herself with Vladimir Lysenko's Republican Party in the election campaign, a *Moskovskie novosti* journalist noted that any number of political parties and electoral blocs would have jumped at the chance to sign her up.⁴³ Her popularity among women and pensioners makes her especially valuable. Presumably because of the success of Women of Russia in the last elections with voters more concerned about living standards than politics, there has been increased interest in women among politicians searching for votes, particularly among left-of-center groups. One of the most recent to seize the initiative was Yuri Petrov's Union of Realists, which organized a conference on women, power, and politics.⁴⁴ Given voters' confusion about and distrust of

³⁴Reuters, 18 June 1995.

³⁵Interfax, 18 June 1995.

³⁶"Prostitutsiya: zakon i realnost" [Prostitution: The Law and Reality], *Militsiya*, no. 11, November 1992, p. 16.

³⁷Sillaste, "Zhenskii eliti..."

³⁸*Ibid.*; *Pravda*, 26 July 1995, pp. 1-2.

³⁹*The Cambridge Encyclopedia of Russia and the Former Soviet Union*, p. 450.

⁴¹Inter-Parliamentary Union, "Distribution of Seats Between Men and Women in the 178 National Parliaments Existing as at 30 June 1994," *Reports and Documents*, no. 18, add. 2, rev. 2, 1994.

⁴²OMRI Daily Digest, no. 148, 1 August 1995.

⁴³*Moskovskie novosti*, no. 39, 4-11 June 1995.

⁴⁴*Ibid.*, no. 39, 4-11 June 1995.

political parties in Russia, voting for a women's party seemed to offer a clear alternative.

In general, women in leading positions have to contend with considerable prejudice. There is a tendency to regard them as merely "decorative" or as valuable only because of the "softening" influence they exert on policies — or they are seen as simply incompetent.⁴⁵ In a recent interview, Khakamada said it is hard to be a woman politician because women in government constantly have to prove that they are not fools. She attributed her split from Boris Fedorov, with whom she founded the 12 December parliamentary faction, to his "boorish" attitude, particularly the way in which he responded when she criticized his leadership abilities. Instead of arguing the point with her, she said, he remarked publicly: "What does it matter what you say, exotic woman!"⁴⁶ Remarks by Vladimir Tumanov, chairman of the Constitutional Court, provide another good example of what women have to contend with. Commenting on the parliament's questioning of the legality of the secret decrees issued by the president and government authorizing the military campaign in Chechnya, he said: "[Federation Council deputy Yelena] Mizulina behaved in absolutely typical female fashion, reacting to what was going on in an extremely emotional way."⁴⁷ On the other hand, it is surprising that the upper house chose a woman to argue the case in the first place. In society as a whole, the rise of extreme-nationalist groups, which define the essence of femininity as motherhood and elevate it to a mythical status, gives new significance to traditional patriarchal values that severely limit the freedom of women.⁴⁸

WOMEN OF RUSSIA

Women of Russia was created in the run-up to the December 1993 elections by the Russian Union of Women (the successor to the Committee of Soviet Women), the Association of Businesswomen of Russia, and the Union of Women in the Navy because they believed that other parties were not paying enough attention to issues that primarily affected women. One of the movement's main aims was to increase women's participation in politics.⁴⁹ Its program emphasized social issues and practical solutions — a recipe that appealed primarily to older women, the less educated, and professional groups such as teachers and doctors, who voted for it in number.⁵⁰ Women of Russia won more than 8 percent of the voting on party lists and can now count on the allegiance of 23 deputies in the parliament.

In the months since the elections, the movement's parliamentary faction, headed by Yekaterina Lakhova, has, as promised, taken an active part in drafting legislation on social issues such as the new family code, which is coming up for its second reading. (The existing code governing marriage and family matters was adopted in 1969.⁵¹) The

faction has paid particular attention to Children of Russia, a program that encompasses various projects aimed at protecting the well-being of children but has been plagued by financial and organizational problems. In the hope of repeating their past success, Women of Russia will run in the December elections independently. Most commentators agree that they have a good chance of passing the 5 percent hurdle and gaining representation again.⁵²

Women of Russia has also come in for a fair amount of criticism. It has been argued that the group's emphasis on what have traditionally been regarded as "women's issues" — social security, children, invalids — reinforces the assumption that those are the only matters that should concern women. Gabrielyan opposes the use of the term "women's problems," arguing that this implies that there are some problems that are global and other, less important issues that only affect women.⁵³ Pamfilova also argues that such issues should be regarded as common problems.⁵⁴

GRASSROOTS INITIATIVES

Women have played an active part in the formation of a civil society in Russia, setting up an array of public and political organizations. There are an estimated 800 grassroots women's groups in Russia,⁵⁵ and in 1993, more than 100 newspapers and journals appeared for women, 10 times the number in 1980. Nadezhda (Hope), a radio station whose broadcasts are aimed primarily at female listeners, has also been created.⁵⁶

Women have also participated in the establishment of new economic entities. According to a survey by the Public Opinion Foundation in 1993, women accounted for 19 percent of those involved in entrepreneurial activities.⁵⁷ Alevtina Fedulova, a leading member of Women of Russia, argues, however, that women bankers and entrepreneurs make up only a tiny percentage of all working-age women. She also says that it is more difficult for women than men to obtain credit and buy property.⁵⁸ Commenting on women's participation in public life in general, she noted that the military operation in Chechnya has jolted women into action and that they have been more active in seeking ways to influence the formulation of policy.

SOLDIERS' MOTHERS

Against the backdrop of the Chechen war, the soldiers' mothers' movement has been one of the most prominent campaigners this year. There are two main groups: Lyubov Lymar's Soldiers' Mothers of Russia and Mariya Kirbasova's Committee of Soldiers' Mothers. Ironically, as President Boris Yeltsin was congratulating women on International Women's Day, about 100 soldiers' mothers were chanting anti-war slogans outside the Kremlin. The protest marked the beginning of a planned march to Grozny organ-

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⁴⁵Wendy Slater, "Female Representation in Russian Politics," *RFE/RL Research Report*, no. 22, 3 June 1994, pp. 27–33.

⁴⁶*Moskovskaya pravda*, 21 June 1995, p. 16.

⁴⁷*Moskovskii komsomolets*, 2 August 1995.

⁴⁸For a discussion of this issue, see Slater, "Female Representation ..."

⁴⁹*Izvestiya*, 2 December 1993.

⁵⁰Matthew Wyman, Stephen White, Bill Miller, and Paul Heywood, "Public Opinion, Parties, and Voters in the December 1993 Russian Elections," *Europe-Asia Studies*, no. 4, 1995, pp. 591–614.

⁵²For data on current support for Women of Russia, see article by Susan Gigli in this issue.

⁵³*Knizhnoe obozrenie*, no. 27, 4 July 1995.

⁵⁴Russian Public Television, 1 June 1995.

⁵⁵*The Observer*, 12 March 1995.

⁵⁶Sillaste, "Evolyutsiya sotsialnykh pozitsii ..."

⁵⁷Sillaste, "Zhenskii elity ..."

Bearing the Double Burden...

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ized by the Committee of Soldiers' Mothers to draw attention to the "continuing massacre" in Chechnya. Their intention was to travel by bus to the southern Russian city of Mineralnye Vody, with stops for demonstrations at several cities along the way, and then to march to the Chechen capital.⁵⁹ However, the women were prevented from carrying out the last part of their protest by special Interior Ministry troops, who, according to a group of Buddhist monks who had joined forces with the protesters, bundled them onto buses and drove them back to Nazran and Mozdok.⁶⁰ Despite that setback, a number of the committee's representatives have been in Grozny, pushing for the release of prisoners and trying to track down missing servicemen.

The soldiers' mothers' movement is not new: a group was first estab-

lished in 1989 to protest hazing (*dedovshchina*) and noncombat deaths in the Soviet armed forces. Since then, women have chronicled the death of Russian soldiers and organized numerous demonstrations to draw attention to issues such as Russian fatalities in Commonwealth of Independent States "hot spots." This year, the soldiers' mothers have also spoken out against a law, approved in April, that extends mandatory military service from 18 months to two years and eliminates exemptions for students. They believe all conscription should be stopped and a professional army instituted.

Capitalizing on its heightened visibility and the sympathy the movement attracted during the Chechen campaign, Soldiers' Mothers of Russia, which claims 10,000 members across the country, has announced its intention to take part in the upcoming elections. In 1993, it was allied with a small ecological group, Cedar, and

made a very poor showing.⁶¹ This year, it may fare better if it can find strong allies. Thus far, it has announced its opposition to Yeltsin and has ruled out cooperation with the Communists, Agrarians, and Vladimir Zhirinovsky's extreme-nationalist Liberal Democratic Party.⁶²

THE FUTURE

Women, along with men, have benefited from the democratization of Russia and the overall improvement in human rights, and they are taking advantage of the new opportunities to participate in public life and the market economy. However, they have suffered disproportionately from the decline in living standards that has accompanied the economic transition, and their right to equal opportunities in employment and to protection from violence are often violated or denied. ■

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⁵⁹Interfax, NTV, and Russian Television, 8 March 1995.

⁶⁰Russian Television, 29 March 1995.

⁶¹Ibid., 22 May 1995.

⁶²Ekho Moskvy, 29 March 1995.

Agricultural Reform...

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demand. The main potential benefit from decreasing the livestock sector is that resources can be transferred to producing other goods and services that people want more, given existing prices. Over time, this should help the Russian consumer.

Because capital investment and material inputs in agriculture have decreased substantially, some of the savings are already being realized. However, the main resource — labor — is being reallocated to a much lesser degree. A qualification is that farm workers are spending more of their time helping to process output (usually on the farm), say, by slaughtering livestock, rather than in just primary production. Yet virtually no former state or collective farms have yet disbanded or gone bankrupt, and farm workers' movement to non-agricultural employment has been slight. As a result, although the productivity of material inputs in Russian agriculture has increased, the small reduction in labor in the face of declining output means that labor productivity has worsened.

Until substantial numbers of farm workers are reallocated to other production, the Russian economy will fail to reap much of the material benefit that should compensate for the welfare loss from declining livestock output.

Continuing economic reform will increase the pressure on farms to get rid of excess labor. Through 1994, farms were able to avoid extreme action, despite steadily declining state subsidies and soft loans from the banking system. This year, however, the drive to reduce those benefits will intensify, particularly given the more austere budget and macroeconomic stabilization program established in agreement with the International Monetary Fund.

If many workers begin leaving farms, most will need time to find new jobs, particularly given the tradition of labor immobility in Russia. Some farm laborers (particularly many older workers) are not employable elsewhere in the economy. Another problem is that former state and collective farms have traditional-

ly provided for all their employees' needs — housing, health care, education, and cultural life. If farms reduce their labor force, two other developments must occur to avoid social hardship. First, local government's will have to take over social services traditionally provided by farms. Second, the government will have to create a welfare safety net that guarantees a minimum acceptable income for all individuals, both for the short-term unemployed looking for new jobs and for the long-term, structurally unemployed.

So far, most farm workers have united with farm management and the state agricultural apparatus, which are also threatened by reform, to defend the existing system and levels of resource use. Social supports are necessary to reduce farm workers' resistance to reform. Such opposition retards both institutional reform and economic restructuring in the countryside, thereby delaying the long-term benefits of reform. ■

RU9526 24 JULY 1995

Event TBD

Reception Hosted by
Governor Vitaliy Mukha

UNCLASSIFIED

NOBOSIBIRSK: GOVERNOR'S RECEPTION (TENTATIVE)

Scenesetter

Novosibirsk Governor Vitaliy Mukha will likely offer to host a lunch/reception in your honor. The location is still undetermined, but is likely to be at the Oblast Administration building downtown if it is for a large number of invitees, or at the Governor's suburban residence if for a smaller party. The governor's office will be receptive to your staff's input on organizational details of this event.

Background

Governor Mukha is an old-style Soviet bureaucrat who has gradually come around to reformist principles, such as supporting the growth of private enterprise and the sale of land, for instance. Elected governor in 1995 after having been removed from that office in 1993 by President Yeltsin, Mukha has developed good relations with the Kremlin and has largely shed his ties to the local communist establishment. He is one of Russia's more powerful governors, and currently serves as chairman of the association of Siberian governors. He has also traveled extensively in the United States, though he does not speak English. Novosibirsk does not often host VIPs, but the Governor and his wife entertained President and Mrs. Yeltsin in June, 1996, during Yeltsin's last presidential campaign. Mukha is proud of Siberia's rich assortment of fresh-water fish and regional cuisine, which would likely feature prominently in any meal.

Talking Points

- I am impressed with the intellectual and economic vibrance of the Novosibirsk region.
- While in Russia, I have seen numerous examples of what the people of Novosibirsk and the United States can achieve when we cooperate.
- I appreciate the efforts you have made to allow U.S.-Russian contacts to grow in a number of spheres in this region, and count on your help in making these ties stronger.

UNCLASSIFIED

NOVOSIBIRSK PAPER: AMERICAN COMMUNITY EVENT

SCENESETTER

We will organize an informal get-together for you with the local American community in a convenient downtown location to be determined. The total community only numbers around 70, with the largest contingent representing religious workers from a variety of denominations but also including some students and business people. The event could be expanded, if desired, to include foreign representatives of American companies.

BACKGROUND

There had originally been thought of hosting a meeting with only religious workers to highlight the importance of religious freedoms in Russia after the passage in September of a new law on religion. The event has been expanded, however, to include all local Americans. They will likely wish to share their impressions of life and work in Siberia, and opportunities for further cooperation and broader contacts between the U.S. and the region. One American entrepreneur opened a popular pizza restaurant several years ago that has now grown to several restaurants and beverage distributorship. The American Business Center director (name and point referring to her efforts to be provided) is another luminary in the local American community who happens to be near the end of her highly successful tenure in Novosibirsk.